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Department of History

The University of British Columbia
1956 Main Mall
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1Y3

Date 27 April, 1988
This study examines the growth of conservative Protestantism, or evangelicalism, in British Columbia from 1917, the beginning of open conflict with theological liberalism, to 1981. The period witnessed the development of evangelical institutions from rudimentary beginnings before 1920 to the rise of a complex network by the 1970's. Numerically, conservative denominations in British Columbia countered a national trend and nearly doubled their proportion of the population from 1921 to 1981. Towards the end of the period, weekly attendance at conservative churches surpassed that in mainline Protestant denominations.

This study has a two-fold purpose. The narrative seeks to recount significant features of the denominational, institutional and numerical development of evangelicalism in British Columbia. At the same time, the crucial factors in its development will be analyzed, particularly those which explain its growth.

Explanations which focus exclusively on socio-economic factors or American influences are rejected. Both played significant roles but neither are able to fully explain the growth and other factors must be considered in addition to them. Four are identified as playing particularly significant roles: 1. a loyalty to values and emphases which appeared endangered by modernism; 2. patterns of immigration which added relatively large numbers of evangelicals who soon identified with the wider evangelicalism, 3. larger than average family sizes and high
rates of retention of children within conservative churches and
4. institutional factors, particularly the strenuous efforts
spent in establishing large numbers of new congregations
throughout the province.

Common to all four factors is the sense shared by
conservative Protestants that they were separate from the
"world." Unlike religious liberals who sought to preserve
Christianity by accommodating to modernism, conservatives were
alienated by modernism and sought to preserve traditional
evangelicalism in the face of massive cultural change. In
British Columbia, which was characterized by an unusual degree
of transiency, materialism and secularism, the conservative
approach proved more successful. Neither branch of
Protestantism grew as rapidly as the "no religion" segment of
the population but, while mainline Protestantism declined
proportionately, evangelicals evidenced a certainty and
simplicity of conviction and action that appealed to an
increasing minority of the population.
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Since World War I conservative Protestantism has become sufficiently important in the religious, social and political life of British Columbia to warrant close examination. However, little scholarly work has been done on the history of conservative Protestantism, or more commonly, evangelicalism, in the province. There have been several theses dealing with individual denominations but nothing which looks at the broader picture.

It is necessary for at least three reasons, however, to examine evangelicalism in British Columbia as a broader phenomenon. One is the sheer complexity of the wide range of denominations, organizations and emphases in the province. This calls for explanation because it so baffles most observers, whether outsiders or insiders, and has created the problem of developing a comprehensive explanatory framework.

In North America as a whole, evangelicalism has been sufficiently united in opposition to liberalism in defence of what were seen as key elements of historic Protestantism to be variously labelled "the third force" in Christendom, the traditionalist component of the "two-party Protestant system" or "the Evangelical Denomination." It never has, however, been a monolithic movement but instead needs to be seen as composed of a number of separate strands converging at certain key points but diverging at others. Theological, ecclesiastical, ethnic and socio-economic factors have contributed to the development of these separate strands. The result has been not only the
existence of a wide variety of denominations but also a spectrum of opinion, sometimes cutting across denominational lines on a number of issues. These include the militancy of the fight against liberalism; separation from the "world" and from mainline Protestant denominations; eschatology; the role of the supernatural in contemporary religious experience; styles of worship, church order and government; the importance and nature of higher education; the methods and aggressiveness of evangelism and the degree and nature of involvement in social and political issues. Much of this broad and confusing range of denominations and emphases within North American evangelicalism finds expression in British Columbia and calls for explanation.

A second reason is the marked difference between conservative Protestantism's numerical growth in British Columbia and its apparent relative decline in Canada as a whole. In *Fragmented Gods*, his landmark work on religion in Canada, Reginald Bibby provides census data indicating that those identifying themselves with conservative Protestant denominations declined as a proportion of the Canadian population as a whole from approximately 8% in 1921 to 7% in 1981. Census data presented in Chapter 8 of this study, however, indicates that in British Columbia the trend was quite strongly in the opposite direction. The proportion in the same conservative Protestant groups nearly doubled from 4.5% in 1921 to just over 8% in 1981.

In the process, British Columbia became a leading stronghold of a number of the nation's more significant evangelical groups. The Salvation Army and Christian (Plymouth)
Brethren were already relatively significant in the province in 1921 and remained so throughout the period. The first formal denominational schism in Baptist ranks in North America over the modernist/fundamentalist issue took place in 1927 in British Columbia and subsequent Baptist growth in the province was more vigorous than elsewhere in Canada, particularly among the homogenously conservative Regular (Fellowship) Baptist churches. Pentecostalism, which added a dynamic element of supernaturalism to the defense of conservative Protestantism, spread more rapidly in British Columbia from the 1920's onward than in any province of Canada west of the Maritime provinces. Beginning in the late 1920's and continuing well into the post-war period, the predominantly British evangelical population was heavily augmented by the immigration of European evangelicals. By 1981, nearly half of the Canadian membership of the strongly evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference, the largest of such immigrant groups in British Columbia, resided in the west coast province. Finally, the late 1960's and the 1970's saw British Columbia become the leading centre of the charismatic movement in Canada and the home of a large number of sizeable independent charismatic congregations. By 1981, census and denominational figures indicated that British Columbia's evangelical population, estimated to number over 200,000, was proportionately as numerous as that of Alberta, often referred to as Western Canada's "Bible Belt."  

In addition, British Columbia conservative Protestants led their counterparts elsewhere in Canada in establishing new types of institutions of higher education. For example, Trinity
Western College, founded in Langley in 1962, developed to become Canada's only autonomous, evangelical, degree-granting liberal arts college in the late 1970's. Regent College, founded in Vancouver in 1968, was the first evangelical graduate school in the world to specialize in offering advanced biblical training to the laity and by the mid-1980's had become the largest graduate school of theology in Canada.

The significance of evangelicalism in British Columbia relative to Canada as a whole was due not only to growth on its own part but also to the weakness of mainstream Protestantism and the strength of secularism in the province. Against the backdrop of the most secular society in Canada, the previously less visible evangelical community began standing out more sharply and its institutional and numerical significance became increasingly apparent.

A third reason for a study of British Columbia's evangelical community is that it has played an increasingly significant role in the province's political life since 1950. Several studies quite clearly indicate that the Social Credit party has received disproportionate, though not exclusive, support from theologically conservative Protestants. A study of religion and provincial politics in the 1950's led to the conclusion that "The advent of Social Credit has witnessed the rise of the new fundamentalist denominations as factors in provincial affairs." Some evidence also points to a general preference for the federal Progressive Conservative party among British Columbia evangelicals beginning at least as early as the mid-1950's.
This study has a two-fold purpose. The narrative will focus on the denominational/institutional development of evangelicalism in British Columbia from the major outbreak of resistance to liberal theology beginning in 1917, through various phases of change and expansion, to the complex, multi-faced network becoming evident by the 1960's and 1970's. N. K. Clifford argued recently that the institutional foundations of conservative Protestantism (he uses the term "Two-Party Protestant" system) had been laid in the Canadian West by 1930. Clifford indicates he does not have the evidence to substantiate a date as early as 1930 but it will be shown here that in British Columbia the basic institutional foundations were in place by the late 1920's. In the decades since that time the foundations have been broadened and a far more complex institutional structure has been added.

Secondly, the crucial factors in the development of evangelicalism into a significant, complex force in the province will be analyzed. The focus of the analysis will be to determine why a strong conservative resistance to liberalism developed and why the conservative party has grown to such significant proportions in British Columbia

Definitions

Before proceeding further some definitions are necessary. Because neither theological liberalism nor conservatism was a monolithic movement, the making of precise definitions is a risky undertaking. Nevertheless, the differences between the two viewpoints are significant enough to warrant sketching
descriptive definitions. Sydney Ahlstrom terms the conservative-liberal debate "the most fundamental controversy to wrack the churches since the age of the Reformation," while Goldwin French describes the split as a veritable chasm when compared with the differences which had existed between Protestants in the mid-nineteenth century. In the heat of controversy in the mid-1920's the editor of the leading voice of North American liberalism, the Christian Century, wrote:

The presence of the fundamentalist and the modernist in the same institution is the most outstanding phenomenon of the present day. They differ so radically as to appear incapable of living in the same intellectual world. It is not too much to say that they can only be classified with accuracy as representing two different religions.

The cleavage is the result of radically differing approaches to the currents of change stemming from the Enlightenment and sweeping the Western world with renewed vigour after the mid-nineteenth century. Theological liberalism, or modernism, grew out of and responded to the nineteenth century milieu of rationalism, romanticism and progressivism. Liberals tended to accept the concept of evolutionary development and lauded progress in the cultural realm. Under the influence of Hegel, many stressed God's immanence rather than His transcendence, and argued that he was continually revealing his nature through the historical development of human civilization. They thus welcomed most scientific and intellectual changes in the early part of the twentieth century
and strove to adapt religious beliefs to modern culture.

The reason for the rise of the liberal theological movements within evangelical Protestantism was, according to Robert Handy, to find "a way of restating the historic, Christ-centred faith of Protestantism in terms that would be understandable to persons familiar with modern concepts of scientific, evolutionary, and historical thinking." However, "Inevitably, liberal theologies were themselves deeply influenced by the use of these approaches to truth." Some, of course, were more deeply influenced than others. Often a distinction is made between "modernist liberals" and "evangelical liberals." To the former, modern science was normative and elements of the Christian tradition were retained only when they did not conflict with modern knowledge. In Handy's words again, "So confident were they that scientific methods in the social and behavioral as well as in the natural sciences would lead to truth that they felt secure in turning from the stress on revelation and the supernatural that had long marked Protestant piety and theology." However, to the "evangelical liberals", Christian revelation was still normative but was reinterpreted in the light of modern knowledge. Many, perhaps the majority, were not eager to part with old certainties but the new scholarly methods made retention of them a difficult task. The higher critical method of Biblical studies, with its developmental approach to religion and revisionist approach to questions of the authorship, dating and historicity of Old and New Testament books, especially contributed to the difficulty.
By W.W.I, liberals had come to comprise much of the educational and ecclesiastical leadership in the major Protestant denominations in North America. This liberal leadership was typically not as radical as that usually found in German universities. In Canada, a few somewhat radical stances could be found but the approaches of the influential Nathaniel Burwash and John F. McCurdy, of Victoria and University colleges in Toronto, for example, were quite cautious and moderate, seeking to harmonize Christianity with modern science.  

Despite the important differences among liberals, the overall effect of their attempts to contextualize Christianity was a change in the nature of Protestantism. An important aspect of the change was a revision of the view of the Bible from one in which it was, itself, God's authoritative and divinely inspired message to man to one in which it was an important source of God's revelation of Himself but not a unique or unquestioned authority in the traditional sense because of a new understanding of its human, culturally conditioned qualities. Traditional Christian creeds could no longer be regarded as timeless truths but were viewed more as human statements, the result of historical development, and amenable to change according to the changing assumptions of the times. The view that society was progressing towards a realization of the Kingdom of God led to a shift in focus in many, though not all, liberal minds from a salvation starting with the individual to a salvation focussing to a much greater degree on society as a whole.
Conservatives, or evangelicals, on the other hand, differed sharply from their liberal counterparts and were afraid that the liberal restatements of Christianity amounted to no less than the abandonment of it. Many thus threw themselves into battle to defend their understanding of the evangelical Protestant doctrines, values and emphases which had previously prevailed in most of North America.

Difficulty is often experienced with terminology when discussing the conservative response. "Fundamentalist" and "evangelical" are the most frequently confused terms. Joel Carpenter's comment that "Fundamentalists are evangelicals, but not all evangelicals are fundamentalists" is helpful in clarifying the issue. A large number of Protestant groups shared the name "evangelical" in some sense. Among these were Wesleyan holiness groups; those of a non-Wesleyan, Keswick holiness orientation; Missouri Synod Lutherans; Reformed confessionalists; premillennialists; revivalistic Protestants; Pietists; Pentecostals and Anabaptists. According to George Marsden, these can be considered a "conceptual unity" in that they typically emphasize:

1. the Reformation doctrine of the final authority of Scripture; 2. the real, historical character of God's saving work recorded in Scripture; 3. eternal salvation only through personal trust in Christ; 4. the importance of evangelism and missions; and 5. the importance of a spiritually transformed life.

These were emphasized to differing degrees; much disagreement on
finer points of detail existed and additional emphases were added by some. Nevertheless, these emphases do represent a broad commonality.

Most evangelicals were allies, directly or indirectly, of fundamentalists, were strongly influenced by them and displayed some fundamentalist characteristics, but they cannot all be called "fundamentalists". The term "fundamentalism" is best reserved to designate those whose opposition to theological and cultural modernism was marked by a high degree of militancy. Sometimes premillennialism is seen as a necessary component of fundamentalism but that definition does not work in British Columbia because some of the more militant and separatistic Baptists were not premillennialists. R. Laurence Moore makes distinctions among fundamentalists, referring to exclusivist or sectarian fundamentalists and nonseparatist fundamentalists. He uses the term fundamentalist for both groups for the correct reason that both "are part of the same historical story." His approach overcomes much of the difficulty in categorizing those conservatives in British Columbia who shared similarities with conservatives such as J. C. Massee of the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States. Massee was, for several years, leader of the Fundamentalist Federation of his denomination but was repudiated by many fundamentalists because of his conciliatory position, his refusal to join the more militant, separatistic Baptist Bible Union and his repudiation of the militant, denunciatory tone of many leading fundamentalists. Moore's term "nonseparatist fundamentalist" is useful in that it acknowledges the ambivalent position of such conservatives.
However, to distinguish more clearly between moderate and militant conservatives, "fundamentalist" will only be used in this study to refer to the more militant and separatistic opponents of liberalism.

The terms "Evangelical" and "conservative Protestant," on the other hand, will be used interchangably as umbrella terms for all conservatives. All evangelicals were conservative Protestants in the sense they sought to retain intact emphases threatened by modernism. It is recognized, however, that "conservative Protestant" is perhaps a slightly more inclusive term because "evangelical" is not always used willingly by a few conservatives, largely of the Reformed tradition, because of the term's close association with revivalism and pietism.

Ironically, despite their concern to preserve traditional beliefs, innovations of doctrine and practice were acquired by some evangelicals to augment their defensive bulwarks against liberalism. Dispensationalist eschatology, a highly literalistic and pessimistic variety of premillennialism developed in mid-nineteenth century Britain, became popular in some conservative circles in North America. Part of its appeal lay in its doctrine of the inevitable decline of Christendom in the last days. This helped explain to many beleagured and bewildered conservatives the "apostasy" rampant since the widespread adoption of liberal theology. Twentieth-century Pentecostalism, originating around the turn of the century and stressing the supernatural works of the Holy Spirit in the present age, was seen by some conservatives as a powerful refutation of modern skepticism concerning the supernatural
events recorded in the Bible. Yet, despite these and other significant variations, the term "conservative Protestant" will still be applied to the whole range of conservatives because of a common understanding of the more central issues of biblical authority and the nature of salvation.

Historiography

Robert Moats Miller stated in 1981 that "Today scholarly writing on Protestant fundamentalism in modern America is far more abundant in quantity and superior in quality to that on Protestant liberalism." A variety of approaches has been utilized in an attempt to explain the religious controversies of the first three decades of this century and the ongoing development and growth of evangelicalism in North America, especially in the United States. Some valuable work has focussed on aspects of the struggle in the denominations and their institutions of higher education and in the wider American society. Other studies have contributed significantly to an understanding of some of the major personalities involved and dispelled some of the stereotypical images of conservative Protestantism. However, a prime focus has been to identify the factors most responsible for the upheaval within Protestantism. Much of the work has focussed on the fundamentalist wing of American conservative Protestantism, largely because of its more trenchant, high profile stands against modernism.

A major point at issue between historians has been, and still is, the significance to be attached to social/cultural as opposed to intellectual/religious differences between liberals
and conservatives. A sociological explanation, downplaying the intellectual/religious issues which many of the combatants viewed as being at stake, gained prominence among American historians shortly after the denominational and educational upheavals of the 1920's in the United States. From the vantage point of those observers, the turmoil appeared to be simply part of the passing of traditional America. The highly sensationalized 1925 Scopes Trial which, in a rural, southern setting, pitted the intellectually unsophisticated William Jennings Bryan against the cool, rational and urbane Clarence Darrow, gave great impetus to this explanation. The whole fundamentalist-modernist controversy was seen in terms of urban-rural, peasant-bourgeoisie, north-south and educated-uneducated tensions. One of the first of such reductionist explanations appeared in H. Richard Niebuhr's Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929) in which he echoed the perceptions of many contemporary commentators. Acknowledging indebtedness to Weber's thesis, he saw the religion of Bryan and his followers as reflecting "...not only the memories and habits of frontier faith but also the experience of rural life." Modernism, on the other hand, "...grew out of the social experience of the city bourgeoisie as well as out of the impact of the new science on religion." Two years later Stewart Cole viewed the issues involved as "a conflict of social forces".

The work of scholars seeking to explain the powerful strain of anti-intellectualism and anti-liberalism evidenced in the McCarthy era further emphasized the role of social factors in the religious struggles of the 1920's. In his highly
influential The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-32 (1954), Norman Furniss repeated Cole's assertion that Fundamentalism could be explained in terms of resistance to social changes. In his similar, though more sophisticated analysis contained in The Paranoid Style in American Politics and other Essays (1963), Richard Hofstadter explained fundamentalist actions in terms of "status anxieties." The fierce reaction to liberals, the striking out at everything modern, was attributable to the loss of the fundamentalists' position and influence in society. By the late 1950's the various social/cultural explanations of Fundamentalism had become so pervasive that the approach had become almost standard in general histories of the United States in the 1920's.

In the same decade that Hofstadter was formulating his views, elements of a counter-interpretation were beginning to emerge in the United States. Developments since the Second World War were convincing some observers that the reaction to modernism was far more than a temporary phenomenon associated with the passing of the old social order in the 1920's. The survival and, indeed, the increasing vitality of the groups on the right of the Protestant spectrum encouraged a reassessment of the movement and especially of the role of religious ideas within it. Smith, Handy and Loetcher's major text, published in 1963, acknowledged that "fundamentalism drew a necessary line between historic Christianity and naturalism" but went on to add that "it drew the line in the wrong place." William Gatewood's Controversy in the Twenties (1969) also lent some credibility to the idea that more than social factors were at the root of the
controversies. The "popular spasms of disorientation" were often induced by fear on the part of conservatives that the religious changes of the time "conspired to dehumanize man, to obliterate areas of certainty in human affairs, and to clear the right-of-way for the triumph of secularism."  

The most forthright revision of the traditional interpretation came in Ernest R. Sandeen's The Roots of Fundamentalism (1970). Sandeen stressed the continuity of fundamentalism with religious movements previous and subsequent to the 1920's and the formative role of doctrinal and intellectual elements in its rise. Thus fundamentalism was not simply a temporary aberration of the 1920's. It could trace its intellectual roots to both the nineteenth century Scottish realist doctrine, represented in North America primarily by the staunchly conservative Princeton Theological Seminary, and to the millenarian and dispensationalist eschatology popularized through a network of prophetic Bible conferences in the late nineteenth century. Rather than being a primarily rural movement, he argued that its origins and centres of strength were actually northern cities.  

The socio-economic explanation was not abandoned, however. William G. McLoughlin in several works has argued that the conservative responses to liberalism were temporary, "nativistic" reactions to the passing of the old ways. The research of W. E. Ellis on schisms among Baptists in Toronto and Orillia, Ontario, Indiana, Pa., and Minneapolis, Minn. provided some documentation for the view that there was a significant social component in fundamentalism. Ellis modified the older
social interpretation by downplaying the traditional fundamentalist stereotypes and by agreeing with Sandeen that both fundamentalism and modernism developed in the northern cities. He argued, however, that the two movements drew upon different socio-economic bases of support and supplied evidence that the older, more established Baptists generally opposed the fundamentalist leaders whose support lay more with younger, lower-middle and labouring class Baptists. Several years earlier, William R. Hutchison provided evidence that pointed to a similar conclusion regarding liberal and conservative ministerial leadership.

The most sophisticated and balanced treatment of the issue to date is George M. Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (1980). Although expressing great appreciation for Sandeen's "insistence on the integrity of the religious and intellectual aspects of the movement," he takes issue with him on two points. First, he identifies a greater number of religious and intellectual currents contributing to the movement than simply the Scottish realist theology and premillennial dispensationalism singled out by Sandeen.

...he (Sandeen) mistook the roots he uncovered for the source of the entire movement. He failed to see that the lush and complex overgrowth of what was called "fundamentalism" in the 1920's sprang from equally complex and tangled roots in the nineteenth-century traditions of revivalism, evangelicalism, pietism, Americanism, and variant orthodoxies.

Secondly, Marsden feels that Sandeen goes too far in rejecting
social factors as formative in American fundamentalism and attributes too much to intellectual and religious factors. Indeed, Marsden rejects all single-causative explanations of an historical phenomenon as complex as fundamentalism.

In one of the more perceptive comments on the subject, he notes:

Virtually every religious group is characterized by a particular social base. Social factors exert a considerable influence on religious life, and, except for explicitly stated commitments, may provide the best means of predicting religious behaviour. It is, however, a mistake to reduce religious behavior to its social dimensions, or to assume that these are usually primary. Christianity claims, in various ways, to meet all sorts of human needs. The factors creating a sense of need are extremely complex within a single individual, let alone a group. Needs for order, growth, morality, and survival can be traced to a variety of social, economic, psychological, emotional, intellectual, physical, and spiritual forces, in addition to the inherent insecurities of the human condition. It is usually fruitless to attempt to explain a historical development on the basis of any one of these factors. Moreover, contrary to a common working assumption, those factors most amenable to measurement are not necessarily the most significant. Our analysis, then, must consider the range of human experience - social, economic, psychological,
philosophical, symbolic, biological, etc. — and acknowledge that especially for large groups the underlying factors in behavior often can be analyzed only in a subjective way.\textsuperscript{43}

Disputes between theological liberals and the various stripes of conservatives do not occupy as major a place in Canadian historiography,\textsuperscript{44} but Canadian historians have been accustomed to attributing theological differences to social and economic causes. The work of S. D. Clark on sectarianism, which blends E. Troeltsch and Niebuhr with the Frontier thesis, is best known in this regard. However, it was Clark's pupil, W. E. Mann, who consciously applied the socio-economic approach to the evangelical groups in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{45} Other Canadian historians seem to accept the premise when they do deal with the theological controversies of the earliest decades of the twentieth century. Both Margaret E. Prang in \textit{N. W. Rowell; Ontario Nationalist} and Michael Bliss in \textit{A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858 - 1939} note that the wealthy, sophisticated Methodists of Toronto had far less trouble accommodating to the new scientific and theological thought than did their rural or less successful counterparts.\textsuperscript{46} Ellis' already noted research, which included Baptists in Ontario, lends qualified support to this view.

A shift from this approach has very recently appeared in John Stackhouse, "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War," a Ph.D. dissertation completed at the University of Chicago in 1987. Stackhouse argues that the "eccentric" sectarians Wm. Aberhart and T.T. Shields were not in
the mainstream of twentieth-century Canadian evangelicalism. The mainstream was located, he argues, in the decidedly unsectarian Toronto Bible College, founded by Elmore Harris, of the famous Canadian farm machinery family and the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship clubs on major university campuses, along with the more sectarian Prairie Bible Institute. The evangelical mainstream broadened in the 1960's, he argues, to include several of the institutions in British Columbia covered in this study.\(^47\)

Another common explanation of conservative Protestantism, and one which may be responsible for the lack of serious historical treatment of the development of Canadian fundamentalism and evangelicalism, is that Canadian scholars have often seen evangelicalism and fundamentalism as American phenomena. Thus, occurrences of the controversy and the ongoing development of fundamentalism in Canada can be explained simply as an extension of the American problem. In other words, fundamentalism in Canada is one more example of the result of the American influence upon Canada. W. E. Mann, for example, described the fundamentalist movement in Alberta as, "in many respects, an extension of that great upsurge of fundamentalism which first began around 1877 in the United States."\(^48\) A. C. Forrest et al depict the evangelical groups flourishing in the 1940's as "tiny evangelical sects supported by American funds and manned by American bible-school graduates."\(^49\) In a study devoted exclusively to this question, Harry Hiller cites membership figures for various evangelical Protestant groups in Canada and the United States which indicate a proportionately
much larger membership in the United States. He concludes from this that "The proportionately greater activity in the United States leads Canadian third force participants into strong continentalist relationships, dependencies, and alliances."  

The Case of British Columbia

These two factors - social/economic status and American influences - are resorted to most frequently by Canadian historians seeking to explain various manifestations of conservative Protestantism in this country. The following study indicates that there is considerable validity to both these explanations but, at best, they present only a partial picture. Certainly social and economic factors played a significant role in the formation and growth of groups in British Columbia dedicated to defending and propagating evangelical Protestantism. However, as will be demonstrated, these factors are simply not adequate in themselves to explain the phenomenon and one is forced by the evidence to look to additional explanations. Similarly, American influences were of considerable significance at times but not always so. Indeed, an overemphasis on the impact of Americans and American ideas obscures the very important role of British and out-of-province Canadian influences as well as that of purely local conditions and leadership.

The following look at conservative Protestantism in British Columbia bears out Marsden's view of the multiplicity of factors at work in a religious development involving large numbers of people. Four factors, in addition to the two already mentioned,
are identified as playing especially important roles. These include: 1. a loyalty to longstanding cultural and religious values and emphases which appeared to be endangered by modernism; 2. patterns of immigration which added relatively large numbers of conservative Protestants to the provincial population; 3. large family sizes and high rates of retention of children within evangelical churches; 4. institutional factors, particularly the large number of smaller evangelical churches, spread throughout the province, each of which was forced to grow if it was to survive and in so doing added another option to an expanding range of options for participants.

Among the longstanding cultural and religious values and emphases to which many gave loyalty were the Scottish realist, or Common Sense, school of thought; "Keswick" or Wesleyan-Arminian holiness teaching; Pietism; aggressive evangelism focussing on the individual; the overseas missionary movement and premillennialism. Not all of these were held by all evangelicals but they were common values and emphases among conservative Protestants who feared that they would be eliminated or, at least, unrecognizably altered if liberalism with its worldview gained full sway in Protestantism. It is not always possible to explain why some Protestants were so strongly attached to these values while others were not. However, family upbringing, religious background and training, educational institutions attended, life experiences and the influence of friends and associates often were instrumental in determining loyalties and values.
It should come as no surprise that, in a province of immigrants such as British Columbia, immigration had a considerable impact upon the development of evangelicalism. It would appear, however, that the impact upon conservative Protestantism has been even greater than that upon the province as a whole. The great wave of pre-WWI British immigration provided most of the leadership of conservative Protestantism for several decades after 1917 and brought with it much of the membership of several smaller evangelical groups. The Mennonite migrations to the province which began in the late 1920's and continued into the 1930's and beyond had a profound impact on British Columbia evangelicalism. The Mennonites brought with them a strong evangelical, revivalistic heritage and founded several denominations, thus adding a large, vibrant subsection to conservative Protestantism in the province. Significantly for evangelicalism as a whole, however, Mennonites have not remained an entirely separate subgroup. Many individual members have moved into non-Mennonite evangelical churches and organizations and many Mennonite churches have lost much of their ethnic distinctiveness and become very similar to other evangelical churches. This has occurred because Mennonites have found the wider conservative Protestant community a suitable context in which to assimilate to Canadian culture. The same process has occurred to some extent among other immigrant ethnic churches such as the Dutch Reformed and German Baptists. The Swedish Baptist and Scandinavian Evangelical Free churches had already largely assimilated before they arrived in British Columbia. Immigration from other parts of Canada has also been
highly significant in augmenting existing groups and making possible the founding of others.

The available evidence for British Columbia confirms the nation-wide survey of Reginald Bibby that larger than average family size among a substantial section of evangelicals coupled with a rate of retention of children considerably higher than that of liberal Protestants contributed substantially to conservative Protestantism's growth in British Columbia.\(^{52}\)

The very proliferation and diversity of evangelical churches in most populated areas of the province tended to have a positive impact on the growth of conservatism as a whole. While Church Union and the ecumenical leanings of most mainline Protestants were either reducing the number of liberal congregations or slowing their rate of increase, conservative churches, often very small, were proliferating. This tended to do several things. First, it gave evangelicalism a great degree of flexibility to respond to changing population patterns. Some studies in the United States have suggested that the failure or success to keep up with population shifts by establishing new congregations is one of the significant factors in the growth or decline of denominations.\(^{53}\) The efforts of evangelicals in British Columbia often lacked overall coordination because of the large number of denominations and independent churches involved, but many areas of the province, especially new and growing towns and suburbs, often ended up with larger numbers of evangelical than of mainline churches. Secondly, it encouraged growth by the very simple fact that the new congregations could not survive for long if they did not increase in size. Thus,
significant effort, frequently successful, had to be exerted to attract enough members to make the new congregations viable. Once established, new congregations added to the range of evangelical options available to conservatives. Consequently, if an evangelical left one congregation for any reason such as a geographical move or because of dissatisfaction with the minister or with some aspect of congregational life, he was usually faced with a growing range of options, which tended to encourage ongoing religious involvement. In contrast, a mainline Protestant often faced a static or declining number of mainline churches in many parts of the province and thus had fewer options and frequently ceased attendance altogether.

The task of this study is to analyze these factors in the context of a narrative outlining the development of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia. If the factors were to be ranked in the order of their relative importance, immigration patterns would have to be listed first because of their significance and uniqueness in a province in which the population has been largely composed of immigrants for most of this century. However, it is a difficult, and perhaps not overly productive task, to engage in too exacting an effort to rank the sources of conservative Protestant growth. They are of an intertwined and interdependent nature and have varied in effect from one region of the province to another, from one group to another and from one decade to another.

Instead, it is more valuable to isolate and analyze one factor that is common to almost all the others: the sense among conservative Protestants that they were separate from the
surrounding modern culture. Whereas liberals identified with, or at least accommodated, modernism, conservatives were alienated by it because it challenged beliefs and practices they considered to be essential to Christianity. As modern, rationalist assumptions pushed conservative Protestant assumptions from the mainstream of the culture, evangelicals identified to a considerable extent with the biblical descriptions of the people of God as "strangers and pilgrims" and as "a peculiar people." With beliefs to preserve and a mission to win people back to the "truth of God's Word," they evidenced a certainty of conviction and commitment to action that won the adherence of a moderately significant minority of the population.

This attitude of distinctiveness can be described in several ways. Sociologists frequently use the term "sectarian." In contrast to the attitudes of those in "churches" among whom attitudes of accommodation dominate, "sectarians" are characterized by protest, exclusiveness and a high degree of commitment. While there are some good reasons to apply this terminology to the conservative/liberal split in Protestantism in British Columbia, it is not fully appropriate to do so. Many conservatives shared a sense of alienation from modernism with their brethren in small sect-like denominations but remained themselves in the mainline denominations. Thus, at least organizationally, "sectarianism" and "conservative Protestantism," or "evangelicalism," are not synonymous terms. In addition, a type of socio-economic determinism is a necessary part of the "church/sect" thesis, at least as it is formulated
by H. Richard Niebuhr, S. D. Clark and W. E. Mann. As previously noted, social and economic factors were not always determinative in the development of religious attitudes in British Columbia and the attitude of alienation from modernism did not disappear with the onset of worldly success and security.

Bryan Wilson has offered a variation of the sect thesis which is more helpful as he distinguishes between different types of sects. He classifies them as "conversionist," "revolutionist," "introversionist" and "manipulationist" according to their central focus or purpose. He argues that some are persisting sects which never lose their sectarian characteristics while others eventually develop "denominational" characteristics which include a greatly weakened sense of separation from the world. The determinative factor is not always socio-economic development. The type of sect plays a major role in the nature and extent of the change. Thus, for example, revolutionist sects such as adventist groups are less likely to lose their antipathy to the existing order because of their view of its inevitable overthrow by the advent of the Kingdom of God. However, he argues, a conversionist sect, by seeking to win as many converts as possible, may lose much of its sectarian character if it is successful in its endeavours and brings in large numbers from the outside with little knowledge of, or concern for, the distinctives of the sect. 59

While Wilson's classifications are useful as an aid in understanding conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, they are not totally adequate as most evangelical groups in the
province would not fall neatly into any one of his categories. Instead, most would be best described as combining revolutionist characteristics, because they were premillennialist, and conversionist characteristics, because almost all consciously strove for the conversion of outsiders. Premillennialism, and especially the dispensationalist variety, which held that the ultimate expression of the Kingdom of God was not possible in the present age, resulted in an attitude which made a rapprochement with the world difficult. Furthermore, the strong attachment to the traditional evangelical concept of conversion, which included the traditional ideas of original sin, the inevitability of the judgement of the unconverted and the vicarious, atoning nature of Christ's sacrifice also served to reinforce an attitude of separation from modern society, including the liberal churches, which had largely abandoned these ideas. In such a context, contrary to Wilson's argument, people converted by evangelistic preaching had already accepted a fundamental premise of the conservative sect and were not likely to influence the membership to abandon it.

In a widely noticed work, Dean Kelley tries to explain why conservative churches in the United States grew rapidly since 1960 while their liberal counterparts went into decline. He does so by describing the function of the distinctiveness of conservative churches. Drawing upon the work of the sociologist of religion, Peter Berger, he argues that their absolutist beliefs provide an indispensable ingredient of religion - ultimate meaning. Churches that provide meaning to life's mysteries through teaching clear, unambiguous and authoritative
beliefs can expect commitment from their members while churches that are characterized by relativism and individualism in
beliefs rarely elicit the same response.\textsuperscript{61}

In a somewhat similar vein, Martin Marty describes conservative Protestantism as "antimodern" religion which successfully resisted the "sway" of secularism. He asks the question of the religious situation in post-1950 America, "If a good deal of religiosity dissolves into the culture, why does this (conservative) variety remain lumpish, unwilling to be filtered?" In his response, he uses Cuddihy's idea that modernity, when carried too far, led to a "wholeness-hunger" that only anti-modernity could address. Antimodern religion appealed to those "discontented with the chaos of pluralism" and its "...moral anomie." It addressed the need for authority which, in the case of conservative Protestantism, rested in infallible biblical truth, and for religious experience, found most notably in the Pentecostal and charismatic movements.\textsuperscript{62}

As an aid to understanding the function of the non-accommodating stance of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, the approaches of Kelley and Marty prove very valuable, and are utilized to a considerable extent in this study. However, they are limited in their consideration of the unique historical and social context of different regions and indeed, of each particular religious grouping. Their views of the function of religious beliefs do have universal applicability, but in order to understand more fully the development of evangelicalism in British Columbia, religious beliefs cannot be treated in isolation. An attempt will be made
here to show that the conservatives' insistence on distinctive beliefs and practices actually was the key variable, but an attempt also will be made to indicate how they interacted with the particular environment of the province.

Perhaps the most valuable conceptual tool for this study is an analogy developed by Marsden. He recognizes the difficulty, if not futility, of a precise analysis of causative factors involved in the fundamentalist/modernist upheaval of the 1920's and the ongoing development of evangelicalism since that time. Instead he draws a parallel between the experience of American conservative Protestants, largely Anglo-Saxon, and the experience of newer immigrants.

In some respects America after 1918 was a new world as compared with America at the end of the nineteenth century. People who had retained the dominant beliefs of the culture in which they were raised now found themselves living in a society where those same beliefs were widely considered out-dated, or even bizarre.

American Protestantism was similar to most immigrant groups in that it was divided on how to deal with the new society. The modernists, who more readily adapted Christian doctrines and practices to the changing culture, were analogous to those immigrants who more readily accommodated to, and in many cases welcomed, the new way of life. Fundamentalists, "on the other hand, may be considered the white, Anglo-Saxon equivalent to those immigrant elements who resist the assimilation of the melting pot and build rather their own subculture and
institutions, mores, and social connections that provide full-
fledged alternatives to the dominant cultural ethos."\textsuperscript{64}

In the cases of both the immigrants and fundamentalists, practical accommodation to the surrounding culture could be made in some areas without too much difficulty, but other areas which symbolized their separateness from the wider culture were "not negotiable." Thus, immigrant "beliefs and values were often frozen in the form which they had had in the old world prior to the immigration. Similarly, among fundamentalists, religious and political ideals hardened at about the point they had reached by 1900."\textsuperscript{65}

Unlike immigrants who normally come to a new land voluntarily, the transition from the culture of the nineteenth century to that of the twentieth century was experienced by fundamentalists involuntarily.

Thus they not only experienced a sense of alienation, but felt called to a militant defense of the old order; they had a fondness for military image and did not hesitate to describe their cause as a holy war. So the metaphor may be extended to picture fundamentalists sheltered behind their ideological ghetto wall, with the wall itself as heavily fortified as the very wall of Zion.\textsuperscript{66}

The immigrant analogy is limited in that the "fundamentalists' sense of alienation seems to have been in force only selectively." They often seemed to alternate between rejecting the world and affirming certain aspects of it. Many fundamentalists identified with much of American culture and
were even at the forefront of those hastening to defend America against unpatriotic sentiments and utterance while at the same time denouncing many of the major assumptions of that society.67

Although developed to describe the experience of fundamentalists in an American setting, the "immigrant" analogy, including the picture of "ghetto walls," will serve as a highly useful conceptual and explanatory tool in this attempt to understand conservative Protestantism in British Columbia from 1917 to 1981. The province's evangelical population, largely of the dominant British stock in the early decades of the period, certainly experienced a degree of alienation from the major religious trends around them. In later years many evangelicals were non-British immigrants and thus experienced a heightened sense of alienation from the surrounding culture.

It must be recognized that religion in British Columbia in the period was both similar to, and different from, the American religion which Marsden seeks to describe by means of the immigrant analogy. A key similarity is that evangelical Protestantism had been a strong force in the nineteenth century British and Canadian societies from which most of British Columbia's population at the time of World War I had come.68 This evangelicalism was different in several ways from its American counterpart, but most notably in the smaller role voluntaristic revivalism played in it and the much larger place taken by the evangelical wing of the semi-established Church of England. The large presence in Canada of Roman Catholicism and non-evangelical segments of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland meant that evangelicalism did not enjoy quite
the same dominant place in society as did its American counterpart. Nevertheless, it had been a powerful culture-shaping force that virtually had been swept to the cultural sidelines by the outbreak of World War I.

Perhaps because they had never enjoyed the same level of cultural pre-eminence in the nineteenth century, British and Canadian evangelicals did not react to modernism by engaging in controversies of the same social magnitude as the battles over evolution in the United States. They did, however, experience a sense of alienation from the culture and did not allow the changes to go unchallenged. Sometimes the same degree of militancy and isolationism was lacking, making the term "fundamentalism" less appropriate as a label than "conservative Protestantism" or "evangelicalism." Nevertheless, British and Canadian evangelicals did erect, with varying degrees of intensity, defensive walls to hold back the inroads of modernism and secularism.69

In British Columbia, a high degree of transiency and materialism in the society has contributed to a larger proportion of the population finding refuge behind evangelicalism's defensive walls than was the case in most of the rest of Canada. Throughout the twentieth century a majority of the province's population has been born elsewhere.70 In Vancouver, long the centre of developments within evangelicalism in the province, the proportion of those born in British Columbia was only 15.4% in 1911 and 24.3% in 1921.71 In 1981, the proportion had risen only to 42.8%.72 Between 1956 and 1976, British Columbia's population as a whole was less stable than
that of any other province in Canada. Less than one-half the population (between 42.3% & 47.7%) remained geographically stable in any five-year period.\textsuperscript{73} The newness of the society obviously accounts for much of the transiency but the nature of the provincial economy contributes to it as well. Its base in the resource-extracting mining, lumbering and fishing industries led to a high degree of population mobility caused by seasonal fluctuations in the fishing, construction and forestry industries, by "boom and bust" cycles, with their attendant inflows and outflows of population, and by the continuous movement of population between the metropolis of Vancouver and its resource hinterlands.\textsuperscript{74}

Not unexpectedly, a spirit of materialism held sway. This was graphically portrayed in Margaret Ormsby's description of Vancouver in 1929:

The spirit of the city was still, as it had been at the beginning, predominantly materialistic. An eager, grasping, acquisitive community, it squandered its own resources of natural beauty, all the time extending its economic power until it held most of the province in fee.\textsuperscript{75}

Robert McDonald demonstrates that the "materialistic ethos" and speculative spirit was shared by a wide segment of the city's populace, regardless of social standing.\textsuperscript{76} Edwin Black argues that it pervaded the whole province and people of both the coast and the Interior were "isolated, parochial, money-seeking, and all were recent immigrants.\textsuperscript{77}
The most readily apparent consequence of this transience and materialism was a weakening of traditions and "roots." The physical act of moving to a new society from an older one such as Ontario or Britain, especially when the motives were primarily quick upward mobility,\(^\text{78}\) often was accompanied by an abandonment of much of one's inherited roots. For example, the mainline Protestant churches, strong in Ontario and the Maritime provinces, experienced difficulty in reproducing themselves in British Columbia.\(^\text{79}\) Secularism, as indicated by that difficulty in the early days of settlement and, later, as measured by census figures of "no religion" and by the continued weak attachment to institutional religion, has long been a hallmark of British Columbia society.

Paradoxically, however, the rootlessness, widespread materialism and the instability inherent in a speculative society aided the growth of evangelical groups. Bob Stewart has explained:

> In a climate that provides for freedom from one's roots, there are those who find that such freedom produces great quantities of vertigo; such people desire a religious life and commitment that is clear and unambiguous. Many conservative Protestant groups have grown strong by providing sanctuary from the world of relative values. Perhaps it is the very secularity of British Columbia's culture that provides a seed-bed for the more conservative Protestant groups.\(^\text{80}\)

One reason that the mainline denominations were not able to
take similar advantage of the rootlessness was that the great waves of immigration into the province in the early part of the century coincided with a period of questioning and hesitancy on their parts. The revivalistic enthusiasm of old-fashioned Methodism, for example, which had made great headway in the Maritimes in the 1790's and in Ontario in the 1830's had become greatly weakened by the first decade of the twentieth century. The old certainties preached on earlier frontiers had largely disappeared from a Canadian Methodism transformed by a number of influences that included urbanization, biblical criticism, the social gospel and an increasing willingness to identify with the beliefs of modern Canadian society. 81

The evangelicals' sense of alienation rather than accommodation, however, proved to be a source of their relative strength. Their insistence on building and retaining walls of demarcation between themselves and "the world" is the most significant factor in the development of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia. Although it runs contrary to the opinion, prevalent among liberals of the period, that the modern world could only be won to Christianity if the Church adapted its beliefs to modernity, this sense of the need to "hold out" against the forces calling for accommodation provides the best key to explaining evangelicalism's relative success in British Columbia.

As was the case with their American counterparts, British Columbia evangelicals' sense of alienation seems to have been in force only selectively. While they clearly rejected materialistic explanations of life in the philosophical sense
and frequently decried an excessive concern with "mammon" in the province, few evangelicals openly renounced participation in the materialistic, acquisitive economy of the province. As could be expected, certain features typical of a materialistic society were frequently singled out and rejected by evangelicals. These included hedonistic attitudes in general and, in particular, activities such as the traditionally "taboo" activities of drinking, smoking, dancing and gambling. In addition, certain practices based on their value system, such as the raising of larger than average families and the contributing of much larger than average sums to religious causes, ran counter to prevailing practices in society. At the same time, most evangelicals displayed aspirations typical of the average middle-class British Columbian. For example, between 1960 and 1980, thousands of young evangelical families avidly pursued the goal of buying their own home in the suburbs. The extraordinarily rapid growth of conservative churches in the suburbs of Vancouver, compared with their much slower growth in the city in the period, clearly attests to their success in achieving that goal.

In addition, few criticisms of the prevailing free enterprise philosophy were heard from the province's evangelicals. Indeed, in the face of the fairly significant political challenge to economic individualism posed by the C.C.F./N.D.P. after World War II, evangelicals typically rose to the defense of free enterprise and most voted Social Credit. The majority of them believed, for several reasons, that they were justified in reacting to the political left. These reasons
included a strong attachment to the traditional work ethic, a fear of a connection between socialism and atheism, or at least secularism, a suspicion of reform aimed at changing society as a whole rather than on the conversion of the individual and a negative reaction to the presence of many liberal social gospellers in the ranks of the C.C.F. Whether their perceptions of the C.C.F./N.D.P. were correct or not, their lack of support for the political left makes it clear that the alienation experienced by most evangelicals was generally not from the existing social and economic structures of the province. Rather, it was from the religious and moral beliefs of its intellectual and religious leadership.

The remainder of this chapter will seek to explain in summary fashion how such alienation, or refusal to accommodate change at the level of personal religious belief and practice, is the common denominator of almost all the factors cited as contributing to the relative success of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia.

The openness of evangelicals to outside influences, which sometimes were American in origin, can be seen as at least partly the result of their sense of alienation from the prevailing religious and secular ethos of the province. The barrier created by this alienation was of greater significance to them than were provincial and international boundaries. They were consequently far more willing to select leadership from outside the province or nation than they were to bring someone "over" the barrier which demarcated key religious differences.
The concern to preserve traditional religious values stemmed from the fear that accommodation to modern ways of thinking would erode, if not obliterate altogether, what were considered important certainties and practices. For example, one reason conservative Protestants were opposed to the modern scientific paradigm was that its acceptance frequently destroyed the certainty of knowledge enjoyed by the adherents of the Scottish realist view, so common in nineteenth century North America. It called into question the cherished concept that knowledge of the physical world, as derived from a Baconian type of scientific observation, and of the spiritual world, as derived from a traditional understanding of the Bible, was a unified whole. In other words, the new paradigm meant that science and Scripture no longer necessarily pointed in the same direction to design and purpose in the universe and thus led, in the view of conservatives, to an unnecessary degree of uncertainty regarding ultimate questions. Similarly, a growing respectability in many mainline congregations, a discouragement of emotional displays and a focus upon social righteousness contributed to a decline in the formerly important quest for personal holiness and an experience of sanctification. A further example is the frequently expressed concern of the premillennialist majority among conservative Protestants with the postmillennial views common among liberals and social gospellers. Conservatives argued that the generally optimistic assessment of human nature and of history in liberal postmillennialism threatened to replace belief in the necessity of God's sovereign, direct and intervening role in human history
with a focus upon human effort in the betterment of society.

Perhaps the most cherished value among the majority of evangelicals was the crucial importance of fervent, even aggressive, evangelism focussing on the individual. Indeed, the acceptance and propagation of the concept of individual conversion, or the experience of being "born again," was seen by most conservatives as the hallmark of true evangelicalism. The social gospel's emphasis on redeeming society as a whole ranked, at best, as a distant secondary concern. The refusal to de-emphasize traditional individual evangelism in favor of a social emphasis clearly stemmed from the conservative's non-accommodating stance towards modern views of theology and society. An unwillingness to allow theological bulwarks to be weakened resulted in a greater certainty of belief which, in turn, formed the basis for fairly aggressive evangelistic efforts. Firm belief in traditional Protestant understandings of issues such as human depravity, salvation through the atonement and future rewards or punishment in heaven or hell led to a much greater likelihood of conservatives, rather than liberals, being engaged in evangelism aimed at the individual.

The lack of concerted activity to deal with the problems of the larger society stemmed, for many evangelicals, from a premillennialist view of the inevitability of the decline of the present age. It was thus useless, or, to many, worse than useless, for them to try to prevent what God had prophesied would happen. Timothy Weber has shown that they considered the urgent task of the Church was to win out of society, by personal evangelism, as many as possible, as quickly as possible.82 The
dominant premillennialist segment of evangelicalism in British Columbia demonstrated by their actions that they identified with D.L. Moody's famous statement of his view of evangelism:

I look upon this world as a wrecked vessel. God has given me a lifeboat and said to me, 'Moody, save all you can.' God will come in judgement and burn up this world, but the children of God don't belong to this world; they are in it, but not of it, like a ship in the water. This world is getting darker and darker; its ruin is coming nearer and nearer. If you have any friends on this wreck unsaved, you had better lose no time in getting them off.\(^{83}\)

Some premillennialists held views inconsistent with the most rigid interpretation of their system and, as was more common in nineteenth century evangelicalism, had some concern for the welfare of society. They held the belief, however, which had also been very common in the nineteenth century, that society would benefit more in the long-term by individuals changed by the conversion process, than by changes in its political and economic structures.\(^{84}\) The smaller numbers of non-premillennialists were less pessimistic in their view of society but still reacted negatively to what they viewed as an excessive social component in the program of liberal social gospellers and compensated by a more one-sided emphasis on individualistic evangelism than they perhaps might have had otherwise.

This championing of evangelism, as much as anything else, kept most conservative groups from becoming as isolated and inward looking as their tenacious hold on traditional doctrines
might otherwise suggest would happen. The immigrant and ghetto analogy would be misleading if it led to a picture of the evangelicals totally withdrawing from society in the manner of the Hutterites or Amish Mennonites. Instead, their revivalistic heritage and certainty and simplicity of belief formed the basis for quite aggressive outreach efforts, often genuinely motivated by compassion for "the lost." They did not always see the intended result of the conversion of large numbers of totally secular people but they were effective in withstanding some of the results of secularism by evangelizing their own children and gathering in some of the nominal, lapsed or dissatisfied members of other churches.

The actual experience of immigration to British Columbia of so many evangelicals, particularly those not of the dominant British stock, clearly heightened their sense of alienation from the broader provincial society. But it is their awareness of being religious aliens which has proved even more lasting. Unlike the ethnic religious groups in the United States which Harry Stout argues assimilated into Protestantism as a whole, significant groups in British Columbia assimilated selectively, consciously rejecting association with more liberal, mainline Protestantism in favor of evangelicalism. Without a consciousness of identity as conservative Protestants, they would have become virtually indistinguishable in the province as assimilation progressed. However, groups such as the Mennonite Brethren and Swedish Baptists readily acknowledged a close affinity with other evangelicals and, in a sense, joined them behind their walls of alienation in efforts to secure their
basic religious beliefs. Evangelicalism thus served for them as a "suitable vehicle of assimilation." Regardless of what happened to other aspects of their culture, many, in retaining their conservative Protestant beliefs, felt confident that they had retained the most important distinctive feature of that culture.

In many evangelical groups larger-than-average family sizes prevailed since early in the century. The contrast increased after 1961 as a far higher proportion of conservative, rather than mainline, Protestants resisted the trend towards having small families or having no children at all. It would seem reasonable to expect that the resulting large numbers of children, raised in modern society, would show a greater preference for culture-embracing liberal Protestantism than for what often amounted to the cultural "ghetto" of conservative Protestantism. However, the evidence indicates that, while many children of evangelicals did reject the confines of their religious upbringing, a much larger proportion of them remained in their churches than did the children of liberals. It would appear that an awareness of separation from the world, by producing a greater sense of urgency on the part of parents to have their children evangelized and religiously trained, and by creating a clearly defined set of beliefs and values to which to call young people to commit themselves, had an overall positive, rather than negative, impact on retention rates.

The proliferation of small churches is also a result of the clearly defined distinctiveness of conservative Protestants. Wilson argues that the opposite tendency of ecumenical mergers...
and amalgamations is a sign of declining strength "since alliance means compromise and amendment of commitment." However, having a keen sense of difference between an evangelical church, as a community of true believers, and the surrounding culture, secular and religious, many conservatives were quite anxious to see such churches spread throughout the province. Some new congregations were formed by the splitting of existing churches over differences of some item of belief, of emphasis or of personality style. Or, as was more frequently the case, they were begun as "home missions" projects with the express purpose to evangelize a town or neighbourhood. In either case, the orientation and outlook of many evangelicals in the province, lay as well as clerical, was well suited to the rigorous experience of forming struggling new congregations which expressed their convictions and which had the potential to gather in more people than the existing churches could reach.

Paradoxically, while numbers of conservative groups, each with its own variation of evangelical distinctives, were establishing their own congregations, a kind of conservative ecumenism was developing. Many evangelicals had no difficulty in recognizing that the differences between conservative churches were secondary barriers in comparison to the wall separating themselves from liberalism and secularism. This recognition allowed for some cooperation between groups, especially in large-scale evangelistic, but also in some educational and mission, efforts. More importantly for this study, however, it facilitated the flow of members between conservative churches by making available to members alternative
churches which were still safely behind the primary wall of separation.

Finally, the argument could even be made that a certain amount of social marginality resulted from conservative alienation from the intellectual and religious mainstream. For example, some evangelicals who could have financially afforded to participate in university or graduate theological training avoided doing so because they were uncomfortable with the intellectual framework in which teaching took place in such institutions. Similarly, some economically comfortable conservatives left prestigious mainline congregations for smaller, less socially prominent conservative churches for reasons which were more theological than social.

Of course, the reverse was true as well. Frequently the source of the conservatives' sense of alienation and distinctiveness was social and economic marginality. Certainly, as Marsden points out, the well-to-do and the well-educated middle classes were better situated and equipped to survive, and even welcome, the transition from tradition to modernity than were the lower middle classes. Although the more established may not always have openly embraced theological liberalism, an unwillingness to disrupt their more comfortable relationship to society made them less ready to join fundamentalist efforts to erect barricades against modernist inroads. A greater degree of exposure to modern scholarship, especially in certain university or seminary settings, often made a difference in the response as well. Fundamentalist hostility to modernist trends in church and society was often at least partly attributable to economic
and social marginality, but the fact remains that in the United States and British Columbia, most conservatives were not poor. Some were of the upper-middle class, more were middle-class or lower middle class and probably the greatest number were of the "respectable" Protestant and northern European working class, whose aspiration and ideals were essentially middle-class Victorian. These people reacted to liberalism not so much out of a sense of economic instability or marginality but in defence of those aspirations and ideals which they felt the religious and intellectual leadership was abandoning. Differences in economic standing very often greatly influenced the institutional form which the expression of alienation took, but were not always decisive in determining the existence of such alienation.

In summary, conservative Protestantism in British Columbia is in need of study because of its baffling complexity; its unique growth in the Canadian context to a place of numerical, institutional and political significance and the scholarly neglect accorded it. The two-fold purpose of this study is to provide a narrative focussing on the institutional development of evangelicalism and an analysis of the major factors in its development. Following the lead of George Marsden, who differs with single-causative historians, a number of different factors are identified as playing significant roles in its development. One overarching factor, however, and one which aids in explaining the others, is the conservative Protestant's sense of alienation from a "world" which had turned its back on cherished certainties.
We will now turn to a brief overview of the Protestant situation in British Columbia prior to 1917 and describe and analyze the first wide-scale resistance in the province to theological liberalism.
NOTES, CHAPTER ONE


6. Ibid., 83.


19. Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, IX-XIII discusses three ways, from broad and inclusive, to more narrow and specific, in which the term applies to various groups.

20. Ibid., IX-X.


23. Largely under the influence of T.T. Shields of Toronto, some Regular Baptist ministers rejected premillennialism.


26. It is acknowledged that "conservative evangelicalism" is a more precise term, in order to distinguish it from "liberal evangelicalism," but common usage seems to make it unnecessary. Also, it should be noted that a few scholars, most notably James Barr, Fundamentalism (London: S. C. M. Press, 1977) do not see that there is any difference between "conservative evangelicals" and "fundamentalists" but that position appears to be a minority one.

27. See Timothy P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming (Grand Rapids: Academic Books, 1983) and Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, 59-80. It is noted later that Sandeen overemphasizes the role of Dispensationalism in fundamentalism but that is not to say that it was not important in B.C.


30. The best example is Russell, Voices of American Fundamentalism.


42. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 201.

43. Ibid., 203.

51


48. Mann, Sect, Church and Cult in Alberta, 28.


of Sociology and Anthropology 16(1) (1979):105-116.


54. It is interesting to note in this regard that evangelicals studying and promoting "church growth" concepts in the past decade have seized this principle as a key to growth and have begun advocating the extensive planting of new churches rather than the development of large, centrally located churches. E.g., Donald McGavran and Winfield C. Arn, Ten Steps for Church Growth (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1977), 92-101 and R. Daniel Reeves, "Church Growth American Style: An introductory analysis of ecclesiastical growth patterns in the United States," D. Miss. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, Ca., 1980, 181-82.

55. The research of Bibby, "The State of Collective Religiosity," Table VI, 111, indicates that such kinds of dissatisfaction are a major reason people leave one congregation for another or cease attending altogether.

56. I Peter 2:11, Hebrews 11:13 (King James Version).

57. I Peter 2:9 (King James Version).

58. E.g., H. R. Niebuhr, S. D. Clark, W. E. Mann.


61. Dean M. Kelley, Why Conservative Churches are Growing (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977). For some of the responses to it see Hoge and Roozen, eds., Understanding Church Growth and Decline.


63. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, 204.

65. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 204.

66. Ibid., 202.

67. Ibid., 204-5.

68. French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," 17.


70. 1931 Census, Vol. IV, Table 8; 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 20; 1961 Census, Vol.1:2, Table 51 and 1981 Census, Vol. 1:4, 92-913, Table 2A.


83. Cited in Ibid., 53.

84. It is easy to oversimplify the priorities of nineteenth century evangelicalism. Certainly the priority on the individual was clear, but many evangelicals evidenced considerable social concern. In the U.S., see T.L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965). In Canada, Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church and a staunchly conservative evangelical, was a significant leader in the social reform movement before 1914. Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Albert Carman: Social Gospeller?" unpublished graduate essay, University of Toronto, 1981.


88. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," 1174-81, argues that religion was the crucial factor in the identity of immigrants in America.


91. Wilson, Religion in a Secular Society, 126.

Prior to 1917 Protestants in British Columbia had not experienced major dissension over the issue of theological liberalism. Certainly some homogeneously conservative groups such as the Salvation Army and the Plymouth Brethren existed as alternatives to the mainline denominations. However, most conservative Protestants in the province coexisted quietly, if not comfortably, in the mainline denominations with members of various theological stripes, including liberals.

In 1917 the situation began to change as the French E. Oliver evangelistic campaigns in Vancouver and Victoria stirred a remarkable public controversy over theological issues. Oliver's blunt, high profile attacks on any form of theological liberalism and a readiness on the part of numbers of Protestants to reassert traditional evangelism in opposition to the social gospel emphasis of many ministers combined to create an upsurge of conservative reaction to modernism. This was intensified by war-time tensions which made the public more susceptible to charges that traditional Protestant values were in danger of being undermined by a modernist theology originating in German universities.

Protestantism to 1917 in British Columbia

Of the major Protestant denominations in the province, the Methodist church was the most accommodative of, and least
divided by, the new intellectual climate fostered by modernism. Indeed in much of Canadian Methodism traditional evangelical concerns had receded almost into the background. The revivalistic emphasis on individual conversion, one of the denomination's hallmarks for most of the nineteenth century, had largely been replaced by a more developmental view of salvation by the early twentieth century.¹ Never a creedally oriented body, it abandoned in 1910 any attempt to prevent the teaching of liberal views in its theological institutions. At its General Conference, held in Victoria that year, a motion to censure the liberal evangelical views of the Rev. George Jackson, professor of English Bible at Victoria College, Toronto, was decisively defeated. Despite the energetic leadership of the venerable general superintendent, Rev. Albert Carman, conservative evangelicals were not able to check the rising tide of theological innovation.²

The Methodists had established churches or preaching points in most areas of British Columbia by the turn of the century, with some strong congregations in Vancouver and Victoria,³ but its provincial membership was not particularly large. The 1911 census put the Methodist population at 52,000 (13.3% of the provincial population) well behind the Presbyterian church's 82,000 (20.9%) and the Anglican church's 101,000 (25.8%). This compares unfavorably with Methodism, at 20.0%, (just behind Presbyterianism, at 20.3%, and ahead of Anglicanism, at 18.1%) in the rest of English-speaking Canada.⁴ One reason for this slower growth is that the influx of British immigrants included fewer Methodists than either Anglicans or Presbyterians. F. E.
Runnalls, in his history of the founding partners of the United Church in British Columbia gives as another reason, the fact that "...the old-time fervor of the Methodist Church was lacking." Despite the work of some passionate evangelical missionaries, traditional Methodist evangelicalism never deeply rooted itself in British Columbia. The visit of the great evangelist Dwight L. Moody in 1888 and of the Hunter and Crossley evangelistic team in 1891 gave revivalism a boost but by the turn of the century it was on the wane. The appointment in 1914 of Rev. Hugh Dobson as western field secretary of the Department of Social Service and Evangelism accentuated the trend away from traditional evangelistic efforts. The much greater priority given by him to social rather than individual regeneration meant that the department would not give a great deal of leadership in encouraging vigorous traditional evangelistic outreach in the west.

The pulpit of Wesley Church in Vancouver, the province's largest Methodist church, was a sounding board for liberal theology and the social gospel. Rev. Robert Milliken was the first of its several unapologetic spokesmen for the new theology and Rev. Ernest Thomas, the radical exponent of the social gospel, held forth from it during the war years.

Rev. John Hicks, editor of the **Western Methodist Recorder**, a paper published in Victoria, "authorized by the Conference but never subsidized," was sympathetic to the new theology. For example, he reported favorably on the evolutionary views of human nature expounded by Dr. Ernest Hall of Victoria in an address to the 1908 British Columbia conference of the Methodist
Church. Hall's presentation included the decidedly nontraditional statement that "Sin... looked at from a scientific standpoint, was an abnormal thing in a child and in its real analysis was selfishness." Later in 1908 Hicks strongly endorsed the evolutionary assertion of G. W. Dean that "the race is moving up into the light" and also supported Dean's call to "get rid of the sixteenth century Theology and tradition." Dean had argued in his address that any definition of truth was inspired "only as it may apply to its own day and generation." He concluded by scorning the traditional concept and practice of the evangelist:

Fisherman like he may stand on the river's brim and casting his theological line and bait shout "bite or be damned," but the results are not satisfactory. He is certainly not securing much of a basket in these days. How can a man who is honestly moved by the terror of such a concept be of practical help to the world? ... Humanity will be helped by those who have a faith in humanity. The race is moving up into the light...

We do not know how the British Columbia delegates to the 1910 General Conference in Victoria voted on the motion, which was defeated, to censure the liberal evangelical views of Rev. George Jackson. Editor Hicks, however, rejoiced in this clear signal that "The church is no longer primarily concerned in dogmatic definitions and creedal distinctions; it conceives its mission, first of all, to apply to the actual elevation of humanity rather than to the distinction of belief."
By the end of the war period the British Columbia conference had moved a great distance from the Methodist evangelicalism, according to Richard Allen. "Both the leadership of the conference, the Revs. R. J. McIntyre and Ernest Thomas, for instance, as well as its monthly paper were overt exponents of the social gospel." Allen implies that the conference was more radical than the Methodist Church in the country as a whole. "The British Columbia Conference... at that time was preparing radical resolutions and a strong contingent for the General Methodist Conference of the Methodist Church the following October." Among the resolutions was a strong condemnation of "the prevailing system of competitive individual initiative and exploitation." It could probably be argued, as does Bob Stewart, that the British Columbia Conference was not as radical as the Manitoba and Saskatchewan conferences which were more directly under the influence of Salem Bland and others at Wesley College, but it is clear that many of its ministers were far removed from their denomination's revivalistic past.

Among the Presbyterians in British Columbia, as in Canada as a whole, theological questions were simply one aspect of the larger question of organic union with the Methodist and Congregational churches. A number of factors were involved in the division over the union issue, but it is clear that much of the motivation for union came from the liberal idea that both creeds and denominations were simply expressions of a particular age and that neither were essential for the church of the future. Consequently, an important reason for the resistance
to union by many theologically conservative Presbyterians was their antipathy towards the liberalism in the unionist movement. Methodists were also theologically suspect in the eyes of some Presbyterians and it was openly charged that some in the Methodist leadership in British Columbia were "modernists."\textsuperscript{18}

Increased in numbers by the aggressive work of Superintendent of Missions, Dr. James Robertson, and augmented by heavy waves of British immigration, Presbyterians were in a strong position numerically in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{19} Theological conservatives were apparently not in the majority among them, however. Despite the caution engendered by the shadow of the Westminster Confession, most ministers shared the liberal and social reform outlook of their Methodist brethren. One indicator of this was the weaker resistance to church union in British Columbia than in Eastern Canada. In 1925 only 17 of the 133 Presbyterian ministers in the province remained out of the United Church along with 21 of 142 congregations and 4325 members (23\% of pre-union membership).\textsuperscript{20}

The denominational theological college, Westminster Hall, founded in 1907, contributed to the theological climate. The college exerted an unusually strong influence on many smaller and newer congregations in the province because all its classes were held during the summer, allowing students to work full-time on home missions fields during the rest of the year. These small congregations were then supplied in the summer months from theological colleges in other parts of the country. It is noteworthy that only five congregations in the outlying areas of the province, where student missionaries were most often used,
voted to remain outside of union. Dissident sentiment was largely confined to Victoria, New Westminster and Vancouver where churches were often able to secure ministers trained in a different, often more conservative, theological climate. Dr. John MacKay, principal of Westminster Hall from 1908 to 1919, classified himself for the popular press in 1917 as "among those who are seeking for a modern interpretation of the great fundamental truths of the gospel." He rejected what he described as attempts "to stereotype the religious experience of one age and impress it upon another age." He expressed complete sympathy with the higher critical method of biblical studies and disassociated that method from the "wild statements of irresponsible agnostics and rationalists." His own writing indicates he did use the higher critical method in a forthright but fairly restrained manner. Among those serving with MacKay on the regular faculty were Rev. George C. Pidgeon, theologically fairly conservative but active in the social gospel movement, and John T. McNeill, church historian whose writings express warm appreciation for the progress of liberal theological thought in the Church. Faculty members who visited Westminster Hall each summer were especially important in contributing to a liberal theological climate. These included the liberal spokesman Principal Daniel J. Fraser of Presbyterian College, Montreal, the liberal British scholars Alfred E. Garvie, of New College, London and James Denney and George Adam Smith, of United Free College, Glasgow and the frankly modernist Shailer Matthews of the University of Chicago.
Congregationalism was never particularly strong in British Columbia, with only one church in Victoria and three in Vancouver. Because of its stress on the independence of local congregations and its rejection of creedal subscription, however, its ministers were free to exercise considerable influence in their locale. For a time during World War I, the Rev. Charles Croucher conducted pointed attacks on theological conservatism from the pulpit of Victoria's Congregational Church. Most noteworthy in this regard in British Columbia, however, was Rev. A. E. Cooke who preached at First Congregational Church in Vancouver's West End from 1915 to 1924. Cooke played a significant role in Vancouver's social and political life and twice was president of the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver. He was an outspoken social gospeller and a liberal who seemed to delight in debate and controversy. He inaugurated at First Congregational Church the Sunday afternoon lecture and discussion meeting known as "The Open Forum." Among the many topics covered in the Forum was the nature and authority of the Bible. Cooke took strong exception to conservative views of the authority and infallibility of the Scriptures and pointed out to his audiences what he viewed as the many factual inaccuracies and moral inadequacies of both the Old and New Testaments. He saw the Bible as an extremely valuable but time bound book which, on many issues, "...simply presents the ancient world-view of the age in which it was written..."  

Conservative evangelicals within the Baptist churches in Canada did not face a liberal challenge of quite the same
magnitude as did their counterparts in the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches. Prior to 1925 conservatives in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec were able to muster majority support when the issue of liberalism was under discussion. It is clear, however, that there were modernist elements in that denomination and its theological school at McMaster University which continued to worry conservatives.\textsuperscript{33}

The Baptist Convention of British Columbia was unperturbed at the denominational level by theological division prior to 1917 even though there was some discussion of liberal trends in the \textit{Western Baptist}. The frankly liberal and social gospel sermons of the Rev. A. E. Shaw of Winnipeg delivered to the 1908 Baptist Convention of Western Canada, held in Vancouver, apparently did not cause any negative repercussions. There was no open controversy over doctrinal teaching at the denominational liberal arts colleges in Brandon, Manitoba and Summerland, British Columbia. The 1915 closure of the eight-year old college in Summerland was due to enrollment and financial difficulties and does not appear to have reflected any lack of confidence over the orthodoxy of its teaching.\textsuperscript{34} At the local level, however, attempts to introduce modernist teachings did cause division in at least one congregation in 1915.\textsuperscript{35} Some concern was also expressed that, although "a large proportion" of British Columbia Baptists seemed interested in "a better citizenship and social justice," more than half the churches reported "no deep concern among the members for the salvation of the lost."\textsuperscript{36}
Among the Anglicans of British Columbia distinctions between theological liberals and conservatives were considerably obscured by the longstanding high/low church division. That division had a stormy history in Victoria in the 1870's, leading to the secession of a number of the city's prominent Anglicans. In Vancouver the division led to establishment of the distinctly low church, or evangelical, Christ Church in 1888. In 1910 leading evangelical Anglicans established their own theological college, Bishop Latimer Hall, in Vancouver's West End. Financial support was received from the Colonial and Continental Missionary Society of London and strong moral encouragement from W. H. Griffith Thomas, the renowned conservative theologian at Toronto's low-church Wycliffe College. Two years later, the moderately high-church St. Mark's Hall was founded and moved into quarters in close proximity to Bishop Latimer Hall.

Neither college was untouched by the modernist impulse but the evangelicals felt that St. Marks was more influenced by it. To the suggestion of F. H. DuVernet, Bishop of Caledonia, that the colleges should increase the number of courses they taught in common, Principal Vance of Bishop Latimer Hall objected; "Twice we had to protest against the exclusively advanced critical position adopted by Prof. Keeling (of St. Marks) and to insist that both sides of critical questions should be placed before the students."

The large majority of conservative evangelicals in British Columbia were members of these five major Protestant denominations in the first decades of the century. Many,
perhaps most, were not fully aware of the extent and implications of the changes that had been taking place in theological method and content and thus, prior to 1917, no large-scale initiatives were launched to reassert traditional Protestant beliefs. However, a number of smaller, homogenously conservative groups providing alternatives to the more accommodative mainline churches had established themselves in the province by 1917.

Several of these, the Salvation Army, the Free Methodist Church and the Church of the Nazarene, belonged to the holiness or Wesleyan-Arminian movement. The late nineteenth century had witnessed a resurgence of holiness teaching in the English-speaking world which had gained greatest force in post-Civil War America. Its adherents stressed the "sanctification" experience, a second work of the Holy Spirit in a believer's life, subsequent to the conversion experience, which culminated in holiness of heart and life. Methodists were most affected as many reacted against the increasing formalism, urbanity, permissiveness and acceptance of higher criticism and evolution in their church. They pressed for a return to the stress upon sanctification and holy living that had characterized the teachings of Wesley and to the the fervency of his early followers. This renewed thrust ran into stiff opposition within the major Methodist bodies in North America and thousands of holiness adherents joined the ranks of new holiness groups which had sprung up to carry the holiness banner.

The first, and most strongly, established of these in British Columbia was the Salvation Army. Despite its more
widespread reputation as a religious social service agency, the Salvation Army was founded as a holiness denomination during the early stages of a revival of holiness teaching in England. William Booth left the ministry of the Wesleyan New Connexion in 1862 to join the holiness crusade and embark on unrestricted evangelism in the slums of east London. His new organization, the Salvation Army, "claimed holiness as its distinguishing doctrine and social work as its public manifestation."\(^{43}\)

In Canada, the revivalism of frontier Methodism combined with Booth's military innovations characterized Salvation Army services. The increasingly respectable national church created by the 1874 and 1884 unions of Methodism undoubtedly led many discontented Methodists to turn to the Salvation Army and helped it to quickly gain a strong foothold in Canada. In addition heavy immigration from the British Isles brought many to Canada who were familiar with Booth's work. The rapid growth of urban centres, in which the Salvation Army had the most appeal, also played a key role in its expansion in Canada, an expansion much more dramatic than that in the United States. From beginnings in London, Ontario and Toronto in 1882 the Salvation Army spread to both coasts within five years and claimed an average Sunday attendance of 60,000 by 1890.\(^{44}\)

Outside of Ontario, British Columbia became one of the main Canadian strongholds of the Army. Victoria was "invaded" in June, 1887, and six months later the new city of Vancouver was secured by four women workers known as "the Hallelujah lassies."\(^{45}\) "Corps" were established in New Westminster and Nanaimo in 1888 and in Kamloops in 1889. Within two years of
the entry of the Salvation Army, British Columbia was constituted a division in its own right, with headquarters in Vancouver. Missionaries on horseback, "the Mountaineer Brigade," were sent into the isolated interior regions but were not successful in establishing Army corps. The Kootenay region became the next to be successfully entered with corps appearing in Rossland, Nelson, Revelstoke and Fernie between 1896 and 1900. Over the next two decades most of the centres of the province were entered. The 1911 census indicated that nearly 2,000 in the province identified themselves as Salvationists, a proportion higher than anywhere in Canada.

The relative strength of the Salvation Army in British Columbia was due to several factors. Its fervency and unorthodox style were well-suited to the rough new urban environment in which most of the people of the province lived. In Vancouver, where several hundred converts, mostly single men, were gained in the first few years, crowds of curious onlookers followed the singing, drum-beating officers to enthusiastic services held in a primitive opera house. This typical Army method did not work well among the more scattered rural population of the Prairie provinces. Secondly, the army always retained strong traits of its English origins and, while not holding much appeal to the large numbers of non-British immigrants in the rest of Western Canada, was attractive to many immigrants to British Columbia from Britain. In addition, the already noted weakness of evangelical and holiness enthusiasm in British Columbia Methodism undoubtedly created some dissidents who turned to the Salvation Army to fill the void they felt.
Several other holiness groups were established before 1917 in British Columbia but, without the aggressive evangelistic and organizational thrust of the Salvation Army, did not experience the same rapid growth. Twenty years after the inauguration of the Salvation Army in the province, the Free Methodist church was established in British Columbia. The denomination had begun in western New York State in 1860 and claimed to be the first distinctively holiness denomination in North America. Organized by dissident Methodist ministers and laymen who had been expelled from their denomination, the Free Methodist church sought to retain frontier Methodist characteristics such as revivalistic methods and class and camp meetings. The designation "Free" indicated freedom of the Spirit in meetings, free seats in the churches, freedom from slavery and from domination by secret societies.50

In 1876 discontent with the state of Methodism in Ontario together with immigration from New York State led to the entry of the Free Methodist Church into Canada. Soon after the turn of the century Canadian membership neared the two thousand mark. Immigration from other parts of Canada brought Free Methodism to British Columbia and meetings were begun in New Westminster in 1907, in Kamloops in 1913 and in Vancouver in 1914. The Kamloops meetings failed to result in the organization of a continuing congregation and growth in the rest of the province was very slow or negligible for several decades.51

Another holiness group, the Church of the Nazarene, entered the province in the pre-war years. Resulting from the 1907-8 merger of three holiness groups in North America, the
denomination closely resembled the Methodist church in structure and fervently stressed entire sanctification and the work of the Holy Spirit. It originally called itself the "Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene" to link itself with the initial outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost but, out of a concern to disassociate itself from the burgeoning "tongues-speaking" Pentecostal movement, dropped "Pentecostal" from its name in 1919.52

Included in the 1907-8 merger were two congregations in Nova Scotia, organized five years before, which had been part of, and provided some key leadership for, the fledgling denomination. From this beginning in Canada, the Church of the Nazarene gradually spread to the other Maritime provinces. In 1911 a group of Nazarene members from Nova Scotia migrated westward and founded a church in Calgary. Partly due to immigration from the midwestern United States, Alberta and the other prairie provinces became the centre of the church in Canada.53

A small independent holiness mission in Victoria became a Nazarene church in 1912. It had experienced growth during holiness revival services conducted by a visiting Methodist evangelist the year before and organized as a church and sought and obtained affiliation with the Alberta district of the Church of the Nazarene. A similar holiness mission began in Vancouver in 1913 and, although closely associated with the Church of the Nazarene, did not officially affiliate until 1926. Further expansion of the church in British Columbia did not occur until after W.W.I.54
Pentecostalism, which has since developed into one of the largest of the conservative Protestant groups in the province, was not well-established in British Columbia by 1917. Before the 1920's, Ontario and Manitoba were the significant centres of Pentecostalism in Canada.

The twentieth century Pentecostal movement is, in a sense, a culmination of the variety of holiness movements in the English-speaking world including the Wesleyan-Arminian variety already noted and the Keswick variety. The latter centred on annual conventions in Keswick, England, and fostered "practical holiness" by means of intensive prayer, Bible study and a life of consecration among evangelicals drawn largely from Reformed traditions. Although it did not stress complete sanctification as a second work of the Holy Spirit as did Wesleyan-Arminian holiness groups, it was similar in many respects. Both emphasized a profound personal experience of consecration, a dedication to Christian service and a filling with power by the Holy Spirit. The great Welsh revival of 1904, which claimed one hundred thousand converts, was heavily influenced by Keswick-style holiness. The revival was seen as a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit and created an intense climate of expectancy for a more widespread spiritual awakening.

The immediate origins of Pentecostalism are usually traced to the 1906 revival at the Azuza Street Mission in Los Angeles. In response to word of the revival, people from different parts of the world converged upon the meetings conducted by the black evangelist, W. J. Seymour. The feature which distinguished this revival from holiness revivalism was the outbreak of "speaking
in tongues" which was taken to be the evidence of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit." Many of those coming to Los Angeles to participate in the revival meetings experienced this phenomenon and spread the Pentecostal message upon returning home.

In parts of Canada the ground had been well prepared for Pentecostalism by a number of different holiness movements. In Ontario, the Salvation Army, the Free Methodist Church, the Holiness Movement Church, begun by deposed Methodist preacher Ralph Horner, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), a holiness association composed of autonomous congregations, and the Evangelical United Brethren, a holiness group largely of German extraction, all had largely Methodist roots. A version of holiness somewhat similar to that of the Keswick Convention was propagated by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, founded in the 1880's by the Canadian Presbyterian, A. B. Simpson. It had churches established in the major centres of Ontario by the turn of the century. Revivalism, climatic conversion and individual piety were characteristic of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ who had broken with the more traditional Mennonites and organized as a separate denomination in Ontario in 1883.

Consequently, when news of the Pentecostal revival in Los Angeles spread, many in Canada were eager for its emphases. In 1906 Robert McCallister, an evangelist with Horner's Holiness Movement Church, travelled to Los Angeles and was initiated into the Pentecostal experience. Soon after his return to Ontario, his preaching sparked revivals in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto and Pentecostal churches were quickly formed in those, and other, centres. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ were affected
and by 1908 five of their churches had become Pentecostal. The movement reached Winnipeg in 1907 when A. H. Argue, a Holiness Movement lay preacher who had experienced the Pentecostal baptism of the Holy Spirit while visiting in Chicago, began meetings which soon developed into Canada's largest Pentecostal church.  

Unlike Ontario and Manitoba, holiness groups, apart from the Salvation Army, were not well-established in British Columbia in 1907. Consequently, lacking large numbers predisposed towards its emphases, Pentecostalism did not grow in the province with the spontaneity evident further east. The census of 1921, taken fourteen years after the introduction of Pentecostalism into the province, counted only 247 Pentecostals in British Columbia compared with 1,229 in Manitoba and 2,717 in Ontario. Several more years were to pass before conditions favoured significant expansion.

The first Pentecostal organization in the province, the Apostolic Faith Mission, began in downtown Vancouver in 1907 and remained a small, downtown mission until 1940. A second mission began in Vancouver several years later and, by means of active evangelistic outreach, gradually began developing into a fully-fledged congregation. From 1912 to 1918 the group met in various downtown locations - rented storefronts, upstairs halls, a theatre, the auditorium of Central City Mission and a large evangelistic tent. Its early membership came from three types of backgrounds. A study by Donald Klan indicates that of fifty early members, approximately one-third had belonged to the Salvation Army or Pentecostal churches before moving to
Vancouver from other Canadian provinces, another one-third were converted "down and outs" or were of unknown religious background and the final third had withdrawn from mainline Protestant denominations while in Vancouver.64

Those in the last group were the predecessors of a much greater number which was to leave the larger Protestant denominations in the 1920's. An example in this earlier period was the Joseph Heskett family which had arrived in Vancouver from the north of England in 1911. They had become strong, active members of Robson Memorial Methodist Church in Vancouver but Hekett, strongly influenced by the Keswick teaching while still in England, was dissatisfied with the formality of worship and the place given to higher criticism in the Methodist Church. After trying for several years to find satisfaction in a Congregational church, the family made a complete break with mainline Protestantism and joined the Pentecostal congregation downtown.65

A much different type of conservative Protestant group was making considerable headway in the province, especially in the coastal urban areas, before 1917. The Plymouth Brethren (since then more frequently known as Christian Brethren) had established at least twelve congregations, known as assemblies, and adherents numbered over one thousand.66 Probably more significant than their numbers to the conservative Protestant cause in the province was their role in popularizing dispensationalist eschatology and non-denominational ecclesiology.
The Plymouth Brethren originated in England and Ireland in the 1820's due to discontent over conditions within the Church of England. Reacting against formalized styles of worship, the rigid division between clergy and laity and the close connection between church and state, a number of Church of England laity and clergy, joined by members of other denominations, began holding meetings for informal worship and study. They stressed simplicity of organization in their assemblies and did not recognize any special clerical status among their leadership. Although they refused a denominational label, they became known as the "brethren from Plymouth" as the assembly there became most prominent.

Fearing the advances of theological and social liberalism they erected the barriers of strict Calvinism and the verbal inspiration of the Bible. In addition, John Nelson Darby, founder of the first assembly, popularized dispensationalism among many, but not all, the Brethren. This teaching heightened the sense of alienation through its view of the worsening apostacy of Christendom in the present age. In 1848 the movement divided into two major groupings of assemblies which carried the labels "Open" and "Exclusive." The "Exclusives," led by Darby, restricted fellowship and cooperation to members of a specific group of assemblies considered to be correct in doctrine and practice. The "Open" Brethren, led by George Mueller of Bristol, held to the autonomy of local assemblies and practiced cooperation and fellowship with all they believed to be true Christians, regardless of whether those others belonged to an assembly considered to be in error on some doctrinal or
Immigration from England and Ireland, as well as extensive preaching tours by Darby, led to the establishment of a number of Plymouth Brethren assemblies in eastern North America soon after the middle of the nineteenth century. Sandeen notes that Darby was more successful in spreading his dispensationalist views, particularly among Baptists and Presbyterians, than he was in persuading North Americans to abandon their "apostate" denominations. Nonetheless, as the result of his and other evangelists' and teachers' efforts, the number of assemblies was not inconsiderable. He spent a great deal of time in Ontario, as did later evangelists, notably Alexander Marshall, and a fairly heavy concentration of assemblies developed in that province.

Plymouth Brethrenism entered Victoria and Vancouver comparatively late but the two cities began to develop as one of the movement's greatest growth areas. Small assemblies formed in the coastal urban centres among new arrivals from Ontario and the British Isles. A group in Victoria began meeting in a private home in 1887, a room over a tea store on Cordova Street was used by a group forming in Vancouver in 1891 and in 1898 an assembly in New Westminster erected its own building. J. J. Rouse, an Ontario-born evangelist who had been converted by the preaching of Alexander Marshall, found six assemblies in the province when he arrived in 1908 to begin evangelistic outreach. In addition to the Victoria, Vancouver and New Westminster groups which had expanded considerably, small assemblies met in Nanaimo, Ladysmith and Alberni. The continued immigration and
extensive tent evangelism, often led by Rouse who remained in the province fourteen years, resulted in the establishment of additional groups in Victoria, Vancouver, North Vancouver, Langley, Prince George and Prince Rupert by W.W.I.  

**Oliver Evangelistic Campaigns, 1917**

As the foregoing survey suggests, clearly different responses to modernism had been developing within British Columbia's Protestant community for some time. Until 1917, however, conservatives and liberals generally coexisted quietly, if not comfortably, within the mainline denominations and only several thousand belonged to the exclusively conservative sect-like groups. This situation was greatly altered by the French E. Oliver evangelistic campaigns of 1917 in Vancouver and Victoria which brought the issue to the attention of the church-going public. A process of sifting was thereby begun which resulted over the next decade in the formation of a number of conservative institutions and denominations.

Dr. French E. Oliver was an ordained Presbyterian minister attached to the Bible Institute of Los Angeles. He was most frequently likened to Reuben A. Torrey, who came closest to being Dwight L. Moody's successor and was one of the principal architects of fundamentalist thought. He had a somewhat more popular speaking style than Torrey's scholarly lecture-hall style but was just as ruthless in attacking, exposing and denouncing what he saw as error. His chief associate in Vancouver was J. Raymond Hemminger, who had toured Britain with the Torrey evangelistic team.
Oliver's nine-week Vancouver campaign ran from May 20 to July 22. He and his team of associates came to Vancouver under the sponsorship of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement (V.E.M.), an interdenominational group composed of city businessmen, professionals and clergy. In November of 1916 he had sought to secure the sponsorship of the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver but that body had decided against bringing him to Vancouver because of his clearly stated opposition to any taint of modernism. The V.E.M. was then formed to organize a large-scale campaign with the purpose of countering the growing secularism of the city and the liberal theology in the churches. It sought to enlist the support of "...only those who are sound in the faith once delivered to the saints and who want to reach the unconverted on straight gospel lines, and teaching the whole Bible." A statement of faith was widely distributed which began with the declaration, "We believe that the Bible is the Word and Revelation of God and therefore our only authority," and proceeded to list nine other items of traditional evangelical belief. Money was raised in advance and a temporary wooden tabernacle, capable of seating five thousand, was constructed for the campaign. The unusual looking structure covered the sloping piece of ground between Hasting and Pender Streets known as the old courthouse site.

Despite the Ministerial Association's opposition to Oliver's coming and his announcement on the opening night that he intended "not to use a feather duster in defense of the faith and in criticism of higher criticism," there was no public controversy during the first six weeks of the crusade.
Newspaper reports stressed instead Oliver's handsome appearance and eloquence and the attentiveness and size of the crowds which averaged several thousand on week days and completely filled the tabernacle on weekends. Also featured in reports was the singing of Hemminger and of the mass choir which swelled to nearly one thousand members from forty churches on the weekends.

The first note of disagreement with the evangelist came in the form of a letter to the editor of the Vancouver World from a New Westminster woman taking issue with his vivid portrayal of a literal hell. Oliver defended his doctrine of hell from the platform, making reference to a "sickly sentimentalism" which was threatening to destroy a "sense of reason" on the issue. He then broke what must have been an uneasy silence between himself and the Ministerial Association by criticizing it at a businessmens' luncheon meeting for its lack of support. The next evening at the tabernacle, a frontal assault on liberalism was launched. One of Oliver's backers, Dr. J. L. Campbell of First Baptist, declared to the applause of the crowd that "any theology not 1900 years old is not good." During an address on "The Bible and Science," Oliver launched a direct attack on modernism in general and higher criticism in particular labelling its practitioners "dishonest," "pegged-legged infidels," "scholastic infidels," "theological degenerates," and "ecclesiastical buzzards."

Feeling directly attacked in the charges, several prominent ministers came out into the open with their criticisms of Oliver. The ensuing exchange quickly grew into a full-blown controversy described in a local newspaper as "the biggest
sensation of recent years in Vancouver religious circles."\textsuperscript{81}

Rev. O. M. Sanford of Grandview Methodist Church responded first, declaring the time had come for an open discussion on the matter. In a letter to the editor of Vancouver Daily World he charged that Oliver's teaching was similar to that of "Russellism" (named after the founder of the Jehovah Witnesses) against which a unified ministerial association had recently presented a common front in the distribution of thousands of pamphlets attacking it. He listed five similarities between the two forms of teachings: 1. their "narrow and intense" literalism 2. their "sweeping condemnation of scholarship and especially anything that savors of "modern thought"" 3. their attack upon the ministers of the church for their failure to present the "full gospel" 4. their aim to divide the churches. Oliver's was "a separatist movement, whether inside or outside the church" and 5. their adventism. "Both systems are absolutely pessimistic regarding the present order. Neither system offers "much encouragement to moral and social reform movements." However, on one major doctrinal issue were the two different - the future of the soul - and Sanford found Russellism's teaching on annihilation preferable to Oliver's old-fashioned presentation of a literal hell.\textsuperscript{82}

Oliver responded to the charges the following evening by claiming that he "preached the same gospel as John Wesley preached in his day. . .the same hell as John Wesley preached in his day. . .the same Christ, the same atonement, the same virgin birth of Christ as was preached by Whiteld [sic], Moody, Knox, Calvin and Paul and Peter and James and John and Christ." He
"thanked God for his enemies; they were a mighty fine asset" and charged that "Direct efforts were being made to lead men and women away from the direct authority of the Bible." 83

The ministerial association met to decide on a course of action in the face of Oliver's public criticisms and announced its intentions to hold an evangelistic campaign of its own in the fall, in part to counter charges that its members were not interested in evangelism. 84 Dr. John Mackay of the Presbyterian Westminster Hall spoke to the press as a representative of the association. He stated that ". . . .the Tabernacle campaign carries its own comment and it is the only justification necessary for the action of the majority of the Christian ministers of this community in standing aloof from it." He called Oliver's presentations "gross caricatures of modern thought" and complained that "anyone who is evidently utterly out of touch with modern thought should presume to pass sweeping judgement upon it." The effect of the current campaign was that "some of the worst phases of various periods of the church's life and thought" were given prominence while "the great central verities of the Christian faith" were allowed to drift into the background. 85

Mackay's statements were followed up by a stinging letter to the editor from the president of the ministerial association, A. E. Cooke, in which he provided a detailed account of the association's relationship with Oliver. One of his main objections was that the Tabernacle campaign had proceeded, largely under lay leadership, despite the ministerial association's refusal to invite Oliver. It was the "privilege
and duty" of the ministers of the gospel to lead such endeavours and they had been working on plans for a city-wide campaign before being interrupted by the one at the tabernacle. Cooke was convinced from the very first request for sponsorship by Oliver that the evangelist's first priority was not evangelism but "to carry on a peculiar religious propaganda, to discredit all modern thought in the pulpit and to cause dissension in the Christian churches of this city." It was but the "culmination of a lengthy and insidious campaign of misrepresentation and opposition directed against many of the pulpits of this city." This campaign had hitherto been carried on privately but Cooke would publish the names of those so involved if Oliver would be honorable enough to actually name the city ministers implicated by his attacks.\textsuperscript{86}

That Sunday (15 July) the controversy was continued from city pulpits. J. G. Brown of Kitsilano Methodist Church defended the use of critical scholarship, arguing it did not deny any vital doctrines of the Christian faith. Instead it magnified "the life of God in the Soul," "made more of the life we ought to live" rather than "the dogma we may teach" and changed the view of the Bible so that it "ceased to be a text book in science and history and became more our authority in things spiritual." He criticized the dispensationalism of Oliver as a "gospel of hopelessness predicting that society should grow worse and worse and even the church should degenerate." The object of scholarship, however, was the "regeneration of heart and life for individuals and society."\textsuperscript{87}
Dr. Ernest Thomas was even more scathing from the pulpit of the largest Methodist church in the province, Wesley. He reported that the Methodist conference had condemned any such "movement cloaked in the name of evangelism which was carried on in hostility to social reform, religious education and modern scholarship." The campaign had been launched, he charged, "with the most defiant boasts of what would be done to drive out the ministers who spoke for the perplexed and troubled." It was supported by "those who resist the application of (the) Christian life to finance and commerce and industrial organization" and who seek to "turn the great prophetic message of justice into a time table assuring us that the kingdom of God is not due for a long time yet." However, Thomas declared the campaign a failure. "The recent events have proved that once for all Vancouver has chosen its path of advance and insists on the Christian pulpit being free to speak the great word of social justice and to recognize as revelations of God the discoveries of the scientist." He rejoiced that "...the effort to dominate the pulpit of Vancouver by brow-beating and high finance has come to naught." 88

Expressions of support for Oliver were also recorded. Dr. W. J. Sipprell of Mt. Pleasant Methodist, which rivalled Wesley Church in size, appeared on Oliver's platform to give a "strong voice of support" for the campaign. In typical Methodist fashion he indicated he was not concerned about any man's theology but endorsed the evangelist's work because it had "the cross of Jesus in the centre." 89 In a letter to the editor, Rev. D. G. MacDonald of Broadway West Baptist Church took issue with
a remark by Ernest Thomas that all but three or four of the ministers in the city supported the stand of the ministerial association against Oliver. He reported that fifteen of the nineteen ordained Baptist ministers in the city "are in full accord with the movement." In response to Thomas' assertion that the "younger, brainy" Baptist ministers were opposed to Oliver, he argued that a good number of the younger ministers were included in the fifteen. A week earlier his own congregation had "unanimously and enthusiastically" passed a resolution endorsing the Tabernacle campaign. "Professor" Edward Odium, acting manager of Clapp, Anderson and Odium, insurance agents, and one of the V.E.M. committee members, made a public offer of $1,000 a year for five years to Oliver to carry on his work in Canada.

Bouyed by the size of the crowds attending each evening and the growing numbers of responses to his invitations for conversion, Oliver assented to requests that he continue the campaign one week longer than its originally scheduled eight-week duration. The debate continued for a further week after that in the letters column of the *Daily World* until the editor announced that no more letters on the topic would be published.

Plans for a four-week campaign in Victoria began to develop towards the end of the Vancouver campaign. Several conservative ministers from the capital city had travelled over to Vancouver to observe some of the meetings and went back to the Victoria Ministerial Association with highly favorable reports. It appeared that the same kind of dissension that Vancouver's
Protestant community went through would be experienced in Victoria when the ministerial voted not to invite Oliver. It appeared especially likely when the association's president, Dr. H. N. Maclean of St. Paul's Presbyterian Church and its secretary, Rev. Habershon, resigned from that body out of disagreement with its decision. The Victoria Evangelistic Movement, with exactly the same statement of faith as the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement, was formed several days later to conduct a campaign in the fall and the services of Dr. Oliver were sought and secured.

The Victoria campaign, however, did not experience the same level of public controversy as did its Vancouver predecessor. Apart from the regular attacks of Rev. Charles Croucher from the pulpit of the city's Congregationalist church, no other note of discord was noted in the newspapers. Instead, the campaign went quite smoothly. Large audiences, rising to over three thousand on the weekends, attended the tabernacle constructed at the corner of Pandora and Cook from the lumber shipped over after the Vancouver tabernacle was taken down. Oliver noted during the second week that the audiences were somewhat cool and newspaper reports indicate that the number of responses to his altar calls were not high at first. However, increasing numbers began responding to his calls for conversion and general enthusiasm built to the point that additional seating had to be added to the tabernacle and the doors had to be locked early on several occasions to prevent more people from entering. Oliver and the committee felt that the interest warranted prolonging the campaign and announced extensions several times before
finally closing it November 20, three weeks after the originally scheduled conclusion.97

The reasons for the lack of open theological warfare in Victoria are not readily apparent. The ingredients were there: an evangelist who was as bluntly outspoken as he had been in Vancouver and a ministerial association opposed to sponsoring him. The meetings received, at least in the early stages, as much or more media coverage, the crowds were, proportionate to the population of the city, larger and Oliver preached basically the same sermons, including the series on hell, as he had in the previous campaign. The difference could lie in the nature of the support he received. As in Vancouver, the smaller evangelical churches, Salvation Army, Plymouth Brethren and Nazarene, gave strong support as did many Baptists. But, while active support in Vancouver from the large, mainline congregations, other than Baptist, was very spotty, Oliver had the strong support of several respectable, influential Victoria churches. Rev. A. De B. Owen of the Reformed Episcopal Church belonged to the organizing committee and First and St. Paul's Presbyterian churches gave full support, suspending many regular activities for the duration. Rev. J. G. Inkster of First Presbyterian was particularly active and visible in the campaign. In addition, it appears that a measure of support was indicated by two smaller Methodist congregations, Fairfield and Oak Bay, in their having members of Oliver's team come and participate in their Sunday morning services.98 While this widespread, more established support was evidently not enough to sway the decision of the Victoria Ministerial Association, it
may have inhibited charges against the campaign of the type leveled in Vancouver. Another possible reason for the refusal of Victoria's ministers to come out against Oliver was the experience of Vancouver, where the controversy served largely to further publicize the campaign. Also, as the criticisms of Croucher, the only outspoken opponent in Victoria, were quite radical and caustic, other, more moderate, ministers may have been afraid to make public any negative comments regarding the campaign to avoid too close an identification with his views.99

Despite the lack of sensational public division between liberals and conservatives in Victoria, the Oliver campaign had an impact on the growing gulf between the two positions. Oliver's sermons before thousands over a period of seven weeks and the extensive reporting of them in the newspapers would have left few conservative Protestants unalerted to the "dangers" of liberalism. In addition, the ranks and morale of conservative churches were boosted by the hundreds of new converts resulting from the campaign. No final figures were released to the newspapers, but after the first two weeks nearly three hundred were reported to have been converted.100 The numbers reportedly increased and on one night alone in the final week one hundred responded to the evangelist's calls.101

The Oliver campaigns of 1917 in Victoria and, especially, Vancouver marked a critical point in provincial Protestantism. The origins of several varieties of organized conservative resistance to liberal trends can be traced to them. Undoubtedly some conservative resistance would have developed whether or not Oliver had conducted his campaigns but the strength and timing
of the resistance was undoubtedly due to the campaigns of 1917.

An important question which arises, then, is why 1917? Would there have been the same results if Oliver had come several years earlier or later? It is clear that the evangelist's combination of popular appeal and blunt outspokenness on theological issues had much to do with the outcome, but were there particular conditions in the province which heightened his effect?

Economically, the period of depression following the 1913 collapse of the great development boom was easing considerably because of quickening war-time demand. It is difficult to ascertain what, if any effects, the changing economic circumstances had on the campaign. Some churches, such as the Congregational church in Victoria, with heavy mortgage obligations on a new building, reeled under the effects of the depression and did not recover for years. Others, such as Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Vancouver, also with a new building, fared very well financially throughout the period. It would be very difficult to argue that Mount Pleasant Baptist's support of Oliver or the opposition of the Congregational church had anything to do with their respective financial situations.

It is also difficult to pinpoint any particular social/economic base of support for Oliver and the positions he represented. Ernest Thomas of Wesley Church argued that the campaign was directed by the city's elite. It was an effort to "dominate the pulpit of Vancouver by brow-beating and high finance..." On the other hand, those holding to the socio/economic interpretation of fundamentalism would have to
argue that the campaign's support was largely from the lower social and economic classes of the city. The limited evidence available suggests that both views are too restrictive. Oliver did hold a luncheon for businessmen in Vancouver but also directed one of his Sunday afternoon rallies for men only to labouring men. An observer of one of his Sunday afternoon audiences of several thousand men was impressed that it was "representive of the city's inumerable interests" including "well known individuals who have had in the past little or no use for anything religious." Churches in support of and in opposition to the campaign were to be found in all areas of the city. Support was perhaps strongest from churches in the working and middle class Mount Pleasant district (Baptist, Plymouth Brethren and Methodist) but it also came from the more fashionable First Baptist Church. In working class east and South Vancouver support came from several Baptist and Anglican churches. Opposition was not restricted to the fashionable downtown churches but was unanimous among the Methodist and Presbyterian ministers in the working class east side.

The membership of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement's central committee appeared to be largely middle class. Of ten identifiable men, four were from the business community including an accountant of a lumber firm, the manager of an insurance agency, a salesman for a logging equipment firm and the owner and operator of a box manufacturing plant. Two, an osteopath and a physician's radiographer, were in the medical profession and four were involved in religious institutions including an Anglican rector, the financial secretary of the
Y.M.C.A., the local director of the China Inland Mission and a professor at Latimer Hall, the evangelical Anglican theological college. This limited data indicates that the campaign was not reflective of the social and economic position of either the business elite or the lowest classes.

The impact of the Oliver campaigns may have been more closely related to recent political events in the province and the churches' extraordinary involvement in them. In response to reports of widespread corruption in the Conservative government of Richard McBride, the Ministerial Union of the Lower Mainland of British Columbia had launched its own investigation. The resulting thirty-two page pamphlet entitled The Crisis in British Columbia: An Appeal for Investigation, lambasted the government for its complicity in the alienation of much of the province's resources and public land by "greedy speculators." Its publication in April of 1915 and the province-wide speaking tour undertaken by A. E. Cooke on behalf of the ministerial association created somewhat of a political sensation. In the election of the following year, these charges of corruption and the prohibition referendum dominated the campaign, united most of the Protestant churches in opposition to McBride and helped sweep the Liberals under H. C. Brewster to power.

Politics and social reform had thus been an important focus of Protestant church life for several years. There is no evidence to suggest that conservative Protestants were opposed to the reform movement. Indeed, indications are that they gave strong support both to prohibition and the new Baptist premier, Brewster. For example, Rev. Gabriel Maguire, who later became
a leader of conservative Baptists in Vancouver played a leading role in the prohibition campaign. In the summer of 1916 vast prohibition rallies attracting 7,000 in Victoria and 11,500 in Vancouver ("the largest audience ever assembled under one roof in the Dominion of Canada") featured the American fundamentalist, Billy Sunday. Not surpisingly Oliver frequently thundered against the use of alcohol in his sermons denouncing "worldliness". On 1 October, 1917, the first day of his Victoria campaign and also the first day of province-wide prohibition, enthusiastic applause greeted the comment that the saloon had been replaced by the evangelist.

Despite these evidences of sympathy with the reform movement, conservatives had very different priorities from those of the the social gospellers. While the social gospellers spoke of the need for '"social regeneration," conservatives saw strict limits to the usefulness of the reform of society compared to the all-important work of individual conversion. Oliver declared that the "noble work of saving souls" was a greater fulfillment of religious duty "than giving to the poor or spending hours in prayer." "You might just as well try to cure cancer with a feather duster as try to save man through a soup kitchen. You can use your social service methods...but it will not save him." None of his clerical critics, except Croucher, completely denied the importance of the conversion of the individual, but a common element of their condemnation of his teaching was its lack of sympathy for social reform.

Indeed, the "soul-winning" versus "social regeneration" tension between conservatives and liberals figured at least as
largely in the division as did the issues surrounding biblical authority. It almost appeared that effectiveness in the conversion of individuals was the criteria by which a theology should be tested. According to Dr. J. L. Campbell of First Baptist Church, Vancouver, the reason "any theology not 1900 years old is not good" was that the "only way to win souls was to bring them to the old and only gospel in the Blessed book." Modernism had to be resisted, argued Oliver, because it "seeks to emasculate the gospel of Jesus." He pointed to the nearly two thousand converts gained in the first six weeks of preaching in Vancouver as proof of his claim that the traditional message was more relevant and effective to modern man than that preached by many city ministers.

Near the close of the Vancouver campaign, Broadway West Baptist Church in Kitsilano passed a motion of support for Oliver which showed how closely related were their concepts of biblical authority and traditional conversion. The congregation expressed the hope that the evangelist hold similar campaigns in other Canadian cities in order

. . . to stem the tide of infidelity that under the guise of modern scholarship is undermining the faith of the people in the Divine inspiration and authority of the Blessed Bible, including its clear and definite teaching on the foundation truth of our eternal salvation.

Several days later, a supporter of the campaign explained in a letter to the editor why he felt it had been necessary to organize it despite the ministerial association's opposition.
The need of "regeneration" or better still the old-fashioned term, "conversion", was seldom heard, from very few pulpits was emphasis laid upon the need of men to flee from a wrath to come. Very few urged the people with all the powers at their command "Be ye reconciled to God." Therefore it was time for the rank and file to move.  

Thus, the impact of the Oliver campaign can be explained in large part as a reaction against a "social gospel" emphasis which had been particularly dominant in the province in the previous two years. Conservative Protestants were not opposed to some of the reforms sought but were afraid that the emphasis on social activism would totally eclipse what they still believed to be the true mission of the church and the best long-term solution to social problems, the conversion of the individual.

One more factor contributing to the effectiveness of the Oliver's preaching in splitting the Protestant community into two camps must be considered. Its setting in the latter part of W.W.I as the propaganda war was reaching new heights was highly significant in shaping the response. Against the backdrop of generally increased tensions and passions, the modernist-fundamentalist controversy reached a peak of intensity across North America. Marsden points out that some liberal theologians at the University of Chicago began accusing American premillenial conservatives of receiving German funding because they did not seem to share their own idealistic, crusading spirit for the war effort. Their argument followed the lines
that the pessimism of many premillenialists regarding the future of the world led them to a lack of patriotism and fervor for the war effort.

While it did take many premillenialists some time to develop a great enthusiasm for the war effort, they were easily able to refute the charges of receiving money from German sources. Instead, they countered that a strong link existed between liberalism's assault on traditional Christianity and the decline of morals in Germany. Some of the earliest and strongest statements of this view came from W. H. Griffith Thomas of the evangelical Anglican Wycliffe College in Toronto. He argued that higher biblical criticism, which had originated and was most advanced in Germany, had been influential long enough in that country for the results to be clearly evident. It had weakened Christian morality to the extent that German militarism, with its reported atrocities, could develop unhindered by the voice of the church. Increasingly conservatives followed Thomas' lead and came to view "corrupt German Biblical scholarship" and the evolutionary "might is right" philosophy as responsible for "German barbarism." They thus threw themselves into the fight against modernism and liberalism with a passion akin to the fight against Germany.¹¹⁸

Similar views were circulating in British Columbia in 1917 and undoubtedly increased theological tensions. Early in his Vancouver campaign Oliver had to lay to rest rumours that he and his team had come to Canada to spread pro-German propaganda.¹¹⁹ However, he and his supporters were able to gain considerable ground over their opponents by utilizing their own and the
public's intense anti-German sentiments. His sermons were generously sprinkled with patriotic, anti-German comments that usually drew warm applause from his audiences. In fact, so well-known were his views of the war that he was singled out for criticism at an anti-conscription rally in Vancouver.  

Early in the campaign one of Oliver's staunchest supporters, Rev. J. L. Campbell of First Baptist Church, highlighted the "German connection" of liberal theology in a prominently advertised sermon entitled "German Infidelity and German Sympathizers." He charged that

...nine-tenths of all this false teaching in regard to the Bible has come from Germany... Her higher criticism has destroyed for her the Bible and that has spelled ruin. Behold the land of Luther...now practically Bibleless and paganized, wallowing in degradation and bestiality... In forms more or less modified, these pernicious teachings have found their way among us. A large placard with the word "Made in Germany" printed upon it might be hung over the door of some of our colleges and seminaries and churches. If these false and refuted teachings should prevail among us a night of moral darkness and desolation such as we have never seen would envelop the land.

As criticism of his theology began to mount in Vancouver, Oliver slashed back with the charge that modernism was part of German propaganda.

This modern theology had percolated down through German scholarship, and the crux of the whole matter
was the effort of Germany to dislodge faith in God Almighty from the hearts of the people. To that country this had become an absolute necessity, as recent events had shown. It all had a cumulative effect, a definite goal, to rob God of His Deity and to put in its place science and force, brute force at that, that eliminated the criminality from regarding a solemn agreement as a scrap of paper. 122

On the opening night of the Victoria campaign Oliver promised that, in the war effort, "...rotten German "kultur" and rotten German theology will soon feel the strength of Uncle Sam's strong right arm." 123 Several nights later he drew the connection between modern theology and the war again. "What makes me sickest is for preachers to swallow David Strauss and his war-soaked theology, the same German theology which forced war upon the world." 124

This attempt to link whatever one was criticizing with the German enemy was not unique to Oliver and his allies. The Ministerial Union of the Lower Mainland's 1915 pamphlet, The Crisis in British Columbia: An Appeal for Investigation included the headings "Germans Capture Ocean Falls" and "How these Germans Dictate British Columbia Laws." 125 The huge Vancouver and Victoria audiences attending the 1916 Prohibition rallies featuring Billy Sunday were whipped into a patriotic frenzy by the evangelist's passionate likening of the war against booze with the war against Germany. 126

If anything, the climate in British Columbia in the late spring, summer and fall of 1917 was even more conducive to the
creation of a great impact by charges of a German connection or
influence. The tension surrounding the conscription crisis was
at a fever pitch throughout the duration of Oliver's stay in the
province. The majority of the population of Vancouver and
Victoria, including most of the Protestant ministers, liberal
and conservative, was passionately in favor of conscription. In this setting, the already emotionally-charged theological
controversy was heightened and the issues took on new
significance.

As propagandist as the conservative use of the German
origins of higher criticism appears to be, it would be wrong to
view it simply as an insincere scoring of theological points.
Certainly it was based on exaggerated reports of German
atrocities and was devoid of a consideration of other pertinent
factors such as the Lutheran concept of the Church's role in the
state. But it was deeply rooted in a strong conviction that
society's stability was at stake. Social stability was seen as
dependent upon a firm moral foundation, with the Bible being the
chief source of morality in Western culture. Any shaking of
confidence, real or imagined, in the authority and
trustworthiness of the Bible was therefore an attack on the
foundations of the very society that was being defended in the
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This concern on the part of conservatives for the survival
of society was not consistent with their sense of alienation
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creation of a great impact by charges of a German connection or influence. The tension surrounding the conscription crisis was at a fever pitch throughout the duration of Oliver's stay in the province. The majority of the population of Vancouver and Victoria, including most of the Protestant ministers, liberal and conservative, was passionately in favor of conscription.\textsuperscript{127} In this setting, the already emotionally-charged theological controversy was heightened and the issues took on new significance.

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This concern on the part of conservatives for the survival of society was not consistent with their sense of alienation from it. But they never had completely withdrawn from society but displayed ambiguity in their stance, being alienated at some points yet indicating great concern at others. The particular
alienation which was expressed during the Oliver campaigns was
directed against the liberal ethos which had become dominant in
the mainline Protestant denominations.

In the Oliver campaigns of 1917, a combination of already
existing theological differences, the growing tensions over
social versus traditional evangelistic work, the pressure of
war-time passions and the preaching of Oliver resulted in a
major religious upheaval. The degree of alienation from the
mainline denominations varied and the forms of protest taken
also varied but the sifting process had begun.
NOTES, CHAPTER TWO


3. F. E. Runnals, It's God's Country (no publisher, 1974), provides a region by region account of the establishment and development of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the province. See also Lindstrom, 77-107.


8. This is clearly evident in Dobson's correspondence with T. Albert Moore contained in the Hugh W. Dobson Papers, United Church of Canada Archives, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver.


17. N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 16-20 and N. K. Clifford, "The Interpreters of the United Church of Canada," *Church History* 46, 1 (1977):203-14. See also McKillop, 227-28. It must be noted, however, that a direct one-to-one correspondence between theological liberalism and church union did not exist. For example, Principal Daniel Fraser of Presbyterian College, Montreal, was a liberal who rejected union because the basis of union was too orthodox (Allen, *The Social Passion*, 254) and Dr. John McKay of Westminster Hall, Vancouver, was also not a unionist.


19. B.C. Presbyterianism was 182,000 strong in 1921, according to the census of that year.


35. Kitsilano Baptist Church divided over the issue in 1915. The conservatives formed Broadway West Baptist Church soon thereafter and the more liberal Kitsilano church, after a merger, became known as Fairview Baptist Church, which became the centre of Baptist liberalism in Vancouver. Interview with Mrs. I. Frith, Vancouver, 12 March 1980 and Poussett, "A History of the Baptist Convention of British Columbia," 128-29.

36. *Baptist Union Yearbook*, 1913, 28 cited in Richards, 63.


39. Bishop Latimer Hall, Minutes of Council & Minutes of Trustees, 1909-1912, Anglican Archives, Vancouver School of Theology, Vancouver.

40. Principal Vance to Bishop F. H. DuVernett, 6 Feb. 1917, Bishop Latimer Hall files, Anglican Archives, Vancouver.

41. Sinclair-Faulkner, "Theory divided from practice", argues that in these churches the laity were never fully introduced to higher criticism and thus did not really understand it.

43. Ibid., 43-44.


46. Moyles, The Blood and Fire in Canada, 95-97 and Appendix E.

47. 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 36. At 11,000 in Ontario, the Army there was slightly weaker proportionately.

48. Moyles, 97.

49. Ibid., 97.


52. See Timothy L. Smith, Called Unto Holiness; the Story of the Nazarenes: the Formative Years (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971).

53. J. Fred Parker, From East to Western Sea, A Brief History of the Church of the Nazarene in Canada (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971).


55. Marsden, Fundamentalism in American Culture, 72-80, 96-98.


63. Ibid., 62-68 contains a very thorough history of the pre-1923 period in Vancouver, based largely upon personal diaries and interviews.

64. Ibid., Table 1, 70.

65. Ibid., 70-80.

66. The 1921 census listed over 1,000 Plymouth Brethren in the province, centred in Vancouver and Victoria. This is a low figure, however, because many Plymouth Brethren people prefer not to accept denominational labels and thus do not appear in census figures.


