THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA IN BRITISH COLUMBIA 1930-1948

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1975
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ABSTRACT

Throughout Canadian history the major Christian churches have played an important role in the political, economic and social life of the nation. British Columbia, however, has stood apart as more secular than the rest of the country and the influence of the church, though present, has been far less obvious. With the rest of Canada now entering a secular period, the past experiences of the church in British Columbia becomes annimportanttttraâllbâzerrfôwrtherestof the country.

The United Church of Canada was chosen for this study because of its national strength geographically and numerically, its class structure which is predominately Anglo-Saxon middle-class but also includes some upper and lower-class members as well as some ethnic minorities, and its propensity for social action inherited from its predecessors.

Shortly after the union of 1925 three unusual circumstances developed which had a profound effect on British Columbia and the United Church—the depression, the Second World War and the evacuation of the Japanese from the west coast. These three crises form the setting for a close examination of the United Church's influence within the province.

Of key importance for this examination were the record and minute books of the United Church congregations and institutions, the minutes and papers of the higher courts of the church, and the papers
of individual church leaders. The popular press was used extensively
to supplement the official records, providing additional information
covering church activity in the community and giving colour and inter­
pretation to church issues and debate. Interviews with some people
active during the years under scrutiny complemented the research by
filling in gaps of information and adding personal opinion and reflection.
The sources were allowed to speak for themselves and indicate certain
patterns which were then examined by more selective research. However,
since opinion and action are based on so many variables, it was
impossible to separate the influence of the church from other influences
in society. Therefore the conclusions are based less on hard fact than
on general impression and deduction.

The United Church definitely had an influence in British
Columbia, not only on its own membership but also on the general public.
The extent, however, is impossible to measure precisely. Through briefs,
petitions, reports, study groups, sermons and public announcements it
fulfilled an educational role by advocating economic and social change
which prepared the people for a social welfare state. The church, in
its defence of the Japanese Canadians, awakened many consciences and
led the way for racial justice after the war. Throughout the depression
and the war church members responded generously with time, leadership
and materials to ease the hunger, the cold and the loneliness of un­
employed men, drought-stricken prairie families and soldiers at home
and overseas.

While most church members could whole-heartedly support the
traditional charity of the church, fewer supported the briefs and
reports demanding change in society. Fewer still, and these were led by a handful of radical clergy, supported socialism, the demands of the unemployed transients and labour, pacifism, and the rights of the Japanese Canadians during the war.

By working with other institutions, the United Church in British Columbia showed that it is possible for a church to influence society in a secular age. The clergy, on the whole more liberal than the laity, could only lead the church body in the same direction as society generally was moving, but the church was able to hasten that movement. And through the work of a few radicals in the church, it could prod society and keep alive the Christian ideals of Canadian liberalism at a time when it would have been very easy to ignore principles of human dignity.
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INTRODUCTION

In Canada the Christian religion has been very much intertwined with the political, economic and social fabric of the nation. During the nineteenth century, individual piety was strong and was rarely in conflict with the dominant economic and political directions of society. Progress for the individual depended upon hard work, sobriety, stability, humanitarian efforts, strong family life and unified class aims, all of which the churches fostered through their preaching of God's and Christ's demand for personal reformation. At the same time, movements for organic social action were also at work with similar aims. As a result the leading denominations were in the forefront of controversies over land questions, public education, political party platforms and provincial finances. In many instances, churches shaped the social life of communities and determined the public image of towns and cities. By 1900 the major denominations, the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches had firmly established influential roles in the political, social and economic fields at the federal, provincial and local levels.¹

In contrast to the rest of the country, British Columbia stands apart as a more secular society in which religious institutions have played a lesser role.² When the white man came to the Pacific north-west permanently, the churches came too. Why did they not play a more prominent role? In small towns, it was not taken for granted that everyone
would be a church-goer as it was in eastern parts of the country, nor were the churches as obviously active in political and social issues. This lack of public participation, however, does not signify the absence of action on the part of the churches.

British Columbia was settled later than the rest of the country and copied many of the public institutions of the eastern provinces, originally started by churches and then taken over by the government. The period of settlement was at a time when social reform movements in all areas of life were vigorous and the churches' action paralleled that of other forces in society and therefore did not stand out as unique; it was a time of conflict between rugged individualism and a greater degree of collectivism and much of the churches' energy was dissipated internally over the same struggle as they tried to cope with the newly-emerging, more secular society; it was a time when most frontier land in Canada and the United States had been settled and many of those entering this province were individualists, unable to cope with the more traditional society of eastern Canada, the United States and Europe. Many of the new settlements were composed of single males and this did not encourage the establishment of stable traditional institutions such as the church. The question arises whether the church can have any influence in a secular society such as this and if so, what kind?

The social attitudes and actions of the United Church of Canada have been chosen for close examination for several reasons. In Canada and in British Columbia, it has been one of the leading denominations in terms of number of members and adherents. Its membership represented
a cross-section of the population, reaching all corners of the country and province, and included rural, urban, native Indian, oriental, upper, middle and lower class people. Moreover, it and its predecessors showed a social conscience. In the early part of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church was known for its enthusiastic adoption of the social gospel and its partial endorsement of socialist aims for the country. The Presbyterian Church had stressed social reform, largely through individual reformation and action, but it also agreed with some of the more liberal measures for changing society. The United Church started off with a reputation for liberal social views, unshackled by binding tradition. It accepted responsibility for all in the country otherwise unchurched, and for the moral quality of Canadian society as a whole. This fact plus its catholicity and the number of its members, its geographical spread, its singular union and its predecessors' history of Canadian nationalism gave it a strongly national air.

By 1925 much of the social work originated by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches had become institutionalized by either the government or by the churches. Shortly after union however, three "abnormal" developments occurred which had a profound effect on British Columbia society and on the United Church in that province—the depression of the 1930's, the Second World War and the evacuation of all Japanese from the Pacific coast. These three crises form the setting for a close examination of the social concern and influence of the United Church in British Columbia. Did the church have any influence over the decisions and actions of the legislators, of the general population or
Table I

Religious Denominations Classified by Racial Origins
in British Columbia, 1931

<table>
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<td>British Races</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>190,507</td>
<td>32,134</td>
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<td>Irish</td>
<td>151,854</td>
<td>11,481</td>
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<td>European Races</td>
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<tr>
<td>French</td>
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<td>43,732</td>
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<td>9,716</td>
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<td>Belgian</td>
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<td>2,758</td>
<td>194</td>
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<td>Czech &amp; Slovak</td>
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<td>Danish</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>2,280</td>
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<td>Dutch</td>
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<td>Finnish</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>205,047</td>
<td>90,852</td>
<td>164,750</td>
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Source: Census of Canada, 1931.
of its own members? Who formed the church's public opinions and pro-
vided the leadership during these crisis years? Was it the same
leadership throughout? What were the relative roles of the clergy and
the laity? Was the United Church in British Columbia more flexible,
secular and radical than the church in the rest of the country? These
are some of the questions to be explored in the following examination
of the church's influence.

***************

According to one historian, history is of everyday people and
documents only record the exceptional.Originally it had been hoped
that this study could concentrate on the ordinary members of the church
but it very quickly became evident that this was impossible. Most have
left no records. A survey questionnaire was ruled out because so many
had died, moved away or had changed their opinions (often unconsciously)
over the intervening years. As a result, this thesis is based on what
evidence does remain, with deduction playing a large role in the con-
clusions reached.

From the governing bodies of the church, there are the official
minutes for the presbyteries, the conference and some committees. Most
of the correspondence has been destroyed, but the valuable papers of
the Rev. Hugh Dobson, associate secretary of the Board of Evangelism
and Social Service, throughout the period under discussion, and of the
Rev. W.P. Bunt, superintendent of Home Missions for British Columbia
during the 1940's, remain and were used as key source material. Minute
books from congregations were used as well but choice was dependent upon those available. Fire, water and deliberate destruction have played havoc with many congregational records. Minutes are often extremely brief and subject to the biases of the secretaries, and a desire to minimize unpleasant controversy and personal information. Reports mentioned in minutes and giving the important details needed are rarely printed in full and are usually unavailable in the papers of the organization under scrutiny. The main value of the official minute books is as a source for resolutions passed, topics discussed and talks given. These indicate the general current issues and topics church members were most concerned about at the time.

The local newspapers are most useful in filling out the secular background for current issues as well as giving colourful details of church meetings. Lengthy debates, bitter controversy, unanimous decisions and standing ovations were recorded in the press but not in the official minutes. Also found in the press are details of church groups' and church members' involvement in the social issues of the day, frequently ignored in the church records. This is especially true in the smaller cities and towns. Letters to the editors draw attention to current local issues and public (including church members') opinion. Allowing for the editor's bias and desire for news-making items, the author found the press a most valuable source for rounding out a more popular view of church involvement in society.

A large number of individuals were interviewed—some briefly and others at great length; some very active in leadership roles during
the crises' periods and others as ordinary church members. The choice was necessarily limited to those still living and with keen minds, and to those readily available to the writer. After the idea of a questionnaire was dropped, there was no attempt to pick a representative cross-section to interview in the hope of proving a particular attitude or view towards a specific issue. Instead, the interviews were used as opportunities to fill in background information, atmosphere and personal reactions to a particular controversial issue. In some instances, interviewees provided factual information unobtainable elsewhere in the form of correspondence, scrapbooks and memories, as well as very useful leads for further sources.

There is always the danger in interviews on the past of receiving opinions people would give to-day in similar situations, or ideal opinions they wish they had held at the time, or opinions they think the writer wants to hear. In actual practice, most people appeared to be honest in reporting where they or the church had failed. It became reasonably easy to spot rationalization, one-sided views of extremists, and clichés.

Although all of the British Columbia Conference of the United Church was examined, Vancouver figures very prominently in the research. The greater Vancouver area had over half of the United Church membership; permanent field staff had their offices in the city and tended to reflect in their outlook and actions, the local problems; the majority of members of conference committees were drawn from this area so meetings could be held frequently and inexpensively; the outlying presbyteries, because of
geographic barriers and lack of good communication with neighbouring areas, looked to Vancouver for church fellowship and guidance; and this city was most prominently affected by all three crises.

At the beginning of the research, the basic assumption was made that the United Church, as an integral part of society, had an influence in current social issues. The extent of that influence and its nature, however, were unknown. The sources available were studied as intensively as possible and allowed to speak for themselves. As time progressed, certain patterns and trends emerged upon which one could base a viable hypothesis which was, in turn, followed by further selective research. However, opinions and action are based on so many variables that it was impossible to separate, in most instances, the influence of the church from the influences of other institutions in society. Therefore, conclusions are based, partly on hard fact, but more frequently on general impression, pattern, and deduction.
Chapter 1

THE UNITED CHURCH HERITAGE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

In the popular view each of the three denominations which joined in 1925 to form The United Church of Canada, the Congregational Union of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Methodist Church of Canada, presented a definite image. The Congregational Church was noted for its emphasis on congregational independence in polity and doctrine, and on sound academic, liberal preaching. The Presbyterian Church presented a strongly doctrinal theology based on a scholarly study of the Bible, dignified worship, and a highly democratic polity. The Methodist Church seemed informal and evangelical in its forms of worship, highly authoritarian in structure, and was involved, corporately, in the affairs of society.¹

By the time these three denominations came to British Columbia, they had been drawn closer together by a common heritage in eastern Canada, and by co-operative or similar solutions to western problems. Experiences unique in British Columbia accentuated the similarities as the three churches tried to cope with a pioneering society isolated from the rest of the country. Many of the problems confronting the churches were solved first by informal and then, by formal co-operation. Union was the logical final step.
In British Columbia isolation was a common problem, not only in the early days but later as well. Communication with the parent churches in eastern Canada and in the British Isles took months and transportation was slow and difficult. With the coming of the railway in 1885, communication improved but the Rockies still separated British Columbia psychologically from the rest of the country. In the churches, this was emphasized by the fact that the headquarters of the parent bodies and the key committee personnel were all in Ontario. Furthermore, within the province itself, regionalism due to geographical barriers, created a lack of communication and understanding, varied social problems, different life styles, and made unified decisions, support and action very difficult. Probably the Methodists, through the itineracy system were best able to overcome regional misunderstanding, at least among the clergy. In many parts of the province, the clergy coped with very primitive physical conditions with poor or no roads, shacks for homes often built with their own hands, expensive supplies, few contacts with persons of like interests, and isolation from the outside world in which they had been raised. They were called to be pioneers physically as well as spiritually. The churches all found it difficult to find enough men who were suited to deal with such isolation.

The varied racial population of British Columbia presented unique problems with which the churches had to work. The province had a very large Indian population, which on the coast had a highly developed social and economic structure. The coming of the white man immediately upset the Indian way of life with the introduction of liquor, new diseases and
prostitution. The Indians' social and economic life collapsed and only the churches felt any obligation to help the Indians adjust to the new economic and social conditions.

A large transient white population gave the province a secular air. By the time British Columbia became of real interest to the rest of the Anglo-Saxon world, a materialist and secular society in which industry replaced agriculture was becoming increasingly dominant. The province was a natural resource pool to be exploited by capitalist entrepreneurs for industrial and economic purposes. The principles held by those mining, lumbering and fishing interests which were developing the province often seemed contrary to the ethical demands of Christianity and the churches had a hard time combating secularism. A large portion of the working population was composed of single men, frequently drifters, speculators and social misfits from eastern Canada, the United States and Europe who wanted adventure, money, and escape from the social bonds of a more settled society. Family, community and religious ties had long since been broken and the churches found it very difficult to minister to this constantly shifting element of the population which brought with it social problems of drunkenness, gambling and generally loose living.  

A large oriental population brought into the province as cheap labour by the railroad and mine owners added to the social problems. The orientals found it almost impossible to become assimilated into the predominantly caucasian society and their presence in such large numbers created much industrial unrest among the white labourers.
A very large proportion of British Columbia's population came from the British Isles after the turn of the century and had strong loyalties to its homeland and little knowledge of or roots in Canadian history by the time the First World War struck. As a result, British Columbia contributed a very high percentage of its male population to the war effort and this fact directly affected church congregations in terms of falling numbers and revenue.

The key to many of the problems faced by the churches was timing. Settled later than eastern Canada and just at a time when industrialism had hit the country, the province had no opportunity to develop gradually from one era of economic endeavour to another. The mass of its population came within a very few years and increased adjustment problems. Simultaneously, the province and the churches had to deal with pioneering ranch life in the Cariboo; small family farms in the Okanagan and Fraser Valleys; remote mining towns in the Yukon and Kootenay controlled by large international companies; the rapidly growing port city of Vancouver with its slums, unassimilated and poorly-paid labourers, inadequate health and welfare regulations, and its mushrooming middle-class bedroom suburbs which demanded roads, fire protection, schools, churches and streetcar service. A depression in 1913 following real estate boom, and World War I magnified the problems. The churches felt that they had to meet all needs in all places but with one social crisis upon another, they rarely had time for any clear-cut long range planning, but acted haphazardly with practical and sometimes divergent solutions.
From its earliest days when John Wesley preached to street crowds in England, Methodism was popularly noted for its aggressive evangelism. Wesley's message was two-fold: God's grace was free to all who would listen and accept the gift of new birth, and secondly, a new way of life altering one's social and moral habits would naturally follow. Converts, released from feelings of guilt and elated by the gospel, felt bound to share their enthusiasm, inspiration and joy with all others. Methodism always contained a dichotomy between an individualistic concern for personal salvation and collective concern for the salvation of all society. And British Columbia was part of that society.

As soon as it heard of the gold rush the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church became concerned about the godless miners and pagan Indians of the west coast and sent out four missionaries, chosen from nine volunteers. The four, the Revs. Ephraim Evans, Edward White, Arthur Browning and Ebenezer Robson, landed in Victoria in January of 1859 and immediately began work in Victoria, New Westminster, Nanaimo and the Hope-Yale area among the few white Methodist settlers who welcomed their church's presence on the coast, the unchurched miners, the many Indians around these settlements, and the few Chinese who had drifted in with the miners. Enthusiasm was high and roots were well-established for future growth.

Although very few in number in England and in eastern Canada, the Congregational Church through its British Colonial Missionary Society responded quickly to the religious needs of British Columbia and sent the Rev. W.F. Clarke from Canada West to Victoria in the summer
of 1859, and the Rev. Mathew Macfie from England a few months later. Within the first month of his arrival, Clarke was involved in the colony's social life, having addressed the Y.M.C.A. and the Dashaway Society, a temperance group. In that same year he took a strong stand against the current ruling clique's desire for the Church of England to be named the established church. Unfortunately, Clarke's stand against the segregation of negroes in his congregation caused Macfie and most white members to leave. Clarke returned east, Macfie left in 1864 and the remaining Congregationalists turned to the Presbyterian Church.

For the next thirty years Congregationalism was dead in British Columbia. Too few members, lack of constant oversight and disagreement over social issues brought about the demise of what had been a promising beginning.

Least enthusiastic were the Presbyterians who did not heed the plea for clergy in British Columbia until 1861 and then it was the Irish Presbyterian Church which sent out the Rev. John Hall to Victoria to serve white Presbyterians. His work was made more difficult when the Church of Scotland sent out the Rev. James Nimmo shortly afterwards. There were not enough Presbyterians in Victoria to keep two men busy, the Church of Scotland refused to withdraw Nimmo and it never occurred to either man that one might work elsewhere in the colony. The Presbyterian cause was further weakened by a split in the Victoria congregation over church authority, a demonstration of a common Presbyterian trait of stubborn adherence to principle regardless of the disruptive effect. Both congregations and their ministers largely ignored the miners, other whites and the Indians in the colony and concentrated their efforts among
Scottish Presbyterian settlers on Vancouver Island.  

An exception to the narrowness of the Island Presbyterians was the Rev. Robert Jamieson, a former Irish Presbyterian who, after much pleading with the Canada Presbyterian Church to which he was attached in Canada West, was sent out in 1862 to New Westminster where there was a sizeable number of Presbyterians from eastern Canada. Prior to Jamieson's arrival, the Canada Presbyterian Church was divided as to the nature of the proposed mission to the Pacific and even after sending Jamieson, was not enthusiastic about mission work in British Columbia. In letter after letter, Jamieson asked for answers to his earlier appeals, for money, for direction from Synod the church's chief governing body, and for more men to aid in the ever widening area as the miners worked their way up the Fraser and into the Cariboo. Unlike their Scottish brethren, Jamieson and his two assistants, Daniel Duff and William Aitken, who were sent out for one or two years, appreciated the frontier aspect of the colony with its drifting population and lack of spiritual direction and followed the miners into the Cariboo and ministered to whites other than Presbyterians. Their style of approach and general attitude towards society was more in tune with that of the Canadian Methodists. Jamieson was constantly frustrated, through lack of funds and men, in his attempts to deal with the social problems of drinking, lack of educational and religious services and the ignoring of the Sabbath which surrounded him. He felt that his own effort was so small as to be almost useless.

During this period, Presbyterian preaching in eastern Canada was undergoing a slow evolution. Prior to 1850 preaching had been heavily
doctrinal but this was gradually replaced by more emphasis on moral issues, both for individuals and for the community. At the same time tolerance for the Methodists was growing. Perhaps Robert Jamieson, Daniel Duff and William Aitken reflected this new approach of the church in contrast to the more traditional and conservative approach taken by the Church of Scotland clergy. Or perhaps it was coincidence that the eastern body sent out individuals concerned about social problems. The official Presbyterian view still differed considerably from the official Methodist view. Presbyterians were educated to act as concerned Christians in their everyday lives. While not denying the importance of individual conduct, the Methodists also fought as a body for legislation to affect all of society. Jamieson, Duff and Aitken were acting as individuals of the Presbyterian Church in declaring and acting out the gospel in their daily lives as the many varied opportunities presented themselves and they encouraged their flocks to do likewise.

Throughout the whole period of the gold rush the churches never had enough men to cover the two colonies adequately or to deal with the many social problems which beset society. As a body the Methodist Church seemed to be the only one really enthusiastic about the area and able to understand the challenge it presented.

By 1865 the gold rush had died down, and British Columbia entered a long period of economic depression and dire financial crises. The colony of Vancouver Island was merged with the colony of British Columbia in 1866 in the vain hope that the economic crisis would be eased by the elimination of duplication in government spending. In 1871 British
Columbia became a province of Canada, but it took many years more before the railroad finally reached the province and the economic situation began to improve. During these dark years of mounting debts, depression, and wrangling over responsible government, the site of the capital, the governor's expenditures, annexation or confederation, the Methodists and Presbyterians carried on their work.

The Scottish Presbyterian Church sent out more than ten men in this period to minister mainly to Scottish settlers on the Island and around Langley but unfortunately, the men stayed for only brief periods and never succeeded in adopting a flexible style, necessary on the frontier. Robert Jamieson remained under the auspices of the Canada Presbyterian Church and maintained a holding operation among the Canadian Presbyterians of the New Westminster, Nanaimo and Fraser Valley area until such time as he received more assistance.

Only the Methodists maintained a keen interest in their work in the province and used these quiet years to expand their Indian work along the Fraser River and up the coast as far as Port Simpson. Practical men who were willing to live in isolated surroundings and were able to keep up their enthusiasm and belief despite opposition from white traders, Indian medicine men, government officials and apathetic eastern church officials, dedidated their lives to this difficult and often unrewarding work. The Methodists had such men so that missions became firmly estab­lished in many Indian villages.
With the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 came a new era for British Columbia. At long last there was a direct link with the rest of Canada which attracted trade and immigration. Wherever the growing population settled, the churches tried to be there using both traditional and new methods in serving the people over a wide area.

Within the eastern-based churches, enthusiasm for the west and missions generally grew. The various branches of the Methodist Church united in 1884 to become the Methodist Church of Canada, and developed an aggressive nationalist policy in its attempt to Christianize the northwest, including British Columbia.\(^{19}\) To this end the Rev. James Woodsworth in Winnipeg was appointed superintendent of home missions for the northwest and he actively sought out missionaries to send to British Columbia. The Presbyterian Churches in eastern Canada united in 1875 to become the Presbyterian Church in Canada but not until the railroad was completed did it take up the challenge of being a national church. In 1887 the Synod of British Columbia of the Church of Scotland joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada and dropped much of its former cliquishness and inflexibility. The Rev. James Robertson, superintendent of home missions with his headquarters in Winnipeg, had British Columbia added to his territory.

Like Woodsworth, he travelled the northwest looking for the nuclei of new congregations, and canvassed the eastern universities as well as the British Isles for ministers. At first he found great reluctance on the part of students and newly-ordained clergy to leave their comfortable posts for the uncertain rough and tumble world of the west.\(^{20}\) By the turn
of the century enthusiasm mounted as the west became more settled, better known and romanticized. The Revs. George M. Grant and D.M. Gordon, both principals of Queen's University and key leaders in the Presbyterian General Assembly, made trips to British Columbia and encouraged their students and the church in general to pay more attention to the west, while the Rev. C.W. Gordon, writing under the name Ralph Connor, popularized the west through such novels as *The Sky Pilot* and *The Prospector*, both widely read throughout eastern Canada.  

After 1885 the Presbyterian Church adopted the well-used Methodist "saddle-bag" system in order to reach as many widely scattered settlers of the Okanagan, Cariboo and Kootenay regions as possible. In two years one man conducted worship in fifty-seven different places from Yale to the Rockies, travelling by horseback, sleeping under the stars or in Indian camps, and preaching wherever he found a few settlers gathered together—barrooms, schoolhouses, and ranch homes. The Methodist missionaries experienced the same conditions of enormous distances, lack of good transportation, and much loneliness.

The 1890's dawned with a mining boom in the Kootenay followed by a gold rush in the Yukon which brought thousands of single men, instant camps, easy money, gambling, dance-hall girls and saloons to British Columbia. The Methodists and the Presbyterians and even the Congregationalsists sent in scores of young men to preach the gospel and set up social centres for card playing, sports and reading as an alternative to the saloons. In the Yukon the Presbyterian Church established medical facilities as well. Italian, German and Swedish names appeared on church
rolls. At last the Presbyterian Church had broken out of its Scottish mold and lived up to James Robertson's credo that the church must minister to all and not just to those of Scottish Presbyterian background. In doing so the Presbyterian Church joined the Methodist as a vehicle for training Canadian citizens.

The transient population, the enormity of the social problems, the sudden disappearance of mining towns, the vast territory of the interior and the lack of enough missionaries and money frustrated the churches' work. Only in the larger towns like Kelowna, Nelson, Prince Rupert, Prince George and Kamloops could there be seen visible results with the erection of church buildings and manses, and the establishment of a stable congregation with full-time ministers.

Meanwhile on Vancouver Island, along the coast and up the Fraser Valley the Methodists with evangelistic zeal expanded their Indian work still further, organized missions for the orientals, began a marine ministry to the many lighthouses, lumber camps and fishing canneries, and established many congregations in the rapidly populated agricultural areas and in the growing cities of Nanaimo, New Westminster and Victoria. The Presbyterians did likewise, although still trapped by tradition, they concentrated most of their efforts among the white population and especially among former Presbyterians.

For both denominations Vancouver posed a special problem. The coming of the railroad and the presence of an excellent harbour helped turn the city into the financial, transportation, communication and business metropolis for the whole province. Enterprising merchants and
real estate speculators, doctors and lawyers, skilled and unskilled
labourers, grasping landlords and exploiters, orientals and eastern
European immigrants, prostitutes and bootleggers flooded into the city.
The population grew from virtually nothing in 1885 to 95,260 in 1911.25
The churches reflected this rapid and enthusiastic growth in their own
development. One congregation, Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church,
added 1300 names to its roll in six years and the Methodists started
twenty-one congregations in thirteen years.26 Neither denomination,
however, could keep up with the needs of their own members let alone
those with no church affiliation, or deal with the social problems
inherent in a big city of rapid growth.

One solution tried by both denominations was the establishment
of local theological colleges, Columbian Methodist College and West­
minster Hall, to train men familiar with British Columbia conditions
but the demand always exceeded the supply. The Methodists had by this
time recognized the need for a more highly trained clergy to meet the
demands of a more sophisticated industrial society and emphasized a
college education. Westminster Hall carried on the Presbyterian tradi­
tion of a solid theological education for its ministers. It adopted
the novel system of summer classes so that students would be free in
the winter to replace student missionaries from Knox and Queen's Uni­
versities returning to the east after serving western posts during their
summer break. This arrangement also allowed the college to hire well-
known theologicans from the British Isles and eastern North American
universities enabling the students to receive a very sound academic
training.27
Another approach the churches adopted toward the social problems of British Columbia was that of the social gospel. The Presbyterians and Methodists, and the Congregationalists who had revived their activity in British Columbia, hoped, through this new form of evangelism, to build the Kingdom of God in Vancouver and throughout the province.

The social gospel came to Canada from Britain and the United States in the 1890's and emphasized a practical Christianity based on human interaction and love rather than on theological debate. In Canada the old moral concerns such as Sabbath observance and temperance were incorporated into the social gospel along with the newer concerns for labour legislation, missions in the slums and the assimilation of foreigners into the Anglo-Saxon way of life.

In British Columbia the Methodists readily adopted this new evangelism aimed at both personal and organic social reform. The Presbyterian Church, though slower to respond, accepted the traditional challenge to individuals for reform and many gradually saw the need for more drastic change through government legislation. The Congregationalists, though few in number were noted for their liberal views and were quite willing to co-operate with the others in any reform movements. Certainly British Columbia with its wide-open lumbering and mining frontiers, its exploitative resource industries, its oriental immigration problem and its growing urban problems in the port city of Vancouver provided many opportunities for improvement. The buoyant growth and enthusiasm of the early twentieth century in Canada encouraged the
churches to believe that man could create God's Kingdom on earth if given enough men, money and time.

A great deal of effort was spent on urban missions in the slum areas. In order to determine where action should be concentrated and of what kind, the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches conducted sociological surveys of several Canadian cities and rural areas including Vancouver between 1910 and 1913. The report on Vancouver, besides giving many statistics and facts, condemned much of the city's behaviour in poor building and zoning practices; in ignoring human needs when passing new legislation; in bribery and corruption; in the lack of proper facilities and care for the sick, aged, blind, deaf, mentally retarded and unemployed; and in its poor relation to the provincial government.

In response, First Presbyterian Church and Central Methodist Church, both situated in the growing slum area of downtown Vancouver inhabited by large numbers of recent non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants, became institutional churches with the emphasis on social work among immigrants. The churches used kindergartens, mothers' clubs, language classes, fresh air camps and personal home visits to reach the newcomers and try to assimilate them into the Canadian way of life. In 1913 First Presbyterian, Central Methodist and Knox Congregational Churches met to discuss the building of a $250,000 institutional church in the east end of the city while in the west end St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Wesley Methodist and First Congregational Churches explored ways of co-operation. Before anything concrete came of these plans, World War I intervened
and all planning ceased. In the meantime, work continued unabated in the downtown missions until union in 1925 brought about an amalgamation of resources.

The ideal society, as seen by the social gospellers, was to incorporate all classes including labour, which was largely an unchurched group. The churches in British Columbia were mainly of the middle-class and did not understand labour aims and in many cases, feared the working class, with the result that efforts to reach it were limited to a few leading clergy and laymen and were too diffuse for any concrete results.

Some, like the Methodist businessmen of Cranbrook or the Congregational minister in Nelson, in an air of paternalism set up reading rooms, gymnasiums and discussion groups, and became real friends of the miners. Fewer still, in a much more radical vein, fought for new labour legislation advocating fewer hours, mine safety regulations and the right to unionize. The Rev. E.S. Rowe of Metropolitan Methodist Church in Victoria, an appointee to the federal Royal Commission in 1903 to investigate coal mine explosions in the Nanaimo area, defended the miners in an otherwise unsympathetic report, noting that all the trouble seemed to arise in the non-union mines.31

The majority of church members however, avoided the economic-labour aspect of the social gospel to concentrate on the more traditional middle-class interests such as the prohibition movement which came to a climax during the First World War. British Columbia, with a preponderance of Anglicans in the legislature and single men in the population, was one of the last provinces in Canada to launch a battle against the
free flowing liquor trade though a few Presbyterians and many Methodists had been fighting the scourge for many years. Thirty-two saloons in the town of Donald with a population of 350 were symptomatic of the problem's depth. By 1908, enough Methodists and sympathetic Presbyterians had moved into the province to form the Local Option League but the legislature continued to ignore regional plebiscites for prohibition.

In 1915 the picture changed. Climbing on the bandwagon of war-time patriotism and social gospel idealism, and linking prohibition with the reform of a corrupt provincial government, of a vice-ridden society and of a world gone mad, a group of wealthy Vancouver Methodist businessmen like Jonathan Rogers, Chris Spencer and W.H. Malkin formed and led the People's Prohibition Association. Success came in 1917 when British Columbia went dry.

The People's Prohibition Association fought not only for prohibition but also teamed with the General Ministerial Association to elect a reform government in favour of the franchise for women, enforcement of laws controlling Sabbath observance and prostitution, and clean government. The Vancouver Congregationalist minister, the Rev. A.E. Cooke played a leading role in this political reform campaign to oust a corrupt Conservative government as did many Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen and prominent laymen. Victory was temporarily theirs. The Liberals led by H.C. Brewster formed the new government in 1916 and brought in many reform changes including prohibition. The latter was short-lived and throughout the 1920's the churches fought a losing battle to the moderates who advocated and won government control of liquor sales and distribution.
At no time before or since have the churches shown such united action or influence in the political and social life of British Columbia as they did during the election campaign of 1916. Under the general banner of the social gospel aimed at building a new society, the campaign united war patriots, zealous prohibitionists, women suffragettes, Liberals, disgruntled citizens hurt by the 1913 depression, and newly-rich Methodist and Presbyterian laymen of Vancouver who found the corruption in Victoria particularly odious and themselves in a position of influence to bring about change. The war ended with the churches convinced that a new age was dawning and that they were at the forefront in building God's Kingdom.

Delegates from British Columbia to the Methodist General Conference in 1918 led much of the debate and returned home enthusiastic over the possibility of church leadership in a social revolution. The Conference strongly condemned the capitalist economic system as one of the roots of war and called for a radical change through legislative controls on industry and the nationalization of natural resources, communication, transportation and public utilities. The decidedly socialist direction taken by the church was too much for its wealthy lay leaders and traditionally conservative rural members and in the wake of postwar labour riots and strikes, they became increasingly vocal to radical pronouncements. Just prior to the 1918 General Conference the editor of the Western Methodist Recorder voiced his fears that such a reaction to social change would set in. In an editorial he lamented that
Indeed to many, both inside and outside the Church, it [a refusal to endorse social change] would imply that the Methodist Church had been captured by, or had deliberately surrendered itself to a privileged class; that it had stultified its traditional spirit, that henceforth it has no voice for the masses; no disinterested sympathy for the returned soldier; no rugged, trusted influence in the rebuilding of our social structure in the new era.\textsuperscript{36}

Although the church in British Columbia maintained a more radical stance than other parts of the country and supported the General Conference's stand in its own conference meeting in 1919, wealthy businessmen and conservative clergy voiced their criticism of any "social revolution," conference reports became less and less radical in following years and the general church body supported the radical suggestions with deafening apathy.\textsuperscript{37}

The social gospel movement split into three segments across denominational lines. The large conservative wing withdrew but continued the church's social work through various institutions established before and during the war, and through petitions to the government on moral issues. A much smaller progressive group, still bearing the social gospel banner, supported the Rev. Salem Bland and his attack on capitalism and its alliance with Protestantism as bourgeois Christianity\textsuperscript{38} and continued to work for further public ownership and the ideals of the labour movement within the churches. A handful of radicals like J.S. Woodsworth and A.E. Smith became so disillusioned with the Methodist Church that they left to struggle for their new world through the labour movement or new political groups.

The social gospel idealism no longer filled the front stage of church activity in British Columbia or in Canada as a whole during the
1920's. Church members concentrated on worship services, meetings, building campaigns and making up for ground lost during the war, although a few devoted themselves to the peace movement or the losing battle over prohibition. Preparation for church union and its execution occupied the time and energy of church leaders to the neglect of social issues. In academic circles neo-orthodoxy stressing man's sin and the power of God replaced the social gospeller's emphasis on Jesus' humanity and man's ability to change the world. Reform was no longer fashionable.
Chapter 2

CHURCH UNION

"Church Union" was the magic cure-all phrase for some Canadian Protestants who despaired of solving social problems without more men and money. These churchmen had reason to hope. The Presbyterian Church in Canada after the union of 1875 and the Methodist Church of Canada after the union of 1884 had taken on national significance and felt a responsibility to minister to all parts of the country and to all races.\(^1\) Enthusiasm was high. Numbers grew as did financial resources and the two churches became highly centralized with congregations distributed from the east to west coasts.\(^2\) Many of the leading lay members were highly successful businessmen, lawyers and politicians, and had a strong influence in local, provincial and federal affairs.\(^3\) Would not a further union stimulate enthusiasm and bring yet greater prosperity and social influence?

Prior to church union in 1925, the churches in British Columbia were already participating in interdenominational organizations and pooling their resources and energy. In dealing with the social problems that challenged them on all sides, the churches frequently found themselves working together informally because of common objectives as in the early temperance campaigns, or along parallel lines as in their medical work. But there were other instances when the churches created organizations for formalized co-operation. The Social Service Council linked
the churches and secular organizations, the Religious Education Council linked church youth work, the People's Prohibition Association linked temperance forces, and the home mission co-operative work linked Presbyterians and Methodists at the local congregational level. These united efforts were steps along the road which led to the official union of 1925.

The organization encompassing the widest number of groups and interests was the Social Service Council of Canada. It was organized in 1907 by a Presbyterian, the Rev. J.G. Shearer, to co-ordinate the social work of the moral and social reform boards of the various churches and of other groups like the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Victorian Order of Nurses, the Federation of Women's Institutes and the Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association. Its main emphasis was upon government legislation in the social welfare field and it acted as an effective tool for the social gospellers in achieving practical results from their idealism. As well as having a national headquarters, it had provincial and local branches. Victoria and Vancouver had active branches and Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Churches played leading roles in its work, especially during the battle for prohibition.

In 1918, the British Columbia branch of the Religious Education Council of Canada was organized with the Rev. E.R. McLean, a Presbyterian, as its executive secretary and Miss Anne Fountain, a Methodist, as Girls' Work Secretary. They were responsible for the training of church youth leaders and for sponsoring church camps, congregational youth groups and Sunday Schools. Anglicans and Baptists participated as
well as the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists, but the last two were the most active and worked very closely and harmoniously together.

Two other co-operative groups previously mentioned were the General Ministerial Association which was so active during the 1916 provincial election and the People's Prohibition Association which included laymen in a concerted attack on liquor. There were also such groups as the Bible Society which distributed Bibles in many languages throughout the province, the Lord's Day Alliance which concentrated on Sabbath observance legislation and the many temperance organizations.

Another major field of co-operation which drew the two larger denominations together was that of home mission work. In the early pioneer days of the province, the two often shared buildings, worship services, ministers and in one instance, the choir, which sang for both Methodist and Presbyterian congregations in the same building.6

Finally, in 1911, definite guide lines were laid down for co-operation between the two denominations and a lengthy report outlining these guidelines and the extent of current co-operation appeared in the annual report of the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church.7 World War I encouraged further co-operation as did the prospect of imminent church union on a national scale. By 1912, the central courts of the Congregational and Methodist Churches had accepted the Basis of Union and were ready to consummate union. The Presbyterian General Assembly approved the document but because of a sizeable opposition from congregations and presbyteries, asked for minor changes and held a second
vote in 1915. In the 1916 General Assembly, the Presbyterian Church resolved to unite with the Methodist and Congregational Churches after the war.8

During the war years there was an extreme shortage of clergy; many church members who went overseas stopped their financial contributions to their local congregations, and a financial depression in many parts of the province hit church coffers heavily. One congregation saw seventy of its 271 members enlist.9 Many small congregations in the city suburbs, in small towns and in the rural and frontier areas were forced by economic and social conditions into local unions or some form of co-operation. Between 1919 and 1921 the Methodist and Presbyterian home mission superintendents divided much of the province between them in order to minimize overlapping.10 This policy was so successful that the Rev. George A. Wilson in a report on co-operation in 1921 could state that there was virtually no duplication of services by the two denominations in towns containing aid-receiving charges.11 By 1925 there were more than a dozen union congregations in various towns besides the co-operation on the home mission fields, so that church union was a fait accompli in large segments of the two denominations in British Columbia prior to formal union.12

Church union was easily achieved in British Columbia. Common social concerns, frontier and geographic conditions, economic cut-backs and the war drew Presbyterian and Methodist Churches as well as the four Congregational churches in Vancouver and Victoria very closely together.
Table II  
Union Congregations Prior to 1925*  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unions</th>
<th>Total No. of Congregations</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1,103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>1,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some were independent unions, some were affiliated with parent bodies and others were formed when territory was divided between the Methodists and Presbyterians under the plan of co-operation of the Home Missions Board. One hundred and thirty-two in British Columbia were formed under the latter plan.

