

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Confessionalism and Evangelicalism:

The Anglican and Alliance Churches in Calgary after World War II

by

Mary-Ann Melissa Shantz

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

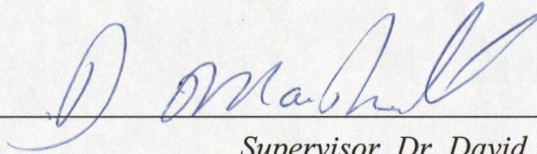
CALGARY, ALBERTA

AUGUST, 2005

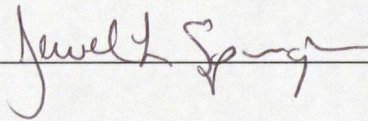
© Mary-Ann Melissa Shantz 2005

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

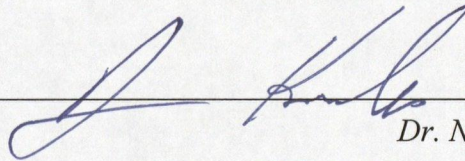
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Confessionalism and Evangelicalism: The Anglican and Alliance Churches in Calgary after World War II" submitted by Mary Ann Melissa Shantz in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



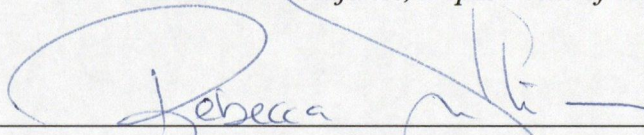
*Supervisor, Dr. David B. Marshall
Department of History*



*Dr. Jewel Spangler
Department of History*



*Dr. Norman Knowles
Adjunct, Department of History*



*Dr. Rebecca Sullivan
Faculty of Communication and Culture*

Aug 11, 2005
Date

ABSTRACT

The Anglican and Alliance churches in Calgary during the 1950s and 1960s represented two distinct forms of Christianity, confessional and evangelical Protestantism. The Alliance stressed the need for personal conversion while the Anglicans believed that participation in the corporate worship of the church was the basis for the Christian life. As a result of these differences, the 1950s and 1960s posed particular challenges to the Anglican Church in Calgary. The decline of religious instruction in the home jeopardized the transmission of faith from one generation to the next, and an emphasis on cultural relevance called into question the traditions of the Anglican faith. The active evangelism and strong children's and youth programs of the Alliance, on the other hand, were effective at keeping the baby-boom generation within the fold. In addition, the Calgary Alliance Church's religious subculture insulated it from the uncertainty of cultural change. But it also meant that the Alliance was less open to women's leadership, while the Anglican Church's concern with relevance prompted it to create greater opportunities for women during the 1960s, reflecting the Canadian mainstream.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people provided valuable assistance with this project. I would like to thank Apollonia Steele and Marlys Chevrefils of the University of Calgary Special Collections. Sandy Ayer, Director of Library Services at the Alliance University College/Canadian Theological Seminary, kindly offered his help in the initial stage of locating sources on the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Calgary. The Reverend John Pilling and Kelly Burnie of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, Faith Jalving of First Alliance Church, and Kathy Lundell of the Alliance's Western Canadian District Office graciously facilitated my access to their organization's sources, for which I am grateful. The research for this project was supported by a Province of Alberta Graduate Scholarship and a Graduate Research Scholarship from the University of Calgary.

As the supervisor to this thesis, David Marshall challenged me to enlarge the scope of my study and placed his wealth of knowledge at my disposal. My colleagues in the M.A. program, particularly Marion McSheffrey, Kim Persaud, and Karly Sawatzky, provided encouragement, companionship and humour along the way.

Most of all, I owe thanks to my family. Amy, Jenny and Matt – the diverse expressions of your faith but shared commitment to living with integrity have challenged me personally and intellectually. Thank you to my parents for your unwavering love and support, and for raising me to ask questions. Finally, I owe thanks to James. Your confidence in my ability and enthusiasm for this project were no doubt biased, but nevertheless provided me with encouragement. This project is better because of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER ONE – Confessionalism and Evangelicalism in Calgary.....	17
CHAPTER TWO – “Come Together to Sunday school!”.....	47
CHAPTER THREE – Relevance and Revival.....	74
CHAPTER FOUR – “Prayer Warriors” and “Handmaidens”?.....	92
CONCLUSION.....	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	123

INTRODUCTION

In 1965, a rector in the Anglican diocese of Calgary affirmed commitment to the historic faith and practices of the Anglican Church as the best way for it to face the challenges of the present day.

What will accomplish the divine purposes is the church being more consistently and fully in practice that which she already is and always has been... Our failure is with those things in which we are most unlike the world and in which our distinctive identity consists... we do not sufficiently know our own scriptures, nor the fathers who show us what they mean, nor the creeds which embody some of their most precious insights. We do not pray enough nor well enough nor use the sacraments enough or well enough. These are the only means by which that spiritual and supernatural power is received without which we can accomplish nothing of ultimate importance.¹

He identified the Bible, liturgy and sacraments as the church's distinctive features; these were what set it apart from "the world". What this Calgary rector's perspective also reveals is what made Anglicanism unique from other forms of Christianity.

In his important study, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, D.G. Hart argues that "confessional" Christian traditions such as Lutheranism, Presbyterianism, and Anglicanism, that stress "the corporate, doctrinal, and liturgical idiom of historic Protestantism," have been poorly understood by American historians.² He criticizes the mainline/liberal and evangelical/conservative dichotomy that he identifies as being the

¹ "'Hitting the Panic Button' Not Way for Church to Succeed," February 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

² D.G. Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), xxiv.

dominant framework of American religious history for more than thirty years. Hart argues that neither of these two sets of labels capture the essence of confessional Protestantism.

Hart observes that liberal and evangelical Protestantism both emerged from the revivalist movement. He suggests that American historians have neglected the study of confessional Protestantism and focused instead on revivalism because, from the First Great Awakening through the revivals of the nineteenth century, it profoundly impacted the character of Christianity in the United States and eclipsed confessional Protestantism. It “dismissed church creeds, structures, and ceremonies as merely formal or external manifestations of religion that went only skin deep” and “insisted that genuine faith was one that transformed individuals, starting with their heart and seeping into all walks of life.”³ While the liberal or social gospel expression of this faith sought social transformation, evangelicalism preached individual transformation through conversion.

Hart’s concern is not to deny the significance of revivalism in American history, but to recover the history of confessionalism and demonstrate its distinctiveness. Drawing on examples from the histories of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Presbyterian denominations in the United States between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, he characterizes confessional Protestantism as intolerant, sectarian, and irrelevant. Though employing adjectives that often carry negative connotations, Hart does not take a critical stance toward confessionalism. Instead, he uses these adjectives to highlight how different confessionalism was from the dominant revivalist strain of Protestant Christianity in the United States. Confessionalism was intolerant in the sense that confessional churches

³ Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, xxiii. Throughout his book Hart uses the terms “pietist” and “revivalist” interchangeably.

insisted on a subscription to certain creeds for the purposes of membership and being received into the rites of the faith. However, this intolerance was balanced by the belief that the church's views should not impose on the public sphere. Confessionalism was sectarian because it was not a good fit with either the liberal or evangelical ecumenism of the twentieth century, a movement that "minimized doctrinal, liturgical, and ecclesiastical differences for the sake of emphasizing personal and social mores..."⁴ It was irrelevant because worship was a sacred affair that was not directly applied to daily life or designed to make new converts. The heart of confessionalism was "the liturgical assembly around gospel and sacrament."⁵

Hart raises interesting questions for Canadian historians. Is his challenge of the pre-occupation with revivalist forms of Christianity and the liberal versus evangelical polarization of Protestantism in American historiography a legitimate challenge to Canadian historians as well? The argument of this thesis is that it is – that, ironically, given the prominent place of Anglicanism in Canadian history, this form of Christianity has been no better understood by Canadian historians than by our American counterparts.

The pre-occupation with revivalist Protestantism that Hart identifies in the American context is mirrored by Canadian historians. Evangelicalism has received special attention in the Canadian religious historiography of the past two decades, in large part due to the immense contributions of George Rawlyk to this field. His work included the monographs, Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline and The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America 1775-1812. He co-

⁴ Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, 135.