70. Ibid., 193.


75. Ibid.,

77. The Vancouver Daily Province, 21 May, 1917, 15.
78. Agnes Wiggin, letter to the editor, The Vancouver Daily World, 30 June 1917, 14.
79. The Vancouver Daily World, 5 July 1917, 9.
80. Ibid., 7 July 1917, 3 and 14 July 1917, 11.
81. The Vancouver Daily Province, 10 July 1917, 8.
82. The Vancouver Daily World, 9 July 1917, 7.
83. Ibid., 11 July 1917, 9.
84. Ibid.
85. The Vancouver Daily Province, 13 July 1917, 9.
86. The Vancouver Daily World, 14 July 1917, 11.
87. Ibid., 18 July 1917, 11.
88. Ibid., 16 July 1917, 7.
89. Ibid., 13 July 1917, 18.
90. Ibid., 23 July 1917, 6.
91. Ibid., 16 July 1917, 14.
92. Ibid., 19 July 1917, 7.
93. Ibid., 28 July 1917, 10.
94. Ibid., 30 July 1917, 2.
97. Both the Victoria Daily Times and the Daily Colonist gave the campaign fairly extensive coverage, especially in the opening three weeks, 1-21 Oct., and the closing week, 13-20 Nov.
99. For example, Croucher argued that a person's beliefs did not matter at all in Christianity, that a person may believe nothing about Christ written in the four gospels, or may not even have heard of Christ, and yet still be a Christian. He depicted the preaching and doctrines of revivalism as being as

100. Ibid., 15 Oct. 1917, 15.

101. Daily Colonist, 14 Nov. 15. Older Plymouth Brethren members recall that their assemblies in both Vancouver and Victoria were swelled considerably by the converts of the Oliver campaigns. Some of their leaders in succeeding decades came from among those converts. Interviews with Mrs. M. Atkinson, Vancouver, 26 Jan. 1984 and Mrs. M. Sheppard, Victoria, 6 Feb. 1984.


103. The Vancouver Daily World, 16 July 1917, 7.

104. Ibid., 11 July 1917, 9 and 30 June 1917, 14.

105. Ibid., 16 July 1917, 6.


108. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 64.


113. Ibid., 2 Oct. 1917, 7 and 3 Oct. 1917, 11.

114. The Vancouver Daily World, 7 July 1917, 3.

115. The Vancouver Daily Province, 7 July 1917, 10.


120. Ibid., 12 July 1917, 9.

121. Ibid., 11 June 1917, 7.

122. Ibid., 7 July 1917, 3.


124. Ibid., 5 Oct. 1917, 6.


127. A reading of *The Vancouver Daily World*, *The Vancouver Daily Province*, the *Victoria Daily Times* and *The Daily Colonist* indicate the depth of support for conscription in Vancouver and Victoria. The advertisements of sermon titles are especially revealing. The 1917 federal election results also indicated widespread support for conscription as the Unionist candidates in the three Vancouver ridings and the Victoria riding won by massive majorities.
CHAPTER THREE

1917-28, Laying the Foundations - Mainline Conservatives

Stimulated by the organizational impetus and new converts resulting from the Oliver campaigns of 1917, British Columbia evangelicals began the process of laying the institutional foundations of their own, separate, version of Protestantism. The stiff opposition of most of the mainline Protestant ministers to the evangelistic thrust convinced many conservatives that they could no longer rely on the leadership of the major denominations to defend traditional evangelicalism. Instead, they felt they had to organize alternatives to the dominant institutions.

Despite a common opposition to liberal inroads, conservatives did not erect a common wall of defence against the opposition. Between 1917 and 1928, three discernable, though not always entirely separate, conservative strands emerged: 1. "mainline," 2. "separatistic Baptist" and 3. Pentecostal. In addition, the Plymouth Brethren, the Salvation Army and the other smaller groups described in chapter two continued to provide their own alternatives.

The "mainline" conservatives were the most inclusive evangelicals and, unlike the separatistic Baptists and the Pentecostals, did not form new denominations but remained within the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations. They did experience a sense of alienation from much of the leadership and program of their denominations, however, and expressed that alienation through the formation of a network of separate institutions. Such efforts were directed at providing
what they felt was lacking in, or negatively affected by, the liberal approach.

Largely as the result of factors such as family upbringing, religious training and experience, formal education, and the influence of religious associates, mainline conservatives sought to retain a number of traditional values they felt were endangered by modernism. Common sense realism, premillenialism, vital religious experience and piety (generally of the Keswick variety), home and foreign mission efforts seeking the conversion of individuals and biblical training imparting traditional certainties and training evangelistic workers were areas of greatest concern to them and were reflected in the institutions they formed.

Because they refused to leave the historic churches, whether out of loyalty, inertia, a dislike for ecclesiastical schism or a hope that the denomination could still be steered back onto a straight course, these conservatives possessed an aura of respectability usually lacking in the separating groups. However, the mainline conservatives were in many senses "practical sectarians" because their primary commitments more often lay with their evangelical institutions outside of denominational control. Also, in many cases, the institutional foundations they laid were utilized extensively by the more explicitly sectarian conservatives, serving the latter's needs until they were able to develop institutions of their own.

The central figure for several decades in the province's mainline evangelical community was Walter Ellis. He led mainline conservatives in the founding of evangelical
institutions which provided alternatives to the programs and institutions of mainline Protestantism and he symbolized the differences between mainline evangelicals and their counterparts in the smaller, separate denominations. He made his best-known contribution while serving in the dual capacity as principal of the Vancouver Bible Training School from its founding in 1918 until his death in 1944 and as minister of Fairview Presbyterian Church from 1926 until 1944. He had taught for five years before 1918 at Bishop Latimer Hall, became a prime mover behind the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement which sponsored French E. Oliver's campaign and lent his active support to a number of interdenominational evangelical organizations which developed in the decade following.

Born in Derbyshire, England, Ellis came to Canada at the age of twenty in 1903 as assistant to Rev. George Lloyd, the Anglican chaplain accompanying English settlers to the Barr Colony in Saskatchewan. He spent the next nine years studying in Toronto in the winters and preaching at prairie mission points in the summers. By 1912 he had earned his B.A. (honours) and M.A. in Semitics from the University of Toronto and had completed the academic requirements for his B.D. from Wycliffe College. After ordination he served for a year as a curate in Toronto and then came to Vancouver to serve a one-year locum at St. Mark's Church.¹ In 1914 he joined the faculty of Bishop Latimer Hall teaching Church history in that institution and the Old Testament and Apologetics courses offered in common with St. Mark's, the High Church college founded in 1912.²
In 1917 Ellis joined the group forming the interdenominational Vancouver Evangelistic Movement and was active in the plans to bring Oliver to the city. However, he had to be out of the city during the campaign and was distressed to learn of the vituperative nature of the controversy surrounding it and the role which Oliver and some members of the committee had played in it. It is impossible to know if Ellis' presence in the city would have made a difference to the campaign but he might have been able to play a conciliatory role. He had the respect of both the ministerial association, having recently presented to one of its meetings a well-received paper on one of the minor prophets, and of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement, being one of its key members. As it was, in the heated environment after the campaign, he was clearly identified with the conservatives in their defence against further inroads of liberal theology. At the same time, however, his concern that a strong stand for conservative theology not be associated with invective marked the beginning of a gradually growing rift between himself and the more militant conservatives, or fundamentalists, in the city. He sometimes referred to his position as "being caught between two fires," with liberalism on the left and militant conservatism on the right.

The Oliver campaign had given the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement sufficient momentum to continue as an ongoing organization with headquarters at 121 W. Hastings Street. Operating for a number of years, it employed an evangelistic agent, operated a religious literature depot and held Bible
study classes for new converts. Ellis led the Bible classes which over the next year developed into the Vancouver Bible Training School. Subsequently, this new institution came to play a significant role in the life of conservative Protestantism in the province, while the operations of the Vancouver Evangelistic movement gradually declined before ceasing altogether in the mid-1920's.6

Ellis was appointed principal of the Vancouver Bible Training School (V.B.T.S.), which began classes in the fall of 1918.7 The post was to be part-time and he had no intention whatsoever of leaving the Anglican Church or his teaching position at Latimer Hall. Consequently, he was stunned upon returning from his honeymoon in the summer of 1918 to find himself replaced at Latimer Hall. Ellis always maintained that his dismissal was due to his firm conservative evangelical position and his leadership in what could be considered a rival institution.8 The college records are not revealing on this point but it is likely that Ellis' theological position and his interdenominational activities were a liability as the college was moving towards a merger with St. Mark's College. To make matters worse for Ellis, the most Rev. A. U. dePencier, the high-church bishop of the diocese, repeatedly refused to renew his ministerial license, again, Ellis believed, because of his extensive involvement in an interdenominational organization.9 For the next seven years he remained within the Anglican Church but was limited to the role of a layman. During that time he worked full-time to develop the new Bible school.
In addition, he played key roles in the establishment of a number of interdenominational organisations in the city. Both before emigrating to Canada and after his graduation, he had seriously considered going to China as a missionary. Although unable to do so, he maintained a strong interest in missions in general, and China in particular, throughout his life. He was thus strongly supportive of the China Inland Mission's establishment of regional headquarters in Vancouver in 1917, sat on its local council for many years and encouraged his students to serve with it. Several organizations pursuing home missions also counted on his support: the Girl's Corner Club, beginning after the Oliver campaign as an outreach to young women working downtown; the Shantyman's Christian Association, established in 1919 in the province to work with loggers, fishermen and miners in outlying areas; the British Columbia Evangelical Mission organized in 1923 to plant churches in the outlying areas of Vancouver and the Fraser Valley and the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, founded in 1925 at the University of British Columbia as an alternative to the liberal Student Christian Movement.

Ellis was presented with a dilemma in 1926 in the form of an invitation from Fairview Presbyterian Church to become its minister. Its members were non-concurrents who had seceded from Chalmers Presbyterian Church when it had become Chalmers United Church in 1925. Although the continuing Presbyterian Church was not uniformly conservative in theology, fears of liberalism in the new United Church was the key factor in the nonconcurrence of the Fairview group. Being familiar with
Ellis' theology through his public evening lectures at V.B.T.S., its members sought him as their minister. Ellis was very reluctant to leave the Anglican Church, even though confined to the role of a layman in it, but the continuing Presbyterian church across the country was short of ministers and he was swayed by the need of the new congregation with which he was theologically compatible. In addition, he needed a larger income to support his family, which at that time included two boys, than V.B.T.S. could provide. The membership was strongly supportive of his work at the Bible school which was located only one block from the church's west side location at Fir Street and Tenth Avenue.

Ellis accepted the Presbyterians' invitation and displayed considerable energy in carrying the combined load of academic and pastoral duties. Under his leadership, Fairview Presbyterian Church developed into one of the more influential evangelical congregations in the city. It was never very large, growing from one hundred forty members in 1926 to two hundred fifty in 1944, nor was it particularly wealthy, its membership being largely middle-class. However, largely due to a strong emphasis on evangelism and missions, its influence was far out of proportion to its size and wealth. From its founding to 1981, thirty-one of its members became full-time ministers and missionaries, twenty in the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the rest in other denominations and independent missions. Twenty of the total received all or part of their training under Ellis. Not only did the congregation contribute to the Presbyterian mission fund at a higher rate per member than
nearly all other Presbyterian churches in the city, it also supported interdenominational institutions heavily through a special missions budget and through the individual contributions of its members.

Ellis' personal emphases and character were representative of some of the differences between mainline conservatives and their counterparts in smaller, separate denominations. Unlike some conservatives, he was not opposed to higher academic study, and was distressed that both sides of the conservative/liberal debate seemed to pit scholarship against belief in traditional Christian doctrines in a way that implied the two were necessarily opposed to one another. He had excelled in his graduate work at the University of Toronto under James F. McCurdy, the "father of biblical studies in Canada," who invited him to be his associate in the School of Archeology in Cairo.

As a young minister he had quickly acquired a reputation for preaching thoughtful, scholarly sermons and his love of books was such that his personal library at the time of his death contained between five and six thousand volumes. He encouraged scientific study, asking in a sermon, "Investigate every phase of the universe - have you a greater or lesser appreciation of God the more you understand these things?"

He did, however, criticize the methodology and assumptions of many modern scholars. Belonging to the Scottish Realist school of thought that firmly believed in Bacon's and Newton's scientific method of observing and classifying facts, he rejected as speculation the newer modes of explanation that relied upon hypotheses inferred from the facts. Biological
evolution was thus rejected as being mere theory, in reality little more than guess-work in his estimation, which could not replace the revealed truths of scripture. He wrote for a popular audience,

What of "Science?" Many scientists are searching the creation of my God. His works as well as His word will bear the closest investigation. I fear no contradictions. Sometimes in the enthrallment of their investigations scientists formulate hypotheses to explain or coordinate the facts they have discovered. Sometimes these hypotheses conflict with Scripture, but we must always distinguish between the Scientist's facts and his explanations.

The major problem he found with the explanations of modern scientists was that they took only natural causes into account. The implications of this approach were bad enough when confined to the scientific realm but they were devastating when it was consciously applied to biblical and theological studies.

Ellis' ability to deal with modernism from a scholarly, non-contentious perspective gave him a reputation among many conservatives as a dependable bulwark against the new teachings. A student from a conservative Presbyterian home who described herself as drifting into agnosticism during her university training rediscovered her faith through listening to his public lectures. She described her impressions of the first lecture she attended:

Professor Ellis was a cultured, educated Christian gentleman. I liked his quiet, refined manner of
speech...as he went on to give his message, he also very frankly pointed out the liberal interpretation of that passage. Without any belligerent dogmatism, he courteously but deftly refuted their arguments. I saw clearly that here was a scholar who knew both sides of the argument. Here was a real gentleman who would never stoop to nasty remarks about an opponent...I decided that this was the preacher for me - I would come again.

After listening to him weekly for some time she reflected, "Professor Ellis' scholarship and his expository preaching combined with his gentle culture had won my full confidence and I was willing to learn from him." After Bible training and a year's work as superintendent of the Girl's Corner Club she went to China as a missionary under the China Inland Mission.

Ellis also differed from many conservatives by stressing the need for considerable breadth on contentious questions. There was no possibility of compromise on what he and all conservatives believed to be essential doctrines but he was willing to enter into full cooperation with those who differed with him on points which he viewed as of secondary importance. Thus, most denominational distinctions among evangelicals were immaterial and questions of church government, baptism and eschatology, for example, were not deemed of sufficient importance to exclude anyone from full participation with him. He worked particularly hard to keep the Bible school free from the narrowness which characterized many such institutions in North America. The academic calendar of V.B.T.S. promised that
"no sectarian nor merely denominational tenets will be taught in the classes." When the school was under some pressure to give up that breadth soon after its founding, Ellis argued in his report to its council:

...the Bible Schools must enlist the sympathy of Christians on the widest lines consistent with truth. For us this means that we should make friends to ourselves of members of all the Churches who will sympathetically cooperate. So far as possible we should give them a voice in our affairs; at the same time we must zealously guard the matters of our faith which we hold as fundamental.  

Eschatology especially was an issue which threatened to divide evangelicalism. Most Bible institutes were strongly dispensationalist. James M. Gray, dean of Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, was attempting in the spring of 1919 to bring about a common creedal subscription, which included dispensationalist statements, among a group of correlated Bible Schools. Ellis entered into correspondence with Gray, strongly arguing against the adoption of a narrow statement. Later that same year he led the V.B.T.S. council in formally declining to endorse the statement proposed by Gray.  

Such refusals to adopt a dispensationalist statement made V.B.T.S. and Ellis suspect in the eyes of many conservatives. In 1930 the council was informed that the influential Prairie Bible Institute of Three Hills, Alberta, was spreading a rumour that V.B.T.S. held a postmillenial position— a view associated in the minds of many conservatives of the period with
liberalism. Locally, dispensationalists were putting such pressure on the school to give up its broad eschatological stance that Ellis at times felt as besieged by fellow conservatives as by modernists. Ellis was a premillenialist, but held to the historicist interpretation (i.e., the events foretold in Revelation were being fulfilled in history and did not all await future fulfillment), which was neither as optimistic in its view of history as the postmillennial view, nor as pessimistic as dispensationalism. He stressed the figurative rather than the literal interpretation of apocalyptic literature and found the dispensationalist approach made the Bible a "grotesque study book." He was concerned, however, that this not become a divisive issue and he was able to work closely and amicably over long periods with some dispensationalists.

Ellis was greatly influenced in his insistence on tolerance of eschatological differences by Dr. John McNicol, principal of Canada's oldest Bible school, Toronto Bible College. Under McNicol, that college gained the reputation as an interdenominational institution that was theologically conservative but which allowed for breadth in contentious eschatological and ecclesiastical questions. Ellis was a close friend of McNicol and he closely modelled the new Vancouver school after the pattern of the older school. He was invited by McNicol in 1923 to join his faculty but turned it down in favor of continuing to develop V.B.T.S. along similar lines.

Ellis was not outspoken in criticism of the more separatistic and Pentecostal expressions of evangelicalism, yet
he epitomized the different approach of the mainline conservatives. A number of Baptist laymen and ministers had been confirmed in their conservative theology while studying under him. Some of these were part of a group which chose separation as the best method of fighting liberalism and thus seceded in 1927 from the more inclusive Baptist Convention of British Columbia and formed the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia. Other former students, however, remained in the theologically mixed, mainline, Baptist Convention. Ellis was careful not to appear as meddling in Baptist affairs and thus did not make any public remarks about the schism. Yet he did make it plain in another context that he saw in the separatist tendency an unhealthy assertion of personal independence which could only lead to more splits and eventual wreckage. The broad range of part-time faculty he engaged at V.B.T.S., including Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists and a few others of smaller groups, was not appreciated by the most separatistic of the Baptists and after 1927 the school's student body included more members of the mainline Baptist Convention than Regular (separatistic) Baptists. While the Regular Baptists appreciated his scholarly defence of conservative Protestantism and very strong support of fervent evangelism, they felt that the additional barrier of separation from any taint of modernism was necessary. Thus, separation from theologically inclusive denominations was also necessary. Anything less amounted to compromise.

Ellis' approach contrasted even more with that of the Pentecostals whose numbers burgeoned after the spectacular
evangelistic and faith-healing campaigns of Charles S. Price shook Vancouver in 1923 and 1924. A key feature of their teaching was that manifestations of the miraculous, including physical healings and speaking in "tongues," were the best proofs of the reality of the traditional, supernatural interpretation of Christianity. They argued that the non-Pentecostal conservatives could never hope to overcome modernism by their scholarship unless it was accompanied by the display of God's supernatural power. Ellis wrestled with ambivalent feelings over the methods and claims of Price. He appreciated the Pentecostal evangelist's stress on traditional Protestant doctrines but was somewhat dubious of his claims for the miraculous and could never agree to a denial of the role of scholarship in verifying faith.

Nevertheless, Ellis did share some of the Pentecostal stress on religious experience. Unlike some conservatives, especially of the calvinistic Princeton school, who stressed the intellect and correct doctrine to the point of almost ruling out religious experience, Ellis gave a large place to experiential Christianity. He was a strong proponent of Keswick holiness teaching, having been under its influence since his youth. Archdeacon Joynt, one of the speakers at the Keswick Conventions, was rector of the church in which he was converted and which he attended during most of his teenage years. At Wycliffe College, he was profoundly influenced by W. H. Griffith Thomas, one of the foremost exponents of Keswick teaching in North America. For nearly twenty years he, along with representatives of the China Inland Mission, planned "Keswick
weeks" aimed at deepening the spiritual life of his students and local church members. His own teaching constantly bore Keswick's characteristic traits of a stress on consecration, personal holiness, daily communion with God and a life of active service, especially in evangelism and foreign missions. The work of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life was stressed, as it was in the Pentecostal movement, but in a far more gradual, quiet manner than the cataclysmic, emotion-wrenching "Baptism of the Spirit" of the Pentecostals.

These emphases and characteristics, then, indicated that Ellis and other mainline conservatives were not as concerned to build as impregnable a wall between themselves and the surrounding culture as were their more sectarian evangelical counterparts. However, the energy they put into founding and perpetuating interdenominational institutions and organizations clearly indicated a strong measure of alienation from the prevailing religious ethos. Sandeen argues that in many American cities, the cluster of such institutions actually functioned similarly to a denomination. The interrelationships between organizations, the informal, but nevertheless very real, structure of boards and conferences and the commitment indicated by participants all were features strikingly similar to that of a denomination. Organization was perhaps not quite as advanced in British Columbia as in the United States, but many of the same characteristics were evident, including a training school, annual conferences, Sunday School training sessions, a foreign missions "board," several home missions "boards" (one of which engaged in founding new churches) and university student work.
V.B.T.S. emerged as the "headquarters" of the "denomination," or, to use Joel Carpenter's apt expression, its "regional coordinating centre." Conferences and public lectures held at the school served a function similar to the annual meeting of a denomination, a large proportion of the workers of the other organizations were trained in its classrooms and a wide constituency clearly looked to Ellis to provide leadership.

V.B.T.S. began classes in the fall of 1918 as the second Bible school in the country after Toronto Bible College, founded in 1894. The well-known Prairie Bible Institute did not open its doors until 1922 and the majority of Bible schools in the Prairie provinces were not established until the 1930's. The dual purpose of the new Bible school was to provide biblical instruction for the many new converts from the recent evangelistic campaign and to train a supply of lay workers who could serve as Sunday School workers, pastors' assistants and foreign, city and rural missionaries. "It aims to furnish a thorough and practical use of the English Bible, and to send forth workers with an extreme love for souls, and a full realization of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in their life and service." Ellis was convinced that the primary role of Bible schools was to be "hotbeds of evangelistic action." The Vancouver Bible school was not originally intended to compete with the theological seminaries by training clergymen. Consequently, its educational entrance requirements were lower and more flexible than that of the seminaries, it granted a two, and then three, year diploma rather than a
theological degree and it admitted women students. Students could take either a full or part-time course of studies and great emphasis was given to evening courses. However, as mainline seminaries came under increasing suspicion, some evangelicals chose V.B.T.S. for all or most of their ministerial education. 49

V.B.T.S.'s council and part-time teaching faculty indicate something of the breadth and interrelatedness of the mainline conservative community. The council was presided over in the first years by Robert W. Sharpe, a Baptist businessman originally from London, Ontario. He had become personally acquainted as a young man with Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, and was greatly influenced by him towards all types of missionary enterprise. 50 In 1898, at the age of forty-two he sold his business in London and worked at his own expense for two years as a lay missionary in Northern Ontario and then for nine years as preacher and school teacher on the St. Peter's Indian Reserve beside the Red River. In 1912 he came to Vancouver and purchased the Pacific Box Company on False Creek. 51 He became Sunday School superintendent and teacher of the Young Men's Bible Class at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, was chairman of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement and a member of the North American council of the China Inland Mission. In addition to being the first president of the council of V.B.T.S., he was its chief financial benefactor in its early days. He personally paid the salaries of the instructors the first year and provided approximately one-third of the cost of constructing the school's own facilities. 52
The vice-president of the council, part-time instructor and enthusiastic booster of the school, was Rev. J. L. Campbell of First Baptist Church, the outspoken supporter of French Oliver the year before. He left the city after a year to take another pastorate and his replacement as vice-president of the council was Rev. Charles Thompson, part-time instructor in missions, a Presbyterian and director of the China Inland Mission's local operations. A long-time council member, and frequently a part-time instructor, was Rev. G. H. Wilson, rector of St. Michael's Anglican Church since 1903, a founder of Latimer Hall and one of Ellis' warmest sympathizers when he lost his teaching position there and his Anglican ministerial license. Over the years, the council was composed of a fairly even balance of laymen and clergy, with Presbyterians and Baptists predominating. Of the eighteen part-time faculty engaged between 1918 and 1944, eight were Baptist, seven Presbyterian, one Anglican, one Free Methodist and one Plymouth Brethren. The student body came from a similar, though even broader, range of denominations but Baptists formed the largest group. Most were residents of Vancouver but some came from Victoria, the interior of the province and Alberta.

Classes were held the first year in the facilities of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement on Hastings Street but as numbers increased and differences with the more militantly conservative members of the Movement developed it moved to separate rented quarters on West Broadway, just east of Cambie Street. Four years later, a lot on the corner of West Tenth Avenue and Fir Street was purchased and a three-storey building
was constructed and dedicated nearly debt-free in September, 1923.\textsuperscript{58}

Compared with several Bible institutes in the prairies which went on to develop student bodies of several hundred in the 1930's, V.B.T.S. was never very large. Combined full and part-time enrollment never quite reached one hundred in the 1920's and exceeded that figure only several times in the 1930's and 1940's.\textsuperscript{59} However, the school's significance appears to have been out of proportion to its size in at least two ways. A total of one hundred and fifty-four of its students between 1918 and 1953 entered some kind of Christian ministry in a full-time capacity, or married someone who did.\textsuperscript{60} Quite a large proportion of those went overseas as missionaries, particularly to China, but many also worked in local organizations and churches. Secondly, the impact of V.B.T.S. was greatly enhanced by its regular Thursday evening lectures for local Sunday School teachers and leaders. Each Thursday's lecture provided a conservative interpretation of the lesson provided for the week in the International Uniform Lesson series. The series was an interdenominational curriculum published in the United States beginning in the mid nineteenth century and was used widely throughout the Protestant world until the 1950's.\textsuperscript{61} Upwards of one hundred fifty Sunday School teachers and leaders from a broad cross-section of city churches regularly crowded into the V.B.T.S. auditorium for the popular lectures given by Ellis.

A very important component of the mainline evangelical community in Vancouver was the China Inland Mission (C.I.M.). It exerted an influence on the character of interdenominational
evangelicalism and contributed greatly to its strength in the city. Founded by the Englishman, J. Hudson Taylor in 1865 it was one of the world's largest and most influential interdenominational mission societies. It was a forerunner of fervent overseas evangelism and of a very broadly-based evangelical cooperation to that end. Yet, while allowing for the greatest breadth possible within the spectrum of evangelicalism, its missionaries were among the first to detect and expose liberal theology among denominational missionaries, precipitating crises in the denominational mission boards. In the early twentieth century the mission maintained approximately a thousand missionaries in the interior of China. Vancouver was the port of entry and embarkation for the missionaries and each year hundreds of them from Great Britain, Europe, Eastern Canada and the United States passed through the city. In 1917 members of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement helped the mission acquire a large guest house on West Eleventh Avenue, just west of Fir Street, to accommodate such personnel. The home gave the mission a stronger sense of presence in Vancouver and provided quarters for an orientation program for missionary recruits from the western part of the continent. More importantly it made it possible for travelling missionaries to remain longer in the city and, with their strong evangelical commitments and international perspective, to lend their support to local evangelical concerns. The common roots of the missionaries and local mainline evangelicals in the major British denominations and in Keswick holiness teachings made for a close affinity in Vancouver. Upon construction of its own
facilities in 1923, V.B.T.S. was less than a block from the C.I.M. home. The close cooperation between the two institutions and the steady stream of missionaries as guest lecturers and inspirational speakers was a strong stimulant to the school and its students. At least one of the home missions agencies developed in the province received its initial inspiration and its operational model from the giant foreign mission. The Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship at the University of British Columbia received crucial encouragement from the missionaries, many of whom were Cambridge or Oxford graduates.

The Shantymen's Christian Association began work in the province in the spring of 1919. A Toronto-based organization, founded in 1914 to evangelize the isolated logging camps of northern Ontario, it expanded to British Columbia with the help of R. W. Sharpe. Its first worker, a graduate of Toronto Bible College, began outreach to the logging camps of the Lower Mainland and an office was opened in Vancouver in 1920. Expansion begun several years later led to sea-going evangelism on the west coast of Vancouver Island. With the formation of a Victoria committee in 1927, based in Church of Our Lord Episcopal Church, Vancouver Island developed to become the high profile centre of the work, even though work on the mainland continued to expand, especially in the northern Interior.

The exact beginnings of the British Columbia Evangelical Mission (B.C.E.M.) are obscure, but by 1923 a vigorous evangelism and church-planting work into the outlying areas of Greater Vancouver and the Fraser Valley was underway. The interdenominational, but predominately Baptist, board had close
connections with V.B.T.S. Most of its members attended churches which were strongly supportive of the school; one member, Mr. E. Phare, was vice-president of the V.B.T.S. council for a time and the B.C.E.M. secretary-treasurer, Miss Ida Bond was a V.B.T.S. graduate. The mission began work in an unchurched area by holding Sunday School classes and, if interest warranted, church services for adults. In some cases, the work would cease if other churches became established in the area, but often, the mission station would develop into an ongoing congregation. The number of active missions stations peaked in the late 1930's and early 1940's but in the 1920's approximately ten points, as far east as Chilliwack, were being served.

In a very real sense, the mission was a training ground for V.B.T.S. students, as many received their first experience preaching at the outlying points. Other volunteers in the mission frequently enrolled in evening classes at V.B.T.S. for training in public speaking. Walter Ellis was highly supportive of the mission's work, encouraged its workers and even helped beginning preachers write their first sermons.  

This period also saw the early development of what came to be called the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (I.V.C.F.). Beginning in the first year of the university on its new Point Grey campus, 1926-27, the I.V.C.F. developed over the years into one of the most influential organizations for British Columbia evangelicals, especially those in the mainline denominations. For several years, conservative Protestant students at the university had become increasingly unhappy with the growing liberal orientation of the Student Christian Movement.
Traditional prayer meetings, Bible studies and evangelistic work had largely been replaced by the non-traditional Sharman method of Bible study and by discussions of ethics and world religions. For example, the S.C.M. president reported in the 1924-25 U.B.C. Student Annual that "In studying ethics as perceived by that lovable Jewish character, Jesus of Great Kindness, the (S.C.M. conference) manifested an absolutely frank sincerity." 71

In direct opposition to this outlook, several conservative students posted a notice on the bulletin board in the fall of 1926: "Everyone wishing to defend the faith once and for all delivered for the saints, please meet in Lecture Room 202...." Fifteen students responded and formed the Student Christian Fundamentalist Society. Their numbers grew to about forty and they defined the group's object in The Totem as "the defense and proclamation of the Gospel. It seeks to stimulate a firm belief in the fundamental truths of the Christian faith and emphasises the need of a closer relationship with God, which is only possible through the redemption offered by Jesus Christ." 72

The group was largely of the mainline conservative orientation, although separatistic Baptists were fairly prominent in the early days and their ranks always included a number from the most "open" segment of the Plymouth Brethren who increasingly began to associate with mainline evangelicals. Frequent visits and strong encouragement from C.I.M. missionaries and Walter Ellis strengthened its interdenominational mainline character. 73 Ellis was so supportive of the student-led movement that he moved his family
to a large home purchased near the university gates in order to provide an off-campus meeting place for the group.  

For several years, beginning in 1927, the U.B.C. group affiliated with the League of Evangelical Students which had a very strong chapter at the University of Washington in Seattle. That affiliation lagged, however, as the American group was oriented to a more rationalistic, or Princetonian, form of fundamentalism compared to the Keswick holiness orientation of the Canadian students. A much more satisfactory relationship was established several years later with the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship of Canada, founded in 1928. The I.V.C.F. was an outgrowth of the Cambridge and Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Unions which had broken with the British S.C.M. in the pre-war period. It had a strongly British, somewhat upper class character and, although interdenominational, was considerably influenced by evangelical Anglicanism. Keswick holiness teachings, fervent evangelism and overseas missions were also marked characteristics.

This description clearly indicates that by 1928, the end of the period under consideration, mainline conservatives in British Columbia had laid one important segment of the institutional foundations for an alternative to liberal Protestantism. It further indicates that mainline conservative Protestantism in the province cannot be explained by one of the major hypotheses of Canadian historians explaining evangelicalism in Canada: American influences. In almost every regard the orientation of these evangelicals was British and eastern Canadian. Their birth, training, and cultural and
religious ethos was clearly not American. The decision of the V.B.T.S. council to reject the lead of Bible schools to the south and instead follow the model of the Toronto Bible College and the abandonment by the evangelical students at U.B.C. of their relationship with American students in favour of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship both clearly reveal this.

Nor can the vitality of mainline evangelicalism be explained by the socio-economic hypothesis. There is no evidence to suggest that these conservatives belonged in any way to an economically disadvantaged class. Instead, all evidence points to a middle, or even upper-middle class, orientation. Fairview Presbyterian Church provides a good example. A firmly conservative congregation, it followed the lead of Ellis in becoming highly involved with a wideranging network of explicitly evangelical interdenominational organizations. At the same time it remained a member of the Presbyterian Church of Canada which, after refusing to unite with the Methodists and Congregationalists, continued to be a mainline Protestant denomination. An occupational profile of its 1925 membership of 150 indicates it was a largely middle-class congregation with two-thirds of its membership being white collar workers or dependants of white collar workers and one-third blue-collar. The size of the congregation nearly doubled in the first five years of Ellis' preaching and two-thirds of the new members were also of the managerial, clerical, professional and business categories. Most members lived in the Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey districts in homes valued at modestly higher figures than the city's average.(See Appendix A)
The descriptions of Isobel Kuhn, the agnostic student from a conservative Presbyterian home who came under Ellis' influence and subsequently became a C.I.M. missionary to China, confirm this. Her father was a physician and her depiction of her early adult years in the 1920's in Vancouver indicates the mainline conservatives with whom she associated formed a middle, even upper-middle, class community which placed great emphasis upon "respectability."

No Baptist congregation that remained part of the mainline Baptist Convention of British Columbia stands out as being as homogenously conservative as Fairview Presbyterian Church. However, the vast majority of mainline conservative Baptists in Vancouver lived in areas of the city similar to those of members of Fairview Presbyterian Church and in all likelihood shared a similar middle-class status.

The best explanation of the strength of mainline conservative Protestantism in British Columbia is a loyalty to longstanding cultural and religious values which appeared to be endangered by modernism. Their anti-modernist stand was not determined by social and economic marginality but by an attempt to preserve and sustain part of their cultural heritage. Much of society in early twentieth century Canada and Britain had been formed according to Victorian ideals that, in turn, had been profoundly influenced by evangelical Protestantism. As society in British Columbia, as elsewhere in North America, underwent rapid changes some of its fairly successful members opposed the changes out of loyalty to values they were not willing to discard. For a variety of reasons, usually related
to their upbringing, training and associations, they defended the Common Sense school's perception of the compatibility of scientific knowledge and biblical revelation; vital personal religious experience, especially as taught by the Keswick movement; personal morality; and active traditional evangelistic work at home and overseas.
NOTES, CHAPTER THREE


4. Vancouver Bible Training School, Council Minutes, 1918-1925, and 8 March 1919 in particular, allude to such a division.

5. Interview with Mrs. A. E. Ellis, Vancouver, 11 January 1982. Mrs. Ellis was married to Walter Ellis in 1918. In this regard Ellis' experiences bore similarities to those of American conservatives such as the Baptist, J. C. Massee, and the Presbyterian, Clarence E. Macartney. See Russell, Voices of American Fundamentalism, 107-34 & 190-211.

6. Vancouver Evangelistic Movement, Minutes 7 August 1917, in Ellis papers and advertisements in The Vancouver Daily World, fall of 1917. As only a few fragments of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement records are extant, it has not been possible to ascertain when its activities ceased.

7. In its 61 year history the school was known as Vancouver Bible Training School, the Vancouver Bible School, then Vancouver Bible Institute and, finally, while under the auspices of the Baptist General Conference, Vancouver Bible College.


9. Ibid.

10. Francis, Rev. Walter Ellis, 5-6; Mrs. A. E. Ellis to Mr. Carlson, 10 Jan. 1964 and interview with Miss Norma Cuthbertson, Vancouver, 11 February, 1982.


12. Fairview Presbyterian Church, Minutes of Session, Nov. 1924 and Minutes of Congregational Meeting, Nov. 1924.


14. From list compiled by Mrs. A. E. Ellis with assistance from members of Fairview Presbyterian Church.


18. For a discussion of the Scottish Realist school of thought see McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence, 1-92.

19. W. Ellis, "My Own Religion Today," (article intended for publication in the The Vancouver Sun, c. 1930) in Ellis papers.


22. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism, 244.


24. Ibid., 2 May 1930.

25. See Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, 36-39, for a fuller definition of the term.


29. V.B.T.S., Council Minutes 17 June, 1918 and 9 April 1931.

30. Ibid., 7 May 1923.


33. W. Ellis, Sermon, 13 June 1943, notes taken by Norma Cuthbertson.


42. E.g., W. Ellis sermons, 1942-43, notes taken by Norma Cuthbertson and Francis, *Rev. Walter Ellis*, 4-17.


47. Ibid., 8 March 1919.

48. Ibid., 17 May 1918.


51. Ibid., 1.


55. Ibid.
56. Complete statistics of the student body are not available in the records but the above was gleaned from passing references in the principal's reports to the council.

57. V.B.T.S., Council Minutes, 8 March 1919.

58. Ibid., 11 Sept. 1923.

59. V.B.T.S., Principal's reports, Council Minutes, 1918-55.

60. Mrs. A. E. Ellis to Mr. G. Carlson, 10 Jan. 1964 (copy in Ellis papers).


62. Interview with Mr. L. Street, Vancouver, 9 Feb. 1982; Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, 97 and Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, 250.


64. Ellis interview, 12 Jan. 1982.

65. Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodists and Baptists predominated among the missionaries. J. Hudson Taylor was very closely connected with the Keswick conference. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, 97.

66. Francis Brook, Story of a Winter (no publisher, c. 1930)


68. Percy, Men with the Heart of a Viking, 47-51.

69. Ibid., 37, 52-54, 64-69. See also W. Phillip Keller, Splendour from the Sea (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963).

70. The mission is no longer in operation and official minutes could not be located. The foregoing was gleaned from surviving copies of the B.C. Evangelical News and from interviews with Mr. Harold Davies, Burnaby, 20 March 1984; Mr. Stan Gear, Vancouver, 29 Nov. 1983 and Mrs. J. A. Stewart, Surrey, 6 March 1984.

71. For a description of the "Sharman method" of Bible study, see Allen, The Social Passion, 220-22.

73. Cited in Ibid., 53.

74. Ibid., 52-56.


77. Kuhn, By Searching.
CHAPTER FOUR
1917-28, Laying the Foundations:
Separatist Baptists and Pentecostals

Two other major conservative responses occurred in the decade after the French E. Oliver evangelistic campaigns, both of which differed from mainline conservatism by their insistence upon clearer distinctions from the prevailing religious culture. Neither of them differed from their mainline counterparts in their view of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity but both disagreed strongly with those remaining in the major denominations over the best means of defending and propagating them. By 1928 the rudimentary denominational structure of both the separate Baptist and the Pentecostal alternatives had been established.

Separatist Baptists

Separatists saw in the inclusiveness of the mainline conservatives a tendency towards compromise that could ultimately lead to accommodation with modernism. Although a number of them had earlier been part of the mainline conservative resistance and several had been trained by Ellis and shared his nondispensationalist approach, they began to view actual separation from the liberals, or those associated with liberalism, as the best defence against the inroads of modernism.

The chief instance of the separatist conservatism in the province occurred among the Baptists, particularly among those
in the greater Vancouver region. On 6 July 1927, sixteen Baptist churches with 1600 members, or one-third of the active Baptist membership in the province, left the Baptist Convention of British Columbia to form the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia.

That Baptists should be the denomination most affected by separatist tendencies is not surprising given their "believers' church" concept. Max Weber coined the term and defined it as "a community of personal believers of the reborn and only these." Regardless of whether one agrees with Weber's conclusions regarding the relationship between society and religion, this particular definition does clearly point out the exclusivist view of church membership in the "believers' churches." Unlike the more inclusivist view held by the mainline Protestant denominations, the Baptist view holds that only adults who are converted and baptized by immersion are eligible for church membership. The practice is a concrete embodiment of the ideal that the church is an entity separate and distinct from the "world." Many Baptists, out of loyalty, they believed, to this concept found it less difficult, and indeed necessary, to attempt to expel from their midst what they regarded as error and those who were the promoters of error. Failing that, the second option was to separate themselves from the body containing the mixture of truth and error.

The concerns of the conservative Baptists centred chiefly around allegations of modernistic teachings in Brandon College. Before these allegations arose, problems had already arisen at the local level in some churches. Between 1917 and 1920, for
example, conservative members in quite large numbers were leaving Central Fairview and Kitsilano Baptist churches in Vancouver because of a heavy social gospel emphasis from their pulpits. However, Brandon College soon became the focal point of discontent for the wider conservative Baptist constituency.

Located in Brandon, Manitoba, the college was the liberal arts and theology school of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, of which the Baptist Convention of British Columbia was a part. Public complaints began surfacing just prior to 1920 and, in all of Western Canada, found the most receptive ears among the nearly 10,000 Baptists in Vancouver, undoubtedly because of the polarization of opinion resulting from the Oliver campaign. The evangelist had singled out for attack the University of Chicago, centre of Baptist liberalism and radicalism in North America, labelling its graduates "peg-legged infidels." Because Brandon College relied heavily on the Divinity school of the University of Chicago for the advanced training of its faculty, conservative Baptists in Vancouver were well prepared to listen to criticisms of the college.

The controversy leading to the split in Baptist ranks in the province is well-covered in three theses and does not need to be retold in detail here. Briefly, undercurrents of unrest had surfaced by 1920 and seven years later culminated in the formation of a new Baptist denomination in British Columbia. For the first two years, a series of pamphlets highly critical of theological teaching at Brandon College, particularly that of Dr. Harris MacNeil, professor of Greek and New Testament, circulated in the churches. At least five pamphlets were
published, all by Vancouver area Baptists, causing a considerable stir in the province.

A commission struck by the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1922 and composed of members from all four provinces investigated the charges and issued a report expressing confidence in the college and in Dr. MacNeil. Significantly, the two commission members from Vancouver, Dr. G. R. Maguire and Rev. A. F. Baker, pastors of the two largest Baptist churches in the province, First and Mount Pleasant, dissented from the report and discontent continued to rumble in city churches. Further protests, including the use of financial pressure on the part of several churches, led to the British Columbia Convention striking its own investigating committee in 1924. This committee was unable to reach agreement and submitted majority and minority reports. The majority report, representing the more liberal position, simply recommended that members of the department of theology at Brandon belong to a Baptist church. The minority report outlined a detailed, conservative statement of faith to which all faculty were to subscribe regularly.

The reception of the two reports at the 1925 annual meeting indicated a three-way split among the 143 delegates. According to Richards' plausible analysis of the voting, the largest group were moderate conservatives (nearly one-half of the delegates) followed by militant conservatives (one-third) and liberals (just over one-fifth). The tenor of the denomination was still conservative but the militant conservatives failed to persuade the moderate conservatives to join them in excluding liberalism from Brandon College, which they had hoped to achieve by
imposing the statement of faith upon its faculty as called for in the minority report. The moderate conservatives did not disagree with the content of the proposed statement of faith but interpreted the Baptist position on liberty of conscience to exclude the adoption of what they saw as a "Baptist creed." They instead proposed an amendment to the majority report which, in distinctly conservative tones, defined the beliefs of the Baptist church to which members of the theological faculty were to belong but did not require subscription to it. This was narrowly defeated by the combined votes of liberals, who could not agree with the set of beliefs, and militant conservatives, who felt it would not solve the problem at Brandon because it did not require its faculty to subscribe to it.

When all their candidates for denominational offices were defeated by nearly a two-thirds majority at the same convention, it became even more clear to the militants that the moderate conservatives were not interested in their campaign to oust modernism. The former responded by organizing their own organization, the "British Columbia Baptist Missionary Council." The purpose of the "Council" was to receive and dispense mission donations from fundamentalist Baptist individuals and from the twelve churches which affiliated with it. The council was not a formal denomination, as its churches were still technically part of the Baptist Convention. However, it operated sufficiently apart from the denomination for its formation to be considered the first schism in Baptist ranks over the issue of modernism in North America.⁸
In an early pamphlet the council leaders argued that "... the inroads of Modernism into our ranks and the failure of brethren in our midst to stand against it" had necessitated the new organization. This was the crux of the matter. Fundamentalists found it very difficult to accept the moderate conservatives' reluctance to help in erecting a solid creedal barrier against liberalism. Consequently, as much friction resulted between the conservative groups as between liberals and conservatives.

Over the next two years the rift widened and it began to appear less likely that the Council, although increasing to include sixteen churches, could hope to reverse the stand of the British Columbia Convention. The last attempt came at the 1927 convention, held in Grandview Baptist Church, Vancouver, when a motion to include a creedal statement in a new constitution was defeated by a large majority vote. One new constitutional clause, clearly aimed at the Council, allowed a three-fifths majority of convention delegates to deny a seat to the delegates of any churches "not in harmony and cooperation with the work and objects of the said convention." Rather than run the risk of expulsion, the delegates of the Council churches withdrew from the convention floor. Having failed to oust liberalism from the denomination, they separated themselves from it and from those who apparently tolerated it.

On July 6, 1927, a new Baptist denomination, "The Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia," was organized, solidifying the split. A sorting process continued for about two years by which time most Baptists had decided in
which camp they belonged. A number of congregations split over the issue and several new congregations were formed. The Vancouver area was most deeply affected. Of the twenty-eight English-speaking Baptist churches and missions existing in Greater Vancouver in 1928, fourteen remained with the old convention and fourteen had joined the new Regular Baptist convention. The membership figures differed, however, with 2,000 in the old convention compared with 1,200 in the new. In Victoria, no existing church left the old convention, but fifty members from the First and Emmanuel Baptist churches broke away to form Central Baptist Church. In the Fraser Valley, the church in Mission City and its mission on Nicomen Island joined the Regular Baptist Convention. The Thompson-Okanagan region also saw considerable unrest. The fairly strong Kamloops congregation went over to the Regular Baptists as did the three-point mission charge of Armstrong, Enderby and Salmon Arm. In both Vernon and Kelowna a dissident group of about two dozen members formed a Regular Baptist Church. The church in Penticton suffered tension over the issue for about two years. Finally it voted in 1929 to become an independent congregation to avoid the rupture that alignment with either convention would inevitably cause.

By 1928, the Convention of Regular Baptists in British Columbia numbered 1,840 members in twenty-four churches and mission stations. The old Baptist Convention of British Columbia included approximately 4,000 members in thirty-four churches. Thus, while separatist conservatism had failed to win the denomination to its position, a substantial minority of
Baptists in the province had committed themselves to defending traditional orthodoxy by forming a separate denomination free from any taint or tolerance of modernism.

Pentecostals

Pentecostals found the approaches of both the mainline and separatist conservatives inadequate. Instead, they argued, the best means of proving the rationalist, modernist approach wrong was to demonstrate that the kind of supernatural events recorded in the New Testament still occurred. However, prior to the great intensification of the modernist/fundamentalist controversy at the end of W.W.I, the Pentecostal approach did not appeal to many British Columbia conservatives and the 1921 census listed only 247 adherents in the province.

A dramatic surge of Pentecostal growth occurred during the 1920's. By 1925 the number of Pentecostal congregations in Vancouver had increased from two, including a small downtown mission, to ten. Elsewhere in the province, only Victoria and Prince Rupert had Pentecostal churches in 1921 and these were tiny, struggling congregations. But, by the late 1920's a large congregation flourished in both Victoria and Nanaimo. Other Pentecostal churches were established in the Fraser Valley (Abbotsford and Chilliwack), the Okanagan (Penticton), the West Kootenays (Nelson) and at Grand Forks. The 1931 census indicated nearly a tenfold increase in Pentecostals in the province to 2,277, with most of these concentrated in Greater Vancouver. Actual figures were probably even higher as people's readiness to identify themselves as Pentecostal for census
purposes lagged behind their willingness to attend Pentecostal services. Such attendance was considerably higher than the census figures; one church in Vancouver frequently attracted crowds of over 1,000, sometimes that many attended the Nanaimo services and some of the other churches were quite large as well.

The Pentecostal growth clearly reflected the modernist/fundamentalist struggles in the province, particularly in Vancouver. Not until well after the Oliver campaign had made the debate public and after the atmosphere among Protestants had become charged with ongoing tensions did many look upon Pentecostalism's dramatic claims of supernatural manifestations of the Spirit as an important bulwark against the claims of modernists.

With the theological controversy providing a conducive climate, the Charles S. Price evangelistic and healing crusades of April and May 1923 became a powerful catalyst for Pentecostalism in Victoria and Vancouver.

As a minister formerly in Methodist and Congregational churches in Washington, California and Alaska, Price had held liberal views. But in 1921 he had converted to Pentecostalism at meetings in San Jose of the evangelist, Aimie Semple McPherson, while he was attempting to gather incriminating evidence against the "mob psychologist." He began to preach theologically conservative Christian doctrines such as the necessity of a personal conversion experience, he emphasized the reality of divine supernatural manifestations, and he embarked on an itinerant evangelistic healing ministry.
In April 1923, at the invitation of Dr. W. J. Sipprel of Victoria's Metropolitan Methodist Church, Price held a series of immensely successful meetings so large they had to be transferred to the six thousand seat Willows Arena, which they filled to overflowing. Hundreds of conversions resulted, but what so arrested public attention were reports of miraculous physical healings. Cripples were said to be walking, the blind seeing and the deaf hearing. Rev. T. Albert Moore, general secretary of the Department of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist Church of Canada was visiting in Victoria. A leading exponent of the social gospel, Moore was not known for his defence of revivalism; nonetheless he was highly impressed by the meetings. He wrote to Hugh Dobson:

The Price Evangelistic Meetings obsess every person. He emphasizes Divine Healing. He has been in Victoria for three weeks, and there are some marvellous results. Rev. Dimmick's daughter has been healed of curvature of the spine, her short leg is lengthened and her crooked foot is straightened. I saw her and know she is healed. I also saw many other wonders. It made me think of the times of Jesus, and to wonder whether we are living far beneath our privileges.

The Victoria crusade led to a dramatic increase in spiritual interest in the city. The July issue of The Episcopal Recorder gave a glowing report of increased church attendance in the two months after the campaign, especially at midweek meetings for prayer. At Metropolitan Methodist Church attendance at the midweek prayer meeting had soared from forty to one thousand.
In a letter to the editor of The Christian Guardian seven Methodist ministers of Victoria reported:

Nearly two months have now elapsed since the campaign closed and we say without reserve, that never have more wonderful and evangelistic results followed any evangelistic effort held in the city. . . Never was there known a more beautiful and fraternal spirit among ministers and congregations, and never has it been as easy to get men and women to consider the claims of Jesus Christ upon life and possessions. . . Congregations are larger, hundreds have entered the churches upon profession of faith, spiritual life has been quickened, and there is an unusual hungering and thirsting after righteousness.17

Price received warm letters describing ongoing revival from several Victoria area Presbyterian ministers including W. G. Wilson of First Presbyterian and John Smith Patterson of St. Paul's Presbyterian.18 Rev. Arthur de B. Owen of the Reformed Episcopal Church enthusiastically reported that his church was filled with over 400 people on Saturday nights for an interdenominational prayer meeting.19

In light of the storm of controversy which broke in Vancouver the month following the Victoria meetings, it is somewhat surprising that there was relatively little open criticism of Price in Victoria. The Western Methodist Recorder observed:

In Victoria there was apparently a unity of support given him; and if some ministers were less
enthusiastic than others they said nothing to discourage a work which in many respects was so remarkable and which was having such a stirring effect upon the churches and the public. Even the most analytical were not antagonistic, but watched with intense interest what was transpiring.

As had been the case with the Oliver campaign six years before, strong support from a number of respectable, influential congregations and the unwillingness of most critics to publicize their reservations kept controversy in Victoria to a minimum.

As a result of the involvement of established churches in the Price meetings and in the ongoing revival of religious enthusiasm, most of Price's converts and enthusiastic followers were content to remain in these churches. Gradually, however, the city's mainline churches moved away from permitting exuberant worship and their more pentecostally inclined members left. Many first gravitated towards the small Nazarene church, but when the leadership there did not accept their view that "speaking in tongues" was the genuine evidence of the infilling of the Holy Spirit they departed for Victory Temple, the already existing Pentecostal church. That small congregation received such an influx of Methodists, Nazarenes, Salvationists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists that it relocated to a larger downtown auditorium in 1924. The numerical strength of the congregation at the time is not known, but it was large enough to support a short-term Bible school in the fall of 1924. Although it operated for only two semesters, it graduated in May 1925 forty students, many of whom went into
full-time ministry. 21

Meanwhile, the April 1923 Price campaign in Victoria was so successful in awakening religious interest in the capital city that the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver extended an invitation for Price to hold a similar campaign on the Mainland in May. The invitation was not unanimous, however, 22 a harbinger of the divisions the campaign was to bring to the city's Protestant community. Nevertheless, extraordinary results also attended the Vancouver meetings. For a three-week period crowds often reaching ten thousand jammed the city's eight-thousand seat arena. Sometimes up to five thousand failed to gain entry into the packed building. They were attracted by a combination of reports of miraculous events in Victoria, which had received widespread coverage in Vancouver's newspapers, enthusiastic congregational singing, which was said to have literally shaken the building, Price's powerfully eloquent sermons, to which an estimated 5-10,000 responded by seeking salvation, and the hope of physical healings. Although prayer and anointing for physical healing were not emphasized every evening, hundreds claimed to have been healed. Testimonials of such healings and the sight of hundreds, including prominent city ministers, literally falling to the floor "under the power of the Spirit" maintained a climate of fervent expectancy. 23

Unlike the remarkably unified response to Price's ministrations from Victoria ministers, the Vancouver meetings sparked sharp controversy at the public and ministerial level. On 14 May The Vancouver Daily Province headlined criticisms of Price by three city ministers. A. E. Cooke, president of the
Ministerial Association, minister of First Congregational Church and chairman of the committee in charge of the Price campaign, announced his resignation of the chairmanship. He indicated that he had initially accepted the position on the understanding that it would be primarily a campaign of evangelism "with questions of physical healing entirely secondary." He was resigning because "the whole thing has been a gigantic campaign of "divine healing" which he felt threatened to create a great deal of mental anguish by raising and then dashing the hopes of many who suffered from physical ailments.\textsuperscript{24} The opposition of G. O. Fallis, a Methodist who had preached against the concept of faith healing the Sunday before Price arrived, and A. S. Lewis of Fairview Baptist Church were also featured in the article.

The following day \textit{The Vancouver Sun} published a front page editorial condemning Price for "fraudulent" claims of healing. For days after that, large numbers of letters deluged the editor to support both sides of the issue. The next evening forty area ministers - Anglican, Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian - demonstrated their support for Price by sitting with him on the platform at the arena.\textsuperscript{25}

To resolve the confusion, the Ministerial Association struck a committee to investigate the claims of healings.\textsuperscript{26} Composed of eleven clergymen, eight doctors, three professors and one lawyer the committee investigated 350 of the approximately 6000 cases Price had annointed and prayed for in Vancouver. It also looked at a few claims of healing in Victoria. Its report, released in December 1923, sharply
criticized Price's claims. It found that of the 350 cases, only thirty-eight had experienced specific or general improvement and only five were completely cured while the vast majority had either experienced no change or a physical deterioration. Thirty-nine had died since the meetings ended. All of the ailments that had been cured or improved were determined to be the sort that could have responded to mental suggestion or to a patient's improved mental and/or spiritual outlook. The report rejected any claim of a "supernatural" cure and concluded that any attempt to seek cures apart from "the laws of body and mind as revealed by modern science..." was "...contrary to good sense, to sound morals and to genuine religion." 27

The definite conclusions of the investigatory committee did not settle the controversy, however. In fact, both the appointment of the committee and its report engendered ongoing controversy. Its chairman was none other than A. E. Cooke and its members included G. O. Fallis and A. S. Lewis who had joined him in public denunciation of Price. Several other members on the committee also disagreed with the campaign. 28 In protest, one Baptist member of the committee resigned. Several weeks later the Baptist Ministerial Association passed a resolution declaring its refusal to cooperate with the committee because of its makeup. 29 Later in the summer, the Rev. J. R. Robertson of St. David's Presbyterian Church, who had been out of the city at the time of the committee's appointment, wrote to protest

... on the ground that this special Committee is largely composed of those who had previously and publicly announced their decision and proclaimed their
opposition with reference to the matter to be investigated. This is especially true of the Chairman of the Committee...as I believe that the Committee, as at present composed, can not make an unprejudiced investigation, nor can they have the confidence of the public who are interested, I find myself in duty bound to lodge this protest. 30

Two dissatisfied members of the investigating committee produced a minority report. In it they took issue with the majority on several counts. They were concerned that the 350 cases investigated were drawn largely from those who were disappointed because they had not been healed. They argued that the proportion reported to have died was far higher in the sample than in the total number receiving anointing and prayer. If the rate of thirty-nine out of 350 were extrapolated for the whole 6,000, they reasoned, the city's death rate would have shown a sharp increase while, in fact, government statistics indicated it had declined slightly from the corresponding periods in 1921 and 1922. They also charged that the committee generally relied on information from parties other than the individual concerned. The most important difference with the majority report was the stated belief that "God may, and at times does, heal both functional and organic diseases through other laws than those revealed to medical science." 31

Another serious challenge to the findings of the report was contained in a highly publicized letter from Victoria ministers J. W. Sipprell and J. F. Dimmick. Dimmick's daughter had been cited in the report as being cured by mental suggestion but the
ministers charged that the committee had totally misunderstood the young woman's illness. They alleged that none of the committee, in the course of their investigation, had spoken to her or any member of the family or to any of the medical specialists in Vancouver, Victoria and Toronto who had treated her over the previous six years. According to her father, all medical opinion had agreed that her curvature of the spine, shortening of the leg and bending of the foot at the ankle was due to infantile paralysis and could not possibly have responded to mental suggestion as the report had concluded.\(^{32}\)

The Ministerial Association received both the majority and the minority reports at a tense meeting called especially for the purpose. Indicative of the divided opinion, it voted to refrain from either endorsing or rejecting them. Copies of both were given to the press but at another specially called meeting of the Ministerial Association, the divided ministers decided not to have the reports printed for distribution.\(^{33}\)

Thus the investigation did not clarify matters and strong differences of opinion continued to exist among the religious leaders and laity of the city. Because of the nature of the issue, a major line of division was drawn between those tending to liberal theology and those of a more conservative persuasion. Not all the opponents of Price can be identified as liberal, nor were all those supporting him clearly identified as conservatives. However, it is significant that the opposition included leading liberal spokesmen such as Cooke and Lewis. The investigative committee's confidence that medical science had discovered the laws necessary for the treatment of physical
disorders and its rejection of other cures clearly displayed the influence of the rationalistic thinking characteristic of modernism. Some were obviously afraid that the Price campaign would lead to a resurgence of theological conservatism in the province as the French Oliver campaign had done six years previously. One critic made much of the fact that some of the ministers who had been active in bringing Price to Vancouver and Victoria had also been solidly behind the Oliver campaign.  