Congregational and Methodist congregations in the province followed the national churches and went into union with no dissension. The Presbyterians were split but the battle was not the bitter struggle which took place in Ontario or the Maritimes.  

Although it cannot be proven conclusively, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the Presbyterian non-concurrents in British Columbia were conservative in their approach to all phases of religious life. One very active leader of the non-concurrents was the Rev. R.G. MacBeth, who had a strong influence on his own congregation as well as many others. In a pamphlet distributed throughout the Presbyterian Church he attacked the Basis of Union for its lack of creeds. The Rev. A.M. Sanford, a British Columbia Methodist minister, wrote several pamphlets for the Ryerson Press in 1922 and 1923, and was attacked for his liberal views on theology not only locally, but also in the east by some Presbyterians. A leading Presbyterian unionist summed up his feelings after the local struggle by saying that those opposing [the] policy of the Church on account of their reactionary theological views have cast their lot with the non-concurring groups. . . . Progress in thought, education and aggressive work is now possible without the continuous charge of disloyalty to the truth by those whose main interest seemed to be unending criticism of all who did not think as they thought.

That Nanaimo was the centre of British socialist influence in British Columbia and was for years represented in the provincial legislature by Methodist lay preachers was a fact not lost on conservative Presbyterians who had no understanding of labour problems and feared socialism.
Table III  
Non-Concurring Presbyterians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>British Columbia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian congregations</td>
<td>17.37%</td>
<td>7.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian members</td>
<td>30.18</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV  
Extent of Church Union in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Congregations into Union</th>
<th>Full Members into Union*</th>
<th>Congregations and Members Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>17,680</td>
<td>0**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,905</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>18,608</td>
<td>28***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These figures are taken from the 1924 annual reports, and those under pastoral oversight usually number about four times this figure.

** A few Methodists left to join the Nazarene Church or other evangelical denominations but there is no way of telling how many.

*** The number varies slightly depending on how many point charges are counted. This figure comes from Silcox, op. cit., p. 282.
Most of the Presbyterian clergymen who stayed out of union were either retired, inactive or close to retirement, and none played an active role in social action at the local, presbytery or synod levels of the church. The majority of the church members who stayed out of union were from congregations led by the non-concurring ministers, and shared their ministers' conservatism. In Vancouver where most of the social outreach of the church was centered, the four leading Presbyterian congregations went into union. First Presbyterian Church in Vancouver had been strongly against union in 1915, but by 1924, with its institutional work in full swing, had become equally strong for union.

On the other hand in Victoria and New Westminster, cities relatively untouched by the new industrial scene, the Presbyterians voted strongly against union. The remaining congregations that voted non-concurrence were strongly influenced by their ministers or had a history of stubborn independence led by several powerful elders. The Prince Rupert congregation in 1915 voted strongly for union but switched in 1924 under the influence of an elder, Alex Manson, attorney-general of British Columbia, and the current minister, the Rev. H.R. Grant. The congregation had just finished a successful building campaign. In Grand Forks, where a union church had been in operation for several years, one elder stirred up sufficient agitation to force a vote and obtain some of the former Presbyterian property.

Although a minority, the non-concurrent Presbyterians put up a vigorous struggle and in the legislature, the unionists were on the defensive. The Presbyterian Church Association sent open letters to all
members of the legislature urging them to vote against the bill to constitute the new church in the province; among the signers were the Rev. W.L. Clay of Victoria and the Rev. R.G. MacBeth of Vancouver, both well-known and highly respected men. A good proportion of the legislators were of the Church of England, and some had no church affiliation. These men were easily led by speakers such as Clay. Some "antis" impressed, with the power of their oratory, legislators who were largely ignorant of the facts behind the issue. Inactive Presbyterians leapt on the bandwagon and made emotional appeals for the church of their ancestors, much to the disgust of the union Presbyterians.

Ian McKenzie was the most fiery and most frequent speaker for the antis. He is from Vancouver, and you may know him. He is a Highland Wee Free, and proud of it. Fighting on matters religious was his glory. What matter (as Mary Ellen Smith pointed out) that he had not been in church for 23 years. It transpired that he never was a member, never attends and never supports any church. But he pled for the preservation of the religion his mother taught him, re-lit the fires that the covenanters had kindled, and in twenty or thirty addresses, more or less he never ceased to fight till the end.

The attorney-general A.M. Manson, was an extremely staunch Presbyterian from Prince Rupert who was determined that the bill would not pass in the legislature. He and other anti-union lawyers contested every clause in the bill and made it very difficult for the unionists who had only one lawyer for their guidance. The bill finally passed after six weeks of bitter fighting. British Columbia was the first of four provincial legislatures to vote on the matter after it passed the federal government and, therefore, the outcome was very important as a
precedent for provinces such as Ontario and Quebec where even stronger battles were shaping up.24

Public battles over the local vote took place only in the larger towns and cities where there were sizeable groups of Presbyterian anti-unionists. Advertisements, probably placed by the local non-concurring ministers, appeared in papers in Nanaimo, Victoria, Vancouver, Vernon and Chilliwack, urging support for the continuing Presbyterians. The unionists countered this publicity with full-page advertisements of their own, as well as pulpit addresses. They had difficulty in securing opportunities to speak in the churches of anti-union ministers such as MacBeth's in Vancouver but the anti-unionists encountered similar opposition. Although allowed to hold weekly "prayer meetings" opposing union in Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church, the anti-unionists were not allowed to speak from the pulpit, and at the height of the battle in late 1924, the communion service was cancelled by the minister because he feared that some elders supporting the "antis" would refuse to accept communion from him.25 In New Westminster a non-concurrent minister canvassed a congregation behind the back of its minister, urging all to vote against union. Special pressure was brought to bear on inactive members ignorant of all the facts, and upon sympathetic adherents to join and thus acquire the right to vote.26

Nanaimo was the scene of the nastiest fight. The minister, the Rev. D. Lister, turned the issue into a personal endorsement of himself, tampered with the roll, lied to later courts of enquiry and locked out half his session when it voted for union. The man showed no remorse or shame over his actions.
Lister was a very stubborn man who was determined that his congregation should remain Presbyterian. In an earlier vote in 1915 before he had been called to Nanaimo, the congregation had voted for union. In 1924 most of the session, the Sunday School staff and a sizeable number in the congregation voted for union. Immediately after the vote, the unionists who had lost by ten votes complained because some members had been denied the vote. Upon investigation it was discovered that the minister had removed names from the roll illegally. The battle went through both presbytery and synod courts and was finally settled in a civil court. The vote was declared invalid, and since the time for voting had passed, the property passed automatically into the United Church. In the end, the non-concurring Presbyterians received the smaller, former Methodist building and the United Church kept St. Andrew's.

Despite the efforts of the non-concurrents, union was achieved with little bitterness in British Columbia and most Presbyterians together with the Methodists and Congregationalists rejoiced in special services on June 10, 1925, marking formal union and the birth of the United Church of Canada.

Although Canada officially had no national or state church, the United Church in many respects became one in English Canada. It promoted Canadian nationalism in its periodicals and Christian Education material, and openly accepted the responsibility of serving all persons in the nation not connected with any other religious body. Amalgamations
of congregations freed men and home mission money to work in the unchurched frontiers of the province. For example in the Cariboo, work was expanded and the number of full-time clergy doubled in the first five years after union. In British Columbia where church ties were not as common as in other parts of the country, the United Church served many non-church persons in times of tragedy, death and marriage. In many coastal Indian villages, lumber and fishing camps, and in parts of the Cariboo and Kootenay, the United Church was the only religious body present and took responsibility for all people living in the area even when they might belong to other denominations.

Considering the large percentage of United Church members and the even larger number of persons in British Columbia who looked to this denomination for spiritual guidance, the United Church had a great opportunity to exert an influence on society if it took seriously its social concern.

Church union supposedly brought together a group of like-minded, liberal and socially-alert clergy who were prepared to combat the social ills which beset the country and particularly British Columbia. Unfortunately, after union most of the leaders' energy was concentrated on bureaucratic problems, structural organization, local congregational amalgamations and existing institutional work; church members were much more conservative than their leaders; and most clergymen, dependent upon their congregations for a living, were caught up between the ideals set forth by their leaders and their own and their congregations' more traditional views of society and the church's role in it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>British Columbia</th>
<th>Vancouver City</th>
<th>Kootenay**</th>
<th>Vancouver Island</th>
<th>Cariboo***</th>
<th>Prince Rupert**</th>
<th>Kamloops-Okanagan**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Population</strong></td>
<td>10,376,786</td>
<td>694,263</td>
<td>246,593</td>
<td>67,823</td>
<td>120,933</td>
<td>29,565</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>65,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church</td>
<td>2,016,897</td>
<td>164,656</td>
<td>161,213</td>
<td>13,566</td>
<td>25,153</td>
<td>7,443</td>
<td>7,296</td>
<td>16,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total population</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>24.2%</td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church, Year Book***</td>
<td>1,533,125</td>
<td>120,442</td>
<td>37,265</td>
<td>8,592</td>
<td>16,484</td>
<td>4,242</td>
<td>6,202</td>
<td>16,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of those claiming U.C. but unknown to the church</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>39.2%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches come near of surpass any of the United Church figures. See Tables I, p. 4, VIII, p. 154, and XV, p. 164. In many Indian villages, coastal camps and mining areas, only one of the three denominations was present, regardless of the religious preference given to the census enumerator.

** Figures for these columns are only approximate since the electoral boundaries and the presbytery boundaries are not exactly the same.

*** These figures are for those under pastoral care. Number of actual members is considerably less, usually 1/3 to 1/4 of the figure quoted here.
The United Church drew most of its members from the stable middle-class. Members in British Columbia were largely Anglo-Saxon and had come from a Presbyterian or Methodist background either in eastern Canada or the British Isles. In spite of the effort put forth to attract the single men in the lumber camps and mining towns, the church membership remained almost exclusively the preserve of families. After World War I the churches gave up trying to gain new converts from the fringes of society and concentrated on the middle-class urban people and their own youth through athletic, social and religious groups. The church also gave up the effort to reach the labour or lower class which had rebuffed most of its advances.

Even within the church the few labour members did not mix with the more numerous middle-class. In Nanaimo there were two Methodist Churches, one for the miners and one for the town's business people and frequently the two ministers took opposite sides in labour disputes and in one instance, one wrote to his superior in Toronto condemning the other man who supported the miners out on strike.

In Vancouver congregations on the east side of the city among the working class remained small, struggling churches often with ineffectual ministers while from the large west-side churches came the city's lawyers, teachers, doctors and leading businessmen who filled positions on the church colleges' boards and acted as lay representatives on church committees. Because these men had free time and leadership skills, they wielded far more power than their numbers represented. Until 1900 Presbyterians had held the more influential positions in
British Columbia society but with the growth of Vancouver and the province generally prior to 1913, Methodist businessmen came increasingly into prominence in political and community organizations. These society leaders were strong individualists and believers in the capitalist system which had favoured them. They continued to be influential in the new United Church.

Many church members never did support the social gospel but went along with the church leaders as long as there were no practical consequences which affected their own lives. Frequently, members had no idea the church courts were petitioning the government or passing resolutions related to changing church policy. When special campaigns such as the one against prohibition was launched or when money was requested to run a downtown mission, support was readily given. Otherwise, church membership meant attending weekly worship, participating in purely congregational affairs and trying to live an exemplary personal life in the business world and local community. The United Church had become an inclusive denomination, largely middle-class but with a sprinkling of lower class and some upper class members, the latter holding considerable power in society.

Although the church's wide range of theological beliefs and social attitudes precluded any unanimous agreement on controversial social issues, union had brought together religious leaders noted for their liberal views and willingness to support more radical social activists both in and outside the church. Throughout the 1920's while the church body attended to institutional matters, the social gospel remnant or
progressives could only wait for an opportunity to press home their views for reconstructed social order. This opportunity came in the 1930's when the economic depression and the prairie drought created a crisis in society. Once more the social gospel came to the fore in church courts and in church action, making the United Church widely known for its liberalism on social issues.
Chapter 3

THE DEPRESSION

The 1930's dawned with the economy of the western world in chaos. Germany and other European countries experienced galloping inflation after the First World War and faced financial ruin. Meanwhile the United States had years of frantic prosperity marked by speculators in the millions playing the stock market for huge paper profits. The bubble burst on "Black Thursday," October 24, 1929 with the crash on the New York Stock Exchange which threw the general public into a state of panic. Canadians had not been as involved in the speculative stock market as Americans but the resulting depression had a deep effect which is evident to the present day.

Among the hardest hit were the prairie wheat farmers who saw their net profits of $363 million in 1928 plummet to minus $10,728,000 by 1931.1 Drought, year after year, turned much of their land into a gigantic dust bowl. Markets closed down for those who did raise a crop, and when they finally opened up, grasshoppers and rust struck. The farmers could not pay off farm mortgages and debts on the large-scale machinery bought on credit in more prosperous years.

Rural disaster was matched by urban disaster. In 1933 over twenty-six per cent of the non-agricultural work force in Canada was jobless.2 Factory workers in the industrial cities, with no resources to fall back on, found themselves on the streets when assembly lines
closed down. Single men in the mining, docking, lumbering and fishing industries were cast out of both jobs and company housing with no homes or other jobs to go to and no municipalities willing to support them. Young idealistic men and women, fresh out of school and eager to work found no one wanted their skills and ideas.

The depression was not only an economic recession, but was also a state of mind which affected all people. Men lost faith in the institutions of government, religion, politics and education as the system patently failed to work. Ideals, formerly taken for granted, were now questioned and new ways were tried.

Canada had reached the end of its pioneer era with its emphasis on national expansion and progress. Industrialism and urbanism demanded new economic, political and social policies to cope with the new regional, class and racial disparities which were emerging in Canadian society. The depression emphasized these problems, already obvious to some social workers, religious leaders, politicians and intellectuals, and enabled these people to get a hearing from the general public.3

As well as giving birth to new ideas, policies and methods, the depression instilled a sense of caution and a deep desire for security in a generation of young people who, in the next twenty-five years, became the country's leaders and set up much of the governing machinery for present-day Canada. The result has been a curious mixture of the old individualistic Puritan ethic combined with a growing commitment to the concept of cradle-to-the-grave economic security.
Just as Canada, as a whole incapable of autarky and dependent on world markets, was unable to rectify the causes of the depression and become self-sufficient, so British Columbia, extremely dependent on the export market, was hard hit and unable to solve its economic problems. Within a few months of the stock-market crash, the lumber industry lost most of its foreign and home markets and was in chaos; foreign orders for salmon were cancelled leaving canneries with an enormous stock unsold; dockers were let go when the overseas market for wheat from the prairies closed; coal miners in the Crow's Nest Pass were laid off as the demand for coal tapered off; the drop in price of lead and zinc caused the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company to cut wages; the fruit growers of the Okanagan suffered a drop in prices for several years previously, and the depression intensified this situation. By February of 1931, in addition to its own unemployed who numbered 67,128 out of a population of 694,263, British Columbia with its mild coastal climate, attracted transients from across the country who rode the rods in search of work, food and shelter, or at least the opportunity to go hungry in a mild climate.

The provincial government was in dire financial straits. During the 1920's it had borrowed heavily at high rates of interest which had to be paid even though revenues had fallen off. Municipalities, responsible for local relief, quickly ran out of funds and appealed to the provincial government which refused to help except for the provision of road work for 7,200 men. The federal government in the early months rejected provincial appeals for help on the ground that the unemployment
problem was only the usual seasonal one.

By the time of the 1930 federal election, it had become obvious that times were not normal nor was normality in sight. That autumn the new prime minister, R.B. Bennett, announced a grant of $900,000 to British Columbia which the provincial government distributed to certain municipalities for local relief.

In 1931 again with the aid of federal money, the province set up 237 relief camps and by October, 11,353 transients were registered in these camps, located in remote parts of the province for the construction of roads and airports. For the day-to-day expenses of the transients the provincial government paid half and the federal government the other half. Eventually one-third of all Canada's unemployed were in British Columbia relief camps. Within a year, resources were so strained that the camps were restricted to unmarried men and by 1933 costs had become so high that the Department of National Defence took over the camps, giving the men a roof over their head, food in their bellies and twenty cents a day.

In the meantime, relief to families, disabled single men and single women in British Columbia mounted. By the spring of 1932 ten per cent of Vancouver's population was on direct relief, and the province was spending $300,000 a month on relief and public works. Added to the provincial debt which amounted to $143,000,000 was a bank overdraft for unemployment relief for $2,393,600. A Liberal premier, Duff Pattullo, was elected in 1933 on a "new deal" platform promising decent living standards for all; reduction in taxes; the establishment
of an economic council, state health insurance, agricultural and marketing boards, a provincial highway commission and a public utilities commission; and pressure on the federal government for unemployment insurance and improved old age pensions. Unfortunately, lack of cooperation and money from the federal government coupled with the restrictions of the British North America Act on provincial taxation powers prevented Pattullo from carrying out much of his programme. Relief debts continued to mount as the depression dragged on and eventually people lost faith in their cocky reformer even though he fought on with the King government for a better financial deal.\(^{14}\)

Many of British Columbia's crises during the 1930's centred around Vancouver. This city had a long history of unemployment and transience. Even in the boom year of 1925, the winter saw 1800 men on relief dole of fifty cents a day for room and board. In 1920 there had been nearly 13,500 jobless.\(^{15}\) The causes of this permanent situation of unemployment and transient population naturally had a bearing on the city's magnified problems during the 1930's.

Vancouver was a seaport, and like ports all over the world, had a constantly changing population of single men in search of excitement for a short period. This population created a demand for liquor, gambling, prostitutes and night clubs near the docks. Work on the docks was sporadic so that there was a changing pool of unskilled men who were often idle. One of the first casualties of the depression was the export market, and as the ships stood idle in Vancouver harbour the pool of skilled dockers and transient unskilled workers were thrown
en masse into the ranks of the jobless.

Vancouver was also the metropolitan centre for the extractive industries, which depended on foreign markets and provided the bulk of the province's wealth. Vancouver did not have a great industrial base but what industry she did have was tied in with the extractive industries of the sea, the interior and northern parts of the province. With the closing of foreign markets, Vancouver's industries were shut down or severely cut back.

At the beginning of 1931, besides transients there were 807 families and 640 single men on relief. By the end of the year, there were 2,588 families, 175 single women and 4,664 single men. The able-bodied transient men had been moved to provincial relief camps but the city still had the unfit ones and family men. The bill for relief came to $1,300,000. As families went on relief the city income dropped drastically. Land values sank, taxes went unpaid and properties sold at tax sales rarely covered the back taxes.

Not only were companies' head offices, sources of supplies, shipping and railway points, staff recruiting centres, banking facilities and processing plants located here but also the homes of the single men working on the fishboats and in the lumber and mining camps. When these men came to town it was to blow off steam and with it blow off their bankrolls before returning to the isolated camps. When the export market dried up, the companies began to retrench and withdraw from the mines and forests. The workers drifted to their natural centre, Vancouver, where they could hope to find a job, or relief, and would at least find companionship.
The mild climate at the end of the railroad attracted the hobo and the permanent transient as he worked his way by handouts and odd jobs across the country. Winter was customarily spent on the coast. As the country's unemployed numbers grew and municipalities refused to look after single men, the number arriving in Vancouver on the rods reached unheard-of proportions and the city relief department could not begin to cope. The charge was made that the rest of Canada was dumping its unemployed into Vancouver.19

Although the province came to the city's aid in 1930 with extra relief money and again in 1931 with the establishment of the relief camps which drew off most of the transients, the city's problems were not at an end. The men, isolated physically from urban areas and cut off from any normal life, were ripe for agitators and trouble-makers. Complaints, often legitimate, of demoralization, poor conditions, military discipline and a sense of being forgotten abounded. Most men in the camps had been recruited from Vancouver. As a result, when they had complaints and went on strike by abandoning the camps, they returned to Vancouver, adding further to the city's unrest and relief problems.

Just as the city and province were unprepared for the magnitude of this depression, so was the United Church. This institution, to which nearly a quarter of the population in British Columbia claimed allegiance 20 did, however, have advantages over governments in this unprecedented situation. Through its organizational structure it was accustomed to helping the poor with handouts of food and clothing. Through its Board of Evangelism and Social Service it constantly examined
society and had a tradition of identifying neglected human needs. From the enthusiastic days of the social gospel when God's Kingdom was being built on earth, through the militant post-war days when the church advocated socialist economic reform and into the prosperous twenties, this board of the church had issued widely publicized reports which pinpointed social and economic corruption and suggested reform in all walks of life—the penal system, temperance, censorship of movies, sex education, labour legislation, economic controls, racial discrimination and industrial unrest.

The key man in directing the social concerns of the church in the west, and especially in British Columbia was the Rev. Hugh Dobson. He was associate secretary of Evangelism and Social Service for the United Church, and significantly his office was moved to Vancouver in 1926. Previously he held the same post for the Methodist Church for all of western Canada, operating out of Regina.

Dobson was an indefatigable worker, involved in every aspect of the church's social activity. He was constantly speaking to church courts, preaching on Sundays, organizing campaigns and attending endless meetings, yet he kept voluminous correspondence with social workers and community groups throughout Canada, and maintained a reading load which would have staggered the average man.

In his regular work he organized and led study committees such as "The Church and Industrial Relations" and "Christianizing the Social Order" which submitted briefs to the national committees reporting to General Council and acted ex officio behind the scenes on all British
Columbia Conference and presbytery committees of Evangelism and Social Service. Outside the church he was on committees for the city of Vancouver and the province dealing with all manner of social concerns and frequently spearheaded investigations and studies ranging from one on slum housing in Vancouver to one on racial injustices.

Dobson was a man of many colours. For some he was a great leader and a brilliant man, light years ahead of the general public in his knowledge of social problems and possible solutions. He had contacts with social workers, government officials and politicians all across the west and was in the vanguard educating the public for necessary change. Others gave him credit for his forward-looking ideas and regretted that he was severely restricted in his actions by reactionaries in the east, in the local pulpits and especially in the pews. He was forced into a conciliatory role rather than pushing ahead with his own views. Still others saw Dobson as an old wind-bag who never knew when to stop preaching on the old Methodist war horses of drink, gambling, obscenity and lax Sabbath observance and could not see the deeper economic and urban industrial problems of a new age. His defenders said he did this in order to gain the ear of a conservative church body which he then tried to educate.

He was a social gospel man. He had studied under the Rev. Salem Bland in Winnipeg, the fountainhead of Canadian social gospel thought, and he firmly believed in the use of government legislation, control and education to remedy much of society's ills. Until his retirement he kept abreast of the latest sociological thinking and passed the new ideas
on to the church-at-large. Although very much in sympathy with the socialists, he never officially joined a political party, preferring the role of mediator between the conservative and radical wings both of the church and of society.22

Because of Dobson's socialist leanings and his passion for social justice, he was able to understand and help the radical new social gospellers23 in the church and yet maintain at the same time the respect of conservative church members who could forgive his radicalism because of his intense hatred of liquor and his enthusiastic promotion of evangelism. On his committees, he made a point of having all viewpoints represented, not as a gesture, but in a sincere effort to bring the church body to a common consensus and he frequently achieved this.

Many times though, he was called upon to defend the radicals. At one conference meeting, the Rev. A.M. Sanford, a leading church conservative, threatened to "put on the floor" of conference a young radical, the Rev. H.T. Allen for his involvement with the C.C.F. Party. Dobson told Sanford that he in turn would be "put on the floor" for his involvement with the Conservative Party, and specifically for his handling of patronage in New Westminster for the former premier S.F. Tolmie. Sanford desisted.

Highly respected both in and out of the church, Dobson played the mediator's role with great skill. It was Dobson who enabled the church to adopt some of the socialist views advocated by its more radical leaders without completely antagonizing those conservatives who had the power to block reform.
The "radicals" were involved in all aspects of the United Church's response to the depression and had an influence far greater than their small numbers would suggest. At times they were the leaders formulating church policy; in other cases they backed the efforts of more moderate churchmen in meeting emergency needs or fostering spiritual renewal; in many instances they were active in secular organizations and gave them a Christian orientation.

The problems the church faced during the depression were endless and its response can be broken down into three general categories: paternal charity, traditional reform and radical social change. Although linked together through mutual co-operation and the influence of Hugh Dobson, each category involved a different group within the church. The first two categories included the majority of church members, many of whom had been involved in the social gospel movement in its heyday but grew disenchanted after some of its leaders became obviously socialist in outlook. The third category consisted of a small but vocal minority who had formed the progressive wing of the earlier movement, and its recent disciples, who were attracted to the socialist theory of the new social gospel of the 1930's. Most church members, regardless of where their sympathy lay were convinced that change in some form was necessary and therefore were more open to new ideas than in normal times.

Bread—Paternal Charity

The first and most immediate response to cries for help from society came in the form of paternal charity as carried on by the Christian
Church for centuries. It was easily organized along already established lines and received a ready participation from virtually all church members because it involved the least threat to their personal living habits.

First United Church in Vancouver was a focal point for much of this work. In the fall of 1930, the single unemployed made their annual trek into Vancouver in search of "comfort" for the winter months, but in numbers far surpassing those of previous years. A trickle soon became a flood and the city had no resources to cope with the thousands on its streets without jobs, food or shelter. The men gathered around First United Church, surrounded by the densely populated Chinese quarters, the tenements of recent Polish, Greek and Italian immigrants, the docks and skid row with all its saloons, bootleg joints and gambling dens. In the daily routine the church staff worked with the unemployed and frequently gave out food, clothing and advice to the underdog. The minister, the Rev. Andrew Roddan, was the first man in the city to respond to the growing crisis, and he responded with such vigor that a city official later said "If it had not been for the work of First Church, there would have been much blood shed in the streets of Vancouver."\(^{24}\)

To the general public, both in and out of the church, Roddan was First United. He was physically very large, and apparently fear was not an element of his nature. He had a broad streak of combative-ness and went rejoicing into any fight that would help the downtrodden. As a powerful evangelistic preacher with a keen sense of the dramatic, he attracted the press as well as the general public to his services
to hear his attacks on the oppressors of the poor. Today he would inevitably be called "dynamic" and "charismatic." He was of the breed of men who are deeply loved or intensely hated, but are safe from indifference. Along with his driving social concern went a deep faith in a God of love and "man as a child of God of infinite worth." In the context of his faith "love" demanded expression in action, and this set the direction of all he undertook.

As soon as Roddan found that no government was prepared to help the homeless, starving men on his doorstep, he set up soup kitchens in First United, in old Wesley United and in the Scandinavian Mission, feeding 800 to 1200 men daily. Food was donated by other congregations and well-wishers. In response to a radio appeal, eighty tons of potatoes came from one firm alone; another gave twenty tons of onions; a butcher sent all the sheep heads they could use; a local bakery on strike gave 15,000 loaves of bread that had not been delivered to homes. Women from Vancouver Presbytery United Church congregations volunteered to prepare and serve the food while men collected food from farmers in the Fraser Valley. For three months this continued until the city and province got themselves organized.

Behind First United on the False Creek Flats and under the bridges, the men created homes for themselves out of old cars, tin, scrap lumber, cardboard and anything else useable. These were Vancouver's "jungles." They were hidden beside the garbage dump, out of sight of the ordinary citizen, but Roddan knew them well and visited them regularly with large cauldrons of soup. As well as food the church continued to hand out shoes,
clothing and blankets and at Christmas time, nearly 1500 bags of socks, soap and shaving needs were distributed. When death occurred, Roddan was often called upon to conduct a funeral service. On one day, bleak of climate and bleak of spirit, but bleakest of all in its typicalness, there were only the undertaker, his assistant, a grave-digger and Roddan to lift the three rough coffins from the hearses and lower them into the ground. The dead were nameless but "they were somebody's boys."

First United had a long tradition of good preaching which Andrew Roddan carried on. His topics were current moral and social issues. To the Sunday morning services came the old loyal families from the outlying area as well as the local families, but at night came the big crowds, and a richly varied lot they were: curiosity seekers wondering whom Roddan would attack next, members from other congregations, radio members visiting the city, communists singing the "Red Flag," and always the unemployed, who often formed eighty-five per cent of the congregation. Whether the latter came for spiritual nourishment or physical warmth or both was immaterial. The men obviously felt at home there and the church provided something they needed. From his pulpit Roddan was not afraid to name persons when fruit was found rotting in piles on farmers' fields in the Fraser Valley, or when wealthy distillers aimed their advertising at men on relief, or when the head of a Vancouver brewery withdrew his presents from an orphanage after Roddan refused a $25 gift and demanded $500. By early 1931, the Sunday evening service was filled to overflowing and the Board of Managers was making plans for an extra two hundred chairs as well as more hymnbooks.
While Roddan and his permanent staff intensified their efforts to deal with the social problems which the depression dumped on their doorstep, the congregation of First United Church went about its work much as before except for a greater concern about money to keep up the buildings. The only congregational organization seemingly cognizant of the local crisis was the Ladies Aid which collected from its members to be distributed locally, clothing, food and material including clean flour sacks to be made into handkerchiefs for the unemployed boys. But the majority of church members, many of them of Scottish background whom Roddan attracted to the church, were not interested in his work nor did they share his concern for the underdog.

Through his dynamic preaching, much of it over the radio, his Welfare Industries which refurbished rummage for cheap sale, his staff's work with downtown youth and poor families, his fresh air camp on Gambier Island and his counselling, Rodden naively hoped to achieve a new compassionate world order. He was no philosopher or theologian, had little interest in political activity or socialism, and was too busy with day-to-day personal tragedies to be much concerned with long-term solutions when the complexities of the depression became obvious.

Furthermore, Roddan was dependent upon a cautious Board of Home Missions for his salary and staff, and/or wealthy businessmen and middle-class church goers for his supplies and extra funds. He did not fear these people but at the same time he was a practical man and realized he must not antagonize them with radical political solutions, thus cutting off his sources for emergency relief. He left it to others
in the church in less vulnerable positions to bring about more permanent changes in society through political agitation and legislation.

First United Church was not the only congregation in Vancouver to engage in the traditional form of charity and help for the less fortunate. Another was St. Giles in the Mount Pleasant area, a declining district economically before the depression struck. There the Board of Managers made a point of asking one member to do roof and eaves-thru repairs, since he had been out of work for some time. In view of the fact that the man was simultaneously spared the embarrassment of not being able to give money, was given the satisfaction of contributing something of real value, and saved from enforced idleness, the Managers showed a degree of acumen worthy of professional therapists. While this dealt temporarily with the problems of only one man, such action was a practical demonstration of concern. The Woman's Missionary Society collected food and clothing for local distribution as did the Woman's Auxiliaries which adopted certain families and supported them for a period of time, and the men's club, the A.O.T.S., made a survey of employers within the congregation and tried to link up the unemployed with any vacancies.

Congregations like West Point Grey, Ryerson and Canadian Memorial on the west side of the city were not badly affected by the depression and easily looked after the few local families in need as well as contributing food and clothing to First United Church. These congregations also contributed to a Central Clothing Fund set up by Vancouver Presbytery to supply clothes to those poorer congregations who could not
fill local needs, provided volunteers to man the soup kitchens and to collect food in the Fraser Valley, and generously supported the First United Church summer camp and Christmas Cheer programmes. However, at Knox United in a spirited debate concerning the city relief problems in 1931, it was decided that although an opportunity would be given for those wanting to donate food and clothing, the congregation as a whole would look after its own people (very few in reality) and its debts first. As might be expected, the depression brought out selfishness as well as generosity.

On the city's east side a different picture prevailed. Most families had at least one member unemployed. Despair was a natural reaction to such circumstances, and it was up to the morally strong to prevent it from becoming universal. The United Church congregations, concerned for their mere survival, rallied to the larger cause and came to their communities' aid with a stamina they did not know they possessed. Riverview United Church, with only twelve men out of seventy employed, still managed to contribute to others in the community besides its own members. For the women of the area the church was an important focal point as a social outlet and escape from drab and increasingly depressing homes from which furniture was sold to pay mounting bills, heat was cut off for lack of fuel and light bills went unpaid.

Throughout the depression the Vancouver A.O.T.S. clubs, especially those on the west side of the city, played a vital role. Service meant supplying food, coal, shoes and clothing to local families as well as to less fortunate people across the city, on the mission fields,
in the relief camps and on the prairies. Service also meant helping others to help themselves. In 1935, the A.O.T.S. clubs organized at the Scandinavian Mission, a polytechnic school with courses in arithmetic, bookkeeping, and other practical subjects with the hope that with further education some of the unemployed would find jobs. This school ran for two years in co-operation with the provincial Department of Education and over one thousand boys improved their chances of finding employment.37

Others in the city were not so fortunate. Vancouver’s large oriental population tucked away in ghettos near the waterfront and around First United Church was hated by white labourers for accepting low wages, feared by the middle-class for its strange customs, and harassed by government officials enforcing legislation restricting their employment in certain industries and professions. Employers had no qualms about letting the orientals go when cut-backs became necessary and the United Church was no different from other groups in the city in this respect.

A medical clinic for the Chinese run by the Home Missions Board was closed for lack of funds despite pleas from a white doctor who volunteered his time and asked only for medicines and drugs to be supplied by white congregations. His appeals were ignored.

If the oriental church missions wanted extra help they had to provide it for themselves. The Chinese, with a history of passive dependence upon white missionaries were unable to rise to the challenge but the Japanese congregations were more aggressively independent and
looked after their own destitute.

Women's and men's groups collected and distributed supplies, visited homes, searched out jobs and acted as interpreters for the Social Welfare Department of the city. Led by their pastor, the Rev. K. Shimizu, an Issei thoroughly assimilated into Canadian culture, the Japanese United Church members of the lower mainland organized a Japanese Free Clinic for tuberculosis for the whole Japanese community. Fearing that non-Christian groups would boycott a clinic run by a church connected with the occidental world, the Japanese congregations refused all public credit and placed representatives from all major community groups on the board, although the United Church members provided the accommodation, the volunteers, the supplies and the doctors' salaries. For church members Christian love and action to all was more important than public acknowledgement. The depression gave the Japanese a strength and cohesiveness which was called to an even greater test during the war years to follow.  

Church charity extended beyond Vancouver but because of Vancouver's size, diversity of population, strategic economic and social importance to the province, the problems generated by the depression were concentrated in the city, and as it was for the city among the communities of the province, so it was for the city's churches. Other towns and cities had only their own unemployed to look after, and the degree to which this was necessary varied widely, as did the congregations' response to local need.

Single industry towns like Fernie and Port Alberni where unemployment reached thirty-seven per cent in 1932 were subject to a single but
universally devastating blow when the local mine or mill closed down or went on part shift. The workers' empty pockets quickly produced ledgers in red for the local merchants, doctors, lawyers and other businessmen who were the key financial supporters of the local churches. As everywhere, many of the jobless were single men who made their way to Vancouver and later to the relief camps. The family men stayed and went on relief or eked out a bare subsistence by growing their own vegetables, scavenging coal from the slag heaps and picking up a few days' road work when they could.

In such towns the United Church congregations essayed to carry on "business as usual," with women's groups meeting for Bible study, sewing and sociability, and youth clubs providing mental stimulus and entertainment. Little effort was made to organize local relief since all were in the same boat and were already helping each other.

On the other hand, towns servicing agricultural areas of the Kootenay, the Okanagan, Fraser Valley and Vancouver Island experienced relatively little hardship. Although their export markets were closed and the drop in food prices hit the farmer and local businessman, there was always food on hand, plenty of work on the land and some cash flowing. When relief camps opened in Oyama, Naramata and Lumby in 1933, towns nearby boasted that few local boys were in them. Local concern was not for the feeding of starving transients, but for keeping them out of town. An editorial writer in Vernon advised his readers not to panic, but recommended that with all these strangers about, women should keep houses locked, a big dog on hand, stay home at night and report any
lurking strangers to the police. Rural towns tended to be leery of strangers even in prosperous days, but with tales of anarchy headlining Vancouver's papers, hordes of transients moving about the country and the impossibility of adding more to the hard-pressed local relief rolls, the towns' fear of newcomers increased.

The churches in these areas were concerned mainly with their own financial problems as home mission grants from Toronto headquarters were reduced and members' contributions declined. There was little need for relief in the small centres and what was given was done privately. In Kelowna, however, there was a City Relief Committee and its first chairman was the local United Church minister, the Rev. A.K. McMinn, a former Congregationalist and a keen exponent of social and practical Christianity. His successor, the Rev. W.W. McPherson was also active on the City Relief Committee and tried to have on it a representative from the unemployed. He promoted schemes such as "swap and barter" of labour for clothing and food; city reading rooms for transients; and "adopt a family" by those with plenty. Most of his ideas were ignored, but the city did use the United Church hall to pack food hampers for local relief distribution. The need was not great in Kelowna and was handled by traditional methods of relief and private donations.

The same could be said of Victoria which was only slightly affected by the depression. A large proportion of its population was retired and the city's major employer, the provincial government, did not cut staff although salaries were reduced. The larger United Church congregations reflected the city's conservative middle-class air and
were too "self-contained and selfish" to have any real sympathy for the unemployed. 44

At the same time that the churches of British Columbia were being called upon to help those in their own communities, they were also asked to help the people of the prairies. If for many in British Columbia, the depression was a session in Purgatory, for the people of the southern prairies their dwelling place was Hell. Thousands piled their few belongings into "Bennett buggies" and trekked north to homestead or fled westward to the Okanagan or the Fraser Valley to start over again. Others stayed and survived with food and cast-off clothing from Ontario and British Columbia.

By July of 1931 the United Church of Canada had organized the National Emergency Relief Committee to collect food, clothing, bedding and books which reached enormous proportions and was an outstanding success. In British Columbia the Woman's Missionary Society, the Woman's Auxiliary and the committee of Evangelism and Social Service shared the responsibility for rounding up goods.