⁵ Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, 159.

edited with Mark Noll a comparative study of evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States. Rawlyk also edited a collection devoted to Canadian evangelicalism. It points to the presence of an evangelical impulse that spanned a range of Christian denominations, movements and organizations throughout Canadian history. Rawlyk argued that in the nineteenth century evangelicalism “exerted a far greater impact on all aspects of Canadian life than it did in the United States.” While the cultural and theological challenges that it faced in the twentieth century pushed evangelicalism to the periphery, he suggested that “the legacy of radical evangelicalism has not been eradicated from the religious landscape.”⁶

Others have also traced the significance of evangelicalism in the Canadian context. Michael Gauvreau has christened the years 1820 to 1930 the “evangelical century”. Suggesting that “all Protestant denominations had been shaped to a greater or lesser extent by evangelicalism, the product of the great wave of religious revivals between 1780 and 1860,” Gauvreau points to a common “biblical and activist” Canadian evangelical culture that was “the common property of Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.”⁷ Burkinshaw’s study, Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981, and Stackhouse’s Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century are also good examples of recent contributions to the history of Canadian evangelicalism.⁸

⁶ G.A. Rawlyk, ed. Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), xvii-xix; The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 208-9.

⁷ Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1991), 6-12.

⁸ Robert K. Burkinshaw, Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995); John G. Stackhouse, Jr., Canadian

In their own way, Marguerite Van Die, Michael Gauvreau, David Marshall, and Sharon Cook, among others, each address the relationship between nineteenth century evangelicalism and twentieth century liberalism. Van Die explores the life and thought of nineteenth century Methodist Nathanael Burwash, arguing that his dynamic faith allowed him “to apply the old evangelical teachings to new institutions and scientific thought.”⁹ Gauvreau embraces a similar perspective in his study of Methodist and Presbyterian church colleges between 1820 and 1930. He suggests that in light of higher biblical criticism, historical scholarship, and the development of the social sciences, the clergymen in these colleges “found in their theology the resources to shape and direct these newer scientific, historical, and philosophical currents.”¹⁰ Van Die and Gauvreau indicate that it was possible for nineteenth century evangelicals to engage with modernity without compromising their faith or starting down the slippery slope toward liberalism.

In contrast, Marshall and Cook have traced a direct relationship between nineteenth century evangelicalism and twentieth century liberalism. Marshall examines Methodist, Presbyterian, United Church and, to a lesser extent, Baptist clergy between 1850 and 1940. He argues that in an effort to make the Christian message relevant to society, these clergymen increasingly focused on a Christian mission of social justice for this world. “Their message lost the essential supernatural context, and the evangelical imperative to

Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

⁹ Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 12.

¹⁰ Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century, 6-7.

show the way to personal salvation was neglected.”¹¹ Marshall credits church leaders with secularizing the Christian faith from within.

Cook looks at the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in Ontario, and suggests that its unique approach to temperance and related social issues was rooted in a strong evangelical tradition that “represented mainstream thinking in Ontario between 1875 and 1916, and to a reduced extent, until the end of the 1920s.”¹² Ultimately, however, Cook locates a fracture of the Canadian evangelical community into liberal and conservative parts which threatened the evangelical consensus of the Ontario WCTU.

Differing in how they account for the divorce of evangelicalism from the Canadian cultural mainstream, Van Die, Gauvreau, Marshall and Cook all acknowledge the shared past of evangelicalism and liberalism in the revivalist tradition. While important studies in their own right, collectively they obscure the place of the confessional tradition in Canadian history. They demonstrate that in moving away from the denominational histories of an earlier period, the broader labels of liberal and evangelical have permeated recent Canadian religious historiography.

This intellectual framework has also shaped recent scholarship on Anglicanism in North America, which has focused on controversies and divisions between liberal, high-church and evangelical Anglican clergy. Alan Hayes has characterized high church Anglicans as those who “attached particular importance precisely to those points of doctrine and worship that distinguished Anglicans from non-Anglican Protestants,

¹¹ David B. Marshall, Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 5.

¹² Sharon A. Cook, “Through Sunshine and Shadow” : The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 113.

including the historic episcopate, set liturgical forms, and an understanding of sacraments as instruments of grace.”¹³ In contrast, it is argued, evangelical Anglicans held much in common with other evangelical Protestants, with a focus on the infallibility of the Bible, the saving work of Christ, and personal salvation.¹⁴ The creation of the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School (later Wycliffe College) in Toronto in 1877, an evangelical response to the high-church Trinity College across the street, symbolized the tension between these forms of Anglicanism.

Curtis Fahey examines the effects of the Anglican Church’s political transition from established to disestablished church in Upper Canada on its institutional development. He explores the worldview of the Anglican Church between 1791 and 1854 in relationship to the idea of church establishment, arguing that as Anglicanism lost its political footing in Upper Canada it began to interpret its role less as the bastion of social and political order and more in terms of its spiritual mission. In response to attempts to secularize the clergy reserves, Bishop Strachan stated: “what are they but trials for our good, so long as we possess God’s holy Word, his blessed sacraments in all their pureness and integrity, the Book of Common Prayer, and full liberty to meet for divine worship.”¹⁵ Fahey focuses on the conflict between high church and evangelical Anglicans that developed within this context, arguing that while both groups advocated establishment status for the Anglican Church, they were unable to agree on how best to defend the church’s interests, or reach consensus on a range of theological issues. Consequently, “By 1854 the factionalism of the

¹³ Alan L. Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 8.

¹⁴ William H. Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 7.

Church of England's own clergy and laity had left it without a clear view of its religious character, the very thing it needed most if it was to withdraw from its alliance with the state and confine its energies to the salvation of souls."¹⁶

William Katerberg suggests that theological divisions had always been present in Anglicanism, but that liberal, high-church and evangelical divides took on added significance in the North American setting.

The long battle during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries between various evangelical, high-church, and liberal groups to define and control the ACC [Anglican Church of Canada] and the PECUSA [Protestant Episcopal Church of the USA] continued older English efforts to define Anglicanism. But for the New World churches this struggle meant something more. It was also an attempt to find an overarching identity and a new centre, something they no longer shared with the Church of England (except as a cultural memory), which remained an established state church.¹⁷

Katerberg interprets the fragmentation of North American Anglicanism as a feature of its encounter with the pluralism and transiency of modernity.¹⁸

One significant study of Canadian Anglicanism that does not concentrate on factional divisions is William Westfall's Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario. Westfall argues that the political disestablishment of the Anglican church and the opportunity it created for increased Methodist involvement in public life led to a convergence of the two in nineteenth century Ontario. Initially they represented two distinct worldviews and understandings of God, Anglicanism characterized

¹⁵ Curtis Fahey, In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 187.

¹⁶ Fahey, In His Name, 275.

¹⁷ Katerberg, Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 215.

¹⁸ Another study that focuses on divisions within Anglicanism is Richard W. Vaudry, "Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection," in Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

as the ‘religion of order’ and Methodism as the ‘religion of experience.’ But over a relatively short period of time the Anglicans and Methodists (and the denominations in common with these) came together to form a religious consensus that provided the institutional and intellectual foundations for a Protestant culture in Ontario: “what Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists held in common became more important than what kept them apart. Now they could present a single vision of the world and a single set of social and moral values.”¹⁹ Downplaying the differences between these denominations, the Protestant culture that Westfall describes is in fact an evangelical culture.

The work of Fahey, Katerberg and Westfall illuminate areas for further investigation at the same time that they offer insight into Anglicanism in Canada in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All three focus on clergy and intellectuals, such as John Strachan and Henry John Cody, using sermons, personal papers, and denominational publications as their sources. While Fahey and Katerberg highlight internal divisions within the Anglican Church, Westfall emphasizes the degree of consensus and cooperation between Anglicanism and Methodism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The studies concentrate on the nineteenth century, although Katerberg’s work extends to 1950.

The historiography of the Anglican Church in Canada during the nineteenth century, including the crucial period of disestablishment, is limited; it is even more so for the twentieth century. Apart from a small number of articles and passing references in surveys of Canadian religious history, very little has been written about the history of the Anglican Church in Canada in the twentieth century. I would suggest that this is because

¹⁹ William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), 201.

the Anglican Church does not fall neatly into either the liberal or evangelical camp, and as a result it has been largely ignored in recent scholarship.

A comparative approach that examines the Anglican community in Calgary, Alberta, alongside the evangelical Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA or Alliance) church in the city, sheds light on the practical distinctions between the meanings of participation in these two forms of Protestantism. Hart's definition of confessional Protestantism provides a helpful framework for approaching the study of Anglicanism in Calgary. Despite the historical reality of division between high-church and evangelical intellectuals and clerics, this study will demonstrate that it was participation in the liturgy and sacraments that defined the religious experience of ordinary Anglicans in Calgary during the 1950s and 1960s. The essentials of the Anglican tradition outlined in the Lambeth Quadrilateral in 1888 were what mattered most at the popular level. The Lambeth Quadrilateral has been described as follows: "firstly the Bible, secondly the creeds and general councils of Christendom, thirdly the ancient sacramental order, and fourthly the apostolic type of ministry, bishops, priests and deacons..."²⁰ It was the confessional nature of Anglicanism, not liberal or evangelical theology, that was the essence of faith for adherents in the Calgary diocese.