Among the main supporters of Price were Dr. G. Maguire and A. F. Baker who, earlier in the year, made up the conservative minority on the Baptist's Brandon Commission. Two weeks after the Price campaign sixteen Baptist ministers signed a resolution of support for him. Of the twelve whose position in the developing Baptist schism can be ascertained, nine identified with the separatist conservatives. Included among them were A. F. Baker, A. Grieve, A. A. McLeod, D. G. McDonald and F. W. Auvache, all of whom led in the formation of the Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia.  

While supporters varied in their estimation of the laws of medical science, they agreed that such laws could at times be superseded and "supernatural" healings take place. As conservatives they readily accepted the accounts of miraculous events in the Bible and believed doctrines and teachings not fully apprehended by human rationality. Price's frequent criticism of evolutionary and higher critical ideas and his affirmation of traditional Protestant doctrines obviously appealed more to conservatives than to liberals. The vast response to his invitation to seek salvation and his claim that "This is nothing else but a return
to old time religion" were seen as a strong boost to the city's evangelical community.

Conservative solidarity on the issue was never complete, however, and confusion and division increasingly reigned in evangelical quarters over it. Some believed miraculous healings were indeed possible but gradually came to the conclusion that many of Price's claims were fraudulent. Others likewise did not doubt the possibility but reacted negatively to the methodology of Price and to "Pentecostal" practices such as "speaking in tongues" which were more prominent in his second campaign, held in the spring of 1924.

The Rev. Andrew Grieve of Ruth Morton Baptist Church is a good example of a conservative changing his views on Price. He was heavily involved in the 1923 campaign and city newspapers took note of his wife's claim of being healed of asthma and his own experience of "falling under the power." In the four months after the meetings, he baptized fifty-two of the new converts in his church, an astonishingly high number for a church of only 200 members. He changed the emphasis of the church somewhat, instituting new meetings "to be held along the lines of the infilling of the Holy Spirit, also Divine Healing." At several quarterly business meetings he spoke with great feeling of the dramatic, positive change in the life of the church. The board of deacons concurred with him and passed a motion stating "that we as a board stand behind the four-fold gospel and the teachings practised by our pastor." In March 1924, nearly a year after the first Price campaign, the church fully endorsed the second campaign and cancelled all of its
services and activities which would conflict with it.  

Grieve's attitude began to change, however, when Price began to stress heavily the distinct Pentecostal doctrines of the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" and "speaking in tongues." Though similar in some respects to the stress on the "filling of the Holy Spirit" which had so impressed Grieve in 1923, these were distinct Pentecostal doctrines which he was not willing to accept. When several of his deacons and many members began advocating these new teachings and practices, he made a public statement against them. As a result, five deacons and fifty-nine other members felt they could no longer remain in the church and withdrew and joined one of the new Pentecostal congregations in the city. Other conservative Baptist churches also experienced significant losses of membership to Pentecostalism, notably First Baptist Church in Vancouver and First Baptist in North Vancouver. It is just possible that without such losses, the fundamentalists may have made more headway in their efforts to control the Baptist Convention of British Columbia.

In these and other cases where people left conservative churches for Pentecostalism, all parties concerned strongly upheld traditional evangelical doctrines. But the method of defending their faith against modernism marked an important difference between Pentecostals and other conservatives, whether "mainline" or "separatist." In contrast to the theological argumentation and creedal definition carried on by many evangelicals, Pentecostals argued that there was only one effective argument against "modernist unbelief": a renewal of
miracles and the supernatural power of God as recorded in the New Testament book of Acts. One Pentecostal pastor likened modernists to buzzards who "...cannot be ousted from the Christian church by means of argumentation. Whoever heard of a buzzard being driven from his delicious meal by cold logic?"45 A visiting evangelist, referring to the fundamentalists' refusal to accept the Pentecostal outpouring of the Spirit wrote:

I pity the poor Fundamentalists. God help them. They have certainly got a hard time of it. I pity any man who is attacking the evil forces of this age without the full armour of God upon him.46

In addition to fundamentalists attracted by the certainty of belief offered by Pentecostalism, other evangelicals, especially of Wesleyan-style holiness persuasion, were drawn to the new movement. H. B. Taylor, pastor of Vancouver's Free Methodist Church, abandoned his Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification in favour of Pentecostalism's similar, though distinct, teaching of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues. Despite the displeasure of many of his Free Methodist members with his new teachings, hundreds of members from other churches were attracted by the new emphasis and the enthusiastic worship. Among the influx was the entire membership of the young women's prayer circle from the nearby Mount Pleasant Methodist Church. Many of its members had been converted during the Price meetings and they began attending weeknight services at the Free Methodist hall but continued in attendance at their own Sunday services until their fervency of worship was criticized by church leaders. Other
converts of Price who found their experience not well received in their own churches also gravitated to the services.

Taylor's Pentecostalism forced his resignation from the Free Methodist ministry in late 1924 but he and his followers began a new church, known as Pyramid Temple, which soon began attracting up to 1500 worshipers to its Sunday services held in a tent on its property in the Mount Pleasant district. Six Avenue Pentecostal Tabernacle, the major Pentecostal church in Vancouver before the Price campaign, had purchased the building of Sixth Avenue Methodist Church in Kitsilano in early 1923. It had become a significant congregation of between four and five hundred members by that time but did not grow as rapidly as the newer Pentecostal congregations which sprang up following the Price meetings. It received an influx of new members as a result of the campaign but pastoral instability and internal divisions stunted growth so that it was less than half the size of Pyramid Temple in 1925. Another significant Pentecostal church, the Foursquare Gospel Temple, originated in 1923 as the downtown remnant of Sixth Avenue Tabernacle. Its members had opted not to relocate to Kitsilano with the majority because they equated the oak pews, stained glass windows and pipe organ of the former Methodist building with the religious formalism of their past. By 1928 the group, then meeting in east Vancouver, had grown significantly and was under the authority of Aimee Semple McPherson and her International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, headquartered in Los Angeles.

A number of other Pentecostal assemblies sprang up in Vancouver between 1923 and 1925, bringing the total to ten. All
experienced considerable instability owing to a great fluidity of membership in the early years as the masses of new converts to Pentecostalism experienced a sense of rootlessness in their new environment. The history of those years is characterized by sharp increases and declines in membership and repeated church splits and mergers. Donald Klan explains the instability:

The early pentecostal movement in Vancouver experienced considerable internal disruption stemming from the heterogeneity of its members — the majority of whom maintained a variety of diverging standards, practices, and expectations associated with different Protestant traditions. Such issues as theological orthodoxy, pastoral responsibility, and church polity caused repeated division resulting in a further proliferation of new assemblies. Generally speaking, those who emerged from fundamentalist churches were militant in their defense of the authority of Scriptural revelation regarding decisions of doctrine and conduct. On the other hand, many who previously had been affiliated with modernist churches were prone to follow the dictates of their emotions, lacking an intense desire to preserve theological orthodoxy. With regard to the role of the pastor, there was a divergence of opinion whether he should be an expositor, an evangelist, or an administrator-counsellor. Furthermore, while some members upheld the autonomy of the local church and strongly resisted centralized denominational control, others willingly
accepted episcopal church government as opposed to a congregational polity. 50

By 1928, however, a measure of stability was beginning to emerge in the burgeoning Pentecostal movement. The best indication of this stability was the organization of the British Columbia District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in July, 1928. Ten churches in the province affiliated with the major national organization of Pentecostal churches at that time. The largest of these were Sixth Avenue Tabernacle in Vancouver and Victory Temple in Victoria. The others were located in Nanaimo, Ladysmith, Prince Rupert, Abbotsford, Chilliwack, Penticton, Grand Forks and Nelson. Most of these in the outlying areas were established through the efforts of evangelists and pastors sent out from the Vancouver church. Thus Sixth Avenue Tabernacle, despite the turmoil of the mid-1920's, clearly was the "mother" church of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in British Columbia 51

The International Church of the Foursquare Gospel was also emerging as a fairly substantial grouping of Pentecostals in the province. By the late 1920's it had established four churches in British Columbia; two in Vancouver, one in Victoria and one in Penticton. 52

The remaining Pentecostal churches were all independent and were all located in the Vancouver area. The original Pentecostal mission, established in 1907, was still functioning in the downtown core. Five of the other independent Pentecostal churches were fairly small; three of them eventually affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. 53 Non-trinitarian, or
"Jesus Only," Pentecostals were concentrated in Pyramid Temple, which was renamed Evangelistic Tabernacle in 1930. In 1926 H. B. Taylor began espousing the doctrine that there was only one person in the godhead - Jesus Christ - with the terms Father and Holy Spirit being only "titles" to describe aspects of Christ's person. This teaching had been popularized during a 1925 campaign in Vancouver by Pentecostal evangelist William Booth-Clibborn, grandson of the Salvation Army's founder. It caused considerable division in local Pentecostalism but was successfully isolated by the more orthodox Pentecostals to Pyramid Temple, which had been significantly reduced in size by the controversy, and to a small mission in downtown New Westminster.

* * *

By 1928 both separatist Baptists and Pentecostals were well established in British Columbia, especially in Vancouver. Several factors must be taken into account when explaining why the two groups had established themselves so quickly and with such strength in Vancouver.

In both cases, the role of American influences must be considered. The separatist fundamentalism of the Regular Baptists has all the appearances of being strongly influenced by its powerful American counterpart. For example, the Baptist Bible Union, a continent-wide organization of Baptist fundamentalists, had held a rally in Vancouver just prior to the organization of the British Columbia Baptist Missionary Council in 1925. It is significant that membership in the Council
required subscription to the Bible Union's statement of faith. It would be difficult to argue that the Union's leadership did not exert a strong influence on the situation in British Columbia.

On closer inspection, however, the picture becomes less clear. While strong in the United States, the Baptist Bible Union was not entirely an American movement. Its founding president and "leading spirit" was the English-born Toronto fundamentalist, T. T. Shields, who has been described as "a Britisher of the Britishers, and actually one of the last great Victorians." Shields consciously modelled himself after the great English Baptist Charles H. Spurgeon, of Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, who broke with the British Baptist Union in 1891 in protest over liberalizing trends in that body. Shields travelled to London on several occasions to preach from the pulpit of the 6,000-seat Tabernacle and his greatest aspiration was to receive a call to become its permanent preacher.

In 1923 he became president of the Baptist Bible Union and with typical aggressive energy criss-crossed North America, providing leadership to fundamentalists throughout the continent. He addressed the Baptist Union rally in Vancouver in 1925, calling the province's fundamentalists to action. Besides visiting the city personally, his publication, the *Gospel Witness*, enjoyed wide circulation in British Columbia. It frequently published material to aid and encourage local Baptists in their criticism of Brandon College. His powerful, wealthy Jarvis Street congregation brought significant financial pressure to bear on the situation by diverting its support from
the college to the Council in 1926. The new Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia never affiliated with Shield's Union of Regular Baptists but his congregation and other fundamentalist Baptist churches in Ontario and Quebec made a substantial grant in 1927 to help the British Columbia group support a number of small mission churches.58

Because pastoral leadership played a key role in determining a congregation's stance in the Baptist controversy, it is significant that relatively few of the ministers leading churches that formed the Convention of Regular Baptists were American-born or educated. A majority of the ministers, nine of sixteen, were British-born, five were from central Canada, two from the Maritime provinces and only one came from the United States.59 The high number of British-born pastors is not surprising given the strong number of British-born Baptists in the province, which at 5,000, or 21% of the Baptists in British Columbia was the highest proportion in Canada.60 Two pastors had received all or part of their training in the United States. The American brand of fundamentalism offered by Vancouver's one American-born pastor was not to the liking of his Broadway West Baptist congregation and he was asked to leave within two years of his appointment.61 The orientation of the largest Regular Baptist Church, Mt. Pleasant, was probably best expressed by a member's response when asked why the church had brought W. M. Robertson from Scotland in 1927 on the recommendation of T. T. Shields. She replied, "when you looked for "men of God," you looked to the Old Country - that seemed to be where they came from."62
A comparison with the province of Alberta also leads to the conclusion that American influences were not the key factor in separatism in British Columbia. If American influences had been highly significant in the stimulation of separatist Baptist sentiments, one could have expected Alberta's Baptist community to have been more divided than that in British Columbia. American influences were far stronger, and British and eastern Canadian influences weaker, in Alberta than in the west coast province. In 1931, Alberta's relatively large Baptist population (4% of population cf. 3.3% in British Columbia) contained over 5,000 people born in the United States (17% of Baptists cf. 9% in British Columbia) and a relatively small proportion of British-born (12% cf. 21% in British Columbia). Its number of Maritime-born was quite small compared to the significant number in British Columbia (5% in Alta. cf. 11% in British Columbia) and its proportion of Ontario-born was also not as large (10% cf. 12% in British Columbia). Some division did take place among Alberta Baptists due to fundamentalist responses to modernism, yet, only three churches affiliated with the separatist organization, the Regular Baptist Missionary Fellowship, when it was formed in 1930. In Saskatchewan, where American-born Baptists were also proportionately more numerous than in British Columbia (12% cf. 9% in British Columbia) there was no such division at all.

Indeed, in areas of Western Canada where American influences were strongest among Baptists, the theological tenor was more likely to be liberal than fundamentalist. The Northern Baptist Convention in the United States was more liberal than
the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Its three most influential seminaries at this time - Chicago, Rochester and Crozer - produced many liberal and radical leaders. In 1927, twenty ministers serving in the Baptist Union of Western Canada had studied at these three institutions. Only one of these was in British Columbia, the remainder served in the prairie provinces where conservatism among Baptists was not as pronounced as it was on the west coast. In addition, the orientation of Brandon College was both liberal and American. Dr. Dore S. Sharpe, superintendent of the Baptist Union before World War I and later a member of the faculty at Brandon, recalled:

Brandon College played a large part in developing a forward looking liberal spirit. The first president, Dr. A. P. McDiarmid, was a staunch liberal as was (President F. W.) Sweet (1923, Chicago and Rochester trained). Dr. (David) Bovington had taught at the old Rochester Seminary,....Brandon had two liberal scholars both trained at the University of Chicago Divinity School - Matthews had been definitely influenced by Rauschenbush, while Dr. H. L. MacNeil had been tried for heresy while a professor at Brandon....Note: Rev. S. Everton, Dr. A. A. Shaw, Dr. F. W. Sweet, Dr. H. F. Waring, Martin Storgaard, Charles S. Stone, and H. R. McGill were all graduates of Rochester. In Pentecostalism, American influences, while important, did not predominate. Pentecostal evangelists came to Vancouver
from England, Ireland and other Canadian provinces as well as from the United States. The most influential Pentecostal evangelist in the province, Charles Price, illustrates the international rather than strictly American flavour of Pentecostalism. While he had been in the United States for fifteen years before coming to British Columbia, Price hailed originally from Sheffield, England. He told a Vancouver audience that he would like to move his headquarters to either Victoria or Vancouver from California because he was "...an Englishman by birth...and would like to live under the Union Jack." He had been converted to Pentecostalism while listening to the preaching of a Canadian, Aimee Semple McPherson. McPherson had been born in Ingersoll, Ontario to a Salvation Army family. The preaching of an Irish evangelist, Robert Semple, whom she later married, had converted her to Pentecostalism. She did not begin her American preaching career and rise to international fame until after she and Semple had served as missionaries in China under the auspices of Ontario Pentecostal churches.

It is also significant that the largest number of Pentecostal churches in British Columbia gravitated into affiliation with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada rather than the American-based International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. While a close relationship developed for a time in the early 1920's between the Vancouver and Victoria churches and the Assemblies of God in Washington State, there is evidence that the Washington churches benefited more from the association than did those in British Columbia. Many of the graduates of the
1924-25 Bible school classes held in Victoria pioneered a number of churches on the Olympic Peninsula in Washington State, backed with some financial support from the Vancouver and Victoria congregations.\textsuperscript{73} There is no record of any such influx of workers from the United States into British Columbia.\textsuperscript{74}

Nothing indicates that separatist Baptists and Pentecostals were opposed to receiving inspiration and aid from American sources but the evidence suggests that they did not rely upon such influences. Their orientation was as much, if not more, to Eastern Canada and Britain.

Socio-economic differences appear to have played a larger role than American influences in the sifting of Vancouver's Protestant community between 1917 and 1927. Both J. Richards and G. Pousset observe that the majority of working-class Baptist churches on the east side of the city joined the fundamentalist Convention of Regular Baptists while the larger churches on the west side, with middle and upper class memberships, remained loyal to the old convention.\textsuperscript{75} Closer inspection confirms this, indicating that by the end of 1927 only about 20 percent of the old convention's membership of 2,000 in Vancouver belonged to churches east of Cambie Street while less than 20 percent of the Regular Baptist city membership of 1,200 was in churches west of Cambie Street.\textsuperscript{76}

The 240 members of Ruth Morton Baptist Church on East Twenty-Seventh Avenue near Fraser Street were probably typical of the more than 1,000 Regular Baptist members in East Vancouver. Almost all lived within a several mile radius of the church in very modest homes on inexpensive lots. Over two-
thirds were blue-collar workers or the dependants of blue-collar workers. Of these, approximately 60 percent were skilled tradesmen and 40 percent unskilled workers and labourers. (see Appendix B)

There were some notable exceptions to this general pattern. The majority of members of Jackson Avenue Baptist Church, situated in the poorest area of the city remained staunchly loyal to the old convention despite the strenuous efforts of their fundamentalist pastor to persuade them to separate. On the other hand, the leading fundamentalist Baptist church, Mt. Pleasant, did have some wealthier families.

Membership lists are not available for Pentecostal congregations, but it appears the bulk of their constituency was of lower socio-economic status. Most of the Pentecostal churches were located east of Cambie Street or in the downtown area. The main exception was Sixth Avenue Tabernacle, located in the Kitsilano district, but it eventually relocated to East Broadway to better reflect the geographical distribution of its membership. In a 1957 study comparing religious affiliation by census tract with income by census tract, Walter E. Ellis concluded that Pentecostals were more strongly represented in low-to-medium than in upper income areas of several western Canadian cities, including Vancouver.

Because many Pentecostal members came from fundamentalist Baptist churches, a comparison of socio-economic levels in these two branches of conservative Protestantism would be instructive. Given the lack of early Pentecostal records such a comparison is difficult. A suggestive comparison can be made, however, in the
case of Ruth Morton Baptist Church, which lost over sixty members to Pentecostalism in 1925 and 1926. The occupational profile of the group leaving is remarkably similar to the congregation remaining behind. The Baptist church's proportion of two-thirds belonging to blue collar families and one-third white collar families was maintained among the departing group but within the blue-collar category there was a larger proportion of unskilled labourers and a smaller proportion of skilled tradesmen. At the same time, however, the wealthiest member of the congregation, an accountant owning one of the most valuable homes in the area, was a leader of the Pentecostal splinter group.(see Appendix C)

A more significant difference than the economic one is the length of membership at Ruth Morton Baptist Church. A relatively high proportion (40%) of those leaving had been members for less than three years compared with just 3% of those staying. Over 80% of those remaining Baptist had been members for more than six years compared with 54% of those becoming Pentecostal. It would appear then that loyalty to the congregation, the minister, the denomination and the doctrines they stood for played a large factor in influencing a person's decision to stay. Probably close to one-third of those deciding to leave the church had been converted less than three years before the exodus, many during the Price campaign, and would not likely have developed a strong Baptist denominational loyalty. Still, it must be kept in mind that over 50% of those becoming Pentecostal had been members of Ruth Morton Baptist for over six years and that 13% (cf. 17% of those remaining) were charter
members. Thus, even length of membership, although very significant, was not always crucial.

It is not difficult to understand why lower-middle class church members would tend to react more to liberal theology than their middle-upper class counterparts. While it must be kept in mind that many, especially among the Regular Baptists, were "respectable" in that they owned their own homes and were skilled tradesmen or clerical workers, their general lack of higher education obviously meant they had less contact with, and less vested interest in, the newer trends in scholarly thought. Although some ministers who joined the new Convention of Regular Baptists had university and seminary training, over half of those serving in working-class areas did not. Those among them with university and seminary education had studied at Acadia College in Nova Scotia or in British universities, rather than in Baptist institutions in Toronto, Rochester, Chicago and Brandon. The purpose of the latter group of schools, according to Baptist historian W. E. Ellis, was "...to socialize students who, mellowed by culture, refinement, social convention and ivy-covered institutions, would create an environment where sectarianism would diminish and ecumenical cooperation and progress would flourish." Several of the Regular Baptist ministers had received no formal theological training at all but a larger number had studied at various Bible institutes. The purpose of their training was to prepare aggressive evangelists and staunch defenders of conservative Protestant doctrines rather than cultured graduates sympathetic with ecumenical and nonsectarian movements.
For reasons that were also partly social and economic, mainline conservatives, including the moderate conservative Baptists, differed in their response to liberalism. Because most of them were able to function in the wider society with greater ease than could the less educated and less financially secure, they were less motivated than separatist Baptists to isolate themselves from the sometimes unsympathetic atmosphere of the mainline denominations. Perhaps some middle class conservatives were unwilling to involve themselves with the new convention because of the loss of prestige attendant with a switch to a new, schismatic organization. Unquestionably, the middle class sensibilities of many mainline conservatives were offended by the enthusiastic and demonstrative worship of the Pentecostals.

Thus, there can be little doubt that socio-economic factors played a major role in the establishment of the various conservative forms of resistance to modernism. However, a more complete analysis is needed to consider the roles played by other factors. Many evangelicals, in weighing their own response to theological changes, had to take into account issues such as loyalty to the denomination as opposed to loyalty to the local congregation, the inclusive church membership position which conflicted with the "believer's church" concept and the competing claims of historical Baptist doctrinal statements versus the traditional Baptist position of liberty of conscience in matters of belief.

The importance attached to traditional evangelism was a major factor in the Baptist rupture. Pousett, the historian of
the old Baptist convention, notes that one of the most significant losses for his denomination, as a result of the division, was a certain amount of evangelistic thrust. He points out that the fundamentalists were more vigorous evangelists, they "tended to be a little more enthusiastic and ready to proclaim their faith openly." Liberal Baptists tended to focus more on social improvement and were less comfortable preaching on subjects central to traditional evangelism such as eternal salvation and judgement. The effects of exposure to differing types of higher education has already been noted in regard to the different approaches, but other factors also played a role. Individualistic evangelism had been a hallmark of the Baptist denomination in Canada during its period of vigorous expansion in the nineteenth century. Whether out of loyalty to this past or out of the pragmatic desire to reverse the declining growth rates evident since the turn of the century, many Baptists believed it was necessary to separate from the old Baptist convention in order to preserve an uncompromising thrust on the evangelism of the individual.

A number of additional factors were also evident in the decisions leading to the acceptance or rejection of Pentecostalism. The background and training of many conservatives gave them a greater confidence in the efficacy of the Common Sense approach to science and knowledge, leaving them less needful of supernatural manifestations of the Spirit to reaffirm their faith. Some others, with a Wesleyan background, regardless of their social standing found the experiential religion of Pentecostalism a preferable alternative to the more
formal, rational approach which had developed in modern Methodism. Although a lower social standing often influenced such a move, a heritage of traditional Methodism could be sufficient to outweigh the socio-economic influence. For example, Robert Bolam, a wealthy Vancouver lumberman, evangelical Methodist and president of the Board of Directors of the Central City Mission, left the Methodist Church and joined the Pentecostals in 1922.87

Finally, the nature of the opposition that these evangelicals faced had an important impact upon their reaction. The situation in Vancouver was different from that in Victoria in this regard. For example, Vancouver's Protestant ministers were far more hostile in their criticism of both French E. Oliver in 1917 and Charles S. Price in 1923 than were their counterparts in Victoria. Whereas prominent ministers in Victoria were themselves conservative, or at least kept critical views to themselves, their counterparts in Vancouver were more liberal and vocal. A. E. Cooke, Congregationalist; E. Thomas and A. M. Sanford, Methodist; J. MacKay, Presbyterian and A. S. Lewis, Baptist were all influential in Vancouver and outspoken in opposition to the evangelists. Although impossible to measure, it is probable that the existence of much stronger separatist Baptist and Pentecostal movements in Vancouver compared with those in Victoria was due, at least in part, to the sharpness of that criticism. In such an environment, a greater sense of alienation from mainline Protestantism was encouraged. Concerns over the dangers of liberalism were reinforced and conservatives felt a much greater need to set up
barriers between themselves and the modernist threat.
NOTES, CHAPTER FOUR


2. Because of this concept the membership figures cited are generally much smaller than the total number of people involved in Baptist churches. Younger children and non-baptized adults are not included in the figure. In Vancouver, the ratio of those listing themselves as Baptists on the 1931 census to actual church membership was about three to one.


6. One of the first churches to vote to withhold funds was Ruth Morton Baptist Church in southeast Vancouver. Ruth Morton Baptist Church, Minutes of Congregation, 11 January 1922.

7. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 89-90.

8. Ibid., 72-73. Within two years similar organizations were in place in both the Baptist Union of Ontario and Quebec and the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States.

9. The B.C. Baptist Missionary Council (1925) cited in Ibid., 90.


15. T. A. Moore to H. Dobson, 6 May 1923, Dobson Papers, United Church Archives, Vancouver.


19. Ibid., 74–76.


22. The vote was twenty-six in favour, one opposed and four "not prepared to vote." General Ministerial Association of Vancouver, Minutes, 27 April 1923.

23. The Vancouver Daily Province and The Vancouver Daily World, 7 May to 28 May 1923 contain extensive descriptions of the meetings.

24. Cook's original statement was in the form of a letter to the General Ministerial Association of Vancouver. A. E. Cook to members of the Executive Committee in charge of the Dr. Price Evangelistic Campaign, 13 May 1923, General Ministerial Association of Vancouver, Correspondence files.


27. A copy of the Report of a Clerical, Medical and Educational Committee into the Results of a Campaign of Healing held in Vancouver, B.C. in May 1923 is contained in the files of the General Ministerial Association.
28. General Ministerial Association, Minutes, 7 May 1923 and 4 June 1923.


33. General Ministerial Association of Vancouver, Minutes, 21 December 1923 and 11 January 1924. After lengthy discussion the 21 December meeting voted to expel members of the press present in the room.


35. "Resolution re Meetings held by Dr. Chas. S. Price, in Vancouver, B.C. from 6 May to 21 May, inclusive; adopted at a regular meeting of the Baptist Ministerial Association of Greater Vancouver, held on 10 June 1923." Reprinted in Charles S. Price, The Great Physician, 79-80.

36. The Vancouver Daily World 21 May 1923, 9 and The Vancouver Daily Province 7 May 1923, 11 and 16 May 1923, 14.

37. The Vancouver Daily Province 11 May 1923, 3 and 22 May 1923, 14.

38. Ruth Morton Baptist Church, Minutes of Congregation, 3 June to 7 October 1923.

39. Ruth Morton Baptist Church, Minutes of Deacons' Board, 31 May 1923.

40. Ibid. 1 October 1923 and Minutes of Congregation, 31 July 1923 and 9 October 1923.

41. Ruth Morton Baptist Church, Minutes of Deacons' Board, 24 March 1924.

42. Ruth Morton Baptist Church, Minutes of Congregation, 18 March 1925.
43. Ibid. 13 January 1926.

44. Pousett, *A History of the Convention of Baptist Churches*, 153-55. Richards, *Baptists in B.C.*, 86, claims that First Baptist in Vancouver lost 164 members to Pentecostalism but Pousett contends that at least some of the losses would have been for other reasons.


50. Ibid., 206.

51. Ibid., 119-38.

52. Ibid., 151, 154, 161.

53. Ibid., 157-8, 161.


61. Interview with Mr. A. Cockle, Vancouver, 2 February 1980.


63. This and all population figures in this paragraph computed from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada*, 1931, Vol. IV, Table 8.


70. The Vancouver Daily World, 22 May 1923, 14 and The Vancouver Daily Province, 12 April 1924, 32.


78. Access to the records of Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church could not be gained for the purposes of this study but it is clear from interviews that some wealthy businessmen and at least one banker belonged to it.


81. Ellis, "Baptists and Radical Politics in Western Canada," 165-66.


84. 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 36.


86. 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 36.

CHAPTER FIVE
1928 - 1941, The Broadening Of The Institutional Base

In 1935 the well-known Irish revivalist and evangelist, J. Edwin Orr, travelled Canada from coast to coast to assess the state of conservative Protestantism in the country. He found it in the healthiest condition in Ontario and Alberta. Toronto was "the most Evangelical city in Canada" and the Prairie Bible Institute in Alberta was "a prime factor in the hope of revival in the Dominion." In contrast, he was not impressed with what he saw in British Columbia. In Vancouver, he found "... many dead, liberal churches carrying on with a "social club" programme." Yet the evangelicals were not providing a satisfactory alternative because they were badly disunited. On Vancouver Island, things were not much better. Victoria was a "very sleepy place, especially spiritually. Lethargy has seized hold of most of the churches." The rest of the province suffered a dearth of evangelical influence; "...there are huge areas without a true gospel witness."¹

An analysis of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia in this period confirms many of Orr's impressions. The separatist mentality evident in the Baptist schism of 1927 continued unabated in Vancouver and resulted in several more dramatic and bitter schisms. In some respects Victoria increasingly became peripheral to much of the evangelical activity in British Columbia and, in many towns of the province, no explicitly evangelical churches had been established.
At the same time, however, developments not evident to Orr were taking place in conservative Protestantism. The decade and a half from 1928 to 1941 witnessed a significant broadening and strengthening of the institutional base which had been laid in the preceding decade. Some of this was actually due to the divisive spirit which he deplored. From the schisms which continued to rack the Regular Baptists after 1927 emerged new congregations which formed the basis of several additional streams of Baptists. The first split occurred in 1928 when nearly half the congregation of Mt. Pleasant Baptist in Vancouver, the largest Regular Baptist church in the province, left to form the independent Metropolitan Tabernacle. This highly militant and separatistic church soon began attracting congregations of over 1,000. The Convention of Regular Baptists also suffered further substantial losses, including the remainder of Mt. Pleasant Baptist, due to schism in the mid-thirties. Despite the bitter divisions, however, and indeed, perhaps because of them, the Baptist population of British Columbia grew faster between 1931 and 1941 relative to general population growth than anywhere else in Canada.²

The broadening and strengthening of the institutional base was also due to aggressive evangelism and church planting work in nearly all areas of the province. The Pentecostals were especially committed to beginning new congregations throughout British Columbia and were extraordinarily successful in their endeavours. The number of churches affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in the province increased from nine in 1928 to sixty-six in 1941. By then almost every
populated area of the province had at least one Pentecostal church. ³

A third factor not fully evident to Orr was the immigration of non-Anglo-Saxon evangelicals and the development of their own set of institutions. The most significant such group was the Mennonites who began a significant wave of migration into British Columbia in 1928. In contrast to other provinces where Mennonites settled, the majority in British Columbia joined the Mennonite Brethren denomination which stressed more than most other Mennonite groups clear, unambiguous doctrinal stances and fervent evangelistic efforts aimed at gaining individual conversions. The Mennonite Brethren emphases led its churches and their members to gradually identify more with the wider evangelicalism in the province than with their own ethnic heritage.

Metropolitan Tabernacle

The rapid spread of Pentecostalism and the entrance of the Mennonites came to exert a profound impact on conservatism in British Columbia in the long-term but the most spectacular development in the 1928-41 period was the establishment and growth of Vancouver's Metropolitan Tabernacle. It became the focal point of active fundamentalism because of its size, vigour and strong, uncompromising insistence upon complete separation from the "world."

Unquestionably, the dominating force of Metropolitan Tabernacle was the strong personality of W. M. Robertson. ⁴ Born in Scotland to a Presbyterian home in 1883, he began working as
a youth in a machine factory in Glasgow. He soon involved himself in the labour movement and became an aggressive socialist speaker. He developed in that time a forceful and controversial platform style which he always retained and used to advantage. Even though Christianity had been one of the targets of his verbal attacks, he was converted at a Glasgow evangelistic campaign while in his early twenties. He entered the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow and emerged an itinerating evangelist and, later, a Baptist preacher. In 1919 he became pastor of the large Toxteth Tabernacle in Liverpool where he established a widespread reputation as a fearless, controversial fundamentalist.

After eight years of successful ministry in Liverpool, during which time he also undertook evangelistic tours of Australia, New Zealand and North America, Robertson resigned to accept a call to Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church in Vancouver. T. T. Shields had recommended the fiery Scotsman to the church's board as a suitable "contender of the faith" to fill the pulpit of the province's leading fundamentalist church. The new preacher was successful in drawing large crowds but his pastorate at Mt. Pleasant was a short and stormy one. It began 1 September 1927 and ended only ten months later in July, 1928 when he and two hundred adult members, or nearly half of Mt. Pleasant's membership of five hundred, withdrew from the church. That same month they began holding services in nearby Broadway Theatre. Three and one-half years later a building with a seating capacity of 1,000 was erected on Eleventh Avenue, two blocks east of the present city hall and three blocks west of
Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church.

The sources available do not clearly reveal all the circumstances surrounding the schism. The B. C. Baptist, organ of the Regular Baptists, reported that the division was not over important doctrinal issues but over the management of the church. A booklet commemorating the opening of Metropolitan Tabernacle's building simply referred to "internal and insuperable difficulties in the way of an aggressive and spiritual ministry." However, it is possible to conclude with a fair degree of certainty that the issue of separation from the "world" and any form of worldliness was at stake. Even though Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church had been the first church to separate itself from the old Baptist convention and took the lead in establishing the separatist Convention of Regular Baptists, it was still too accommodating with worldly ways, according to Robertson and his followers. Thus, one of the main purposes of their new work was "to emphasize the neglected truth of separation from the world on the part of believers."

This heightened concern for separation apparently centred on four issues. First was the question of the indulgence of the youth of Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in unspecified "worldly amusements." Robertson held an extremely restrictive view of the role of amusements in his personal and family life and expected his church members to follow his lifestyle. His view of separation from the world necessitated "a firm stand...against all amusements." He led the members of Metropolitan Tabernacle in the adoption of a doctrinal statement which included the article:
We believe in the need of a holy walk and conversation on the part of professed believers and their separation from worldly and questionable amusements.\textsuperscript{10} Secondly, separation from the world needed to include separation from "worldly methods of raising money."\textsuperscript{11} Robertson strongly disagreed with the practice of many churches, including Mt. Pleasant Baptist, of raising funds by incurring mortgages or any other form of debt. To him, such a practice expressed a greater confidence in the financial system than in God and went against the scriptural injunction to "Owe no man any thing."\textsuperscript{12} Putting this principle into practice meant that in just over three years, including the first two years of the Depression, the new congregation had to contribute $63,000 towards their new building before it could be completed.\textsuperscript{13}

Thirdly, Mt. Pleasant Baptist's concept of congregational government had not provided the pastor with unlimited authority; much of that remained with the congregation and its officers. To Robertson, however, such constraints upon his authority stood in the way of "an aggressive and spiritual ministry." They were organizational, or human, and thus worldly, restrictions upon his work. It was always very clear that he would tolerate no controls over his methods and preaching.\textsuperscript{14}

Fourthly, as Richards suggests, Robertson, along with many other fundamentalist Baptists, distrusted the move towards denominational consolidation evident in the new Convention of Regular Baptists. The majority of Regular Baptists in British Columbia were separatists only in the sense of separating from modernism and the tolerance of modernism. They were still
denominationalists wanting to see the development of a full- 
orbed denominational structure including a missions board and 
other common ventures in areas such as publications, Christian 
education and youth work. To a substantial minority of Regular 
Baptists, however, any form of centralization represented a form 
of accommodation with worldliness similar to that of the old 
Baptist convention. Eventually, it could lead either to the 
unwilling complicity of the churches in the promotion of error, 
such as had occurred in the case of Brandon College, or to the 
submission of the local congregation to an outside human 
authority in important matters. They argued that the safest 
organizational bulwark against any forms of worldliness, 
including modernism, was the independent local congregation free 
of denominational authority of any form. Robertson expressed 
the most radical form of this independent attitude and in 1931 
led Metropolitan Tabernacle in affiliating with the militantly 
separatist organization, the Independent Fundamental Churches of 
America. He contributed regularly to the Voice, its monthly 
publication, and was its president in 1945 and 1946.

It is also highly probable that additional motivation for 
Robertson's departure from Mt. Pleasant Baptist came from his 
desire to emulate Charles H. Spurgeon. Like Shields of Toronto, 
Robertson modelled his ministry after that of the famous British 
Baptist. According to his son, he idolized Spurgeon and kept a 
large portrait of him on his study wall. The name of his new 
church, its purpose and, to some extent, even its architecture 
were all consciously patterned after Spurgeon's church in 
London. It is thus conceivable that he also identified his
separation from the "worldliness" of Mt. Pleasant Baptist with Spurgeon's separation from the "Downgrading" movement among British Baptists, even though the circumstances were considerably different. This does not suggest that his contention with Mt. Pleasant involved issues that were actually insignificant to him but it does point out that the precedent set by Spurgeon could well have prepared him to take the drastic course that he took in dealing with those issues.

Given the inaccessibility of data on the membership of Mount Pleasant Baptist Church it is difficult to assess conclusively the role social and economic factors played in the schism. The early membership rolls of Metropolitan Tabernacle are available but they do not clearly indicate any particular socio-economic base of its protest against "worldliness." Instead they reveal that the original adult membership of just over two hundred was a very diverse group. Unlike the mainline conservative Fairview Presbyterian congregation where white collar workers and their dependants outnumbered their blue collar counterparts by approximately two to one, or the Regular Baptist Ruth Morton congregation where the ratio was reversed, the proportion of white and blue-collar workers at Metropolitan Tabernacle was almost exactly equal. (See Appendix D) Geographically, the membership was also more heterogeneous than Fairview Presbyterian and Ruth Morton Baptist. Members lived in every area of Vancouver and a few travelled in from the suburbs of Burnaby, New Westminster and the North Shore. The proportion of members from the typically middle and upper class west side of the city was approximately equal to that from the generally
working and lower middle-class east side. The broad occupational and geographical spectrum represented in the congregation indicates that separatist fundamentalism in Vancouver cannot be closely identified with any particular social group.

Metropolitan Tabernacle, born out of controversy, continued to be the contentious centre of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia. Modernism remained the chief enemy and Robertson never hesitated to do battle with it. Sunday evening services became his favorite battleground to which, for over ten years, his fiery, often sensational, oratory and his use of special features drew packed audiences to the Tabernacle. Sometimes he dared his opponents to appear on his platform to debate with him and several did, including his cousin, Rev. Andrew Roddan of Vancouver's First United Church. He also brought in well-known American, British and Canadian fundamentalist leaders such as T. T. Shields, Oswald Smith, and W. G. Scroggie. Apparently there was a strong demand in Vancouver for this dogmatic, contentious style of attack against anything that threatened conservative Protestant values and beliefs. Frequently his topics, debates or special speakers created such interest that people lined up over an hour in advance to be assured of seats.

A number of his sermons were published in book and pamphlet form and much of their polemical power was retained in the written form. A few excerpts from "The Disastrous Results of Dethroning Revelation!", the last chapter of The Bible at the Bar (1930) is a good statement of fundamentalist thinking and
gives an indication of his dogmatic, "all or nothing" style:

No specious, sentimental platitudes about charity must be allowed to blind us to the issues at stake. Were the principles of modernism to prevail, it would mean nothing less than the overthrow of all that has been understood by Christianity since the days of the Apostles. . .Of course, "there are degrees of Modernism" and some Modernists will challenge our conclusions on this matter, but once we give up faith in the inspiration of Scriptures and the infallibility of Christ - it is idle to talk of degrees. There are degrees - but they are degrees that mark the stages of progressive denial of the supernatural. Modernism is simply naturalism, and is in theology what evolution is in biology. Human reason takes the place of the Word of God. All objective standards of authority are repudiated and every man becomes a law unto himself. . .Genuine Christianity is at a discount wherever Modernism prevails. It produces no revivals; it establishes few schools. Its most prevalent results are sterility and stagnation. . .Modernism talks proudly of "applied Christianity," but there can be no applied Christianity unless there can be a Christianity to apply. And Modernism is not Christianity. It evacuates the faith of its real content and offers the world a miserable counterfeit. 23

Modernism was the major, but not the only, target of
Robertson's bitter denunciations. He joined T. T. Shields in attacking what he viewed as the unwarranted influence of the Roman Catholic Church on governmental policy in Canada and organized the Vancouver Branch of Shield's Canadian Protestant League. He was not successful in drawing vast crowds to its rallies as was Shields in Toronto but the branch's meetings often attracted 500 people, half of them members of Metropolitan Tabernacle.  

Robertson also distanced himself from many other conservative Protestants on several issues. Pentecostalism's teaching on the "Baptism of the Spirit" and "speaking in tongues" was subjected to frequent, severe criticism from his pulpit. Indeed, some speculate that his strong anti-Pentecostal reputation was an important factor in Mt. Pleasant Baptist inviting him to post-Price Vancouver. In the wake of the large Baptist losses to the Pentecostal movement in the mid-1920's it had been felt that a firm voice was needed to steady the non-Pentecostal conservatives.

The Metropolitan Tabernacle pulpit also increased the divisiveness of eschatology as an issue among Vancouver's evangelicals. From his strongly dispensationalist position Robertson slashed out at contending views. Postmillenialism was dismissed as equivalent to the social gospel of the modernists but nondispensationalist premillenialists also came under considerable fire as "refusing to rightly divide the Word of Truth." This created tension between himself and Walter Ellis who was not a dispensationalist and refused to restrict the Vancouver Bible Training School to a dispensationalist position.
As the only English-language Bible institute in British Columbia in the 1930's, V.B.T.S. was an attractive option for the many young people of Metropolitan Tabernacle. Yet Robertson much preferred the dispensationalist Prairie Bible Institute of Three Hills, Alberta and advised his young people to study there rather than at Ellis' "unsound" school.²⁸ He also made sure that Prairie graduates going out as missionaries received the lion's share of the Tabernacle's sizeable missionary offerings.²⁹ To his displeasure, however, numbers of his people did attend classes at V.B.T.S. because of its convenient location and because of Ellis' warm encouragement of their extensive work in local evangelistic efforts.³⁰ In addition, Oswald Smith, one of the church's leading laymen, became president of the V.B.T.S. council in 1942.³¹ Robertson could not prevent such involvement by his membership but his obstinance on this issue contributed to the eventual decline of his influence.

Metropolitan Tabernacle's size and influence peaked in the early 1940's. Membership stood at 645, over triple the 1928 figure. Approximately seven hundred attended Sunday morning services, which were also broadcast over radio station CJOR, and Sunday evening services regularly filled the building with crowds upwards of 1,000. A marked decline occurred in the mid-1940's but the size, evangelistic vigour and high visibility of Metropolitan Tabernacle made it a significant factor in the province's evangelical community in the decade and a half before then.
Regular (separatist) Baptists

The Convention of Regular Baptists in British Columbia continued to experience the problem of separatism within its ranks after the Mt. Pleasant schism in 1928. The issue of denominationalism vs. congregational independence was again involved and the focal point was foreign missions policy.\(^{32}\) Strong denominationalists wanted to see the formation of a Regular Baptist Mission board but others were leary of such centralization arguing that each congregation should independently support interdenominational agencies. The denominationalists prevailed and the assets of an independent mission in China were acquired by the denomination in 1929. Severe difficulties owing to a complete misunderstanding of the nature of the mission being acquired forced several difficult and drawn-out reassessments of missions policy between 1930 and 1936. In the end the denominationalists prevailed again but in response four sizeable congregations in the Lower Mainland withdrew from the Convention of Regular Baptists to become independent. The combined membership of the four - Mount Pleasant and Broadway West in Vancouver, Sapperton Baptist in New Westminster and Maple Ridge Baptist in Haney - amounted to approximately seven hundred.\(^{33}\) In the process of debating the issue, the Mt. Pleasant, Sapperton and Maple Ridge churches experienced internal division which led to denominationalist minorities seceding and establishing new congregations.

Despite the repeated divisions among the Baptists, their growth rate was high. In fact, the separation into several
groups, each with clear distinctives, likely boosted their growth rate. Once W. M. Robertson, for example, had broken free from what he saw as the restrictions imposed by the officers of Mt. Pleasant Baptist and was able to put into place his own aggressively evangelistic, highly separatistic program, his church enjoyed very rapid growth. Metropolitan Tabernacle grew by an average of twenty percent per year in its first six years of existence. Half of the new members were accepted by means of baptism, a strong indication in a Baptist church that large numbers of new converts were being made. Mt. Pleasant Baptist, still a strongly fundamentalist church (by any standards but Robertson's!) also grew, but not as rapidly. In 1928 before the first schism, the membership of Mt. Pleasant Baptist was 500. By 1936 the combined membership of the three congregations resulting from its two splits was nearly 1,000.

Census statistics appear to bear out this conclusion. Between 1931 and 1941 the only provinces in Canada to experience a Baptist growth rate higher than that of the general population were Ontario (12% Baptist growth cf. 10% general population) and British Columbia (26% Baptist growth cf. 17% general population). These provinces were the scene of the largest divisions over fundamentalism in the late 1920's and both saw considerable divisiveness among the fundamentalists in the 1930's. By way of contrast, the Baptist population of the Maritime provinces, which suffered no schism over theological issues in the period, grew at approximately half the rate of the general population. An even greater contrast was presented by the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan where the
theologically heterogeneous Baptist Union of Western Canada retained the loyalty of all its churches. Despite that unity and a 4% growth of the provincial population, the Baptist population of Manitoba fell by 1%. The 3% provincial population loss in Saskatchewan was more than matched by a dramatic 15% drop in the Baptist population.\(^{38}\)

The growth in British Columbia was not due to an increase in size in the theologically heterogeneous Baptist Convention of British Columbia. Its membership in 1941 was virtually the same as the 1928 figure and the number of churches had dropped by two to thirty-two.\(^{39}\) The growth was among the fundamentalist Baptists. The combined membership of the independent congregations and those affiliated with the Convention of Regular Baptists had increased by over 50% in the same period and the number of such churches had increased from sixteen in 1927 to twenty-seven in 1945.\(^{40}\)

The higher growth rates of the fundamentalist Baptists was not only due to transfers from other churches, including mainline ones, although that frequently did occur, but came from a higher proportion of new converts won. The Baptist Convention of British Columbia baptised new converts in the period at the average rate of one per thirty-two members each year, generally not enough to keep membership from declining slowly unless other factors such as immigration compensated.\(^{41}\) The Regular Baptists, however, recorded a baptism/membership ratio of one per twenty-two, sufficient for modest growth.\(^{42}\) Metropolitan Tabernacle's ratio of one baptism per twelve members ensured a very rapid growth rate.\(^{43}\)
Joel E. Harris, a conservative minister in Calgary who remained in the Baptist Union of Western Canada, with which the Baptist Convention of British Columbia was affiliated, observed with concern the relative decline of his denomination and noted that it was due to a lack of distinctiveness from the surrounding culture. He wrote in the *Western Baptist*, the denominational paper, "We have toned down the plain teachings of the New Testament to appease modern unbelief, and it hasn't worked, except to our enfeeblement." The fundamentalists, however, by refusing dogmatically to compromise created a simplicity, certainty and clarity of belief which appealed to many. It also led to their sense of urgency with regard to the evangelistic task and to the expenditure of much more energy in this direction. Thus, despite the unpleasantness and pain surrounding their numerous schisms, they experienced dramatic overall growth.

**Pentecostals**

Even more dramatic growth was experienced by Pentecostalism in the 1928 to 1941 period. Census figures are good indicators of this because, unlike the case of mainline groups, they are generally not higher than actual participation figures. Indeed, they are conservative because of the time-lag which frequently occurred between a person's beginning to attend Pentecostal services and his or her willingness to be identified as a Pentecostal for census purposes. In the ten-year period between 1931 and 1941 the number of Pentecostals enumerated in the province rose from 2,277 to 5,235, an increase of 130%. A
similar rate of growth was sustained over the next decade so that in 1951 the number stood at 11,781, the highest proportion of provincial population in Canada west of New Brunswick. Even more dramatic was the increase in the number of churches, branch churches and Sunday schools affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (P.A.O.C.) in British Columbia. Between 1928 and 1941 that number soared from nine to sixty-six and, in addition, the number of churches affiliated with the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel rose from two to six. Approximately thirty other branch works and Sunday schools were begun by the P.A.O.C. in the period but they did not survive or merged with stronger Pentecostal churches nearby.

Thus, it is clear that by the end of the period the P.A.O.C. had established a province-wide network of churches, the first conservative group to do so. Every region of the province had at least one Pentecostal church, with the exception of the Central Coast which was serviced by mission boats. The number of new churches, branch works and Sunday schools begun varied from nearly thirty in the Lower Mainland to about one dozen in each of the Okanagan/Similkameen, West Kootenay and Vancouver Island regions to nine in the East Kootenays to seven or less in all other regions. The survival rate of these new works also varied greatly. For example, only three of the nine survived in the East Kootenay region as the population in the very small villages could not sustain a Pentecostal church. But overall the survival rate was nearly two-thirds.

The largest gain in the number of Pentecostals was in the Lower Mainland (up 85% to over 2,600, or .6% of the general
population) but proportionately the increase was greatest in the Okanagan/Similkameen region (up 300% to 850, or 1.7% of the population.) Pentecostals on Vancouver Island increased over 200% to 735 but made up only .5% of the general population. Growth in the West Kootenays soared from next to nothing to over 400 ( .9% of population). Growth also occurred in all other regions but the numbers involved were very small. In the Peace River region, however, the total population was small enough to make the 100 Pentecostals comprise 1.2% of the total.

A number of factors must be taken into consideration when one attempts to explain the extraordinarily rapid Pentecostal growth. Analysis is difficult given the lack of historical documents, including membership rolls, but some factors do suggest themselves. Social and economic factors appear to have played an important role but, without membership lists, it is not possible to be precise nor to ascertain the extent, if any, of exceptions. However, Nils Bloch-Hoell has demonstrated that in 1936 the average income of Pentecostals in the United States was lower than that of members of American churches as a whole. The situation in British Columbia was somewhat different, especially as a large black Pentecostal membership was lacking. Nevertheless, it would be surprising if great numbers of middle and upper-middle class people were attracted to the Pentecostal meetings as respectable sensibilities would have been offended on a number of accounts. Meetings were held in any available structure which included tents, storefronts, mortuaries and renovated barns, chicken coops, feed sheds and garages. Worship was enthusiastic, demonstrative and lacked
typical middle class restraints. The preachers' and evangelists' style was usually highly fervent and unsophisticated and they frequently lacked formal biblical and theological training of any sort. An ongoing Pentecostal Bible institute was not opened in British Columbia until 1941 and its purpose was much more to train fervent evangelists than produce sophisticated graduates.

An analysis of the ages of those enumerated in the census as Pentecostals tends to confirm that status may have influenced the affinity towards Pentecostalism. Although British Columbia could not be classed as an age-stratified society in the same sense as other societies, it is not unreasonable to assume that people between the ages of 25 and 54 years would tend to be more financially independent than younger or older people. It is significant that the census of both 1931 and 1941 indicate Pentecostal affiliation was weakest in that middle age bracket (1931: 35.8% of British Columbia Pentecostals were between 25 and 54 years cf. 44.2% of the general population and 1941: 36.5% of British Columbia Pentecostals were between 25 and 54 years cf. 42.2% of general population.) A much larger proportion of the Pentecostals was younger and thus, presumably, less financially independent (1931: 49.7% of British Columbia Pentecostals were under 25 years cf. 43% of the general population and 1941: 48.2% of British Columbia Pentecostals were under 25 years cf. 37.8% of general population.)

Further analysis of the figures for the Pentecostals under 25 years raises several questions. In 1931, proportions were largest for the 10 - 19 year group (25.1% of Pentecostals cf. 
17.8% of general population). This fits well with the picture of large, aggressively evangelizing youth groups presented by Klan.\textsuperscript{54} It is significant in that many of that age group had enough independence to make their own choices with regard to religious affiliation but still had little or no economic independence. Thus, in a sense they represented a marginal economic group.

In 1941, however, while Pentecostals were still strongly represented in the 10 - 19 year old bracket, the under 10 year bracket had become proportionately largest (19.2% of Pentecostals cf. 13.8% of general population.) This is explainable only in terms of a much higher than average birthrate for Pentecostals. In Canada as a whole in 1941, the Pentecostal birthrate was higher than that of all other Protestant groups, with the exception of Mennonites. The Pentecostals did not experience nearly as significant a drop in birthrates between 1931 and 1941 as any other religious group in the nation.\textsuperscript{55} While birthrates are not listed by religious group for the provinces, the number of Pentecostal children under five years in British Columbia indicates that Pentecostal birthrates in British Columbia were approximately equal to the national Pentecostal average.\textsuperscript{56} In a province where the general birthrate was significantly lower than the national average,\textsuperscript{57} such high birthrates would have had an even greater effect on growth rates.

High birthrates may be attributed to either a lower socio-economic level or to a value system different than that of an acquisitive, industrialized society.\textsuperscript{58} Both probably have some
bearing in this case; Pentecostals generally appeared to be of the lower socio-economic strata, but they also were keenly aware of their separation from the surrounding culture. Their whole stress on the supernatural in religion was in direct opposition to the materialistic culture around them. In support of the assertion that Pentecostalism's religious distinctiveness played a role in the high birthrates is their attitude regarding another important area relating to family life—their very strong propensity to marry within Pentecostalism. With the exception of Mennonites, among whom language and cultural issues played a very large role, Pentecostals were more likely to marry within their own group than any other Protestant denomination in Canada. This is remarkable when it is considered that the relatively small size of Pentecostalism reduced the number of eligible marriage partners. Yet, the sense of alienation from society prevailed to produce the high rate of marriage within the group.

The proportion of Pentecostals in British Columbia over the age of 55 years also has some significance. In 1931 that proportion, 14.5%, was just a little higher than the 13.3% of the general population over 55 years. This would not have been a significant difference had not the middle-age category been so under-represented among Pentecostals. The difference may have been due to a greater attraction towards Pentecostalism among the frequently financially insecure older population. But it may also have been due to a greater affinity among those who reached adulthood before the turn of the century for a style of religion reminiscent of traditional frontier Methodism. This
appears to be borne out by the 1941 Census which shows a decline from 1931 in the proportion of Pentecostals over 55 years relative to that of the general population (15.4% Pentecostals were over 55 years cf. 19.8% in the general population.) In other words, many reaching adulthood by 1900 would no longer have been alive in 1941.

As indicated in Chapter Two; traditional Methodism never became deeply rooted in British Columbia, however, it did have its strong advocates and did take hold in several areas. The Fraser Valley from Abbotsford east to Chilliwack is probably the best example of such an area. Thomas Crosby and Charles M. Tate, both advocates of Methodist fervency, were early missionaries in the area. The earliest and longest-lived camp meeting in the province, featuring old-time Methodist enthusiasm, began in the Chilliwack/Sumas area in 1869 and continued until about 1910. The early establishment of P.A.O.C. churches in Abbotsford and Chilliwack, the organization of the first Pentecostal camp meeting in the province near Chilliwack and the strong showing of Pentecostalism in the area on the 1931 census (1.2% of population cf. .3% in the province as a whole) may have resulted partially from older Methodists seeking to recapture that past.