Congregations which seemed unaware of local problems responded to this challenge. Large bales of clothing from United Churches in Alberni, Armstrong, Nelson and Rossland were readily collected while Courtenay, in the centre of a good farming area, responded generously with food. There the United Church played a key role in collecting and filling the railroad cars, as did the large wealthy Vancouver churches through their A.O.T.S. clubs. Psychologically it was less embarrassing
and therefore much easier to launch a popular appeal for strangers elsewhere than for those on one's own doorstep whom one would be more likely to help privately, if at all.

Even poor congregations like Vancouver Heights and Riverview in Vancouver, and Centennial in Victoria, which had a major task to care for many of their own members and neighbours, gave what they could to alleviate the appaling conditions on the prairies. These few congregations refused to succumb to selfish inwardness or self-pity as would be natural at such a time and as many other congregations did. Throughout the depression they maintained a sense of hope in the Christian mission to the world and they intended to be a part of that mission at any cost. Members did sacrifice in order to play a part in British Columbia's contribution.

In 1931, British Columbia sent a total of seventeen railroad cars of relief supplies, and in 1933, it sent twenty-two, seventeen of which were from the United Church. When conditions did not improve the United Church National Committee was reorganized in 1937 to collect and distribute clothes and bedding only, and the United Churches in British Columbia continued to donate.

British Columbia Conference also worked very closely with the interdenominational Joint Committee of Churches for Western Relief, set up in 1936 when it became obvious that the food situation on the prairies was still bad, if "bad" will serve to describe yet another year without a harvest, without seed grains, without money and without the memory of a reserve of anything at all. Two well-known Vancouver United Church
ministers headed the British Columbia branch of this ecumenical committee, first the Rev. Hugh Rae and then the Rev. G.B. Switzer.

British Columbia had no drought nor massive crop failures. Indeed, it was producing food in such abundance that tons of it lay rotting in the fields for lack of markets. In 1936, the churches sent 125 carloads, most of it from the Okanagan which gave 101 carloads of fruit and vegetables. In the Okanagan, the Kelowna United Church acted as the central collection depot and its minister chaired the local committee. Unfortunately for the prairie people but fortunately for local employment, the establishment of two dehydrating plants in 1937 reduced the number of culls available so that only 75 cars of fruit were sent from that region the following year. However, those in other parts of the province rallied to radio appeals by the Rev. G.B. Switzer, Dorothy Steeves who was sitting in the provincial legislature for Vancouver, and Howard Green, a Vancouver Conservative M.P. in Ottawa and a very active United Church A.O.T.S. member. Over 211 carloads of free food rolled eastward, a large proportion of this collected and packed by United Church A.O.T.S. groups from the Vancouver area. Men from Ryerson, Canadian Memorial and West Point Grey formed the backbone of the organization for local transportation and without their time and energy, much of the food would have been wasted.

Relief came to an end for the prairies in 1938 when the drought was finally broken. Rain fell on the desert that had been prairie and it became the prairie once more. The people who had hung on and on, and then hung on longer still in the bottom layer of a world made entirely
of dust, could look again on the endless ripple of grasses under a
sky too wide to fit within a man's imagination. The Arcadian memory
was becoming reality once more.

Throughout the 1930's the United Churches in British Columbia
responded to emergency calls for food, fuel and clothing promptly and
generously. The ordinary people of the church did what was within their
capacity, and they did it well. When the congregations in Vancouver
formed the soup kitchens in the winter of 1930-1931 they fed starving
men until the city, provincial and federal governments got organized
for massive relief. When congregations collected and sent carloads of
food and clothing to the prairies, they made life bearable for many
destitute families, and thereby carried many over the prodigious
spiritual chasm which separates meagre hope from blank despair. When
congregations rallied to the support of their own unemployed, they gave
physical and mental comfort. When they reached out to help others in
the community they helped build strong community spirit and morale. The
United church through its leaders frequently led the way for other
segments of society. The church had no need to hang its head over its
response to cries for food.
Chapter 4

REFORMING THE SOCIAL ORDER

Traditional Reform

Although fewer in number than those involved in giving food and clothing, many church members and ministers, especially from the large urban congregations spent a great deal of time on self-examination, lectures and study of social and economic subjects, and briefs to local, provincial and federal governments in an effort to bring order to society once more. Some members felt a vague guilt because they had jobs and money when so many worthy people had neither; some were bewildered by the social chaos surrounding them and were afraid their world was collapsing; some felt frustration or rage at their impotence to control the problem. All wanted a solution, and none knew where to find it.

In 1932 the General Council of the United Church set up a commission under Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto, and the Rev. W.T. Brown, president of Victoria University in Toronto to study the conditions of the depression and the existing social order, and to make recommendations concerning the church's role in the creation of a new social order. Outside help from experts like Professors Harry A. Cassidy and E.J. Urwick of the University of Toronto School of Social Work was used in drafting the report and local subgroups covering
a cross-section of the church were established to read and criticize the rough drafts. The final report, *Christianizing the Social Order*, condemned the current economic and social system but it never matched the extreme statements of the Methodist Church which in 1918 had attacked capitalism as "one of the roots of war" and called for public ownership of natural resources.

The commission examined the complexity of the current depression in relation to modern industry. It then looked deeply at social attitudes which were in conflict with Christian standards and blocked the road to an ideal social order. It found the "acceptance of money as the measure of a man's worth to society," a degraded view of property as functionless ownership without responsibility, "an undue emphasis on profit as the main incentive to production," "unregulated competition for monetary gain," and the seeking of special privileges to maintain and increase unearned wealth.

The commission felt unable to draft a specific program for social change but indicated that the country needed more social welfare legislation and the extension of public utilities. As society moved forward "the importance of stimulating individual initiative and the necessity for social co-ordination" had to be kept in balance. Immediate action was recommended in the form of study groups for people of mixed ideals and outlooks so that "understanding, self-criticism and insight begotten of fellowship among those of contrasted traditions" might be gained. A minority addendum questioned whether any real change could take place until "the important means of production . . . [was] changed into communal ownership and
control," and indicated the report was too bland for some members' taste.6

In British Columbia, a local committee was set up by the Rev. Hugh Dobson to help prepare the national report. Some members like John Sidaway, former secretary of the Independent Labour Party; R.P. Pettipiece, printer and labour leader; Prof. C.W. Topping of the sociology department, and Prof. W.A. Carrothers of the economics department at The University of British Columbia; and the Rev. Alver Mackay, a member of the League for Christian Social Action were outspoken regarding the need for economic reform along socialist lines. The Revs. Gordon Dickie, secretary of the Social Service Council of British Columbia; Hugh Rae, convenor of Evangelism and Social Service for Vancouver Presbytery; Andrew Roddan of First United Church and Mr. Stanley Brent, secretary of the Y.M.C.A. were more moderate in their views but still favoured more drastic action than the majority in society. The committee was balanced with the addition of frankly conservative members such as C.T. McHattie, a Vancouver wholesale merchant; Judge David Grant and the Rev. J.G. Brown, principal of Union Theological College, who chaired the committee.

Even these men, while quibbling for hours over phrases like "Paul's greatest sociological contribution" in the first draft, ended the examination of the first chapter feeling that "the document scarcely went far enough," and that "the evils of the present time should be openly attacked."7 However, when the rough draft turned from Biblical background and church historical teaching to an examination of current
economic and social conditions, committee members' views became more diverse with some criticizing the draft as "too negative," "pessimistic in the extreme," and "unreasonable," while others found "every single statement in it [to be] true." In the final report most dramatic statistics and examples of hardship were replaced by more general statements, thus pacifying influential church businessmen like one on the local subcommittee who felt that "the Church ought not to deal, except in a general way with economic and business conditions, and should devote its strength to the promotion of definite moral and spiritual principles."

The final report was published by the Board of Evangelism and Social Service as a study pamphlet and was widely used throughout the church for the following year or two. In British Columbia, 21,000 copies were distributed for use in congregational study groups, special day conferences and A.O.T.S. meetings.

Although the distribution of a certain number of pamphlets does not necessarily mean they are read, it does indicate an effort by the national body to arouse its people to consideration, discussion and action. The results locally from such a campaign would depend upon the minister of each congregation, the locale of the church and the makeup of its membership.

Reaction varied considerably. When H.T. Allen used the pamphlet as a basis for study groups in each of his three small charges outside Nanaimo where up to ninety per cent of the men were unemployed, the radical implications could emerge and sound clear themes above the
murkiness of the general orchestration. In Vancouver Presbytery, where it was studied in detail, speakers praised co-operatives and public ownership of utilities, using New Westminster Light and Water Works as a good example of success. On the other hand in congregations like Knox United Church in Vancouver which had several groups studying the report, the socialist slant was either ignored or criticized. Regardless of attitude, however, people were talking and thinking about Christian ideals as they applied to secular society and economic conditions.

The pamphlet, *Christianizing the Social Order*, was not the only tool used by the church to get members and even non-church members discussing new economic ideas and examining the ills of the existing situation. The B.C. Conference committee on Evangelism and Social Service was especially active during the 1930's, an activity substantially stimulated by the presence in Vancouver of the associate secretary for western Canada who was, as has been noted, that catalytic person, Hugh Dobson. He had been one of the key writers of the radical report for the Methodist Church in 1918 and he constantly encouraged others to express their socialist ideals. On the British Columbia committee were some of the church's "wild men," "socialists," "reds," and "radicals" and its annual reports naturally generated debate and controversy at the conference meetings, where the more radical statements drew the massed fire of the influential conservative ministers led by the Rev. A.M. Sanford. Sanford had been a leading liberal social gospel advocate in British Columbia before 1900 when he had been serving mining communities, but
when he became principal of the Methodist Columbian College in New Westminster, his views began to moderate and continued to do so when he later became a professor at Union College. Indeed he "moderated" to the point of arch-conservatism in the eyes of the younger social gospellers who now attacked him as part of the establishment. Sanford had been the first president of the conference after union, a regular delegate to the General Council and was highly respected by many both within and outside of the church. The quality of his convictions was not in question.

In the early thirties, the B.C. Conference committee on Evangelism and Social Service was calling for unemployment insurance, vocational education, the cessation of military training in schools, and guidance of the laity in the use of their leisure. The following year it demanded immediate relief from the government for the unemployed, an enquiry into the causes and a search for cures for the depression, and suggested that the economy get away from the profit motive and move towards a co-operative society. In 1932 it sent a copy of its report on "The World Order" to the provincial government calling for a union government which would be above partisan politics and above class, and would work for a fairer distribution of wealth, of taxation, of labour and of tariffs. The delegates at the annual meeting of the conference deplored the use of the unemployed as a political football by the various levels of government and parties. The original report from Evangelism and Social Service, written under the guidance of Prof. C.W. Topping and the Rev. Hugh Dobson met heavy resistance and was considerably modified by Sanford before being
published and sent to the government. He and his supporters were most concerned that the report not support one particular political party, either in fact or by inference. In their view too much of the original report coincided with popular socialist party platforms.

Socialist ideas were again much in evidence in the 1934 and 1935 meetings of the British Columbia Conference. The Christian Social Action Committee of the Evangelism and Social Service Committee in 1934 brought in a radical report demanding the reconstruction of the banking system and the debt structure, and the nationalization of natural resources. This was too close to the C.C.F. platform for many and was watered down in an amendment. Again in 1935 similar reforms were advocated; added to the 1934 proposals were demands for the extension of co-operatives, federal market controls, public works and the cessation of overtime work.

Reports given at the British Columbia Conference meetings and at presbytery meetings received wide press coverage so that the views expressed had some effect upon the thinking of the general public as well as upon the church delegates at the meetings. Headlines such as "Church's Relation to Social Issues" and "Relief Work Pay is Urged" drew people's attention to full writeups on the committee's recommendations "'calling for a drastic revision of the present system of production for profit as opposed to production for use'. Frequent briefs, petitions and telegrams demanding action were sent to the governments and were similarly publicized in the daily press. Just how effective these were cannot be measured but the men sending them were convinced of
their value in changing government views. By doing so the church leaders felt they were contributing positively to solving some of society's most pressing problems.

Lectures, talks and sermons played a prominent role in the United Church during the depression. Many ministers adopted social topics for their sermons. The Rev. Andrew Roddan at First United in Vancouver set up a series of Sunday evening sermons based on a popular book by E. Stanley Jones, Christ's Alternative to Communism, in which Jones challenged Christians to act collectively for world justice and brotherhood founded on individual freedom, in order to avert a world take-over by Communism in which all would be subordinated to state control.

At the B.C. Conference Laymen's Association in 1933 the theme was "The Church's Task in Relation to Urban, Rural, Industrial and Transient Communities," and in 1937 the Hon. H.H. Stevens, federal minister of Trade and Commerce and a strong United Church member, spoke to the laymen about the relationships among labour, Christianity and business. Most men attending these meetings were middle-class business and professional men who had strong motives for maintaining the status quo. Talks emphasized personal reformation and the adoption of Christian attitudes towards one's business, employees and competition. The majority would agree with Steven's attack on "those ministers who are inclined to give 'half-baked' dissertations on economics from the Pulpit." Ministers should concentrate instead on scripture passages on stewardship which afford "a wonderful opportunity to get at the very 'heart of our present trouble.'" The "wild men" advocating public ownership of utilities
or unemployment insurance from their pulpits or in church reports were strongly opposed by many influential laymen. 24

On the other hand, the Laymen's Association did endorse the establishment of the League for Christian Social Action "for the promotion of World Peace, International justice, racial fairness, economic freedom, democratic government and industrial co-operation and social ownership," sponsored by the more radical ministers in the Conference. 25 Members also listened to active members like Prof. C.W. Topping who helped write many of the reports of the committee of Evangelism and Social Service and firmly believed that "the competitive system must be transformed into a co-operative one, and that production and distribution together with the whole fiscal system must be controlled in the interest of human need rather than for private gain." 26

Topping, through his membership at Canadian Memorial United Church and later at West Point Grey in Vancouver, both west-side middle-class churches, and through his activity in the A.O.T.S., had the respect of conservative church members and received a hearing for his more radical views to reform society, although there was always some opposition to his praise of Russia's economic system and to his efforts to bring the church and sociologists closer together. Many women's groups also heard such views and in Topping's opinion the women were better informed and more capable than their husbands. 27 How many were influenced by such lectures no one can tell. In this, as in so many other church endeavours, the matter is irretrievably beyond the reach of the statisticians, and one can choose only between making value
judgements or foregoing judgement entirely. Stevens felt that if only one man heard one idea, the evening's talk was not wasted. 28

A substantial number of wealthy conservative church members found their solution to the world's economic crisis temporarily through the age-old practice of personal spiritual renewal. The Oxford Group Movement which swept across North America in the early 1930's offered religious salvation in convincing simplicity. Its message called upon the individual to adopt the four principles of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love; to confess his sins openly, and to let God's guidance through meditation govern each day's activity. The promised reward was the solution of all life's problems. 29 Its appeal was directed frankly towards the well-to-do and influential element of society, and it cut across all denominational lines and included many community leaders with nominal church affiliation. United Church clergy of wealthy congregations blessed the movement and encouraged their parishioners to join.

Evening dress, sparkling diamonds, laughter and curiosity marked the crowds who filled the Hotel Vancouver ballroom, the Empress Hotel in Victoria, and several large downtown churches to hear the leader of the Oxford Group, Frank Buchman and his team, composed mainly of upper-class and often titled Europeans, give witness to their new life and declare their aim to "make Canada as radically Christian as Russia is Communist and Germany is Nazi." 30 Large headlines in the daily press proclaimed "Oxford Group's Call Packs Four of City's Biggest Auditoriums." 31
and prominent politicians like Mayor Louis D. Taylor of Vancouver extended a civic welcome, heartily endorsing the movement as one "which anyone with any heart or soul must join." Jokes and popular hymns interspersed the individual joyful testimonies of the team while Buchman beamed his approval and declared "unbounded admiration for what I see in Vancouver." 

After breakfasts for businessmen, garden parties and women's luncheons to which individuals received personal invitations, house parties at Harrison Hot Springs, Qualicum Beach and Banff were organized for the sincere followers. These gatherings, always in luxurious surroundings, stressed personal experiences, confession of sins, Bible study and quiet meditation waiting for God's guidance.

Converts quickly spread the word about their spiritual renewal around the province and shortly local teams from Vancouver and Victoria were conducting enthusiastic campaigns in Kelowna, Kamloops, Trail and Nanaimo, while smaller places like Bella Coola and Okanagan Landing were requesting visits. Oxford Groups emerged throughout the province, composed mainly of prosperous community leaders of all denominations with such clergymen as Dean Quainton of Christ Church Cathedral in Victoria endorsing the aims of the movement with statements like "... no other organization in Christendom could surpass it in evangelism, enterprise and initiative." 

In conservative Victoria enthusiasm was high. Six hundred lay people organized themselves into twenty Oxford groups. Virtually all the United Church clergy recognized the good work of the movement in
their Sunday morning sermons following Buchman's visit and the Rev. E.F. Church of Metropolitan United Church was one of seven leading clergymen who held a public meeting and gave a typical testimony. He confessed he had "learned to like churches that [he] sneered at before . . . had hungered for the high things; but now . . . [was] content with the lowly things if God comes down among lowly things with me." Many other Victorians echoed these words.

Vancouver's reaction was more diverse. Only the wealthy congregations on the west side of the city showed any real enthusiasm and it was from such congregations as Shaughnessy Heights, Knox, St. Stephen's and St. Andrew's-Wesley that local study groups emerged, and members attended the out-of-town parties and ministers delivered sermons praising the movement.

Former Presbyterian ministers and congregations found the individual piety of the Oxford Movement very much in keeping with traditional Calvinist doctrine and keenly supported the movement. Andrew Roddan of First United threw his weight behind the movement with the writing of a pamphlet For Doubters Only: How I was Changed which was endorsed by Buchman and sold widely across Canada as part of the movement's literature. And in the summer of 1933, as visiting preacher at St. Andrew's-Wesley, the Rev. George Pidgeon, a leader for church union in the Presbyterian Church and first moderator of the United Church, encouraged listeners to join the Oxford Group and change their lives. His presence had alarmed critics of the movement in the east, one of whom wrote "I dread his visit to Vancouver--and I speak for others here--
for if he reveals there the attitude revealed here he will make life more difficult for our ministers than before."  

At the Toronto Conference annual meeting the "parade which Pidgeon staged . . . created a very bad reaction. The day previous . . . criticism [of the Group] was not considered, but a day after the parade the committee was insistent that the criticism be made." Fortunately, the divisiveness he caused in Ontario was not repeated in British Columbia.

Despite the public endorsement by several leading United Church ministers and the participation by many church members, the Oxford Group did not receive unanimous approval. The British Columbia Conference at its annual meeting in 1933 refused to endorse the movement but in the report of the Life and Work Committee, the conference acknowledged its "challenge to greater reality and sincerity in . . . interpretation of the spirit and service of Jesus Christ as the One who alone can meet the heart hunger of humanity in these difficult days." The following year a hot debate arose over a similar report which indicated the divisive nature of the movement among United Church clergy and laity. Direct criticism was finally expunged and the resulting resolution blandly hoped that the benefits from the movement would be incorporated into the life of the church.

Benefits were few if the answers to a questionnaire sent out to all United Church ministers in 1935 are at all accurate. Most ministers found very little change in their own congregations and enthusiasm in local study groups rapidly waned without the stimulus of Buchman's personal evangelists and front page coverage of the press. Many joined
as part of the crowd but soon drifted away after receiving temporary comfort and a sense of well-being. A few stuck with the movement, receiving psychological security and freedom from guilt for not embracing the more radical demands of the church courts. A still smaller group experienced a real conversion to Christ's good news through personal examination, but went on to recognize the essential superficiality of the Group's theology and social action, and progress beyondd it to become leaders of more radical thinking and social action within the framework of the church.  

A common criticism of the Oxford Group was its lack of any Christian social message and its emphasis on individual change as sufficient to reform society's political and economic affairs. Those on the Board of Evangelism and Social Service including Hugh Dobson became very concerned about this aspect and backed the report The Challenge of the Oxford Group Movement in which the history, strengths and weaknesses of the organization were explored. At the same time, Dobson and others like him could support the movement for its emphasis on personal renewal in the expectation that society could be saved only through the salvation of a sufficient number of individuals who could corporately bring in the Kingdom.

The movement was also frequently criticized on theological grounds. The basic doctrines of the Christian faith regarding God, Christ and salvation were ignored while the views of sin and the nature of man were at such a simple-minded and frequently trivial level, that one young speaker publicly announced "He was lazy, did not get along
with his brother or his young sister, 'grunted' his way through breakfast ... 46 There was little recognition of the deeper sin of pride or of an individual's part in the corporate evils of society.

Many of the students from Union College went to a house party at Harrison Hot Springs as guests of the wealthy chairman of the Board and former mayor of Vancouver, W.H. Malkin and of Chris Spencer, owner of a large department store. 47 Principal J.G. Brown was most grateful to Malkin and Spencer and enthusiastic about the trip and its effect on his students, 48 but the students had mixed feelings. Those in arts embraced the movement wholeheartedly but those in theology were much more aware of its intellectual poverty and refused to be drawn into it too deeply. 49 Even Brown acknowledged privately some reservations. 50

Many could accept the movement's emphasis on spiritual renewal and could overlook its superficial theology but balked at its snobbish appeal to the elite of society only. This was countered by others including Andrew Roddan who overcame his reservations upon finding the Banff meeting, to which he was sent, held in a cold, barn-like hall. 51 Further criticisms about "its dress shirt advocates" were voiced at the British Columbia Conference meeting in 1933, to which one clergyman replied that "'if Almighty God can get into the upper crust of our society then for heaven's sake do not let us hinder Him, or place any obstacles in the way.'" 52 It was widely believed in ruling church circles that any "effort to influence a class too often not reached by evangelical agencies" should be encouraged provided that the message given would stress the rich's responsibility to make changes in social
life which might lessen their own privileges.\textsuperscript{53} It was precisely be-
cause the movement did not do this that some ministers, initially hope-
ful of the Group's crusade, became disillusioned and turned against it.

The Oxford Group failed to deliver on its promises for a new
world. By 1935 enthusiasm for the movement had faded, life returned
to its regular activities and new causes arose to attract the attention
of those still wanting to cure society's economic ills without too much
sacrifice to themselves. One such avenue which appealed to a few United
Church people, especially the small middle-class businessman, was the
Reconstruction Party, organized by the Hon. H.H. Stevens\textsuperscript{54} for the
federal election of 1935.

As a very active layman in the Methodist and later United Church
in British Columbia, Stevens frequently spoke to A.O.T.S. clubs, pres-
byteries, conferences and even General Council explaining the need for
a Christian impact on big business to make its practices more ethical and
in keeping with Christ's teachings. He believed that greed of the
owners should be eliminated and that profits should be shared more
equitably with the employees who would enjoy better working conditions
and give unreserved loyalty to the company in return. Stevens was con-
vinced that "The Church [had] the secret of International Salvation.
It [was] the \underline{Golden Rule}. 1st Respect the Great Central Control of
the Universe---God 2nd Do Unto others as you have them treat you
This---if made the dominating practice of all church members would have
a great influence over the whole world." In Steven's view this was the
sum of the teaching of his church and his family and he hoped to use the
reform of business and political action to create a better world. 55

Initially, in 1934 his idea of an investigation into the business practices of large firms was influenced by the coming federal election, and the need of R.B. Bennett's Conservative government for an issue.56 At the same time, Stevens was honestly outraged at the profiteering practised by some large firms at the expense of the small businessman and the farmer. Once the Price Spreads Investigation was launched by the Bennett government under Steven's chairmanship, the political aspects faded into the background and for Stevens the investigation took on the colouration of a religious crusade against sweat shop labour, artificially high prices, monopolies, forced mergers and other unethical business practices. Charges were made that Imperial Tobacco made six million a year profit and "in the midst of the fabulous prosperity . . . cut the farmers down from 33 cents a pound . . . to 16 cents a pound."57 Stevens chose the witnesses and directed the minute examination of such firms as Eaton's, Simpson's and Imperial Tobacco and received widespread publicity and support in the papers. His attack and exposé undoubtedly awakened the country to increased criticism of the business community and hastened legislation for better working conditions for labour and controls on big business.

Stevens was not a wealthy man and was always at odds with some of the eastern magnates in Bennett's cabinet. The Price Spreads Investigation increased this animosity and caused a personal feud to erupt between Stevens and Bennett. When all hope of co-operation on reform within the Conservative Party was gone, Stevens broke away to form the
Reconstruction party in order to "re-establish Canada's industrial, economic and social life to the benefit of the great majority." To do this, he proposed to set up a public works programme, a Federal Trade and Industry Commission, an economic council, an agricultural board, and to increase taxes on the wealthy. He believed that "if there are things that are inherently wrong existing within our economic structure, the best thing to do is to look at it, . . . and see if we cannot rectify it; or . . . sooner or later things of that character become serious and may possibly destroy our economic structure." He wanted a Christian capitalist system in Canada and while against wealthy monopoly he was not in sympathy with the socialism espoused by part of the church body.

Support for his Price Spreads Investigation came from the Vancouver and Westminster Presbyteries of the United Church, the latter having memorialized General Council to encourage all church members not to buy products produced under conditions inimical to human welfare. The British Columbia Conference annual meeting in 1934 also endorsed the investigation and wanted Stevens to broaden it to include the price monopoly of the liquor interests. That same year, laymen attending their annual banquet heard George R. Matthews, secretary of the British Columbia division of the Retail Merchants' Association, strongly recommend the Price Spreads Commission's Report and urge them to "accept a definite responsibility . . . in seeking solution of the business problem." Stevens' probe appealed to the majority of middle-class church goers like himself, who were more than willing to see any gross injustices remedied
and the power of wealthy businessmen curbed especially if it were in favour of the small businessman. Letters to the editor of the Western Recorder in response to a favourable editorial showed to what extent Stevens had touched a common concern through his investigation.  

The following year the Western Recorder supported Stevens and his new party as an answer to people who were "getting tired of party and party politicians, and have been praying that some leaders might arise who would think in terms of country and not party; who would merit the title of 'statesman!'" There was however, relatively little activity on behalf of the Reconstruction Party in British Columbia. The wealthy laymen found Stevens too much a reformer for their taste although a few individual small businessmen and personal friends including United Church ministers supported Stevens and chaired public meetings. The Rev. E.F. Church of Metropolitan United in Victoria told his audience that "'we are looking to Mr. Stevens and he is looking to God,'" and in the Cariboo, the Rev. E.S. Fleming actively campaigned for Stevens. The British Columbia Conference, however, standing by its earlier decision to avoid any official ties with a political party, and in particular with the C.C.F. refused to endorse the Reconstruction party. Political allegiance was left up to the individual. 

During the summer of 1935 opposition to Stevens mounted from business circles which alleged that he had created a schism between monied interests and the people to such an extent that a Victoria editor accused him of descending "to agitator status." This opposition did not worry Stevens to any great extent since he felt that there was not
enough small manufacturing in British Columbia for people to become very involved for or against his party. He concentrated his efforts in southern Ontario where his son, the Rev. Francis H. Stevens a United Church minister released from Vancouver Presbytery, organized the youth movement for the party.  

In Stevens' own riding of Kootenay East, he received a great deal of press publicity and won his seat, the only one for the party, despite the strong campaign waged against him by the Liberals and C.C.F. The local Conservative Party did not run a candidate against him and the miners remained loyal to him personally for the key part he had played in 1933 in keeping open the mines at Coal Creek.

Stevens' effort to reform Canadian life through his new party failed. His Christian ideals did not even win him the support of most United Church members who preferred the old-line parties. With a change in leadership of his old party, Stevens went back to the Conservatives and his brief attempt at reform was largely forgotten. However, many of the changes he advocated were brought in by the Liberal government in the following years and Stevens could take some credit for preparing the public for their acceptance. In this respect he followed the established pattern of the socialists in federal politics who never seem able to control parliament, but have a degree of success in that the two major parties enact substantial amounts of socialist legislation.

The United Church theological college in British Columbia might have been expected to lead the church in thought about society but this was not the case. In fact, the college actively discouraged any recognition
of the changing society around it. By the early thirties, there was a growing resentment among the students towards the autocratic principal, J.G. Brown, towards professors nearing retirement who gave dull, irrelevant courses and towards the administration for its lack of cooperation with The University of British Columbia. No recognition of the university courses in sociology, literature and psychology was made. One student of that period said that R.B.Y. Scott who later went on to Montreal and was very active in the Fellowship for Christian Social Order, the C.C.F. and the League for Social Reconstruction, was the only professor who had any inkling of the world outside the college walls, and he left after a very short time because of the college's lack of challenge and its poor academic standards. Many students dropped out of the theological courses and the ministry as a result and the church lost such dedicated men as Robert McMaster, later a lawyer very active in civil rights and Arnold Webster, a high school teacher and C.C.F. politician. Other students if they had the money went elsewhere to study.

Brown created such a mutinous feeling among the students in residence, snooping in rooms and listening through keyholes to personal conversations at night, that a delegation from Toronto headquarters was sent out to investigate the complaints. In the report issued January 28, 1938, the principal was condemned for his lack of interest in the students, poor academic standards in the college, badly taught basic courses and failure to initiate practical courses in Homiletics, Sociology and Religious Education.

Brown was a very stubborn man, and a man utterly devoid of sympathy for the social gospel or liberal theological thought. When the
socialist J. King Gordon became travelling professor of Christian ethics under the auspices of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service in 1935, Dobson had him tour British Columbia giving public lectures. Gordon received a hearty welcome in many outlying places but at Union College his reception from Brown was cool, if not glacial. However, the S.C.M. on the nearby University of British Columbia campus held public meetings so that the theological students heard him free from the inhibiting eyes of their unenthusiastic professors and principal. The depression with all its turmoil and questioning hardly entered the classrooms of the archetypal ivory tower of the theological college.

On the whole, traditional reformation in the form of lectures, study, petitions, piety and moderate political activity was easy for the church. It involved mainly those middle-class members who supported and led most of the church organizations. These people wanted to bring an end to society's economic chaos and return to a state of financial security, but they looked back with longing to their more secure days in the early 1900's or the 1920's, and not forward to a new system or way of life.

New ideas presented by reputable scholars and official church bodies gradually became acceptable with the passage of time. The report Christianizing the Social Order emphasized the necessity of change and put a respectable cast upon some of the socialists' views. How effective this report was is impossible to measure. That it provided ample opportunity for discussion and debate on new ideas cannot be disputed. The United Church not only educated many of its own members to accept
change but also many others in society who were exposed frequently to church viewpoints in the daily press. As a result Evangelism and Social Service reports and Christianizing the Social Order played some part in preparing the country for governmental controls during the war and for the social legislation that came then and later.

The majority of ministers were more willing than laymen to countenance change provided someone else did the necessary spade work. There was a real antipathy towards active political involvement from some; there was a general lack of initiative in dealing with new problems; there was a fear of social unrest and instability, there was ignorance and misunderstanding of industry, unions and urban society; there was retrenchment to save one's own congregation and job; there was reliance on the traditional methods of paternalism, handouts and emergency patching; there was the usual pat solution offered time and again to return to the "real Gospel" and "true Christian living."

"True Christian living" when put into more concrete terms in briefs, studies and resolutions to the government, however, looked very radical to many church members and very close to out and out socialism. Current problems were of sufficient magnitude that the majority of clergy were at least willing to pay lip service to the radicals on the Board of Evangelism and Social Service and regularly pass reports and resolutions condemning the current economic and social system. It is difficult to estimate what influence church telegrams, petitions, briefs and resolutions had on governments but it is safe to say there was some. The radical solutions offered by the church courts helped to establish
the United Church's reputation as a socially concerned or even a radical institution in society, even while a large majority of its members held much more conservative views.

"The Reds"—Radical Social Change

While the majority of church members were involved in paternal charity and were exposed to advocates of some form of traditional reform, a small handful of members within the church hoped to bring about a completely changed social order across Canada. It was their work which gave the United Church an image of radicalism in the public press.

During the 1920's when life was generally prosperous and the United Church was mainly concerned with its own birth and organization, the moderate activities and beliefs of the social gospellers were absorbed into the institutional church. The radicalism of the immediate post-war years was dropped and forgotten by most. It was this radicalism when reappeared with the depression and made itself felt across the country, through reports of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service and its committees, *The New Outlook*, the official church paper and the activities of a few individuals.

The power of the few men involved lay in their possession of key positions on conference and presbytery committees for Evangelism and Social Service, the church department most in the public eye and responsible for the radical reports issued by the church during the early 1930's. Not only were these men strong believers in the necessity of a new social order but they were also willing to work hard with political,
labour and striking groups to achieve this new society. They were men of action, determined to help the unemployed and the poor.

In 1931 as soon as British Columbia announced its plans for relief camps key men in the Vancouver Presbytery of the United Church went into action. Under the Rev. Hugh Dobson's watchful eye the presbytery initiated a Relief Committee to watch, form policy and cooperate with the other churches, the Y.M.C.A. and the Social Service Council, concerning conditions in the relief camps. The presbytery sent a letter to the government urging it to consider the necessity of recreational, cultural and spiritual care of the men in the camps and offered to help in any way possible. Already some were concerned about the men's morale in such out-of-the-way places, a problem to which the government displayed profound indifference.

Determined to initiate some action, the Vancouver Presbytery in the spring of 1932 gave one minister, the Rev. H.P. Davidson, leave from a regular pastorate to visit relief camps in the Fraser Valley. Davidson visited over twenty camps, spending one to two days in each. According to him, the government camps gave good accommodation and food but did not "give two hoots" for the boys' mental and spiritual welfare. He gave travel shows with slides provided by the Canadian Pacific Railway and led the men in rousing renditions of the most popular song in camp, "Fifty Years From Now." The line "What does it matter, we'll be pushing up the daisies with marble at our heads" always got a personal response from the men. Davidson also distributed personal necessities like books, shaving kits, toothpaste, brushes, records and stationery
which were generously donated by Spencer's and Woodward's Department Stores or by Vancouver congregations.

The men seemed to appreciate the efforts of Davidson and his successors. Certainly they were the only people who showed any real interest in the men's plight. Davidson felt that visiting the relief camps was the best bit of work the church did during the depression, although it was largely on his shoulders, on those of an Anglican minister and on Davidson's successor, the Rev. G.H. Findlay.

Fortunately Findlay was well-qualified to carry on the work, which could easily have foundered under a man of unsuitable personality. He was an older man who had spent most of his ministry with single men in logging or mining camps in British Columbia and the Yukon. He enjoyed their humour, sense of adventure and down-to-earth approach to life, but was greatly distressed at society's callousness towards the "forgotten men" in the relief camps. His view of his role and the value of his work is expressed in an account of an incident which he recorded in one of his reports.

A middle aged intelligent man came into the office when the mail had been sorted, apparently looking for a letter. The timekeeper said to me, "He has been in this camp four months and practically every day he comes over looking for a letter, but he has never got anything yet." I think one of the hardest things in life is to feel oneself forgotten, that nobody cares, and I believe the best thing about my work is this—that it's a continual reminder to these men, two thousand of them in the Fraser Valley, that the Church has not forgotten.79

The only other minister who showed any great interest in the relief or work camps was the Rev. Bryce Wallace. While in Trail he
visited four camps on his own initiative and encouraged the Young People's Society from his congregation to entertain the men and after he moved to Victoria he visited and delivered "luxury items," such as toothpaste and razor blades, to the work camps north of the city.

His own congregation in Victoria and most other congregations and ministers showed a level of initiative and interest which reached its summit in the donation of their used magazines. It took the superintendent of home missions three months to reach the point of asking Davidson if he had any money with which to run his car and pay expenses. The camps were easily forgotten. Almost in sight of one of Vancouver's more prosperous congregations was a relief camp, totally ignored. The camp on the University Endowment Lands on Point Grey had the worst conditions of any in the province, according to the Macdonald Commission, established by the federal government in April 1935 to investigate camp conditions throughout the province, following mounting complaints and unrest among the men. The three-man commission consisting of the chairman, the Hon. W.A. Macdonald, a judge, the Rev. E.D. Braden of Ryerson United Church in Vancouver and C.T. McHattie, a prominent city wholesale merchant and United Church layman, described the washhouses and showers as "'disgracefully crude, unsightly and dirty'" and found rats a menace "'particularly in the bunkhouses,'" but no local congregations rose up in anger over the inhumane situation on their doorstep.

Prior to the publishing of the Macdonald Commission report, however, Vancouver Presbytery did call a special meeting to discuss the relief camp situation and made a recommendation to the federal government
similar to that of the Macdonald Commission asking for a cessation of the relief camps and the establishment of work camps with proper wages for work done. 81

In April of 1935 before the Macdonald Commission had a chance to report its findings, the men in the camps became rebellious, and two thousand, mainly from the Fraser Valley camps marched on Vancouver to demand work and wages. For weeks the strikers held parades, sit-ins at the city museum, interviews with the mayor and tag days to dramatize the hopelessness they felt in the camps and their insistence that the government pay decent wages.

The Vancouver Ministerial Association headed by the Rev. Elbert Paul, a Baptist minister, volunteered to act as mediator between the strikers' Relief Camp Union and the federal government which had failed to answer citizens' pleas for action in the form of wages. The Rev. H.P. Davidson and several other United Church ministers joined with Paul in meeting the strikers but their attempt at solution was in vain. When the group met with the provincial premier, Duff Pattullo in his hotel suite at the Hotel Vancouver, he just threw up his hands and "passed the buck" to the federal government which ran the camps. 82

Again in the spring of 1938 when the unemployed occupied Vancouver's main post office and art gallery, a few United Church people came to the strikers' aid. Four United Church congregations after an open letter was sent to the papers by four United Church ministers. 83 The Vancouver Presbytery Relief Committee of 1935 was reactivated and some of the clergy, including H.P. Davidson,
G.B. Switzer, and Andrew Roddan mingled among the strikers urging them to remain peaceful so that some solution could be worked out with the government.

The United Church refused the strikers' request to set up a church service in the Post Office but some ministers, including Andrew Roddan of First United and Willard Brewing of St. Andrew's-Wesley spoke frankly from their pulpits in condemnation of the government and in support of the men. In June an open letter signed by Davidson and Switzer appeared in the *Daily Province* attacking the whole relief policy. The Relief Committee was again endorsing work for wages, long term training for the unemployed and an extension of public works. It urged the reopening of the forest camps for the summer and telegraphed the Minister of Labour in Ottawa to this effect. After the men were evicted from the Post Office, the church set up a fund to provide financial aid for the six men arrested in connection with the eviction.