A better understanding of the Anglican church also contributes insight into the theology and practices of the Alliance church. As Hart notes, attention to the confessional tradition reveals "how novel the piety and practices of the evangelical mainstream were from the larger perspective of Christian history."²¹ In the 1950s and 1960s the CMA was a

²⁰ Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 188.

²¹ Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism*, xxx.

relatively young movement; it began in Canada and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its theology was consistent with George Marsden's simple definition of evangelicalism: "Central to the evangelical gospel was the proclamation of Christ's saving work through his death on the cross and the necessity of personally trusting him for eternal salvation."²² Its doctrine of the four-fold gospel, "Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King," was the cornerstone of the Alliance movement.

The CMA has received very little attention from either American or Canadian historians. Lindsay Reynolds has authored a two volume history of the Alliance in Canada. Reynolds himself is a member of the Alliance denomination. His research is extensive and he provides a useful survey, but his focus is primarily on the leadership and institutional development of the CMA. An article by Darrel Reid, "Towards a Fourfold Gospel: A.B. Simpson, John Salmon, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada," outlines the religious and institutional origins of the movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is the extent of the Canadian historiography on the CMA.²³

This study is a micro-history of Calgary's Anglican diocese and First Alliance Church during the post-World War II period. Calgary was chosen as the location for this study in a conscious effort to avoid the focus on Central Canada that is often evident in Canadian historiography. In many ways Calgary was representative of cities across Canada and the United States during the '50s and 60s. Calgary underwent significant change.

²² George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 2.

²³ Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Toronto: Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, 1982) and *Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada 1919-1983* (Willowdale: The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, 1992); Darrel R. Reid, "Towards a Fourfold Gospel: A.B. Simpson, John Salmon, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Between 1951 and 1971 its population grew from 129,000 to just over 403,000. The Canadian population surged during these decades, in large part a result of the post-war baby-boom and high levels of immigration. Suburbs sprang up around Calgary, part of a North American phenomenon with social ramifications that have been examined by scholars such as Strong-Boag, Korinek and Diamond.²⁴ A growth factor particular to Calgary was the oil boom that began in Alberta in 1947 when the Leduc oil well blew. “There came into being a host of exploration, production, servicing, processing and distribution industries” in Calgary that stimulated the economy as a whole.²⁵ Calgary surpassed Edmonton to become the leading financial centre in Alberta.

The analysis focuses on the decades of the 1950s and 1960s in an attempt to better understand the social and religious landscape in 1960s Calgary as both a product of, and a reaction to, the previous decade. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s churches functioned both as religious and social institutions, yet little in-depth analysis has been done on this subject. Doug Owrām’s book, Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation, is a comprehensive social history of Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a fascinating examination of the first two decades of life for the children of the baby-boom. But Owrām does not discuss churches or religious faith in his chapters on “Home and Family,” “Babies,” and “Home and Community,” except to note in passing that the social

²⁴ Veronica Strong-Boag, “Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60,” Canadian Historical Review 72:4 (1991), 471-504; Valerie Korinek, Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Etan Diamond, Souls of the City: Religion and the Search for Community in Postwar America (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

²⁵ Richard P. Baine, Calgary: An Urban Study (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1973), 30.

sciences were challenging the “religious viewpoint” in the areas of marriage and family.²⁶

This illustrates Nancy Christie’s observation that while topics of marriage, children and family receive a great deal of attention in the social history on the post-war years, these studies ignore the social significance of churches. She writes: “one of the striking lacunae in the historiography of the baby-boom generation is the virtual absence of any lengthy discussion of Canada’s Protestant churches, institutions that traditionally have seen marriage, children, and family as crucial to sustaining evangelical faith.”²⁷

Owram discusses churches in a chapter on leisure, devoting five pages of the more than three hundred pages in his book to the topic. Here, churches are painted as institutions of socialization, “the ultimate formal organization by which societal values could be transmitted to a new generation.”²⁸ In this way he accounts for the surge in church membership that occurred in the 1950s, but dismisses any real significance religious institutions may have held. Parents sent their children to church for its social, more than its religious, function. Owram concludes, “Such obvious superficiality meant trouble in the long term for the church.”²⁹ Even their minor societal role disappeared with the revolutionary changes of the 1960s.

A couple of surveys of Canadian church history included work on the post-World War II period. John Webster Grant suggested that churches were behind the times in this period. He declared that Canadian society as a whole was slow to cast off Victorian values,

²⁶ Doug Owram, Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 20.

²⁷ Nancy Christie, “Sacred Sex: The United Church and the Privatization of the Family in Post-War Canada,” in Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760 – 1969, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 359.

²⁸ Doug Owram, Born at the Right Time, 106.

²⁹ Owram, Born at the Right Time, 108.

but the Christian church was even slower. Grant wrote: “As institutions the church stood for old-world traditions with which few Canadians felt at home, for moral codes to which few of them adhered, or for beliefs that had little to do with the presuppositions by which most of them lived.”³⁰ This became problematic for Canadian churches during the 1960s.

John Stackhouse, Jr. argues that for a time, “old-world traditions” were what Canadians craved. The Second World War was the stimulus to a return to conservative values in the post-war era. He notes: “it seems that there was less of a revival of genuine and lasting spirituality in the post-war boom than of a revival of general cultural conservatism and consumerism of which church involvement was a component.”³¹ He suggests that a post-war desire for tradition and security rather than religious conviction prompted this development. But the renewed conservatism of the 1940s and 1950s ill-prepared Canadian churches to deal with the dramatic changes of the 1960s: “In this time of the dissolution of traditions and the emergence of new options, the Protestant churches did well simply to hang on for the ride.”³² The lack of real commitment to the churches evident in the 1960s illustrates for Stackhouse that tradition rather than faith had often drawn people into the churches in the immediate post-war years.

Owram, Grant and Stackhouse all demonstrate greater concern for the people who left the churches during the 1960s than the people who stayed. Their portrayal of church decline is consistent with federal census figures that reveal losses in the percentage of Canadian adherents of the major Protestant denominations, including United, Anglican, and

³⁰ John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972), 182.

³¹ John G. Stackhouse, Jr., “The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945,” The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 – 1990, George A. Rawlyk, ed. (Burlington: Welch Publishing Company, 1990), 206.

³² Stackhouse, “The Protestant Experience,” 209.

Presbyterian. The percentage of the Canadian population that identified as Anglican, for example, declined from 14.7% in 1951 to 11.8% in 1971. What merits observation, however, is that throughout the 1950s and 1960s Christian faith and practice continued to be important to a sizeable minority of Calgarians and Canadians. Even today, as British sociologist Grace Davie observes, more people are active in religious groups than in any other type of voluntary organization, in Canada as well as in Britain.³³ During the '50s and '60s, the Anglican Church experienced numerical growth nationally, in the province of Alberta, and also in the city of Calgary, though it failed to keep pace with general population growth. In Calgary, for example, the number of Anglicans grew from 27,341 to 55,200 between 1951 and 1971, but declined as a percentage of the population from 21.2% to 13.7%. The CMA, though a small religious group, doubled its percentage of Canadian adherents between 1951 and 1961, when it accounted for 0.1% of religious affiliation in Canada. The CMA was stronger in Alberta, growing from 0.20% to 0.34% during this same period. In numerical terms the Alliance nearly tripled nationally and provincially, having 18,006 Canadian adherents and 4,496 adherents in Alberta by 1961.³⁴

This study focuses on the meaning of faith for participants in Calgary's Anglican and Alliance churches, how faith was transmitted by these two communities, and how their understandings of the Christian life shaped the churches' relationships to society during the post-World War II period. It applies Hart's framework of confessional and revivalist Protestantism to the Anglican and Alliance churches in Calgary in the decades of the 1950s

³³ Grace Davie, Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 71.

³⁴ Census data taken from the 1951, 1961 and 1971 Canadian Censuses.

and 1960s, and shows where his arguments are helpful and where they require qualification in this setting.

Chapter One provides an overview of the theology, history and practice of the Anglican and Alliance churches in Calgary, and demonstrates how the labels of confessional and evangelical apply to these two denominations. For Anglicans, participation in the liturgy and the sacraments formed the basis of the Christian life, while a personal experience of conversion was foundational for the Alliance.

Chapter Two considers the relationship between the church and the family within the Anglican and Alliance communities. The family was the Anglicans' primary means of passing on faith, while the Alliance engaged in active evangelism both inside and outside the church. The decline of religious instruction in the home over the course of the twentieth century provided a shaky foundation for the Christian family of the 1950s, posing a threat to the transmission of faith within the Anglican Church. In contrast, the Alliance ran effective programs for children and youth that had consistently strong levels of involvement.