Immigration and ethnicity is another factor which must be considered when analysing the rapid Pentecostal growth of the period. Pentecostals were twice as likely as the general population to be of Scandinavian, German and Dutch extraction. In 1941 most Pentecostals (65.8%) were of British extraction as were the majority of British Columbians (69.9%) but a sizeable
minority of the Pentecostal population (21.8%) was of Scandinavian, German and Dutch ancestry (cf. 9.4% of the general population.) Although no exact correlation exists, regions of the province, such as the Peace River and Okanagan/Similkameen, which had high proportions of these groups, also had higher than average proportions of Pentecostals. Klan mentions the high proportion of Germans among the Pentecostals in the Okanagan Valley and of Scandinavians in and around Dawson Creek. These ethnic groups increased as a proportion of the provincial population between 1931 and 1941, largely because of increased immigration from the Prairie provinces where they were strongly represented. Their adherence to Pentecostalism is understandable given the strength and early establishment of the movement in their homelands and in the Prairie provinces where Swedish and German-speaking Pentecostal bodies existed.

Immigrants from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta were more than twice as likely as the general population to be Pentecostals. In 1931, only 8.3% of British Columbia's population had been born in the three Prairie provinces but 18.3% of the province's Pentecostals had been born there. Unfortunately, the 1941 census does not include individual provinces in the cross-listing of denominations by place of birth but it is highly probable that a good proportion of the Pentecostal growth in British Columbia was due to immigration from the Prairie provinces for the following reasons: 1. The depression years of the 1930's saw greatly increased immigration from that region, particularly from Saskatchewan and Alberta, so that by 1941 the number born there had doubled and the
proportion had increased to 14.1% of the British Columbia population.²⁹ 2. Pentecostalism was strongly entrenched and growing rapidly in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In 1941 it was proportionately stronger in Alberta than anywhere else in Canada with the exception of New Brunswick, where it was only marginally stronger. In Saskatchewan the movement was almost as strong as it was in Alberta.⁷⁰ It is thus highly likely that the substantial immigration from those two provinces brought with it many Pentecostals. 3. Immigrants from Alberta and, especially, Saskatchewan were more likely to settle in rural areas and smaller urban centres than were immigrants from Manitoba and Ontario.⁷¹ It is not unreasonable to assume that the proportionately greater Pentecostal growth in the regions outside of the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island was, at least in part, due to such immigration.

Another group which contributed to the growth of Pentecostalism outside of the Lower Mainland and Victoria regions was composed of conservatives who did not have access to any other evangelical church. In a great number of centres in the province in the 1930's, as Orr noted, there were no conservative evangelical churches. The Regular Baptist churches centred on southern Vancouver Island, part of the Lower Mainland and several towns in the Okanagan and Thompson region. The Salvation Army was represented in similar areas and also in several centres in the Kootenay, a few tiny Plymouth Brethren assemblies met outside the southwest corner of the province and the Free Methodists were beginning to make inroads in the Okanagan Valley. In many towns the Baptist Convention of
British Columbia had not established churches and where it did have a church, it was not always conservative and strongly evangelistic. Thus, the Pentecostals were very often the first explicitly evangelical group to become established. They frequently gained the support of other evangelicals in the area who regarded Pentecostalism, despite a style and emphasis considerably different from that to which they were accustomed, as a better option than the existing mainline churches from which both they and the Pentecostals were alienated. In some cases, the existence of a handful of such members made it possible for the new church to become established and survive.\(^72\)

Thus a number of different groups within British Columbia society were more likely than the average to be attracted to Pentecostalism in the period. People of the lower social strata; teenagers and young adults; older people reared in the holiness Methodist tradition; residents of German, Scandinavian and Dutch extraction; immigrants from the Prairie provinces and non-Pentecostal evangelicals not served by their own denomination all were more prone than other groups to become Pentecostals.

However, only in a very few instances did an active Pentecostal congregation emerge spontaneously from these groups.\(^73\) The vast majority of churches required strenuous evangelistic campaigns and ongoing pastoral care to attract and coalesce new converts and any existing sympathizers into a viable, ongoing congregation. Without such efforts, predispositions towards Pentecostalism could easily fade away or be channeled into other directions. Thus a crucial factor in
the growth of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was the availability of a large number of workers committed to spreading their message throughout the province. Most of these were indigenous to British Columbia and had been converted during the Price campaigns of the 1920's in Vancouver and Victoria. Some had been trained in the short-term Bible school held in Victoria in 1925-26, others left the province for the Prairies or for the American Pacific coast for training in Pentecostal Bible schools and quite a number received no formal training. Quite a large number of them were women. Klan lists at least twenty-five single women who travelled the province, often in pairs, as evangelists and pastors. The province also received an influx of ministers from other parts of Canada but suffered a net loss of ministers to the United States.  

It is difficult to explain the availability of such workers without giving due consideration to their commitment and absolute conviction about the rightness of their cause. Almost no denominational money was available for home missions and only sporadic support came from the established urban churches as the foreign mission fields received the vast majority of attention and money available. Many supported themselves by working at secular employment and frequently paid for the majority of other costs, such as building rental or construction, from their earnings. Others survived on the meagre offerings and gifts in kind which their small congregations could afford. Because of the unpopularity of Pentecostalism among both the more respectable and the rowdier elements of the province's towns and the tiny size of most the congregations, little could be gained.
in the way of status from serving as a minister. But a fervent conviction of the absolute truth of evangelical doctrines, strongly augmented by a sense of the reality of the supernatural and a consequently heightened awareness of a clear distinction from the "world," provided significant motivation for their efforts.

Mennonites

Another development not evident to Orr, but one which was to become of major significance in the province's evangelical community, was the beginning of a large-scale immigration of Mennonites. Until the late 1920's only a few scattered Mennonites lived in the province but an influx beginning in 1928 and continuing throughout the 1930's resulted in a 1941 census figure of 5,119 Mennonites in British Columbia. That figure was to triple over the next decade to 15,387, making Mennonites the largest evangelical group in the province after the Baptists. However, their cultural isolation prevented them from closely identifying with, or being fully accepted by, the English-speaking majority of evangelicals for a few years. Nevertheless, as assimilation began removing cultural and linguistic barriers, it became clearly evident that the majority of the new immigrants shared a revivalistic, pietistic heritage with many other evangelicals in the province and shared with all evangelicals an alienation from the liberal and secular elements of the wider culture.

Early in 1928 ten Mennonite families arrived at what is now Yarrow, near Chilliwack, in response to advertisements in the
Free Press Prairie Farmer and the Mennonitische Rundschau for land from the recently reclaimed Sumas Lake. That initial immigration soon became a rush as drought and crop failures in the Prairies provinces, most notably in southern Saskatchewan, caused hundreds of Mennonite families to look to the mild climate and fertile soil of the Fraser Valley.

Available land in Yarrow soon was taken and settlement spread into nearby Agassiz and Sardis. In 1930 cheaper, recently logged land twenty miles west of Yarrow in the Abbotsford area began to attract large numbers of settlers and the central Fraser Valley thus soon began to rival Yarrow as the centre of Mennonite settlement. Some also moved further west into the Coghlan and Langley Prairie districts. In search of large enough tracts of land for compact Mennonite settlements, some families moved to a 7,000 acre tract of recently reclaimed lake bottom at Pitt Meadows, north of the Fraser River, and others moved to a 10,000 acre tract at Black Creek, on the east coast of Vancouver Island. The Pitt Meadows settlement failed due to drainage and transportation problems but a small, permanent settlement developed at Black Creek. A drift into Vancouver in search of well-paying employment was underway by 1930 but for several decades a large majority of the Mennonite settlers remained rural with many becoming successful small fruit, poultry and dairy farmers.78

The significance of the rapidly growing numbers of Mennonites in British Columbia for the larger conservative Protestant community was heightened by the fact that most were recent Russian immigrants who came to identify with the
revivalistic Mennonite Brethren Church rather than with the rival Conference of Mennonites. In 1940, the adult, baptized membership of the province's eight Mennonite Brethren churches stood at 1,131 while the nine Conference Mennonite churches claimed a total of only 336 members.79

This difference in size can be explained in terms of the different histories and characteristics of these two major Mennonite denominations. The Mennonite Brethren movement was born in the mid-nineteenth century during religious awakenings in the Mennonite colonies in Russia. Those forming the new congregations cited spiritual decadence, laxity of church discipline and a lack of clarity regarding the conversion experience as reasons for leaving the established Mennonite churches.80 Baptist influences resulted in the adoption of the practice of the baptism of believers by immersion. Contact with German Plymouth Brethren evangelists strengthened the emphasis on the conversion experience and contributed to the spread of dispensationalist teachings among the Mennonite Brethren.81 The movement grew from 4.3% of the Mennonite population in Russia in 1888 to 22.5% by 1925.82

No Mennonite Brethren were among the influx of 8,000 Mennonites into Manitoba in the years 1874-80 but some came with the 10,000 who entered the United States in the same period. Several Mennonite Brethren churches became established in Manitoba in the 1880's through evangelism efforts from the United States and approximately twenty congregations were established in Saskatchewan during the pre-WWI influx of farmers, which included Mennonite Brethren from the American
The estimated membership in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1912 was 1,200. The exodus of Mennonites fleeing Russia in 1923-30 brought a surge of Mennonite Brethren growth in Canada; approximately one-quarter of over 20,000 refugees were identified with the movement. By 1928 the newcomers had established six new congregations in Ontario, seventeen in Manitoba, ten in Saskatchewan and five in Alberta. In addition, their numbers almost inundated the already existing churches in Saskatchewan. Adult, baptized membership in Canadian Mennonite Brethren churches totalled 4,186 in 1931.

The other major Mennonite group in the province, the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (its members generally were referred to as Conference Mennonites) was formed from a considerable variety of groups and was thus not as homogenous a body as was the Mennonite Brethren denomination. The origins of the Conference was among both Mennonites of Swiss origin in eastern North America who were moving away from many of their old world customs and among the Russian Mennonites migrating in the late nineteenth century and the 1920's. In order to accommodate the different groups it came to stress tolerance, the principle of congregational autonomy and the accommodation of different emphases and theology. It was regarded as too progressive by the most culturally conservative Mennonite groups but as too culturally conservative and doctrinally latitudinarian by the more revivalistic Mennonite Brethren.

The greatest expansion of the Conference occurred after 1923 as an estimated two-thirds of the large 1923-30 influx from Russia, not being either strongly conservative or revivalistic,
identified with the Conference Mennonites. Congregations were established from Ontario west to Alberta by 1931 and the baptised, adult membership of the renamed Conference of Mennonites in Canada stood at 8,911, over twice the size of the Mennonite Brethren membership.

In British Columbia, however, as previously noted, the situation was reversed during the settlement process and the Mennonite Brethren dominated numerically. This was partly because the Brethren migrated to the West Coast first and in greater numbers. They also, however, absorbed almost all the members of the Alliance, a group struggling to find a mediating position between the two major groups, and won over many members of the Conference churches. Between 1932 and 1947 a number of Conference members, including some key leaders, sought rebaptism by immersion and requested membership in Mennonite Brethren churches. According to Frank Epp, who wrote the major history of Mennonites in Canada, this was because the Brethren "were more numerous, had stronger leaders, and offered a more lively, committed, and simple religious experience." Their missionary purpose, clarity of doctrine and predictability of church discipline were powerful attractions to other Mennonites.

An analysis of the minutes of the General Council and semi-annual and quarterly conferences of the Mennonite Brethren in British Columbia support Epp's view of the character and priorities of the denomination. A sense of separation and differentiation from the "world" and "unbiblical," or liberal, denominations is evident. In contrast to the Conference churches, which were less concerned with, and less unified over,
matters of personal conduct and church order, the Mennonite Brethren churches expressed considerable concern in such matters. Meetings of the male membership, or "brotherhood," of the local congregation and sometimes of the delegates at provincial conferences exercised church discipline, including excommunication.93 Also in contrast to the Conference churches, many of "which had an educational approach and catechism classes to induce faith and to prepare the young people for baptism and church membership"94 the cataclysmic conversion experience of individuals was of paramount importance to the Brethren. For example, the 1932 semi-annual meeting admonished the churches to use Bible conferences, which had most of the characteristics of the old Methodist protracted meetings, and home visitation for this purpose. Sermons delivered in devotional services prior to the business sessions repeatedly stressed over the years the themes of salvation, conversion and the crucial evangelistic responsibility of the church.95

As a consequence of this theology, the Mennonite Brethren churches organized to combine their efforts in evangelistic outreach programs. From the first recorded assembly of British Columbia church delegates in 1931, every subsequent meeting concerned itself with scheduling visits from the established churches to Mennonite families scattered in outlying areas of the Lower Mainland. In 1937 a full-time worker for this task was appointed and in 1939 a second worker was added. In addition to home visitation, these workers organized Sunday Schools and worship services where possible. The mission effort, paid for by churches' contributions to the Home Missions
treasury, was primarily directed to the evangelization and encouragement of Mennonites and other German-speaking people but occasionally, and increasingly, ministry was directed to English-speaking residents. 1939 saw the beginnings of a related, but separate, outreach ministry, known as the West Coast Children's Mission. It was interdenominational in name but was entirely dependent upon the Mennonite Brethren churches for support and workers. No permanent churches resulted from its work among children in the early years, but after 1945, when it came under the direct control of the Mennonite Brethren conference of British Columbia it was successfully used to begin a number of churches.

The Mennonite Brethren saw Vancouver as "the critical point" of their mission work in British Columbia. One of the chief items of business at the 1931 meeting of the newly established churches of the eastern Fraser Valley was to undertake the support of a "home for Mennonite girls working in Vancouver." Considerable fear existed regarding the dangers of life in the city. One minister commented,

I hope to God that the economy in our communities improves, so that wage earning will no longer be a compelling requirement. I am not surprised that mother and fathers are deeply concerned and often think about their children in the big city with heavy hearts. They have reason to! Therefore, you dear parents, urge your girls to join the Home and to spend their free time on Thursdays and Sundays listening to God's word.
The purpose of the home was to act as a referral centre for young women seeking jobs as domestics, to provide residential quarters for girls working on a day basis and to be the social and spiritual centre for the women. The matron of the home was expected to be a counsellor to the girls and to lead those not converted into an experience of salvation. 101

In 1934 the churches unanimously decided to launch a mission in Vancouver in order to gather the increasing numbers of Mennonites in the city into a Mennonite Brethren church. 102 Two years later this was accomplished and the Vancouver church grew rapidly to become one of the larger of the Mennonite Brethren churches. However, the appointed missionary continued to work in the city and expanded his field to include work among non-Mennonite Russian immigrants and preaching for the German Baptists. 103

The establishment of a wave of Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in Western Canada in the 1930's was indicative of the significant place that doctrinal "soundness" and evangelism played in the denomination. The new churches in British Columbia established three such schools in the 1930's; at Yarrow in 1930, Abbotsford in 1936 and Greendale (Sardis) in 1938. The schools were all connected to individual congregations and were not very large, although the Yarrow school had enrollments as high as fifty in the 1930's. 104 The founding of the schools reflected the affinities of the Mennonite Brethren with wider conservative Protestantism in North America. They were modelled, at least in part, after Moody Bible Institute and other like institutes that sprang up in Western Canada. Their
goal was to establish students in "sound doctrine" and were seen as sources of evangelistic fervor and of workers. As was the case in most North American Bible institutes, they generally taught from a strongly dispensationalist point of view.

The schools' goals and orientation heightened the Brethren sense of alienation from the "world" but brought them more closely into the orbit of general evangelicalism. A Mennonite Brethren historian has argued:

... In response our own Bible institutes introduced major emphases on doctrine and apologetics. Resources for these courses were largely drawn from authors of evangelical fundamentalist orientations. In contrast to this emphasis there was little reference to the original. ... Anabaptist understanding of faith and life. ... The curricula of our Bible schools provided only very limited emphasis on the understanding of our faith in distinction to that of American fundamentalism. ...

Conference Mennonites were not entirely uninterested in the issues and causes which gripped the Mennonite Brethren. For example, they established a Girls' Home in Vancouver in 1935 and a Bible school in Coghlan in 1939. However, their greater tolerance and acceptance of diversity kept them from embracing the hallmarks of North American evangelicalism as wholeheartedly. This may have helped to preserve their identity as separate from evangelical Protestantism but at the same time it may have made it more difficult for them to keep their young people. Epp argues that growing exposure to the outside world
made an act of personal decision increasingly important to the winning and keeping of the young. The revivalistic style and intense commitments of the Mennonite Brethren demanded such a decision but the Conference churches did not as readily use such evangelistic means.

By 1941 the Mennonite Brethren were still distinct from other evangelical groups in the province because of language and cultural barriers. However, they clearly displayed the characteristics which would, in the not-too-distant future, encourage increasing cooperation and identification with the wider evangelicalism. As was true of the separatist Baptists and Pentecostals of the same period, the emphases which kept them alienated from the world and liberal, mainline Christianity were instrumental in their rapid growth. They stressed unambiguous doctrinal stands, were ardently committed to winning individual converts out of the world, and established congregations which embodied their sense of alienation from the surrounding culture.
NOTES, CHAPTER FIVE


5. The records of Mount Pleasant Baptist have never been opened for the purpose of historical research.


8. Ibid., 11.

9. Ibid., 11.


12. Romans 13:8, King James Version.


21. Carpenter, "The Renewal of American Fundamentalism, 1930-1945," 8-9, suggests a similar social diversity was typical of urban American fundamentalist churches.


31. Interview with Mr. Kenneth Smith, Vancouver, 15 Feb., 1982.

32. The issue is thoroughly recounted in Richards, *Baptists in B.C.*, 103-7.


34. Compiled from Metropolitan Tabernacle, *Membership Rolls*, 1928-34.


38. All figures are from the 1951 census, Vol. X, Table 36.


41. Compiled from the Baptist Union Year Book, 1928-44, Statistical Reports. For a discussion of the significance of the baptism to membership ratio see Samuel J. Mikolaski, "Peeking over the Baptist Horizon," Parts I & II, The Canadian Baptist, May, 1979, 4-5 and June, 1979, 5-6 and "Baptists on the March," The Canadian Baptist, November, 1982, 4-5.

42. Compiled from Pousett, "The History of the Regular Baptists," Tables 1-17.

43. Compiled from Metropolitan Tabernacle, Membership Rolls, 1928-34.

44. Western Baptist, February, 1944, 1.


48. Compiled from Klan, "Pentecostal Church Growth," Chapter VI, which is a thorough, region by region account of the expansion of the P.A.O.C. into all areas of the province. Especially useful are Figures 3-5, which are maps indicating the number of new churches established in consecutive time periods.
49. Ibid.


52. The term refers to the tendency in many societies for wealth to be concentrated in the upper-age categories. For example, see Philip J. Greven, "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Mass.,” William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. ser., 23 (1966), 234-56.

53. All figures pertaining to age in this and following paragraphs are compiled from 1931 Census, Vol III, Table 20 and 1941, Vol. III, Table 15.

54. E. g., Klan, "Pentecostal Church Growth," 98 and 124.

55. 1941 Census, Vol. I, Chapter 10, Table 12.

56. Ibid., Table 8 cf. 1941 Census, Vol. III, Table 14.

57. Ibid.


60. Runnals, It's God's Country, 25-26, 51 & 54. It is significant that Tate, then an elderly missionary to the Indians, was a very strong supporter of the 1922 Price campaign in Victoria. Western Methodist Recorder, Vol. 22, No. 10 (April 1923): 1.


63. Compiled from 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 5.

64. 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 6.


67. At least into the 1950's, the proportion of Pentecostals to general population in Sweden was higher than anywhere else in the world. Also, the congregation in Oslo, Norway, was considered to be a major centre of the movement. Hollenweger, The Pentecostals, 63-64 & 218-50 and Bloch-Hoell, The Pentecostal Movement, 65-74, 90-91 & 179-81.

68. Compiled from 1931 Census, Vol. IV, Table 8.

69. Compiled from 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 18.

70. Compiled from 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 36.

71. Compiled from 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 18.

72. Klan, "Pentecostal Church Growth," Chapter 5, mentions more than ten towns in the province, as large as Port Alberni/Alberni with a population of 3,000 where there was no other strongly evangelical church.

73. Several examples of spontaneous gatherings were: Chilliwack, where cottage prayer meetings had formed in the late 1920's; Penticton, where several Pentecostal families from Saskatchewan began meeting together and Rutland, where a German Pentecostal group formed. Klan, "Pentecostal Church Growth," 126, 132 & 152.


76. E.g., see Arthur H. Townsend, Sodbusters (New York: Vantage Press, 1957) which, in anecdotal fashion, provides glimpses of the life of a pioneering Pentecostal preacher in north-central B.C.

77. 1951 Census, Vol. X, Table 36.


80. Toews, History of the Mennonite Brethren, 13-68.


83. Toews, History of the Mennonite Brethren, 131-38 and 153-60.

84. Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), Table 7, 323.

85. For details of the migration, see Epp, Mennonite Exodus; Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, Table 27, 269-89 and Toews, History of the Mennonite Brethren, 161-75.

86. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, Table 34, 487.


88. Epp, Mennonites Exodus, 312.

89. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, Table 34, 87.

90. Ibid., 403-04 and footnote 26, 439 in which Epp, who was the son of a Conference Mennonite pastor in B.C. in the period, expresses his distaste for the trend.


92. E.g., Conference of M. B. Churches in B.C., Minutes of Semi-Annual Conference, 2 June, 1935 and Minutes of General Meeting, 12 June, 1938.


96. M.B. Churches, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, Nov. 1940.

97. The mission's development is recorded in Peter Penner, Reaching the Otherwise Unreached (Clearbrook, B.C.: West Coast Children's Mission of B.C., 1959).


100. M.B. Churches, Minutes of Semi-Annual Meeting, 10 Nov. 1940.


103. M.B. Churches, Minutes of Quarterly Meeting, 23 Feb., 1937 and Nov. 1940.


106. Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940, 84-85 and M.B. Churches, Minutes of General Meeting, 7 Aug., 1938, which contain an outline of a clearly dispensationalist sermon delivered by A. Nachtigal, the founder of the Yarrow school. Students at the Abbotsford school indicate that dispensationalism was taught as accepted orthodoxy. Interview with Mrs. Freda Riddle, Abbotsford, 18 May, 1987.


109. Ibid., 472.
CHAPTER SIX

1941-1960, Period of Transition - Institutional Developments

The most evident development in British Columbia conservative Protestantism in the 1940's and 1950's was a marked shift in its "centre of gravity" from institutions affiliated largely with mainline evangelicals to a number of smaller, homogeneously conservative denominations. This was of vital significance to evangelicalism because its growth was thus not dependent upon just the three conservative strands which developed after 1917 and reflected the geographic, social and ethnic makeup of the provincial population in the 1920's. Instead, its makeup changed to reflect some of the alterations taking place in the composition of the population of British Columbia in the post-war period. It became more diverse institutionally with more denominations actively striving to win new members and establish new congregations.

The process of shifting had begun, as described in Chapter Five, with the broadening of the institutional base, which included the rapid development of Metropolitan Tabernacle, independent Baptist congregations, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the Mennonite Brethren.

The process was accelerated over the next two decades by four major means: 1. the affiliation of several existing entities, previously connected in some way to mainline evangelicalism, with homogeneously evangelical denominations newly arrived in the province; 2. the increased growth and institutional strengthening of the Pentecostals and Regular
3. strong post-war immigration into the province which introduced several significant new groups and greatly strengthened the Mennonites and 4. significant progress in the transition of the Mennonite Brethren into an assimilated evangelical denomination. This chapter will deal with the first two of these means and Chapter 7 will cover the latter two.

Symbolic of the shift was the transfer of ownership in 1956 of V.B.T.S. (renamed Vancouver Bible Institute - V.B.I.- in 1950) from its interdenominational board to the Baptist General Conference, a relative newcomer to Vancouver. At approximately the same time, six independent congregations, several of them quite large, and a number of mission churches, mostly begun by V.B.T.S. graduates working under the British Columbia Evangelical Mission, affiliated themselves with either the Baptist General Conference or the Evangelical Free Church of America.

In the above cases, and some others as well, American organizational and financial strength as well as American methodology and emphasis were significant in the shift. In British Columbia the Baptist General Conference, the Evangelical Free Church of America and the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel were, to some degree, extensions of larger American organizations. Perhaps the most visible examples of American influence in the post-war period were the large Youth For Christ rallies held in Vancouver in the late 1940's and 1950's. Beginning in 1947, the Chicago-based organization used the 1,300 seat auditorium of St. Giles United Church, which was purchased by Evangelistic Tabernacle the following year, to
stage weekly Saturday night youth rallies. Its methods were decidedly more revivalistic, flamboyant and "American" than those of the mainline evangelicals involved in youth work with the more British I.V.C.F. Nevertheless, its methods were very successful in Vancouver and its rallies, drawing from a wide cross-section of churches, frequently filled the large auditorium.\(^1\)

The American influences must not be exaggerated, however. Most of the leadership in British Columbia of the denominations based in the United States was Canadian and trained in Canada. Much of the evangelical growth in the period was due to immigration from Europe and the Canadian prairies. Also, two of the larger groups in the province, the P.A.O.C. and the Regular Baptists, were developing their own, distinctly Canadian, institutions in the 1940's. The Regular Baptists rejected affiliation with a larger American body in favor of establishing ties with evangelical Baptists in the rest of Canada.

Most of the newer groups were not as militantly exclusive as was Metropolitan Tabernacle or the more subdued Convention of Regular Baptists. However, they did stress clearer lines of demarcation from the "world" than did the mainline evangelicals. Most significantly, the new denominations were homogeneously conservative and, with the exception of the Orthodox Calvinist churches recently arrived from Holland, were strongly committed, as denominations, to evangelistic outreach.

The new groups were largely of the "believers' church" tradition in that they admitted only converted adults to church membership and baptised only believers. Local congregations
were of primary importance to them because, with their practice of exclusivist church membership, they best embodied the view of the church as a company of believers separate from the world. The establishment of new congregations was a major commitment among them, as it was with the P.A.O.C. and the Regular Baptists. As a result, by 1960 the number of evangelical congregations outside the mainline denominations had risen to approximately 350, well over double the number in 1940.

**Mainline Conservatives**

From 1928 to 1940, the organizations and institutions associated with mainline conservatives had continued and even expanded to some extent. In many ways they fit Carpenter's description of the consolidation and growth of evangelical institutions in the United States in the period. In several years in the 1930's V.B.T.S experienced healthy enrollments, both part-time and full-time, of over one hundred. The Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (I.V.C.F.) at U.B.C., strongly encouraged by a steady flow of C.I.M. missionaries enroute to China, remained strong and vital throughout the 1930's, a period of general decline on other campuses in Western Canada. The British Columbia Evangelical Mission (B.C.E.M.) grew in the 1930's and peaked in the mid-1940's with fourteen stations. In addition, the British Columbia Sunday School Mission (B.C.S.S.M.), an evangelistic organization working with children in isolated areas of British Columbia's interior, was founded in 1929. Margaret Fraser, a graduate of V.B.T.S., initiated the B.C.S.S.M., which was governed by a council led by Walter Ellis
and composed of three mainline conservatives and a Regular Baptist, a Plymouth Brethren and a member of Metropolitan Tabernacle. The mission flourished in the 1930's and brought vacation bible schools and bible correspondence courses to most corners of the province. In the fifteen years of its existense as a separate organization, a total of approximately 150 Bible institute students served as summer workers. In 1944 it became part of the Canadian Sunday School Mission, the most prominent evangelical organization working with children in Western Canada.

However, growth in these institutions associated with mainline evangelicals did not keep pace with that in the homogeneously conservative denominations. In addition, their constituencies shifted somewhat and the number of Presbyterians and Anglicans declined in relation to Baptists, Plymouth Brethren and members of other non-mainline groups. For example, V.B.T.S.'s reliance on Presbyterian and Anglican instructors was lessened during the 1930's as two independent Baptists, one Regular Baptist, one Convention Baptist and a Plymouth Brethren served on its part-time faculty in the decade. Its council continued to be denominationally mixed but the mainline influence declined there as well. In 1942 Oswald Smith, member of the independent Metropolitan Tabernacle and, after 1943, of Mount Pleasant Chapel (Plymouth Brethren), was elected its president. The growth in the student body in the 1930's was largely due to increased numbers of independent Baptists, Plymouth Brethren and members of Metropolitan Tabernacle. An example of the increased use of V.B.T.S. by non-mainline groups
was the practice of Marshall Sheppard, the Sunday School superintendent of Mt. Pleasant Chapel, the largest of Vancouver's Plymouth Brethren assemblies, of regularly bringing his whole staff to Ellis' Thursday evening lectures.\textsuperscript{10} The more mainline Convention Baptists, however, continued to contribute the largest single group of students.\textsuperscript{11}

The death of Walter Ellis at the age of sixty-one in 1944 removed the most respected mainline evangelical leader and hastened the shift which had begun in the previous fifteen years. He was succeeded as principal of V.B.T.S. by Joseph E. Harris, a Convention Baptist minister in Alberta and British Columbia before and after his principalship. Harris was able to work quite well with the Presbyterians and Anglicans in the school's constituency but, understandably, was more successful in appealing to the mainline Baptists.\textsuperscript{12} At the same time, however, the influence of non-mainline groups increased.\textsuperscript{13}

V.B.T.S. enjoyed a brief post-war surge in enrollments, with forty full-time students and sixty-five part-time students in Vancouver plus nineteen part-timers in a short-lived extension school in New Westminster.\textsuperscript{14} By 1950, however, a sharp decline had set in and a discouraged Harris returned to the pastorate in 1952. He was replaced by Edward I. McPhee, a young Presbyterian minister, who was unable to increase the school's appeal to either the mainline evangelicals or other conservatives. In 1956, enrollment was so low that the council decided not to proceed with the 1956-57 academic year. Instead the buildings and other assets were offered to several groups in the hopes that one would "be sure to continue to train young
people for the Lord's work."¹⁵

A combination of factors contributed to the decline of V.B.I. After World War II use of the International Uniform Lesson series in Sunday Schools fell into decline, causing V.B.I.'s weekly public lecture explicating the curriculum for Sunday School teachers to decline in attendance.¹⁶ The fall of the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China in 1949 necessitated the closing of the C.I.M. home in Vancouver, removing a constant source of encouragement to the school. In 1949 the Baptist Union of Western Canada (Convention, or mainline, Baptist) opened its own lay training institute in Calgary to provide its young people with an alternative to the non-denominational Bible institutes.¹⁷ This made it difficult for V.B.I. to recruit students in what had previously been its most fertile field.¹⁸ Five years earlier, the Regular Baptists had opened their own school in the province, cutting off the trickle of students from that source. V.B.I.'s inclusive eschatological position continued to deter some students from strongly dispensationalist churches such as Metropolitan Tabernacle. The rapidly developing Bible institutes in Saskatchewan and Alberta, especially the Prairie Bible Institute in Three Hills, Alberta, were the schools with the greatest appeal to the constituency oriented to a strict view of the decline of the present age.¹⁹ Indeed, V.B.I.'s urban and more mainline character hindered it generally from being able to compete effectively with the schools in the prairies for students from the growing, non-mainline evangelical constituency. Harris wrote to the discouraged new principal, Edward McPhee in 1953, observing:
...the newer Gospel churches of small denominations or non-denominational groups are not fields in which you or I could make the appeal a man like Maxwell [of Prairie Bible Institute] could make. We are not informal enough or fervent enough or perhaps anti-denomnational enough for them.20

On the other hand, many mainline and urban evangelicals who might have looked to V.B.I. for all or part of their training for missionary or ministerial work in an earlier era were needing higher levels of schooling than it could offer. Because of its urban setting, the school was affected far more by rising levels of education than were the Bible institutes in the prairie provinces which drew from a more rural constituency. Mainline evangelicals, always more sensitive to the need for higher education than their non-mainline counterparts, were increasingly less willing to be trained in an institution which could not offer degrees.21 The strength of I.V.C.F. at U.B.C. in the same period that V.B.I. was struggling to attract students is indicative of this. Despite open opposition from the Alma Mater Society the group was thriving, with approximately two hundred student members.22

Baptist General Conference and Evangelical Free Church

In the post-World War II period, two relative newcomers, the Baptist General Conference and the Evangelical Free Church of America became well established in the province. Both had originated among Scandinavian immigrants to North America but had assimilated into North American culture and had become
closely identified with the wider evangelical movement, particularly after 1920. Neither were extremely fundamentalist but both were definitely conservative and highly concerned with a strong evangelistic and church planting thrust. Both had attempted to become established in British Columbia before World War II, but had largely failed. After the war, their efforts were assisted by the affiliation of already existing independent and mission churches in the province and by the greater availability of money from the United States and other parts of Canada for church planting.

The Baptist General Conference assumed control of V.B.I. in 1956. V.B.I.'s council had offered its assets to the Canadian Sunday School Mission (with which the B.C.S.S.M. had merged in 1944), the Evangelical Free Church of America and the Baptist General Conference. The Canadian Sunday School Mission turned down the offer but representatives of the Baptist General Conference accepted so rapidly that the Evangelical Free Church, also enthusiastic about the proposal, was unable to bring the issue to its convention for a vote before ownership had been granted to the Baptist General Conference.  

The transfer made good sense in that Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church had affiliated with the Baptist General Conference two years earlier (1954). Since the founding of the school, its relationship with Mt. Pleasant Baptist had been close. R.W. Sharpe, V.B.I.'s main benefactor until his death and first president of its council, had been a prominent member of Mt. Pleasant, the church's facilities were frequently used by the school and many of its young people had attended the school.
When discussions regarding the possibility of the transfer began, the chairman of Mount Pleasant's board was vice-president of V.B.I.s council and the church's associate pastor was an alumnus of the school.24

The Baptist General Conference had its origins in the mid-nineteenth century among Swedish immigrants to Illinois and Minnesota who had been converted to Baptist beliefs from Lutheranism. Some were converted while still in Sweden, under the influence of the pietist movement, and others were converted after immigration under the influence of the revivalism sweeping the United States in the mid and late nineteenth century. In 1856 the churches formed by the converts in Minnesota and Illinois organized as the Swedish Baptist General Conference which by 1889 included churches from New England to Washington State.25

In Canada, the first Swedish Baptist church was organized in Winnipeg in 1894. A total of twenty-six other churches, supported where necessary by both the Baptist Union of Western Canada and the Swedish Baptist General Conference, began on the prairies during the great influx of immigrants between 1896 and 1914.26 Firm establishment in British Columbia came much later. A church was organized in Golden in 1906 but it did not last more than several years. In 1910 the Swedish Baptist Church in Bellingham, Washington, assisted eighteen of its members residing forty miles to the north in Matsqui, near Abbotsford, to organize their own church. It survived but never became large because the Swedish community in the area was relatively small. The next year a Swedish Baptist church was organized in
Vancouver but was disbanded in 1928.\textsuperscript{27} Renewed immigration from Sweden in the late 1920's resulted in a large number of Swedish immigrants in Vancouver,\textsuperscript{28} especially in the winter months when logging activities at higher elevations ceased. In response, Swedish Baptists from Washington and Oregon inaugurated the Scandanavian Baptist Mission in downtown Vancouver. It continued for twenty years, offering food to the destitute and emotionally stirring revivalistic services featuring a Scandanavian string band.\textsuperscript{29} In 1948, mission work was begun in the growing newsprint town of Powell River and a congregation composed largely of non-Swedish members was formed.\textsuperscript{30}

The real breakthrough in British Columbia for the Baptist General Conference ("Swedish" was dropped from the name during W.W.II) came in 1954 when the Mount Pleasant Baptist congregation, Vancouver's second oldest Baptist Church, voted to affiliate with the Conference's Columbia district. This rather surprising move occurred for several reasons. After nearly twenty years of independence, the advantages of being part of a denomination in areas such as ministerial education, church planting work and youth programming were clearly felt. However, lingering memories of the schisms of the 1920's and 1930's and ongoing concern over the issues of tolerance of theological liberalism and of denominational centralization were enough to make both the Convention Baptists and the Regular Baptists unattractive. The Baptist General Conference was ideal because it had not been involved in the earlier schisms and was solidly conservative, yet made considerable room for the autonomy of the local congregation in areas of emphasis and practice. Of
particular interest was the Conference's mission program which was flexible enough to allow congregations to continue their support of interdenominational missions.\textsuperscript{31}

Mount Pleasant did not have Swedish origins to encourage the affiliation; indeed its membership had earlier been strongly British in orientation and outlook. However, the Baptist General Conference was rapidly losing its Swedish distinctiveness. Enough of its members saw their identity in terms of religion rather than ethnicity to remove any cultural barriers which might have stood in the way of Mt. Pleasant's affiliation. Members of the Conference increasingly viewed themselves as members of North American evangelicalism rather than of a distinct ethnic group. Their revivalistic and pietistic heritage combined with their opposition to theological liberalism had caused them to sympathize strongly with the conservatives during the fundamentalist/modernist controversy. During the 1930's and 1940's most read fundamentalist and evangelical books and periodicals and many supported interdenominational, evangelical missions. While they differed among themselves regarding their degree of acceptance of all fundamentalist doctrines and emphases, almost all came to view the barriers erected by American conservative Protestants against modernism as safe bulwarks behind which to assimilate themselves into North American culture.\textsuperscript{32}

The affiliation of Mount Pleasant Baptist with the Baptist General Conference set off a significant chain reaction in the Lower Mainland region. In 1954 Mt. Pleasant was sponsoring two mission churches in south Vancouver which, with financial
support from the Conference's sale of the Scandinavian Mission, were able to amalgamate, acquire property and build a large sanctuary. That same year, a mission in North Vancouver, begun in part by Mt. Pleasant members, officially affiliated itself with the church and, thus, the Conference. Taking the name Delbrook Baptist upon organization as a church in 1955, it grew very rapidly to become one of the larger evangelical churches on the North Shore. As previously noted, the acquisition of V.B.I. in 1956 was closely related to Mt. Pleasant's transfer of allegiance. The new orientation of V.B.I was instrumental, in turn, in persuading the independently minded Broadway West Baptist Church, Vancouver, one of the four congregations that had left the Regular Baptist Convention to become independent in the 1930's, into joining the Baptist General Conference in 1957. At about the same time, the B.C.E.M. was winding down its work and encouraging the congregations of its mission stations to affiliate with some evangelical church or denomination. Three of the missions voted to organize as churches and affiliate with the Baptist General Conference, one in east Vancouver and two in Burnaby. They were influenced to do so by their close ties with V.B.I. through workers trained there and with Mt. Pleasant Baptist through one of the mission's active board members. A fourth mission, in Aldergrove, begun by the B.C.E.M. but turned over to the Mennonite Brethren West Coast Children's Mission in 1957, voted in 1959 to organize as a church and join the Conference. Finally, in 1959, an independent church in Coquitlam begun by the Regular Baptists in the 1940's but since alienated from them, voted to join the
Baptist General Conference.  

At the same time as the Conference was growing in British Columbia due to the affiliation of existing churches and missions, it was also beginning new churches. With the aid of Mt. Pleasant Baptist and of grant money from churches in Washington and Oregon, significant new churches were begun in Surrey and Coquitlam and a mission was launched in Deep Cove.

Thus in the space of six years, 1954-60, a Bible institute, three independent congregations and six missions already in existence and three newly begun churches and missions were added to the two existing Baptist General Conference Churches in British Columbia. The fourteen congregations and missions totalled just over eight hundred members and drew nearly 1,700 children to their Sunday Schools in 1960. Significantly, only the small Matsqui church had a substantial number of members of Swedish heritage.

The origins of the Evangelical Free Church are quite similar to those of the Baptist General Conference. Evangelical awakenings in Scandinavia in the latter part of the nineteenth century produced converts who, upon immigration to the United States, organized congregations emphasizing pietism, missions and congregational autonomy from hierarchial and state control (thus the name "Free"). Further revivals and evangelistic efforts produced many new converts from among the largely Lutheran immigrants. The Swedish Evangelical Free Church was formed in 1884 and the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free Church Association in 1891. The two bodies developed separately but the fading of linguistic and nationalistic barriers paved the
way for their merger in 1950 into the Evangelical Free Church of America.\textsuperscript{41}

The first continuing Evangelical Free Church in Canada was formed in 1917 in Enchant, Alberta, as a result of revival meetings among Norwegian settlers recently arrived from the United States. Active evangelism continued in Alberta and Saskatchewan throughout the 1920's but no other churches were established until 1932, when three were established in eastern Saskatchewan. Up to that point, the identity was strongly Norwegian and all the converts and church members were of Norwegian origins.\textsuperscript{42} Very quickly, however, the ethnic identity faded and the group became known more as a theologically conservative body intensely concerned with the evangelization of a wide variety of ethnic groups.

The natural process of assimilation was accelerated by the close relationship which developed between the new denomination and Prairie Bible Institute (P.B.I.) From the late 1920's onward, relatively large numbers of Evangelical Free students studied at P.B.I.\textsuperscript{43} That association increased, and the predominantly ethnic orientation of the denomination decreased rapidly as a result of radio evangelistic campaigns which brought an unprecedented evangelical revival to Alberta and parts of Saskatchewan.

Oscar Lowry of the Moody Bible Institute conducted a six-week radio campaign on Calgary's C.F.C.N. in the Fall of 1938. He had been invited to Calgary by Lee Fosmark, a P.B.I. graduate and pastor of the Enchant Evangelical Free church, and was backed financially by P.B.I. The results were phenomenal: Lowry
received 5,700 letters from listeners, mostly from Alberta, and over 1,000 conversions were reported. A 1939 campaign broadcast from Grand Prairie's C.F.G.P. was similarly successful. Fosmark felt the radio campaigns "...just set the province of Alberta aflame." Daily evangelistic broadcasts conducted by other radio preachers kept the revival fires burning at least until 1947. 44 W. E. Mann quotes J. D. Carlson, the most successful, as claiming that his audience totalled 500,000 listeners who sent him 300 to 400 letters per day in the winter months. 45

The influence of the revival on both P.B.I. and the Evangelical Free Church was impressive. The Bible institute's enrollment nearly doubled from 280-295 between 1933 and 1938 to 475-544 between 1940 and 1944, in spite of war-time conditions which caused other similar schools to decline. 46 The Evangelical Free Church had been stagnant in 1938, the Enchant Church was at a very low ebb, almost closed, and no new churches had been opened in six years. However the denomination capitalized on the great receptivity to the evangelical message created by the radio broadcasts and opened eleven new churches in Alberta and western Saskatchewan between 1940 and 1947, nearly quadrupling its roster of congregations in those provinces. In addition, preaching was going on at thirty-five other stations by 1945. Significantly, P.B.I. supplied the pastors for the churches and workers for their mission stations, summer camps, and vacation Bible schools. Thus, even though no great change in doctrine had occurred, the Evangelical Free Church quickly became more identified with P.B.I.'s emphasis on evangelism, missions and the believer's separation from the "world" than with ethnic
This strong relationship between the Evangelical Free Church and P.B.I and the weakening of the ethnic identity of the denomination were both further encouraged by the merger of the Fellowship of Gospel Churches with the Evangelical Free Church in 1957. The Fellowship was composed of approximately twenty independent churches in Alberta and Saskatchewan, most of which had been begun by, or were then pastored by, graduates of P.B.I. Included among the ministers associated with it were several who had left the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church, a primarily Swedish body, out of disenchantment over an allegedly liberal position regarding the authority of the Bible at the denomination's North Park Seminary in Chicago. Influenced by their training at P.B.I., they felt that loyalty to Scripture as final authority took precedence over denominational loyalties and they thus threw in their lot with the fledgling Fellowship. After several years of discussion, eighteen churches of the Fellowship formally merged with the Evangelical Free Church in 1957, bringing the total number of Evangelical Free congregations in the prairies to forty-three. The P.B.I. influence continued to be strong for some time thereafter. As late as 1966, thirty of the school's graduates were pastors of Evangelical Free Churches in Canada.

Expansion of the Evangelical Free Church into British Columbia was first attempted in 1930 in the form of a downtown Vancouver mission to the Norwegian-speaking population but was discontinued after several months. Six years later the pastor of the Enchant, Alberta, church moved west to begin an English-
speaking Evangelical Free Church on the east side of Vancouver. With financial assistance from the United States, the new Vancouver congregation, Bethel Evangelical Free Church, developed and was formally organized in 1938. The following year a branch Sunday School was begun in New Westminster, and after developing slowly was organized as a congregation in 1945. At about the same time a new, independent, congregation in White Rock affiliated with the denomination. In the next five years, these first three churches launched an additional three, bringing the total to six by 1950. The next decade saw extraordinarily rapid growth as fifteen additional churches were added throughout the province, particularly in the more remote areas, bringing the total to twenty-one in 1960. The new congregations were generally small and total membership was just under 900 but their Sunday Schools were much larger, enrolling over 3,000.

Several factors combined to account for such rapid development. Included among the twenty-one churches were four which had existed prior to affiliation as either independent congregations or as mission stations of the B.C.E.M. These were located in Surrey, White Rock, Delta and Victoria. One of them, Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church, quickly became the largest Evangelical Free Church in Canada and one of the larger churches in Surrey. It was formed as the result of the 1957 merger of Green Timbers Bible, begun by V.B.T.S. students in 1929, and of the Hjorth Road Mission which had been started by the B.C.E.M. in 1935.
The decisions of the above churches and missions to affiliate with the Free Church were strongly influenced by the informal, yet nevertheless real, connections between the Evangelical Free Church and P.B.I. Graduates of the school had either served at the various locations or were well-known by the people involved. The Green Timbers Bible Church, for example, had been started by students of V.B.I. and had maintained such a close connection with the school that the deed to its property had been taken out in the name of Ellis and other members of the council. However, the church also developed links with P.B.I. through several of the workers serving it who had studied at P.B.I. Consequently, enough was known of the Evangelical Free Church, which was not yet well-known in its own right in British Columbia, for it to be considered an option by the group seeking some kind of wider affiliation.

The distinctive emphases of the Evangelical Free Church were also a major factor. It was theologically conservative enough to satisfy those trained in the fundamentalist atmosphere of P.B.I., yet was flexible enough on denominational issues that often separated evangelical groups to satisfy those used to an interdenominational approach. The baptism of adult believers, for example, was generally practiced but not always insisted upon. In addition, each congregation had at least as much autonomy as that which had attracted some to the Baptist General Conference.

Another factor favoring the rapid spread of the Evangelical Free Church in the province was the increased availability of denominational funds for the construction of new churches.
beginning in 1950. In that year the ethnically Norwegian Evangelical Free Church Association and the ethnically Swedish Evangelical Free Church merged to form the Evangelical Free Church of America. This added the greater numerical and financial strength of the Swedish Free Church in the United States to that of the Norwegian Free Association, to which all the Canadian churches had belonged up until that time. The Swedish Free Church had undergone considerable assimilation and in the process had closely aligned itself with evangelicalism in the United States. This had been aided by the organization of its Bible institute as a department of that powerful bastion of conservative evangelicalism, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, from 1916 to 1930.\textsuperscript{58} Thus, the new body to which the Canadian Free Churches belonged was as theologically conservative and evangelistically motivated as had been the Norwegian Free Association. A strong interest in Home Missions resulted in grants and loans towards a number of the new church buildings in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{59}

Equally, if not more, important than the infusion of funds from the United States was an infusion of Bible institute graduates, particularly from P.B.I., to pioneer the new churches. They came imbued with a missionary fervor that caused them to seek out towns and villages where few or no evangelical churches existed. Despite increased denominational funding, most needed to be at least partially self-supporting through other employment. In the majority of communities, they had almost no existing core of committed people to work with; therefore they had to rely on strenuous evangelism efforts in
order to build the new congregations.  

In two communities, however, Langley and Terrace, groups of ex-Mennonites welcomed the new pastors and formed substantial portions of the membership. In the case of the Langley congregation, begun in 1948, the largest part of the founding membership came out of the Conference Mennonite church in Coghlan, several miles to the east. The dissidents were English-speaking, younger people dissatisfied with the cultural conservatism of their Mennonite Church which had stemmed, in part, from the flood of German-speaking post-war immigrants. In addition, several of their number had been trained at Bible institutes in the prairie provinces, including P.B.I., and returned desiring to belong to a church which was more fervently evangelical than was their Conference Mennonite congregation.  

A comparison of the geographical distribution of the Evangelical Free Churches in the province with that of the Baptist General Conference illustrates their differing orientations. All but three of the Conference's churches in 1960 were concentrated in the Greater Vancouver region, and the other three were nearby. On the other hand, over half of the Evangelical Free churches in 1960 were outside the larger urban and suburban areas with the largest concentrations in the Central Interior, Cariboo and Thompson regions. The strong urban and suburban concentration of the Baptist General Conference can be explained, at least in part, by the vital link between the churches and missions affiliating with it and the urban V.B.I. The many P.B.I. graduates serving the Evangelical Free Church, however, were not generally urban oriented nor
socially adept in the cities but were well-trained for, and committed to, rural and backwoods missions.\textsuperscript{63}

**Regular (separatist) Baptists**

The Convention of Regular Baptist Churches entered this period in a numerically weak state due to the schisms among the fundamentalist Baptists after their departure from the old Baptist Convention. As noted in Chapter 5, considerable overall growth had taken place, but the gains for the Regular Baptists were more than matched by the losses due to churches opting for independence. Strong growth, however, took place after World War II. Unlike the groups studied earlier in this chapter for which American and/or Canadian Prairie influences were critical, the Regular Baptists developed their own ministerial training institution in the province and rejected affiliation with a larger American denomination.

Prior to 1945, ministerial training had been difficult for the Regular Baptists. Ministers were generally brought in from Eastern Canada or Great Britain but often they did not adjust well to their new environment and did not stay long. V.B.T.S.'s inclusive, interdenominational stance made it unacceptable to many Regular Baptists for ministerial training but attempts to begin their own school in Vancouver in 1929-30 and Victoria in 1936-37 were short-lived.\textsuperscript{64} British Columbia students had been advised to study at T.T. Shield's Toronto Baptist Seminary until 1937 and at Western Baptist Bible College in Calgary from 1937 until 1941. The latter had been started by Westbourne Baptist Church, Calgary, in 1934, five years after the church had
separated from W. Aberhart and his Prophetic Bible Institute but classes were suspended in 1941 due to war-time conditions. In 1945 the college was renamed the Northwest Baptist Bible College and reopened as a joint venture of British Columbia and Alberta Regular Baptists in a renovated hotel building in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia. The much smaller Alberta group desired the aid of the larger number of British Columbia churches in the school's operation and was willing to relocate it in the proximity of a greater number of potential students. In 1958 the college relocated to Vancouver and the following year, newly empowered by the province to grant theological degrees, was renamed Northwest Baptist Theological College.

During its thirteen years in Port Coquitlam, the college's enrollment was small, hovering between twenty and twenty-five students, but its impact on the development of the Convention of Regular Baptists was significant. In its first fifteen years of operation it graduated just over sixty students, many of whom assumed pastorates of existing churches or attempted to begin new ones. In many cases they were successful and, despite the new losses described below, the number of churches and missions doubled from twenty-five in 1944 to fifty-one in 1960. Most of the new churches were in smaller centres, where Baptists tended to be underrepresented. Membership growth kept pace in the period, increasing from 1393 to 2701, and Sunday School enrollment more than doubled from 2075 to 5575.

A dramatic challenge to the Canadian identity of the Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia came in the form of an opportunity to affiliate with the massive Southern
Baptist denomination of the United States in the early 1950's. For some time, many Regular Baptists had felt the need for the wider fellowship, unified programming, published materials and increased Baptist overseas mission fields which only membership in a larger denomination could provide. Fellowship and cooperation with the old Convention churches was out of the question to most and the Baptist Bible Union of North America had passed out of existence in the 1930's. T.T. Shield's Regular Baptist Union of Ontario and Quebec was too distant and the Regular Baptist group in Alberta was too small to contribute much beyond their cooperation in the college and in an infrequently published joint newsletter. Informal fellowship meetings with Regular Baptist pastors in Washington State were attempted for a time during and after World War II but these became increasingly unsatisfactory and were soon abandoned. The Washington pastors' nondenominational outlook and nearly unanimous dispensationalist stand contributed to the demise of their meetings. The opportunity to affiliate with another American organization, the Southern Baptist denomination, also contributed to a flagging interest in continuing the meetings among some British Columbia ministers. 70

The Southern Baptist Convention added millions of members across the United States after World War II and vigorously organized churches in Oregon and Washington. Many British Columbia Regular Baptists were attracted by the Southern Baptist Convention's strong Sunday School and evangelism programs and its strong denominational identity. They longed to be part of a dynamic, growing organization and felt that the only way
Baptists could hope to evangelize Canada was by joining forces with the Southern Baptists.\textsuperscript{71} The leadership of the Southern Baptists in Washington and Oregon made several visits to British Columbia as guests of the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches and, while being careful not to offend their hosts, they certainly did not discourage such sentiments.\textsuperscript{72}

The issue was kept to the fore by several younger British Columbia pastors who pressed for direct affiliation with the Southern Baptists in 1953. A crisis was precipitated when Emmanuel Baptist church of Vancouver associated itself with the Southern Baptist Convention later in 1953. Several smaller churches followed its lead and divisions occurred in still other churches over the issue. These steps and fears of widespread defections caused genuine alarm among Regular Baptist leaders and led to a resolution to "... continue in undivided fellowship."\textsuperscript{73} At the 1955 annual convention delegates overwhelmingly reaffirmed their "loyalty to the convention and its interests."\textsuperscript{74} With the lines thus drawn, the inroads stopped. In 1955 the Southern Baptist strength in British Columbia stood at four churches in the Vancouver area and one in Kamloops. The direct loss to the Regular Baptist churches was approximately 250 members.\textsuperscript{75}

A combination of factors had worked to dampen the enthusiasm of the majority of British Columbia Regular Baptists towards the Southern Baptists. On the one hand, their southern brethren seemed too liberal by accommodating a few allegedly modernistic elements within itself and condoning such "worldly" practices as the use of tobacco.\textsuperscript{76} On the other hand it appeared
too narrow and sectarian by rejecting the validity of any baptism not performed under the auspices of a Baptist church and by practicing "closed communion," the exclusion of all but members of the local congregation from the communion service.77

The major cause of the inability of the Southern Baptists to attract a greater number of Regular Baptists was the strength of Canadian national feeling. Although many truly were attracted by the successful programs of the Southern Baptists, the majority could not allow their organization to be swallowed up by a vast American denomination. Some regarded the Southern Baptist problem as a "foreign intrusion."78 The editor of the Western Regular Baptist wrote in 1954:

We are Canadians. Let us stay Canadian. Canada needs the testimony of Canadian Baptists. If we can profit by the methods of our American Baptist brethren, well and good. But let us preserve and promote the distinctive work of our Canadian Baptist organization. This editor feels that it is time to turn our eyes towards the East.79

This expressed the editorial position of the Western Regular Baptist throughout the crisis period.80 Of particular importance was the need for a Canadian, as opposed to American, Sunday School curriculum.81 Those who joined the Southern Baptists blame such nationalistic sentiments for preventing more Regular Baptists from following them.82

As an alternative to an American affiliation, discussions quickly began with the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists in Canada (F.E.B.C.). The F.E.B.C. had been created in 1953 by the
merger of the Union of Regular Baptists in Ontario (formerly led by T.T. Shields) and the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches in Ontario, and was eager to become a Canada-wide organization. The discussions resulted, first, in increased cooperation between Regular Baptists in British Columbia, the Prairie provinces, Ontario and Quebec and culminated in 1965 with the F.E.B.C. becoming a nation-wide organization of over three hundred churches.83

The successful weathering of the Southern Baptist crisis and the development of Northwest Baptist Theological College contributed to the creation of a stronger Regular Baptist identity and prepared it for marked growth in the succeeding decades.