During the sit-in at the Vancouver Art Gallery and Post Office, seven hundred strikers went to Victoria to present their problem to Pattullo. After the men were turned out of three deserted hotels, the Rev. Bryce Wallace, on behalf of the Victoria Ministerial Association, approached the government with an offer of mediation and a request for food and medication for the destitute men but was flatly turned down by Pattullo. However, a women's emergency committee worked closely with the Ministerial Association in providing food and after the intervention of Wallace, the city finally reopened its three unused hotels to the men for the duration of their stay in the city. The city still
refused to meet with the Victoria Presbytery's requests for a tag day or the use of an empty theatre as a meeting place for the unemployed.

The church was concerned not only with the men's physical needs but also with the dangerous impasse the strikers and the government had reached. Wallace played a vital role in getting the men to accept the government's compromise offer of free transportation home with jobs for the British Columbia boys, and jobs for the prairie boys until harvest time when they would return home. The immediate crisis was over but relief of the symptoms of unrest had done nothing toward curing the disease of unemployment.

Later in November of 1938, Vancouver Presbytery again objected strenuously to the jailing of transients and demanded constructive aid as an alternative. In the spring of 1939 it was still voicing its demands for federal government aid for retraining of the unemployed and for a study in which all workers with the unemployed would participate, in the hope that a permanent solution to the unemployment problem could be found. Hugh Dobson added his voice to that of Presbytery declaring that the strikers had a strong case in their favour and that the federal government was dragging its feet.

For eight years the church had been calling for action. Vancouver Presbytery was largely responsible for the establishment by the Vancouver General Ministerial Association in January 1931, of a B.C. Committee on Unemployment and Relief, and the conference committee on Evangelism and Social Service bore the costs. Hugh Dobson chaired the committee and the two ministers, the Revs. A.W. McIntosh of the United Church and H.L.
McNeill of the Baptist; three university professors, H.F. Angus, W.A. Carrothers and C.W. Topping; one employer, W.C. Ditmars and one representative of labour, John Sidaway formed the advisory board. This board invited over fifty organizations throughout the province to send delegates to a meeting to discuss a long-term policy of relief. Boards of trade, labour unions, schools, churches, social work agencies, Vancouver City Council, women's groups, and service clubs were represented. This enlarged group presented briefs to the provincial and federal governments on matters such as work for wages; it studied Russian and Fascist methods of dealing with unemployment; it provided a safe locale for blowing off steam by rival groups and promoted understanding among them; and it addressed the general public through lectures, pamphlets and newspaper articles on the current economic and social problems with some suggestions for reform. Unemployment insurance was one programme it pushed very hard in an effort to gain a long range policy on unemployment from the federal government.

The committee was not successful in the short run with its reform suggestions but eventually the government acted in the direction the members had indicated years before. The main aim of the group, however, was to educate the public on the need for change and this it did well. By bringing together such a diversity of interests, it provided a good forum for the exchange of opinions between such groups as the Canadian Legion and the Waterfront Workers' Association, the Terrace Board of Trade and the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council. One participant was convinced "It saved trouble in Vancouver because it gave labour
and business a chance to blow off in a reasonable state."

Another problem which concerned Hugh Dobson and the Vancouver Presbytery was the question of housing. By 1936 the housing of families on relief or subsistence-level wages had become desperate. Mortgages and rents were going unpaid and foreclosures and evictions were rapidly increasing. The city of Vancouver paid relief rent only on a shelter basis after eviction had been threatened and only enough to forestall the eviction. With no spare cash at hand, living standards were steadily lowered. Houses went unpainted, splintered steps remained unfixed, and an old wood stove in the kitchen replaced a broken-down furnace.

Vancouver Presbytery at Dobson's suggestion appointed a subcommittee of three men, the Revs. Andrew Roddan, H.P. Davidson and Mr. George Bell to join with an organization of unemployed and part-time workers to deal with the housing problem generally and particularly with the problems of high rents and evictions. A special petition went out to the city and provincial governments to increase the rent allowance. The committee made a survey of the units available as well as those abandoned but repairable, and directed people towards these. Presbytery offered to co-operate with the federal government concerning the housing of transients, though nothing seems to have come of this. Congregations were asked to help those in distress among themselves with volunteer labour and materials in order to improve living conditions, and in many cases did so. But the efforts hardly scratched the surface. Two years later, petitions were still being sent to Pattullo, R.B. Bennett and J.S. Woodsworth, concerning the way slum housing conditions in parts of
Vancouver were spreading. The problem was never completely solved until after the war. When money became available with the advent of war there was no material available for repairs or building. But the war did bring an end to evictions and mortgage foreclosures just as it brought an end to unemployment.

Early in the spring of 1935 the church had one of its many opportunities to assist in the definition of a just social order. At the Corbin mines in the Crowsnest Pass a strike erupted into a scene of mob violence and police brutality. The minister of the United Church at Michel, the Rev. J.H. Matthews, who also looked after the people at Corbin, was greatly incensed by the numbers of police brought in, the excessive force which he personally witnessed during the riot, and the subsequent lack of any proper investigation. He, along with several members of the C.C.F. party held a private investigation and found that "several misstatements had been made, that the police being sent into the area was not a conciliatory measure, that the people of the district were smarting under a sense of injustice and that Inspector McDonald's conduct was unwise when the trouble developed on April 17." The British Columbia Conference in its annual meeting responded to his report with a resolution demanding a provincial investigation under the attorney-general, in essence seconding an earlier request sent by Hugh Dobson at the height of the troubles.

In this instance the church did not take sides, feeling that there was fault on both parts. It was determined, though, that the truth
should be discovered; that the people of Corbin, a company mining town, should have justice; and that police force versus mob force should not replace round-table bargaining. But cool heads did not prevail in government circles and the church's suggestions went unheeded. Tempers were hot, governing officials were frightened and bewildered by the current unrest, and labour was impatient and increasingly militant in the face of continuing government inaction. Force was the easy answer to which men turned again in June to settle the longshoremen's strike, in the On-To-Ottawa Trek, and three years later in the sitdown strike at the Vancouver Post Office.

Following the battle between strikers and police at the Ballantyne pier in Vancouver during the longshoremen's strike of 1935, H.P. Davidson rounded up three other United Church ministers, R. Matheson, W.E. Galloway and Wm. Graham as a committee and invited the committee of the strikers to give their side of the story. The ministerial committee then met with the shipping companies involved. The result was a letter sent to the mayor and council demanding that they fulfill their oath of office and keep the peace by helping to solve the strike. The strike continued. A month later, Davidson along with several others appealed to Mayor McGeer again to interfere on "commercial, justice and humanitarian grounds" and bring an end to the strike which was causing unemployment, hardship and civic unrest. The city responded by getting the federal government to exercise its powers under the Industrial Dispute Investigation Act to bring about conciliation. A mediator selected by the prime minister was finally sent out and the strike ended when the demands of the strikers were partly met.
While the men were on strike, the ministers' committee organized a soup kitchen, manned by veterans near the docks. Chinese gardeners contributed produce. As well, Davidson with volunteers, collected food from the Fraser Valley for the strikers' families, since none could get relief and many families were dependent upon door-to-door handouts. McGeer had been quite firm in his announcement to the press that no strikers would ever be eligible for city relief.

After the riot in June, Vancouver Presbytery sent a letter to the provincial and federal governments demanding an end to the use of force against strikers and the establishment of free bargaining. The following Sunday, sermons on the strike were preached at First United where the Rev. Andrew Roddan, in discussing the use of scab labour and police to break a legal strike, declared "the crux of the strike is in the matter of control, not wages," and at St. Andrew's-Wesley where the Rev. Willard Brewing, in condemning the use of force, regretted that "the riot indicated that civilization still depends on strength." The city had much to answer for in its use of the police to stop the marchers who had been peaceful up to the time the chief of police rose to address them. And the provincial and federal governments had much to answer for in allowing the shipping companies to hire workers illegally during a legitimate strike.

Church members could not feel proud of their behaviour either. Davidson found the church as a whole very unsympathetic towards the strikers whose legitimate grievances were ignored by the government and society as a whole. In the United Church the committees of Evangelism
and Social Service of the conference and of the presbyteries largely ignored the ministers' work with labour. Ministers like Brewing and Roddan in the downtown areas of Vancouver who, Davidson felt, should have been involved down on the docks among the strikers, stood and preached safely from their pulpits. The reason, Davidson advanced, was that the managers of the shipping companies were generous donors to church projects and they could not be angered. The church as a whole failed to live up to its own teachings of justice for all and proved once again the validity of the accusation that "British Columbia -- both in and out of the church -- is only money oriented."  

One alternative to society's capitalist system which was widely advocated by the church radicals through various reports and briefs was the co-operative movement, but it never became popular among United Church members generally, despite the hard work of a handful to organize in British Columbia.

One staunch advocate was T.C. Dearlove, a British socialist immigrant who was involved in co-operatives for his entire life. Becoming discouraged with the lack of social action by the Stanley Park Study Group, the forerunner of a C.C.F. study club, and the squabblings of the different socialist factions, he and his wife left to concentrate on co-operatives. Dearlove wanted Christian action.

First, he set up the Common Good Co-operative Association in Burnaby where a large number were unemployed. Members bought an old truck, cut their own wood, raised their own vegetables and operated on the basis of one labour unit for one hour's work. Goods were priced in
labour units, not dollars. The group operated constantly in the red but its members had employment, food and fuel. A split developed over the question of co-operating with other groups on the west side of Vancouver and Dearlove pulled out in 1933 to start afresh in Kitsilano. This second venture flourished until after the war and even expanded to Acadia Camp on The University of British Columbia campus, furnishing groceries to the returned veterans.

By 1936 a number of co-operatives existed in the Vancouver area which prompted Dearlove to establish the Vancouver District Co-operative Council, drawing all the small groups together. Throughout the 1930's there was a constant struggle between the majority of members and a handful of communists determined to take over the Council although they never succeeded.¹¹³

The Rev. J.C. Sibley, a retired United Church minister, later was president of the District Council. Sibley, a quiet intellectual, was a man of broad social interests, and widely read in economic and international affairs. He, along with so many others, had studied under Salem Bland and was convinced that only economic reform would end the world's chaos. He considered the co-operative movement the ideal Christian answer, but Sibley was not well-known in British Columbia, having retired to Vancouver in 1927 from Saskatchewan for health reasons, and his work, though diligent and sincere, never produced much result from the United Church constituency.

Hugh Dobson also supported the co-operative movement personally, lecturing on its values whenever he could. Through his influence the
British Columbia Conference at its annual meetings in 1935 and 1936 strongly endorsed the consumer co-operative principle and asked for its extension among church members to include "the production and distribution of all basic necessities ... of food, clothing and shelter." Beyond such recommendations and the participation of a few individuals, however, the church in British Columbia never was greatly involved in the movement. Those who were came largely from C.C.F. ranks and maintained their association through a sense of duty. Some found it increasingly burdensome to travel any distance to buy from a limited range of goods and gradually dropped away. It never gained popularity among the majority of urban middle-class church goers who often linked the co-operative movement with communism.

Only in the Fraser Valley and the Okanagan where the dairy farmers and fruit growers had control without interference from the communists did any number of church members become involved. In the Fraser Valley Milk Producers' Cooperative, for instance, very strong United Church and earlier, Methodist Church, members like A.C. Wells and John Oliver, were key directors long before the church launched its campaign for co-operatives. Economics, not religious or political beliefs, determined their decision. During the depression members remained conservative in their outlook towards society generally and the F.V.M.P.A. refused to align itself with the C.C.F. The success of this co-operative kept its farmer members from turning radical and towards socialism as did their counterparts in Ontario and the prairies. The church per se had no influence.
The same small group of radicals who were involved with the strikers and were responsible for the church's more socialistic stands in British Columbia worked closely for the C.C.F. party officially in public and unofficially through church committees. One such unofficial group was the League for Christian Social Action or the L.C.S.A., which later joined the national body of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order or the F.C.S.O.

In September of 1932 after returning from the General Council meeting, the Rev. H.T. Allen of Terrace wrote up a set of principles and an organizational outline for a Christian social action group. His ideas came from the General Councils of 1928, 1930 and 1932 when delegates dealt with reports concerned with the economic and industrial life of the country. Corresponding with the Rev. Bryce Wallace of Trail who had been thinking along similar lines the two men set up the L.C.S.A. They drafted a policy which proved very similar to that of the C.C.F. Among its main points were collective ownership of natural resources, of the means of production, and of banking and credit; equality of income; social insurance for health, life, accident and old age; and the promotion of peace. The men proposed to extend such an organization throughout Canada, preferably through the church, and to work with other like-minded groups. They recognized that the whole church would not immediately back their proposals but they hoped that with education the church would eventually back the C.C.F.

The L.C.S.A. held its first meeting at conference time in May of 1933 when a very lengthy and heated debate took place on the floor
of the meeting as to whether the group should be under the auspices of the church, and the majority at the annual meeting voted against it. Influential clergy and laymen feared the group's political bias towards the C.C.F. and socialism, and wanted to keep the church free of any political entanglements. While this argument won the day, a strong minority condemned the church for its timidity and inaction, feeling "'It is time she hunted out the robbers in society and used a little dynamite to shake the lurking banditry who fatten on society today.'"118 The League then proceeded to organize itself as a voluntary unofficial group dedicated to forming social and political opinion.

The League was supposed to have combined study groups of laymen and ministers in each presbytery throughout the province. There was a twenty-point creed, based on the suggested policy drafted by Allen, and meetings were to be held monthly to discuss current books and plan political action. The only properly organized group, however, was in the lower mainland, and it spent a great deal of time, under the leadership of the Rev. Alver Mackay, examining drafts of the report, Christianizing the Social Order and submitting suggestions to a local committee which was formed to criticize rough drafts of the report. Men from outlying parts of the conference joined in at meetings held at the time of the annual meetings of conference and some took part by mail in a rotating reading club started by Allen. Books on economic, political and religious thought by men like R.H. Tawney, Bertrand Russell and Harold Laski were exchanged along with lengthy letters of discussion.

Originally some of the members had considered entering the political field to promote a Christian social order. Others were against
the idea sufficiently to dampen any organizational attempts in a political vein. However, those who initially broached the suggestion entered politics on an individual basis. The L.C.S.A. as a group decided to concentrate on education and hopefully bring some more moderate men of the church into their fold. It did present a brief to the Macmillan Banking Commission in support of the nationalization of banking, and published the text of a radio address, *Religion and Social Change* by its president, H.T. Allen, given on The Radio Fellowship programme, conducted by the Rev. Edwin H. Baker, an Anglican clergyman in Vancouver.

During the spring of 1933, J.S. Woodsworth, leader of the newly-formed C.C.F. party had suggested to Allen that he contact Professor John Line of Emmanuel College, Toronto who had been involved in Ontario with a similar organization called the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. Because the L.C.S.A. initially hoped to be more politically oriented than the F.C.S.O., the L.C.S.A. refused to merge with the national body although its views were almost identical and some in British Columbia wanted the broader connection. Finally in 1935 when J. King Gordon was appointed secretary of the F.C.S.O. to travel across Canada and organize branches in each conference, the L.C.S.A. became the F.C.S.O. branch in British Columbia. By 1937 the national F.C.S.O. had become impatient and demanded action, believing that the talking stage was past. In Toronto the group then became active and led marches of unemployed men to churches to draw attention to their plight. Earlier the F.C.S.O. had backed the unemployed marchers in Regina and the strikers against General Motors in Oshawa.
In greater Vancouver, however, the F.C.S.O. remained basically a study group. The group met weekly in St. Andrew's-Wesley Church and under the leadership of a different minister each week, held spirited discussions about the current book under examination. One week it was The Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos by G.D.H. Cole, attempting to unravel the world's economic affairs in order to determine whether restoration of the old capitalist system was desirable and practicable, or whether the socialist system was a better solution. Another week, discussion would centre around Christianity and the Social Revolution, a collection of essays by Christian theologians and Russian communists, published by Victor Gollancz for his Left Book Club.127

The F.C.S.O. gave summer lectures at Union College and in 1937 caused an uproar at the conference annual meeting when it asked for more freedom of action, and suggested a move to Ocean Park for the summer school in order to get away from the control of the senate of the College. The conference sided with the senate, with the principal, J.G. Brown, who insisted that "the senate must control the course" and with Dr. A.M. Sanford, a member of the faculty, who "denied there had ever been censorship over the type of lectures given."128

The only time the label F.C.S.O. was used in public action in British Columbia was in defense of the waterfront strikers in 1935. H.P. Davidson, the local chairman along with three other members publicly charged the federal government which had refused to act under the Industrial Disputes Act, "'of having failed in its proper role as mediator and of having sanctioned the conduct of the Shipping Federation.'" The
statement continued with an attack on the Shipping Federation, the
employers' organization, accusing it of trying to break the Vancouver
and District Waterfront Workers Union, turning the waterfront into an
armed camp, using inexperienced men in dangerous work and passing out
beer to the workers. In conclusion, the F.C.S.O. said "'A situation
such as this should challenge all sincere Christians to throw their full
weight into a real effort towards a just settlement.'" For this it
was labelled "red" and linked with a communist group in New York, and
in a letter to the editor in the Victoria Daily Colonist, a reader
accused Davidson personally of being a communist.

Once the League became a branch of the F.C.S.O., local impetus
died. Allen had become too busy in his new congregation at Nanaimo
and in community affairs and Davidson, the new leader was not an organ­
izing man. About twenty members maintained their ties with the national
organization and gathered together at the time of the conference annual
meeting for discussion and fellowship. Both Davidson and Allen admitted
that for an "action" group, the British Columbia branch of the F.C.S.O.
was very inactive although individually and on church committees, its
members spearheaded virtually all concrete action the church took.

Although the L.C.S.A. and later the F.C.S.O. in British Columbia
never was directly involved in the C.C.F. in spite of the constant
efforts of some members, it did maintain very close ties and viewpoints.
Charges by the public and conservative church officials that the L.C.S.A.-
F.C.S.O. was linked with the C.C.F. and was "red" were not groundless.
Many members of the F.C.S.O. were actively involved in the C.C.F. party,
sponsoring local study clubs, running for office and drafting local party platforms. The same men then incorporated many of these platform planks into the church's Evangelism and Social Service reports where they received wide publicity and frequently official church endorsement. Many in the United Church were attracted to the C.C.F. because of Woodsworth and his lofty humanitarian ideals, considering it to be not just another party but Christian socialism above partisan politics.

A key United Church minister in British Columbia who combined his political aims with his Christian beliefs through his involvement with the C.C.F., the F.C.S.O. and the committees of Evangelism and Social Service was H.T. Allen. He had formed political study groups in Terrace a year or two before the C.C.F. was formed, using for discussion Hansard and material printed by Woodsworth and his followers in the House of Commons. These groups formed the nucleus of the C.C.F. party in that area. Upon moving to Cumberland in the summer of 1933, Allen was asked to write the educational planks for the C.C.F. for its provincial election campaign that fall. After much urging he stood as a candidate for Comox in that election campaign, despite being a newcomer to the area.

Cumberland and its environs had a large number of socialist Welsh miners who readily supported the C.C.F. and Allen who lost by only a few hundred votes, mainly because the Conservative candidate withdrew at the last minute and all the right-wing voters were consolidated behind the Liberal to defeat Allen. Allen claimed that the voters' list was rigged and many of his supporters, long-time residents and voters in the district found themselves unlisted when they went to cast their ballots.
One of the men who had pressed Allen to run was the Rev. Mortimer Lees of Courtenay, a very active C.C.F. man behind the scenes. Lees was older than Allen but because his political work was unobtrusive he had little trouble with his congregation accepting his views.

Such tranquillity was not for Allen. A peppery man who could not hide his opinions, he split his congregation by running for office and almost winning. The key financial supporters originally were willing to let him run, never dreaming that he would receive such strong support. Following his near success, several withdrew from the congregation until he left. He always had the majority of the congregation behind him, but they were mainly the mine workers on reduced shift or unemployed, and they could not carry the financial load of the church. They, along with a former Conservative M.L.A., General George McNaughton, however, rallied around Allen when he was accused of being "an atheist and communist or 'CCF'er'" by a mine manager's wife, whose political alarm seems to have exceeded her intellectual precision. McNaughton, in fact, praised Allen for preaching, not C.C.F. policy from the pulpit, but Christian principles all should hear and act upon.

Another keen C.C.F. candidate and also a member of the F.C.S.O. and the United Church was Mildred Osterhout Fahrni in Vancouver. Christ's teachings as she understood them from her family and church strongly motivated her political ideals and involvement. A family friend of J.S. Woodsworth and the daughter of a social gospeller, the Rev. A.B. Osterhout who had exchanged many hours of discussion and debate with Salem Bland while they both were in Winnipeg, she had run unsuccessfully in a
provincial by-election at Haney and later in the 1935 federal election in Vancouver Burrard. Prior to these elections she had attended the Regina Conference, taking part in the debate over the Manifesto, the core of the C.C.F. policy, and locally she, along with provincial M.L.A.'s like Dorothy Steeves, Ernie and Harold Winch, was instrumental in establishing a C.C.F. family summer camp on Gabriola Island to promote education and fellowship among C.C.F. members. Many of Mrs. Fahrni's more radical ideas were formed while in the Student Christian Movement at The University of British Columbia and at the London School of Economics where she became a personal friend of Ghandi. Originally trained as a teacher, she affirmed the value of education and rational debate as a means of achieving social reform, and most of her life has been devoted to activities of that kind, not only in the C.C.F. but also in the peace movement and in the Japanese evacuation question.

The United Church in the Okanagan also had its avid C.C.F. followers. Rev. A.K. McMinn, the United Church minister in Kelowna, conducted study clubs from 1930 to 1932 which formed the nucleus of the local C.C.F. branch. Later in 1933, the Young People's Society of the United Church held study groups which clearly linked economic theory with current C.C.F. principles. The party had put up a valiant fight in 1933 and although their candidate lost, he came very close to both Liberal and Conservative candidates. The near success was partly due to a strong United Church layman, Frank Snowsell from Glenmore near Kelowna, who played a vital publicity and speaking role in the campaign
for the local C.C.F. candidate. Snowsell and his wife obviously came into the party because it seemed the only political expression of their Christian beliefs.

Internal strife among Okanagan C.C.F. members caused them to look outside the party stalwarts for a candidate to run in the 1935 federal election. They chose another United Church minister and F.C.S.O. member, the Rev. E.W. Mackay from Summerland. Mackay retired from the ministry that summer and gave a great deal of time to his campaign. He was a novice in politics, had very little financial backing and his so-called supporters spent much of their energy feuding among themselves. Although he did poorly in the large centres like Kelowna and as a result, lost, Mackay received good support in the mining and rural areas, in spite of his weak campaign.

He was a "Johnny-come-lately" to the C.C.F. and joined largely because the party's political aims corresponded to those of the church report, Christianizing the Social Order, and he felt that through political action some of these reforms might be realized. Unfortunately, lofty ideals and sincere intentions were not enough in the rough and ready game of politics. Mackay fell victim to his own naivety and made little attempt to unite the warring factions among his supporters into a strong campaigning force.

In that same election of 1935, the Rev. J. King Gordon, while roving professor of Christian ethics for the Board of Evangelism and Social Service and national organizer of the F.C.S.O., ran in Victoria as a C.C.F. candidate and nearly won. Gordon entered the political
arena almost by accident. Ostensibly fired from United Theological College in Montreal for reasons of economy, he found his liberal views on Christian ethics antagonized several governors on the board of the college who were not sorry to see him leave. Gordon was subsequently hired by the General Council for one year to lecture across the country under the supervision of the secretaries of Evangelism and Social Service. At the same time he was "travelling agitator" for the F.C.S.O., establishing new branches across the country. Upon arrival in Vancouver to attend a Student Christian Movement conference he was met on the railroad platform by a delegation asking him to run in Victoria. Except for serving a mission field at Giscombe in the interior of the province for a short time in the 1920's, he had no other contacts with the province but decided to run despite his being an "Eastern carpet-bagger."

Although he lost the three elections he contested, Gordon came within ninety votes of the former premier, S.F. Tolmie, in 1936 and never regretted his decision to take the plunge. Because he was not connected with a congregation in Victoria he never had the problems Allen had faced in Cumberland, but Gordon was not aware of any particular backing from church members either. His friends and supporters came from already-formed C.C.F. groups where religious affiliation was not raised.

A number of other United Church clergymen were also avid C.C.F. supporters as well as members of the F.C.S.O. The Revs. Bryce Wallace, A.O. Patterson, H.P. Davidson, Alver Mackay, A.E. Whitehouse, Charles Addyman and H. Feir were among those who wrote articles for the Western Recorder and the New Outlook espousing economic reforms, worked locally
for the C.C.F. and encouraged church co-operation with the unemployed and labouring class.

These men believed that church briefs, sermons and debates were not enough to effect a redistribution of wealth in society and the establishment of true Christian brotherhood. They turned to the C.C.F. and its aims similar to the social gospel to reach a much wider constituency, part of which distrusted the church as a tool of the capitalists. There was also the hope that once political power was achieved, legislation would be enacted to eliminate some of the grossest injustices falling mainly upon the labouring class—unemployment, lack of insurance for the ill, aged and handicapped, and subsistence wages. This connection with the C.C.F. and the labour class often caused trouble for these ministers from their more conservative church members, especially in the small communities where local businessmen and mine managers controlled church boards and finances. Those in city congregations faced less criticism because their congregations were usually in homogeneous working-class areas and the city offered some anonymity from the more conservative middle-class.

The vigour of British Columbia's communists challenged the social activists within the church to think through very clearly their position vis-à-vis communism. To the activists communism was seen as the anti-Christ determined to eliminate the church along with the capitalist society. A firm belief in man's ability to reform the economic and political system without violence, in man's dependence upon a God of love for forgiveness of personal as well as corporate sins, and in Christ's
historical reality to all succeeding generations who will hear his message, could not co-exist with a militant atheist belief.

The radicals constantly ran up against the communists as they infiltrated socialist groups and used them as a front to further communist aims or thwart the more moderate socialist reform. In the co-operative movement Dearlove and Sibley frequently found that the communists prolonged policy meetings with irrelevant debate and motions until the regular, unsuspecting members grew tired and left, at which time the communists passed motions putting policy and control in their own hands. Another tactic used was to undermine the C.C.F. at the polls by endorsing candidates like Mildred Fahrni and frightening off many of her would-be supporters.

At the same time as the activists fought communist infiltration, they admired much of the communist platform as a practical expression of New Testament Christianity. Popular preachers like Andrew Roddan from the pulpit spoke on "Jesus and the Proletariat" and "Why Stalin Changed his Mind." Roddan did not fear men but he did fear the power of communism and realized that living conditions in the "jungles" and in the relief camps made many of the unemployed men ripe for Bolshevism. They were desperate enough to follow anyone who promised a more hopeful future. The communists preached in the jungles and along the bread lines with a missionary zeal which Roddan envied, and he believed there was a great deal of truth in their statement that "economic determinism determines everything. If you take sick, your economic standing will determine whether they put you in a private ward or in the basement of
the hospital. . . . " But communism did not have the whole answer, for as Roddan said, "On the other hand, no matter . . . how great the salary . . . may be, if the moral and spiritual life of the individuals are not touched, they will, like the swine, 'return to their wallowing in the mire, or like the dog to his vomit.'" Roddan believed "there must be a 'via media' between these two philosophies"; between the economic determinism of the communist and the "spiritual determinism" of the Christian church. He told the church that through selfishness and indifference, it was largely to blame for the present condition which forced thousands of homeless men to drift aimlessly across the nation. Roddan's purpose was to create a new attitude of compassion in the church and through it in the municipal, provincial and federal authorities so that "a new world order [would] be ushered in. An order in which the motive of service and mutual helpfulness will take the place of selfish, heartless, cruel competition. . . ." The other radical ministers would echo much of Roddan's views.

A small handful of the early social gospellers including the Rev. A.E. Smith, carried the admiration to its extreme conclusion and decided communism to be superior to Christianity in offering a pathway to brotherhood devoid of human exploitation. Smith, a former Methodist minister in Nelson had been highly respected for his social gospel views, his sympathy for the local mine workers and his fight for prohibition. During the 1930's as general secretary of the Communist party in Canada, he returned to British Columbia on speaking engagements and in Nelson and Fernie he was welcomed by the United Church ministers. In Fernie, he
spoke on "What Christianity and Communism have in Common" in which he stressed how each sought a new social order based on justice and equal brotherhood, which would free the common man from his economic chains. In Smith's view, the institutional church had lost this vision and communism had picked it up and would carry it through to its culmination.\textsuperscript{150}

The socialist or more radical ministers agreed with many of Smith's criticisms of the Christian church and like him, were anxious to popularize certain socialist goals such as the just distribution of the nation's wealth. Nevertheless, while co-operating with the communists for limited objectives, men like Dobson, Allen and Roddan emphasized the uniqueness of Christianity and stressed its moral and spiritual dimensions in contrast to communism's economic determinism.\textsuperscript{151} Society needed change but it was to be orderly change within the present political and cultural structure.

Other ministers not only shared certain goals with the communists but also worked with known communists on a personal basis because they were human beings in need of help. In Trail, the Rev. Bryce Wallace became chairman of the local communist cell in order that the group could use the church premises as a meeting place after all other places in town were closed to them.\textsuperscript{152} Allen courted criticism in Cumberland when he conducted the funerals of several well-known communists at the request of their families\textsuperscript{153} and H.P. Davidson, who associated with known communist dock strikers, invited attack from many who were unsympathetic towards labour, the unemployed and the strikers.\textsuperscript{154}

These men were strong believers in practical Christianity and its need to be a part of the world, and they were not afraid of the risks
involved. They saw communism as dangerous; thought it to be a menace to society and constantly fought against its infiltration into the unions, the co-operatives, the C.C.F. and the various study groups, but this did not blind them to its good points and to the fact that communists were people entitled to justice.

The few radicals never achieved their aim of a new and perfect society. These men, strong disciples of the new social gospel, and in many cases, ex-students of Salem Bland, studied intensely, wrote the briefs and petitions to government, prepared the church reports, sent letters to the press, led meetings between rival groups and ministered to society's underdogs. Some took an active part in politics in the hope of effecting lasting social change by that route.

These men saw a lessening of the class cleavage as a vital part of the necessary social change. However, their emphasis was on minimizing societal breakdown and anarchy rather than on broadening the base of the United Church membership. Any attempts at bringing labour and the United Church closer together failed. The church membership, by and large, would and indeed probably could not, in order to make the church more hospitable to a wider range of persons with different values, break down its middle-class barriers which stressed the old values of individualism and free enterprise. Labour, on its part, willingly accepted support from the church in its struggles for justice and a fairer portion of the country's wealth but had no interest in the institution as prospective members or as searchers for religious truth.
The radicals did not worry about occupying a pulpit in a wealthy congregation; they did not quit when labelled "red"; they did not fear to grapple with "the establishment." Because of their steady needling, the destitute and downtrodden were not totally forgotten by the church and many in the church had their views broadened to accept social and economic reforms. They kept the challenge of Christian ideals in front of the church body and society generally.

Where the church majority fell short was in dealing with long-term solutions for society's ills. This type of action was foreign to the thinking of the average middle-class church member. He was not accustomed to abstract thinking, social planning or economic theory especially along new lines. In time of trouble, his main pre-occupation was personal—a roof over his head, food on the table, a job to perform—and he naturally turned to the old and tried ways for security. The unemployed, and especially the transients as strangers were feared, and if out-of-sight, conveniently forgotten. It took this small solid core of radical ministers with a few dedicated laymen to keep the church's eyes focused on the deeper unpleasant problems.

The bearing of a society's ideals is vitally necessary, and is always a task of a minority. The value of the minority's contribution cannot be measured in concrete terms but is beyond price. Much of the humanitarianism and decency that Canadian society possesses today is in substantial degree the legacy of such men as these.
Chapter 5

WAR

While Canadians were struggling with unemployment, crop failures and changes in the current economic system, another cloud loomed on the horizon. In Europe, the Spanish were involved in a civil war, Italy took over Ethiopia, and Germany under Hitler's systematic annexation of land on its borders and silenced its Jewish population and political critics. Finally on September 3, 1939, war was declared by Britain and France, and on the 10th, Canada entered.

The unemployed flocked to recruiting offices to volunteer for service or to factories, newly-established or retooled to manufacture war materials. Mines re-opened as the demand for coal and metals became urgent; ports became active with naval manoeuvres, boat building and the shipping of supplies to the allies in Europe; lumber camps and sawmills hummed with activity to fill export and home market orders; the overseas' demand for agricultural products put money into the pockets of the Okanagan fruit farmers, the Cariboo ranchers and the prairie grain growers who, at last, had big successful crops. Unlike World War I, this war brought immediate prosperity to Canada, and especially to British Columbia where so much of its raw materials was necessary for the war effort.

The population of the coast grew rapidly with men from the interior, the prairies and the east arriving to work in the new ship-yards, the
airplane construction plants and the other related industries. The armed forces set up training camps and stations at Gordon Head near Victoria, Jericho in Vancouver, Chilliwack, Terrace, Prince Rupert, Trail, New Westminster, Prince George, Boundary Bay, Patricia Bay, Vernon, Courtenay, Esquimalt and Nanaimo. Many of the men brought their families with them and found housing almost impossible to locate, since construction had not even kept up with local needs during the depression.

The attack on Pearl Harbour by the Japanese in December of 1941 added a further dimension to the war period in British Columbia.\(^1\) Urgency and even a note of hysteria entered the public response to the war. The quiet Japanese suddenly found themselves regarded as dangerous spies and shunned by their formerly friendly neighbours. Suspicions grew into strident demands for their evacuation or even deportation to Japan, and the federal government bowed to some of these demands without any long-range planning. The shelling of Estevan Point on the west coast of Vancouver Island only abetted the growing fear along the coast. Blackouts were ordered at night, causing a run on window blinds in the local stores. National rationing of certain food products and gasoline, and a shortage of clothing and fuel brought the affects of war into everyone's daily life. Some on the coast were forced to go into the local woods or to the beaches to cut their own fuel. And there were the many families whose sons or husbands were in the services. Loneliness, fear for their safety, and frequent tragedy had to be lived with. Many turned to the church for comfort.
The Christian Church throughout the ages has adopted three approaches to war and all three have been widely held in Canada in the twentieth century. Pacifism was the original stance of the early Christian church at a time when Christians were a persecuted minority group in the Roman empire. No killing was justified. Once Christianity became an acceptable religion, the Greek and Roman ideas of a just war were adopted. War was evil but justified if against an even greater evil or for defence. The third view developed during the middle ages when Christianity had become a political power, and the church adopted the old Hebrew view of war as a crusade to achieve God's will on earth.2

For thinking members of the United Church, there was a constant tension among these three positions. All could be supported and refuted by Biblical text and by tradition. The fifth commandment, "Thou Shalt not Kill," together with the general view of Jesus as a man of peace, however, had a very powerful hold on Christians. When war actually came, the state held a far stronger influence over church members than did their church, but conscience obliged members to seek religious justification for their secular actions. Personal decisions were not easily made and sometimes separated friends and neighbours.

World War II differed considerably from World War I. The romantic and crusading view of war had virtually disappeared. In 1914, Canadians had, for the most part, no experience with war, and approached it with highly unrealistic views. Coming as it did in a period of widespread social reform and the social gospel, it became the war to end all wars and "to make the world safe for democracy." Pacifism was not condoned by the general public or by the church.3
By 1939, morale was very low after ten years of economic chaos and unemployment had graphically demonstrated man's inability to control his own society. Life was a grim battle, the world had not been made safe for democracy as the growth of totalitarianism showed, and men were faced with seemingly insoluble problems which threatened the whole fabric of society.

In contrast to the First World War when pulpits became recruiting centres and clergy put pressure upon all young men to enlist or be ostracized by the community, the Second World War found the churches playing little or no role in recruiting. The New Outlook and the Western Recorder urged church members to do their duty in this most regrettable affair and ministers preached on war and peace, mainly in general terms, but it was left up to the individual whether he or she enlisted. Many church members did enlist voluntarily. Some joined in order to have a job, and some did so out of a sense of duty to the country and the world's dilemma, but without much thought of theological justification, while others who leant towards pacifism during the 1930's found their theological beliefs challenged and changed with the reality of Hitler's aggression and war.  

Response was good from the churches. Kelowna United Church had two hundred of its young men enlist in the course of three years. West Point Grey in Vancouver, by February of 1944, had 175 of its young people enlisted and had six war casualties. The loss of the young people seriously affected the recruiting for the Young People's Union, the ushers and the Sunday School teachers, while the number of theological students
at Union College dropped drastically during the war years and there was a severe shortage of summer supply in the outlying areas of British Columbia and of ordained men to replace those dying or retiring. In one year thirteen died in the British Columbia Conference while only two were ordained.

The Department of National Defence working with the major Protestant denominations, organized the chaplaincy service and requested from the different denominations the number of chaplains needed. Each brigade required four clergymen: one Roman Catholic, one Anglican, one United Churchman and one Presbyterian or Baptist. In addition were the senior chaplains in administrative positions, full and part-time chaplains in the Young Men's Christian Association military huts on home bases and overseas, and chaplains with the Canadian Legion. The Committee on the Chaplaincy to the Armed Forces, a sub-committee of the War Service Committee in the United Church, was responsible for recommending United Church chaplains from the many applications received. Age and medical condition were military prerequisites but the church also considered a man's current position, temperament and general ability to deal well with people of all kinds.

Ministers from British Columbia responded most readily for service in the chaplaincy. The majority were veterans from World War I and were eligible only for local military bases, Y.M.C.A. huts, internment camps and the Legion. Many filled in on a part-time basis while looking after their local congregations. These men were not the leaders of the peace movement in the 1930's, and while not militarists, they still held a more
Table VI

Charges Vacant or Supplied by Lay or Retired Men, 1944
British Columbia Conference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presbytery</th>
<th>No. Vacant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Rupert</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total vacant</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of charges</strong></td>
<td><strong>194</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

romantic view of war and one's patriotic duty to the state than did many younger men in the ministry. Several were most persistent, despite age and medical disabilities, and eventually were accepted as the war dragged on and the shortage of ordained men increased.  

Among the younger men who volunteered for the chaplaincy there was a greater antipathy towards war than among the older ministers, and a sense of duty towards the enlisted men who would need spiritual comfort predominated among their reasons for joining the chaplaincy. Most of these men went overseas and endured, along with the enlisted men, the long separation from families and familiar surroundings, the dangers of combat in the field and in several cases, actual imprisonment.  