In Chapter Three, I examine the worldview and public role of the Calgary Anglican diocese and First Alliance Church. The decline of the Christian family together with a loss of the "unofficial establishment" status of the Anglican Church caused it to re-examine its relationship with the world and attempt to become more relevant to society. In contrast, the Alliance Church took an insular stance and focused primarily on the spiritual life.

Finally, Chapter Four considers the role of women in the Anglican diocese and Calgary's Alliance Church. The findings suggest that consistently restricted roles for

women in the Alliance Church and greater openness to women's leadership in the Anglican Church were closely tied to the churches' relationships to the outside world.

The primary source material for this study includes minutes of church meetings, conference proceedings, local denominational publications, and membership applications to Calgary's First Alliance Church. The sources were located in the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, housed in Special Collections at the University of Calgary Library, at Calgary's First Alliance Church, and at the Western Canadian District Office of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. Special permission has provided me access to these sources. Due to the personal nature of their contents and their place in the recent past, I have agreed not to use the names of individuals that appear in these sources. Because this study is concerned with the Anglican and Alliance communities in Calgary, rather than particular figures within these groups, I do not believe that this commitment detracts in any way from my findings.

CHAPTER ONE

Confessionalism and Evangelicalism in Calgary

Worship for the pietist is most often a means of evangelism that either generates new believers or sends older ones out either in search of other converts or performing good works of a reformist nature. The model saint in pietist devotion is the activist. In contrast, confessionalism understands worship as a means of nurture that edifies the faithful weekly and throughout the various stages of human life...According to this scheme of devotion the Christian is a pilgrim in need of sustenance for the trials and responsibilities of life. Indeed, worship is the best indicator of the differences between the pietist and confessionalist ways of getting religion.¹

This chapter contrasts the histories of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Anglican Church in order to gain greater understanding of the two denominations in Calgary. In addition, this chapter considers the distinct “ways of getting religion” within these two specific communities during the 1950s and 1960s. A clear contrast is evident: while Calgary’s Anglican churches emphasized participation in the liturgy and sacraments as the basis for the Christian life, fellowship in the Alliance church was founded on a personal experience of conversion. These findings demonstrate the usefulness of Hart’s categories of confessional and revivalist Protestantism in this context. The historical and practical differences discussed in this chapter informed all other aspects of religious life for the Alliance and Anglicans in Calgary.

¹ Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, 162.

Historical Development

The roots of the Anglican Church and the CMA point to significant distinctions between the two. The Church of England was created for primarily political, rather than theological, reasons. In 1534, Henry VIII separated from the Roman Catholic Church and created the Church of England, with himself as head, a step that enabled him to divorce his wife and re-marry. He did not, however, undertake major liturgical or structural reforms. Under his son Edward, greater reforms were initiated. The Prayer Book of 1549, written and edited primarily by Cranmer, formed a compromise between moderate Calvinism and Catholicism. Following the brief reign of the Catholic Queen Mary, her sister Elizabeth I rejected Catholicism and re-adopted the Prayer Book. She gave her support to moderate church leaders who “set down a basis for Anglican theology, ritual, and church order...[and] defended the Anglican middle way from Roman Catholic charges of schism and Protestant condemnation for not taking reform far enough...”²

Along with its attempt to take the theological “middle way” between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, a defining feature of the Church of England was its status as an established church. Curtis Fahey describes this status as “a widespread belief that the Church of England had a vital part to play in the governing of the nation and also in maintaining social and political stability, while the state, in turn, had an obligation to defend the church’s special position as the “established” church of the realm.”³ In the eighteenth century, the practical application of this belief gave Anglican bishops seats in

² Katerberg, Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 11.

³ Fahey, In His Name, 3.

the House of Lords, prevented Catholics and Protestant dissenters from holding offices, and required all Englishmen to donate tithes to the Church of England.

Fahey argues that “the principle of the union of church and state” was the most significant idea that the Church of England transmitted to British North America. It was reasonable that Anglican leaders in the colony would support the established status of the Anglican church based on the practice in Britain. But in the early nineteenth century, “the combined influence of religious pluralism and increasingly powerful nation-states led to a fundamental alteration in the relation between churches and secular authorities in several countries, including Britain, the essential feature of which was the replacement of church establishments by non-denominational political regimes.” In Upper Canada, reform movements of the 1820s and 1830s culminated in the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, which included the secularization of the clergy reserves in 1854 and the loss of Anglican control of grammar schools and institutions of higher education.⁴

Hart argues that in the United States the religious disestablishment enshrined in the First Amendment and the success of revivalism meant that confessionism was quickly overshadowed by pietist Protestantism.⁵ In contrast, the Anglican Church in British North America enjoyed its position as an established church until the middle of the nineteenth century. Immigration from the British Isles during the 1820s and 1830s was steady, and by the census of 1842 Anglicans in Upper Canada outnumbered the adherents of any other denomination.⁶

⁴ Fahey, *In His Name*, 1, 74, 108.

⁵ Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism*, 12, 19.

⁶ Fahey, *In His Name*, 38.

Fahey and Westfall both demonstrate that the disestablishment of the Anglican church in nineteenth century Upper Canada had profound implications. Westfall argues that as a result of disestablishment, the Anglican Church needed to define itself apart from the political system. "Whereas establishmentarianism had emphasized the links between the church, society, and the world, the new culture pulled the church away from society and the state and constructed a counter-world of the sacred that stood against the values and beliefs of the new secular society."⁷ But this change did not signify an end to the public role of the Anglican Church in Canada. Westfall suggests that it cooperated with other Protestant denominations including the Methodists, through means such as educational institutions and moral crusades, to create a Protestant culture in Ontario. Historians such as John Webster Grant have highlighted the cultural role of the Anglican Church, along with other major Protestant denominations, in Canadian society.⁸

The Anglican Church's political history and attempt to take the "middle way" between Roman Catholicism and Calvinism contrast sharply with the origins of the Alliance denomination in the nineteenth century holiness and divine healing movements and its firmly evangelical theology. Lindsay Reynolds observes:

The initial arresting message of the movement was "Christ for the soul and Christ for the body." It was identification with the integrated doctrines of sanctification and divine healing, termed "the deeper spiritual life," that gave the Christian Alliance its propriety and indeed its basic reason for being.⁹

The emphasis on holiness and healing formed the inner two "folds" of the distinctive doctrine formulated by Alliance founder, Albert Benjamin Simpson, called the "four-fold

⁷ Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 122.

⁸ Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*.

⁹ Reynolds, *Footprints*, xii.

Gospel”: Jesus as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King. This was the message Simpson preached to the church he began in New York City, in the evangelistic campaigns he conducted, and in the two religious societies he founded in Maine in 1887, the Christian Alliance and the Evangelical Missionary Alliance – precursors to the Alliance denomination.

Simpson was born on Prince Edward Island in 1843 and spent his childhood and young adult life in Ontario. He studied at Knox College in Toronto and after graduation became pastor of Knox Presbyterian Church in Hamilton, where he remained for eight years and earned a reputation as a talented young minister. In 1873 he accepted a call to Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church in Louisville, Kentucky. It was here that he experienced the “second conversion” of sanctification after studying the book, The Higher Christian Life, by W.E. Boardman, who was active in the Keswick holiness movement in England. Bebbington outlines the tenants of this movement:

Advocates of holiness teaching urged that Christians should aim for a second decisive experience beyond conversion. Afterwards they would live on a more elevated plane. No longer would they feel themselves ensnared by wrongdoing, for they would have victory over sin.¹⁰

These teachings had a strong impact on Simpson. According to Reynolds, Simpson came to understand sanctification as “a ‘voluntary separation from evil’ by a ‘once for all’ act of supreme commitment, which would result in the ‘abiding presence’ of Christ.”¹¹ In 1885 he travelled to London to attend Keswick meetings; this experience left a deep impression.

¹⁰ D.W. Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 151.

¹¹ Reynolds, Footprints, 78.

Simpson became pastor of the prestigious Thirteenth Street Presbyterian Church in New York in 1879. However, he resigned only two years later, giving three reasons for doing so: “the denomination had lost its desire to evangelize, he had been called to preach to the poor, and he had received believer’s baptism.”¹² Simpson began his own church, the Gospel Tabernacle, emphasizing evangelism and social outreach to New York’s poor and preaching his doctrine of the four-fold Gospel. The four-fold Gospel included belief in salvation through Christ, his imminent return, the necessity of personal sanctification, and belief in divine healing, physical healing available through Christ to the true believer. Reid suggests that it was the doctrine of divine healing that lent prominence to Simpson’s movement.¹³ Rivard also credits Simpson’s popularity to his personality and ability, describing him as “a riveting preacher with a magnetic, vital personality, and an intensely spiritual message.”¹⁴

John Salmon, a Scottish immigrant to Canada and a contemporary of A.B. Simpson, was also influenced by the holiness and divine healing movements. Like Simpson, he was a social activist, and after failed associations with Methodism, Adventism and Congregationalism, Salmon began an independent fellowship in Toronto. Reid observes:

Although he had followed a different route, Salmon had found his own way to the Fourfold Gospel: he had a Methodist’s commitment to sanctification, an Adventist’s belief in the premillennial return of Christ and believer’s baptism, and a Congregationalist’s belief in the autonomy of the local congregation and rejection of ecclesiastical coercion, and a belief in divine healing confirmed in his mind by his own experience.¹⁵

¹² Eugene Francis Rivard, “The Hymnody of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (1891-1978) as a Reflection of its Theology and Development” (D.M.A. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991), 19.