Pentecostals

Pentecostal expansion in British Columbia continued at a remarkable rate during the 1941-1961 period. Growth was especially rapid in the Central Interior, Thompson and Peace River regions and on Vancouver Island. Growth in the Lower Mainland, where just under 10,000 Pentecostals resided in 1961, was also very strong. Province-wide, the 1951 census figure of 11,781 was more than double that of 1941 and the 1961 figure of 19,998 represented a further 70% increase.84 By 1951, the proportion of Pentecostals to the general population in British Columbia was as large as that of any province west of New Brunswick. Most of the Pentecostal population was affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. By the mid-1950's the number of P.A.O.C. churches in the province exceeded one
The explanations for Pentecostal growth discussed in chapter Five also apply in this period. High birth rates and the predominance of youth continued. In 1961, 50.2% of the Pentecostal population was under twenty-five years of age compared with 44% of the general population. Lower and lower-middle class people continued to be strongly represented in its ranks. Census enumeration by electoral districts in Vancouver in 1961 seems to confirm this. The Kingsway district in the predominately working-class east side of the city reported 825 Pentecostals while the middle and upper-middle class Quadra district, with approximately the same total population figure, reported only 439 Pentecostals. To better reflect the geographical distribution of its membership, Sixth Avenue Tabernacle, Vancouver's leading P.A.O.C. church, relocated from the Kitsilano district on the west-side to East Broadway in 1947. A P.A.O.C. church remained in Kitsilano but it was much smaller. Increased immigration in the 1940's from the Pentecostal strongholds of Saskatchewan and Alberta likely brought with it many new members. However, the massive post-war immigration from foreign countries brought in only about 1,000 Pentecostals, resulting in a proportion of Pentecostal immigrants to existing membership which was less than one-half that of the general population.

During the war period several institutional developments in the P.A.O.C. in British Columbia took place which also contributed to numerical growth. In 1941 the first permanent P.A.O.C. Bible institute in British Columbia opened in Victoria
with the purpose of training workers, especially pastors who could begin new churches in the province. Previously, most British Columbia students had travelled to one of the P.A.O.C. schools in Saskatoon, Winnipeg, Seattle or San Francisco. Many of the better qualified accepted positions outside the province and subsequently never returned.

The new British Columbia Bible Institute was patterned after, and drew its staff from, the denominational college in Winnipeg which had been developed by J.E. Purdy. Because of the influence of Purdy, a former Anglican clergyman and graduate of Wycliffe College, Toronto, the academic standards were higher than might be expected but the school's purpose was far more to produce evangelists and church-planters than it was to train academics. Rev. P.S. Jones, the British Columbia district superintendent from 1945 to 1953, challenged the student body with the slogan, "A Pentecostal flag in every community in British Columbia." The student body in the first year was eleven but it jumped to nearly eighty immediately after the war and was the main source of the workforce used in establishing the more than forty new churches in the province in the period. In 1951 the growing school relocated to its own facilities in North Vancouver.

In 1941 the P.A.O.C. added a marine component to its evangelistic ministry. A total of six "gospel boats" operated along the British Columbia coast in the period, as many as four at the same time. More than a dozen churches were established in remote coastal towns by this means, most of them on the north end of Vancouver Island. In several areas the response from the
native Indians was strong and at least three native congregations were established in the period. The 1961 census reported 801 native Indian Pentecostals in the province, making Pentecostalism proportionately nearly twice as strong among that group as among the general population. Pentecostalism, by census count, was the third largest denomination on the Indian reserves near Port Alberni and on the north end of Vancouver Island and the second largest on the Bella Coola area reserves.

Further denominational development in the war-period saw the appointment of a full-time director of Sunday Schools in 1944. Prior to that time, the P.A.O.C. had not specifically concentrated on attracting children by means of Sunday Schools. In 1941, the sixty-six P.A.O.C. churches were operating only forty-three Sunday Schools, most of them very small. By the early 1950's, however, almost all of the 100 churches had a Sunday school and many operated branch schools, some of which developed into full-fledged congregations. The size of Sunday schools also expanded dramatically, five attracted over two hundred children and Broadway Tabernacle's Sunday school, with 650 pupils, was the largest in the P.A.O.C. nationwide. The Kamloops Sunday school became the third largest, with over 500 children. Rev. Philip Gaglardi, pastor in Kamloops, vigorously promoted the Sunday school by means of his radio broadcasts and began operating the first P.A.O.C. fleet of buses in Canada to transport the children.

The P.A.O.C. rounded out its denominational institutions by adding a vigorous program of Vacation Bible Schools for children
in 1944, a provincial women's auxiliary in 1944, a youth organization in 1945 and three permanent campgrounds, near Abbotsford, Nanaimo and Nelson, purchased between 1949 and 1953.

The spread of Pentecostalism in British Columbia's population was also significantly aided by several smaller Pentecostal groups and independent Pentecostal congregations, each with slightly different emphases and practices than the P.A.O.C. By 1960, approximately thirty Pentecostal congregations not affiliated with the P.A.O.C. had become established in the province, two-thirds of them since 1941. About half of the non-P.A.O.C. churches were in Victoria and the Greater Vancouver area, resulting in a considerable concentration of Pentecostal churches in the major urban centres. A number of others were established in towns such as Trail, Penticton, Chilliwack, Abbotsford, Langley and Nanaimo which already had P.A.O.C. churches and a few were begun in smaller centres which had no other Pentecostal church. In some cases, the proliferation of different varieties of Pentecostalism resulted in confusion and division, but generally the net result was an increase in the number of people drawn into the movement. This was because it created a greater number of newer congregations which needed to attract outsiders if they were to survive, it made necessary a larger number of clerical and lay workers committed to spreading the Pentecostal message and it made available more Pentecostal options for those disaffected, for whatever reason, from other Pentecostal congregations.
The California-based International Church of the Foursquare Gospel increased from five congregations in 1941 to ten in the mid-1950's. Six of the churches and approximately 1,200 members were in the Lower Mainland. The three churches on Vancouver Island and in Penticton were quite small. Vancouver was the focal point of the church in Canada and the small Bible institute in the city graduated several workers each year to serve churches in British Columbia and in other parts of the country.

The independent Evangelistic Tabernacle, the largest Pentecostal church in Vancouver for several years in the 1920's, again surged to prominence in the 1940's after a severe slump in the 1930's. Under the leadership of Rev. E. Baxter it relegated its non-trinititarian, "Jesus only", doctrine to a very minor, almost neglected role and concentrated on expansion and the planting of new churches. In 1948 it purchased and refurbished the 1,300 seat building of St. Giles Presbyterian Church in the Mt. Pleasant district and soon began drawing near-capacity congregations. Workers trained in the Vancouver church spread out in the late 1940's and the 1950's to establish new congregations. By 1960, nine churches had sprung up as a result, six in the Lower Mainland, one on Saltspring Island and two in the Interior.

In 1955 Evangelistic Tabernacle and several of its daughter congregations entered into a loose affiliation with the Apostolic Church of Pentecost. The denomination was formed in 1921 as a Calvinistic Pentecostal alternative to the more Arminian P.A.O.C. by Pentecostals in Ontario and Manitoba.
Western Canada became the centre of the denomination as strong churches developed in Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Moose-Jaw, Eston and Calgary. In 1930 it began a downtown mission in Vancouver which developed into a congregation and moved into Burnaby. The denomination's Bible institute was moved from Grenfell, Saskatchewan, to Port Coquitlam in the late 1930's but was closed in 1946 and subsequently reopened in Eston, Saskatchewan. Despite that setback it continued to expand in the province and by 1952 had opened additional churches in Victoria and Surrey.

Vancouver became a leading centre of a newer branch of Pentecostalism in the late 1940's known as the "Latter Rain" movement. Its origins are usually traced to North Battleford, Saskatchewan but it can also be viewed as a wider response to developments within North American Pentecostalism. Many Pentecostals in North America were feeling by the late 1930's that the growth and development of Pentecostalism had resulted in some of the symptoms of institutionalism, denominational centralism and declining fervor for which earlier Pentecostals had criticized other Protestant denominations. The North Battleford group included several Bible school teachers who had broken from the P.A.O.C. school in Saskatoon over the issue of centralized control of the school. They had also attended and been powerfully impressed with the Vancouver healing crusades of William Branham, an American faith-healer of world renown. Branham had attracted overflow crowds to Vancouver's Exhibition Garden in late 1947 with what appeared to many to be genuine demonstrations of miraculous powers of insight and physical
healing.106

A growing climate of fervent expectancy in North Battleford culminated in the spring of 1948 in a powerful revival of Pentecostalism which attracted thousands from across the continent. In the following months, teams of speakers from North Battleford spread to various centres. One of the most receptive was Vancouver, which in turn became a centre from which the fervour spread. Glad Tidings Temple, a P.A.O.C. church in east Vancouver which had originated as a downtown mission in 1930, became the focal point in the city and began attracting enthusiastic overflow crowds in late 1948.107 In 1950, Glad Tidings broke from the P.A.O.C. and became independent as a result of opposition from denominational leaders over what was seen as excesses in doctrine and practice. It developed quickly as a large congregation, known for its fervent, demonstrative worship, and began branch works in the mid-1950's in Chilliwack and Abbotsford.108

With the inclusion of several other independent Pentecostal congregations, the total number of Pentecostal churches in the province exceeded 130 in 1960. Although the Canadian-based, institutionally developed P.A.O.C. denomination predominated, the variety of congregations reflected the many possible variations within North American Pentecostalism: Canadian/American, Calvinist/Arminian, trinitarian/"Jesus only", hierarchical/congregational, and denominational/independent. In combination with the range of other factors, this variety made possible the growth of Pentecostalism into one of the larger groupings of evangelicalism in British Columbia.
NOTES, CHAPTER SIX


3. V.B.I., Principal's Reports, Council Minutes, 1932-40.


6. F. Brook, Story of a Winter (n.p., c. 1930); interview with Miss M. Manley and Mrs. L. I. Bennet, Vancouver, 8 Nov. 1983 and Margaret Fraser Papers in possession of Miss Muriel Plett, Surrey, B.C.

7. W. E. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 114-16.


21. Ibid.


27. Gordon Pousset, "Baptists in British Columbia," in Circle of Voices, 64-65 and Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 140, 262.


29. Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 30-33.

30. Ibid., 39-41 & 110.


33. Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 49 & 203.

34. Ibid., 200-01 and Stagg interview, 1 June, 1987.

35. Anderson, "The Beginnings of the Baptist General Conference in B.C."

36. Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 50-51, 194, 198 & 206.

37. Ibid., 116.

38. Ibid., 195 and Stagg interview, 1 June 1983.

39. Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 197, 202 & 207.


42. Calvin B. Hanson, From Hardship to Harvest: The Development of the Evangelical Free Church of Canada (Edmonton: The Evangelical Free Church of Canada, 1984), 15-76.

43. Ibid. 29 & 75-76 and Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 209.

45. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, 125.


47. Ibid., 223-24, and C. Hanson, From Hardship to Harvest, 97-104.


49. Muriel Hanson, Fifty Years and Seventy Places (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1967), 74.

50. C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 77-90.

51. Ibid., Appendix and 1961 Yearbook, Evangelical Free Church of America.

52. "Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church: A Thanks to God for These 20 Blessed Years," (Surrey: Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church, 1978) 1-2; Enarson interviews, 25 & 27 January, 1983 and 11 June, 1987 and interview with Mrs. J.A. Stewart, Surrey, 6 March, 1984. Mrs. Stewart was one of the founding workers of Green Timbers Mission. B.C. Evangelical News, Vols. 3-7, (1944-1948) and C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 91, but Hanson confuses the B.C.E.M. with the B.C.S.S.M.


55. Ibid.


57. Interview with Rev. Ted Handy, Abbotsford, 12 June, 1987. Handy was the first pastor of the Langley Evangelical Free Church.


59. C. Hanson, From Hardship to Harvest, 105-08.
60. Enarson interviews, 25 & 27 January, 1983 and 11 June, 1987. Enarson was district superintendent of the Evangelical Free Church's Pacific (i.e., B.C.) District from 1957-66 when much of the expansion occurred.


62. Carlson, Seventy-five Year History, 116, 140 & 193-210 and C. Hanson, From Hardship to Harvest, Appendix.


64. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 101-03 and The Daily Colonist, 9 January, 1937, 10.


68. E.g., 1931 Census, Vol. IV, Table 45 and 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 43.


70. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 113-14.

71. Interview with Rev. J. Yoder, Vancouver, 19 Feb., 1980. Yoder was a student at the Bible college in Port Coquitlam in the period and was one of the first Regular Baptists to advocate union with the Southern Baptists. See also, Western Regular Baptist, Feb. 1952, 10-11; Poussett, The History of the Regular Baptists, 130-33 and Richards, Baptists in B.C., 114-15.


73. Western Regular Baptist, July 1954.

74. Ibid., July 1955

75. Computed from Poussett, The History of the Regular Baptists, Table 26, 177

77. Western Regular Baptist, July 1955.

78. Interview with Rev. D. W. Reed, Vancouver, 20 Feb. 1980. Reed was editor of the Western Regular Baptist in the period.

79. Western Regular Baptist, Jan. 1954.

80. E.g., Ibid., July and Nov., 1954.

81. Ibid., July 1954.


84. 1951 Census, Vol 10, Table 36 and 1961 Census, Vol. 1:3, Table 86.


86. Computed from 1961 Census, Vol. 1:3, Table 84.


89. 1961 Census, Vol. 1:3, Table 126.


91. For example, more members of the Sixth Avenue Pentecostal Church, Vancouver, served in U.S. churches than the total number of Americans serving churches in Greater Vancouver from 1920 to 1980. See Burkinshaw, "The American Influence Upon Canadian Evangelicalism: Greater Vancouver as a Test Case, 1920-1980," 69-76.


96. Ibid., 150-60, 167-69, 175-77.
98. 1961 Census, Population, Special Volume, 100-05.
100. Ibid., 183-84 & 186-98.
104. Robert A. Larden, Our Apostolic Heritage (Calgary: Kyle Printing and Stationery, 1971), and "The History of Evangelistic Tabernacle".
106. Ibid., 76-88.
107. Ibid., 88-100 & 122-130. Riss gives, as an example of the wider influence of Vancouver, the case of Mrs. Myrtle D. Beall of the Bethesda Missionary Temple in Detroit, Michigan. She attended the Vancouver meetings, returned full of enthusiasm for the new movement and subsequently saw her church grow from being an Assemblies of God congregation of several hundred members to an independent congregation attracting thousands.
CHAPTER SEVEN

1941–1961, Period of Transition

Immigration and Immigrant Churches

The population of British Columbia doubled from 817,861 in 1941 to 1,629,082 in 1961. Much of the strong growth was due to massive post-war immigration from other parts of Canada and from Europe. The Prairie provinces were the largest source as the number of British Columbia residents born in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta nearly tripled from 115,236 in 1941 to 321,098 in 1961. The next largest source was continental Europe, mostly northern, as 95,104 immigrants were recorded from that source between 1946 and 1961. The population flow into the province made possible the establishment of several new evangelical groups and contributed significantly to the growth of existing churches, especially the Mennonites. In addition, the largest evangelical immigrant group in the province, the Mennonite Brethren, took some significant steps in assimilating into the evangelical subculture.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance

The Christian and Missionary Alliance (C.M.A.) is not normally considered an immigrant church, but in British Columbia its development is due to migration from Alberta and Saskatchewan to a very considerable degree. In this period it began its rapid ascent to become one of British Columbia's larger evangelical groups as former Prairie residents brought with them some of the revival spirit that had swept Alberta and
Saskatchewan in the late 1930's and the 1940's.

The C.M.A. originated in the eastern United States through the work of the Rev. A.B. Simpson, a Canadian Presbyterian born in Prince Edward Island and raised and educated in Ontario. After a very successful eight-year ministry beginning in 1865 in Knox Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, he left Canada for prestigious churches in Louisville, Kentucky, and then New York City. He became convinced, however, that established churches structurally did not allow for the kind of aggressive evangelism and practical ministries to which he was becoming increasingly committed. Consequently, in 1881 he resigned his position to launch an independent Tabernacle in New York City which would serve as a base for a more unfettered ministry. A home missions society known as the Christian Alliance, a foreign missions society, the Evangelical Missionary Alliance, and the first of North America's Bible training institutes soon developed. The two mission societies were united in 1897 under the name, the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Simpson had not intended to form a new denomination, but as a result of the successful efforts of the home missions workers, the number of churches grew over the decades to such an extent that the status was changed from that of a society to that of a denomination in the early 1970's.³

Simpson's teaching can be described as a Calvinistic form of holiness teaching, largely influenced by the Keswick Convention's emphasis on personal piety and fervent evangelism.⁴ He coined the phrase, "Fourfold Gospel", referring to Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King, to summarize his
message. He elevated themes common to many late nineteenth century evangelicals - foreign missions, home evangelism and premillenialism - and he was, in many ways, a forerunner of twentieth century Pentecostalism with his emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit in the believer's life. The C.M.A. developed along different lines than Pentecostalism, however, largely due to Simpson's insistence that "speaking in tongues" was not the only genuine evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

The C.M.A. first began a Canadian church in 1897 in Peterborough, Ontario, and preaching started about that time in several of the major centres of Ontario and in Montreal. Western Canada, which would become its centre of strength in the nation soon after World War II, remained untouched for several decades. Beginning in 1922, a strong congregation developed in Edmonton, and it served as a sending-point for a considerable number of summer evangelistic workers from bible institutes into outlying rural areas. The outreach was expanded immeasurably by means of radio programming broadcast from Edmonton, beginning in 1927.

Radio broadcasting continued to be effective throughout the 1930's so that as late as 1941 seventy percent of all C.M.A. congregations in Alberta were within the reach of the Edmonton broadcasts. The revivals begun by the 1938-39 Lowry radio campaigns and those of his successors proved to be even more beneficial to the C.M.A. than it had been for the Evangelical Free Church. One of the most successful successors of Lowry was Rev. J.D. Carlson, pastor of the Edmonton C.M.A. church. He broadcast the church's services from Edmonton, then took over
the "Sunrise Gospel Hour" on CFCN, Calgary. In 1946 his estimate of his audience was 500,000. According to Mann that figure was probably exaggerated somewhat, but Carlson certainly became well known on the western Prairies and was instrumental in beginning many C.M.A. churches. He reported:

The United Church are having trouble getting ministers and have left some towns without regular supply. For instance, at Barrhead, some 70 miles north of Edmonton, they only held services once every three weeks. And yet it was a town of 600 people. I held a service there on invitation and the community hall was crowded out. After the service we organized a branch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.¹⁹

The results were not always as instantaneous but the C.M.A. did organize branches rapidly in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1938 throughout the 1940's, often in communities from which the mainline churches had withdrawn. In the late 1930's and early 1940's, P.B.I. graduates were most often used, indeed the C.M.A. was one of the larger users of P.B.I.'s graduates. However, once its own Western Canada Bible Institute (later Canadian Bible Institute), was established in Regina in 1941 it soon began supplying most of the needed workers.¹⁰ By 1946 the C.M.A. was one of the larger of the new evangelical groups in Alberta. It was drawing approximately the same ratio of rural to urban as the province's population. As was the case with many evangelical groups in Alberta, non-Anglo-Saxons, including Mennonites and east Europeans, were strongly represented in its membership.¹¹
The establishment of the C.M.A. in British Columbia was slow and difficult prior to World War II. Services were commenced in Vancouver in 1925 but no ongoing congregation developed. The first permanent Alliance congregation in the province was formed in 1929 in Victoria, but it remained rather small. A home for C.M.A. missionaries enroute to and from the Orient was established in Vancouver in 1930 and exerted some influence in the city but it was not until 1936 that Tenth Avenue Alliance was established. It grew rapidly during World War II and was attracting over 400 to its Sunday School by 1950.

After the war growth was much more rapid. Penetration from Alberta into the eastern parts of the province resulted in the organizations of congregations in Fort St. John, Revelstoke and Trail in the late 1940's. At about the same time, Tenth Avenue Alliance helped local residents establish congregations in Chilliwack and Abbotsford. In addition, three independent works joined the C.M.A. in the late 1940's; the Gospel Lighthouse Mission in Kamloops, a Sunday school in Horseshoe Bay begun by the B.C.E.M. and the Capitol Hill Union Church, Burnaby. The latter, begun as a Sunday School in 1914, became the Capitol Hill Union Church in 1921 with Rev. A. E. Cooke and the president of the British Columbia Methodist Conference preaching at the opening service, but the congregation declined to enter the new United Church in 1925. The records do not reveal the reasons for this but it is a significant indication of the congregation's theological orientation that Walter Ellis, prior to his becoming minister of Fairview Presbyterian, was asked to
preach once per month.\textsuperscript{17} In 1926 the church secured a returned C.M.A. missionary as pastor, and an informal affiliation with the C.M.A. developed which finally resulted in its formal affiliation in 1947.\textsuperscript{18}

In the 1950's, seven more churches were begun in the province, bringing the total to fifteen. In 1960, inclusive C.M.A. membership (members and adherents) totalled 2,700 in British Columbia and approximately the same number attended its Sunday schools. The 1961 census figure for the C.M.A. was 3,512, about equal to that of Saskatchewan and one thousand less than the Alberta figure.\textsuperscript{19}

It is clear that much of the growth was due to immigration from Alberta and Saskatchewan to British Columbia. Certainly, vigorous evangelism was being carried on in the province by graduates of the Bible institute and by other workers, but it was not sufficient to explain the growth. Instead, one must look to the increasing size of British Columbia's population born in Alberta or Saskatchewan. The number of such people nearly tripled from 84,738 in 1941 to 242,919 in 1961.\textsuperscript{20} For example, Vancouver's Tenth Avenue congregation was not large until Rev. J.D. Carlson of Calgary's Sunrise Gospel Hour radio program began to preach regularly in 1944-45, commuting weekly by train to Vancouver from the Alberta city. He was unable to continue the unusual arrangement for more than a year, but in that time wartime migrants familiar with Carlson's radio preaching on the prairies filled the Vancouver church.\textsuperscript{21}

In the rest of the province, all the C.M.A. churches, with the exception of Victoria and Kamloops, were in the Peace River,
Kootenay, Okanagan and Fraser Valley regions. Significantly, the proportion of Alberta and Saskatchewan-born residents in each of these areas was considerably higher than the provincial average. In the Peace River region, where 35% of the population in 1961 had been born in the neighbouring two provinces, each of the three towns - Dawson Creek, Fort St. John and Fort Nelson - had a C.M.A. church. The largest number of churches, four, was in the Kootenay region which had the next highest ratio of Alberta and Saskatchewan born residents and was also within range of Calgary radio programming. It was not difficult to begin three strong churches in the central and eastern Fraser Valley because of a high proportion of former Prairie residents, many of them ex-Mennonites. The large Chilliwack congregation, which claimed one hundred charter members in 1948 and was drawing 400 to Sunday school and worship services by 1960, began with prayer meetings held in homes. These were begun by local residents in 1945 who, within several months, asked to be recognized by the C.M.A. Several years later, services were inaugurated in Abbotsford with a rally drawing over 700 to a local high school.

**Dutch Immigrant Reformed Churches**

The post-World War II wave of immigration also brought into the province a large number of conservative Protestants from Holland. The Christian Reformed Church and several smaller Reformed bodies became well-established in the period. These were strongly attached to Calvinism, as opposed to the pietism and, especially, the revivalism of other immigrant churches such
as the Mennonite Brethren. This different orientation resulted at first in a less ready willingness to recognize affinities with other conservative Protestants but, by the 1970's, there were indications that the Reformed people were becoming more closely identified with the larger evangelicalism.

The immigration was largely planned by the Dutch government in response to overpopulation in the homeland, particularly in the rural areas. The largest number of Dutch, nearly 10,000, arrived between 1951-56 but over 5,000 came between 1956-61. Sixty percent of the immigrants before 1956 settled outside of Vancouver, largely in the valley and delta of the Fraser River but approximately 1,000 settled on Vancouver Island and nearly as many in the Bulkely valley in the province's northwest. In the Fraser Valley they fairly quickly acquired a substantial proportion of the dairy farms, especially in the Pitt Meadows, Matsqui Prairie and Kent districts. In the 1956-61 period, however, as Canadian immigration requirements were relaxed to include greater numbers of urban workers, over one-half of the immigrants settled in metropolitan Vancouver.

Religiously, the largest group among the immigrants was the Christian Reformed Church, the Canadian equivalent of the Reformed Church, by far the largest body among the Orthodox Calvinists in Holland. The origins of this church, and of the larger movement known as Orthodox Calvinism of which it was a part, was a secession beginning in 1834 from the National Reformed Church. The secession was a reaction against the attempts of the official Protestant church to be as inclusive and latitudinarian as possible. Particularly odious to the
seceding conservatives was the growth of rationalism and romanticism, and a consequent decline in Calvinist orthodoxy, in many quarters of the National Reformed Church.\textsuperscript{30}

Although comprising only 9.7\% of the population in Holland in 1947, the Orthodox Calvinists comprised 41.2\% of the 1948-52 immigrants to Canada.\textsuperscript{31} Several reasons account for their strong proclivity to emigrate to Canada. Post-war rural overcrowding in Holland and demands for agricultural labourers in Canada contributed to a predominance of immigrants of rural origins among the Dutch migrants, especially before 1954. Orthodox Calvinists, many of them agricultural labourers or the sons of farmers, were quite concentrated in the crowded rural areas of the northern provinces that provided a high proportion of the immigrants.\textsuperscript{32} Rapid secularization and the growth of socialism in Holland also made immigration attractive to many. These left for Canada "to begin again, to build up a new life that could be good, secure, safe and clearly responsive to God's law for life in all its aspects."\textsuperscript{34}

In addition, the Orthodox Calvinist churches most vigorously of all the churches sponsored emigration. Emigration was viewed in the Orthodox Calvinist press as a "calling". One editor wrote:

A professing Christian, who believes unconditionally in the Bible and who wants to dedicate his whole life to King Jesus in accordance with God's written Word, carries his Bible under his arm; and with his Bible he finds at the other end of the globe the same calling as in the Netherlands.\textsuperscript{36}
The biblical command "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it, and have dominion." was seen as having particular relevance to the Dutch Calvinists. As residents of one of the most densely populated countries in the world, they had a special responsibility to "help develop the bare spots on the map of the world." The sponsoring of emigrants was, then, a missionary function, the best means by which the Dutch Calvinist view of society could be spread to the rest of the world.\(^{35}\)

Thus, with religious motives for emigrating being added to the acute economic pressures, the Orthodox Calvinists were quick to reproduce their own religious institutions. By 1961, nineteen Christian Reformed churches had been established in British Columbia, seven in the Fraser Valley, five in the Bulkley-Skeena Valley, three in metropolitan Vancouver, two on Vancouver Island, and one in both Vernon and Prince George. Only the Vancouver (1926) and Houston (1939) churches had existed prior to the war.\(^{36}\) The churches were generally quite large, averaging over 300 members, including children. The 1961 census listed 6,816 British Columbians as being Christian Reformed.\(^{37}\)

Other distinct, Calvinist institutions were also established. Christian schools were founded to inculcate the Calvinist world-view in their children. Beginning in Vancouver (1949) and Abbotsford (1953), by 1960 they had been established in all major centres of Dutch immigrants in the province.\(^{38}\) In addition they founded or joined the Christian Labour Association, Citizens for Public Justice, organizations to provide personal and family counselling, housing for senior
citizens and the mentally handicapped and supported post-secondary educational institutions in the United States.\textsuperscript{39}

Two smaller, more conservative, groups were also part of the immigration of Orthodox Calvinists. The Canadian Reformed Church was established by immigrants who in 1944 had separated from, or had been expelled from, the Reformed Church because of a dispute over the meaning of baptism in the church statutes. Just over ten percent of the members of the Reformed Church had become part of the new body in Holland by 1947, but the Canadian Reformed Church membership in British Columbia was approximately fifteen percent of that of the Christian Reformed Church in the province. Approximately 1,000 members, including children, belonged to five British Columbia congregations of the Canadian Reformed Church in 1961, three in the Fraser Valley and two in the Bulkely Valley.\textsuperscript{40} In addition, a large congregation of the Netherlands Reformed Church, with nearly 800 members, was established in Chilliwack. Its Dutch lineage went back to one of the nineteenth century secession groups that had declined to merge with the Reformed Church later in the century.\textsuperscript{41}

In contrast to these Orthodox Calvinists who hastened to erect their own religious institutions, the immigrants who had belonged to the official, more accommodating, National Reformed Church, one-quarter of all Dutch migrants, were reluctant to establish their own churches in British Columbia. The Reformed Church in America had been formed by such immigrants in the United States in 1628 and by 1960 had grown, largely through late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century immigration, to become a mainline body of nearly 900
churches with 325,000 members. Post-World War II immigrants had established nineteen congregations of the Reformed Church in America by 1960 in Ontario but only three small congregations with a total of approximately three hundred members in British Columbia. Most of the potential members of the Reformed Church of America in British Columbia in the post-war period, and indeed some of its officials, were uncertain about the need for a separate church. Most of the more accommodating or liberal ones among them dispersed to mainline Canadian denominations such as the United or Presbyterian Churches, but others joined the conservative Christian Reformed Church. This resulted in the absence of a strong, more liberal, mainline Protestant denomination in British Columbia which could readily appeal, because of familiar ethnic characteristics, to the newly-arriving Dutch immigrants. Therefore, unlike most areas in North America the field was virtually left wide open to the Orthodox Calvinist groups.

The insistence of the Orthodox Calvinist groups on the need for their own institutions was not mainly to preserve ethnicity. The immigrants wanted to learn and speak English and accept Canadian social mores as quickly as possible. In contrast to the early Mennonite churches in the Lower Mainland which used the German language for an average of twenty to thirty years after their founding, the Vancouver Christian Reformed Church was broadcasting its services on radio in English in the 1930's, within a decade of its founding. The name John Knox was used for several Christian Reformed schools to remove ethnic connotations. In 1959, while immigrants from Holland were still
arriving in the city, the Vancouver school of the Christian Reformed Church refused to distribute a new Canadian Christian school magazine because some of its articles were written in Dutch. Instead, religious grounds justified the separate institutions. Orthodox Calvinists resolutely rejected liberal Canadian Protestantism because of its lack of creedal conviction and its social gospel emphasis which seemed to suggest that social transformation could be achieved by human effort apart from the conversion of the individual. On the other hand, they were uneasy with their fellow conservative Protestants, the evangelicals, for several reasons. The majority of the evangelicals had been sufficiently influenced by the pietist and revivalist traditions to deny the Calvinist doctrine of divine election and to seem to limit religion to a personal conversion experience and to personal morality. At the same time it must be recognized that there was a greater recognition of areas of commonality between the Orthodox Reformed and the evangelicals than between such conservative groups as the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church and the evangelicals. Nevertheless, the Orthodox found themselves religious, if not ethnic, aliens to an even greater extent than did most evangelicals and they thus established and maintained their own separate institutions. Not until considerably later would they recognize sufficiently their mutual opposition to liberalism and secularism to facilitate greater cooperation with other conservative Protestants. Until then, they positioned and configured somewhat differently the walls between themselves and the broader society than did most
other conservative Protestants.

Other Immigrant Churches

Post-war immigration strengthened several smaller ethnic bodies. The Evangelical United Brethren, a Methodistic holiness group almost totally of German extraction, was very well-established in Alberta before the war but had only one British Columbia congregation, in Chilliwack, at that time. By 1960, however, congregations had emerged in Vancouver, Richmond and Kelowna. The 1961 census reported 2,650 adherents in the province.

Before 1940, four German Baptist churches had been established, two in Vancouver and one each in Prince George and Kelowna. They belonged to the North American Baptist General Conference, which had begun as a German-speaking division of the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States but which had since become an independent denomination. Immigration from Germany and from Alberta, where German Baptists had been strongly established since World War I, resulted in the doubling of the number of churches. The Central Interior, the Okanagan and the Lower Mainland remained the major areas of concentration.

A significant issue is how the Lutherans, members of the largest Protestant immigrant body in the province in the period, are to be considered in relation to the evangelicals. Between 1941 and 1961 the number of Lutherans reported on the census increased from 41,884 to 100,393. Certainly, many of these, especially of the Missouri Synod, would have to be considered as
conservative Protestants because of their firm affirmation of the Bible as the written Word of God. However, as was the case in the United States, theologically conservative Lutherans watched the liberal/conservatives battles from the sidelines. Ecclesiastical, doctrinal and ethnic differences between Lutherans and the vast majority of evangelicals made recognition of commonality mutually difficult. For example, the state-church heritage of Lutheran immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia created an understandable difficulty for most evangelicals who were of the "free church" persuasion. The Lutheran view of the sacraments and of traditional liturgy was also vastly different from the typical evangelical position. The large number of national groups represented in British Columbia Lutheranism made ethnicity a special problem, even though few Lutheran groups clung tenaciously to ethnic distinctiveness. Conservative Lutherans in the United States had for the most part remained aloof from the fundamentalist movement in the United States, largely for the above reasons, but also out of concern over the premillennialism of most fundamentalists, which they considered nearly as serious an error as modernism. In British Columbia there is little evidence of contact and cooperation between Lutherans and other conservative Protestants.

Mennonites

The two decades from 1941 to 1961 witnessed a quadrupling of the size of the Mennonite population in the province from 5,119 to 19,932. At the same time Mennonites experienced major
tensions over their character and identity. The tensions were not fully resolved in the period, but the Mennonite Brethren, especially, took significant steps in the direction of reducing the ethnic identity in favor of becoming a body more oriented toward evangelistic outreach in the English language to the wider population.

The massive numerical growth was due largely to war-time and post-war immigration. Mennonite immigrants arrived from three separate locations in the period: the Canadian prairies, Europe and Paraguay. The Canadian prairies provided the largest number. By 1961 the total number of British Columbia residents born in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta had increased by over 200,000 from the 1941 figure. Thousands of Mennonites were part of this population movement, attracted by the viability of small agricultural holdings, the mild climate and the growing concentration of Mennonite institutions in the centres of Yarrow and Abbotsford. Post-war Europe was a second major source of immigrants between 1947 and 1953. Over 8,000 Russian Mennonites, displaced by the conflict between Germany and Russia, fled to Canada. Approximately 2,000 of these made British Columbia their destination, 1,023 in 1948 alone. Then, from 1954 to 1961, Paraguay became a major source of immigrants. Post-World War I emigrants from Manitoba and Saskatchewan and refugees from Russia in the 1920's and 1940's had created Mennonite settlements in Paraguay with a combined population of 12,000 by 1951. Economic hardships and the unfavorable climate led 3,400 of these to depart for Canada by 1961, approximately 1,000 of whom came to British Columbia. In addition to these
from Russia and Paraguay who settled directly in British Columbia, many who at first had settled in the Prairie provinces soon moved westward to British Columbia or eastward to Ontario. 60

Within British Columbia a marked westward shift from the older settlement of Yarrow to the Abbotsford area and Vancouver occurred. The failure of the previously successful producers' co-operative in Yarrow combined with improving opportunities in the Central Fraser Valley and Vancouver created the shift. Between 1941 and 1958 Mennonite Brethren membership in Vancouver soared from 188 in one church to 1,023 in two churches and membership in the one Conference church in Vancouver increased in the same period from 60 to 404. The combined M.B. and Conference membership in the Central Fraser Valley increased from 433 in four churches in 1941 to 2,310 in eight churches in 1958. However, the Yarrow Mennonite Brethren church, which had 434 members in 1940, peaked at 875 members in 1950 but declined to 708 in 1958. 61

The Vancouver Mennonite membership settled mainly in the southeast section of Vancouver, with a very dense concentration of several hundred families in approximately one square mile between Main and Fraser Streets and 41st and 49th Avenues. 62 An analysis of the forty new members received by the Vancouver M.B. church in 1950 indicates that one-third were recent arrivals from Europe, one-third had moved to the city from Yarrow, one-sixth had migrated from the Canadian prairies, and most of the remaining few had been born and baptized in Vancouver. 63
Mennonite Brethren

The most outwardly obvious change in the Conference of Mennonite Brethren in British Columbia in the period was its growth to become the largest Mennonite Brethren conference in Canada. Only in British Columbia did Mennonite Brethren membership exceed that of the Conference Mennonites. In the twenty years after 1940 provincial adult, baptised membership increased from 1,131 members in seven congregations 4,787 in twenty-one congregations in 1961.64

In addition, benevolent institutions, including a home and hospital for the aged and two high schools were established and a centralized Bible institute was formed out of the local schools. Begun in Clearbrook in 1944 and Yarrow in 1945, the high schools were intended to meet the growing demand for increased education while, at the same time, shielding students from the most feared aspects of the wider society. Concern was expressed about the teaching of evolution and the social pressures, especially in the areas of personal ethics and attitudes towards the war, encountered in the public schools.65 In 1958 the Mennonite Educational Institute (M.E.I.) in Clearbrook had a student body of over 500 students, the largest of any Mennonite school in Canada.66 By 1947 five small Bible institutes had been established by local congregations, four in the Fraser Valley and one at Black Creek on Vancouver Island. These schools operated during short five-month winter terms in order to coincide with the seasonally reduced demand for farm labour. During the late 1940's and 1950's a process of
consolidation occurred, resulting in 1960 in one larger, centralized school in Clearbrook administered by the provincial conference. 67

Of at least equal significance as the numerical and institutional growth, however, was the growing tension over the issue of ethnic cohesiveness versus evangelistic outreach to include other groups. The issue was not fully resolved by the late 1950's, but it is clear that a "shift from boundary maintenance of group identity to boundary extension of group identity" was taking place at that time. 68 This resulted in a reduction of ethnic identity and a corresponding increase in identity as a theologically conservative, evangelistically oriented religious group.

Much of the tension revolved around the "language issue." Until the late 1940's, with the exception of a few Sunday School classes, almost all Mennonite churches conducted religious services and instruction in the German language. In 1944, two Sunday Schools in Mennonite Brethren churches used English for the first time. 69 Two years later, one of the field workers in an outlying area felt it necessary to apologize for submitting his report to the semi-annual provincial conference in English instead of the customary German. 70

Change on the "language issue" came largely from two sources: the younger generation's need for services in English and the desire to evangelize non-Mennonites. Some younger people, impatient with the slow rate of acculturation, left their churches, often in favor of other evangelical churches such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Evangelical
Free or one of the Baptist groups. It is difficult to determine how many left for this reason in this period, but, as noted earlier, enough did so to assist in the establishment of other evangelical congregations. However, the extremely high birth rate among the Mennonites, one of the highest rates among all religious groups in Canada,\textsuperscript{71} ensured that the number of remaining Mennonite young people was high. According to the census of 1961, 51% of British Columbia's Mennonite population was under twenty-five years of age, compared with 44% of the general population.\textsuperscript{72} Many young people who remained in their own church were anxious to put in practice the Mennonite Brethren emphasis on evangelism and exerted considerable pressure for cultural change.

The increasing urbanization of British Columbia Mennonite Brethren was also a factor but was not as decisive as the above two reasons, at least in part due to the compact nature of the Mennonite settlement in Vancouver and the continuing immigration. In fact, until at least 1958, the original Mennonite Brethren congregation in Vancouver was one of the strongholds of opposition to the use of English in church services.\textsuperscript{73} The first English-language church was not established in the city but in Abbotsford, in 1949 by the South Abbotsford church as a solution to the tension over the issue in the congregation.\textsuperscript{74} Not until 1954 was an English-language congregation established in Vancouver.\textsuperscript{75}

These local solutions did not resolve the wider tensions over the identity of the denomination which resulted from the strong evangelistic thrust to non-Mennonites. That thrust was
part of the Mennonite Brethren revivalistic heritage but it received its greatest impetus from the Bible institute movement. A very high percentage of Mennonite Brethren youth, many of whom had not completed high school, spent at least one winter in one of the local institutes. The teaching staff of these schools strongly urged that a concern for home missions be added to the traditionally strong Mennonite Brethren concern for foreign missions. They also stressed that a great need for such outreach existed because of the "damage done by the preaching of modern churches" and the fact that "people live in darkness concerning salvation." To facilitate local evangelism, the instructors advocated the increased use of the English language in the churches in order to remove the language barrier. The teachers of the Bible institute affiliated with the South Abbotsford church led in the establishment of the Abbotsford English-language congregation in 1949. Many Mennonite Brethren youth went on from a local Bible school to one of the larger interdenominational schools such as P.B.I or Briercrest Bible Institute in Caronport, Saskatchewan which confirmed and strengthened their evangelistic, English-language orientation.

As a result, home missions activity flourished in the period. The Vancouver city mission was a significant and growing outlet. Its activities included the support of an evangelical Russian congregation, outreach to the Hindu population, Skid Row services, Sunday School work and radio broadcasting. Some of the young people began their own outreach organization, known as the Tract Mission, to encourage the distribution of gospel literature. Soon after the war
ended, gospel radio broadcasting over C.H.W.K., Chilliwack, was undertaken by the provincial youth organization with the assistance of Bible school faculty. In addition, a youthful singing group, calling itself "The King's Messengers," developed an evangelistic musical broadcast which reached most of the populated areas of the province. Between 1951 and 1954 it broadcast over stations in Chilliwack, Penticton, Kelowna, Prince George and Bellingham.

The West Coast Children's Mission provided the most significant and long-term outreach, however. Although begun in 1939 as an independent mission, it was closely associated with the Mennonite Brethren churches and merged with the home missions program of the Conference of Mennonite Brethren in British Columbia in 1945. Its work had initially focussed on the evangelization of unchurched children by means of summer Vacation Bible Schools, which continued to be a major aspect of its program after 1945. Bible school students and other volunteers went into the remoter areas of the Lower Mainland and, after the war, the province as a whole to hold two-week sessions. The outreach grew in extent from 50 workers conducting 31 schools for 1,000 children in 1945 to nearly 150 workers directing 55 schools for 3,000 children in 1959. After 1945 its focus widened to include the evangelization of adults. In areas where sufficient interest had been shown, full-time workers were placed to hold adult services and conduct Sunday schools. The number of full-time workers grew from one to thirteen, including a field director and an office worker who maintained contact by correspondence courses with an average of
1,000 children. Between 1945 and 1959, eight stations were served by full-time workers in the Lower Mainland and eight in the Interior and on the North Coast.\textsuperscript{85}

Several hundred youth augmented the efforts of the full-time and summer workers by helping at the missions stations and, in addition, conducting approximately thirty extension Sunday schools within driving distance of the established Mennonite Brethren churches. The young people of every established church were responsible for at least one extension Sunday school. The youth of the South Abbotsford church, which had a strong Bible institute, conducted six schools, three on the north side of the Fraser River, up to fifteen miles distant, and three closer by and to the west of the church.\textsuperscript{86} The East Chilliwack youth group not only operated a Sunday school at Laidlaw, but, in 1951, also donated the labor to construct a chapel to house it and contributed $1,108 towards the building materials.\textsuperscript{87}

The very success of the evangelistic outreach created tensions regarding the identity of the Mennonite Brethren. Non-Mennonite adults were being converted and desired baptism. Congregations were beginning to develop at some of the mission stations. The difficult question for the ethnically conscious Mennonite Brethren was whether such converts and congregations could be accepted into the Conference of Mennonite Brethren. The legitimacy of the new converts and congregations was not at issue. However, their organizational relationship to the Mennonite Brethren conference posed a problem because of the ethnic solidarity which had developed in it and other Mennonite groups. Over a period of several centuries in Prussia and
Russia, Mennonitism had become as much a matter of blood and language as of religion, and churches were largely closed to outsiders. The Mennonite Brethren had engaged in considerable evangelism in Russia but, because of cultural barriers and legal restrictions, had generally incorporated their converts into Baptist, not Mennonite Brethren, churches.

Both of the first two mission stations to develop into full-fledged congregations, Hope in 1950 and Ruskin in 1954, voted to join the Convention of Regular Baptists. In each case the delegates to the semi-annual Mennonite Brethren conferences cooperated fully with the congregation in the transfer. The chapels were sold to them at original cost and an offer was extended to continue to assist with the children's work. The arrangements were satisfactory to the new congregations and to those Mennonite Brethren concerned with the ethnic and linguistic "purity" of the denomination but not to the field workers and many younger Mennonite Brethren. The latter two groups were unhappy with the prospect of eventually severing organizational ties with the many outposts and desired that the group of supporting churches voluntarily undergo change sufficient to be able to welcome churches and individual members from a variety of backgrounds.

The debate between exclusivists and inclusivists continued through most of the 1950's with the cause of the latter receiving a major boost from the Brunk Revival meetings of 1958. Between June and September of 1958, Rev. George R. Brunk, an Old Mennonite evangelist from Virginia, pitched his mammoth tent in Chilliwack, Abbotsford and Burnaby successively. Brunk was a
pioneer of mass city-wide evangelism among Mennonites and held a number of successful inter-Mennonite evangelistic campaigns throughout North America in the early 1950’s. His earlier campaigns had received support from most Mennonite groups but by 1954 opposition from the less revivalistically inclined Mennonites in the United States, including many in the General Conference, had grown strong enough to cause a waning of support in that country. His focus then shifted to Western Canada for the next four years. He came to Saskatchewan in 1955 and 1956 and in the summer of 1957 conducted four successful campaigns among the large Mennonite population of Manitoba. An invitation to come to British Columbia followed. Considering the mixed response to Brunk from the Conference Mennonites in the U.S., it is significant that the British Columbia invitation came from both the Conference Mennonites and the Mennonite Brethren.

The British Columbia campaigns proved to be larger and more successful than those in Manitoba, despite a Mennonite population only one-third the size of Manitoba’s. Attendance averaged 2,000 each night in all three communities but the largest crowds, reaching 4,500, attended in Abbotsford and the meetings there were extended one week beyond the scheduled three. Several hundred conversions were reported and over 2,000 believers responded to the evangelist’s call to dedicate their lives to Christ publically. The impact upon the youth was particularly marked. The Mennonite Brethren annual youth rally held in Abbotsford in the aftermath of the meetings attracted an unprecedented 1,700 enthusiastic young people. Such successful
results served to confirm the revivalistic convictions of the majority of the province's Mennonite population.

Perhaps of equal significance to the Mennonite Brethren churches of the province was the breakthrough on the language issue brought about by the revival meetings. Brunk broke with local tradition and preached exclusively in English. Indeed, in one sermon he addressed the language issue. To the horror of many cultural conservatives, a few of whom responded by walking out, he castigated them for their continued use of the German language in church services. He claimed that many parents' tenacious clinging to the German language had caused spiritual damage to their children for which they would have to answer to the Almighty. The majority of the churches responded rapidly. Before the revival meetings only two churches had used English to any extent but within three months of Brunk's departure all but two or three churches in the Lower Mainland were incorporating English into their services.98

With the language barrier thus rapidly dissolving, the main barrier to the incorporation of ethnically non-Mennonite churches also began to dissolve. By 1961, five missions stations had organized as churches and been welcomed into the Mennonite Brethren conference. This set the stage for the much more rapid inclusion of outsiders over the next two decades when no less than thirty such congregations would be received into the denomination.99

Conference Mennonites

The Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia also grew
and changed significantly in the period. The strong post-war immigration boosted its membership from 336 in 1940 to 2,586 in 1960. The higher percentage of recent German-speaking immigrants and the generally smaller emphasis on revivalism made the language issue somewhat less of a pressing concern. The character of the denomination in British Columbia was changing, however, and it acquired more of the evangelical traits normally associated with the Mennonite Brethren than generally found among the more accommodating, less revivalistic, Conference Mennonites in the rest of North America.

This can be accounted for in several ways. The Bible school established in Coghlan in 1939 grew and experienced enrollments of up to sixty students in the 1950's. Its stated purposes were very similar to those of the Mennonite Brethren schools and it came to exert considerable influence through its student body, which was quite large relative to the Conference membership. Several prominent leaders of influential Conference churches openly favored the revivalism and stricter views of membership more common among the Mennonite Brethren. Rev. H. H. Neufeld of Chilliwack, for example, chaired the committee that brought Brunk to British Columbia and Rev. Henry Epp, of the large West Abbotsford congregation, steered his church away from the more relaxed views of membership requirements common to Conference churches. The Brunk meetings certainly reinforced and gave impetus to the changes already underway. Finally, the Conference Mennonites in British Columbia faced a situation unique in North America in that they did not dominate the Mennonite Brethren numerically. Indeed,
their membership was never more than half the size of their more fervently evangelistic counterparts. The views of the Mennonite Brethren were thus not those of a minority in British Columbia and for this reason came to exert more influence.

By 1961, then, a larger proportion of the Mennonite population in British Columbia was closer to the wider evangelical community than elsewhere in North America. The recent immigrations ensured that ethnic particularity was still strong but it was no longer the dominant characteristic.

**Significance of the Period of Transition, 1941-1960**

Overall, the makeup of conservative Protestantism had changed in the period to reflect many of the changes in the general provincial population. While the mainline groups retained a somewhat restricted appeal in the provincial population in an ethnic, social and geographic sense, the evangelicals were becoming established in many different segments of the general population. That diversity encouraged the establishment of new congregations at a very rapid rate.

Geographically, the Evangelical Free Church, the C.M.A., and the Regular Baptists followed the P.A.O.C. in establishing churches outside of Vancouver and Victoria. The most rapidly growing areas of the province - the Peace River district, the Central Interior, the Thompson region and the suburbs of Vancouver were subject to the most intensive church-planting efforts. Mennonites and Orthodox Calvinists made the Fraser Valley, from Chilliwack to Langley, a major centre of religious conservatism.
Ethnically, Anglo-Saxons declined as a proportion of conservative Protestantism as a result of the strong northern European post-war immigration. In addition, immigration from the Prairie provinces introduced an eastern European component to both the general population and conservative Protestantism.

The 1961 census reported that 114,854 British Columbians listed one of the conservative Protestant groups as their preferred denomination. The figure included all the Baptists in the province, some of whom would not have considered themselves conservative, but it does not include conservatives in any of the other mainline groups or the members of smaller groups not listed. The 114,854 comprised 7.05% of the general population, up from 5.8% (47,397) in 1941.104

Gauging the significance of this number of people on the life of the province is difficult. Some indication, however, was given in the rise of the Social Credit party to power in British Columbia in 1952-53. In a study of religion and politics in the province, W. E. Ellis noted that "The rise of Social Credit has witnessed the rise of the new fundamentalistic denominations as factors in provincial affairs."105 He based the statement, in part, on an analysis of the religious affiliation of members of the Provincial Legislature between 1952 and 1956. He found that the majority of both the Social Credit and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) members belonged to the mainline Protestant denominations (72% and 65%, respectively) and that 5% of both parties' members were Roman Catholics. The significant difference lay in the religious affiliation of the remaining minority. 22.5% of the Social
Credit members belonged to evangelical groups (6 Baptists, 2 Pentecostals and 1 Nazarene) while 30% of the C.C.F. members listed themselves as Agnostic (4) or Unitarian (2).\textsuperscript{106}

In terms of voting, he found that 71.5% of fundamentalist ministers surveyed indicated a preference for Social Credit while 61.5% of the ministers of the more liberal United Church surveyed preferred the C.C.F. None of the fundamentalist ministers preferred the C.C.F and only 7.6% of the United Church ministers favored the Social Credit.\textsuperscript{107} An analysis of the Mennonite vote in the Chilliwack riding in the provincial election of 1952 concluded that the Mennonites were not politically apathetic but voted in large numbers and overwhelmingly supported the Social Credit candidate.\textsuperscript{108}

Federally, Ellis found reduced, but still significant, correlations between religion and voting. Fundamentalist ministers supported both the Conservative and Social Credit parties (57% and 28.5% respectively) while the United Church ministers were evenly split between the Conservative and C.C.F. parties (46.1% each).\textsuperscript{109} It is beyond the scope of this study to determine all the reasons for the strong evangelical support for Social Credit and the lack of it for the C.C.F. There is clear evidence, however, that in many minds the C.C.F. was associated with at least one of the following: secularism, theological liberalism, the social gospel and communism.\textsuperscript{110} Social Credit, on the other hand, had the advantage of being associated with the radio evangelism of Aberhart and Manning in Alberta, to which many British Columbia evangelicals had been exposed before moving into the province.\textsuperscript{111}
NOTES, CHAPTER 7

1. 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 2 and 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 44.


8. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, 123.

9. Ibid., 35 & 125.


11. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, 30, 32, 34.

12. This is a rather mysterious affair as the denomination can find no records regarding this attempt yet the Wrigley-Henderson Amalgamated British Columbia Directory (Vancouver, 1925) lists a Christian and Missionary Alliance Hall on West Eleventh Avenue for the year 1925.

13. Again, the denominational records contain no records of this church until 1939, when it became officially recognized by the society, yet it is listed in the provincial directory (Wrigley/Henderson etc.) from 1929 onwards as "C & MA Alliance Gospel Tabernacle" with Rev. D. Walker as pastor.

15. Ibid.


17. V.B.T.S. *Council Minutes*, 1922 & 1923.


24. Ibid., 7-8 and "Some Historical Information on 10th Avenue and Vancouver area churches."


27. Ibid., Vol. 1:2, Table 44.


34. Cited in Petersen, Planned Migration, 187.


37. 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 44.

38. Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation, 250-51.

39. Ibid., 247.


41. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in America, 14-15.

42. Ibid., Appendix, 222-23.


44. Petersen, Planned Migration, 189-90 and Ginn, "Rural Dutch Immigrants," 79-81.

45. Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation, 246-47.

46. Ibid., 276. Evangelicals would vary on their degree of acceptance of Calvinism. Some Plymouth Brethren and Regular Baptists would accept more than most. It should also be noted that the nineteenth century secessionists in Holland were influenced by Pietism, but remained much more doctrinally oriented than most European Pietists. See Bratt, Dutch Calvinists in America, 3-13.


48. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, 13 & 35.

49. 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 42.

50. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta, 9-10; C.C. McLaurin, Pioneering in Western Canada, 325-56; Frank H. Woyke, Heritage and Ministry of the North American Baptist Conference
301


51. 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 5 and 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 42.


56. Computed from 1941 Census, Vol. IV, Table 2 and 1961 Census, Vol. 1:2, Table 44.


59. Ibid., 257-60, 409-447.

60. Ibid., 444.

61. Compiled from Siemens, "Mennonite Settlement," Map 10, p. 73, Appendix C, Table XVII.

62. See the excellent depiction of the urban concentration in Ibid, Map 17, p. 127.


65. E.g., see Conference of M.B. Churches of B.C., Minutes of Semi-annual Meeting, Nov. 1944 and Nov. 1947.

66. Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 266.

67. Ibid., 263-64 and A.J. Klassen, ed., The Bible School Story, 1913-63: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada (Winnipeg: Board of Education, Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren in Canada, 1963.)


70. Ibid., Nov. 1946.


72. 1961 Census, Vol. 1:3, Table 86.


79. Ibid. and Penner, Reaching the Otherwise Unreached, 23-24.

80. The mission workers reported on such activities at every semi-annual meeting of the Conference of M.B. Churches of B.C.


82. Ibid., May, 1945; Nov., 1947 and June, 1952.

83. Klassen interview, 25 June, 1987. Dr. Klassen was a member of the group.

84. Penner, Reaching the Otherwise Unreached, 30 & 100.

85. Ibid., 19 & 31 (maps).
86. Born, "Evangelism and Social Action," 103.


91. Klassen interview, 25 June, 1987 and interview with Rev. Nick Dyck, Clearbrook, 25 June 1987. Dyck became in 1952 the full-time worker at the McConnell Creek station (near Mission City) which had developed sufficiently to become a focal point of the debate. See also Penner, Reaching the Otherwise Unreached, 112-22.

92. Brunk's campaigns and methodology are described in Dale F. Dickey, "The Tent Evangelism Movement of the Mennonite Church, A Dramatistic Analysis," Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1980.

93. Ibid., 18, 80-88, 96-105, 115.


96. Ibid.


98. Klassen interview, 25 June 1958. It was also at this time that many reports at the semi-annual conferences began to be delivered in English.


100. Pannabecker, Open Doors, Table 15, 152-53 & 164-65.

101. Most observers agree with this, whether they be Conference Mennonite or Mennonite Brethren. E.g., Klassen interview, 25 June, 1987 and Dyck interview, 25 June, 1987. The fact the Conference Mennonites and Mennonite Brethren began to jointly operate Columbia Bible Institute in Clearbrook in 1970, which is a highly unique development in North America, is a later
indication of this.


106. Ibid., computed from Appendix VI, 301-09.

107. Ibid., 84.


111. Not all evangelicals in Alberta approved of Aberhart's foray into politics, however. He lost support from P.B.I., for example, when he began incorporating Social Credit into his broadcasts. See Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 204-08.
CHAPTER EIGHT

1961-1981, Emergence of Numerical and Institutional Strength

From the perspective of 1961, the growth among evangelicals in British Columbia in the decade and a half since the Second World War could be viewed simply as part of that North American phenomenon, the "religious boom" of the 1950's. Increasing membership and identification with the church was not confined to the conservative wing of Protestantism in that period. The largely liberal United Church of Canada, in particular, enjoyed a strong surge of growth. According to census figures, those identifying with it increased from 24.6% of the British Columbia population in 1941 to 30.7% in 1961, while the total numbers much more than doubled from 200,817 to 504,317. The Presbyterian Church did not fare nearly as well, declining a little in total numbers, but the Anglican Church total increased by 50%.