Out of 233 chaplains from the United Church, a higher percentage came from British Columbia directly than from any other conference. By the end of 1941, the British Columbia Conference had given eleven young men to the chaplaincy and was hard-pressed to find two more requested by the Department of National Defence. Already sixteen fields, usually under an ordained man, were unmanned and most retired men able to supply had already been called back into service. The W.M.S. in British Columbia also provided one of its deaconesses as an assistant chaplain in the Canadian Women's Army Corps in Victoria, where she provided mainly a counselling service for the women in the service. One chaplain from British Columbia spent the war in a Japanese concentration camp, another saw duty in the jungles of Burma, several were on the front lines in Europe, and the Rev. George R. Pringle, a pilot with the Royal Canadian Airforce, was killed in action.
The chaplains found themselves in a peculiar no man's land. Once in the chaplaincy they were part of the military machine and no longer answerable to their particular denomination. Except for family, friends and perhaps a local congregation, they were largely ignored by the church. They were in the services on a temporary basis only, and felt very much cut off from their chosen institution, the church. Although the church made some provision for assisting the chaplains in finding a pastorate upon their discharge from the armed forces it was largely left up to the individual congregations, presbyteries and conference settlement committees.

Within the British Columbia Conference, congregations were asked to keep openings for returning chaplains and not to call ministers from other conferences, but the request was ignored. A few of the men returned to former pulpits but most returned to new fields. In some cases adjustment to congregational life, with church boards and petty local quarrels, was very difficult. In certain cases where the only charges open were very small frontier ones, the chaplain decided to take up a different career or remain with the armed forces permanently.

The church did a good job in supplying chaplains for the services and the chaplains felt they did a creditable job with the men they served. The chaplains found that the majority of service men were theologically illiterate but were eager for knowledge, spiritual guidance and comfort when in danger. The chaplains recommended that their policy of meeting the men on the job be followed at home in peace as well. They also encouraged greater ecumenical co-operation and more stringent Biblical
teaching in the congregations. Although ecumenism gained popularity after the war, the other suggestions were largely ignored as the church busied itself in post-war reconstruction.

The men's views of the chaplaincy were as varied as the men themselves. Those with strong church ties naturally tended to be more favourable towards the chaplains' work, regardless of denomination or effectiveness, and to go to them for help. Others were more frequently apathetic, and in some cases hostile to all religious observances and advances by the chaplains, unless the particular chaplain assigned to a base had a charismatic personality. In this case the clerical collar held little significance. The chaplain was simply a friend capable of understanding and helping in time of personal trouble.

Generally speaking, those chaplains on the front were more highly thought of and turned to for help than those on home bases. The imminent danger common to chaplains as well as the enlisted men, and the choice of chaplains sent overseas could account for this. On home bases, many of the chaplains ranked as officers, spent much of their time in the officers' mess and did not mingle with the rank and file as much as they did when overseas.  

As soon as war was declared the sub-executive of the General Council issued directives for the establishment of war service units in local congregations to work under the War Service Committee in close cooperation with the Red Cross. In most cases the units were formed from already existing women's organizations who started knitting and sewing immediately. In the first six months of the war, United Church units
across the country turned in almost one-quarter of a million articles to outfit soldiers, hospitals and refugee children. In the same period, 975 units were registered with the Board of Evangelism and Social Service. These units included approximately 2,900 United Church organizations and involved at least 50,000 women.23

The local units were also called on to help entertain service men in local camps, keep in touch with enlisted members from their own congregation and welcome new military families in their community, especially young brides who were left alone after their husbands went overseas. The units used devotional and educational material at their regular sewing meetings, issued by the W.M.S. and the Boards of Christian Education and Evangelism and Social Service, and sent booklets of prayers and Bible readings to the soldiers in camps. In 1942, the Camp and War Production Communities Committee was organized in Toronto to supervise and stimulate further the congregations near military camps and war factory centres to work more closely with the people in these areas. The Committee in co-operation with other denominations and the Y.M.C.A. supplied church workers in the camps to lead worship services, counsel men and their families, organize study groups, and keep track of personnel as they were transferred from one camp to another. Nearby United Church War Service Units frequently formed the local nucleus of manpower for the work of this committee throughout the country.24

In British Columbia by January of 1940, there were fifty-seven War Service Units registered in the United Church and actively working for the Red Cross. Some represented previously organized women's and youth
groups but others represented the congregation as a whole. Knitted and
sewn articles flowed from the women's agile hands as they met regularly
in small groups or worked alone at home. The Vancouver Presbyterial of
the W.A. alone sent in 4,743,737 articles during the war. 25

Military camps had been established at various places throughout
the province and local war service units worked closely with the camps
under the Camp and War Production Communities Committee once it was
organized. 26

At both Prince Rupert and Vernon, almost the whole congregation
took an active part in working with transient military and war industry
workers. Prince Rupert had grown from 6,000 to over 25,000 in the course
of three years and the church could not cope with the magnitude of the
problem—homeless families, lonely men and women, uprooted and bewildered
brides with small babies. The W.M.S. appointed a full-time worker to
aid the United Church people in Prince Rupert; the local congregation
loaned its basement to the United Services Organization as a social club;
and the minister tried hard to help the enlisted personnel. 27 Vernon
United Church had almost every organization working as a war service
unit 28 and did a great deal to befriend the service personnel through
visits in private homes on special holidays and through concerts and
other entertainments. 29

Prince George United Church suddenly found itself inundated with
airmen from the military camp flocking to its services. The W.A. members
set up a Fellowship Hour following the evening service and welcomed the
boys into their homes. The airmen, in turn, sang in the choir, replacing
many of the regular members who had enlisted, took several worship services themselves, and helped pay off the congregation's debt. The minister acted as an unpaid civilian chaplain to the small R.C.A.F. detachment. The congregation remembered its own enlisted men and women with Christmas gifts and regular quarterly letters along with devotional material.  

Vancouver was flooded by families from the prairies and elsewhere who had come to work in the ship building industry and there was a serious housing and dislocation problem which congregations tried to alleviate. The W.M.S. sent two women to work in the west end and Fairview districts. The latter area had been evacuated by the Japanese and now housed mainly non-Anglo-Saxons from the prairies while the west end increasingly became an apartment-roominghouse area of young couples and single persons away from home for the first time. Mothers' clubs, youth groups, visiting and counselling took the workers' full time.  

Vancouver A.O.T.S. clubs took turns providing weekly entertainments and refreshments at the Vancouver Barracks (the old Vancouver Hotel) for the servicemen, and urged its members to be a big brother to young boys whose fathers had enlisted.  

West Point Grey United Church, near the Jericho military base, had some military men attend services but showed special concern for the prairie boys taking military training at The University of British Columbia by entertaining them as a group and as individuals in private homes.  

With newcomers flocking into the district, the Board pressed for a neighbourhood visitation to meet and get to know the newcomers. At the same time it was welcoming strangers, however, the congregation was
berating itself over the neglect of its own girls and boys in the services.  

Many congregations through their War Service Units or other groups remembered and kept in touch with their own enlisted men and women. In the Kootenay, the W.M.S. presbyterial sent every United Church boy a comfort bag and chocolates for Christmas. Knox United in Trail systematically sent individual parcels and cards to its men as did Nanaimo St. Andrew's, Knox in Prince George and many other congregations.

In some places the United Church responded well but could not do it all. In other places, its response seemed almost negligible although probably much was done by individuals on a personal basis, or by co-operative community groups. This would be especially true in small rural places like Vanderhoof where the United Church members formed a strong part of the local Red Cross Unit.

The increase of population did not swell church membership rolls during the war but overall attendance did increase along with financial givings. Church membership in the urban areas rose slowly but not in the same proportion as did the general population and in some rural areas church membership actually decreased. This was dramatically so in the Prince Rupert area where so many small charges were left without a minister. Shortage of personnel meant that many newcomers were not welcomed and drawn into the fold of existing congregations and lack of funds left new housing areas in the suburbs unchurched. Many of the families and especially the men in the military camps were in one area such a short time that no real commitment could be made to a local congregation, even if a person desired one. Local congregations' efforts through
Table VII
Rate of Growth of Total Membership During the War Years of United Church Presbyteries and some Congregations in Military Training Centres in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prince Rupert</td>
<td>1,095</td>
<td>978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamloops–Okanagan</td>
<td>4,356</td>
<td>4,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>2,546</td>
<td>2,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>16,780</td>
<td>16,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>6,238</td>
<td>5,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>4,699</td>
<td>4,753</td>
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<tr>
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<td>140</td>
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<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Church of Canada, Year Book, 1940, 1945.
their War Service Units were done as a Christian service to uprooted persons in need of spiritual comfort and friendship. Finances did improve greatly from full employment and the visitors to the local churches in the urban areas near military camps. Debts piled up during the 1930's were paid off, building funds were started and even some construction undertaken despite the scarcity of materials. 38

In keeping in touch with enlisted men from their own congregations and in supplying the Red Cross with knitted and sewn supplies, the United Church congregations in British Columbia did a creditable job although no better than anywhere else in the country. The extent of a congregation's support for an enlisted person depended largely upon his or her personal and family relationship in the congregation before the war.

Possibly the United Church's greatest single effort in the war years was its War Savings Plan. The church had been left with a debt of $1,700,000 with interest charges of $70,000 annually after the depression and in an effort to wipe this debt out and at the same time support the war, the following plan was launched in June 1940. Church members were to buy war savings bonds, certificates or stamps in the church's name so that once the war was over, the money would go to the national church towards its debt. Straight gifts were also solicited. Each conference was allotted a definite quota and appointed a committee to publicise the campaign locally.

In British Columbia, the Rev. G.A. W. Wilson, a retired but still very highly respected and well-known clergymen, chaired the committee.
Some other members were well-known businessmen like W.H. Malkin, Col. Nelson Spencer, C.T. McHattie, C.E. Mahon and Chris Spencer, as well as ministers of some of the larger Vancouver and Victoria churches such as the Revs. F.W. Norman, W.G. Wilson, W.H. Smith, G.H. Villet, E.D. Braden, W.J. Sipprell and A.M. Sanford. The goal was $90,000 to be achieved in a hard-hitting every member campaign in three periods: Easter of 1941, September of 1941 and March to September 1942. Presbyteries and congregations were, in turn, given a quota to reach but despite visits by guest preachers, numerous letters and door-to-door visits by the local campaign committee, only $60,000 had been raised by May of 1942. The Rev. Hugh Dobson attended all meetings of the B.C. War Savings Committee and promoted the plan in his travels throughout the conference. For the conference year of 1941-1942, he was the president and while in that office he put extra pressure upon the congregations to meet their quotas. Letters were sent out asking for an accurate record of givings to date with future plans and expectations.

The response was mixed. Some congregations far exceeded their allocation on the first campaign. Port Simpson, an Indian Home Mission charge, raised 159% while Fernie, badly hit by the depression, raised 132%. Other congregations such as Rosedale and Hope had passed out stamp books, really pushed their people but had a hard time reaching their quotas. The Japanese congregations responded well up to the time of their evacuation early in 1942, and the larger urban congregations easily made their quota with well-run campaigns.

Many of the congregations felt they had done their best in the first campaign and were opposed to a second one, which would either
agonize their members or draw off money from local projects which were deemed more important. West Point Grey Official Board in Vancouver promised to underwrite their quota from other funds if enough did not come from the members but Collingwood in Vancouver, Nelson, Cranbrook, Grand Forks, Abbotsford and Merritt all had more pressing financial needs and refused a further campaign at that time.

A number of congregations definitely opposed the plan of erasing the church debt through an emotional patriotic appeal, and thus profiting from the war. They felt this was morally wrong. These congregations did make an appeal for direct gifts to the church and generally received a good response. Individuals in those congregations also supported the war through the sale of war bonds but the two financial drives were kept completely separate.

The minister in charge seemed to play a small role in a congregation's decision. Cedar Cottage in Vancouver had already decided against the plan before the Rev. Bryce Wallace, a pacifist, arrived there although he did make an effort to raise direct gifts from the congregation. In Richmond, the Rev. C.E. Finnemore had one congregation, Brighouse, vote against the scheme while his other congregation, Richmond, voted for it, and in Salmon Arm, the congregation gave only personal gifts although the minister was an eager volunteer for the chaplaincy and supporter of the war effort. Among those who did support the scheme heartily was the Rev. T.C. Colwell of Port Simpson, a veteran from the First World War, who received excellent congregational support. On the other hand there was the Rev. Evan Baker, also a veteran in the First World War and a
chaplain later in the Second World War, who preached from the pulpit, visited members personally and received very poor support.

In the end British Columbia Conference was the only conference to go over its pledged quota in the three years of the extended campaign, and it was very proud of its record in helping to wipe out the United Church national deficit.

The Second World War not only differed from that of the First in its attitude towards pacifism but also challenged the pacifist stand adopted by the church in the interwar years. A widespread pacifist mood spread throughout the population in the twenties and thirties. Hopes for world peace were pinned on the League of Nations and pacifist groups sprang up and received respectability from the presence of a large number of academics and clergymen who played a prominent role. Some felt guilty over the stringent terms meted out to Germany in the Treaty of Versailles or believed that the allies had violated those terms, especially on reparations. When war broke out again in 1939, secularism had increased and there was no attempt to turn this war into a holy crusade. War was recognized as an evil, justified in order to end an even greater evil. The majority in the United Church agreed with society's view that this was a just war and supported it out of a sense of duty and with regret. There were a few, however, who maintained their pacifist views of the 1920's and 1930's.

Throughout the 1930's at the General Council meetings of the United Church, resolutions were passed which rejected war, praised the Kellogg Pact for its renunciation of war as an instrument for solving
international disagreements, encouraged all congregations to support
the League of Nations, criticized nations for not reducing their arms,
and emphasized the role of the church in spreading peace through Christ's
example of non-violence. The British Columbia Conference supported
the United Church's stand.

In August 1929, Prince Rupert Presbytery, led by the Revs. H.T.
Allen and Wm. Deans, asked the sub-executive of the General Council to
request the federal government to place framed copies of the Kellogg
Peace Pact in every schoolroom in Canada, the act to be accompanied by
a suitable ceremony. At the following 1930 General Council meeting,
this was endorsed as was the placing of the Pact in all United Church
Sunday Schools. Many United Church clergy, including the Rev. Hugh
Dobson who publicized the plan in his provincial travels as associate
secretary of Evangelism and Social Service, supported the scheme. Allen
hung the first copy at Terrace and Prime Minister William Lyon
Mackenzie King unveiled one at Ocean Falls on November 11, 1929. The
Rev. R.C. Scott promoted the idea all along the coast as he journeyed
in the Thomas Crosby mission boat. Ocean Falls sent several letters to
the provincial department of education, its local member in the legis-
lature, and secured a promise from King that the federal government would
underwrite the cost of the framed copies. Kamloops-OKanagan, Victoria,
and Kootenay Presbyteries also strongly supported the publicizing of
the Peace Pact and wrote letters to the provincial and federal govern-
ments, and urged their congregations to do likewise. British Columbia
was the first province to accept the plan.
As early as 1934, the British Columbia Conference became concerned about conscientious objectors in the event of another war. It sent a memorial to General Council asking it to petition the federal government to grant to all those conscientiously opposed to war, exemption from military service. The General Council did not concur with the conference's views and felt that the role of the church was to encourage obedience to civil authority. In a rather schizophrenic vein however, it did praise the growing pacifist mood especially among college students, and expressed the hope that peace might come through the pacifist movement.

At the same time, the British Columbia Conference went on record as opposing military or cadet training in the schools. Agitation against military training in place of physical education in the schools had arisen earlier when in 1928, the Student Christian Movement at The University of British Columbia, composed largely of United Church arts and theological students, protested the presence of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps on the campus. Then in 1930 Prince Rupert Presbytery asked that suitable non-military physical education be given in all schools and that donations to school boards by the Militia Department for cadet training be discontinued. Out of six thousand cadets in British Columbia, four thousand were in the Vancouver area in 1929 where participation was voluntary but pressure to join varied considerably and was dependent upon the school personnel. Training also varied from straight physical education to marching to mock warfare. Partial success was attained: when the superintendent of Vancouver schools, S.S. Gordon,
a pacifist and a former United Church minister, in one of his last acts before his death in 1933 deemphasized the cadet movement in the Vancouver school system. 58

Throughout the 1930's, the British Columbia Conference and the different presbyteries wrote the federal government in support of the General Council's demands for disarmament by Canada and, later, for an embargo on all war products to belligerent nations, 59 as an example to the rest of the world. Presbyteries sent petitions to all congregations, calling for disarmament and received a very good response from the church members. These were then sent to Ottawa to be forwarded to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva in February of 1932. 60 In the spring of 1939, the Pacific Northwest Embargo Conference was held in Vancouver and received widespread support from Vancouver United Churches. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, with many United Church women as active members, was the prime organizer of the conference and the British Columbia Conference Committee of Evangelism and Social Service supported it. The conference called for an embargo on all war material to Japan.

Although war was roundly denounced throughout this period, out and out pacifism was much less frequently advocated. In Prince Rupert Presbytery, however, the church members were urged to join the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization. 62 The following year the same presbytery sent a memorial to British Columbia Conference urging that "our Church as a whole undertake the propagation of pacifism, i.e., the renunciation of participation in war—as an integral part of the Christian life." 63 In 1939 the conference endorsed the importance of
the F.O.R., in which several leading members of the church were active. 64

The small handful from the United Church who were members of the F.O.R. were almost all members of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order which had a small but strong pacifist wing. 65 The Rev. Bryce Wallace influenced conference and presbytery reports wherever he lived, as did the Rev. H.T. Allen and a few others. Mildred Fahrni, an active lay woman, influenced the general public through her political involvement with the C.C.F. party and the Rev. R.B. Tillman, as secretary of the S.C.M. on The University of British Columbia campus in the late 1930's, came into contact with many of the United Church students and ordinands. 66

With the declaration of war in 1939, many of the S.C.M. United Church members who had considered themselves pacifist or had at least paid lip-service to the pacifism of their leaders changed their views and rallied to the support of their nation in the war effort. 67 Ministers who had strongly denounced war from their pulpits a few months previously now regretfully supported it and church members who had signed petitions urging the disarmament of nations were soon bearing arms. A small minority, however, remained steadfastly pacifist throughout the war and the United Church as a body supported the right of individuals to hold this position.

Shortly after the declaration of war, seventy-five pacifists from the United Church sent a letter to the United Church Observer, declaring publicly their renunciation of the war. Most were clergymen and members of the F.O.R. and F.C.S.O. from Ontario and Quebec. The Rev. Bryce Wallace was the only British Columbia signatory. 68
publicity from the secular press and the resulting outrage from the general public calling the signatories communist or communist-led caused great consternation among church officials across the country. The sub-executive of General Council chastised the pacifists for making their stand in the press at that particular time and stressed the church's support of the war effort.

As a result of the furore, the pacifist group sent a delegation to the chairman of the United Church War Service Committee to suggest how its work could be enriched and enlarged to promote peace and thus receive the pacifists' support. The pacifists urged moral and social support by local war service units of families where men were overseas, of men unable to fight and of families where men were interned. The pacifists wanted chaplains of the church to work with interned men as well as with enlisted men, and they wanted church families to open their homes to orphans of the enemy. Nothing much officially came of these suggestions.

In British Columbia, a small minority of the clergy remained out and out pacifists throughout the war, and on the whole, were respected by their fellow clergymen and congregations for their views. Many other ministers had pacifist leanings. At the Vancouver Presbytery meeting in September of 1939, there was a very heated debate over whether a resolution of loyalty should be presented or not, and it very narrowly passed. One minister, as a student, preached against the war to a very small congregation of middle-class mine management men and lost the whole congregation. The two larger congregations of his charge made up of
workers, ranchers and miners, remained loyal to him, however. In Vanderhoof the minister spoke against the war, thus losing a good portion of his congregation who were staunch Legion members from World War I, and once the young men of the area enlisted, there was virtually no congregation left. On the other hand, the Rev. Bryce Wallace preached to his Victoria congregation without undue criticism and was backed by his next congregation in Vancouver for his views against the involvement of the United Church in the sale of war bonds to liquidate its debts. Although many in the Sardis congregation did not agree with H.T. Allen's views on war, they still respected him and continued to support the church.

The Rev. C.D. Clarke at St. James in Victoria refused to stand for the resolution of loyalty at the 1940 annual meeting of the British Columbia Conference and asked that his vote be recorded. In November he resigned from his charge. The congregation refused to accept his resignation in June but finally did so with deep regret. Some members were staying away because of the minister's views. Clarke eventually left the ministry because he felt his views were contrary to those of the church. It was a personal decision, however, and his clergy brethren in Victoria Presbytery sorrowed over his decision.

The pacifist ministers in British Columbia were not unduly vocal about their views and thus avoided much opposition from their congregational members and the general public. Only in one instance did a minister's stand provoke an unpleasant situation which hit the newspapers.
In the fall of 1939, the Rev. W.E.G. Dovey of the Peachland-Westbank charge refused to allow his Peachland congregation to sing the national anthem at the close of every worship service and this stand caused a serious split in the Official Board and congregation. The presbytery was forced to step in and settle the problem. The Peachland congregation asked Dovey to resign at the end of the church year in June 1940 which greatly upset the Westbank congregation who very much admired his honesty, conviction and his work with their youth. Presbytery felt the breach was too wide for Dovey to continue but thought the Peachland congregation, despite the minister's rash statement in the heat of debate, was most unchristian in its treatment of him. Dovey was brought into civil court on charges of seditious utterance, sentenced to six months' imprisonment and fined $100. The church was unable to get his sentence lessened but did establish a fund for his wife who was left with heavy debts. Ministers in the lower mainland visited Dovey regularly in prison and sympathized with him. They held similar views and felt that he had been caught up in a vindictive attack by a couple of key board members who were rabid patriots and willing to report him to the civil authorities. The ministers also felt he had not received a fair trial since the court totally ignored the statement of loyalty to the King which Dovey signed for the Peachland Official Board later. Immediately upon his discharge Dovey was given another pastorate where he had no such problems.

Among the majority of church members and clergy alike, there was deep regret over the war. Disillusionment over the failure of idealistic
peace aims made the church tolerant and sympathetic toward pacifists. Very few, however, had any idea of the United Church's direct involvement with the federal government on behalf of conscientious objectors. The Revs. John Coburn and James R. Mutchmor were the key men at the national level while the Rev. Hugh Dobson was the person from British Columbia who played a role in this issue. Under the National Resources Mobilization Act, 1940, only Mennonites and Doukhobors were exempt from compulsory military training and all other conscientious objectors were subject to imprisonment. At the 1940 meeting of General Council the government was urged to broaden its laws concerning conscientious objectors and to bring them more in line with those of Great Britain, where alternative service was provided for conscientious objectors of all religious persuasions.

The United Church sent several men to Ottawa to meet with officials over the desired changes which were brought into effect on March 18, 1941.

In British Columbia, Dobson became very concerned early in the fall of 1940 when a second-year theological student and pacifist, Ernest Bishop, found no way open for him to be a conscientious objector. The local tribunal of the National War Service Board considered Bishop's case after orders had gone out to postpone all hearings until the law was amended; the university where he was enrolled in some courses refused to let him take military training and tried to expel him; and he was about to be turned over to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police when Dobson intervened with Ottawa on his behalf. Under the new regulations, Bishop took his military training and was then exempt from the draft for his
third year of theology. Upon graduation he received his draft call and was to be sent to an alternative service camp. His ordination took place just prior to his departure date so that he came under the exemption regulations pertaining to all clergymen.

The Department of National War Services of the federal government was willing to co-operate in this matter provided Bishop made no unfair or disloyal statements concerning the government or the country. 89 The local tribunal was not as generous in its approach. The chairman, A.M. Manson was a staunch Presbyterian who had fought church union in 1925 and he not only had no sympathy for conscientious objectors, but he hated the United Church and all those connected with it as well. He was determined to see Bishop in jail or at a camp, and to prevent his ordination. 90

The men fighting for the right of the conscientious objectors were not pacifists, but they were determined that there should be just treatment. And the United Church did not feel that all the tribunals were just. Judge A.M. Manson was clearly biased in his views towards Bishop. In Alberta, John Rowe, the son of a United Church minister, was sent to jail for three months on the basis of a trial with no witnesses and loaded questions. 91 In Saskatchewan, the chairman was greatly distrusted by the church since he failed to seriously consider religious objections. 92 The Toronto tribunal, two of whose three members were United Church laymen, directed loaded questions at one theological student, never gave him a chance to explain his position, and misread a letter from United Church headquarters pointing out the extreme shortage of ministers. 93

The church officials felt that conscientious objectors should be willing to take basic training and alternative service equal in hardship
and requiring equal sacrifice to others submitting to the draft. 94

Certainly some of the conscientious objectors whom the church defended felt the same way. They were not cowards wanting the easy way out for they were willing to go to jail, work overseas in dangerous positions or spend years in work camps on dull, monotonous jobs. Furthermore, many found their decision a difficult one to make since they realized that it was only because the majority of young men were willing to enlist that the few had the liberty to follow their own beliefs, 95 and live in relative safety in alternate service camps set up by the government.

Some of the camps were isolated from large communities and many of the men were a long way from home. Correspondence from Mutchmor and Coburn in Toronto kept the students in touch with the larger church body and those in the camp near Port Alberni visited the local church and some were invited into a few homes. Most church members, however, were unaware of these men, and only after the Rev. J.M. Finlay from Toronto visited the camps across Canada and the Rev. J.R. Mutchmor wrote to the president of the British Columbia Conference did the local ministers make an effort to visit the camps near them. 96

Since most of the United Church conscientious objectors were university students and the church was desperately short of men, several were eventually released from the forestry camps to work in church institutions. One such student worked in the Indian Residential School at Port Alberni and after the war, while still in the Alternative Service, as Boys' Work Secretary for the British Columbia Conference. There was some fear that congregations would not want to co-operate with a
conscientious objector and that he would be a bad influence on youth, but the fears did not materialize. His work was well received. Three other theological students were released to help teach in the W.M.S. high schools in the interior established for the Japanese evacuated from the coast. In this case the Revs. J.R. Mutchmor and John Coburn from the Board of Evangelism and Social Service and the Revs. George Dorey and W.P. Bunt from the Board of Home Missions intervened on behalf of the boys with the government.

The conscientious objectors came from a variety of backgrounds. Many had pacifist fathers. Ernest Bishop's father had been a pacifist minister in Alberta during the First World War as had John Rowe's father. Clyde and Keith Woollard had a pacifist father and a strongly pacifist minister in their Saskatchewan home town, while in Ontario Ernest Best with a pacifist father was strongly influenced by several pacifist ministers during his teens and early twenties. On the other hand, Albert Dobson, exempted to do vital medical work in northern Alberta, had Hugh Dobson, a non-pacifist as his father. The latter, because of his son's beliefs was placed in an awkward position in aiding conscientious objectors. However, from the same family another son, Arthur, signed up as a chaplain in Burma. Many of the conscientious objectors had been active members of the S.C.M. while at university and had their views on pacifism strengthened there.

Key men in the church fought for the right of these young men to be pacifists and to be fairly treated. Because of their high scholastic calibre, their leadership ability, their intention to serve the church with
a lifetime career and the respect held by the church hierarchy for them and their families, men like Coburn, Dorey, Mutchmor, Dobson and Bunt were willing to use what influence they could with the federal government. Putting aside their personal views on war, these same men were also very incensed by the loaded questioning and archaic war regulations used by the war tribunals at the beginning of the war. They wanted just treatment for all men of draft age, believing that a United Church member should have the same right to pacifist beliefs as a Mennonite or Doukhobor. Primarily through their constant intervention the regulations were changed. The church leaders were not pacifists themselves nor did they really approve of that stand while the war was being fought, but they were strong believers in equal treatment for all religions and in the importance of individual conscience.

The church did not suffer, as it did in the First World War from a drop in membership or finances. During the Second World War even those places left without a regular minister were strong enough to keep going and, in some cases, to increase in numbers. After the war new members joining the church kept up with the general increase in population. Finances improved greatly as British Columbia entered a boom period after the depression and war industries, shipping, mining, lumbering and the military put money into the pockets of workers, who, if church members, placed it on the offering plate. The conference oversubscribed to the national deficit fund, repaired its own churches and manses and embarked on new building.
### Table VIII

Rates of Growth Compared to Population Increase in British Columbia

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B.C. Pop.</th>
<th>Anglican Pop.</th>
<th>% of B.C. Pop.</th>
<th>Roman Catholic Pop.</th>
<th>% of Roman Catholic Pop.</th>
<th>United Church Pop.</th>
<th>% of United Church Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>694,263</td>
<td>207,049</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>91,641</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>164,750</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>817,861</td>
<td>246,191</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>113,587</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>201,638</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,165,210</td>
<td>315,469</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>168,016</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>341,914</td>
<td>30.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, 1941, 1951.

### Table IX

War and Post-War Growth of United Church Presbyteries and Selected Cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1941*</th>
<th>1941**</th>
<th>1951*</th>
<th>1951**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kootenay</td>
<td>10,557</td>
<td>18,040</td>
<td>15,759</td>
<td>23,569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamloops-Okanagan</td>
<td>15,246</td>
<td>20,632</td>
<td>23,032</td>
<td>35,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>24,971</td>
<td>33,081</td>
<td>23,754</td>
<td>58,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Rupert</td>
<td>7,202</td>
<td>5,601</td>
<td>9,124</td>
<td>8,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cariboo</td>
<td>6,173</td>
<td>8,651</td>
<td>6,750</td>
<td>16,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>17,171</td>
<td>25,348</td>
<td>28,946</td>
<td>190,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>56,373</td>
<td>87,242</td>
<td>69,376</td>
<td>147,119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1941*</th>
<th>1941**</th>
<th>1951*</th>
<th>1951**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>1,795</td>
<td>4,928</td>
<td>5,459</td>
<td>7,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Vancouver</td>
<td>3,232</td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>5,962</td>
<td>4,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver City</td>
<td>40,725</td>
<td>69,246</td>
<td>52,125</td>
<td>101,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trail</td>
<td>1,810</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>4,076</td>
<td>3,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>1,425</td>
<td>1,761</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria City</td>
<td>10,863</td>
<td>8,795</td>
<td>11,602</td>
<td>12,508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* United Church Year Book, 1941, 1951. Figures for those under pastoral care.

** Census of Canada, 1941, 1951. Those claiming the United Church.
Morale was high within the church throughout the war, as members worked together in a common war effort. The church stood by as a symbol of security in a world gone mad, and the comfort it gave to numerous families was immeasurable. With the end of the war, the high morale continued as men and their now permanently settled families flocked to the church.

The war did not leave the church demoralized and discredited as it had been after the First World War. Part of the reason for this was due, no doubt, to the general atmosphere of society. The war had been approached with a sense of duty, not as a holy crusade to cleanse society, so that there were no false hopes or deep disillusionment at the end. The church echoed society's attitude. It responded quickly and effectively to the need for material supplies because the structure and orientation of its women's groups were traditionally directed along these lines. Chaplains volunteered for service, not with the desire to be part of the battle or to compete with other denominations, but to serve enlisted men. The United Church sent a large number into the forces but it did not promote recruiting from the pulpit, the church press, or put pressure upon single and married men in the congregations as it had done during the previous war. It supported the government's recruiting and conscription plans tacitly but defended those not enlisted. It fought for a more just treatment of conscientious objectors and won. The pacifism of the 1920's and 1930's had a meliorating effect on the church's view of conscientious objectors and pacifists in its own ranks, so there was not the ostracism nor the rabid patriotism of the First World War.
Table X
Active Full-time Chaplains in Canadian Armed Forces to April 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Navy</th>
<th>Army</th>
<th>Airforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2280</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table XI
Canadian and British Columbia Enlistments by Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Airforce*</td>
<td>Army**</td>
<td>Army**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>23.86%</td>
<td>22.29%</td>
<td>38.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>20.80%</td>
<td>36.56%</td>
<td>16.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church</td>
<td>31.87%</td>
<td>20.87%</td>
<td>25.21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


** Figures valid until September 1945. Figures for provincial affiliation of the navy and airforce were unavailable. Letter from Department of Veteran Affairs, Ottawa, to writer, June 1973.
Table XII

Intake into Canadian Armed Forces by Provinces, World War II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Male population</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of total to male pop. 18-45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.E.I.</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>9,309</td>
<td>48.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td>123,000</td>
<td>59,355</td>
<td>48.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td>94,000</td>
<td>45,137</td>
<td>48.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>699,000</td>
<td>175,441</td>
<td>25.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>830,000</td>
<td>397,808</td>
<td>47.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>159,000</td>
<td>76,444</td>
<td>48.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>191,000</td>
<td>80,605</td>
<td>42.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>178,000</td>
<td>77,703</td>
<td>43.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>181,000</td>
<td>90,976</td>
<td>50.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The church did promote strongly the war savings plan, but largely because it stood to gain in the long run. And it did! The huge deficit of the depression years was wiped out, lifting morale still higher for church members.

Throughout the war the church pushed for realistic post-war planning, not only in its own ranks but also with the government. There was to be no unemployment and unrest such as followed the previous war. The British Columbia Conference passed a resolution urging plans for social reconstruction and post-war rehabilitation as early as 1940 and repeated it in succeeding years. By the closing years of the war, definite suggestions concerned with the disposal of war goods, crown industries and property; the post-war control of prices, production, investment, employment, export trade and foreign exchange; and the rehabilitation of returned veterans into the regular employment stream were made to the government. Congregations made a special effort to befriend war brides, searched out jobs and housing for veterans and welcomed the new families into their couple clubs and youth groups. In return membership swelled, adding further to the sense of well-being in the church.

If dollars and numerical strength determine the success of a programme then the United Church in its social outreach during the Second World War had reason to congratulate itself on a job well done.
Chapter 6

THE EVACUATION OF JAPANESE CANADIANS

The war brought to a head the latent hostility of white British Columbia towards the Japanese in the province. The church had always paid lip-service to the ideal of brotherhood but now the United Church in British Columbia was confronted with an explosive racial situation on its own doorstep. One minister wrote at the time, "I do hope that our Church people can be measurably Christian. This is going to be a test anyway— as between impulse and passion and panic vs. a Christian discipline. May we follow the Master." Would the church come up to its ideals against the rest of society or rationalize its behaviour and go along with the masses? In the past the predecessors of the United Church had exhibited their differences on the racial question in the province but during the three decades preceding World War II, the United Church was never called to make a public stand. The test was at hand.

With the advent of the hostilities in Asia, many missionaries from both China and Japan were recalled by the United Church to Canada and were living in British Columbia at the time war was declared with Japan. The province also had a large number of both oriental and occidental missionaries working with oriental missions and congregations, especially in Vancouver, Victoria and the lower mainland. This nucleus of missionaries provided both support and opposition for the Japanese in Canada from very personal viewpoints, dependent upon whether they had
worked with Chinese or Japanese. Those clergy in official positions, and especially those on the Board of Home Missions, and a few laymen strongly supported the Japanese. The rest of the clergy and the majority of church members responded as the general public did, either with apathy or outright hostility.

As early as 1891, when the legislature of British Columbia tried to limit Japanese immigration, hostility towards the Japanese was widespread throughout the province. In Vancouver in the summer of 1907 a white mob, aroused by impassioned anti-oriental speakers including two clergymen, tried to destroy the oriental sections of the city but were turned back by the Japanese who resolutely stood their ground. A "Gentleman's Agreement" between Japan and Canada followed the riot whereupon the former voluntarily restricted the numbers of immigrants to Canada. In spite of repeated restrictions however, the Japanese population grew at an alarming rate, adding further cause for white hostility. Restrictions against the Japanese in the fishing, lumbering and mining industries were levied as families increased and improved their economic status in the province. With the scarcity of jobs during the 1930's the white population turned on the Japanese as a scapegoat for the widespread unemployment.

By this time an articulate group of Nisei, born and educated in Canada and considering themselves Canadians, entered the job market and faced rank discrimination. The New Canadian, a weekly newspaper started in 1938 largely as the voice for the Nisei, articulated the various problems, dreams and ambitions of the growing number of Nisei, as did the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-30</td>
<td>-40</td>
<td>-45</td>
<td>-51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>82,070</td>
<td>71,958</td>
<td>10,825</td>
<td>3,510</td>
<td>8,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other British</td>
<td>1,017</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>14,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commonwealth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>1,229</td>
<td>807</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>2,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>3,106</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>13,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>3,014</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2,881</td>
<td>497</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada, 1951.
Canadian Japanese Association. As early as 1934, the C.C.F. added the enfranchisement of the Japanese to its party platform, and the Nisei in particular, through the Canadian Japanese Association, the New Canadian and "The Young People" took up the cry. Such demands from a vocal and well-educated group increased the fears and hostility of the white population.

Long before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour the general public in British Columbia was sufficiently upset about the war in general, and in particular, Ottawa's lack of concern for the defence of the west coast and its peculiar problems related to the Japanese, that it would believe any rumours, myths or extreme suggestions that gave promise of a solution to the Japanese problem. War with Japan gave British Columbia its opportunity.

During the war, the Japanese community drew its friends mainly from the Student Christian Movement (S.C.M.), the C.C.F. and the United, Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. The United Church through its predecessor, the Methodist Church, was the first to become involved with the Japanese in British Columbia and directed its efforts towards the total assimilation of the Japanese into the white community. With about five thousand Japanese members, it played the largest role of the three churches during the evacuation period.