¹³ Reid, “Towards a Fourfold Gospel,” 271-275.

¹⁴ Rivard, “The Hymnody of the Christian and Missionary Alliance,” 21.

¹⁵ Reid, “Towards a Fourfold Gospel,” 280.

Simpson and Salmon first met at one of Simpson's healing conventions in Buffalo in 1885, where Salmon was healed of kidney problems. In 1887, Salmon was present at the founding conventions of the Christian Alliance (CA) and Evangelical Missionary Alliance (EMA) in Old Orchard, Maine. The CA promoted the teaching of the four-fold Gospel within the United States, while the EMA was focused on foreign missions. Salmon was elected as a founding vice-president of the Christian Alliance. In 1889 the Canadian Auxiliary of the Christian Alliance was created, and the work Salmon had started in Toronto became the foundation for the Alliance in Canada. An attempt to improve administration led to a merger of the CA and EMA in 1897 under the name, The Christian and Missionary Alliance. The auxiliary in Canada became a branch of this new organization under the leadership of a District Superintendent.¹⁶

The CMA, like the CA and EMA before it, was not intended to be a new denomination, but a "fraternal union of believers" from a variety of denominations who shared a belief in the four-fold Gospel and emphasized the importance of missions.¹⁷ However, Reid points to three tensions within Simpson's movement that pushed the Alliance towards denominationalism:

First was the tension between his vision of an interdenominational fraternal fellowship and ongoing denominationalizing tendencies that grew over time and through circumstances. Second, although he originally conceived of the Alliance as a holiness society with a missions outreach, the latter quickly overwhelmed the former and rapidly reoriented the priorities of the entire organization. And finally, although he conceived of it as a flexible fellowship leading the "forward movement" in the Last Days, the Alliance's very successes – particularly in the area

¹⁶ Reynolds, *Footprints*, 265, 271. Over the years, the District of Canada was divided into several Canadian districts, each with its own superintendent.

¹⁷ Reynolds, *Footprints*, 95.

of foreign missions – forced upon it much of the machinery necessary for any organization to maintain an institutional existence.¹⁸

The “fraternal union” of the CMA became increasingly institutionalized. Only in 1974 did the CMA officially convert to denominational status, but it had functioned as such for some time. For years the functions of the CMA at the local level had been indistinguishable from churches of other denominations, districts had ordained ministers, and CMA institutions had trained Christian workers. A magazine article on the 1974 decision declared: “After 87 years as a para-denominational organization dedicated to missionary activity, the Christian and Missionary Alliance has officially recognized what many people have known for years: the Alliance is a denomination.”¹⁹ Reid and Reynolds both argue that after the death of Simpson in 1919 the Alliance evolved into an evangelical denomination holding much in common with other evangelical churches, but with a particular concern for foreign missions.²⁰

The Anglican Church and the CMA in Calgary

While Alliance speakers occasionally stopped in Calgary as early as 1907, a permanent Alliance presence in the city was not established until 1938. In 1939 a building was rented in downtown Calgary, and a charter membership of twenty formed the Alliance Tabernacle. From this beginning the congregation grew to a membership of approximately 120 by 1951. The Alliance Tabernacle was the only CMA church in Calgary until 1966

¹⁸ Reid, “Towards a Fourfold Gospel,” 278.

¹⁹ “CMA Converts to Denominational Status,” *Eternity* (August 1974): 8, cited in Rivard, “The Hymnody of the Christian and Missionary Alliance,” 225, 44.

²⁰ Reynolds, *Footprints*, 453.

when a daughter church, Foothills Alliance, opened. At this time Calgary's Alliance Tabernacle changed its name to First Alliance Church.²¹

The CMA movement was only beginning when the Anglican Church began its work in Calgary. Anglican missionaries reached Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1856 and 1865 respectively. The Methodists and the Roman Catholics had both established missions in Alberta prior to the arrival of Anglican missionaries. Calgary was built as a North West Mounted Police fort in 1875, and the first Anglican services were held in the N.W.M.P. barracks in 1883. Calgary's first Anglican church, the Church of the Redeemer, was built within a year.²²

The Diocese of Calgary was formed in 1888, and included most of the province of Alberta. In 1914 a separate Diocese of Edmonton was created, and the boundaries of the Diocese of Calgary established that year have changed little since. Comprising much more than the city of Calgary, the diocese covered southern Alberta from British Columbia in the west to near the Saskatchewan border in the east, and from Lacombe (near Red Deer) in the north to the border with the United States in the south.²³ The Cathedral, the Bishop's seat, was located in the city of Calgary and this was the heart of the diocese practically and geographically. Philip Carrington, a Canadian archbishop who authored a history of the Anglican Church in Canada, observed that dioceses exercised a good deal of autonomy,

²¹ Reynolds, Rebirth, 270. For sake of consistency, First Alliance Church is the name used throughout this study.

²² David J. Carter, "Foreword," in The Anglican Church in Calgary: Church Activities, 1878-1974 (Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975), 4-6, 9. David Carter was Dean of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary when this history was published. It was part of a series of works commemorating the 1975 centennial of the city of Calgary.

²³ In 1968, thirteen churches in the Medicine Hat area that were part of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle were transferred to the Diocese of Calgary, to make the diocesan boundary the same as the one between the

calling the diocese “the real working unit in our Canadian Church.”²⁴ The proceedings of the bi-annual synod meetings of the Diocese of Calgary and *The Sower*, a monthly diocesan publication, provide significant insight into the activities and concerns of the Calgary Anglican diocese during the 1950s and 1960s.

The Alliance Church in Calgary was part of the Western Canadian District, a division of the “national” American CMA with headquarters in New York. Thus, organizationally and historically the church was tied to the United States. At the annual Western Canadian District Conferences, messages and reports were received from the CMA Board of Managers in New York. The constitution of the Western Canadian District specified that the legislation of the District Conference “shall be limited to District affairs and in no case shall such legislation be in conflict with the actions of the General Council.”²⁵ The national Home and Foreign Secretaries in New York gave oversight to the Western Canadian District. In addition, matters of doctrine were ultimately decided by the General Council, which included representation from both the American and Canadian churches. For example, CMA legislation on divorce was referred to the districts for discussion at their 1948 annual meetings, but was ultimately decided at the 1949 General Council.²⁶ The decision of the Calgary Alliance Church in 1960 to call the Rev. Lowell

provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. “Five Parishes join Calgary Diocese,” February 1968, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁴ Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada*, 130.

²⁵ Proceedings of the 1948 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, Western Canadian District Office (WCDO), Calgary, AB.

²⁶ Proceedings of the 1948 Western Canadian District Conference; the decision of General Council was reported in the Proceedings of the 1949 Western Canadian District Conference, WCDO.

Young, of Jefferson Park Bible Church in Chicago, as their new pastor is another example of its connections to the United States.²⁷

The relationship between the CMA in Canada and the United States was not without problems. When the CA and the EMA joined in 1897 to form the CMA, and the Canadian Auxiliary of the CA became a district of the new organization, the Canadian church lost the autonomy it had previously enjoyed. Reynolds writes that Canadians did not respond enthusiastically to the change in structure. While ‘auxiliary’ suggested an allied entity, with its own freely elected president, the status of ‘district’, under a New York appointed superintendent, suggested a lesser degree of independence.²⁸ Over the years, conflict arose around a variety of issues. In 1910, when the Alliance began to acquire financial ownership of the properties of affiliated churches, Canadian churches would not comply. The CMA also demonstrated little support for Canadian home missions, particularly in terms of evangelization of the prairies during the 1930s and 1940s, and of Quebec during the 1960s and 1970s. The Canadian centennial marked a surge in Canadian nationalism, and also marked a move towards the autonomy of the Canadian CMA. A Tri-District Conference of the three Canadian Districts (Eastern, Central and Western Canada) was held in Saskatchewan in 1967 in honour of the centennial. This put the Alliance Church in Canada on the road towards the creation of a national Canadian Church, The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, although it did not officially occur until January 1, 1981.²⁹

²⁷ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board Meeting, 12 April 1960, First Alliance Church (FAC), Calgary, AB.