From the perspective of 1981, however, a different picture emerges. United Church growth peaked in the mid-1960's; thereafter census figures levelled off and membership figures went into actual decline despite a rapidly growing population. Provincial membership in 1981, at 54,346, was approximately 20% less than the 1966 figure of 70,757. An even more drastic loss was experienced in the Sunday schools of the United Church. Enrollment peaked at 77,444 in 1960 but had plunged to 23,859 in 1970 and 17,666 in 1981, less than one-quarter that of two decades earlier.
The most dramatic change in the religious makeup of the population was the growth of those with no religious affiliation at all. The largest "denomination" in British Columbia, according to the 1981 census, were those indicating they had no religious preference. 566,905 British Columbians, or 21.3% of the provincial population, placed themselves in this category, up from 13.1% in 1971 and the highest proportion of any province or territory at nearly triple the national average of 7.2%. A Gallup poll of June, 1980 indicated that secularity was even more widespread than the census revealed. British Columbia people were by far the least likely in Canada to attend a church or synagogue:

TABLE I
Gallup Poll (June 28, 1980)
"Did you attend a church or synagogue in the past seven days?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic Provinces</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairies</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Average</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numerical Growth

Against the stark backdrop of pervasive secularity and the decline of mainline Protestant denominations, evangelicalism emerged during the 1960's and 1970's as a major force within Protestantism in British Columbia. In contrast with the picture of Canada as a whole depicted by Bibby, in which he suggests that conservative Protestantism barely held its own as a proportion of the population in the period, conservative Protestantism continued to grow in British Columbia. This growth paralleled somewhat the post-war resurgence of evangelicalism in the United States, which has been extensively documented and discussed elsewhere. Evangelicalism in British Columbia did not become as dominant as its counterpart south of the border, nor did it seriously threaten the province's secularity. However, it did represent a bastion of religiosity in a largely secular landscape, claiming the allegiance of a substantial minority of the total population and probably a majority of the active Protestant membership. In addition, evangelicals continued to strengthen their institutional infrastructure during the period and by the late 1970's had erected a complex, multi-faceted network of institutions.

An attempt will be made in this section to indicate conservative Protestant numerical strength by statistical means and the section to follow will describe several significant institutional developments.

Census figures are imperfect means of measurement, as they only report religious preferences and not actual membership or
### TABLE II
**B.C. Population by Selected Religions, Census of Canada**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conservative Protestant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAPTIST</td>
<td>20,158</td>
<td>29,780</td>
<td>49,481</td>
<td>81,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOSTAL</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>5,235</td>
<td>19,998</td>
<td>55,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENNONITE</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>5,105</td>
<td>19,932</td>
<td>30,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESLEYAN-ARMINIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Church of God</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Church of Nazarene</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,466</td>
<td>1,610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Evangelical (E.U.B.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,415</td>
<td>2,650</td>
<td>3,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Free Methodist</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Salvation Army</td>
<td>2,086</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>7,229</td>
<td>12,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reformed</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Christian Reformed+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>6,816</td>
<td>9,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Canadian Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other Reformed bodies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIAN &amp; MISS. ALL.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>3,512</td>
<td>7,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVANGELICAL FREE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLYMOUTH BRETHREN</td>
<td>1,067</td>
<td>1,655</td>
<td>3,030</td>
<td>1,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CH. OF CHRIST, DISC.</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>715</td>
<td>1,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>23,984</td>
<td>51,522</td>
<td>115,569</td>
<td>218,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mainline Protestant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGLICAN</td>
<td>160,978</td>
<td>245,531</td>
<td>367,096</td>
<td>374,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESBYTERIAN</td>
<td>123,022</td>
<td>94,300</td>
<td>90,093</td>
<td>89,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED</td>
<td>64,810*</td>
<td>200,817</td>
<td>504,317</td>
<td>548,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>348,810</td>
<td>540,648</td>
<td>961,506</td>
<td>1,012,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>66.1%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Roman Catholic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>63,980</td>
<td>113,280</td>
<td>285,184</td>
<td>538,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No Religion</strong></td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percentage</strong></td>
<td>3,398</td>
<td>2,194</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>566,905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.C. Population</strong></td>
<td>524,582</td>
<td>818,861</td>
<td>1,629,082</td>
<td>2,713,615</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- No data available
- Listed as Methodist in 1921.
- The only Reformed listing before 1981.

levels of participation. Further, census takers and respondents, in the case of smaller groups, frequently confuse precise denominational identities, or add or delete categories, thus leaving some gaps and inconsistencies. Census figures are useful in indicating broad trends, however. Table II makes clear that the twin forces of secularization, as evidenced by the dramatic increase in "No Religion," and immigration, as evidenced by the rise of Roman Catholicism, reduced the three mainline Protestant denominations from the dominant numerical position they held until 1961. They also indicate that conservative Protestant groups consistently grew both in absolute and proportional terms, but collectively did not rival mainline Protestantism, at least in terms of the preferences of the general population.

Numbers of congregations and membership figures give a closer approximation of the significance of different religious groups but problems still remain. Few groups share precisely the same definition of membership and most have widely varying thresholds for entry into, and exit from, church membership. The figures presented in Table III represent, where denominational reporting procedures allow, the number of adult members, whether termed "communicant members," "confirmed on parish rolls" or "adult, baptized members." Where no formal definition of membership exists, average Sunday attendance figures are given.

The figures presented in Table III highlight the trends hinted at in the census figures. Not only did the mainline churches decline proportionately in terms of total population,
### TABLE III

**B. C. PROTESTANTISM: CONGREGATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP**

**1961 & 1981**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>NO. OF CONGREGATIONS*</th>
<th>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAPTIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Union (Old Conv.)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Fellowship (Regular)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- North American</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- General Conference</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Southern</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PENTECOSTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- P.A.O.C.</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Foursquare</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Apostolic (A.C.O.P.)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- United Pentecostal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other Pentecostal &amp; Independent Charismatic®</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MENNONITE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Mennonite Brethren</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Conference Mennonite</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other Mennonite</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WESLEYAN-ARMINIAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Church of God</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Church of Nazarene</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Evangelical (E.U.B.)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Free Methodist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Salvation Army</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REFORMED</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Christian Reformed</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Canadian Reformed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Other Reformed Bodies</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHRISTIAN &amp; MISS. ALL.</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EVANGELICAL FREE</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLYMOUTH BRETHREN+</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHURCH OF CHRIST, DISC.</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER &amp; INDEPENDENT</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>477</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MAINLINE PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>NO. OF CONGREGATIONS*</th>
<th>TOTAL MEMBERSHIP*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANGLICAN</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>67,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESBYTERIAN</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>67,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>837</td>
<td>142,175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOURCES: Denominational Yearbooks and interviews with church officials.
* Includes all known mission stations and preaching places.
# Membership is variously defined, depending on church polity. Used here are either baptised, adult membership, communicant membership or number confirmed on parish rolls. In churches without formal membership definition, average Sunday worship attendance figures are used.
- Information not available.
@ Most of these in 1981 belonged to a loosely affiliated group of independent churches known as the Christian Ministers' Association. Statistics for the association are not gathered, therefore the membership figures are an estimate of attendance based on a combined average attendance of the ten largest of these churches, located in Victoria, Kelowna and the Lower Mainland, of over 5,000 and a conservative estimated average of just over fifty in the remaining congregations.
+ The Plymouth Brethren have always shunned centralized data gathering. The membership figure is an estimate based on an average total attendance of about 2,500 in the ten larger congregations in the Vancouver/Victoria area and on an average attendance of under fifty in the remaining congregations.

The rate of growth of membership in conservative churches was slightly greater than that revealed by the census figures.

In many cases membership figures do not, however, give a true indication of participation rates. Some membership rolls are inflated by the proverbial "deadwood," or nonactive member, while some rolls are much smaller than the number of participating people.

Probably the best available means of determining the size of the population influenced by, and participating in, different religious groups is average attendance at Sunday worship services. Here again, methods and standards of record-keeping differ and some figures, as noted, are conservative estimates arrived at in consultation with denominational officials. Sunday School enrollment figures are also valuable as they give some indication of the number of children and adults being
# TABLE IV


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>WORSHIP ATTENDANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT BAPTIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Union (old Convention)</td>
<td>6,175</td>
<td>5,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Fellowship (Regular)</td>
<td>5,575</td>
<td>6,170^</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-North American</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-General Conference</td>
<td>1,654</td>
<td>2,054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Southern</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENTECOSTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-P.A.O.C.</td>
<td>12,842</td>
<td>16,781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Foursquare</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Apostolic (A.C.O.P)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-United Pentecostal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Other Pentecostal &amp; Independ. Charismatic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENNONITE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Mennonite Brethren</td>
<td>4,265</td>
<td>6,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Conference Mennonites</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Other Mennonites</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESLEYAN–ARMINIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Church of God</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Church of Nazarene</td>
<td>2,923</td>
<td>1,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Evangelical (E.U.B.)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Free Methodist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Salvation Army</td>
<td>2,589</td>
<td>2,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFORMED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Christian Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Canadian Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Other Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIAN &amp; MISS. ALL.</td>
<td>2,764</td>
<td>8,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVANGELICAL FREE</td>
<td>3,041</td>
<td>2,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLYMOUTH BRETHREN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OF CHRIST, DISC.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER &amp; INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>44,923</td>
<td>65,904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAINLINE PROTESTANT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT</th>
<th>WORSHIP ATTENDANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANGLICAN</td>
<td>46,264</td>
<td>9,727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESBYTERIAN</td>
<td>6,424</td>
<td>3,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED</td>
<td>76,704</td>
<td>17,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>129,392</td>
<td>30,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTALS 56,622
SOURCES: Yearbooks and interviews with church and denominational officials.
# Most denominations did not publish records of average attendance in 1961. Therefore only 1981 figures are presented.
* Estimate arrived at in consultation with ministers and denominational officials.
^ Actual weekly attendance, usually somewhat less than enrollment figures.
- Information not available

religiously trained through this traditional means of instruction.

Financial contributions are perhaps more difficult to interpret than attendance figures, but they do suggest the participation rate of members and of the financial resources available to various churches. Unfortunately, most of the smaller conservative denominations either did not keep provincial financial records, or did not publish such figures. The conservative groups listed in Table V represent just under one-quarter the total membership of the conservative denominations in the province in 1961 and one-half the 1981 membership.

Obscured by these tables is the existence of conservatives in the mainline Protestant denominations. Several strong Presbyterian congregations were evangelical as were a number of Anglican parishes. The founding of the United Church Renewal Fellowship in 1965 indicated that conservativism was not dead in the province's largest Protestant church.

A complete analysis of the tables will not be undertaken here. They clearly reveal that active Protestants of all stripes made up a fairly small minority of the province's population by 1981. As indicated by Sunday school enrollment
### TABLE V

**FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, TOTAL AND PER MEMBER, FOR DENOMINATIONS MAKING INFORMATION AVAILABLE, 1961 & 1981**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAPTIST</td>
<td>$822,365</td>
<td>$132</td>
<td>$4,583,000</td>
<td>$557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union (Old Convention)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular (Fellowship)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$5,128,000</td>
<td>804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Conference</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$1,668,219</td>
<td>848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$2,245,485</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MENNONITE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite Brethren</td>
<td>$833,129</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>$7,517,252</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference Mennonite</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$2,419,684</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WESLEYAN-ARMINIAN</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazarene</td>
<td>$103,372</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>$695,063</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHRISTIAN &amp; MISS. ALL.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>$8,912,742</td>
<td>1,853*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(961)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>$1,758,866</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>$33,169,445</td>
<td>767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAINLINE PROTESTANT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANGLICAN</td>
<td>$3,256,335</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>$11,567,000</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESBYTERIAN</td>
<td>$625,225</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>$2,178,406</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITED CHURCH</td>
<td>$4,622,648</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>$15,236,151</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>$8,504,208</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>$28,981,557</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCES:** Denominational yearbooks, annual reports, etc.
+ Calculated using membership figures as recorded in Table III.
- Figures for the province are not available.
* C.M.A. membership figures are very low, as many regular attenders are called "adherents," but not members. The figure in brackets is probably the more accurate as it is calculated using the average attendance figure, which is approximately double the membership.
# Includes an undisclosed amount received from facilities rental and other sources not part of congregational giving.

and Sunday worship attendance, the majority of this active group identified with the smaller conservative denominations. Financial contribution figures indicate, among other things, that perhaps as early as the 1960's these groups collectively had more resources at their disposal to pursue their goals of
further expansion than the mainline churches had for their purposes.

The tables also reveal that several homogenously conservative and vigorously evangelistic groups which had become more strongly established in British Columbia than in most parts of Canada by 1960 experienced the strongest growth from 1961 to 1981. The Fellowship (Regular) Baptists, Pentecostal Assemblies, Mennonite Brethren and Christian and Missionary Alliance all experienced vigorous growth in those two decades.

In addition, British Columbia became a leading centre in Canada of the Charismatic movement in the 1960's and 1970's. This movement does not register clearly in census or denominational statistics but clearly became significant in British Columbia. Sometimes known as neo-Pentecostalism, it had gained considerable prominence in world-wide Christendom beginning in 1960 as it spread Pentecostal practices and beliefs to a broad range of churches, including Roman Catholic, mainline Protestant and non-Pentecostal evangelical. Thus, decidedly Pentecostal emphases on ecstatic worship, speaking in tongues, the Holy Spirit and the supernatural aspects of religion in general were evidenced in pockets and corners of denominations far removed from classical Pentecostalism.

The close proximity to Seattle, Washington, an influential centre of the Charismatic movement, encouraged charismatic influences in British Columbia and by the mid-1960's a strong movement centred in Vancouver had developed. Rev. Bob Birch of St. Margaret's Reformed Episcopal Church, Vancouver, and Pastor Bernice Gerard, minister of Fraserview Assembly, a new P.A.O.C.
church in south Vancouver, were most responsible for its spread in the Greater Vancouver area. Birch, one of the founders of I.V.C.F. at U.B.C. and a 1932 graduate of V.B.T.S., was "baptized in the Spirit" in 1962 during a visit to St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Seattle where Dennis Bennett, prominent charismatic leader, was rector. Birch and Gerard, a well-educated classical Pentecostal, began holding large interchurch meetings in Vancouver in order to introduce the charismatic experience to a wide range of ministers and lay leaders. In addition, St. Margaret's became a very strong centre of the movement, attracting overflow crowds from all over the Lower Mainland to its Sunday evening meetings. The church's close association with the Jesus People movement facilitated the spread of the charismatic emphasis to a considerable sector of the youth culture. At the same time, through the influence of Birch, Gerard and speakers from the United States, a number of charismatic prayer meetings developed in Anglican, Catholic and United Church circles.

In the 1970's, the movement, with varying degrees of intensity, continued to spread into mainline and evangelical circles, most frequently appealing to a middle-class constituency. Its spread was encouraged not a little by the visits of the well-known and respectable British charismatic Anglican rectors, Michael Green and David Watson. Perhaps the most visible result of the charismatic movement, however, was the emergence of a large number of independent charismatic congregations. Although groups of charismatics remained in non-charismatic churches, many preferred not to remain in what they
felt was a restrictive atmosphere. In a few cases, whole congregations left their denomination to become independent, including St. Margaret's Reformed Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{13} For purposes of the ordination and licensing of ministers and of a broader fellowship free of denominational "controls," many of these independents gravitated into a loose association of churches known as the Christian Ministers' Association. Some of these were quite similar to existing Pentecostal churches, but many others were characterized by a reduced emphasis on the Pentecostal distinction of speaking in tongues, by a wide variety of denominational backgrounds which included evangelical, mainline and Catholic and by a stronger middle-class orientation.\textsuperscript{14} By 1981, forty-five congregations, scattered throughout the province but concentrated in the southern interior and Greater Vancouver, belonged to the Association. Some of these were quite small, but ten larger congregations located in Victoria, Kelowna and Greater Vancouver drew congregations of between 300 and 1,000 each. In several small communities such as Tofino, Uclulet, Bella Coola, Sointula and Aldergrove, the independent charismatic churches were the largest of any congregations in the area.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT}

The numerical growth of evangelicalism after 1961 in British Columbia was accompanied by significant institutional developments which lent visibility and a sense of stability and permanence to the conservative wing of Protestantism. The institutional growth also signalled that many evangelicals in
the province were intent on erecting a complete set of institutions paralleling those of the larger society, especially in the educational field. Before 1962, most evangelical institutions, including Bible institutes and colleges, provided only an alternative to either secular or liberal, mainline Protestant training. They did not attempt to create a parallel structure by providing an educational equivalent, in terms of the types of degrees granted and the courses of study offered.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Trinity Western College}

Perhaps the most striking example of the development of such a parallel institution was the establishment of a four-year, degree-granting liberal arts college in Langley. Trinity Junior College was founded by the Evangelical Free Church in 1962 on property once part of the Hudson Bay Company's Fort Langley farm operations. It was the first of the "junior colleges" in British Columbia, offering the first two years of university education, but was privately funded and subscribed to the theologically conservative doctrinal statement of the Evangelical Free Church. The college quickly gained strength after a shaky beginning and its student body increased from seventeen in the first year to 350 in 1970, 670 in 1980 and over 1,000 in 1986. In the process, its operational budget became the largest of any evangelical educational institution in Canada. Its name was changed to Trinity Western College (T.W.C.) in 1971 and in 1977 it moved to a four-year status, but did not gain authority to grant a bachelor's degree until 1979.
Recognition from the academic community in Canada, beyond the granting of transfer credit, came slowly but in 1984 the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada granted T.W.C. full membership. The following year the college charter was amended by the provincial government to change the name to Trinity Western University.¹⁶

The amendment to the college charter in 1979, bestowing the authority to grant degrees, signified a major change in provincial government policy which until then had explicitly restricted the granting of university degrees, other than those in theology, to public institutions.¹⁷ It also went against a century-old trend toward the secularization of Canadian church-related colleges and created the only evangelical, degree-granting liberal arts college in the nation.

The success of T.W.C. in establishing itself as a strong parallel institution poses two questions of relevance to this study: Why was it the tiny Evangelical Free Church, with its strong Bible institute connections and small-town orientation, which undertook the costly enterprise? And, why did an evangelical liberal arts college succeed in British Columbia when a similar venture, Richmond College, in more populous Ontario failed?¹⁸

The first question poses a genuine enigma when the character of the Evangelical Free Church is taken into consideration. Chapter Six made clear both the non-urban nature of the Evangelical Free constituency in British Columbia and its strong orientation to the Bible institute movement, particularly Prairie Bible Institute. That orientation was so strong that
only one pastor of the twenty-one Evangelical Free churches in British Columbia in 1960 was university-educated, and that particular individual opposed establishing the college. A survey of most of the Evangelical Free churches in western Canada revealed the same orientation; ninety-six students from the churches were enrolled in Bible institutes and Bible colleges but only eleven in universities and liberal arts colleges. In the Bible institute milieu of the western Canadian prairies, university education was viewed with indifference at best, and with hostility at worst. Liberal arts education was associated with both the liberalism of mainline churches and the secularism of Canadian society. The very reason for the existence of most Bible institutes was to provide an alternative to the nation's universities and seminaries. To many, if not most, a university education was incompatible with a fervent Christian commitment as it represented a rapprochement with the general culture, a lowering of the walls separating evangelicals from the "world."

Furthermore, the Evangelical Free church was not a significant body in Canada in 1961, and was still not particularly large two decades later. When T.W.C. opened, the denomination's membership was under 1,000 in British Columbia and only about 2,000 in all of Canada. That such a small group could support such a large undertaking seemed inconceivable.

Several factors enter into a satisfactory explanation. The Evangelical Free churches at first did desire their own Bible institute. Representatives of the British Columbia churches responded with enthusiasm to the 1956 offer to assume control of
Vancouver Bible Institute. It was not until after V.B.I. was transferred instead to the Baptist General Conference that the Evangelical Free churches began to consider other alternatives. The denominational committees appointed to study the issue of education in Canada between 1957 and 1959 came to the conclusion that Canada already had a sufficient number of Bible institutes. They instead pointed to the rapidly growing demand in North America for university education and urged the Evangelical Free Church to become involved in that field rather than compete with existing Bible institutes.\(^{21}\)

Such proposals, despite fears to the contrary by many in the constituency,\(^{22}\) did not so much represent a lowering of the wall of separation between themselves and the world but an extension of them. The backers of the school recognized clearly that the university-educated, urban segment of society was becoming increasingly significant in Canada and that the Bible institute orientation of the Evangelical Free Church was not as appropriate in cities as it had proved in less sophisticated, rural settings.\(^{23}\) Something of the missionary zeal so characteristic of the Bible institute movement of which they were a part motivated the members of the committee recommending the establishment of the school. They urged its acceptance on the basis that ". . .we believe He would have us utilize every means possible for strengthening and enlarging our outreach for lost souls." They envisioned the school as ". . .stabilizing and enlarging the work of our churches and our District organizations in terms of both home and foreign missions."\(^{24}\)
They also recognized that the career plans of increasing numbers of their own young people would create the need for university education and they thus sought to provide a "safe" environment in which to realize these ambitions. "With these two years of schooling, which would also include Bible, one need not fear so much the influence of schools and teachers who might seek to destroy the faith of our youth." The hiring of faculty adhering to the fairly standard conservative evangelical doctrinal statement of the Evangelical Free Church and the enforcement of a conservative code of conduct on the students were the main means of accomplishing this.

As the college developed, its understanding of its function broadened considerably, but its understanding of the role of the doctrinal statement was not altered. In a 1984 statement prepared for the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada to explain the college's view of Academic freedom, the Academic Dean wrote:

...T.W.C. rejects as incompatible with human nature and revelational theism a definition of academic freedom which arbitrarily and exclusively requires pluralism without commitment; which denies the existence of any fixed points of reference; which maximizes the quest for truth to the extent of assuming it is never knowable; and which implies an absolute freedom from moral and religious responsibility to its community.

Rather, for itself, T.W.C. is committed to academic freedom in teaching and investigation from a
stated perspective, i.e. within the parameters consistent with the confessional basis of the constituency to which the College is responsible. . .

The moral and financial support of its parent body in the United States also provides another, and crucial, reason why the small denomination undertook the project. Unlike their Canadian counterparts, many American evangelicals had for decades supported the concept of Christian liberal arts colleges and the Evangelical Free Church of America operated such a college, Trinity, in Illinois. There was thus more support for the concept in the broader denomination than there was in the small Canadian segment of it and there were also greater financial resources available to assist the school than were available in Canada alone. Indeed, in the first decade of T.W.C.'s existence, the majority of the administrators, faculty and funding came from the United States. In several academic years the enrollment of American students exceeded that of Canadians. After the early 1970's, the Canadian component in all categories came to dominate but it is clear that without American support in the early years, the college could not have survived.

Several other factors also account for the success of T.W.C. in British Columbia. A new provincial policy, promoted in the early 1960's by U.B.C. president Dr. John McDonald, encouraged the establishment of two-year junior colleges. This policy made it possible for T.W.C.'s students to transfer their credits to provincial universities. The college's location on the west coast, far removed from well-known evangelical liberal arts colleges in the American mid-west, but close to relatively
large populations of evangelicals in the Canadian west and on the American west coast, definitely proved helpful. So too did its location in Langley near the new Trans-Canada freeway, facilitating access from both the populous eastern suburbs of Vancouver and the evangelical stronghold of Abbotsford/Clearbrook. In addition, a kind of evangelical ecumenism which recognized denominational particularities as being of less importance than agreement on beliefs that separated evangelicals from "outsiders" worked strongly in T.W.C.'s favour. The college was able to hire faculty from a wide breadth of denominations and to attract students from a similarly broad range. By 1981, students from denominations other than the Evangelical Free Church, particularly Baptist, C.M.A., Mennonite and Pentecostal, comprised 80% of the student body. The support of the Evangelical Free Church was crucial but the college could never have survived if its appeal had been limited to the sponsoring denomination.

Of great significance was the attitude of the Social Credit government towards T.W.C. after 1975. The pre-1972 Social Credit government of W.A.C. Bennett had not been fully supportive of the school and many in the 1972-1975 New Democratic government were philosophically opposed to the concept of private, church-operated education. However, the Social Credit government of Bill Bennett, elected in 1975, was more congenial to T.W.C. The 1977 and 1979 bills which gave the college first four-year, and then degree-granting, status were not government bills; indeed Dr. Pat McGeer, Minister of Education, opposed degree granting status until 1979. As
private members' bills, however, they received substantial support from the Social Credit caucus, despite opposition from the Universities Council of British Columbia and an extensive, hostile media reaction, especially in 1979.\textsuperscript{32}

The support of Social Credit M.L.A.'s for T.W.C. is explicable in ideological, pragmatic and political terms. Ideologically, while only a few Social Credit members were themselves self-declared evangelicals,\textsuperscript{33} they supported the concepts of private initiative and individual choice in education. Dr. McGeer, a recent convert to the T.W.C. cause, gave voice to the "free enterprise" view of education when he argued in 1979 that the college would have to face the traditional test of academic greatness: "...if the academic quality of the school does not attract enough students to meet its expenses, then it will fail."\textsuperscript{34} Pragmatically, the fact that T.W.C. provided education with high standards but received no provincial funds\textsuperscript{35} appealed to the M.L.A.'s because it meant that each student the college educated saved the provincial government several thousand dollars. Politically, the support of the Social Credit members was a measure of the significance of the "evangelical vote" in the province. This was particularly true in the Fraser Valley ridings, which were bastions of both Social Credit and evangelical strength, but was also true to an extent in other constituencies in the province. Not every evangelical was an enthusiastic supporter of Social Credit,\textsuperscript{36} but clearly enough were opposed to the social democratic New Democratic Party for evangelical votes to be a factor in Social Credit victories in many ridings.\textsuperscript{37}
Another important institutional development, the 1968 establishment of Regent College in Vancouver, on the U.B.C. campus, is significant for several reasons. As an institution committed to providing biblical and theological education at the graduate level for lay people involved in the professions and business, it was unique in the world. Within ten years of its first class its student body had grown to 125, and by 1986 to 236, making it the largest graduate school of theology in Canada. Its establishment by Plymouth Brethren (also commonly known as Christian Brethren by the 1960's) members highlighted the strength of that group in Vancouver and Victoria but, at the same time, the college appealed strongly to urban evangelicals in the mainline Protestant denominations. Its regular faculty included some of the most distinguished scholars of North American and British evangelicalism. In addition, from its founding, Regent College regularly brought in world-renowned visiting scholars and speakers to teach in summer sessions. From 1968 to 1981 the college provided considerable intellectual stimulation and encouragement to Vancouver's evangelical community, and some of its public lectures drew audiences of over 1,000. Most recently, in 1980, it entered into a cooperative agreement with Carey Hall, an institution of the Baptist Union of Western Canada (old convention), in effect establishing a seminary which served as an evangelical alternative to the more liberal McMaster Divinity School in Hamilton.
As was the case with T.W.C., a rather unlikely group founded Regent College. It owes its beginning to the Plymouth Brethren, characterized in most of North America by their strict dispensationalism and opposition to higher, especially theological, education. The wing known as "exclusive" brethren displayed quite extreme traits of sectarianism, frequently dividing over an aspect of doctrine and restricting themselves to fellowship and cooperation with members of assemblies they deemed to be correct in all points of doctrine and practice.\(^{39}\) The "open" brethren practiced a much broader fellowship and were not always dispensationalists, especially in Britain.\(^{40}\) They were, however, set apart by their adversion to any kind of formal denominational structure and by their lack of a formal ministry as they refused to make any distinction between the clergy and laity.\(^{41}\)

The heavy pre-W.W.I influx of British immigrants and extensive evangelism by itinerant preachers made Vancouver and Victoria major centres of the Plymouth Brethren by W.W.I. Expansion continued thereafter, though it was generally quiet and unobtrusive because of the low denominational profile of the group and the generally small, simple chapels or "gospel halls" erected. By the 1960's the Brethren maintained over thirty churches, or "assemblies," in Vancouver, six in Victoria and a total of approximately fifty province-wide. Census figures do not adequately indicate the number of Brethren because of their reluctance to accept denominational labels, but over 3,000 were listed in 1961. The 1971 and 1981 figures of under 2,000 do not reflect a significant decline in numbers but rather further
confusion over nomenclature brought about by the fact that many had switched to the name "Christian Brethren."

By the 1950's an especially large and active group of "open" brethren had developed in Vancouver and Victoria. The strength of this group stemmed from the strong British links in the two cities and a history of cooperation with like-minded evangelicals, regardless of denomination, at least since 1917. Indeed, because they did not have clergy of their own to support, Brethren people were more prone than were other evangelicals to contribute financially to cooperative efforts. Some of their assemblies participated enthusiastically in the French E. Oliver evangelistic campaigns in Vancouver and Victoria in 1917, gaining new members and leaders in subsequent decades from the resulting converts. Several of the Brethren became increasingly involved in the network of institutions in Vancouver associated most closely with evangelicals in the mainline Protestant denominations. One of their number served on the first board of the British Columbia Evangelical Mission and another became treasurer of V.B.I. in the 1940's. E. Marshall Sheppard, prime mover to launch Regent College in the 1960's, had been a close friend and strong supporter of Ellis in the 1930's and 1940's. He had regularly attended Ellis' Thursday night public lectures and attached great value to them, often stating that from those meetings he "learned all the theology he knew". As superintendent of the Sunday school of the Mount Pleasant assembly, the largest Brethren congregation in Vancouver at the time, he urged all his teachers to take advantage of the lectures.
Perhaps the closest and most extensive Brethren cooperation with other evangelicals was through the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship. The group at U.B.C. had flourished from W.W.II into the 1960's and had become the largest religious club on campus. In 1957, for example, I.V.C.F. had sponsored a preaching mission by the British evangelical Anglican minister, John Stott, which drew audiences between 700 and 1,000 students and faculty each day. Like many Brethren in Britain, but unlike the staunchly dispensationalist majority in North America, some of the Vancouver and Victoria Brethren did not oppose university for their young people. However, those who did enter U.B.C. opposed the liberalism prevalent in the S.C.M. and joined with conservatives from the mainline denominations to form an alternative group. Brethren students were involved in leadership roles in the I.V.C.F. group from its beginning and extensive financial and moral support came from members of assemblies in Vancouver and Victoria. The size and vigor of I.V.C.F. and the breadth of denominations represented in it, especially in the period after W.W.II, provided the Brethren students with a positive context in which to relate to wider evangelicalism.

The "open" Brethren backing of Regent College becomes more understandable when their economic status is also considered. Their largest, most influential chapels by the late 1950's were Granville and Oaklands, located in upper-middle class residential areas of Vancouver and Victoria. A strong business and professional orientation, with considerable emphasis on the retail shoe business, property management, teaching and
medicine, provided many of the Brethren with the financial capability to support an expensive educational venture.

The establishment of Regent College involved discussions between a Vancouver/Victoria group of Brethren, a large number of I.V.C.F. supporters and students from across North America, several young American Brethren graduate students of theology who were frustrated by lack of interest in theological education in the assemblies in the United States, and some well-known British Brethren university scholars including Dr. F.F. Bruce of Manchester, Dr. J. Houston of Oxford and Dr. Wm. J. Martin of Liverpool. A concrete proposal was put forward in Calling, the mouth-piece of British Columbia's educated, "open" Brethren, in 1965 and clarified further in 1967. The response warranted proceeding and Regent College was incorporated by the provincial government in 1968. The first summer school was held in 1969 and full-time classes began in 1970.

All eleven men on the first board of governors were Brethren from Vancouver and Victoria, but nothing in the incorporation act indicated the college was to be strictly a Brethren undertaking. Instead, its literature described its character as "transdenominational," a seldom-used term indicating that denominational identity was not eroded (cf. "nondenominational") but also that the college was not the result of official cooperation among denominations (cf. "interdenominational"). The denominational makeup of the board of governors and of the faculty soon reflected this as individuals from several denominations were added. In particular, it appealed to the urban, mainline evangelicals of
the sort who had supported V.B.I. a generation earlier. For example, Dr. Ian S. Rennie, a former staff member of I.V.C.F. and minister of Fairview Presbyterian Church, was added to the board the first year and two years later joined the full-time faculty as Associate Professor of Church History. Several board and faculty members during the first decade came from the Baptist Union (old convention), and evangelical Anglicans from Britain and Australia were especially welcome as full-time and summer-session faculty. Baptists consistently formed the largest group in the student body, Presbyterians and Brethren usually vied to be next largest, and a smaller, though significant, contingent of Anglicans and a sprinkling of United Church members always enrolled.56

The large involvement of ministers and members of the Baptist Union of Western Canada (until 1968 the British Columbia Baptist, or "old," Convention) in Regent College was reminiscent of a similar involvement in V.B.I. several decades earlier. This time, however, the denomination became officially involved by creating a seminary program in close co-operation with Regent.57 The formal relationship established with Regent College in 1980 highlighted theological changes occurring within the Baptist Union over several decades. Liberalism had never been a majority opinion within the old Baptist Convention of British Columbia but, as the controversy with the fundamentalists in the 1920's indicated, most of its members were prepared to tolerate the existence of a liberal minority. By the 1970's, however, the denomination in western Canada was almost solidly conservative, although generally not
fundamentalist, and approved almost unanimously the Carey Hall/Regent College seminary program.58

The theological changes among the Baptists came for a variety of reasons. Several strong urban congregations known for liberal convictions declined severely in the period while conservative congregations became much larger. For example First Baptist in Victoria and Fairview Baptist in Vancouver, both centres of Baptist liberalism, declined from memberships of 565 and 302 in 1960 to 340 (including 175 "non-resident") and 101, respectively. The more conservative churches, Emmanuel in Victoria and Trinity in Vancouver, grew during the same period from 192 and 292 members to 748 and 561.59 Brandon College had ceased to offer theological courses in 1930, removing a source of ministers of liberal convictions, while by contrast the rapidly growing Bible institutes in western Canada appealed to many Baptist young people.60 V.B.I. was one such school and Rev. J.E. Harris, its principal from 1945 to 1952, viewed the position as giving him an opportunity to influence his beloved Baptist convention into a more conservative direction. He wrote in 1950, "...the Bible school movement is a notable sign of the divine activity to counteract the deadening influence of Modernism in the Church's life. ...Bible school teaching (has) been widely effective in bringing about that return to the Bible and its message that is essential to the revival."61 I.V.C.F. also aided the shift by appealing strongly to Baptist Convention students who took significant leadership roles in it. Phillips cites a 1965 survey of Canadian overseas missionaries which indicated that a larger number of Baptist missionaries than
those from any other mainline denomination were strongly influenced by I.V.C.F. in their career choice. J.B. Richards suggests that the influence of neo-orthodoxy, in addition to the growing strength of the evangelicals, contributed to the denomination's conservative drift.

Concern was sometimes expressed by members of smaller, explicitly evangelical groups that Regent's theological stance was too inclusive. Such conservatives pointed out that the college's statement of faith was not explicit enough with regard to eschatology and the nature of the scriptures and that the college left too much to individual interpretation in regard to personal lifestyle issues such as the use of alcohol or tobacco. The differences in emphases were real enough, reflecting in part the differing social and denominational milieus represented, but should not be exaggerated. Regent College's standing within the evangelical wing of Protestantism was never doubted by its serious critics. The college's adherence to the doctrinal statement of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, its establishment of a seminary program which paralleled, and in effect competed with, liberal, mainline denominational seminaries, its co-operation in a number of ventures with other conservative evangelicals and the presence of several Pentecostal and Mennonite Brethren on its faculty, and a significant portion (approximately 25%) of C.M.A., Evangelical Free, Mennonite Brethren and Pentecostal students among its student body all attest to its position outside the liberal stream of Protestantism. Regent College actually faced a situation similar to that confronted by Walter Ellis and
V.B.T.S. a number of decades earlier. In order to thrive within a more mainline conservative and urban context, it needed to be more inclusive than did the institutions related more closely to smaller, explicitly evangelical denominations.

Other Educational Institutions

While Trinity Western and Regent colleges were the largest and best known evangelical institutions created in the 1960's and 1970's, significant developments occurred in other institutions. Conservative Protestants increasingly expressed alarm over the philosophical and moral directions they perceived public education to be taking. Most stayed within the public system but a growing minority enrolled their children in private Christian schools. The most visible segment of the Christian school movement in the province belonged to Christian Schools International, an organization with strong Christian Reformed connections and considerable history in the development of schools paralleling the public system. As a result of increasing co-operation between Reformed and other conservative Protestant parents in many communities, these schools were not as clearly Christian Reformed in character by the late 1970's as they had once been. In 1981, twenty-four member schools enrolled 3,436 students. A larger number of other independent schools were often newer, generally smaller, less visible and were frequently administered by one congregation, and used church, rather than separate, facilities. In 1977 the provincial government passed the School Support (Independent) Act (Bill 33), which provided 30% (i.e., a per-student grant
equal to 30% of the average cost to educate a student in the public system) funding for independent schools meeting teacher certification, curriculum and assessment criteria. Schools meeting less stringent requirements received 10% funding.

Bible institutes and colleges, the traditional evangelical alternative to existing higher education, still remained important to many in B.C., despite the focus on parallel institutions. The Regular Baptists' Northwest Baptist Theological College climbed from an enrollment of thirty in 1961 to approximately 200 twenty years later, including a small seminary division. The P.A.O.C. relocated its B.C. Bible Institute from cramped facilities in North Vancouver to Clayburn, near Abbotsford, in 1970 and renamed it Western Pentecostal Bible College. Its student body grew from eighty-seven in 1961 to 251 in 1981, making it the largest Bible college/institute in B.C. at that time. The small Foursquare Bible college relocated to Burnaby and saw modest growth in its student body to fifty-nine in 1981.

Besides these three continuing institutions, three others were closed in the period but four new schools were opened. In 1970 the consolidation of small, local Mennonite Bible institutes culminated in the formation of one provincial school, Columbia Bible Institute. The Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, Clearbrook, and the Conference Mennonite's Bethel Bible Institute in Aldergrove both ceased independent operation to form the new institution. Columbia Bible Institute was unique in North America, and reflected the uniquely similar evangelical character of the Mennonite Brethren and Conference
Mennonites, in that it was jointly operated by both groups. Its enrollment grew sharply from 135 in 1970 to the 250-60 range in the mid-1970's before settling back to 207 in 1981.70

The oldest Bible school in the province, V.B.I., since renamed Vancouver Bible College, closed its doors in 1977. Under the ownership of the Baptist General Conference it had moved to new, larger facilities in Surrey and its enrollments had risen to 125. However, heavy debts incurred during an ambitious building program and an unwillingness on the part of the liberal-arts oriented American parent-body to continue operating a Bible college resulted in its closure. Somewhat ironically, the library and several personnel were acquired by Trinity Western College of the Evangelical Free Church, one of the denominations which had hoped to acquire the school twenty-two years earlier.71

The Surrey facilities of the closed college were acquired by Bible Fellowship, a large independent charismatic congregation which then added a 1,300 seat auditorium/gymnasium. The congregation used the facilities to house its own Pacific Bible College, with enrollment of fifty students, a large Christian day school and its own Sunday activities including worship services.72 In 1974, another small, local school was begun by Evangelistic Tabernacle in Vancouver, in co-operation with several other Apostolic Churches of Pentecost. Using the facilities of the Tabernacle, it was attracting sixty students to its half-day programs by 1981.73

The interdenominational type of Bible institute which had ceased in the province when V.B.I. was transferred to the
Baptist General Conference in 1956 began again in 1964. Burrard Bible Institute, using the facilities of a Canadian Sunday School Mission children's camp near Port Moody, was established that year by people connected with the interdenominational Mission and with the interdenominational Winnipeg Bible College. Unlike V.B.I., however, it did not attract an urban, mainline Protestant constituency but appealed to students from a range of smaller denominations, especially Mennonite, C.M.A., Evangelical Free, Baptist and independent. It relocated to Kelowna in the early 1970's, a more central location for its largely Interior, Fraser Valley and Prairie constituency. In 1981 its enrollment stood at just under 100.}

The combined enrollment of over 900 in 1981 at these seven Bible institutes/colleges was approximately double that of the enrollment of the six schools existing in the province in 1961. The growth is clear evidence that B.C.'s leadership in Canada in developing liberal arts and graduate theological training had not eclipsed the desire among many conservatives in the province for the old evangelical staple of practical, devotionally oriented Bible training.

Strong numerical and institutional growth thus characterized the 1961-1981 period for British Columbia's conservative Protestant population. Because of the relative decline of liberal Protestantism in the same period, evangelicalism became, in many respects, the dominant branch of Protestantism in the province. Chapter Nine will attempt to analyze critical factors in that growth.
NOTES, CHAPTER 8


6. The positive correlation between per capita giving and denominational growth seems more marked in B.C., at least from these limited figures, than that found by Carroll et. al., Religion in America: 1950 to the Present, Table 4, 23.


13. This occurred to several Mennonite Brethren and Regular Baptist congregations.

14. Somewhat paradoxically, the origins of the Association lay with a small group of independent Pentecostal congregations known as the Evangelical Churches of Pentecost, an off-shoot of the Apostolic Churches of Pentecost. What the new Charismatics and the older group of independents found in common was a desire to belong to an association, or "fellowship," without denominational "controls." Interview with Rev. J.M. Hunt, Surrey, 17 July, 1987. Hunt has been secretary of the association since its founding in 1977.


17. The story of its development until 1974 is told in a popular, inspirational manner in Calvin Hanson, On the Raw Edge of Faith: The Miracle of Trinity Western College (n.p., 1977) and in C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 125-56 & 177-88. For an analysis of later developments related to provincial government policy see Victor J. Guenther, "A Case in Policy Making: The

18. Richmond College, near Toronto, never attained stability and viability and closed in the early 1980's.

19. C. Hanson, On the Raw Edge of Faith, 47.


21. Ibid., 3-7.

22. C. Hanson, On the Raw Edge of Faith, 31-37 & 46-56, graphically presents some of the fears of the constituency.

23. Enarson interviews, 25 & 27 January, 1983 and 11 June, 1987. Enarson had taught at P.B.I. and another similar school in Alberta but was one of the very earliest and staunchest supporters of the liberal arts college.


25. Ibid., 12.

26. Aspects of this development are traced in Stackhouse, "Proclaiming the Word," 184-95.


28. C. Hanson, On the Raw Edge of Faith, 80-100 and Trinity Western College, Registrar's Reports, 1970-80.

29. Trinity Western College, Registrar's Reports, 1975-80.

30. C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 146-47.

31. Guenther, "A Case in Policy Making," 29 and interview with Mrs. Eileen Dailly, 15 October, 1983. Dailly was minister of education in the N.D.P. government, 1972-75, and was serving as the opposition education critic during the controversies. It should be noted that the N.D.P. was not fully united on this issue. Hon. David Barrett, premier 1972-75 and leader of the official opposition during the late 1970's, for example, was not opposed to the concept of private colleges, having studied himself in a private Catholic university in the United States. He did not vote against the bill granting T.W.C. power to grant degrees.
32. It is not the purpose here to go into the dispute in great depth. It received extensive coverage in the Vancouver Sun and the Province during July and August of 1979. It is analyzed from the perspective of the political process in Guenther, "A Case Study in Policy Making."

33. E.g., Harvey Schroeder, Chilliwack and Elwood Veitch, Burnaby-Willingdon, were known as evangelicals.


35. The B.C. Research Council reported that students transferring from T.W.C. to U.B.C. achieved grades "...substantially higher than that achieved by students from other B.C. Colleges," cited in Guenther, "A Case Study in Policy Making," 20-21. The college did receive in the late 1970's $1.8 million from federal grants to the province for university education. The B.C. government had included T.W.C. enrollment figures in its application for the funds since 1972, then granted on a per-student basis, and on that basis was persuaded to pass on the money. No further public money was received since the late 1970's because of a change in federal government granting policy. C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 178-79.

36. My own assessment is that small numbers of evangelicals in the province, especially since 1975, have been quite critical of Social Credit but these are clearly in a minority. Most evangelicals, whether enthusiastically or very quietly, have supported the Social Credit party.

37. Patrick Boyle, Elections British Columbia (Vancouver: Lions Gate Press, 1982), emphasizes that a number of provincial ridings in B.C. are usually won or lost by very thin margins. Thus, the evangelical population was large enough in many areas of the province to make the difference.

38. Stackhouse, "Proclaiming the Word," 1, cites reports of full-time equivalent enrollment to the Association of Theological Schools in 1986. These put Ontario Theological Seminary (established by Ontario Bible College in 1976) second with 220 students, and the United Church's Emmanuel College, Toronto, third with an enrollment of 195.


40. Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement, 139-290.

41. Several Vancouver and Victoria assemblies began hiring paid pastoral and administrative staff, often known as "teaching elders," beginning in the late 1960's.
42. Atkinson interview, 26 June, 1984 and Sheppard interview, 6 Feb. 1984.

43. Gear interview, 29 Nov. 1983.

44. Harris Diary, 4 March 1946

45. Ellis interview, 11 January 1982.

46. Telephone interview with Dr. Ian S. Rennie, Toronto, 19 Feb. 1982 and Ellis interview, 11 Jan. 1982. Rennie became a board member soon after the founding of Regent and, thus, closely associated with Sheppard.

47. Phillips, "The History of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in Western Canada," 208-09. He notes that the S.C.M. was declining and ceasing to function on many campuses, especially after 1965, 364.

48. Brian P. Sutherland, "Historical Development," paper delivered at the conference, "Openness to the Future: A Prelude to Planning," held at Regent College, 1974. It should be noted that in some North American centres, including Toronto, Montreal and Chicago, some Plymouth Brethren were highly supportive of the university group.

49. Phillips, "The History of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in Western Canada," 53-54, 75, 83, 93. Two of the club's presidents in the early 1950's were members of the leading Brethren assembly, Granville Chapel. One of these, Kenneth O. Smith, illustrates the connections between the Plymouth Brethren, V.B.I. I.V.C.F. and Regent College. He was the son of Oswald Smith, president of the V.B.I council in the mid-1940's, while then a member of Metropolitan Tabernacle. Kenneth Smith, after his student years, became a leader in Vancouver Brethren circles and, with the encouragement of Marshall Sheppard, he published Calling magazine between 1958 and 1971 in order to provide a forum for young Brethren writers to discuss issues pertinent to their assemblies, evangelicalism as a whole and the wider society. A successful businessman involved in printing and property development and management fields, he was one of the earliest supporters of Regent College, serving as secretary of its first board of Governors, and he continued to play a leading role in its ongoing development.

50. E.g, the Copp, Sheppard, Funston and Rae families, all Plymouth Brethren, were prominent in the shoe business in Vancouver and Victoria.

51. From its establishment into the early 1980's, over 80% of the financial support came from Greater Vancouver and Victoria, largely from Brethren members. Interview with Dr. Carl Armerding, Principal of Regent College, Vancouver, 18 Jan. 1982.
52. Sutherland, "Historical Development."


54. A copy of "An Act to Incorporate Regent College (Chapter 68, 1968) was provided from the College records. Seven of those first board members were from Vancouver and four were residents of Victoria.

55. Stackhouse, "Proclaiming the Word," helpfully discusses the nuances of the term, 10, f.n. 1.


57. According to the "Agreement Between Regent College and the Baptist Union of Western Canada," in Baptist Union of Western Canada Yearbook, 1979-80, the Baptist school would provide courses in practical theology and Regent would provide biblical, theological, historical and other courses and grant the M.Div. degrees.

58. Interviews with Dr. Roy Bell, principal of Carey Hall, 1 December, 1982, and Dr. Samuel Mikolaski, Pioneer McDonald Professor of Baptist Studies, Carey Hall, 6 January 1983, were of assistance in understanding theological changes and continuity in the B.C. Convention of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.


60. Bible institute and college graduates were not accepted in many Baptist Union pulpits, but a few were and others became home missions workers or influential lay people. Joel E. Harris, The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History (St. John, N.B.: Lingley Printing, 1976), 107 & 129.


63. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 110.

64. The main issues were the "innerancy" of the Bible and premillenialism. Regent College's statement did not include specific reference to either in its brief doctrinal statement. Of these two, "innerancy" was of greater importance to most critics who felt the college's statement "...divinely inspired, infallible, entirely trustworthy; and the only supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct" still allowed for the admission of error in matters not related to "faith and conduct." See Sutherland, "Historical Development" and
Stackhouse, "Proclaiming the Word," 239-43.


71. Also rather ironically, in 1986 the Baptist General Conference and the Evangelical Free Church, along with the Regular Baptist and Associated Gospel churches, began serious discussions with a view to beginning a seminary consortium on the campus of Trinity Western University in 1988.


73. Interview with Dr. Wesley Affleck, Kelowna, 2 Feb., 1982. Affleck came from Winnipeg Bible College to begin the new school in 1965. Also, Okanagan Bible Institute, Registrar's Report, 1981.

74. In 1981 an increasing trend towards less formal, shorter term and part-time Bible institutes was evidenced by new schools operated by Glad Tidings Tabernacle, Vancouver, and Torch Bearer schools, of England, on Thetis Island in the Strait of Georgia.
CHAPTER NINE
1961-1981, Continuing Alienation

The developments described in chapters 2 through 7 indicate that conservative growth between 1961 and 1981 was not totally new but rather a continuation of trends begun in 1917. While the visibility of explicitly evangelical groups was higher by the 1970's, most of the groups were not new. Similarly, as will be shown in this chapter, the factors involved in the evangelical growth from 1917 to 1961 continued, with some variations, in the two decades after 1961.

Socio-economic Factors

As shown earlier, lower-middle class social and economic status was one significant variable in the development of some conservative groups, most notably Pentecostal and Regular Baptist. However, an aversion to modernism was not restricted to this class as conservative mainline churches such as Fairview Presbyterian were decidedly middle class and the membership of the militantly fundamentalist Metropolitan Tabernacle was of mixed economic status.

In the 1960's and 1970's, evangelicals were even more clearly spread across a broad socio-economic spectrum. For example, a 1984 article in B.C. Business described a "Born Again Business Network," centred in the Lower Mainland and developing over several decades, which included Pentecostals, Evangelical Anglicans, Baptists, Plymouth Brethren, Mennonites, Christian and Missionary Alliance and independents. The range of business
activities represented was equally broad and the network included owners and top executives from shipping, real estate, advertising, property management, construction, retail and development firms.\textsuperscript{1} The generally upper-middle class residential area of the west side of Vancouver supported three strong, evangelical Baptist Union churches, several Plymouth Brethren assemblies, including the two largest in the province, Fairview Presbyterian, still one of the more significant Presbyterian churches in the city, and the large St. John's (Shaughnessy) Anglican Church, which was becoming increasingly identified with evangelicalism. The prestigious suburbs of North and West Vancouver supported two strong evangelical Baptist churches, two substantial Plymouth Brethren assemblies and an independent charismatic congregation. A similar, range of evangelical churches was situated in Victoria's upper-middle class area.

Pentecostal and Fellowship (Regular) Baptist churches continued to be strongly represented in east Vancouver, but both, especially the Baptists, experienced stronger growth in the suburbs to the south and east of the city. Observers have noted a shift, first in Fellowship Baptist and then in P.A.O.C. consituencies, towards a middle-class orientation. This stemmed in part from the upward mobility of second and third generation members but was also due to new converts from that class.\textsuperscript{2} The middle-class orientation of the Charismatic movement and the conservative drift of the Baptist Union indicate that evangelicalism was quite welcome among the economically comfortable in the province, especially in the middle-class suburbs. Indeed, some evangelical churches in the older, then
less desirable, parts of the city, most notably Mt. Pleasant, had declined by the 1970's while affiliated churches burgeoned in the suburbs. By 1975, Tenth Avenue Alliance, Mount Pleasant Baptist, Evangelistic Tabernacle and Metropolitan Tabernacle, all within a few blocks of each other in the Mt. Pleasant district of Vancouver, had declined, now surpassed in size by C.M.A., Baptist General Conference and Associated Church of Pentecost churches in the suburbs.

The 1981 census indicated that the larger evangelical groups were generally below that of the mainline Protestant denominations in terms of educational attainment but displayed diversity among themselves. Only the Pentecostals were attending university in 1981 at a lower rate than the mainline

**TABLE VI**

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND PARTICIPATION RATES
SELECTED RELIGIOUS GROUPS, POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WITHOUT HIGH SCHOOL CERT.</th>
<th>WITH BACH. DEGREE</th>
<th>ATTENDING UNIV.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainline Protestant</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>41.3%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Protestants.

The socio-economic diversity of evangelicalism was also evidenced in the level of training received by ministers. An informal survey of the educational attainments of seventy-two evangelical ministers in the Lower Mainland in 1984\(^3\) indicated that 47 had at some time attended a Bible college or institute and 31 had received a degree or three-year certificate from such a school. Forty-five had some university training and 37 had completed degrees (30 bachelors, 6 masters & 1 Ph.D.); 35 had studied at a seminary and 26 had received a graduate degree in theology.

The variety of socio-economic backgrounds represented among the evangelical clergy and laity certainly assisted their penetration into various levels of society. Some groups, notably the C.M.A., Evangelical Free, P.A.O.C., Regular Baptist, Baptist General Conference, Mennonite Brethren and independent Charismatic, proved themselves quite able to adapt to a variety of settings and especially to suburban (largely middle-class but also some upper-middle class), rural/suburban (Fraser and Okanagan valleys) and small town (Interior and Vancouver Island) settings. Other groups, such as the Baptist Union and evangelical Presbyterian and Anglican congregations, were more limited to middle and upper-middle class settings while some, but not all, of the smaller Pentecostal groups were limited to lower class settings. This diversity indicates that a whole range of factors in addition to status needs to be considered in order to account for evangelicalism's growing strength since 1960.
American Influences

In British Columbia it is difficult to escape American influences in any sphere of life. In the pre-W.W.II period, however, despite numerous contacts, none of the larger conservative Protestant groups relied extensively on American personnel or funding for their support or expansion. After the war, the American influences became more pervasive in Canadian society as a whole and also within evangelicalism. The tremendous upsurge of conservative Protestantism in the United States after the war had considerable implications for Canadian evangelicals. Most evident were American electronic-media evangelists and the appearance of groups with direct American links such as the Evangelical Free Church, the Baptist General Conference, the Southern Baptists and "para-church" organizations such as Campus Crusade for Christ.

On closer examination, however, the American links were not always a crucial factor, and in a few cases, appeared to deter Canadians. Campus Crusade for Christ, for example, despite a much more aggressive approach, did not attract nearly as many students on the university campuses as did the more Canadian-oriented I.V.C.F. A Fellowship Baptist official warned his constituency against American television evangelists, arguing that they often did more harm than good to the local churches, especially as they competed for funds. Bureau of Broadcast Measurement (B.B.M.) ratings between 1979 and 1982 indicated that the well known American evangelists drew Sunday audiences of between 3,000 and 12,900 on Vancouver (CHAN) and Victoria
(CHEK) television stations but Terry Winter, a Vancouver evangelist with Plymouth Brethren connections, drew audiences of between 17,900 and 32,800. Perhaps even better known to B.C. audiences than Winter was David Mainse, a Pentecostal minister broadcasting "100 Huntley Street" daily from Toronto.

The Evangelical Free Church and the Baptist General Conference in B.C. both received significant support from the U.S. in the 1950's and 1960's but most frequently used ministers of Canadian birth and training. American ministers did not appear to dominate any significant sector of evangelicalism. The seventy-two ministers from a variety of evangelical denominations surveyed in 1984 included six (8.3%) from the United States, seven (9.8%) from Great Britain and fifty-two (72.2%) from Canada. Another study showed only one (1.6%) of sixty-two Regular Baptist ministers serving in Greater Vancouver between 1955 and 1979 to be American, and six (6.8%) of ninety-three P.A.O.C. ministers in Greater Vancouver between 1920 and 1979. Groups seen as too "American" did not always receive a good hearing in the province. The Southern Baptist Convention is the most prominent example of a group receiving large infusions of American funds and personnel, yet it did not appeal to significant numbers of British Columbians and remained much smaller than the major Baptist groups. Likewise, the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, closely linked to its American parent body, did not spread with nearly the same vigour as its Canadian counterpart, the P.A.O.C. The Charismatic movement, spreading from the U.S. to British Columbia, appealed to many in the province, but its credibility and appeal were greatly
enhanced in Vancouver and Victoria by the frequent appearances of members of the charismatic wing of Britain's Church of England.