The Japanese Christians began their own evangelism in British Columbia in the late 1880's with the formation of a Japanese "Christian Endeavour" group in Vancouver and then asked to join the Methodist Church of Canada. Methodist missions were opened in other areas of the province
wherever a large number of Japanese had gathered; some at the insistence of the resident Japanese as in Victoria, Cumberland, Steveston and New Westminster, and others by the church mission board in Ocean Falls, the Fraser Valley and Kelowna. In all the missions, there were language night schools, regular worship and prayer services, kindergartens and later as a congregation developed, women's and youth's groups. Some were traditional church groups for church members; others were primarily for non-church members but all concentrated on helping members become assimilated Canadians. In addition, the Methodists started a hospital in Steveston which was later taken over by the Japanese Fishermen's Association, and in Victoria, an Oriental Home for Girls which became a haven for homeless Japanese girls and women.\textsuperscript{13}

The Japanese readily adopted Christianity. Shintoism easily accommodated the holding of other religious beliefs as well, and many of the Japanese coming to Canada were nominal Buddhists only. Since the Christian church was, for the most part, the only white group to help the new immigrants in a strange land in the early days, the Japanese were very favourably impressed with Christianity. For many attending the night language schools, the adoption of Christianity was only one more step in the process of assimilation. The kindergartens, as well as the night schools, played a strong role in attracting adult converts through their children\textsuperscript{14}, and many of the children attending kindergarten later became church members even though their parents remained Buddhist.\textsuperscript{15} Even those who remained Buddhist adopted Christian institutional practices with youth groups, Sunday Schools, and women's groups which aided in the assimilation to Canadian ways.
### Table XIV

Regional Distribution of all Asiatics Belonging to the United Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>5,813</td>
<td>6,376</td>
<td>5,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>2,887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>1,385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>1,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>1,710</td>
<td>1,885</td>
<td>7,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Although all Asiatics are lumped together in these figures, it can be assumed that most of the increase in the 1951 figures is due to Japanese United Church members moving east and to new converts to the United Church. Although there was a large number of Chinese moving into Canada after 1945, very few would be connected with the United Church and Chinese missions in Canada did not have a great upsurge in converts during and after World War II.

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, 1941, 1951

### Table XV

Religious Affiliation of Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia, 1931

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27,139</td>
<td>22,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>4,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confucian and Buddhist</td>
<td>17,860</td>
<td>14,707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Canada, 1931.
Because the Methodist Church was the first on the scene and had the largest and most numerous missions, it received the most converts. British Columbia's mild climate, its proximity to Japan, and its need for cheap labour encouraged the Japanese to stay in the province and put down roots. As in the case of most white ethnic mission work, the new Japanese converts gradually became independent and formed their own congregations. In one year during the 1920's, the Japanese attached to the Powell Street Mission in Vancouver collected among themselves $12,000 to help erect a gymnasium and social centre, and in the Fairview district a very small group donated $2,000 towards a chapel and kindergarten building. 16

During the 1930's, Japanese church membership grew extensively. In one year about one hundred adults were baptized into the church and in New Westminster Japanese membership rose 28% in one year. 17 This growth was partially due to the popularity of the Rev. K. Shimizu, a pastor born in Japan but educated in Canada, 18 who was a strong believer in assimilation and did all he could among the Japanese people to achieve this goal. Until Shimizu took over, the Japanese United Church had remained strongly Methodist- oriented in form and stayed quite aloof from the Anglo-Saxon congregations and higher courts of the United Church. 19

In addition to the night school, social events, children's, youth's, women's and men's groups connected with the Powell Street congregation of which he was the minister, Shimizu set up cottage meetings in the Fairview and Marpole areas of Vancouver, and the former eventually built its own separate building and congregation. He himself was very active
at the presbytery and conference levels of the church and encouraged his church groups to take part in the predominantly white presbytery and conference gatherings.

Shimizu was very much aware of the problems which the Nisei faced with the older generation, the Issei, and with the white community. English services for the Nisei were started and the "Shepherd's Call" in English and Japanese was sent weekly to all members and adherents of the Powell Street church to keep them informed of church events and personal news, and to encourage ways towards further assimilation. Shimizu's Young People's Society published its own paper which stressed the Nisei viewpoint: problems of misunderstanding with parents steeped in the traditional Japanese culture and with the surrounding white community; loyalty to Canada; and social, economic, legal, political, marital and religious problems.

As a part of his educational programme for assimilation Shimizu stressed the shouldering of responsibility by his parishioners not only for other United Church Japanese but for all Japanese in the community. During the 1930's, the Japanese congregation of Powell Street became self-sustaining and organized wider social work with the establishment of a medical clinic, collection of food and clothing, and the provision of jobs for their unemployed.

Meanwhile, in New Westminster and in the Fraser Valley, the Japanese missions were growing too. There was less ghetto living and a greater mixing of Japanese among their white neighbours. Children mixed at school and in each other's homes, and adults joined the local
By 1941, the Fraser Valley mission with branches in several centres had become strong enough to build its own church at Mission City and have it completely paid for.

The general attitude of the white congregations towards their Japanese brethren during this pre-war period was mixed. The majority had no contact with them and had no feeling, one way or the other, although many of the women involved in W.M.S. work were sympathetic to the efforts of assimilation in Canada as an extension of the more romantic overseas mission work in Japan. Despite the myth that Canada was a mosaic of different races and cultures working together, there was a general assumption, arising out of the 19th century imperialism and social Darwinism and held by the church and society, that all would adopt Anglo-Saxon views on government, law, education, morality, health, language and religion. What remained for preservation by the various ethnic groups was a superficial smattering of their folk arts to be displayed on special days for entertainment of the Anglo-Saxon majority.

A few church members of the white congregations were definitely opposed to the presence of all orientals in the province and wanted nothing less than deportation, and could probably arouse support from many in the quiet majority. An even smaller number, though not in favour of further immigration, were very sympathetic to the plight of the Japanese caught between the economic greed of the big industrialists and the hostility of the general population. This small group worked hard through the missions to help educate the Japanese in Canadian customs and the English language, and to ease the problems of the Nisei.
Very few of the Japanese joined white congregations and those who did were usually living in an area where there were few Japanese. Some who did venture away from the Japanese congregations felt unwelcome and later returned to their ethnic group.  

During the 1920's and the 1930's a few church members became aware of the injustices being done to the Japanese and spoke out for them. In 1925, some Anglican and United Church members managed to stop all school segregation in the Vancouver area, except for Steveston, and in 1936 the Official Board of Knox United Church, Vancouver, drafted a resolution for the presbytery concerning the need of the franchise for Japanese Canadians. On another occasion when the provincial government refused relief to the unemployed Japanese during the depression, the Rev. Andrew Roddan of First United Church through the intervention of the Hon. Herbert Marler, the Canadian minister to Japan who was then visiting British Columbia, obtained changes in the government's policy and the Japanese received relief.  

Racial hostility had reached such a height by 1927 that at the annual meeting of the British Columbia Conference, a Committee on Christianity and Race Relations on the Pacific Coast was appointed with the Rev. Hugh Dobson as chairman. This committee felt it could not speak for the church as a whole but it would examine the problem sanely and without hysteria, and offer facts to the church as a part of an educational programme. Eventually it hoped the church body would be able to reach a unified agreement. Besides gathering facts from many sources—university faculty, published materials and secular groups—for church members to
borrow, committee members spoke to service clubs, the church courts and congregations, and led discussion groups. The committee continued throughout the 1930's under the Board of Evangelism and Social Service with various titles, and included among its members, not only persons working with oriental missions, but men like Prof. C.W. Topping of The University of British Columbia, Stanley Brent of the Y.M.C.A., and leading ministers in the conference like the Revs. W.H. Smith, A.E. Whitehouse, Hugh M. Rae, Wm. Deans, Andrew Roddan and W.B. Willan.

In 1936, the conference urged the federal and provincial governments to grant the franchise to all persons born and raised in Canada, and asked congregations to study in their official boards the whole question of racial relations. It is very doubtful if the latter instruction was carried out. Two years later, the conference wrote to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Internal Affairs asking that all races be treated equally in the issuance of fishing licences. Although official courts of the church through a few concerned people were informed and alarmed about the injustices towards the Japanese, and despite the years and extent of mission work among the Japanese, the bulk of the church membership, unconcerned and content with the status quo, ignored the efforts of the few to change the situation. Educational attempts had failed so that when war broke out with Japan, there was no large body sympathetic towards the Japanese-Canadians in their plight.

Prior to Pearl Harbour, but once war with Japan looked imminent, hostility in British Columbia against the Japanese increased to the point
where Ottawa was forced to appoint a special committee to study the problem and suggest solutions or action if war did break out. The major recommendation of the report stressed the need to calm the white population since no subversive Japanese elements were found, and to do this, all Japanese were re-registered voluntarily and willingly. It was decided not to draft Japanese as soldiers and a Standing Committee on Orientals was appointed. Again A.W. Sparling and F.J. Mead of the original committee served as did F.J. Hume, mayor of New Westminster, Prof. H.F. Angus of The University of British Columbia and Lt. Col. M. Macintosh of the British Columbia legislature.

Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbour, individuals and especially key politicians in British Columbia took up the attack on all Japanese in Canada regardless of loyalty or citizenship. Gradually community organizations added their voices to the protest as did many of the provincial newspapers. Howard C. Green, Ian Mackenzie, Thomas Reid, A.W. Neill in the federal parliament and Vancouver alderman Halford Wilson were among the most vocal politicians. One white woman told of living happily beside Japanese neighbours in the Fraser Valley until war broke out and suddenly all actions became food for suspicion and the Japanese were quickly ostracized. On the advice of the Standing Committee, fish boats were impounded, some forty Japanese considered dangerous were interned and the Japanese language schools and newspapers were closed. These moves did nothing to calm the cry for evacuation.

On January 14, 1942 the federal government announced a partial evacuation of the defence zone—a strip about one hundred miles wide along
the coast—of all Japanese males, eighteen to forty-five years of age who were citizens of Japan. Again this did not calm the population and on February 26, 1942 total evacuation of all Japanese, regardless of citizenship was ordered. The British Columbia Security Commission was created to handle the evacuation and find housing for approximately 16,000 bewildered people.

Other provinces and communities in the interior of British Columbia refused to take the evacuees. The commission then turned to the ghost mining towns of the Kootenay where the majority were sent to live in deserted buildings or in small newly-built cabins. Some moved to self-supporting projects in Lillooet, Grand Forks, Bridge River and other points in the province as well as to other provinces. The government also moved sizeable numbers to the sugar beet farms of southern Alberta, Manitoba and southwestern Ontario. Over two thousand men worked on road camps in British Columbia and northern Ontario, but many of the married men gradually returned to be with families in the camps.

Although many from the Vancouver area moved directly to a camp, those from the outlying area and up the coast were brought into Hastings Park, Vancouver, where they were housed in the cattle barns until the camps were ready.

During the evacuation period, the United Church went along with the government orders and concentrated its efforts on looking after its Japanese members and ministers. The church was caught unprepared by the suddenness of the evacuation orders and its leaders had no time to think...
out a position. Dealing with the practical problems which the evacuation entailed took up what available time there was. Even if there had been more time, however, the church's reaction would have been the same. The leaders realized that in this hysterical period, the church membership agreed with the general public about the dangerous presence of the Japanese and desired their removal from the coast. The extent of military danger was unknown and the time was not opportune for reason and further careful education in an effort to change racial bias and eliminate fear. The church leaders took the only line they considered open to them in the emergency—help the Japanese as much as possible mentally, physically and spiritually until the time was ripe for a more lasting solution.

As early as September 1941 the church had realized that its Japanese members were in a dangerous position although the extent of the danger was never imagined. The president of the conference, the Rev. Hugh Dobson, had written to all the Japanese clergy assuring them of the church's brotherly love and efforts to keep the public calm. He asked the Japanese to remain calm also, and not allow their conduct to give rise to any action which would give cause for persecution to those who were prejudiced against them. In this same period, Dobson and others concerned about the rising racial tension visited the Japanese consul, the other denominations' leaders and local politicians to gain assurances and make plans for the safety of Japanese congregations and those Japanese who were loyal to Canada. The church considered men like Vancouver alderman Wilson trouble-makers and rabble-rousers who were using the Japanese issue for political gain and the leaders felt quiet
consultation behind the scenes was preferable to public confrontation, in order to keep the public emotions curtailed as much as possible.  

In late 1941, the Special Committee on Japanese Work was set up by the British Columbia Conference and it continued until 1946 to keep watch over the situation. In March of 1942 it presented to the British Columbia Security Commission a suggested plan for church policy. Earlier it had asked for a lifting of the curfew for the Japanese clergy in Vancouver, custodians to look after vacated Japanese property, and the opportunity to move Japanese of a particular faith to the same camp. The suggested plan included these earlier requests and added that families should be kept together to encourage normal family life; that the churches be permitted to set up night schools and clubs which would promote further assimilation into Canadian life; and that the church missionaries be allowed to continue their Christian work as in the past.

Some from the Special Committee on Japanese Work were also on the Advisory Committee Meeting of the Four Christian Churches working at Hastings Park. This interdenominational committee established co-operation in kindergarten, boys' and girls' work in the Park, and divided up responsibility for educational work in the interior camps and for providing clergy for the Japanese in the interior. The *New Canadian* was used by the Advisory Committee as its medium to relay information to the Japanese.

The United Church Special Committee decided policy, laid plans and backed the Superintendent of Home Missions, the Rev. W.P. Bunt, in his day-to-day decisions and work with the Japanese. As the Japanese were moved into the camps, he took over responsibility for the vacated
church property, for the personal effects of the clergy and church members stored in the empty buildings, and for placing and supervising the Japanese clergy in the different camps. The original plan to have all Japanese United Church people in one camp was not carried out although a large majority did get to Kaslo. This was due largely to the efforts of the Rev. K. Shimizu who spent a great deal of time in April of 1942 urging his Vancouver parishioners to register immediately for that location. The United Church had members in all the camps, and as a result, had missionaries working in most of them although one of the other co-operating denominations might have the major responsibility.

In March 1942, Vancouver Presbytery, in response to the evacuation orders, passed and sent to the press a resolution indicating not only the presbytery's support for the Japanese as a group but also its willingness to co-operate with the government in carrying out the orders. The public renunciation of this mild resolution by the Rev. Chas. E. Batzold showed that at least one clergyman supported the public in its strident cries against the Japanese. Later the same day, a more strongly worded resolution was passed condemning the racial cleavage which was being forced on the Canadian society and asked that Japanese-Canadian volunteers be allowed to enlist. This was sent to the minister of National Defence.

Even among the defenders of the Japanese though, there were some reservations about the loyalty of the seven Japanese clergy. All the clergy were Issei and of Japanese citizenship; some had difficulty understanding the Nisei and their problems of assimilation and some had mixed feelings towards Canada and its ideals. The Rev. George Dorey,
secretary of the Board of Home Missions in Toronto, went so far as to write the British Columbia Security Commission asking for notification of any disloyal Japanese clergy. In placing the ministers in the camps, great care was taken by the Special Committee that the greatest number of Nisei be served by the more assimilated Japanese ministers and that the Nisei be encouraged to join white congregations wherever possible in order to hasten their assimilation.

The response of the Japanese congregations to the evacuation orders was mixed. Although many expected some sort of drastic action by the government in response to the racial hostility of the general public, none expected total evacuation. Those with Canadian citizenship and long roots in Canada were shocked to lose all their rights and be treated the same as Japanese nationals. Some became very bitter and tried to fight, but most accepted the orders with quiet resignation.

The Japanese clergy and the white missionaries were a strong support for the church members, comforting them, interpreting the government's orders, looking after property matters, and helping the families resettle as best they could. Many of the church families were among the better assimilated and moved east of the Rockies independently. Often this was done so the younger members of the family could complete their education or find jobs.

The Japanese congregations had been good supporters of the War Victory Bond campaign and continued their support even after the government started its restrictive measures. In January of 1942 those congregations in the lower mainland drafted a resolution expressing their
patriotic loyalty and sent it to the Standing Committee on Orientals and to the prime minister. As a sense of hopelessness pervaded the Japanese communities, the church members were asked to increase their efforts to improve morale and patriotism among the other Japanese. Once the evacuation order was given, church members were urged to keep their faith, and to remember the church would do all it could to help them in the camps and in the east. For many the comfort of the church kept their morale up and as a group, they never had the intense bitterness and hostility which the Buddhists had from feeling totally alone and unwanted in Canada.

That there was some bitterness and a sense of betrayal especially among the naturalized citizens and Nisei who considered themselves nothing but true Canadians cannot be denied. These people felt the country had let them down and betrayed its own ideals as well. One Japanese minister became so embittered he left the church temporarily and another committed suicide after suffering a mental breakdown, which was attributed to the strain of the evacuation.

Most white congregations ignored what was happening to the Japanese in this period unless they happened to be in an area where some of the Japanese were re-settling. In Kaslo, the minister the Rev. H.J. Armitage, initially welcomed the Japanese and their minister, the Rev. K. Shimizu, opened his church building for Japanese services and tried to include the Nisei in his regular Sunday evening services. Unfortunately, friction arose between Armitage and Shimizu over the inclusion of Nisei in the regular Kaslo congregation's services. Armitage saw this as a welcomed
opportunity for assimilation and at the same time for strengthening his small congregation, while Shimizu wanted to maintain complete control over his Japanese flock during their temporary stay in the town and postpone further assimilation until after the people settled permanently in the east. A few whites left the Kaslo church in opposition to the Japanese presence but the majority grew to appreciate these newcomers in the community and shared women's meetings, teas and ball games. Kaslo was a very small town and the arrival of the Japanese gave a big boost to the town's prosperity, putting money into local businessmen's pockets including some United Church people.

In Grand Forks where the mayor and many others opposed any Japanese families in the town, the minister, the Rev. Thos. Keyworth, did all he could to ease the situation for the newcomers. He found the Japanese minister rooms on the edge of town, fought for educational facilities for the Japanese children and smoothed relations between the Japanese and the local white farmers. Not all his parishioners followed suit, but some did go out of their way to help too.

A few white individuals from congregations in towns that were evacuated also helped in this period of upheaval. In Cumberland in addition to other aid, the minister looked after five Japanese boys in the spring of 1942 until they finished their school year. The minister in Ocean Falls was concerned over the Japanese minister's financial situation while in Hastings Park and looked after the disposal of the Japanese congregation's belongings, and in Rosedale, the minister intervened and gained more time for one of his Japanese parishioners to sell his property
and settle his affairs before moving east.63

Several Anglo-Saxon church families in Vancouver took in Japanese students who were allowed to stay in the city until the end of the school year and stored personal effects until the owners knew where they were going to settle. This was not without some danger since at least one family was reported to the police and had their home searched and in other cases neighbours watched all activity very closely and suspiciously.64 Among the R.C.M.P. officers who took the initial registration, and who were responsible along with the British Columbia Security Commission for moving the Japanese and maintaining order in the camps, were United Church men who sympathized with the Japanese in their situation and tried to be as helpful as possible.65

A small group of individuals in Vancouver concerned about civil rights organized a Consultative Council of Cooperation in Wartime Problems of Canadian Citizenship66 in March of 1942, and spearheading this group was a strong United Church lay man, Dr. Norman F. Black.67 He was ably supported by the Revs. Hugh Dobson and Hugh Rae; three returned missionaries from Japan, the Revs. W.H. Howard Norman, W.R. McWilliams and Miss Helen Hurd; and several lay people like D.R. Poole, R.J. McMaster, V. Osterhout, Mrs. Mildred Fahrni and others. Anglicans, Baptists and others were active in the Council too but the majority were from the United Church and most had connections with the C.C.F., the S.C.M. or both. The main purpose of this group was to gain justice for the Canadian residents of Japanese origin, but the group was also concerned with the honour and interests of Canada and of the Christian church.
In the autumn of 1942, the Vancouver Consultative Council drafted a pamphlet for public distribution which pointed out the injustices to the Japanese and debunked the popular myths. It condemned the federal government's policy of allowing most Japanese immigrants to settle in British Columbia, and suggested that only by all of Canada accepting responsibility and aid in relocating these people throughout the country on a permanent basis would the racial problem be solved. The Board of Evangelism and Social Service indicated its eagerness to publish the pamphlet, feeling it would have more effectiveness in the east if handled by a large eastern-based body like the church. The board then proceeded to drag its feet deliberately in the actual publication and distribution to clergymen, politicians and other people in influential places. The men at the church headquarters in Toronto decided that hostility towards the Japanese in the rest of Canada was too high at that time to launch a successful campaign for re-settlement. The pamphlet was eventually published in 1944 under the title A Challenge to Patriotism and Statesmanship by The Christian Social Council of Canada and distributed to all United Church ministers.

The Vancouver Consultative Council also presented a "Memorandum to Vancouver City Council" on September 9, 1942 which opposed a resolution for the expulsion of the Japanese as contrary to the rights of Canadian citizenship. Throughout the war the Council continued its fight for the Japanese Canadians by needling the federal government for a definite post-war policy, and by speaking out for the Japanese in church groups and other public gatherings. When the hostile climate moderated at the
end of the war this group was ready to lead the fight against deportation along with similar groups in Winnipeg and Toronto.

Life in the evacuation camps had many unpleasant aspects and the United Church along with the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches concentrated their efforts on making life as palatable as possible.

Despite the fact that the majority of Japanese were segregated from the rest of the Canadian people, the main aim was still to hasten their assimilation into Canadian society. Education was the primary tool for accomplishing this. The general church membership had no part in and was largely ignorant of this work carried on by the Woman's Missionary Society through its returned missionaries from Japan as well as its home missionaries; they led kindergartens in the camps, organized youth recreational programmes and taught the women the English language and Canadian household methods.

The provincial government refused to provide education for any of the Japanese children in the camps, stating it was the federal government's responsibility. The British Columbia Security Commission finally consented to set up an elementary school system, and asked Miss Hide Hyodo, a teacher from Steveston and a very dedicated United Church member, to select the teachers from volunteer high school graduates, set up the schools in the different camps, order the materials and supervise the curriculum. Earlier while Hastings Park was still in operation Miss Hyodo with the help of Dr. Norman Black had set up a teachers' training school for high school graduates who could take over the teaching of the
elementary school pupils. At the same time the church through Miss Hyodo, Dr. Black and the Rev. Horace Burkholder, secretary of Christian Education for Alberta and British Columbia for the United Church, set up a training session for all youth leaders of the Japanese so that recreational programmes in the camps would have leadership to keep the young people active and to continue their growth in the understanding of Canadian ways. 71

No one would take responsibility for the high school students, however, until the United Church through its W.M.S. and the Roman Catholic Church, set up schools. The United Church operated schools in Lemon Creek, Tashme and New Denver-Rosebery, using missionaries, friends of the Japanese and three United Church conscientious objectors who were released from their camps for this work.72 The high schools were a success and many of the pupils, upon moving east went on to university. In June 1946 the school in New Denver was finally ordered closed by the British Columbia Security Commission because it was so good parents refused to remove their children in order to go east.73

In Grand Forks the school board insisted upon payment of fees for the Japanese students, and many of the parents who had moved into the area independently as farm labourers found the fees beyond their financial means. Both the local United Church minister and the church's Special Committee on Japanese Work fought with the British Columbia Security Commission and with Ottawa for a remedy.74 This problem was finally settled with the parents and British Columbia Security Commission paying the Grand Forks school board for each elementary school child
enrolled in classes. However, the parents had to pay the high school fees themselves and, unlike the whites who could pay monthly, the Japanese had to pay in advance yearly.

Throughout this period, the Rev. W.P. Bunt, the home mission superintendent for British Columbia, made regular visits to the camps, boosting the morale of the Japanese clergy and looking after their many personal problems. Three conferences for all the Japanese workers, oriental and white, were organized to give them a chance to compare work, to make plans for future arrangements as people moved out of the camps permanently or were switched to a different one, and to provide fellowship, especially for the Japanese who were restricted in their travel and unable to attend conference and presbytery meetings.

During the war years while the Japanese went about their business in the camps the church quietly worked towards a just and permanent solution and as the war neared its close the church became more and more vocal.

The United Church was convinced that the resettlement of the Japanese in the east was the best solution to the racial problem. The church hoped the move would hasten assimilation and reduce discrimination partially caused by the heavy concentration of Japanese in localized areas of British Columbia. As a member of the National Inter-Church Advisory Committee the United Church endorsed the "Church Sponsored Placement Plan for Japanese Canadian Families" which local clergymen in eastern Canada were to publicize in their congregations. The plan was an utter failure and virtually no Japanese families were placed. The east was as much
against the hapless Japanese as British Columbia. At the same time the
W.M.S. started a project to bring Japanese girls east for domestic jobs.
This plan failed too. Only a few went since most families were closely
knāt and reluctant to let their daughters leave home on their own. When the church continued to push for resettlement in the east, the
Rev. K. Shimizu was sent on two trips to visit those Japanese already
settled there. He returned to the camps in British Columbia with encourag­
ing news and urged more families to move. As sons, daughters or other
families became established and favourable word was sent back, resistance
lessened and more moved, but the majority preferred the camp they knew
to the unknown east where they would be on their own.

In addition to personal hardship, the Japanese were deprived of
the right to vote. Those in British Columbia had never had it, but in
June of 1944 the House of Commons passed Bill 135 without debate amending
the Dominion Elections Act of 1938 and removing the franchise from all
Japanese-Canadians regardless of which province they resided in. The
British Columbia Conference through Dobson, the Vancouver Consultative
Council and the Inter-Church Advisory Committee all protested this rank
piece of discriminatory legislation and telegraphed the prime minister
and the senate asking that the bill be withdrawn or not passed, but to
no avail. One critic suggested it did some good by drawing the general
public's attention dramatically to the issue.

Another burden on the Japanese was the uncertainty of their future
and their legal and economic status in Canada. The liquidation of their
property and personal assets hinted at permanent exclusion from British
Columbia; work contracts in the other provinces were made on a yearly basis only, so it was difficult to settle and assimilate with any sense of permanency there; and there were constant calls for their deportation after the war.

Concerned for the Japanese in their state of insecurity and anxious that the government decide on a plausible solution quickly, the Vancouver Consultative Council in May of 1944 under Dr. Black's guidance, wrote a long letter to the prime minister urging the adoption of a definite policy of resettlement in the east by all law-abiding Japanese who wished to remain in the country after the war.

The letter strongly opposed deportation of all Japanese, a solution widely supported across the country and very popular in British Columbia. On February 16, 1944 a Gallop Poll indicated that 80% across Canada wanted all Japanese nationals deported and that 33% wanted Japanese Canadians deported as well. The suggestion probably emanated in British Columbia. Among its earliest exponents during the war was the Vancouver City Council in September of 1942. Throughout the war British Columbia newspapers and politicians, including Howard Green and A.W. Neill, both United Church men, kept the idea before the public.

The letter also indicated a fear that a return of the Japanese to the west coast would lead to civil uprisings. Signatories of the letter represented the major religious denominations but again those of the United Church were the most numerous. In the prime minister's reply of August 3, 1944, he said that the policy to be announced the following day included many of the suggestions given by the Consultative Council in its letter.

Those disloyal to Canada or wanting to return to Japan were to be returned. All others were to be encouraged to settle throughout Canada with a quota set for the number to be allowed to remain in British Columbia.

Despite the church's work on behalf of the Japanese in the camps, its defence of their franchise, its demands for a definite government policy of resettlement in the east, and its promotional material distributed to church members defending the Japanese Canadians, there was a strong element in the church still vehemently opposed to the presence of the Japanese in Canada. At the meeting of General Council in September 1944, a resolution condemning the federal government for its passing of Bill 135 was vigourously debated on the floor. Opposition to the resolution was led by the Rev. F.H. Stevens of West Vancouver and the motion was narrowly defeated by fourteen votes. One returned missionary from China said "I have heard bitter things said in China about the Japanese, but never anything as bitter as I have heard in Canada." The Rev. Hugh Rae, who also attended the meeting from British Columbia placed the blame for the defeat of the motion upon the wild statements made by the Ottawa members of parliament from British Columbia like Howard Green and A.W. Neill. Eastern delegates to the Council, ignorant of the situation in British Columbia and unacquainted with any Japanese personally, were easily swayed by the fiery accusations made by such men in the daily press.

Not all the blame can be laid on the shoulders of British Columbia's politicians. The church was also guilty. Dobson in early 1942 privately condemned Vancouver churchmen as being so "resentful against all Japanese
... one would never know that they had learned of Christ."^89

Ralph Maybank, a member of parliament from Winnipeg and a member of the United Church, was probably correct when he wrote that

... the church ... is doing a better job of criticizing agencies such as governments than in developing positive pulpit leadership. Had the churchmen been acting otherwise a law like the one under discussion [Bill 135] would never have been passed. The clause complained of was there, indubitably, by reason of B.C. opinion which either has been formed or influenced by the church, or else the church has not influenced or formed it.

Such information as I have been able to get on the subject is that preachers in British Columbia have not been advocating for the Japs the same treatment as for the Germans.90

During this whole period most United Church clergymen were silent on the treatment of the Japanese. Some feared antagonizing their congregations, and others shared their congregations' fear of the Japanese. A few purposely refrained from speaking out in the sincere belief that silence and time would lessen the anti-Japanese hysteria and in the long run aid the Japanese. But Maybank's accusation still stands. The ministers even during the 1930's had done little to educate their congregations on racial injustices on their own doorstep.

With the defeat of Japan imminent, United Church ministers and concerned laymen became braver and openly took up the cause of the Japanese Canadians. Other church members were now open to logical reasoning and supported church leaders' stand for justice.

As the war drew to a close, demands for the implementation of the prime minister's announced policy of August 1944 grew. Finally in March of 1945 the government asked all Japanese to indicate their preference
for repatriation to Japan or settlement east of the Rockies. All
Japanese over sixteen years had to sign but many of the young adults
along with the younger children abided by the decision of their fathers
to return to Japan in order not to break up the family unit. Over ten
thousand indicated a desire to be repatriated. Most Christians, however,
elected to remain in Canada. 91

Once the war was over, many Japanese wanted to change their minds
and remain in Canada. As many as seventy per cent in the Tashme camp
indicated this desire. 92 Some had misunderstood the terms when they
signed for repatriation; others at the time preferred a victorious Japan
where they might be welcomed, to an unknown hostile eastern Canada; some
Nisei signed in order to placate parents. However, upon Japan's defeat,
Canada looked more attractive and the Nisei, ignorant of the Japanese
language and customs, forced their parents to reconsider. Such was the
case of one boy who later became a United Church minister. His family
had signed to go to Japan, but when three of the older children refused
to leave Canada, the father changed his mind and asked to remain too
along with his wife and the three youngest children. 93 The United Church
through its camp missionaries and its moderator, the Rev. J.H. Arnup who
visited Tashme on a western tour, took up the Japanese cause. The Japanese
became hopeful once the United Church supported them publicly through
the press and with the prime minister. 94

On October 5, 1945, Bill 15 was introduced into the House of
Commons authorizing deportation and revocation of the Canadian nationality
of the Japanese Canadians. Westminster Presbytery earlier had passed a
resolution urging all its ministers and laity to fight for the right of the Japanese to change their minds and wrote to the prime minister to this effect. Victoria W.M.S. Presbyterial, Victoria Presbytery and Vancouver Presbytery all passed similar resolutions. The Vancouver Consultative Council under Dr. Black had written to King urging him to take Christian action and not rely on the M.P.'s from British Columbia as the collective voice of the province. Leaflets entitled "From Citizens to Refugees--It's Happening Here" were distributed to the public by the Council asking that the bill be defeated. The campaign was successful.

Public pressure from church groups and individuals, C.C.F. members, various civil liberty groups, the S.C.M. and the Vancouver Consultative Council did result in the bill being withdrawn. In late November, it was announced that Japanese nationals were to be repatriated only if they had requested it, that Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry could remain in Canada if they had requested cancellation before September 2, (the day of Japanese surrender), and that Canadian-born of Japanese ancestry would have their cancellation request reviewed even if it came in after September 2. In December, however, three orders-in-council were passed which again authorized deportation.

The Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians tested the legality of these orders in the Supreme Court where they were declared invalid insofar as they applied to the wives and children of those who signed repatriation forms. An appeal was then entered with the Privy Council in London in respect to other groups to be deported. In the
meanwhile deportation was postponed. The Vancouver Consultative Council continued its work of arousing the public, as did the local S.C.M. group on The University of British Columbia campus and the United Church in British Columbia. Dobson spoke for the United Church at a public meeting of the Civil Liberties Union protesting repatriation and R.J. McMaster, a Vancouver lawyer and United Church layman was retained by the Japanese in British Columbia to look after their interests regarding repatriation. In the end only those wanting repatriation were sent to Japan and the rest were dispersed throughout Canada.

Once it was made clear they could stay in Canada permanently, buy property and set up businesses, Japanese families were much more willing to leave the camps and most moved east. Some stayed permanently in towns like Greenwood and Kaslo where the Nisei in particular were integrated into the community and some gradually drifted back to the coast where they, too, slowly were accepted by the white community. The church appointed a W.M.S. worker to aid Japanese returning to the coast in finding a church home in the lower mainland. The Japanese did not feel entirely welcomed, however, and hesitated to join white churches. Because of this coolness, several young Nisei attending The University of British Columbia set up their own campus group, and later a church social group. Gradually the attitude of the white churches changed and St. Andrew's-Wesley opened its gymnasium and First United its camp and other facilities to the Nisei church group in Vancouver.

Property settlements remained a sore point long after the war was over. On January 19, 1943, the government custodian of enemy property was
granted power to sell the Japanese coastal properties and chattels. The fishing boats had previously been sold, the average price received being 5.8% above the suggested negotiating price, 21.7% above the appraised price and 22.5% below the Japanese asking price. The government appraised the real estate property and then bought much of it for resale to returning veterans. Chattels were sold at auction sales. Consent for sales was to be gained from the Japanese owners but many said they never gave it and many more were very dissatisfied with the prices they received.

The United Church leaders immediately intervened in Ottawa on behalf of the Japanese but to no avail. According to the Rev. James Mutchmor, Prime Minister King deliberately avoided United Church delegates, especially the Rev. George Dorey, a strong Liberal who had been sent to complain about the property settlement. In 1947 Dorey was still pushing the government on its Christian responsibility towards the Japanese.

By 1947 the Co-operative Committee for Japanese-Canadians had also taken up the struggle to see that the Japanese received a more just property settlement. Over 1,370 claims were filed, 74.3% for properties sold without permission, 18.4% for forced sales of property and 7.3% for property still unaccounted for. The committee collected the claim details and hired R.J. McMaster to verify them locally and prepare the brief to present to Justice Henry Bird of the Property Commission established by the federal government. McMaster worked night and day for over a year at a fraction of a normal lawyer's fee with no initial guarantee of any payment whatsoever to look after this situation.
Out of claims totalling $4,000,000 the Japanese got $1,222,929, most of it going to Fraser Valley farmers who finally received about 80% of their property's value.\textsuperscript{111}

After the war the church stepped up its campaign for the enfranchisement of the Japanese and for the granting of full citizenship rights. The British Columbia Conference passed resolutions to this effect in 1946 and 1947,\textsuperscript{112} and sent representatives who spoke at the public hearings held in Vancouver by the British Columbia Legislature Committee appointed to revise the Election Act in 1946. All four western conferences also appealed to the federal government for a repeal of the wartimes measures restricting the movement of Japanese Canadians across the country. Gradually the church body started to support its leaders. The dramatic incident of a Japanese Canadian theological student and his parents who had to get police permits in order to attend the student's ordination service in Vancouver made a big impact on many United Church people in the lower mainland who finally realized the inhumaneness of the country's laws against the Japanese at least in peace time.\textsuperscript{113}

Among the unjust laws were those limiting the kinds of employment open to the Japanese. Pre-war legislation in British Columbia had debarred Japanese from several professions and industries including logging but the federal government had intervened and allowed Japanese to work in Kootenay logging companies during the wartime shortage of workers. When the British Columbia Department of Lands and Forests dismissed all Japanese from the logging camps of the interior of the province after the war, the church cried out angrily against such injustice. Church
leaders wrote to the premier, Byron Johnson, and Vancouver Presbytery protested as did local A.O.T.S. groups and the S.C.M. through its secretary, the Rev. Frank Patterson of the United Church. The B.C. legislature listened to the United Church as well as to other religious bodies and to civil liberties groups and finally rescinded all discriminatory racial legislation. By 1948 the general public in British Columbia had become supporters of the Japanese.

The church leaders did all they could to help the Japanese, given the hysteria of the population in British Columbia at that time, the public opinion created in eastern Canada by the M.P.'s from the province, the indecisiveness of the federal government in its final solution to the problem and the lack of unity among the church membership. The New Canadian made it quite obvious that the United Church, along with the S.C.M., the C.C.F., the Vancouver Consultative Council and the Co-operative Committee for the Japanese-Canadians were the Japanese's strongest supporters. Of these the United Church provided the greatest variety of aid.

On the other hand, the general church membership had great cause to be ashamed of its attitudes, especially in the early days of the war. Those in British Columbia made no effort to help the Japanese except in a few personal cases and the majority went along with the public panic or were totally apathetic. It was a bitter disappointment to the church leaders when the congregations in the east refused to sponsor Japanese families and very difficult to acknowledge men like Howard Green, A.W. Neilla and the United Church members. The British Columbia
Conference leaders deliberately kept discussion of the Japanese evacuation off the agendas of presbytery and conference meetings in the early war years in order to avoid acrimonious and divisive debate. They felt the church could help the Japanese more by working quietly behind the scenes at that time than by public debate in church courts and they were probably correct.

As for the small group of laymen who supported the Japanese throughout, the church owes them a great debt. These people took their Christian beliefs seriously and were willing to risk their own community positions and security in order to see justice done. There was a definite link between the individuals in the church active for the Japanese cause, and other organizations also concerned like the S.C.M., the F.O.R., the C.C.F. and the Vancouver Consultative Council. In many instances leadership came from the same small core who were active in the church as well.

The professional church workers most actively involved in the struggle were mainly missionaries to the Japanese either in Canada or in Japan, or men on the committees for Home Missions and Evangelism and Social Service. They had been concerned with civil rights and the assimilation of ethnic groups into Canadian society for a long period before the war and became involved in this crisis as a natural outcome of their regular work.

The church did excellent work in the camps, and as a result, gained the gratitude of many Japanese who became Christian and joined the church. One boy from a Buddhist home came in touch with the church through its evening high school classes at Tashme and today is a United Church
minister. His was not an isolated case. It was generally agreed that the Japanese United Church gained many new converts because of the educational, recreational and religious work done in the camps.

Once the Japanese were settled into the camps and the general panic subsided, the church was able to concentrate some of its efforts on widespread education of its laity. Gradually, members became aware of the injustices done to the Japanese in the mass evacuation, the forced sale of property, and the lack of franchise and other civil rights. The widely-spread rumours about the Japanese were dispelled through the distribution of church literature and especially through the speaking engagements of men like the Rev. K. Shimizu. For many church members in the east, he was the first Japanese with whom they had had any contact.