²⁸ Reynolds, *Footprints*, 265.

²⁹ Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 439.

While the Alliance was linked most closely with the United States, the British connections of the Anglican Church remained significant. In 1893, the creation of a General Synod had marked the unification of the Canadian Anglican Church as a distinct branch of the Church of England, with its own Primate.³⁰ However, the Calgary Anglican diocese continued to be influenced by the Church of England and its leadership on many levels – institutional, intellectual, and personal – during the 1950s and 1960s. Its historic indebtedness to England was acknowledged during the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the Calgary diocese in 1963. A story in *The Sower* explained the symbolic gift of money to two foreign missionary societies on that occasion:

A Thankoffering of about \$6,000 is to be divided between two British missionary societies as a token repayment from the Diocese of Calgary.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society were largely responsible for the financial sponsorship of the Calgary diocese, founded in 1888, and for almost 50 years they poured large sums of money into this diocese to continue its work.³¹

Financial dependence on the Church of England and its missionary societies belonged to the recent history of the Calgary diocese. The diocese of Calgary had only become self-supporting in 1953, having the status of a ‘missionary diocese’ prior to that year, and through much of its early existence had looked to England for support.

Intellectual and personal connections were continually made at Lambeth Conferences, held once every ten years, that gathered the bishops of the world-wide Anglican Communion together in London, England. Carrington wrote that the purpose of the Lambeth Conference, first held in 1867, was for bishops to find “a common mind on common problems”. Interestingly, Carrington noted that the idea for such a gathering was

³⁰ Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada*, 190, 193.

proposed to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a Canadian, Bishop Lewis of the Diocese of Ontario.³² The 1958 Lambeth Conference provided opportunity for the Bishop of Calgary and his wife to travel to England and renew a personal relationship with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, and his wife begun during the Fishers' 1954 visit to Calgary. After staying at the Fisher's home, the Bishop and his wife travelled extensively around England. The next Lambeth Conference, in 1968, was attended by the new Bishop of Calgary, Morse Goodman. In his memoirs, Goodman devoted significant attention to the six week Lambeth Conference and the relationships he developed there, with British clergy in particular.³³

It was as a result of his trip to the Lambeth Conference that Bishop Goodman developed the idea for a "mini-sabbatical" training program for clergy from the diocese of Calgary, with cooperation from the Bishop of Norwich. Beginning in 1969, ten clergy spent approximately three weeks in England participating in theological study and practical parish work.³⁴ The program took place annually for twelve years. Goodman observed that lasting friendships developed between Canadian and British clergy as a result. He also spoke of "the advantage of the immense theological resources of the mother church and the opportunity in Britain to see our roots and to enjoy the magnificent cathedrals."³⁵ The days were passed when the British Church supplied the majority of Canada's Anglican priests, yet its influence on Calgary clergy remained significant.

³¹ "Calgary's Gift: \$6,000," May 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

³² Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada*, 136.

³³ M.L. Goodman, *They Couldn't Call Me Mary: Memoirs of Morse L. Goodman* (Winnipeg: Country Guide BookShelf, 1992), 185-197.

³⁴ "The 10' prepare for U.K.," April 1969, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁵ Goodman, *They Couldn't Call Me Mary*, 208.

Another clear example of the strong sense of connection to Britain was the regular dispatch of messages of good wishes to the Queen at the bi-annual synod meetings of the Calgary diocese. In 1952, the message contained a personal note, observing: "It is a source of gratification to us that Her Majesty has direct personal knowledge of our Anglican Communion in Canada, having worshipped in five of our churches a few months ago during her triumphal tour of our country, when she won all our hearts."³⁶

Prominent English churchmen also found receptive audiences during their visits to Calgary. When the Archbishop of Canterbury visited Calgary in 1954, it was reported that a crowd of 10,500 people gathered at the Stampede grounds to hear his address.³⁷ Canon G____, a rector from Birmingham, England, drew even more attention when he conducted a ten day mission in the Calgary area in 1962. One headline declared, "Bishop's Mission Stirs Greatest Witness to Faith Ever Manifest in Calgary Diocese," and elsewhere it was estimated that more than 34,000 people heard Canon G____ speak during his visit to Calgary.³⁸ Both visits were covered extensively in *The Sower*. The widespread appeal of the visits of these two British clergy indicates that the importance of the English church was felt not just at the higher levels of the Anglican institution in Canada, but by the laity as well.

Richard Vaudry argues that "one of the monumental failures of Canadian historiography has been its neglect of the transatlantic nature of much of its religious and political history." He suggests that "the Atlantic was not an impenetrable barrier to

³⁶ Proceedings of the 35th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1952), 10, AADC.

³⁷ "The Visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Diocese of Calgary," October 1954, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁸ "Bishop's Mission Stirs Greatest Witness to Faith Ever Manifest in Calgary Diocese," November 1962, and "Mission's Evangelism Continuing," December 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

communication but a conduit to transmit people, news, ideas, and money back and forth between Britain and British North America.”³⁹ If this was true of nineteenth century British North America, it remained true of the Canadian Anglican Church of the 1950s and 1960s, despite the sense of greater independence implied by the change of name from the Church of England in Canada to the Anglican Church of Canada in 1955.⁴⁰

Theology and Practice: The Meaning of the Christian Life

Distinctions between the Anglican and Alliance communities in Calgary are most clearly reflected in terms of their understanding of the Christian life. For the Anglicans, participation in corporate worship formed the basis of Christian community. In contrast, for the Alliance, a personal experience of conversion was the defining feature of the Christian life.

Participation in the liturgy and sacraments of the Anglican Church was emphasized from a young age. One writer for *The Sower* stressed the importance of the child participating in the sacrament of the eucharist as early as possible. He observed: “To be in all ways a participating, developing member of the ‘congregation of Christ’s flock’ into which he has been baptized is then experienced when he comes to Communion and side by side shares again in the offerings of Christ and in his own emerging way offers himself to his Lord.”⁴¹ An article entitled, “Advice to young servers by the father of one”, stressed the value and benefit to young people of participating as a server in the church service. The

³⁹ Richard W. Vaudry, Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 5.

⁴⁰ “General Synod 1955,” October 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴¹ “Distressing points about confirmation”, March 1969, *The Sower*, AADC.

author's message to young servers was, "you are forming a solid association with your church and your God which will make you stronger, better men."⁴²

It was through participation that one was brought into the community of believers and relationship with God. One of the four goals of the national Christian Education curriculum produced in 1963 promoted "involvement in the corporate worship of the church for everyone".⁴³ The Bishop's letter published in *The Sower* at the beginning of the 1955 Lenten season asked, "What will you do with this new season of Lent?" His first suggestion was "Go to Church more often". He wrote, "If you just go on Sunday mornings – go to Evensong as well during Lent. If you live in Calgary, resolve to attend the Noon Day Services in the Cathedral. If you work down town, bring your lunch to the Cathedral..."⁴⁴ Participation in the corporate worship of the church was the foundation of the Christian life.

Church membership and participation in the sacraments were clearly linked by the fact that communicants of other Christian denominations were not permitted to take the sacraments in the Anglican Church. At the 1965 diocesan synod, a motion passed by a slim majority requesting that the Canadian House of Bishops permit priests to administer the eucharist to communicants of other Christian churches, but the Bishop did not agree to the motion and it was defeated.⁴⁵

Perhaps this was partly due to the understanding that the sacraments entailed responsibilities fulfilled through regular participation in the church. An article in *The*

⁴² "Advice to young server by the father of one", October 1964, *The Sower*, AADC. Note: women (and girls) were not permitted to be servers in the Anglican Church of Canada until 1969.

⁴³ "WA Has Ministry to Each Child, Adult in Non-Christian World," April 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴⁴ "Bishop's Letter," February 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴⁵ Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 34, AADC.

Sower on confirmation described both the benefits and responsibilities that accompanied the sacrament.

You have accepted the gift of the Holy Spirit at the hands of the Bishop. This you can do only once. But if you are to grow more and more in God's grace, you will need to return again and again for the additional gifts of the Holy Communion, the guidance and instruction of your clergy, and the togetherness of your fellow churchmen in prayer and activity.⁴⁶

The sacrament of baptism included a commitment by parents (and godparents/sponsors) to fulfill certain duties outlined by the priest. In the order of service, as contained in the Book of Common Prayer (1962), parents were instructed to:

Use all diligence...to see that he [the child] be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life; and to that end you should teach him to pray, and bring him to take his part in public worship.
Take care that he be taught the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and be further instructed in the Church Catechism; and then that he be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him; so that he may be strengthened by the Holy Spirit, and may come to receive the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, and go forth into the world to serve God faithfully in the fellowship of his Church.⁴⁷

The family was expected to play a central role in introducing children to the faith and supporting them in their Christian development. The one-time events of baptism and confirmation needed to be reinforced by ongoing participation in the eucharist and liturgy of the church. The image of the Christian life as a pilgrimage, that Hart uses to characterize confessional Protestantism, is evident in the language of the Anglican baptismal service.