The general post-war upsurge of British Evangelicalism, especially in academic circles,\(^9\) played a role in the founding of Regent College. Trinity Western College relied substantially on Americans during its early development but weaned itself from those influences to a remarkable degree after the mid-1970's when it developed a much stronger Canadian identity.\(^10\)

**Other Explanations**

One must look further than socio-economic and American factors to explain the growth of conservative Protestantism in B.C. As been suggested, four additional factors require consideration: 1. a loyalty to longstanding cultural and religious values which appeared to be endangered by modernism; 2. patterns of immigration which added relatively large numbers of conservative Protestants to the provincial population; 3. large family sizes and high rates of retention of children within evangelical churches; 4. and the large number of newer, smaller evangelical congregations. A common thread to all of these was the sense among conservative Protestants that they were separate from the surrounding modern culture. Instead of accommodating to it they were distinct at many points from it and identified with biblical descriptions of the people of God as "strangers and pilgrims." An analogy developed by Marsden is probably the best conceptual tool to understand this alienation. Marsden draws a parallel between the experience of American
conservative Protestants and that of newer immigrants who, finding themselves in a strange and often hostile environment, developed a "ghetto mentality" and erected defensive walls between themselves and the surrounding culture.

This sense of alienation and distinctiveness fuelled much of the conservative growth from 1917 until 1961. Similarly, between 1961 and 1981, the increasingly powerful challenges of modern secularism were more successfully weathered by a conservative Protestantism sheltered behind its defensive walls than by the more open, culture-affirming liberal churches.

Leonard I. Sweet portrays liberal American Protestants in the early 1960's as being quite willing to undergo considerable change in response to the spirit of the age.

First of all, then, it was primarily for apologetic reasons that there arose the desperate yearning to be "with it," the fear of being "out of touch," and the modish concern for "relevance" - whether social relevance for the church or intellectual relevance for theology. "The modern world will not allow us" was a phrase so excessively used it became almost a kind of religious chant. Whatever seemed alien to the modern mind had to go. While most resisted giving up belief in God, the most conspicuous leaders willingly pulled up the anchor of absolutes so that the church might sail alongside "enlightened" minds. . . . Christians who had taken this path applauded as whole structures of institutional Christianity were secularized, fervently hoping that now disbelievers would see that religion
was taking the ideals of the contemporary world seriously.

Whereas an older liberalism had capitulated to the authority of a modern scientific world view, the liberalizing trend that characterized religion in the first sixties capitulated to the authority of a broader and more encompassing phenomenon of cultural secularization.¹¹

In more restrained language, Martin Marty observed, "...the secular perception and paradigm prevailed through the mid-sixties."¹²

The Canadian mainline churches were also concerned to be relevant to the modern world. This was evidenced, for example, by the United Church's adoption in 1964 of its New Curriculum, which openly raised questions of biblical authorship and authority,¹³ and the Anglican Church's commissioning in 1963 of a well known agnostic, Pierre Berton, to write a very widely distributed critique of the church.¹⁴ Observers do not usually use the word "capitulation" to describe the Canadian response to modernity as Sweet does of the American, probably because the Canadian response to modernity was characteristically more cautious than was the American. Observers do, however, point to some tendencies among the liberal churches in Canada similar to those in the United States. A member of the Long Range Planning Committee of the Anglican Church noted in 1983 that

The dominant drift of Anglican change in the last two decades has, in the main, followed the accommodationist-reformulation strategy, given the
location of Anglicans in the liberal mainstream of Canadian society and our aversion to sectarianism. Certainly this was the path which Pierre Berton pointed to. At the same time, the dangers associated with this strategy have involved increasing problems of maintaining distinct religious purpose and identity. . .15

John W. Grant depicts the posture of the United Church in the 1960's as one in which

Disillusioned leaders cast about feverishly for new sources of meaning, and while gaining some important new insights, the church was exposed to a fair amount of pretentious nonsense. . .A tradition of openness doubtless left the United Church more vulnerable to excess than more conservative denominations. . ."16

Conservative Protestants selectively accommodated to, and even embraced, certain technologies and techniques of modern society which they found useful to further their goals but were alienated by many trends and to them refused accommodation. Grant says they were less affected by the ferment of the 1960's than they were by the affluence of the 1950's, believing as they did that the post-1960 changes in the mainline churches "... were further proofs of the long-suspected apostasy of the conventional Protestant churches."17

Preservation of Religious Values and Emphases

Many conservatives in an earlier era resisted the inroads of modernism to preserve what for them were indispensable
religious values and emphases. Among these were the religious and intellectual certainties imparted by the Scottish realist, or Common Sense, understanding of the Bible; the vital, personal religious experiences stressed by holiness teaching, whether of the Wesleyan-Arminian or Keswick varieties, and by Pentecostalism; premillennialism, which stressed the active intervention of God in world affairs in the future; and fervent evangelism, usually stemming from that premillennialism and from a revivalistic concept of conversion. Terminologies and foci had changed somewhat by the 1960's but concern to preserve similar values and emphases motivated many evangelicals and in many cases attracted new members to conservative congregations.

A fundamental value which rallied evangelicals and appealed to others was their understanding of the supernatural origins and character of Christianity. A key element of this belief for conservative Protestants was a continued acceptance of an authoritative, infallible, divinely inspired Bible, the source of absolute certainty about issues of life and death. President-elect Hanson of T.W.C. wrote several months before the new college opened: "While students must be encouraged to question and investigate, there are limits to inquiry. We seek not only to evoke questions but to give solid answers to eternal questions. Our philosophy of education grows out of our confidence that the Bible is the inspired and infallible Word of God."  

Hanson and his constituency would have agreed with Peter Berger's critical comment, if they had read it, on Pierre Berton's challenge to the Church to cast aside "pretensions to
absolute rightness" and to adopt a "faith without dogma." Berger argued instead that the serious issues facing modern man were not those which Berton and his theological mentors were raising but "propositions about the ultimate meaning of his life. The Christian Church stands or falls with one particular set of such propositions. They are either true or false. One should decide the question and not skirt it by translating its terms to mean something entirely different."^{19}

As irrelevant as such propositions appeared to be to Berton and his admirers, they were evidently of concern to enough people for the conservative churches in British Columbia, with their clear teachings on ultimate issues, to keep their members and gain new ones, sometimes at the expense of mainline denominations. It was in 1965, the year after its controversial new curriculum was officially adopted, that the United Church membership in British Columbia stopped rising and began declining. The drop may have been attributable to other causes,^{20} but the curriculum's introduction of higher critical issues did raise a furore of controversy and the church's Sunday School enrollment plunged by a total of 15,000 (28%) in 1965 and 1966.^{21} Not all of the conservatives in the United Church left; some organized the United Church Renewal Fellowship in order to attempt to stem from within the tide of changes. But many teachers and students did leave, and an undetermined number went to the conservative churches. For example, much of the rapid growth of the Evangelical Free Church in the period has been directly attributed to lay people, especially Sunday School teachers, leaving the United Church.^{22}
Challenges posed by modernity to other traditional Protestant values also led to a stiffening of most evangelicals' resolve to counteract modern trends. Because most conservatives viewed the traditional concept of the family as being based on the Bible's teaching, they regarded its decline in society after the 1960's as one of the modern trends to be most feared and resisted. This concern was expressed in different forms. In contrast to the more liberal stand of the mainline Protestant churches, many conservative churches, and the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, began making firm statements against abortion in the 1970's. Evangelicals varied quite widely in their responses to fellow-members obtaining divorces, to couples choosing the option of not having children and to women with young children choosing to pursue careers outside the home. However, whether it was expressed explicitly or implicitly, the relatively few members of conservative churches choosing such routes felt some measure of disapproval.

Some emphases were more controversial among conservatives, but nevertheless held an appeal to many. Earlier holiness terminology had faded from many sectors, but the Charismatic movement appealed to the same desire for immediate religious experience. One middle class Anglican participant, formerly only nominally religious, described her 1968 experience at a worship service at St. Margaret's Reformed Episcopal Church, Vancouver, in terms with which many in a society largely bereft of the sense of the supernatural could identify. "I knew that it was the Almighty God who had spoken, that it was He who had touched me, and He who had called me by name. ...without doubt, I knew
the reality of God." Marty explains that those "craving for experience" increasingly turned to conservative religion because "In its compromise with secular, dissected religion, modern religiosity ministered to this hunger only passively." A statement issued in 1975 by the United Church of Canada did express some appreciation for the Charismatic movement's emphasis on experience but identified a major explanation why that type of experience had not been embraced by the liberal churches.

What may be disturbing to the liberal non-charismatic is that this stress seems to involve an uncritical acceptance of the metaphysical assumptions that lie behind the form in which miracle stories are presented in the New Testament....The question is whether scripture demands that the first-century world view become normative for Christian faith. All conservatives could not accept the variations and degrees of experience typical of charismatic groups but they certainly could not argue with them that the first-century world view was normative for the Christian faith.

Dispensationalist premillennialism, many elements of which seemed to be confirmed by chaotic international affairs, was still held strongly in some, but not all, evangelical quarters and carried great appeal for many people. For example, at least some of the explosive growth at Seven Oaks Alliance Church in Abbotsford was due to the appeal of senior minister W. Goetz's widely-distributed dispensationalist book, Apocalypse Next, published in 1980. After surveying disturbing current events in
the light of his dispensationalist interpretations he offered
his readers what he called "The great escape"; personal
salvation. Free copies of the book were distributed door-to-
door by church members in the Abbotsford area and many people
responded favourably. His church became by 1981 one of the
province's largest and wealthiest evangelical congregations,
with average attendances of over 1,200 and annual donations of
over $1,000,000. Five years later it had grown by another 50%
and occupied a new 2,500 seat sanctuary.

The primary commitment to evangelism, as evidenced by the
conservative organizations and activities in British Columbia
described in earlier chapters, continued in the 1960's and
1970's, despite some increased interest in social and political
issues. All evangelical groups proclaimed the primacy of
personal religious experiences, notably conversion. The
P.A.O.C. spoke for many who felt the mainline churches, which
focused on social instead of personal spiritual problems, were
straying from their raison d'être. It declared in 1967, "Of
course the Church must be concerned with poverty, hunger,
injustice and ignorance...but they are only secondary aspects of
the Church's chief mission, the evangelization of the unreached
masses for Christ." When evangelicals did begin to take a
greater interest in social and political issues, beginning in
the late 1960's, it was based on feelings of alienation from
society's changing values and was in the interests of preserving
traditional family values and personal morality. For example,
the British Columbia district of the P.A.O.C. passed resolutions
protesting profanity in the media, pornography, abortion and
"the lack of a decent standard of morals" in the school system. Elements of protest against changing moral standards dominated the political activities of Bernice Gerard, P.A.O.C. minister, Vancouver alderman in the 1970's and British Columbia's best known evangelical social activist. Unlike non-evangelical social activists, her concerns were not with the larger structural issues of society but revolved mostly around personal and family issues.

Motivated by their view of the stark contrast between the conditions and destinies of those inside and those outside "the fold," evangelicals expended enormous amounts of energy and money in evangelistic causes, at home and abroad. For example, a mass evangelistic campaign featuring Billy Graham and Leighton Ford drew crowds of up to 30,000 to Empire Stadium in 1965. The emphasis switched somewhat in the 1970's from large campaigns to more intimate, personal settings as encouraged by organizations such as Campus Crusade for Christ, but the concern for evangelism remained. The most startling example of this is found in figures presented by Stackhouse showing that three small Canadian evangelical groups, the Plymouth Brethren, the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Associated Gospel Churches (the first two of which are very strong in British Columbia) each sent more missionaries outside of the country in the mid-1980's than did the three major Protestant mainline denominations in Canada combined.

Because conservative Protestants retained a focus on personal evangelism - i.e., the recruitment of outsiders - the religious backgrounds of the people filling their churches and
swelling their membership rolls becomes an important subject for investigation. Were evangelical churches successful in actually bringing in people with no religious background? Were they at least recruiting from among either liberal or nominal, inactive Protestants? Or, on the other hand, were the new members already "insiders" in the sense that they were the children of evangelicals or were committed evangelicals switching from mainline to conservatives churches as the atmosphere of their denominations became less congenial to conservatism?

The evidence suggests that evangelical growth did not always make significant inroads into the province's secular majority. An analysis of 1965 and 1976 mass evangelism crusades by Billy Graham and Leighton Ford in Vancouver showed that only 12% and 9%, respectively, of the approximately 2,000 responding to the evangelists' invitations claimed non-Christian or no religious affiliation. The vast majority of inquirers claimed affiliation with either conservative (36.5% and 53%) or mainline (49% and 31%) denominations. Similar results were found in an informal 1984 survey of 1,300 evangelicals in approximately 100 churches in the Lower Mainland. Only 7% of the respondents who lived in, and were converted in, British Columbia between 1945 and 1959 had not attended church while growing up. That figure rose to 14% for the 1960's decade.

It was shown that some mainline Protestants were attracted into the membership of the early Pentecostal churches, Metropolitan Tabernacle, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Evangelical Free Church and independent charismatic churches. Records simply do not allow one to determine exactly
how many did so in each case, but there are some indications of
the cumulative result of such transfers over the decades. Bibby's 1975 national survey indicated that 17% of those
claiming identification with conservative churches had fathers
affiliated with mainline Protestantism. The informal 1984
survey produced nearly identical figures; 17% of the
respondents' fathers and 18% of their mothers had been Anglican,
Presbyterian or United. Going back one generation further,
between 19% and 22% of their grandparents had been mainline
Protestants. To determine whether or not these figures simply
represent the shifting of the centre of gravity of
evangelicalism from mainline to conservative groups is
difficult, given the subjective nature of people's responses.
However, we may take as a fairly reasonable indication the
judgment of just over half of the respondents with mainline
Protestant parents that one or both of their parents were
evangelical believers.

There is contrary evidence for the period after 1970 in
British Columbia, however. No definitive study has yet been
done but surveys conducted in two P.A.O.C. churches in the Lower
Mainland indicated that 24% of 199 new members received between
1970 and 1978 were new converts as opposed to children of
members or transfers from other churches. The Mennonite
Brethren churches in the province reported that approximately
25% (760 of 2,994) of the new members gained from 1977 to 1981
had been converted from outside the churches. In contrast,
their sister churches from Alberta east to Ontario attracted
only 18% (699 of 3,815) of their new members from the outside.
A surprising 37% of the respondents in the informal 1984 survey who were converted while living in British Columbia after 1970 claimed to have been church non-attenders as children. This is in fairly sharp contrast to Bibby's 1975 nationwide survey which found that only 17% of conservatives in the country had not been church-attenders while growing up.41

Thus the evidence for British Columbia seems to suggest a two-fold answer. Before 1970, the vast majority of evangelicals had likely already been religious "insiders" or at least "near the door," by virtue of birth or former denominational affiliation, before joining a conservative church. Many of these needed no particular evangelistic efforts to be recruited as they were attracted, because of their religious heritage, to the traditional emphases of evangelicalism. As the responses to the Billy Graham/Leighton Ford crusades indicate, others in this "insider" category did need to be the focus of special evangelistic activity before responding positively. The evangelistic energy spent in gaining and retaining these people can be interpreted as being productive if it is viewed as keeping such people from joining the drift into secularity. The mistake should not be made, however, of interpreting such gains as representing a strong thrust into the secular culture; they merely 'held it at bay.'

After 1970 the picture changed. The available evidence suggests that conservative Protestantism in British Columbia was perhaps becoming more appealing to some in a highly secular province, a fact which appears more significant when compared with figures for the rest of Canada. The greater receptivity to
evangelistic efforts appears to be explained by Marty's view that antimodern religions attract people disillusioned with the "chaos" and "moral anomie" of a pluralism stemming from the decline of mainline Protestantism.\(^4\) Membership, Sunday school enrollment and census figures before the early 1960's indicate that at least nominal adherence to mainstream Christianity was reasonably common in British Columbia. Therefore people without any religious background at all would be fairly rare. After the mid-1960's, however, secularism became far more pervasive than it had been previously and people without any religious background became increasingly common. In response to the resultant feelings of rootlessness, small, but increasing, numbers were attracted to conservative Protestant groups. Since British Columbia had led the nation in its secular tendencies, it is not surprising that British Columbia should lead in the reaction to it, at least as represented by this fairly modest trend into conservative churches. Earlier developments, related to British Columbia's historical lack of strong religious roots, had already led to the existence of distinct, aggressively evangelizing groups such as the P.A.O.C., the Regular Baptists, the C.M.A., the Evangelical Free Church and the Mennonite Brethren, all of which were able to capitalize on the new search for stability. In the 1960's and 1970's, the Charismatic movement, which led to a wave of new independent congregations, emerged strongly in British Columbia partially as a consequence of the province's secular, transient nature.
Considerable attention has been given to the immigration of conservative Protestant groups to British Columbia. Much of the focus has been upon the large Mennonite Brethren group and its method of adapting to British Columbia society by assimilating selectively. Its members consciously rejected associating with liberal Protestantism but came to identify quite closely with evangelicalism, with which they shared many important religious distinctions. The process accelerated after 1961 as all but one of the churches with ethnically Mennonite populations switched to the use of the English language and as the denomination established thirty new congregations in the province. Most of these were away from centres of Mennonite population and designated themselves "community" rather than "Mennonite Brethren" churches. As early as 1969, Dr. John Redekop, a leading Mennonite Brethren raised in British Columbia but residing in Ontario, publically suggested dropping the name Mennonite altogether in order to erase connotations of ethnicity.43

The unusually detailed statistical reporting of the Mennonite Brethren between 1977 and 1981 makes it possible to ascertain some of the results of this process of assimilation. The annual reports for the five years indicated that over half of the new members gained by the British Columbia churches (1,573 of 2,994, or 52.5%) came from outside the ethnic group by means of transfer from other denominations and by conversions.44
Alberta east to Ontario in the same period were 1,453 of 3,815 (38%) new members. The difference is in part due to the leaders and Bible school teachers in British Columbia who encouraged their young people to engage in such evangelism and also encouraged the language transition in the churches to facilitate the incorporation of new members from outside the ethnic group. The difference is also due to the nature of British Columbia society. The secular, transient character of the province's population allowed little breathing space for a relaxation of the denomination's strongly revivalistic emphasis. The combination of general secularity and relatively isolated pockets of population in outlying areas of the province created a religious vacuum in many areas which the mission stations of the Mennonite Brethren churches were able to fill. The development of non-ethnically Mennonite congregations out of these stations forced the denomination in the province to evaluate its identity, and it increasingly opted for one which was evangelical and non-ethnic.

The use by the Mennonite Brethren of the wider evangelicalism as a "vehicle of assimilation" had another significant consequence for conservative Protestantism in British Columbia. Although many Mennonite Brethren churches assimilated, and in so doing were able to bring in outside members, the assimilation of individuals and families often occurred much more rapidly than that of churches. Many members, often the more evangelistically inclined, grew impatient with the slower rate of collective change and left for other conservative Protestant churches and organizations, which
readily welcomed them. The exact magnitude of this exodus is not known, but it was a major factor in the growth of many of the other churches and organizations. For example, the denominational statistical report for 1981 noted that a total of 130 British Columbia Mennonite Brethren members were pastors of Mennonite Brethren churches in the province or serving on the denomination's mission boards. Almost as many, 107, who were still members, were serving non-Mennonite Brethren mission agencies. In addition, thirty-five of the eighty-two pastors listed by the Christian and Missionary Alliance churches as having served churches in British Columbia from 1940 to the late 1970's are identifiable by their family names as being of Mennonite background. Nineteen of the 119 pastors and lay leaders listed in the 1981 directory of the Evangelical Free Church can similarly be identified as being of Mennonite background. These two denominations appear to have gained the most from Mennonite transfers but the informal 1984 survey of evangelicals in the Lower Mainland indicated that such benefits were shared by other groups. Current members of Mennonite churches who had a Mennonite heritage comprised 15% of the respondents, but nearly 25% of all respondents identified Mennonite grandparents. In other words, approximately one-in-eight respondents in the non-Mennonite groups had a Mennonite heritage. These people were to be found not only in Fraser Valley churches but also in Baptist and Plymouth Brethren churches on the west side of Vancouver.

Other bodies of European origin such as the German Baptist and the Christian Reformed churches did not play such a key role
in the broader evangelicalism but did increasingly and consciously identify themselves with it. Some German Baptist churches, for example, dropped elements of their ethnic identity in an attempt to appeal to the wider community and many individual members transferred to other churches.\textsuperscript{48} The Calvinistic creedal distinctions of the Christian Reformed churches inhibited ready assimilation into the evangelical subculture but some indications of change in that direction had become apparent by the late 1970's. Charismatic tendencies in worship altered the character of at least one congregation and in other cases resulted in the transfer of members to non-reformed churches, especially independent charismatic congregations.\textsuperscript{49} A growing alienation from the public school system and a corresponding development of interest in Christian schools among large numbers of evangelicals brought them into closer contact with Christian Reformed people who were quite willing to cooperate with them in the establishing and operating of such schools.\textsuperscript{50}

**Family Size and Retention of Children**

Larger than average family sizes together with high retention rates of children played an important role in the growth of a number of conservative groups. Earlier data is only available for several conservative groups and the mainline denominations. However, the 1981 census cross-lists the provincial population by age and religion for an unusually large number of denominations and thus allows for a closer examination of the numbers of children belonging to evangelicals.
### TABLE VII
PROPORTION OF POPULATION UNDER 15 YEARS OLD
BY DENOMINATION, 1941, 1961 & 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DENOMINATION</th>
<th>1941 %</th>
<th>1961 %</th>
<th>1981 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Free</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Reformed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian &amp; Miss. All.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Nazarene</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. POPULATION</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- No data available


The significance of these figures in explaining the rates of increase and decline in the membership of various groups are enormous. For example, in 1961, the actual number of children in the Baptist population, which was not unusually high, was almost as large as that in the Presbyterian population, even though the total number of Presbyterians was nearly twice as large as Baptists. The Pentecostal population, less than one-quarter that of the Presbyterian in 1961, contained well over one-third as many children as the Presbyterian group. By 1981,
each of the Pentecostal and Baptist categories contained more
children under fifteen years than did the Presbyterian
population, which was still slightly larger than the Baptist
total. Even if other variables had been equal, which is
unlikely, these figures indicate that natural increase alone
accounts for much of the growth of the two evangelical groups
and suggest that eventually they will surpass the Presbyterians.

Among the factors which should be considered in explaining
the higher proportions of children in the conservative groups
are: generally fewer older people, especially in the newer
groups, and consequently fewer women beyond child-bearing age
(this is also true, to a far greater degree, of those in the "no
religion" category); a higher proportion of residents living in
suburbs and rural areas rather than in the larger cities; and
lower education levels and economic status in some evangelical
groups.

But these factors do not fully explain the higher
proportion of children and, especially, the much slower decline
in numbers of children between 1961 and 1981 in the conservative
groups than in the mainline groups. The United Church
proportion of children under fifteen years in "baby-boom" 1961
was 10% higher than that of the Baptists in the same year but it
had declined to a level 15% lower in 1981. The Pentecostal
figure was 10% higher than that of the United Church in 1961 but
50% higher in 1981. Both Pentecostal and Baptist figures for
1981 were similar to what they had been in 1941 but the United
Church figure dropped by nearly 20%. Of the three conservative
groups for which data is available, only the Mennonite
proportion of children consistently fell between 1941 and 1981, largely because of its nature in 1941 as an immigrant group with unusually large families.

Any adequate explanation must include the positive effect of the conservatives' traditional views of the family on the birth rate. Many evangelicals gave tangible expression to their oft-stated high esteem of the traditional family by having a larger than average number of children. Most evangelical churches were silent on methods of contraception practiced by members, but the Canadian Reformed churches, whose relatively small membership had the highest proportion of children to membership of any Protestant group, referred frequently to the Biblical injunction to "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth..." 51

The significance of larger family sizes among conservatives was greatly increased by a high rate of retention of their children. Bibby cites the combination of high birth and retention rates as a primary reason for the growth of conservative groups in Canada. 52 Because of a greater fear of secularization than that shared by their mainline counterparts, conservative parents were far more likely to ensure that their children were religiously trained. One result was the higher Sunday school enrollments presented in Table VI. Bibby's 1975 survey found that 68% of the children of those who identified themselves as conservatives regularly attended religious services while only 27% of those of mainline Protestants did so. 53
The conservative parents' greater commitment to traditional concepts of salvation naturally led to a greater urgency to encourage an individual, personal decision on the part of the child. The 1984 informal survey indicated that a very high percentage (77%) of respondents' children over sixteen years old had reported a conversion experience and most of these (87%) were active in an evangelical church. Going back one generation, similar rates were reported for the evangelical families in which many of the respondents themselves were raised. Mennonite Brethren responses indicated that a very high average of 4.4 children per family in which the respondents were raised were converted and active in some evangelical church and a similar rate prevailed among the children of women over fifty years. These figures help explain why the Mennonite Brethren churches were able to "supply" many of the other evangelical churches with members and yet continued to experience growth themselves.

Establishing New Congregations

Finally, the readiness of conservatives to undergo the rigours, financially and otherwise, of starting new churches must be seen as a major factor in their growth. Some of the congregations came into existence almost spontaneously. The upsurge of Pentecostal churches in Vancouver in the 1920's and the appearance of dozens of independent charismatic congregations in the 1970's were largely spontaneous in the sense that hundreds of people, having recently undergone ecstatic religious experiences, were ready to coalesce into
groups which encouraged such experiences. Many immigrant churches from the late 1920's through the 1950's formed as soon as enough fellow migrants had arrived. Other new congregations, such as Metropolitan Tabernacle and several Regular Baptist churches, resulted from fractious schisms in existing churches over issues of importance to the leadership and membership. More orderly, "fraternal" splits occurred when some congregations grew too large for existing buildings or when significant numbers of members desired to meet closer to their homes. Many of the Mennonite churches in the Lower Mainland formed in this manner from the early 1930's onwards. Most evangelical congregations in the province, however, especially those begun since W.W.II, came into being as the result of deliberate plans by individual workers, existing churches, independent evangelistic agencies or, most frequently, denominational home missions or extension departments to launch a new work for evangelistic purposes. In most cases, the importance evangelicals attached to their distinctiveness was a key factor in motivating them to undertake a task that was frequently costly in terms of both money and personnel, lay and clerical.

Many groups would have echoed the sentiments contained in the 1976 report of the Home Missions Committee of the Regular Baptists outlining the reasons for establishing new churches:

As Evangelical Baptists, our commitment has been to a Risen Lord, His inerrant and authoritative Word, and the task of evangelism and discipleship in our day and generation. We believe the Scriptural focus of
such evangelism is the local church, and so the planting of evangelical churches has ever been a high priority activity among us.\textsuperscript{54}

The "believers' church" orientation of most other evangelical groups, whether expressed in the accountability of the "brotherhood" meeting of the Mennonite Brethren, the membership covenant in many Baptist churches or, in a less specific sense, the "koinonia" terminology popularized in the 1960's, caused them to give a similar priority to the establishment of new local congregations.

In periods when many other denominations were closing more churches than they were opening, conservatives often found enough money and personnel to begin large numbers of new churches. Between 1928 and 1941, for example, when mainline denominations were not successful in keeping all existing congregations functioning, P.A.O.C. workers established fifty-five new churches. In the twenty years between 1961 and 1981 the total number of conservative congregations in the province grew by more than 300 (Table III, Chapter 8). Rather than focussing on broader ecumenical, national and international concerns, denominational offices in the province increasingly came to see themselves as instruments to encourage the establishment of new congregations.\textsuperscript{55} By way of contrast, the mainline churches, which were more concerned with relationships with other denominations and religions and were more faithful in applying their understanding of Christianity to the broader world, reduced their total number of congregations after 1961 by 140 through consolidations, amalgamations and closures. The
increases and decreases in membership among various denominations between 1961 and 1981 (Table III, Chapter 8) appear to be quite closely related to the number of churches either opened or closed.

Several factors explain why membership growth was related so closely to the growth in the number of new churches established. Of primary importance was that the willingness and ability of many evangelical groups to plant new churches allowed them to adapt to shifts in the provincial population. The population growth experienced by the city of Prince George during the almost uninterrupted resource and transportation development boom in the province's northern interior in the post-war period was accompanied by an upsurge in the number of evangelical churches. While the general population climbed from 2,027 in 1941 to 67,559 in 1981, and the number of United Church charges from one to three, the number of evangelical churches rose from two, a Pentecostal and German Baptist, both of which were tiny, to twenty, several of which attracted congregations of approximately five hundred people. The smaller towns of Quesnel and Williams Lake grew from 653 and 540, respectively, in 1941 to 8,240 and 8,363 in 1981. No evangelical churches had existed in either town in 1941 but over the next four decades six evangelical churches were established in Quesnel and five in Williams Lake. Several of these in each town had congregations of over 100 by 1981, approximately the same number as attended the one United Church in each town.

In the Fraser Valley, nearly every evangelical denomination in the province responded to the development of the municipality
of Surrey from a largely rural area to a bedroom suburb of Vancouver. The ten-fold increase in population from 14,840 in 1941 to 147,138 in 1981 was paralleled by an increase in the number of evangelical churches from three to thirty-eight. The combined average attendance at the two largest of these nearly equalled that of the nine United Church charges in 1981. Immigration into the Abbotsford/Matsqui/Sumas area contributed to the development of an unusually high concentration of conservative Protestants, especially Mennonite and Christian Reformed, but most other evangelical denominations established congregations in the area as well. While the population rose from 8,636 to 64,746 between 1941 and 1981, the number of evangelical congregations rose from five to forty.

The number of evangelical congregations did not increase at the same rate in the city of Vancouver but in the 1970's the growing population from Asia increasingly caught the attention of a number of evangelical groups and by 1981 approximately twenty-five congregations, mostly Chinese, but also Korean, Phillipino, East-Indian and Vietnamese, had been established by eleven different evangelical denominations. Some of these churches were quite large: the Chinese Southern Baptist church, with 500 members, was the largest Southern Baptist church in the province and the larger of the two Chinese C.M.A. churches in Vancouver, with an average attendance of over 600, was larger than the two English-speaking C.M.A. churches in the city combined.56

Secondly, the evidence available from Regular Baptist and Mennonite Brethren statistics indicates that the smaller, newer
churches usually grew much faster and baptized more converts from outside the churches than did older, larger churches.\(^{57}\) The sheer necessity of growth if a new, small group is to survive accounts for part of this but the dynamics of a small church frequently contributed as well. Smaller congregations best embodied the concept of the church as a group distinct from the "world" as they were frequently tightly-knit groups in which every member was known and needed. The Mennonite Brethren statistics register a much greater level of activity per member in the smaller churches. Attendance was usually higher than membership figures by a considerable margin, the percentage of adults involved in the Sunday Schools was higher than in larger churches and financial contributions per member were usually higher than in churches which had more members upon whom they could rely. The higher numbers of baptisms of people from the outside indicated that the sense of commitment and community expressed in smaller congregations was appealing to those seeking refuge from a secular, transient society.\(^{58}\)

The increasing number of conservative congregations in every population centre of the province created a situation among evangelicals characterized by both competition and cooperation. Both frequently contributed to the overall numerical growth of evangelicalism as a whole. The situation in each locale was unique but the town of Hope at the junction of the major highways joining the Lower Mainland to the Interior can be examined as a fairly typical example. The field worker of the West Coast Children's Mission, the only resident worker of an evangelical church in Hope at the time, reported to the
Mennonite Brethren conference in 1947, one year after his arrival:

...we have recently had a Pentecostal preacher move to Hope. The Pentecostals also want to begin to work. Naturally, we will notice it when they start with their music and lively meetings, for some of our people are inclined that way. We fear a division that will hurt us. Pray for us. 59

The Pentecostals did start a church but, in the long run, it did not hurt the mission station as feared. More effort was necessary than otherwise might have been the case but both churches survived and expanded as Hope grew under the influence of mining, forestry and highway development from a village of 515 in 1941 to a town of 2,751 in 1961 and 3,205 in 1981.

In fact, the existence of two evangelical churches appeared to aid the overall growth of evangelicalism. Much of the settlement's population was highly transient due to the market fluctuations affecting the resource industries nearby and the ebb and flow of highway construction. Between 1947 and 1977 newcomers of evangelical inclination had two distinct options from which to choose, both with decidedly different styles and characteristics, yet within a common conservative framework. The West Coast Children's Mission station became a Regular Baptist church in 1950, at the request of the congregation, and by 1970 had become the largest church of any Protestant denomination in the town. Its more stable core of members at any one time was composed of approximately two dozen families, mostly headed by public school teachers, local contractors or
independent logging operators who had remained in the town for more than several years. The core was denominationally very diverse with Baptist, C.M.A., Mennonite Brethren, and Plymouth Brethren backgrounds predominating. Its unambivalent character as a non-charismatic but vigorously active and conservative congregation proved able to attract numerous committed members from the less stable population with a similar variety of non-charismatic conservative backgrounds. Because of the Baptist church's ability to serve a fairly wide spectrum of evangelicals, and because of the town's relatively small size, other non-charismatic conservative denominations did not attempt to begin their own congregations. The most likely candidate to have done so was the C.M.A. which operated a summer camp, with permanent staff, near Hope. However, its staff were active participants in the Baptist church and the C.M.A. did not attempt to start a separate congregation.

The Pentecostal church was usually less than half as large as the Baptist church but did present a viable alternative for most of those desiring more enthusiastic, demonstrative worship. Over the years both churches also gained some converts from among local residents with little or no church backgrounds.

In 1977 the number of evangelical churches increased to three while, at about the same time, the number of mainline Protestant congregations was effectively lessened to one as the Anglican and United churches were becoming a joint-charge under the care of one minister. The evangelical newcomer was a small independent charismatic congregation which appealed to people from a variety of backgrounds, including Lutheran, Baptist,
Pentecostal, Anglican and non-religious. Its three founding families sought to form a congregation which encouraged charismatic experiences without the distinctive Pentecostal emphasis upon tongues-speaking as the only evidence of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit." In 1981 the total attendance at the three conservative congregations was between 250 and 300, several times that of the Anglican/United charge.

This pattern of denominational competition accompanied, at the same time, by a considerable disregard of denominational labels, was characteristic in much of the province. In larger towns a wider variety of conservative churches presented a greater array of options to the geographically or ecclesiastically mobile. Difficulties with any particular church did not need to be a reason in itself for a lack of religious involvement as it might have been had fewer evangelical options been available. Styles of worship, programs for the family, quality and doctrinal emphases of preaching, personality of the minister, the esprit de corps as well as the demographic and social makeup of the congregation, and any other distinction in style, character or emphasis were very often more important in determining the selection of an evangelical church than was denominational affiliation. This fluidity is demonstrated in the 1984 Lower Mainland survey. Of the 1300 evangelical respondents, only 40% were members of the denomination in which they had grown up (this 40% also includes many who moved within denominational groupings, such as Regular Baptist to Baptist General Conference, or P.A.O.C. to A.C.O.P., because few respondents bothered, or were able, to make such a
distinction). Of the remaining 60%, the largest group (24%) had been raised in a different evangelical denomination, 21% had been mainline Protestant (including Lutheran), 5% had been Catholic, 9% had had no religious affiliation.  

The establishment of competing churches in most populated areas of the province was prompted by the belief that the formation of new, tightly knit congregations was the most effective means of evangelizing a community and by a strong sense, in many cases, of important distinctions in style and emphasis between evangelicals. On the other hand the ready flow of members between evangelical denominations, the joint sponsorship of projects of mutual concern such as large evangelistic crusades, the membership of most evangelical denominations in the province in the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, founded in 1965, and the very diverse denominational affiliation of student bodies at institutions such as Trinity Western College or in organizations such as I.V.C.F., all suggest a considerable degree of commonality. The wall of distinctiveness which separated Conservative Protestants from the surrounding culture was usually prominent enough for them to recognize as secondary the distinctions among themselves. 

Growing Accommodation?

In 1980 a small, popularly written paperback appeared in the United States asking the question, Will Evangelicalism Survive Its Own Popularity? Its author, sociologist Jon Johnston, singled out the amazing popularity of conservative religion in the United States in the 1970's as the factor most
dangerous for its long-term vitality. Pride, compromise, accommodation and materialism were among the consequences of public acclaim, he argued, and were rapidly undercutting the distinctiveness which had helped propel evangelicalism to prominence in the first place.66

Was the same true of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia in 1981? Was the sense of distinctiveness, even sense of alienation, from society so crucial to its development being eroded? Some evidence could point that way. No longer were evangelicals in the shadow of liberals as the "worshipping majority" of Protestantism was in evangelical churches; the largest, costliest edifices in many communities housed evangelical congregations; many of these were located in the prosperous suburbs and some claimed wealthy businessmen among their membership; conservative Protestant educational institutions were gaining rapidly in size and prestige and the provincial government of the day seemed to smile favourably upon some of the aspirations and projects of evangelicals. Warning signals thus abounded for any conservatives concerned that the people of God consider themselves as "strangers and pilgrims."

However, the situation in British Columbia in 1981 was different enough from that described in the United States by Johnston to warrant retaining Marsden's immigrant analogy to describe conservative Protestantism. Many evangelicals already instinctively sensed what Seymour M. Lipset's recent studies have shown. In 1965 he had argued that the values of Canadians as a whole on moral issues were more conservative than those commonly held in the United States, but in 1984 he documented
that the situation had changed radically. On issues important to evangelicals such as belief in the devil, in heaven, in the applicability to them, personally, of the Ten Commandments and in the acceptability of premarital sex, the typical Canadian had become more liberal than had the typical American. In British Columbia, secularity was unquestionably the dominant religious characteristic of the province and it showed no signs of receding. Weekly church attendance in the province was only about one-half the level it was in the United States. There was no evidence, as was the case in the United States, that one-half of the approximately 1,300,000 British Columbians who identified themselves as Protestants on the 1981 census claimed to have had a "born-again" experience. Evangelicals in the province were not able to own religious radio and television stations and networks as were their counterparts south of the border, neither did they share the long tradition of maintaining their own liberal arts colleges, which was a feature of the American educational scene. The sustained, hostile reaction from the media towards Trinity Western College's bid for degree granting status in 1979 and towards the college's evangelical statement of faith and conservative code of conduct did not make most evangelicals feel as though they belonged to a particularly popular group, even if only a handful of members in the legislature actually voted against the change in status for the college. On that issue, and on others such as abortion and sexual values many conservative Protestants felt that a group of powerful interests in the province, including the media, the public educational institutions, many of the private and public-
sector unions and the mainline Protestant churches, stood opposed to their values and beliefs.

The majority of evangelicals in British Columbia, then, saw little reason to let down the walls which maintained the distinctions between themselves and "the world." By clinging tenaciously to traditional values and beliefs which were clearly no longer universally accepted, they were still, in a very real sense, aliens in their society. As it had proved to be in the previous six decades, that sense of alienation would undoubtedly continue to be of critical importance in resisting the challenges of modernity.
NOTES, CHAPTER 9


2. Richards, Baptists in B.C., 121-23 and interview with Dr. David Lim, Academic Dean of Western Pentecostal Bible College, Clayburn, 23 November, 1979.

3. These ministers were part of the survey described in footnote 37. The 72 ministers represented seventeen denominations with almost all of the major evangelical denominations being significantly represented.


5. Figures obtained from reports of Terry Winter Christian Communications, Vancouver.


10. By the late 1970's the proportion of American students had dropped to between 11% and 13% and the proportion of students from Canadian provinces outside of B.C. had risen to between 17% and 22% of the total student body. Trinity Western College, Registrar's Reports, 1965-1980. By 1980 the key administrators, the majority of the faculty and most of the financial support came from within Canada.


14. The resulting Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at the Church in the New Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965) which criticized the Canadian churches as being lazy and irrelevant, stirred up a storm of controversy and sold over 200,000 copies. It provoked The Restless Church: A Response to


17. John W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 201.


19. Peter Berger, "The Relevance Bit Comes to Canada," The Restless Church, Kilbourn, ed., 79.

20. Stewart, for example, attributes it to "the cultural anarchy of the age," "The United Church of Canada in British Columbia," Circle of Voices, 212.

21. Figures from Stewart, "The United Church of Canada: Knocking on Heaven's Door?", 3 & 5.

22. C. Hanson, Hardship to Harvest, 158.


28. Pacific District, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Annual Report, 1981. It must be noted that the growth was also due to other factors such as strong family programming and continuing immigration from the Prairies, but Goetz's book and dispensationalist emphasis must be seen as major factors.


31. E.g., Redbourn, "The Emerging Social Consciousness of the Pentecostal Assemblies," 39-40. Rev. Brian Stiller, executive-secretary of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, the conservative counterpart of the ecumenical Canadian Council of Churches, regards the upsurge of evangelical social activity as motivated by a sense of betrayal. Prior to the 1960's, he explains, the majority of evangelicals were preoccupied with premillennial views of the future and evangelistic activities and left the task of managing the nation to mainstream Christians. They were absolutely opposed to the Catholicism and liberal Protestantism of most of the nations rulers but nonetheless trusted them to perform reasonably well in maintaining the nation's values and morals. The vast majority, for example, sent their children to public schools without hesitation, with the possible teaching of evolution their only real concern. By the early years of the Trudeau era, however, evangelicals woke to the fact that traditional rulers could no longer be trusted to preserve traditional values. The massive changes in the moral realm, legalized by legislation and seemingly promoted by public schools, prompted growing numbers of evangelicals to trust no longer the traditional rulers and to become politically active, even though doing so was inconsistent with many premillennialist assumptions. Lecture at Trinity Western University, 1 December, 1986.

32. Similarly, overseas involvement focussed primarily on perceived spiritual needs. Relief and development work did become important by the late 1970's and early 1980's, as evidenced by the $40 million in aid directed in 1980 by twenty-six Canadian evangelical agencies. However, political issues were generally ignored. Faith Alive (June/July, 1985), 10-35.


34. E.g., see Minutes of the June Convention, of the B.C. Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1971, 17.

35. Figures were Plymouth Brethren 238, C.M.A. 197 and Associated Gospel 184, United Church 129, Presbyterian 43, and Anglican 9.

36. Reynolds, "An Evaluation of Vancouver 'Reachout,'" Table 4-7, 178.
37. This survey began almost spontaneously in the form of a questionnaire printed in the February, 1984, issue of Christian Info, a newspaper distributed in nearly every Lower Mainland evangelical church. Respondents were asked questions about their geographic, ethnic and religious history and that of their family. Several hundred responded initially by mail and contact with pastors and other leaders from a broad range of churches resulted in another 1,000 completed questionnaires being returned. Unfortunately, neither the wording of the questionnaire, nor the means used in eliciting respondents, allow for any claim to scientific accuracy for the results. On the other hand, the age, sex, denominational and geographic distribution of the respondents is close enough to what is known about Lower Mainland evangelicals for the results to be presented here, but in a tentative way, as illustrative rather than conclusive evidence.

38. Bibby, "Why Conservative Churches Really are Growing," Table 3, 133. This differs from his and Merlin B. Brinkerhoff's study "Circulation of the Saints," done in Calgary, which argued that less than 10% of new members in conservative congregations were from mainline congregations.


40. Calculated from the Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 71st Conference, 106.

41. Bibby, "Why Conservative Churches Really are Growing," Table I, 132.


43. John H. Redekop, "Denominational Pride," the Mennonite Brethren Herald, 3 October, 1969 cited in John H. Redekop, Two Sides: The Best of Personal Opinion (Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1984), 100-01. The name change issue is being seriously considered in 1987. The change in identity has not gone unchallenged from some more educated Mennonite Brethren, not so much over the ethnicity issue but over Anabaptist distinctions such as pacifism and radical discipleship. For example, see John B. Toews, Abram B. Conrad and Alvin Dueck, "Mennonite Brethren Church Membership Profile, 1972-1982," Directions, Vol. 14, 2 (Fall, 1985). Their discussion laments the fact that Mennonite Brethren in North America had become, by the early 1980's, far more whole-heartedly identified with standard evangelical theological statements and practices than with historic Anabaptist distinctions.

John H. Redekop, despite his desire for a name change to reduce ethnicity as an identifying factor, also was concerned that Mennonite Brethren retain some Anabaptist distinctiveness along
with their evangelicalism. In B.C., however, Rev. Nick Dyck, secretary of Church Extension, argued that the conversion of individuals, primarily by establishing new congregations, was the top priority. Interview, 25 June 1987.


45. Ibid., 109.

46. Calculated from Canadian Pacific District, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church Records.

47. Calculated from the Evangelical Free Church of America, 1982-83, Yearbook.


49. For example, Burnaby Christian Reformed church was altered somewhat by charismatic members and the large, independent charismatic Burnaby Christian Fellowship received many members of Reformed background.

50. Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation, refers to such cooperation, 280. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in America, 204-21 describes a trend of the Christian Reformed Church in the United States towards identification with evangelicalism after the mid-1960's.

51. Genesis 9:7. (The King James Version). See also DeHaas, And Replenish the Earth.


53. Ibid., 134.


55. They also acted as "clearing houses" for millions of dollars sent to the national offices for foreign missions. An example of reorganization to better focus on establishing new churches is found in the Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches. In 1962 the work of the West Coast Children's Mission formally became part of the denomination in order to make church-planting a more integral part of the denominational task. Minutes of the Spring Conference of the Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, June, 1962, 14.

56. Population figures are from 1961 Census, Vol. 1, Table 6 and 1981 Census, 93-910, Table 6. Numbers of congregations and average attendance figures from denominational yearbooks, directories and telephone books.


60. They became officially a joint-charge in 1979. I am grateful to Bob Stewart of the United Church Archives, Vancouver, for researching this for me.

61. Much of the information for this illustration is drawn from the experience of my parents and my wife's parents who, between them, lived in Hope for twenty-five years. Mrs. Vera Anderson, a founding member of the independent charismatic congregation, also provided information. Interview, 3 August, 1987.


63. The denomination in which respondent grew up is taken to be the denomination of the mother. The denomination of the father was usually between 1% and 2% lower for each category, but for "no religion" it was 6% higher at 15%. It should be noted that denominational affiliation of mother did not indicate if respondent actually attended.

64. Reynolds, "An Evaluation of the Vancouver 'Reachout,'" shows that churches of nearly every evangelical group came together to work in sponsoring the crusade, 165-85.


68. Stewart, "That's the B.C. Spirit!," 2.

69. Carroll, et. al., Religion in America: 1950 to the Present, Table 15, 117.
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Street, Mr. L. Vancouver. 9 February 1982.
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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>MacKirdy, Kenneth A.</td>
<td>&quot;'Church Union' and its Aftermath in British Columbia: A Study of the Non-concurring Presbyterians.&quot;</td>
<td>B. A. graduating essay</td>
<td>University of British Columbia</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>1947</td>
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<td>Manning, Harry</td>
<td>&quot;Changes in Evangelism Within the Methodist Church in Canada During the Time of Carman and Chown, 1884-1925.&quot;</td>
<td>Th. M. thesis</td>
<td>Toronto School of Theology</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>1975</td>
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<td>Nelson, Ronald</td>
<td>&quot;Fundamentalism and the Northern Baptist Convention.&quot;</td>
<td>Ph. D. dissertation</td>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>1964</td>
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<td>Nyman, James S.</td>
<td>&quot;The Mennonite Vote.&quot;</td>
<td>B.A. thesis</td>
<td>University of British Columbia</td>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>1956</td>
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<td>Packer, Clayton.</td>
<td>&quot;Local Church Survey of Port Moody Pentecostal Tabernacle.&quot;</td>
<td>Class essay</td>
<td>Western Pentecostal Bible College</td>
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<td>1978</td>
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</table>
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### APPENDIX A

#### TABLE I

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE, FAIRVIEW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1925**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial - incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar - clerical, sales</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td><strong>-</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL IDENTIFIED</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified#</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL MEMBERS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>144</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may not add up due to rounding.*

* Includes those members of the family on the communicant roll (which excludes young children) who are not listed in the Directory with an occupation of their own. In some cases (5-10%) the head of the household was not on the communicant roll but his dependents on the roll were included in this column according to his occupational category.

# A variable largely dependent upon the attention paid to detail in the keeping of the rolls by the church clerk. Careful attention to the correct spelling of surnames, the inclusion of given names in full and regular updating of addresses of residence could result in high rates of identification.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial - incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar - clerical, sales</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>---</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>---</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IDENTIFIED</strong></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td><strong>---</strong></td>
<td><strong>56</strong></td>
<td><strong>72.8</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unidentified#</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL MEMBERS TRANSFERRING</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>---</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* See Table I, Appendix A
# See Table I, Appendix A
### TABLE III
OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE, FAIRVIEW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial - incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other White Collar - clerical, sales</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Widows</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL IDENTIFIED</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td>180</td>
<td>72.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unidentified#</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td></td>
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<td>TOTAL MEMBERS</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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* See Table I, Appendix A  
# See Table I, Appendix A
## TABLE 4
**ASSESSED VALUE OF RESIDENCES**
*FAIRVIEW PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, 1944, CF. VANCOUVER, 1941*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assessed Value</th>
<th>Fairview Presb. Ch.*</th>
<th>Vancouver#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below $2,000</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,000 - 2,999</td>
<td>16 (29.1%)</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 - 3,999</td>
<td>16 (29.1%)</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,000 - 5,999</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$6,000+</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Average Value  | $3,531               | $3,090     |

* As listed in the City of Vancouver, District Lot Assessment Books, 1944, city of Vancouver Archives.

# Owner-occupant estimate of value, 1941 Census, Vol. IX, 179. These estimates tended to be high and were more reflective of market value than of assessed value. In 1944, the Vancouver Sun (Mar. 8, 1944) reported the average assessment in Vancouver was $2,500, approximately $1,000 less than the assessed value of the homes owned by members of Fairview Presbyterian Church.
**APPENDIX B**  
**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE,**  
**RUTH MORTON BAPTIST CHURCH, 1924**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial -incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other White Collar -      clerical, sales</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IDENTIFIED#</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>112</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>22.2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL MEMBERS</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

* See Table I, Appendix A  
# See Table I, Appendix A
## APPENDIX C

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE, PENTECOSTAL SPLINTER GROUP WITHDRAWING FROM RUTH MORTON BAPTIST CHURCH, 1925**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial - incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar - clerical, sales</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IDENTIFIED</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td>35.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL MEMBERS</strong></td>
<td><strong>65</strong></td>
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* See Table I, Appendix A      # See Table I, Appendix B
### APPENDIX D

**OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE,**
**METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE, 1929**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Number incl. dependents in the membership*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business - contractors, retailers, manufacturers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial - incl. inspectors, supervisors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other White Collar - clerical, sales</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Blue Collar - tradesmen, foremen, conductors</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers - unskilled workers, domestics</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>171</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Widows</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL IDENTIFIED</strong></td>
<td><strong>113</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>194</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>TOTAL MEMBERS</strong></td>
<td><strong>210</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>92.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Table I, Appendix A

# See Table I, Appendix A
Thesis needs data on Christian community

The questionnaire is part of a Ph.D. thesis being done by Bob Burkinshaw, a UBC student and teacher at Trinity Western.

In his thesis, Burkinshaw is attempting to gather and analyze data relative to the development and growth of the evangelical Christian community in B.C.

Christian Info readers are invited to fill out the questionnaire and send it to:

Christian Info
Vancouver, B.C. V5Y 1M
OR
Mr. Bob Burkinshaw
Burnaby, B.C. V5A 8C8

Burkinshaw believes the data gathered will be most helpful to the Christian community in clarifying roots and growth patterns. Christian Info hopes to report some of his findings after the thesis is published.

Burkinshaw stresses that the survey is anonymous. He also points out that respondents do not need to answer all questions.

reprinted from Christian Info.

A. Personal History

1) Age ____________________________
2) Sex M. F.
3) City, town or area of residence ____________________________
4) Province or country of birth ____________________________
   - If born outside Canada: year of entry to Canada ____________________________
   - If born outside B.C.: year of entry to B.C. ____________________________
5) Have experienced personal conversion to Christ? Yes / No ____________________________
   - At what age? ____________________________
   - Influences in your conversion (check more than one, if applicable)
     - family ______ friends ______
     - Sunday School ______ Youth Group ______
     - other church ministries ______ camp or retreat ______
     - mass evangelistic campaign ______
     - other (please specify) ______
6) Name of church currently attending:
   - Denomination (if applicable) ______
   - Member of church? (If applicable) ______
   - Other church(es) - if different denomination or affiliation than your present church - which you have belonged to or attended regularly in the past ______
7) Attend church regularly? Yes / No ____________________________
   - As a child? __________________ Presently? __________________
8) Marital status ____________________________
   - Number of children ____________________________
   - Number of children over 16 years ____________________________
   - Number of children over 16 years that are: converted believers active in evangelical church ______

B. Family Background
Parents:
1) Province or country of parents' birth:
   - mother ______
   - father ______
   - Year (approx.), if applicable, parents entered Canada: mother ______ father ______
   - B.C.: mother ______ father ______
2) Parents believing Christians? (i.e. experienced personal conversion to Christ?) mother ______ father ______
   - church or denomination of parents:
     - mother ______
     - father ______
3) Parents regular church attenders? mother ______ father ______

4) How many brothers and sisters do/did you have? ______
   - That attained at least 16 years? ______
   - How many of those believing Christians? ______
   - Active in evangelical church? ______
Grandparents (even if you can't provide all the information requested in this, or any section, your returned forms will still be valuable.)
1) Province or country of grandparent's birth:
   - mother's mother ______
   - mother's father ______
   - father's mother ______
   - father's father ______
2) Year (approx.), if applicable, grandparents entered:
   - Canada: mother's mother ______ mother's father ______; father's mother ______ father's father ______
   - B.C.: mother's mother ______ mother's father ______; father's mother ______ father's father ______
3) Racial origins of grandparents:
   - mother's mother ______
   - mother's father ______
   - father's mother ______
   - father's father ______
4) Grandparents believing Christians?
   - mother's mother ______ mother's father ______
   - father's mother ______ father's father ______
5) Church or denomination of grandparents:
   - mother's mother ______
   - mother's father ______
   - father's mother ______
   - father's father ______
6) Grandparents regular church attenders? mother's mother ______ mother's father ______
   - father's mother ______ father's father ______

C. Additional Questions (optional)
1) Occupation ______
2) Approximate family income ______
3) Education:
   - complete elementary school? ______
   - complete high school? ______
   - Bible Institute or college, years study ______ degree ______
   - University or Liberal Arts College, years study ______ degree ______
   - Technical or vocational school, years study ______ degree ______
   - other ______ years study ______ degree ______

APPENDIX E INFORMAL SURVEY®
* A reduction (75%) of the questionnaire as distributed to 100 evangelical churches in the Lower Mainland, from West Vancouver to Chilliwack. It originally was reprinted from the questionnaire as it appeared in Christian Info, February, 1983.
published, all by Vancouver area Baptists, causing a considerable stir in the province.

A commission struck by the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1922 and composed of members from all four provinces investigated the charges and issued a report expressing confidence in the college and in Dr. MacNeil. Significantly, the two commission members from Vancouver, Dr. G. R. Maguire and Rev. A. F. Baker, pastors of the two largest Baptist churches in the province, First and Mount Pleasant, dissented from the report and discontent continued to rumble in city churches. Further protests, including the use of financial pressure on the part of several churches, led to the British Columbia Convention striking its own investigating committee in 1924. This committee was unable to reach agreement and submitted majority and minority reports. The majority report, representing the more liberal position, simply recommended that members of the department of theology at Brandon belong to a Baptist church. The minority report outlined a detailed, conservative statement of faith to which all faculty were to subscribe regularly.

The reception of the two reports at the 1925 annual meeting indicated a three-way split among the 143 delegates. According to Richards' plausible analysis of the voting, the largest group were moderate conservatives (nearly one-half of the delegates) followed by militant conservatives (one-third) and liberals (just over one-fifth). The tenor of the denomination was still conservative but the militant conservatives failed to persuade the moderate conservatives to join them in excluding liberalism from Brandon College, which they had hoped to achieve by
in tongues" which was taken to be the evidence of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit." Many of those coming to Los Angeles to participate in the revival meetings experienced this phenomenon and spread the Pentecostal message upon returning home.

In parts of Canada the ground had been well prepared for Pentecostalism by a number of different holiness movements. In Ontario, the Salvation Army, the Free Methodist Church, the Holiness Movement Church, begun by deposed Methodist preacher Ralph Horner, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), a holiness association composed of autonomous congregations, and the Evangelical United Brethren, a holiness group largely of German extraction, all had largely Methodist roots. A version of holiness somewhat similar to that of the Keswick Convention was propagated by the Christian and Missionary Alliance, founded in the 1880's by the Canadian Presbyterian, A. B. Simpson. It had churches established in the major centres of Ontario by the turn of the century. Revivalism, climatic conversion and individual piety were characteristic of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ who had broken with the more traditional Mennonites and organized as a separate denomination in Ontario in 1883.

Consequently, when news of the Pentecostal revival in Los Angeles spread, many in Canada were eager for its emphases. In 1906 Robert McCallister, an evangelist with Horner's Holiness Movement Church, travelled to Los Angeles and was initiated into the Pentecostal experience. Soon after his return to Ontario, his preaching sparked revivals in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto and Pentecostal churches were quickly formed in those, and other, centres. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ were affected