The victory of the allies in the summer of 1945 eliminated much of the hysteria and fear felt by the Canadian people toward the Japanese in their midst and brought saner attitudes to the issue of deportation. Enough consciences of church members were then pricked that the church, when confronting the government with its unjust actions, could speak with the power of votes behind it and be listened to. Letters from United Church presbyteries, congregations and individuals in British Columbia indicated a view different from that espoused by the vocal anti-Japanese politicians. Finally the federal government responded with a definite policy of dispersal and assimilation, dropped its extensive deportation scheme, restored citizenship rights and the franchise, and made some restitution of property losses. As resettlement took place on a permanent basis after the war, church leaders and members, wherever they could,
helped the Japanese become an integral part of Canadian society.

The United Church did not live up to its ideals of brotherhood but through the work of a few individuals during the war and a last minute campaign for justice by many more, the church could hold up its head and take some credit for having given more positive leadership on the Japanese Canadian question than other elements in Canadian society.

The Japanese, however, did not become assimilated into the white congregations of the United Church, a goal the church had maintained since the days of the early Methodist missions. The Japanese congregations after the war grew into very tight little communities which have refused to disperse despite assimilation of members in school, business and home life. The Japanese seem to prefer the more intimate church life they know to the larger, less personal congregations of the white community. The revived interest in ancestral culture among the third and fourth generation Japanese Canadians has strengthened this desire for their own worshipping community and new immigrants from Japan are sufficient in number to replace those members who do leave the Japanese congregations to join regular white ones. The choice has been their own and the church has respected the decision by giving help where needed in order that the Japanese United Church members can maintain their independence.
CONCLUSION

The attitudes and activities of the United Church in British Columbia during the depression and war years were varied, yet a pattern of characteristics common throughout the period is evident.

The church-at-large responded enthusiastically and well to traditional forms of activity. Food and clothing flowed forth during the depression and war; money, men and women supported the war effort at home and abroad; missionaries intensified their mission work in the evacuation camps; many answered the call for personal salvation; and briefs, petitions and lectures never ceased. Furthermore, the United Church members provided much of the leadership and work force for emergency projects in their local communities as part of their natural Christian responsibility and without direct pressure from church officials. This traditional and familiar type of response to crises was easy for the majority of members since it did not threaten their social status nor their personal security. Most church members rejected radical solutions which would shake their status quo or court personal risk. Socialism, support for the persecuted Japanese Canadians and acceptance of the conscientious objectors were too unpopular and radical for the average church member to tolerate, let alone espouse.

United Church members formed a cross-section of middle-class Canada, reasonably comfortable economically, wrapped in self-interest and ignorant or more frequently apathetic about events not touching their
personal lives, content with the status quo and fearful of change. Few adults are able to radically change their beliefs or their behaviour let alone social situations incongruent with their beliefs. As a result, during the depression we see church members modifying crisis' situations with material handouts, rationalizing their social position through an emphasis on personal salvation in the Oxford Group Movement and reducing the dissonance between world reality and their beliefs through study, lectures and petitions. By doing something they eased their worry and anxiety without encouraging any real threat to their way of life. Discussion of change became fashionable and indeed, necessary in order to preserve the old order. As in R.B. Bennett's New Deal, so in the church, in Steven's Reconstruction party, in the report *Christianizing the Social Order*, and in the Oxford Group Movement—all talked about change and a new social order while in reality they tried to prop up or restore the old. The old conservative side of the social gospel with its emphasis on moral issues and dependence upon individual Christian behaviour was still very much alive, although dressed in the more radical language of the 1930's.¹

It is very difficult to determine without a great deal more study whether the United Church in British Columbia was more or less flexible in its attitudes to social change than the church in the rest of the country. Certainly in the Japanese evacuation situation, church members west of the Rockies, with ostensibly more cause to be afraid, did not react more vigorously than those in eastern Canada. As elsewhere in the country a considerable number of United Church members became active in
the C.C.F. party and helped in spreading socialist thought throughout British Columbia. Furthermore, members in British Columbia willingly accepted more radical leadership from the clergy and reacted more positively to the socialist reports endorsed in the church courts than was the case in other parts of Canada.² The clergy in British Columbia were exposed, on the whole, to a much wider variety of situations than their eastern counterparts—Indian coastal missions, logging camps, mining towns, agricultural areas, a rapidly growing urban seaport, a large oriental population and a visibly exploitative economy—and change was constantly in the air. To be effective the ministers had to be flexible and adaptable to the needs of their varying pastorates. Young clergymen coming from elsewhere tended to be more adventuresome than the average and were drawn to British Columbia by its frontier.³ In the promotion of peace, in the push for economic changes of a longterm nature, in the demand for a solution to the Japanese problem, the leading clergy of British Columbia were in the vanguard nationally.

This leadership gave to the United Church in British Columbia its liberal and at times, seemingly radical public image. The daily press played up, through its headlines and detailed articles, the activities of the radicals and the socialist reports debated in the church courts. In social crises such as the dockers' strike on Ballantyne Pier the United Church stood alone among the city denominations as a champion of the strikers. Regular church business was not considered "news" and therefore did not receive the same attention. The same distortion was inevitable in this thesis simply because the activists involved the church,
at least in name, though frequently in fact as well, in the wide variety of new social action undertaken during the period under study.

Church leadership came largely from a small group of clergy and an even smaller group of laymen. Most were active on committees of Evangelism and Social Service or Home Missions, and were much more liberal and broader in their views than most church members. They tended to look at the future as well as the present, and the national and international scene as well as the local or provincial one.

The leaders were divided into two groups. The more radical group included many who had studied under the Rev. Salem Bland, leader of the social gospel movement in Canada. There was a definite link between these men and the C.C.F., and several of them ran for public office. These same radicals also had connections with the S.C.M., the F.C.S.O., and less frequently with the F.O.R. Often controversial, these clergy had trouble with their local congregations and were usually settled by the conference settlement committee in small rural congregations rather than in a large urban congregation. These men drew up the petitions and briefs, led debates in the church courts, worked personally with unemployed men and strikers, and appeared before governments and in the press on behalf of the downtrodden. They were the spearhead, constantly prodding the church and the public into action and change.

A second group was much more moderate, if not in its views, at least in its manner of presentation and operation. These men were usually in administrative positions in the church, the ministers of large city congregations or from the university, and had the respect of the church
as a whole and the general public. They often interpreted the radicals' ideals to the wider church membership and to the legislators, and designed the programmes to implement such ideals through education and gradual change. Some of these men had studied under Bland as well, but the majority had received their education either in British Columbia or Ontario. The other United Church clergy were willing to support these leaders in passing briefs in church courts, promoting church programmes and collecting material, but few became actively involved outside the church.

Although most of the leadership was the same throughout the whole period under scrutiny, the various issues did bring different men to the fore. Those most prominent during the 1930's in the church courts on economic, social and civil rights questions became much less obvious in the 1940's although they led the debate within the church on pacifism, and promoted action on post-war rehabilitation and the civil rights of the Japanese. The missionaries to the Japanese were leaders on the last issue only and largely in a non-controversial role. In the church's campaign for war bonds, leadership fell mainly on an older, more traditionally-oriented group of men. The one person who actively participated in every phase of the church's social involvement was the Rev. Hugh Dobson. Without his insight, concern, credibility and organizational skills, the church's influence would have been not only different but probably much less.

Leadership was crucial during this period. The Christian ministry, like any other trade or profession has three parts. Its bulk consists
of tolerably competent and sometimes skillful practitioners. Below this is a small proportion of bumbler's and incompetents who are not so blatantly inept as to be formally cast out. The third part is an even smaller proportion of truly gifted men who are the main source of whatever greatness the calling possesses. Fortunately, the United Church had its share of the latter, in the persons of Hugh Dobson for general guidance, inspiration, trust and statesmanship, of Andrew Roddan for charismatic appeal with the general public, of Kasaburo Shīmizu for his dreams and understanding of the Japanese community and of Dr. Norman Black for his highly-developed Christian sense of justice. Despite the qualities of these men the church membership would only be led so far so fast.

Seldom were the leaders able to arouse local congregations to social action until society generally (of which they were a sizeable part) showed trends in a particular direction. It took victory in 1945 to awaken the United Church people to the injustices done to the Japanese Canadians. One sociologist of religion has said that

The church cannot change basic secular institutions; it [can] sponsor modification of them only when important groups have already moved in that direction . . . it can have an indirect influence on the distribution of economic and political power . . . it can . . . soften some of the harshness of the conflicts in [the class] situation. . . . It can help to maintain some sense of a common identity.8

Certainly this statement holds true for the United Church in British Columbia. All the leaders could do was hasten and gently influence the direction of the change through education, through giving respectability to new ideas; through promotion of Christian ideals and through mediation
between warring factions.

Throughout the years under discussion, the question of the nature and extent of political involvement by the church constantly arose. Most church members believed the church should not align itself officially with any one party but limit itself to a role of critic in ethical matters. Participation in specific parties and its extent was to be left up to the individual church member in his private life, but ministers should remain aloof to avoid congregational dissension. However, if the church or its clergy felt compelled to become involved it should be with one of the "respectable" mainline parties. The activists in the church felt otherwise. Attracted to socialism as the practical means to achieve greater social justice they had no hesitation in joining the C.C.F., thinking of it less as a political party than as a Christian social movement. In doing so they gave to the party not only a Christian aura but also an air of respectability and credibility in the eyes of the middle-class. This probably helped prevent the party from becoming one composed only of members of the labouring class but it created much tension within the church. This tension eased only as the C.C.F. became less radical in the public eye and many of its platforms were adopted by governments. Even so the majority of church members hold to the traditional conservative view on political involvement. Only when a minister has widespread popularity or when a particular party platform coincides with an ethical view held by the church majority is direct political activity sanctioned. This rarely occurs.

Questions as to the role of a church in a secular society are partially answered by this study on the United Church's position in the
secular society of British Columbia. British Columbia Conference enjoyed fewer committed members in relation to the total provincial population and a much smaller financial base than did the other United Church conferences. Furthermore, in a province such as British Columbia, the social problems were as great or greater than in other parts of the country. Therefore, the church had to be much more selective of the issues to which it directed its attention. It had to think out its position and mode of attack very carefully in order to make maximum use of limited resources, as was done by church leaders in the initial stages of the Japanese evacuation.

Church leaders realized that they could not achieve success in social issues on their own but had to work with governments and other organizations and even compromise aims in order to achieve change. The behind-the-scenes work on behalf of conscientious objectors, the espousal of certain C.C.F. planks to effect economic change, the close relationship with the Co-operative Committee for the Japanese Canadians and even the petitions to the government on a variety of subjects acknowledged the church's dependence upon other agencies.

The church acted as social critic pointing out injustices hidden or ignored by society generally, but once society undertook its responsibility, the church willingly let go and turned to new issues. To a limited degree the church in British Columbia did this when it fed the starving transients in the early 1930's or when it pushed for schooling for the children in the Japanese evacuation camps. However, the institutional church, such as the United Church of Canada, because of its broad
inclusive nature is not well suited to the role of social critic within society, especially when dealing with radical or controversial issues. As a result only a small group within the church fulfills this prophetic role, frequently without the backing of the church majority.

An age-old problem within the church has been the dichotomy between personal salvation and organic social action. At a superficial glance it would appear that the tension this creates divides the church into two solid groups, the conservative majority favouring personal salvation and the radical minority wanting organic social reform. The truth is more complicated. Individual church members cannot be so easily categorized. Many ministers, radical in their social views, held conservative and evangelical theological views. The gospel was foremost in their minds while they engaged in action for justice or a new social order. One extreme example would be the Rev. Bryce Wallace who, while a pseudo member of the Communist party so that the local group could meet in his church, wrote to Hugh Dobson asking that the Oxford Group visit Trail because the adults in his congregation needed all the spiritual stimulus they could get. The same person could honestly be involved in providing band-aid help to hungry men, in praising the Oxford Group Movement for saving lost souls, and in advocating socialism. Likewise, the United Church as a whole in its inclusiveness had learned to live with the tension arising between the demands of personal salvation and social action, carefully balancing one against the other and keeping both alive and responsive to the social needs of the moment. Both are necessary to build any sort of Christian community within or outside the institutional church.
The charge has been made that the church in emphasizing organic social action increased secularism in society and thereby decreased church influence in the long run. To the degree that those who heard the radicals ignored the gospel message and only accepted the part dealing with social action, this would be true. But the same charge could be made against the church conservatives in their emphasis on personal salvation. Many of their listeners heard only a message of personal comfort, praising the status quo and using the church as a glorified social club in the community. Secularism was encroaching upon the church's influence from all directions in society including from within the church, and only those who continued to hear the word of God and govern their acts accordingly could speak for the church with integrity. And only as the church adjusted its mode of criticism or prophecy to suit a secular age would it be heeded.

The United Church in British Columbia did have an influence on the social life of the province. It failed in some of the challenges which presented themselves but at the same time it had no cause to hang its head in constant shame. It did what it could, given the times and the nature of people who made up its constituency. Above all else at a time when successive crises made it very easy to ignore principles of human decency, it helped keep alive in the province a liberal and Christian tradition which emphasized the uniqueness and dignity of the individual.
Abbreviations

B.C.C.A. United Church British Columbia Conference Archives, Vancouver, B.C.
B.C.P.A. British Columbia Provincial Archives.
C.H.R. Canadian Historical Review
U.B.C. The University of British Columbia
U.C.A. United Church Archives, Toronto, Ontario.
W.A. Woman's Auxiliary.
W.M.S. Woman's Missionary Society.
FOOTNOTES—INTRODUCTION


A.M.C. Waterman in "The Lord's Day Act in a Secular Society: A Historical Comment on the Canadian Lord's Day Act of 1906," Canadian Journal of Theology, 1965, no. 2, disagrees and argues that Canadian society was so secular that no religious legislation could be passed that would hurt the economy. Certainly British Columbia would be called a secular province by Waterman's definition.


4 It was predominately Anglo-Saxon middle-class. See Table I, p. 4, "Religious Denominations Classified by Racial Origins in British Columbia, 1931."


6 See Appendix 2 for the polity of the United Church for the period covered by this paper.
FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 1


3 Ministers were moved every two to four years to different charges at the discretion of a settlement committee. In rural areas, a minister might have several congregations, often miles apart, under his oversight.


6 Ibid., 1921, vol. 1. Between 1901 and 1911 the population increased 119.68%.

7 Between 1881 and 1911 the population grew from 49,459 to 392,480. Ibid.
Rupert Davies, *Methodism*, London, Penguin, 1963. This dichotomy exists down to the present day within the United Church of Canada.

The correct name after 1906 was the Congregational Union of Canada. The local congregations were loosely bound together by a national structure but never achieved the cohesiveness of the Methodists and Presbyterians. Because of the small membership however, the Congregationalists maintained a fellowship similar to a very large family.


See the following for a more complete picture of the feud. Pilton, op. cit., pp. 178-180; Wood, op. cit., pp. 165-67; and Reid, op. cit., pp. 1-15. The latter is the most thorough discussion of the whole dispute.


Runnalls, op. cit., pp. 36-42 and Jamieson's letters to eastern Canadian church officials, *Letters from Missionaries, 1858-1886*, Presbyterian Church Home Missions, U.C.A.


19 Caldwell, op. cit., and Magney, op. cit., go into this in detail.


21 The plot of The Sky Pilot was based on the experience of the Rev. Hugh R. Grant, a very popular Presbyterian minister in the mining camps of the Kootenay and The Prospector had its setting in the Crowsnest Pass.


25 In greater Vancouver which included South Vancouver, North Vancouver and Point Grey, the population was 123,902. Census, 1911, pp. 148-49.

26 Methodist Church of Canada, Year Book, 1900, 1913. In 1900 there were five Methodist Churches and by 1913 there were twenty-six as well as several missions and institutions.


29 The Report of a brief investigation of social conditions in the city—which indicate the need of an intensive social survey the lines of which are herein suggested, Vancouver, British Columbia made by the Board of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church.

30 Minutes of Cooperation Committee of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist Churches of Vancouver, 1913, B.C.C.A.

31 Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia issued by the Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1903. Orr, op. cit., p. 181. J.T. Saywell, in "Labour and Socialism in British Columbia: A Survey of Historical Development Before 1903," B.C. Historical Quarterly, July-October, 1951 says that Rowe changed his views when given a lucrative seat on the commission and was anti-socialist and anti-union. The report shows, however, that Rowe was not so much against socialism or the unions as against American unions in Canada, and especially the Western Federation of Miners. He was in favour of the Nanaimo unions organized along British labour lines by Ralph Smith and Parker Williams.


33*Western Methodist Recorder*, Nov. 1918.

34 Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77. The same year the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and Social Service echoed similar sentiments although not so strongly.

35 Allen, *op. cit.*, ch. 7, 8, and 9.

36 *Western Methodist Recorder*, July 1918.


FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER 2


2 The Congregational Church after its union in 1906 was still very small and much less structured than the other two.


8 See Silcox, op. cit. for a complete analysis of the church union struggle and its immediate results.

9 Vancouver Robertson, Presbyterians Churches in British Columbia.

10 Methodist British Columbia Conference Minutes, 1919, p. 850.
Wilson, "Report re Co-operation—British Columbia," Church Union Papers, U.C.A. Wilson was the Presbyterian superintendent of home missions for most of British Columbia.

See Table II, p. 33.


R.G. MacBeth, Organic Union or Federation Which? Church Union papers, U.C.A.

Interview with the Rev. F.E. Runnalls; "An Open Letter to the Members and Adherents of the Presbyterian Church," Kew Beach Church, Toronto, October 24, 1924.

Principal W.H. Smith, "What Church Union will mean to Vancouver," The New Outlook, June 10, 1925, p. 27.

The Revs. W.L. Clay, R.J. Douglas and E.G. Thompson were on committees of Home Missions and Social Service after these two boards had been merged in 1915 for financial reasons. They were not interested in the Social Service side of the work though. In late 1924 and early 1925 they obstructed summer field placement. Dr. J.H. Edmison to the Rev. J.F. Millar, Jan. 28, 1925, Church Union papers, U.C.A. Some of the inactive ministers came forward after church union to help fill the depleted ranks of Presbyterian ministers in the pastorate.

See Appendix 1 for the list and description of non-concurring ministers and congregations. In Victoria, First Presbyterian Church voted for union. It had always been the liberal congregation compared to St. Andrew's which broke away in the 1860's over the question of stricter church government. Harry Gregson, A History of Victoria 1842-1970, Victoria Observer, 1970, p. 39.
19 Presbyterian Non-concurrence box 1, Church Union papers, U.C.A.

20 The Rev. W.G. Wilson, Victoria to his brother the Rev. R.J. Wilson, Toronto, Dec. 19, 1924, Church Union papers, U.C.A.


22 Wilson to Wilson, op. cit.

23 J.B. Clearihue to G.W. Mason, Jan. 16, 1925, Church Union papers, U.C.A.

24 See G.W. Mason, The Legislative Struggles for Church Union, Toronto, Ryerson, 1956 for fuller details. The bill made provision for a commission of three to recommend to the next sitting of the legislature the distribution of property between the anti and pro-unionists. The anti-unionists hated the bill, especially after narrowly losing their amendment which gave the commission power to act, levy charges and collect them. The unionists disliked the bill with the appointed commission but felt that its power was sufficiently weak as to be no threat. Wilson to Wilson, op. cit. Upon request from the United and Presbyterian Churches, the commission was changed by the lieutenant-governor to ten persons, five from each of the unionist and anti-unionist bodies. Silcox, op. cit., p. 359. All property matters were settled by the commission except that of St. Andrew's in Nanaimo which went to the civil court.

25 Vancouver, Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church, Session Minutes.

26 Interview with the Rev. H.M. Rae.

27 Nanaimo file, Church Union papers, B.C.C.A.


30 See Table V, p. 41. Add to the figures representing United Church leanings, members of other denominations who do not have a representative of their church nearby and rely on the United Church as well. A look at the marriage and burial records quickly shows how often members of other churches do this. In 1928, 42% of marriages and 28% of burials were conducted by United Church clergy. British Columbia Conference papers, Statistical Report, 1928.

31 Bella Bella, Skidegate, Hartley Bay and many of the stops of the Thomas Crosby boat were in this category.
32 See Table I, p. 4.


1 L.M. Grayson and Michael Bliss, eds., The Wretched of Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971, p. ix.

2 Ibid.

3 H. Blair Neatby, The Politics of Chaos, Toronto, Macmillan, 1972, chap. 1-3. The foregoing has been based on this book to a large extent.

4 M.A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, Toronto, Macmillan, 1958, ch. 15. This gives a more detailed account of the decade in the province.

5 Sales of salmon, for example, dropped 70% in one year and the price per case dropped 35%. Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government to Investigate the Finances of British Columbia, July 12, 1932, Victoria, pp. 12-13, hereafter called the Kidd Report. See the same pages for further examples of the percentage of B.C. products exported, the drop in sales and prices of other products.

6 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 446.

7 Ibid., p. 443.

8 Ibid., pp. 445-6.


10 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 445.

11 Ibid., p. 446.

12 Kidd Report, p. 50.

13 Ormsby, op. cit., p. 446.


18 This term is loosely used, and frequently meant only a familiar cheap hotel, flophouse or room.


20 See Table V, p. 41. Many were not members as far as the church was concerned.

21 The information on Dobson is based on a reading of his papers, press accounts, church minutes and papers, and interviews with the Revs. W.P. Bunt, H.P. Davidson, H.T. Allen, A.E. Whitehouse and F.E. Runnalls, Dr. C.W. Topping, Mrs. M. Brunette, and others.


23 The new church "radicals" were the progressive remnant left after the social gospel movement split in the 1920's along with a handful of younger recruits to the cause.

24 United Church of Canada, *Year Book*, 1932, p. 166 and Andrew Roddan, *The Church in the City*, Vancouver, p. 34.

25 Roddan had been born and raised in Scotland and had his first experience with mission work in Gibraltar among soldiers and sailors. Coming to Canada, he took his theological training in Winnipeg at Manitoba College where, like so many other future wave-makers, he studied under Salem Bland. After pastorates in Winnipeg and Port Arthur he came to Vancouver in 1929, attracted by the challenging downtown mission work among the single men on skid row and the destitute families surrounding First United Church.
26 Roddan, Christ of the Wireless Ways, Vancouver, [Clarke and Stewart, 1932], p. 25.

27 Roddan, The Church in Action, [Vancouver, 1939], pp. 10-11. All other details on First United are from this book unless otherwise noted.

28 Year Book, 1934, p. 171.

29 Hamilton Spectator, Sept. 1932, clipping found in Sanford Scrapbook.

30 Vancouver First United Church, Board of Managers Minutes, Sept. 10, 1931.

31 Staff was paid by the national Board of Home Missions, the camp was funded by the Welfare Federation, and the Welfare Industries and radio work were self-supporting.

32 Interview with Muriel Richardson on Thompson tapes, Roddan file, B.C.C.A.

33 Vancouver St. Giles United Church, Board of Managers Minutes, April 12, 1932 and Annual Reports, 1930-1936. The initials A.O.T.S. stand for "As One That Serves."

34 Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, Jan. 16, 1933.

35 Vancouver Knox United Church, Official Board Minutes, Jan. 26, 1931.

36 The A.O.T.S. was a very active layman's organization started in 1922 at Kerrisdale Methodist Church in Vancouver as a Christian service club. It grew rapidly throughout the province among the middle-class churchmen, even to the extent of embracing some Presbyterians and Baptists. In 1932 the number of clubs in Vancouver had increased from 15 to 24 and membership doubled in one year. At the same time 10 to 30% of its members were unemployed. Vancouver Province, Dec. 31, 1932.


40 Kelowna Courier, Dec. 27, 1933.


42 Kelowna Courier, April 15, 1931; Feb. 4, 1932.

43 Ibid., July 13, 1933; Nov. 30, 1933; Dec. 28, 1933; Dec. 6, 1934.

44 Interviews with the Revs. Bryce Wallace and A.E. Whitehouse.


46 Vancouver Province, Nov. 11, 1933.

47 United Church of Canada Evangelism and Social Service, Report, 1937, p. 47, and Switzer papers, B.C.C.A.

48 Year Book, 1938, p. 15.

49 Interviews with Prof. C.W. Topping, Howard Green, and the Revs. G.B. Switzer, H.P. Davidson, Hugh M. Rae and others.
FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER 4

1 United Church of Canada, Record of Proceedings, 1934, pp. 235-48. See Appendix 3 for a summary of some of its points.
2 See Chapter 1.
3 Record of Proceedings, 1934, p. 236, 242-43.
4 Ibid., p. 247.
5 Ibid., p. 248.
6 Ibid.
11 Interview with the Rev. H.T. Allen, March 2, 1934.
12 Vancouver Sun, Dec. 12, 1934.
13 Vancouver Knox United Church, Session Minutes.
14 Terms quoted to the author by some of the so-called radicals.
16 Ibid., 1931, p. 11 and the Vancouver Sun, May 16, 1931. See Appendix 3 for statement made in the Report.
17 Digest, 1932, pp. 22-23.
18 The Columbian, May 18, 1932.
The Oxford Group Movement had its origin in an unique type of personal evangelism by the Rev. Frank Buchman while he was engaged in Y.M.C.A. work in the United States. At the end of World War I he visited England where he attracted a strong group of followers at Oxford and Cambridge. From there the movement spread to South Africa where it became known as Buchmanism. The tour of Canada in 1933 marked Buchman's return to North America after three years of great success in Europe under the new title of the Oxford Group Movement. See also The Committee of Thirty, The Challenge of the Oxford Group Movement, Ryerson Press, 1933, and Peter Howard, Frank Buchman's Secret, London, Heinemann, 1961] for first, a view by the group of United Church ministers and secondly, a view by one of his followers.
Letter from the Rev. Ernest Thomas to Rev. J.C. Brown, on July 1933, Union College papers, B.C.C.A.

Ibid.

Vancouver News-Herald, May 23, 1933.

Digest, 1933, p. 23.

United Church of Canada British Columbia Conference, Minutes, 1934, pp. 283-84.

British Columbia Conference Life and Work Committee Questionnaire results, 1935, Conference papers.

Personal observation of some clergymen still in British Columbia Conference who had connections with the Oxford Groups Movement at that time.


Vancouver Province, April 1, 1933.

Letter from J.G. Brown to W.H. Malkin, April 22, 1933 and Brown to Rev. H. Viney, April 15, 1933, Union College papers.

Letter from J.G. Brown to Wm. A. Irwin, August 18, 1933, Union College papers.

Interview with Willard Ireland.

Letter from J.G. Brown to Ernest Thomas, July 24, 1933, Union College papers.

Andrew Roddan, For Doubters Only, p. 6.

Unidentified press clipping, ca May 1933, Sanford Scrapbook, B.C.C.A.

Dobson confidential report, Dobson papers.

Born into a strong Methodist family, Stevens had come to British Columbia from Ontario and set himself up in business. By 1904 he was in the public eye, speaking to the Vancouver Police Commission for the Moral Reform League of Wesley Methodist Church. After a stint as alderman for Vancouver he was elected as a Conservative to Ottawa in

55 Kingston Whig-Standard, Sept. 15, 1934 and interview with the Hon. H.H. Stevens at which time he gave the author a written summary of his views quoted here.


58 Wilbur, Politics of Discontent, p. 49.

59 Ibid.

60 Price Spreads speech, p. 3.

61 Interview with Stevens.

62 Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, Nov. 20, 1934 and Record of Proceedings, 1934, p. 65.

63 Vancouver Sun, May 17, 1934.

64 Western Recorder, Sept. 1935.

65 Ibid., Sept. 1934 and following issues.

66 Ibid., July 1935.

67 Wilbur, Politics of Discontent, p. 73.


69 Prince George Citizen, Nov. 2, 1933.

70 Victoria Daily Colonist, Aug. 9, 1935.

71 Interview with Stevens.

72 Fernie Free Press, July 12; Oct. 11, 18, 1935.

73 Interview with the Rev. S.H. Pinkerton.
"The Report of the Committee on Student Affairs at Union College," Jan. 28, 1938 and papers and letters contained in the Board of Colleges and Secondary Schools papers, U.C.A.


A previous committee dealing with the organization of soup kitchens in the winter of 1930-1931 was examined in the previous chapter.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, Sept. 8, 1931.

Davidson was one of Salem Bland's students, having studied under him at Manitoba College, Winnipeg, when Bland was lecturing to joining classes in the Presbyterian and Methodist Colleges. He was an apt pupil, and became one of British Columbia's more fiery ministers. Davidson's first charge in the province was in Britannia, a closed mining town where he mingled freely with labouring men of all nationalities and viewpoints. He soon realized that their problems were substantive and developed an empathy which made him an ideal relief camp worker.

Year Book, 1934, p. 171. All other details on the relief camps, unless otherwise noted, are from an interview with the Rev. H.P. Davidson.

Vancouver Province, June 12, 1935.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, April 30, 1935.

Interview with Davidson.

Interview with the Rev. G.B. Switzer. He was chairman of the E. & S.S. committee of Vancouver Presbytery at the time. The four ministers were the Revs. W. Graham, George Turpin, E.W. Mackay and R.N. Matheson. Vancouver Presbytery Committee for Emergency Relief, Dobson papers.

Vancouver Province, May 30, 1938.

Ibid., June 24, 1938.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, May 3, 1938.

Ibid., Sept. 20, Nov. 9, 1938.


Interview with the Rev. Bryce Wallace.

Victoria Daily Colonist, July 6, 1938.
Ibid., July 10, 1938 and interview with Wallace. The novel, Waste Heritage by Irene Baird, Toronto, Macmillan, 1939 is a thinly disguised account of this episode as seen through the eyes of a participant.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, May 9, 1939.

Manuscript, Dobson papers.

British Columbia Committee on Unemployment and Relief, Minutes and Papers, Dobson papers.

Interview with Prof. C.W. Topping.


George Bell had been a Liberal M.L.A. during the 1920's and was very active in the United Church at the conference and Vancouver Presbytery level.

Vancouver Province, Sept. 16, 1936.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, April 28, June 16, 1936.

Ibid., Feb. 8, 1938.

Vancouver News-Herald, May 22, 1935. McDonald was in charge of the B.C. Provincial Police in Corbin.

Digest, 1935, p. 27.

Dobson papers.

Details on the riot and the church's part in it are from an interview with Davidson unless otherwise noted.

Vancouver Province, July 29, 1935.

Vancouver Sun, June 20, 1935.

Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, June 18, 1935.

Vancouver Province, June 24, 1935.

Interview with Davidson. He would not reveal names.

Interview with Bryce Wallace.

The movement was started in England at the end of the 18th century by Robert Owen, a textile factory owner. A few years later, a
group of unemployed weavers in Rochdale banded together in 1843 to start
the first co-operative store (Union Shops had been present earlier but
these failed), and its success led to the founding of others throughout
northern England and the Scottish midlands. Gradually manufacturing,
banking and wholesale outlets were added. The Christian Socialists
strongly supported the movement as did the Fabians and British Socialists
at the turn of the 20th century. The movement spread throughout the
world and in Canada made its earliest success in the Maritimes under the
guidance of St. Francis Xavier University and its adult education pro-
grame. Interested persons on the prairies and in British Columbia gained
valuable advice from the Maritimers and from British socialists in their
own midst when they started to establish local co-operatives and credit
unions. See Ellis Cowling, Co-operatives in America, Their Past, Present
and Future, New York, Coward-McCann, 1938; M.M. Coady, Masters of Their
Own Destiny, New York, Harper, 1939; J.T. Croteau, Cradled in the Waves,
Toronto, Ryerson, 1951; and Ian MacPherson, "The Co-operative Union of
latter two books are on the movement in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward
Island. The United Church was the only Protestant denomination which
actively backed the movement and supported the Roman Catholics who led
it in the Maritimes.

112 Dearlove, a machinist, followed in his father's steps and
became involved with co-operatives in England around the turn of the
century. Upon coming to British Columbia, he and his wife became members
of St. Andrew's-Wesley United Church where during the depression they
tried to interest members of that congregation in social concerns. They
had little success. Dearlove was a self-educated man and in 1974, the
owner of a small bicycle repair shop and still active in the co-operative
movement. Interview with T.C. Dearlove. Most of the details are from
him.

113 Interview with Dearlove. MacPherson, op. cit., gives a
detailed account of earlier Communist attempts at take-over in northern
Ontario.


115 Morag E. MacLachlan, "The Fraser Valley Milk Producers' Associa-
Columbia, 1972. A.C. Wells started a creamery co-operative in 1895,
ibid., pp. 16-17.

116 Ibid., pp. 170-71.

117 Vancouver News-Herald, May 24, 1933 and letter from the Rev.
Bryce Wallace to Allen, March 23, 1933, Allen's papers.

118 Vancouver News-Herald, May 24, 1933.

Interview With Allen.

H.T. Allen, Religion and Social Change, radio address under the Radio Fellowship, November 18, 1934, Dobson papers.

Letter from Prof. John Line to Allen, May 27, 1933. See Appendix 4 for the constitution. This group, the F.C.S.O., was re-organizing in order to become national in scope and had ties with a United States body of the same name, which was started in the early 1920's under Sherwood Eddy and other Christian socialists. The F.C.S.O. membership in Canada consisted largely of United Church ministers and a few laymen, mainly in Ontario, the Maritimes, Quebec and Alberta whose interests lay in the advancement of Christian socialism and pacifism. Starting in 1935 it ran a regular column in the New Outlook which outlined its aims, reported on annual conventions, educated the readers on economic affairs, social problems and provoked thoughtful discussions. It published numerous pamphlets and one full-length book of essays, Towards the Christian Revolution, written by United Church men and introduced by the past moderator, the Very Rev. Richard Roberts. Theological professors R.B.Y. Scott, Gregory Vlastos, John Line and J. King Gordon along with Eugene Forsey, J.W.A. Nicholson, R. Edis Fairbairn and Eric Havelock were the contributors. The book was a strenuous attack on the capitalist system and was chosen as an alternate selection in the Left Book Club in Britain where it received wide circulation.

Letter from Wallace to Allen, April 25, 1934, Allen papers.

Ibid. This told of Line's plans for national organization. Interview with Allen.

New Outlook, June 11, 1937.

Toronto Globe and Mail, Feb. 27, 1939.

Interview with H.P. Davidson. W. Brewing, E.W. Mackay, P. Henderson, Bryce Wallace, R.N. Matheson, A.E. Whitehouse, Wm. Graham, A.O. Patterson and Mildred Osterhout Fahrni were among its members.

Vancouver News Herald, May 25, 1937 and interview with Allen.

Vancouver Sun, July 16, 1935.

Victoria Daily Colonist, August 9, 1935.

Interview with Allen.

Ibid.
133 Interview with Allen.

134 Interview with Mrs. Mildred Fahrni.


136 _Kelowna Courier_, Sept. 7, 1933.

137 _Ibid._, summer and fall of 1933.

138 _Ibid._, Nov. 9, 1933.

139 Interview with Allen.

140 _Toronto Star_, Sept. 20, 1935.


142 _Ibid._

143 _Ibid._

144 MacPherson, _op. cit._ and interview with Dearlove.


146 Andrew Roddan, _Canada’s Untouchables_, Vancouver, [Clarke and Stewart, 1932], p. 20.

147 _Ibid._, p. 94.

148 _Ibid._, p. 98.


152 Interview with Bryce Wallace.

153 Interview with Allen.

154 Interview with Davidson.
FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER 5

1 The Japanese evacuation question will be dealt with in much greater detail in the following chapter.


3 There had been an element of pacifism in the social gospel but it was, for the most part, theory, and when confronted by reality, most social gospellers enthusiastically embraced the war and its end goal. The Rev. J.S. Woodsworth felt compelled to leave the ministry, partly because his pacifist views were contrary to the dominant view in the Methodist Church. See J.S. Woodsworth, Following the Gleam, Ottawa, 1926; A.R. Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971, ch. 3; and J.M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," C.H.R., Sept. 1968.

4 Interviews with the Rev. R.A. Wilson, J.G. Pinkerton, Prof. and Mrs. C. Miller, Major G. Logan.

5 Kelowna Courier, Feb. 4, 1943.

6 Vancouver West Point Grey United Church, Official Board Minutes, Feb. 10, 1943; Feb. 2, 1944.

7 United Church of Canada, Year Book, 1943, p. 83. Over 115 candidates for the ministry in the United Church served in the armed forces while 250 ministers were chaplains. Year Book, 1944, p. 133. See Table VI also, p. 129.

8 United Church British Columbia Conference, Digest of the Minutes, 1946, pp. 19, 38.

9 United Church of Canada, Committee on the Chaplaincy to the Armed Forces, Minutes 1939-1945 and papers, U.C.A. Most of the material dealing with the chaplaincy comes from this collection unless otherwise noted.


11 United Church of Canada, Record of Proceedings, 1946, p. 238. This figure does not correspond with that of the E. & S.S. Report, 1946, p. 110. See Table X, p. 156. The latter report probably includes chaplains to the local Legions and Y.M.C.A. huts as well.

229
12 Digest, 1945, pp. 50-51. Year Book, 1945, p. xii. At least two are not on that list so the total was a minimum 24. Over 10% of all United Church chaplains came from B.C. while its total number of clergy only amounted to 8½% of the national total.


14 Letter from the Rev. Hugh M. Rae to Hugh Dobson, Nov. 25, 1941, Dobson papers. See also Table VI, p. 129.

15 W.M.S. Victoria Presbyterial Minutes, Jan. 29-30, 1946.

16 Interview with the Rev. F.E. Runnals.

17 Gordon C. Zahn, The Military Chaplaincy. A Study of Role Tension in the Royal Air Force, University of Toronto Press, 1969. This book deals with the tension which career chaplains face as to whether loyalty to the service or to the church comes first. Always there is the irony of being in a military institution while preaching a gospel of peace.

18 Record of Proceedings, 1944, pp. 120-22.

19 Digest, 1941, p. 33 and correspondence in Dobson papers.

20 Interview with the Rev. S.H. Pinkerton and letter from Dobson to Mutchmor, May 10, 1945, Dobson papers.

21 Record of Proceedings, 1946, pp. 239-46.

22 Interviews with G. Logan, J.G. Pinkerton, Prof. and Mrs. C. Miller, S. Roddan.

23 "Report of the War Service Committee," May 1940, Dobson papers.

24 United Church of Canada, General Council, Camp and War Production Communities Committee and Sub-committee Minutes, 1942-1945, U.C.A.