But there was a tension between the stress placed by some on the importance of regular participation, and the reality of practice by many. Calgary's Bishop had some strong words about the centrality of regular participation in the services of the church. In

⁴⁶ "More and More...", May 1957, *The Sower*, AADC.

his 1963 address to synod, he observed that people seemed to disdain regularity, especially in church attendance, and criticized “haphazard attendance” and “looseness of obligation”.⁴⁸ Taking the concept of participation one step, he urged Anglicans to be active rather than passive participants in the church service. He observed:

The worst thing that can happen to us when we come together for the worship of God is that our services should degenerate to the point where people act as if they were spectators. Congregational participation in Anglican services is a “must” or else the participating fellowship is destroyed.⁴⁹

The prayer book formed the basis of lay participation and the Bishop was concerned by people who attended a worship service but did not actively join in with the “people’s responses”.

The lay editor of *The Sower*, R__ O__, expressed concern over church attendance in letters she exchanged with parish correspondents for the paper. She expressed her frustration that, “nobody comes to the early Communion service which is now offered them, and which they stay away from in droves (I can count the others present, on the fingers of one hand)!”⁵⁰ In another letter she revealed a similar sentiment:

Of course we’re sometimes tempted to wonder if it would do some good to write, just once, “Mrs. Jim Johnson, who never gets to church anyway, has broken her leg and now has a good excuse not to come” – that would shock a few readers, wouldn’t it?⁵¹

The administrator of the diocese also expressed concern that people could not find time for church attendance. He wrote in *The Sower*:

⁴⁷ The Canadian Book of Common Prayer (The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 1962), 522.

⁴⁸ Proceedings of the 41st Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1963), 43, AADC.

⁴⁹ “Bishop’s Letter”, July 1956, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵⁰ The Sower Files, Synod Office Records, Correspondence File 115.13 (1957), AADC.

⁵¹ The Sower Files, Synod Office Records, Correspondence File 115.20 (1957), AADC.

If we cannot give at least one hour out of 168 hours [in a week] as a public worship of our Creator and Redeemer, then we are busier than God intends us to be! We certainly cannot consider ourselves Christians or churchmen if we do not make a point of worshipping our Creator and our Saviour on His day.⁵²

Evidently not all Anglicans agreed. But it was a question of degrees. During the 1950s and 1960s, services on holidays such as Christmas and Easter were filled to capacity and confirmation classes reported record attendances. Participation in corporate worship and the sacraments was valued, even if that did not translate into the weekly church attendance that Calgary's Anglican leaders desired of their members.

Despite the significance of corporate participation in the corporate worship of the Anglican Church, an emphasis on individual conversion was not entirely absent. An article that appeared in *The Sower* prior to Canon G___'s 1962 evangelistic Mission in Calgary observed that a mission was often viewed as "a non-Anglican sort of thing". But the article indicated that the goals of the organizers of the mission included "the conversion of the sinners and the quickening of the faithful", and they also hoped the mission would impact "nominal church-goers".⁵³ There is evidence that their hopes were realized. Reports following the mission indicated that Canon G___ had promoted a "personal encounter" with Christ, and that at one meeting alone approximately 60 people went forward to affirm their conversion.⁵⁴

For the most part, however, the Anglican Church in the Calgary diocese emphasized the nurture of Christian faith through participation in the corporate worship of the church. In contrast, members of First Alliance shared a conception of conversion characterized by

⁵² "On Church Attendance, Giving and Belief", October 1967, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵³ "Mrs. T___ Re-elected; Urges WA Boost Strength", April 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵⁴ "Christian 'Dullness' Criticized", December 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

Randall Balmer as a “sudden, instantaneous, datable experience of grace.”⁵⁵ It was an intensely personal experience that emphasized the relationship between God and the individual.

Ninety membership applications from the 1960s survive in the records of First Alliance Church in Calgary. The application for membership consisted of one double-sided page that covered biographical information such as name, date of birth, and marital status, as well as religious information such as previous church involvement. The heart of the application, however, was the question about spiritual conversion. Applicants were asked to describe the date (if possible) and circumstances of their conversion.

As a historical source on conversion, the membership applications are somewhat unusual. The short, two or three sentence, answers about conversion on these applications are not, for example, the detailed conversion narratives examined by Hindmarsh in his article on early Methodist conversion narratives.⁵⁶ They are, however, a rich source because they provide first-hand accounts of the conversions of ninety ordinary men and women.

Three different groups of people completed membership applications. Some of those applying for membership had never held membership in a church. Many of these were teens or young adults who had been raised in the church, while some were new converts. Others applied because they were new to the city and were transferring their membership. Still others came to the Alliance Church from another church in Calgary. Of

⁵⁵ Randall Balmer, Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), ix.

⁵⁶ Bruce Hindmarsh, ““My chains fell off, my heart was free”: Early Methodist Conversion Narrative in England,” Church History 68:4 (December 1999). Hindmarsh examined published and unpublished conversion narratives.

those with prior church connections, Baptist churches were named most frequently, but a wide array of other denominations were also mentioned, including United, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, and Mennonite.

The applications were submitted to the Board of Elders, who reviewed them and made recommendations on accepting applicants into church membership.⁵⁷ The church's constitution outlined specific requirements for membership. These qualifications were described as "satisfactory evidence of regeneration" and acceptance of church doctrine, specifically belief in the Trinity, the "verbal inspiration" of the Bible, the saving work of Christ, eternal salvation for believers and damnation for unbelievers, and belief in the four-fold Gospel.⁵⁸

While the applications were not carefully constructed narratives, nor written with a wide readership in mind, they were penned with the awareness that the Board of Elders would review them for "evidence of regeneration." How did the Alliance Church and the various applicants understand conversion? The phrasing of the question, "Date (if possible) and circumstances of your conversion," points in the direction of a sudden versus a gradual conversion process. Interestingly, eighty-four of the ninety applicants could pinpoint a particular year or their age at the time of their conversion, and many referenced an exact date.

Lewis Rambo observes: "The process of conversion is a product of the interactions among the convert's aspirations, needs, and orientations, the nature of the group into which she or he is being converted, and the particular social matrix in which these processes are

⁵⁷ Membership was the primary responsibility of the Elders. They kept the membership list updated, admitted new members, and oversaw care of church members.

taking place.”⁵⁹ Greater insight into the meaning of conversion for the individual applicants is gained through an examination of the means and motivations that led to conversion.

A quantitative assessment of the age of applicants at the time of their conversion yields some striking results that demonstrate that younger people were much more likely to undergo a spiritual conversion than adults middle-aged or older. In terms of gender, 80% of women had converted by age twenty. Male applicants converted in greatest numbers in their twenties. By age thirty, 97% of male applicants and 88% of female applicants had experienced conversion, and 100% of men and women reported that their conversions occurred before age forty. Van Die’s findings on the age of conversion in her study of the diaries, correspondence and obituaries of nineteenth century Canadians reveal similar patterns. She notes that for both men and women, “conversion frequently was experienced during late adolescence, during a time when new responsibilities and changed pattern of life were about to replace the old and familiar.”⁶⁰

The youthfulness of these men and women at the time of their conversion suggests the likelihood that family was influential in the process of conversion. The role of family is also made explicit in several of the membership applications. One man wrote, “Having been born and raised in a Christian family I have had the importance of salvation impressed upon me since an early age.” Another applicant said, “I was saved in 1947 in my home as a

⁵⁸ 1960 Annual Report, FAC.

⁵⁹ Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 7.

⁶⁰ Marguerite Van Die, “‘A Woman’s Awakening’: Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada,” in *Canadian Women: A Reader*, ed. W. Mitchinson *et al.* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 55.

result of a Bible Time my mother provided for us each afternoon.”⁶¹ These accounts are consistent with the findings of sociologist Sam Reimer, whose book on evangelicalism in Canada and the United States was based on extensive polling. Reimer notes: “Most respondents grew up in the church, or had strong religious ties, indicating that conversion was a natural consequence of religious socialization.” 65% of the respondents in his study had experienced conversion during their childhood and teenage years.⁶²

The brevity of the responses recorded on the applications meant that applicants were very selective in writing about their conversions. For many, it is evident that a Christian home was the context of their conversion, although another factor was identified as the catalyst for conversion. One woman who dated her conversion to “early childhood” wrote, “We were taught of Jesus Christ and early learned to love and trust him. At a children’s meeting...I publicly committed my life to Him.” D__ T__ recounted, “I first asked Christ to be my Saviour when I was seven years old at home but later I fully realized the decision I had made at a Bible camp at Gull Lake when I was eleven and re-dedicated my life to Christ.”⁶³ In other cases, the simple fact that children were in attendance at religious gatherings like church, Sunday School, Bible Club, or a Christian summer camp, suggests an underlying role of parents in the conversion of their children.