25 W.A. Vancouver Presbyterial Minutes, April 18, 1947.

26 Camp and War Production Committee Minutes.


28 B.C. list of War Service Units, 1940, Dobson papers.


33 Vancouver West Point Grey United Church, Official Board Minutes, Nov. 3, 1941.

34 Ibid., Nov. 23, 1942; April 27, 1944; Oct. 23, 1944.

35 W.M.S. British Columbia Conference Minutes, March 9, 1944.

36 Interview with Wilson.

37 See Tables VI, p. 129 and VII, p. 137.

38 Salmon Arm, Prince George, Vancouver West Point Grey, Duncan, Nanaimo are just a few places where this happened.

39 Digest, 1942, pp. 6-7.

40 Dobson to all ministers in the conference, Sept. 4, 1941, Dobson papers.

41 Vancouver West Point Grey United Church, Official Board Minutes, June 2, 1942.

42 All the preceding responses were found in Dobson papers.

43 Year Book, 1944, p. 65.


45 Clergymen like S.D. Chown and W.B. Creighton, both Methodists and fervent supporters of World War I, later moved towards pacifism and publicly apologized for their war-time behaviour. Bliss, op. cit., p. 231 footnote. Allen, op. cit., ch. 20 is a good general discussion of the resurgence of pacifism in Canada in the 1920's and goes into detail about Creighton's change of mind.


48 Record of Proceedings, 1930, p. 115.
49 Interview with Allen.
50 Ocean Falls United Church, Official Board Minutes, 1929.
51 Digest, 1934, pp. 15-16.
52 Ibid., and Record of Proceedings, 1934, p. 64.
53 Digest, 1934, pp. 15-16.
54 Allen, op. cit., ch. 21 goes into much greater detail on the peace movement.
55 Dobson papers.
56 Prince Rupert Presbytery Minutes, February 1930.
57 Dobson papers.
58 J.S. Gordon file, B.C.C.A.
62 Prince Rupert Pres. Minutes, March 1931. This was started in England during World War I and in 1922, one of its founders, the Rev. Richard Roberts, came to Canada as the minister of the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal. He entered the United Church in 1925 and became one of the focal points for Canadian pacifism in the late 1920's and 1930's. He was widely respected throughout the United Church. See Allen, The Social Passion, ch. 20 and 21 for more detail.
64 Most of its members were Quakers and Mennonites, but its leadership came from United Church men in the east. Interview with Mrs. Mildred Fahrni, western secretary of the F.O.R.
It saw that drastic economic change would not only eliminate society's economic and social distress but would also remove the root causes of war. Greed, self-interest and extreme nationalism would be done away with.


The Vancouver Province, Oct. 25, 27, Nov. 2, 1939 are typical examples.

United Church, General Council World War II, correspondence to and from the Rev. J.R. Mutchmor, United Church archives, and Dobson papers indicate the concern felt across the country. Mutchmor was enraged at the unethical stand of the Financial Post in its lengthy attack on the United Church pacifists in an effort to gain wider readership. Financial Post, Dec. 9, 16, 1939 and MutchmoroDobsonp, Jana.12, 1940. Dobson papers. *Year Book* 1940, pp. 22-23, gives the sub-executive's statement.

Interview with the Rev. F.E. Runnalls.

Interview with the Rev. E.M. Nichols. In this case the defection could have resulted more from an incompatibility between the student minister and the church members than from the particular views expressed.


Wallace to Dobson, Sept. 30, 1941, Dobsonpapers.

Interview with Allen.

British Columbia Conference Minutes 1940.

Victoria James Bay United Church, Session Minutes, June 4, 1940; CongregATIONAL Meeting Minutes, June 16, 1940, Nov. 4, 1940.
Victoria Presbytery Minutes, May 1941.

Dobson to Mutchmor, Oct. 28, 1941, Dobson papers.

Kamloops-Okanagan Presbytery Papers, letters from Westbank Session, Jan. 31, 1940, Feb. 1, 1940; letter from Dovey to the Rev. J.W. Miller, Feb. 2, 1940; "History of events and ultimations issued by Mr. Dovey to Peachland United Church Board Stewards," typescript copy, Dobson papers.

Letters to and from Dobson with the Revs. W.P. Bunt and C.R. McGillivray, Dobson papers.

Peachland had refused to pay all Dovey's salary although he continued there in his work until June of 1940. Dobson papers.

Ibid. and interview with Runnalls.

Interview with the Rev. Clyde Woollard.

Record of Proceedings, 1940, p. 90; Dobson to Mutchmor, Oct. 25, 1940; Mutchmor to Prof. R.B.Y. Scott, Oct. 25, 1940, Dobson papers.

National War Services Regulation, 1940 (Recruits) (Consolidation 1941), Ottawa, King's Printer, 1941.

Copy of letter from L.A. LaFleche to Mutchmor, April 21, 1942. Dobson papers. These papers contain most of the material on Bishop's case.

Dobson to Mutchmor, Nov. 4, Nov. 27, 1941, Dobson papers.

The Rev. A.H. Rowe to Dobson, Sept. 8, 1941; Dobson to Mutchmor, Sept. 16, 1941; Mutchmor to Dobson Sept. 8, 1941, Dobson papers.


Mutchmor to Dobson, Sept. 6, 1941; Dobson to Mutchmor, Sept. 16, 1941, Cochrane to Bunt, June 10, 1942, Dobson papers.

Interview with Woollard; Dobson to Mutchmor, Nov. 27, 1941; Best to Rev. J. Coburn, August 21, 1942; paper from Facts and Figures Weekly, Wartime Information Board, Ottawa, no. 121-June 1-June 7, 1945; all from Dobson papers. Woollard to friends, July 26, 1942 in United
Church General Council Board of E. & S.S. Conscientious Objectors' file, U.C.A.


98 Interview with Woollard and letter from Best to author.

99 Circular from Mutchmor, Jan. 14, 1941; Mutchmor to Dobson, Jan. 8, 1943, Dobson papers.

100 See Tables VIII and IX, p. 154. British Columbia population increased about 30% in ten years while those claiming United Church ties increased about 40%.

101 See above #38.

102 See Tables X, XI, p. 156 and XII, p. 157. The distribution of chaplains was determined by the Department of National Defence and the United Church provided all that were requested. The Anglicans' greater response could be explained by the still close connection with Britain by many of its members, while the United Church membership was composed of a more varied national background. See Table 1, p. 4. The United Church men seemed to prefer the R.C.A.F. and 2,000 more joined that service than did Anglicans. Mutchmor to Dobson, Nov. 3, 1941, Dobson papers.

103 Interview with Wilson.

104 Digest, 1940, p. 20.

105 Digest, 1943, p. 21; 1944, pp. 21, 24; 1941, p. 13; 1945, pp. 23-4.

106 Digest, 1945, pp. 23-4.
FOOTNOTES—CHAPTER 6

1 The Rev. R.W. Hibbert to the Rev. W.P. Bunt, April 13, 1942, Bunt Papers, B.C.C.A.

2 W. Peter Ward, "The Oriental Immigrant and Canada's Protestant Clergy, 1858-1925," B.C. Studies, Summer 1974, goes into this question in some detail.


4 Young, op. cit., p. 31. See also Table XIII, p. 161. Between 1922 and 1924 the number of Japanese in schools increased 74%. British Columbia, Report on Oriental Activities within the Province, Victoria, King's Printer, 1927. This report is excellent for outlining the occupations held by the Japanese and the extent they had taken over neighbourhood stores and commercial services throughout Vancouver and Victoria, and had expanded their acreage holdings in the Fraser Valley.

5 After 1920, the number of fishing licences to Japanese was strictly controlled in an effort to give Indians and whites more opportunity. In 1919 the Japanese held almost one-half of the B.C. fishing licences. Young, op. cit., p. 43. Between 1922 and 1925, there was a 50.3% drop in the number of boat licences issued to the Japanese. B.C. Report, op. cit., p. 18. In 1925 the Minimum Wage Law in British Columbia was designed to restrict the employment of orientals in lumbering and other industries. Young, op. cit., p. 49. Halford D. Wilson and Harry J. de Graves, aldermen of Vancouver city, in "Brief on the Oriental Situation in British Columbia in the year 1938," p. 12 make a strident attack on the number of Japanese students attending schools, especially in the better parts of the city like Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale "at the expense of the white population." See also Young, op. cit., pp. 134-5 for the breakdown in numbers attending The University of British Columbia.


The C.C.F. did not want more oriental immigration into Canada but it did insist upon full Canadian citizenship, including the franchise for those already here. Grace and Angus MacInnis, Oriental Canadians—Outcasts or Citizens? [Vancouver, Federationist Publishing Co., ca. 1944]; and J. King Gordon to T.H. Hughes, December 10, 1937 [copy in author's possession]; Roy, op. cit., p. 62.

This was a United Church publication put out by the Japanese Young People's Union of the Powell Street Japanese United Church, Vancouver.

Gwen Cash, A Million Miles from Ottawa, Toronto, Macmillan, 1942 gives a vivid picture of the tense and fearful atmosphere on the west coast.

Sumida, op. cit., p. 132. Buddhists formed 66.7% of the Japanese population, the United Church members were 21.6%, Anglicans 5.6% and the Roman Catholics .9%. Statistics can only be approximate since the Japanese United Church records vary radically from year to year depending on the current minister's method of numbering those under his pastoral care. Many stating religious affiliations in the census returns would be only nominal members of the church concerned. In the case of the Japanese and Chinese, this would be particularly true of those claiming the Buddhist religion. See Tables XIV and XV, p. 164, for further religious statistics.

The Christian Endeavour Society was a non-denominational evangelistic movement begun in the United States in the late 19th century to work among young people. S.S. Osterhout, Orientals in Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1929 gives a detailed account of early Methodist and United Church work among the Japanese.


Interview with Grace Namba. Her parents joined the United Church because of her involvement with the kindergarten as did many of the other United Church adults in the Fraser Valley.

Sumida, op. cit., p. 470 taken from K. Shimizu, "The Problem of the 2nd Generation Japanese," 1931, p. 15. Although 65% of Japanese children belonged to Buddhist parents and only 16% to Christian, 65% were in Christian Sunday Schools and only 15% in Buddhist. A case in point is the Imai family in which five out of the six children became Christian while the parents and the remaining child stayed with the Buddhist religion. Interview with the Rev. Gordon Imai.
16 Osterhout, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 146.

17 United Church of Canada, *Year Book*, 1932, p. 156. The census figures in Table XIV, p. 164, do not bear this out. Either the church missions padded their numbers or many Japanese in answering the 1931 census claimed United Church membership before this was officially so.


20 Interviews with Mrs. K. Shimizu, Imai, Namba. The latter grew up in the Haney area, had white friends and taught piano lessons to white pupils as well as Japanese. She felt personally very little hostility from the community and neither did the other two, one of whom grew up in New Westminster and the other in South Vancouver.

21 Letter from the Pacific Co-operative Union, Mission City to a member of the Japanese United Church, Jan. 8, 1942. Fraser Valley United Church papers, B.C.C.A. A survey of Westminster Presbytery which included the Fraser Valley indicated that the number of Japanese converts was decreasing because of white hostility and Buddhist competition. The author was speaking of the situation in Steveston rather than the Valley most probably. The Rev. F.H. Stevens, "Survey of Westminster Presbytery," B.D. thesis, Union College of British Columbia, 1941, p. C23.

22 Mitsui, *op. cit.*, p. 171 footnote. This is true even today when the Japanese population is scattered throughout the country, and seemingly well-assimilated. Because of their different cultural background, the Japanese Canadians feel their spiritual needs and problems are different and go unmet in a regular white congregation. The problem seems to be as much theirs as that of the white church members who either treat the Japanese coolly or signal them out with too much attention. Interviews with Namba and Imai, and personal observation of the author.

23 Mitsui, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Segregation at Steveston ceased at a later date also.

24 Vancouver Knox United Church, Official Board Minutes, March 3, 1936.

26 British Columbia Conference Digest of the Minutes, 1936, p. 13. No official board minutes examined indicated that the instructions were followed.

27 Digest, 1938, p. 16.

28 Canada, War Committee, Special Committee on Orientals in British Columbia, Report and Recommendations, December 1940. H.L. Keenleyside of the Department of External Affairs, Lt. Col. A.W. Sparling of the Department of National Defence and F.J. Mead of the R.C.M.P. were the three men to gather the information.


30 Interview with Morag Maclachlan. Cash, op. cit., gives a personal contemporary view while Forrest E. LaViolette, The Canadian Japanese and World War II, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948, pp. 34-63, gives a good detailed account of the build-up of public protest leading to the complete evacuation.

31 Order-in-Council P.C. 365. See Appendix 5 for a complete list of government actions 1941 to 1945.

32 See LaViolette, op. cit., p. 60 for more details on the British Columbia Security Commission. F.J. Mead of the R.C.M.P., Austin Taylor, a prominent Vancouver industrialist and John Shirras of the B.C. provincial police headed the commission.

33 Others found their own housing or already lived outside the defence area.

34 Towns were Greenwood, Slocan City, New Denver, Rosebery, Sandon and Kaslo. The new camps were built at Lemon Creek near Slocan City, and Tashme near Hope. Japanese crews did the building and renovation work.

35 Department of Labour, Report, op. cit., gives the numbers which went to the various destinations and a more complete picture of the general conditions in the camps.

36 Interviews with the Revs. W.P. Bunt, H.M. Rae, F.E. Runnalls.

37 Circular letter, the Rev. Hugh Dobson to Japanese ministers, Sept. 8, 1941, Dobson papers.

38 Dobson to the Rev. J.R. Mutchmor, Sept. 5, 1941, Dobson papers.

39 Ibid., and circular letter, op. cit.
Sometimes called the Consultative Committee on Japanese Relations.

All Japanese had to be off the streets by dark. This made it very difficult for the Japanese clergy and doctors to do all their visiting and to deal with emergencies. The Rev. K. Shimizu's comment was "This is the end of Democracy in Canada." Shimizu diary, Feb. 28, 1942, U.B.C. Special Collections.

Special Committee on Japanese Work, Minutes, March 16, 1942, Bunt papers.

Minutes of the Advisory Committee Meeting of the Four Christian Churches working at Hastings Park April 8, 1942-May 28, 1942, Bunt papers.

They were to go to Kaslo, but since it was one of the first camps ready for occupancy, others already moved out of their homes were sent there to make room for more at Hastings Park. Interview with Mrs. K. Shimizu.

Shimizu diaries, April 1942.

Vancouver Province, March 11, 1942, letter to the editor from the Rev. Chas. E. Batzdorff. He also had his negative vote recorded in Vancouver Presbytery Minutes, March 10, 1942. This man was a maverick among his fellow clergymen but did represent the feelings of a number of laymen. He had been a staunch supporter of British Israelism and had been chastized by the presbytery on previous occasions for interference with other ministers' work.

Shimizu had tried to become naturalized for many years prior to World War II but was always refused with no explanation ever given. Interview with Shimizu.

Rae to Bunt, April 16, 1942, Bunt papers; Mitsui, op. cit., p. 206.

Dorey to Austin Taylor, May 19, 1942, carbon copy in Bunt papers.

Throughout March of 1942, one congregation noted its farewells to families going on their own to Manitoba and Alberta where they could take up farming again. Minutes of the Japanese United Church, Mission City. Another example was the family of Mrs. K. Shimizu. Her family pioneered in South Vancouver and was very well assimilated into the community. After a sister got a job as a domestic and a brother a farming job in the east, the whole family moved. It never was in a camp. There were others in a similar position. By the fall of 1941, quite a few university graduates and other Nisei had already gone east in order to find employment. Interview with Shimizu.
Minutes of Representatives of Powell United, New Westminster, Steveston and Fraser Valley, [Japanese United Church congregations], Jan. 8 and 22, 1942, Fraser Valley United Church papers, B.C.C.A.

Interview with Namba and Shimizu.


Mitsui, op. cit., pp. 257, 276 says Armitage was not friendly towards the Japanese but Shimizu in his diaries, May 1942 and his letters to Bunt, May 2, 29, 1942 and Feb. 23, 1944 indicates otherwise as do the Minutes of the Special Committee, op. cit., June 14, 1945. Armitage did withdraw his original offer to look after all the Japanese when he learned that many had no English (Armitage to Bunt, May 8, 1942), and when it became obvious that the congregation needed to renovate the buildings for the Japanese kindergarten and youth work (Armitage to Bunt, June 3, 1942 and Dorey to Bunt, May 4, 1942). Later Armitage and Miss Tait, the W.M.S. worker with the Japanese, fell out with Shimizu but it was a clash of personalities and goals, (Dorey Report, March 1943). Perhaps Mitsui mistook these negative aspects as indications of Armitage's hostility towards the Japanese when it was really directed towards Shimizu. The latter was very unhappy in Kaslo and wanted to go east very early during the war. (Mitsui, op. cit., pp. 276-78 and Shimizu diaries).

Bunt to Armitage, July 3, 1942; Sadie Tait to Mrs. I.M. Loveys, June 4, 1942; Dorey Report, March 1943.

Kaslo Kootenaian, Jan. 22, 1942; April 30, 1942; July 2, 9, 1942.

Grand Forks Sun, April 10, 1942; May 1, 1942; Sept. 4, 1942; Aug. 27, 1943; Oct. 3, 1944; Grand Forks Gazette, Feb. 19, March 5, March 12, March 26, May 14, Aug. 20, Dec. 3, 1942. Japanese families moved independently to the surrounding area to farm.

This is discussed later in more detail.

The Rev. Thos. Keyworth to Bunt, June 30, Nov. 28, 1942; Feb. to April 1944, Bunt papers.

One was the superintendent for the Rev. Y. Ogura in the Japanese Sunday School. Frank H. Humphrey to Bunt, June 17, 1942, Bunt papers.


The pulp and paper company burnt the church along with the Japanese part of town and gave the Home Missions Board no recompense. The Rev. E.S. Fleming to Bunt, May 4, 1942, Bunt papers.
Interview with the Rev. G. Baker.

Interviews with Mrs. M. Brunnette, daughter of Dr. Norman Black, and with Mrs. R.J. McMaster.

Letter of farewell, op. cit.; the Rev. Y. Yoshioka to Bunt, Aug. 24, 1942, Bunt papers; interview with Rae.

This was later known as the Vancouver Consultative Council for Study of Problems of Citizenship and became the local branch of the Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians. Hereafter it will be referred to as the Vancouver Consultative Council.

He was a retired professor of education, a keen supporter of civil rights, especially of ethnic minorities, and had become involved with the Japanese community through his children's Japanese friends at U.B.C. He had been a close friend of the Rev. Hugh Dobson since 1915. Interview with Brunnette.

Black to Dorey, Jan. 4, 1943, Dobson papers.

Dorey to Bunt, Jan. 14, 1943, Bunt papers.

Minutes of Special Committee on Japanese Work, op. cit., contains a copy of the Memorandum.

Interview with Shimizu. Mrs. Shimizu was the former Hide Hyodo and married Shimizu in Toronto after his first wife died from tuberculosis.

These men were university students who were quite anxious to be engaged in more worthwhile projects than cutting down brush. One said he felt the church intervened on their behalf, not so much for their benefit but because of the church's desperate need for teachers in the camps. E. Best to the author, May 27, 1973.

Gwen Suttie, "With the Nisei in New Denver," edited by Dorothy Blakey Smith, B.C. Historical News, February 1972, pp. 15-25. This article gives a detailed picture of a school in New Denver as well as other church work with the Japanese.

Minutes of Special Committee on Japanese Work, March 22, 1945; Bunt papers.

In the latter days of the war, Kaslo and New Denver were designated camps for those remaining in Canada while Tashme and Lemon Creek were for those signing repatriation forms.

The Rev. George Dorey was the key United Church man on this committee.
77 LaViolette, op. cit., pp. 193-5.

78 W.M.S. Dominion Board Home Missions, Minutes, Sept. 16, 1942.

79 Letters and telegrams to Senator Cairine Wilson and the prime minister with their responses, Dobson papers. Wilson quoted Dr. N. Black and the Vancouver Consultative Council in her speech against the disenfranchisement. Vancouver Sun, July 3, 1944.

80 A.W. Roebuck to the Rev. J.A. Donnell, July 31, 1944, Dobson papers. Roebuck gives a detailed explanation as to how the bill passed without King, the C.C.F. or most in the House knowing its contents.


83 Vancouver Consultative Council to King, May 29, 1944, Dobson papers.

84 King to Dobson, August 3, 1944, Dobson papers. See 6 for the speech.

85 Isabel McIntosh Loveys, Among the Japanese Canadians in British Columbia, 1944 was used in W.M.S. study groups and Constance Chappell, Second Pioneers, 1944 was studied by teenage girls' groups.

86 He was the son of the Hon. H.H. Stevens, who had long been an opponent of the oriental presence in British Columbia.

87 London Free Press, Sept. 15, 1944, Sanford Scrapbrook.

88 Interview with Rae. There had been a long and heated debate in the House of Commons in May over the government's estimates for its Japanese camp work and over Bill 135, at which time these vocal M.P.'s gained a great deal of press coverage. Their solution was still one of deportation of all Japanese. LaViolette, The Canadian Japanese, pp. 227-32.

89 Dobson to Mutchmor, Jan. 7, 1942, Dobson papers.

90 Ralph Maybank, M.P., Winnipeg to the Rev. R.B. Cochrane, July 12, 1944, Cochrane papers, U.C.A.

91 The Rev. T. Komiyama to Bunt, May 3, 1945, Bunt papers; and Minutes of Special Committee on Japanese Work, June 14, 1945.

Interview with Imai. Norman Black and W.H.H. Norman, Save Canadian Children and Canadian Honour, Vancouver Consultative Council, [n.d.], gives examples of similar cases as does the New Canadian, of families and individuals who changed their minds for many different reasons. Imai considered that up to 90% of the families in Tashme during the early war years wanted Japan to win. The whole camp waited eagerly for the clandestine news bulletins received from Japan over a forbidden short-wave radio.


Black to King, Oct. 18, 1945, Dobson papers.

Orders-in-council P.C. 7355, 7356, 7357.

The Toronto committee similar to the Vancouver Consultative Council was formed in 1943. Winnipeg also had a group. On the Toronto committee were active United Church people including the Rev. E.M. Nichols from British Columbia, an S.C.M. secretary, the Rev. James Finlay of Toronto, who was a member of the F.O.R. and Miss Constance Chappell, a W.M.S. missionary from Japan. Edith Fowke, They Made Democracy Work, Co-operative Committee on Japanese-Canadians, 1952, gives a good history of this committee's work.

He was formerly a very strong S.C.M. member, was active in the United Church and at one time seriously considered the ministry. He was a pacifist, a member of the C.C.F. and very much concerned with the rights of the downtrodden. Interviews with Mr. and Mrs. R.J. McMaster, Miss G. McMaster, and Mrs. Mildred Fahrni.

By August 31, 1945, 102,813 asked to go to Japan but by Sept. 1, 285 had cancelled, by Dec. 4, 4,720 had applied for cancellation and by March 1946, 6,313 had applied. Canada, Department of Labour, Report on Re-Establishment of Japanese in Canada, 1944–1946, 1947, p. 13. More cancelled later. In the end, 3,903 were deported. Thirty-two per cent
were Japanese nationals, 16% were naturalized Canadians and 50% were Canadian-born. Robert Stewart, "The Church and Minorities: the Japanese-Canadians and World War II," paper for the Department of Religious Studies, U.B.C., 1972, p. 8, from the New Canadian, Sept. 11, 1963.

101 Board of Home Missions Minutes, March 8, 1950.

102 Year Book, 1949, p. 190.

103 Interview with Imai.

104 Report of Japanese Fishing Vessels Disposal Committee, Vancouver, 1942, p. 22. This report gives the details on this operation.


106 Chester Bloom, "Bargain Prices," Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 28, 1947, Dobson papers. A moral issue raised was the buying of much of the land in the Fraser Valley by the same department which evaluated it at a lower rate than the municipalities.

107 Mutchmor to Dobson, June 29, 1943, Dobson papers.

108 Mutchmor to Dobson, June 9, 1947, Dobson papers.

109 The New Canadian, Sept. 6, 1947.

110 Interview with Miss G. McMaster.


112 Digest, 1946, p. 22; 1947, p. 17.

113 Dobson to Mutchmor, June 5, 1947.

114 Bunt, Dobson and Rae to Johnson, Jan. 29, 1948; and Dobson to H.P. Davidson, Jan. 29, 1948; Dobson papers.

115 Interview with Bunt and Mrs. Shimizu. Shimizu agreed with a similar statement made by Bunt at the time, in a talk "What the Church has done." Shimizu papers, U.B.C. Special Collections. The Japanese did not realize how few church members were sympathetic until after the war was over. They had thought the leaders were speaking for the whole church membership and not just a very small minority. Interview with Mitsui.
The Anglican Church besides helping in the camps came to the Japanese aid in the deportation question much later and the Roman Catholics took no part in that struggle. They worked only in the camps, especially in the educational field. The New Canadian and T. Nakayama, "Anglican Japanese Missions in Canada: A Historical Survey," term paper, Anglican Theological College, 1956, Anglican archives, Vancouver.

Green later modified his views somewhat concerning deportation but even in 1972, felt very strongly that the Japanese had to be dispersed. He showed little regret at how the dispersion was handled. Interview with Green. His parents living in Kaslo at the time of the evacuation were against the Japanese until, one day when Mr. Green Sr. was to be away, an elderly Japanese gentleman volunteered to sleep on the porch to protect Mrs. Green. The senior Greens' opposition disappeared. Interview with Rae.

Five out of six children in his family became Christian because of church contacts in the camp at Tashme. Interview with Imai.

FOOTNOTES—CONCLUSION


3 The climate of the coast also attracted retired men from the prairies who brought decidedly conservative outlooks to the floor of the church courts so that social action was often modified or delayed. Interview with the Rev. F.E. Runnalls.

4 Ellis, op. cit., pp. 81-85. The United Church was the strongest religious denomination in the C.C.F. and thus sometimes was known as "the C.C.F. party at prayer."

5 It was sometimes called the alumni group of the S.C.M.

6 British Columbia Conference Life and Work Committee Questionnaire results, 1935, Conference papers. By this date there were very few ministers in British Columbia who had been educated in the Maritimes although in the previous generation there had been a considerable number of them in influential positions. They tended to be rather conservative. Union College was quite conservative in its teaching on social concern but its predecessors had a more liberal approach. The college actually lost candidates for the ministry because of its conservatism during the 1930's and 1940's. Interviews with S. Roddan, R.J. McMaster, J.G. Pinkerton, and S.H. Pinkerton.

7 Ellis, op. cit., pp. 32, 60, agrees with this conclusion. He also states that the United Church ministers were more liberal and more involved in secular groups and social issues than ministers from any other denomination. See pp. 21, 38, 60-65, 84-85.

Of course, its founder J.S. Woodsworth and others from different denominations contributed to this aura as well. The party also had a large vocal group of atheists and agnostics.


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### APPENDIX I

Non-Concurring Congregations and Ministers of the Presbyterian Church in British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation &amp; vote</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chilliwack 49-159</td>
<td>Self-sustaining, with long history in strong Presbyterian settlement</td>
<td>Rev. D. Campbell, older man, born in Huron County Ontario, educated in Toronto and Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranbrook 38-56</td>
<td>Self-sustaining, strong Scottish Presbyterian background. Session had long history of feuding over union.</td>
<td>Popular unionist minister in 1924-25 who could not change members' minds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creston 11-23</td>
<td>Augmented charge in a strong Presbyterian town. Record of poor ministers and feuds in session over finances and union. Looked back to more prosperous days when Rev. C.L. Cowan (prominent non-concurrent) was the missionary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo 115-125</td>
<td>Self-sustaining with long history and strong Scottish Presbyterian members. Had been for union in 1915 under a unionist minister.</td>
<td>Rev. D. Lister, older man, born in Scotland, educated at Westminster Hall during war after a career as chemist. Very stubborn fighter. Turned issue into personal one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Denver 7-13</td>
<td>Home mission charge, looked back to better days of Cowan and prosperous mining days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I (cont'd).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation &amp; vote</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knox-Sapperton 26-83</td>
<td>Self-sustaining, Irish Presbyterian element very strong.</td>
<td>Unionist minister found anti-unionist minister in congregation canvassed all members and signed up many as members of Presbyterian Church Association behind his back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Aidan's 5-50</td>
<td>Self-sustaining with Gordon-Edmonds, both small suburban congregations.</td>
<td>Rev. R.J. Douglas (see above Gordon-Edmonds).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew's 171-175</td>
<td>Very long history going back to 1862. Wealthy, large congregation.</td>
<td>Unionist minister but highly respected Fraser Valley pioneer, Rev. Alex Dunn was a member who died just before union and was a strong anti-unionist.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**North Vancouver**

| Prince Rupert 10-62 | Self-sustaining strong Presbyterian congregation, just completed a very successful building campaign. Leading elder and attorney-general of province was against union though the congregation voted for it in 1915. | Rev. H.R. Grant, born in Ontario, an older man of strong Scottish Presbyterian background. |
## Appendix I (cont'd)

### Congregation & vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vancouver</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingstone 2-11</td>
<td>Home mission charge started by Douglas who supervised the student ministers until 1925</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond 97-138</td>
<td>Self-sustaining with very long history.</td>
<td>Rev. E.G. Thompson, anti-unionist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson' 84-308</td>
<td>Self-sustaining moderate sized congregation of recent Scottish immigrants.</td>
<td>Rev. Alex Esler, born in Ireland, strong evangelical man, educated at Princeton. Came to Vancouver in 1919.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul's 14-94</td>
<td>Strong Scottish Presbyterian members with regular services in Gaelic. Successful building campaign in 1924.</td>
<td>Rev. R.G. MacBeth, born in Manitoba and educated at Manitoba College, had been lawyer and was an older man. Not a member of his congregation went into union. He was one of the first in Canada to fight union and did so across the nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victoria</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordon Head 11-11</td>
<td>Part of a 2 point charge supported by St. Aidan's which voted for union. This congregation closed in October 1925.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix I (cont'd)

#### Congregation & vote | History | Minister
---|---|---
St. Andrew's 156-244 | Large wealthy congregation, organized by dissidents from 1st Presbyterian Church in 1860's, who wanted more stringent following of Church of Scotland rules. | Rev. W.L. Clay, born in P.E.I., an older man and minister of congregation since 1894. Strong fighter against union once vote in 1911 showed a divided church. Highly respected and active in civic life.

St. Paul's 20-123 | Small augmented charge | Rev. J.S. Patterson, anti-unionist and an older man.

Sooke (no figures) | Small home mission charge | Rev. S. Lundie, born in Ireland, educated at Manitoba College, and an older man.

Strawberry Hill 6-18 Newton 3-36 | Small, augmented 2 point charge in Fraser Valley | D. Munro, non-concurrent, older student from Westminster Hall, born in Scotland in 1881.

#### Other Clergy

**Retired:**
- W. Akitt, farmer in Armstrong, educated at Montreal College
- T.S. Glassford, born in Ontario, retired in Alberni
- T.C. MacKay, born in Nova Scotia, educated at Queen's University, Kingston and retired in New Westminster.
- E. MacQueen, Victoria, born and educated in Scotland.
- E.D. McLaren, Vancouver, born in Ontario and educated at Queen's. He was on the first joint committee to draft the Basis of Union and was secretary of Home Missions for the Presbyterian Church during the period of its great western expansion. He began to have doubts about union around 1909 when he heard much dissatisfaction across the nation about it. He looked for alternatives and in the last two years before union, actively campaigned for the non-concurrents. He was highly respected and his word carried much weight. His son-in-law, the Rev. G.A. Wilson, superintendent for home missions in British Columbia, did not decide for union until the last minute.
C.A. Mitchell, Bradner.

D. Oliver, Haney, born in Ireland.

Inactive: C.J. Cameron, Vancouver, born in Nova Scotia, and educated at Queen's. He became active after union and went to Prince Rupert where he died a year later.

Alexander Dunn, Vancouver, born in Scotland. He became active after union and went to Knox-Sapperton in New Westminster.

A.E. Vert, removed from St. Andrew's, New Westminster in 1902, he became chaplain at the penitentiary. A very stubborn man, he visited members behind his minister's back and won many to the non-concurrent side.

Chinese Mission: (It was decided nationally that the Chinese Presbyterian missions in British Columbia would remain with the Presbyterian Church.

D.A. Smith, Vancouver, born in Scotland of a strong Presbyterian family. He was superintendent of Chinese Missions for British Columbia.


K.H. Yeung, Vancouver Chinese Mission

Other: J.R. Frizzell, Vancouver. His congregation voted for union and he took the vote as a personal one against him.

Wm. Daly, a Methodist who turned to the Presbyterian Church in 1925.

* Older man means one in late 50's or older. Many clergymen did not retire until well on into their 70's.

** Home mission charge was completely supported by the Board of Home Missions and an augmented charge received some funds from the Board.
APPENDIX 2

The Organizational Structure of the United Church of Canada 1930

GENERAL COUNCIL

(percentage of ministers and equal number of laymen elected by Conferences)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Committees of:</th>
<th>Boards of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moderator (elected/ for 22 years)</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Benevolent Funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Literature &amp; Publicity</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Promotion</td>
<td>U.C. Training School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive of General Council (40)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Evangelism &amp; Social Service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONFERENCE

(all ministers and equal number of laymen from the presbyteries)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Committees of:</th>
<th>Boards of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evangelism &amp; Social Service</td>
<td>Benevolent Funds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>Education &amp; students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>Religious Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>Maintenance &amp; Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obituaries</td>
<td>Foreign Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church property</td>
<td>Home Missions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PRESBYTERY

(all ministers and equal number of laymen from the congregations)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Committees of:</th>
<th>Boards of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Historical</td>
<td>Benevolent Funds</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Property</td>
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<td>Statistics</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evangelism &amp; Social Service</td>
<td>Maintenance &amp; Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home Missions</td>
<td>Foreign Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Any other committees</td>
<td>Home Missions</td>
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</table>

CONGREGATION

Official Board

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Committees of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Session</td>
<td>Young People's Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewards or Board of Managers</td>
<td>Youth groups (C.G.I.T., Explorers, Tuxis, Trail Rangers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Auxiliary</td>
<td>A.O.T.S. Mens' Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman's Missionary Society</td>
<td>Any other groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday School</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 3

Christianizing the Social Order

(a) That honest, capable and industrious persons shall have the opportunity as well as the responsibility of earning for themselves and their families a satisfactory livelihood, which should include humane living and working conditions, together with freedom and leisure for the awakening and development in them of whatsoever things are true, lovely and of good report.

(b) That the wage-earner, the management and the provider of capital shall find equitable treatment. It is essential that wage-earners and employers, while the present conditions of industry obtain, should bargain on equal terms through persons freely chosen by each group.

(c) That wage-earners shall earn their wages by conscientious industry, that the management shall be efficient and exclude waste in production, and that the consumer shall find in the market price the minimum which will provide equitable treatment for all parties.

(d) That industry shall be so organized that the supply of the material needs of life will neither be interrupted nor exploited for sectional advantage.

(e) That the structure of the community shall be so ordered that no one shall be deprived of his chance to do the best he may with his gifts of mind and character, because of the unjust outward circumstances.

(f) That the possession of money shall not be regarded as an end worthy in itself, nor its possessor be held in respect by the community by reason of his riches. The person of true wealth will be he who serves the community with what he has.

(g) That sometimes for co-operation within the nation or among the nations, renunciation of one's own desires shall be called for, and that exclusive privileges and economic advantage for one's self must yield to the larger common welfare, so that suspicions and animosities will be displaced by community of purpose.


Statement of British Columbia Conference Condemning the Capitalist System

"We believe that the competitive system must be transformed into a co-operative one, and that production and distribution, together with the whole fiscal system, must be controlled in the interest of human need rather than for private profit."

Source: United Church British Columbia Conference, Digest of the Minutes, 1931, p. 11.
APPENDIX 4

Fellowship for a Christian Social Order

A Synopsis of the Constitution and Declaration

Constitution:

Name—The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order
Membership—full and associate members
Organization—national executive, local units

Programme of Action—
as individuals: sermons, reading, speeches, establishment of study groups
as units: weekly study groups, a survey of needs in local area
as movement: research, publishing, summer schools, conferences

Declaration:

1. "We believe in God the creative power in the world. . . . In Jesus we have the fullest revelation given to us of the nature of God.

2. "We feel it our duty to affirm a religious principle which organized religion, no less than secular institutions, has continually ignored. This principle is that the impulse to possess, which is encouraged by institutions based on private property, is fundamentally antagonistic to the needs of the soul. . . ."

3. "... we condemn the present economic system. First, because of its material failure. . . . Second because of its perversion of ordinary human morality. It incites and exalts the acquisitive propensities, and the desire for money and power out of all proportion to the place they occupy in normal human nature, as well as indirect contradiction to the Gospel ethic."

4. "We look to salvation through a new society in which institutions that earn wealth for the community shall be owned by the community, and wealth earned shall become, not a means to luxury and power for some, but the source of the material elements of the good life for all. . . ."

5. "We hold that as a step toward attaining this new society, individuals must accept the discipline of Christian living, . . . we believe also that collective action is necessary to bring needed social change."

6. "Finally, we declare our opposition to war. We do this . . . because opposition to war is a consequence of our rejection of capitalism. . . . we denounce war as a vicious product of capitalism, and pledge ourselves to the most effective non-co-operative action in which we can engage in the event of war and in times of peace."

Source: New Outlook, February 27, 1935.
December 17, 1941—Special registration for persons of Japanese race. . . . Seizure and Government sale of their fishing boats and suspension of their fishing licenses.

February 26, 1942—Persons of Japanese race, irrespective of citizenship, summarily ordered from Coastal areas to relocation camps in the interior. Allowed only personal baggage up to 150 pounds; children, 75 pounds.

February 27, 1942—Persons of Japanese race forbidden to acquire land or houses, without special permit from the Minister of Justice.

March 27, 1942—All property of persons of Japanese race vested in a Custodian "for protective purposes only."

April 21, 1942—Government promised the provinces to remove all relocated persons of Japanese race at the end of the war on request.

January 19, 1943—Custodian granted power to liquidate, sell or otherwise dispose of the properties of evacuated persons.

March, 1945—All persons of Japanese race 16 years of age and over suddenly confronted with the alternative of signing applications to go to Japan or of establishing themselves east of the Rockies.

September 17, 1945—Letter to General MacArthur expressing the Government's desire to proceed with the deportation of 10,347 persons of Japanese racial origin as soon as possible.

October 5, 1945—Bill 15 introduced in Parliament with a clause authorizing deportation and revocation of nationality. Bill withdrawn as a result of the opposition of Parliament and people.

December 17, 1945—Parliament by-passed by Orders-in-Council P.C. 7355, 7356, 7357, which authorized the deportation.