Apart from family, there were several other means that were identified by applicants as instrumental in their conversion process. Not surprisingly, the church and its ministers were specifically mentioned by one in three applicants in the account of their conversion.

⁶¹ W.P., 1966 Membership Application, and J.D., 1964 Membership Application, FAC.

⁶² Sam Reimer, Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), 61.

⁶³ S.P., 1968 Membership Application, and D.T., 1966 Membership Application, FAC.

Several applicants recorded a minister by name who had been particularly significant in their spiritual life. One man wrote that he was converted “as the result of a gospel message from John 3:16 – Preached at Waverly Road Baptist Church in the City of Toronto, Ontario by Rev. Atkinson.” In a similar vein, a woman recalled, “Under the ministry and teaching of Rev. A.P. Anderson pastor of Strasbourg Baptist Church, Sask., realized myself a sinner, the only way of salvation through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.” Another woman dramatically explained, “Hearing Rev. Goezte, a Baptist minister, preach, I felt the Holy Spirit definitely urging me to make a decision for Christ, now or never.” Sunday School teachers were also specified, though their names were not as memorable. R__ C__ wrote, “My Sunday School teacher gave an appeal in class one Sunday (September 21, 1947) and I then accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as my Saviour.”⁶⁴ Others cited church more generally, or a particular church program that had been influential in their life. These included youth programs, Junior Church, Vacation Bible School, and even Sunday evening services.

Outside of the two central institutions of church and family, several other places, or events were highlighted in the context of conversion accounts in the membership applications. Cited by far the most frequently was the crusade or evangelistic meeting. E__ W__ recalled the effect of such a meeting on her life: “I received the Lord as my own personal Saviour at about the age of twelve. It was after a revival meeting, I was under conviction, and when I went home I didn’t have peace until I accepted him as Saviour in my bedroom.” D__ H__ summarized her experience simply: “Fall 1958 – tent meeting –

⁶⁴ G.N.W., 1965 Membership Application, E.C.M. and M.W., 1967 Membership Applications, and R.A.C., 1970 Membership Application, FAC.

sermon on subject “Physical Death – Hell or Heaven”. I wanted to be sure where I was going so I accepted Christ and gave my life to Him.”⁶⁵

The importance of revivals in the lives of numerous applicants is significant in light of the suggestion by Lofland and Skonovd that there has been “a decline in the incidence of revivalist conversions in modern societies ...”⁶⁶ The membership applications to First Alliance contradict their observation of long-term decline in revivalist conversions. This may be attributed in part to the importance of missions and evangelistic meetings in the CMA denomination and the Calgary Alliance Church more specifically. Every year the church sponsored several evangelistic meetings and brought in evangelists from outside the city. Many of the applicants, however, were not living in Calgary at the time of their conversion or attending an Alliance Church. They, too, make reference to church-sponsored revival meetings. C__ W__ wrote, “It was at a Revival meeting, when I was either eleven or twelve, at the Crossfield Baptist Church when I accepted Christ as my personal Saviour.”⁶⁷

As the applications show, traditional revival meetings remained an effective means of promoting conversion. Moreover, modern manifestations of revivals were also influential. Summer camps figured in the conversion accounts of ten applicants. D__ K__ recounted his experience in some detail:

July 1956 – During an evening service at Alberta Camp I was convicted by the holy spirit. I was very uneasy and troubled. A counselor noticed my condition and asked me if I wanted to be a Christian. I said yes. After praying with the counselor my burden was lifted for which I praise the Lord.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ E.W., 1965 Membership Application, and D.H., 1967 Membership Application, FAC.

⁶⁶ John Lofland and Norman Skonovd, “Conversion Motifs,” Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 20:4 (1981), 380.

⁶⁷ C.W., 1965 Membership Application, FAC.

⁶⁸ D.K., 1963 Membership Application, FAC.

While eighteenth and nineteenth century revivals sometimes lasted for several days, and often took place outside cities in camp-like settings, summer camps like the one D__ K__ attended were institutions that became increasingly formalized and popular in the twentieth century, with permanent buildings and staff members. Camps became a routine part of many children's summers, and the combination of daily Bible lessons and speakers with personal relationships between campers and counsellors contributed to an intense experience conducive to conversion. Moreover, the young age of membership applicants at the time of their conversion indicates a greater openness to religious conversion on the part of teens and young adults than adults in their thirties and older, and camps were typically geared to the younger age groups.

The radio was another modern manifestation of the revival. Three membership applicants credited radio preachers with having a deep spiritual effect on their lives. One wrote, "I heard the message of God's love by listening to Brother William Aberhart over C.F.C.N."⁶⁹ James Opp suggests that the radio marked the "New Age" of evangelism, quickly becoming a very popular medium used by evangelicals and fundamentalists to spread their message following the inception of the first regular radio station in North America in 1920.⁷⁰

Almost all the membership applicants pointed to significant factors in their conversion experience, whether that was parents, church or minister, revival or summer camp. But only approximately one third of applicants identified a specific motivation for

⁶⁹ L.J.M., 1965 Membership Application, FAC.

⁷⁰ James Opp, "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994), 117, 143.

their conversion. The motivations identified fall into five general categories. Most commonly, applicants spoke of feelings of conviction and guilt, and their need for a Saviour. A__ W__ recalled, “Having been brought up under the influence of the Gospel I was saved at 5 years of age. Even at this young age I realized that I had sinned and needed forgiveness from God.”⁷¹ Van Die observes that “the awakening to one’s sinful condition was part of a regular pattern in conversion accounts reaching back into the Puritan period...”⁷²

A second recurring theme was the motivation of fear. G__ C__ described his encounter with two evangelistic workers:

Two...workers spoke to me of God’s love. How Christ was crucified for our sins. The saved would go to heaven. The unsaved to the Lake of Fire. I did not want to be numbered with the unsaved.⁷³

Several applicants indicated that feelings of unease, troubledness, and fear preceded their conversion and were resolved thereafter.

A third theme identified as motivation for conversion was a search for meaning or answers. L__ M__ wrote, “Became concerned about salvation and spent much time reading Bible and Christian books. Received assurance when Word was made plain.” G__ J__ explained the context of her conversion as follows: “In the fall of 1946 in Austria, when – under heavy burden and pressure of my life’s circumstances at that time – I had a desire to read the Bible, first time in my life, and I really read it too.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ A.W., 1964 Membership Application, FAC.

⁷² Van Die, “A Woman’s Awakening,” 56.

⁷³ G.W.C., 1963 Membership Application, FAC.

⁷⁴ L.M., 1965 Membership Application, and G.J., 1967 Membership Application, FAC.

Some applicants were motivated by the example of others. S__ G__ was influenced “by observing my parents and other relatives, I saw they lived with peace in their hearts...”⁷⁵ For some it was the example of parents and mentors, while for others it was observation of peers, including friends and partners, that made a deep impression.

A final motivation for conversion was a mystical one. One woman explained, “The Holy Spirit had been working in my heart for some time and I finally came to a realization of my need of Christ as my personal Saviour.”⁷⁶ Her conversion was explained as the result of the direct intervention of the Holy Spirit.

Lofland and Skonovd identify six conversion motifs that they argue best differentiate the “qualitatively different ways” in which conversion is experienced by converts.⁷⁷ These motifs are intellectual, mystical, experimental, affectional, revivalist, and coercive. Lofland and Skonovd argue that the “prominence of any particular conversion motif is likely to vary over time and geography...”⁷⁸ They suggest that in a given historical context, and a particular religious group, one conversion motif predominates. In contrast to the periodization of conversion motifs by Lofland and Skonovd, the findings here suggest that a striking feature of the conversion accounts contained in the membership applications is the co-existence of a variety of conversion motifs in the religious experiences of adherents of one specific evangelical community in Calgary in the 1960s.

The membership applications to First Alliance Church offer brief glimpses into the conversion experiences of ninety ordinary men and women during the early to mid-

⁷⁵ S.G., 1964 Membership Application, FAC.

⁷⁶ W.G., 1970 Membership Application, FAC.

⁷⁷ Lofland and Skonovd, “Conversion Motifs,” 374.

⁷⁸ Lofland and Skonovd, “Conversion Motifs,” 379.

twentieth century. Quantitative and qualitative analysis points to family as the primary means of transmission of religious faith. It also indicates the openness of youth to a religious message, and the role of churches and ministers, revival meetings, and their more modern manifestations of summer camps and radio. The applicants attributed their conversion to motivations ranging from feelings of guilt or conviction, to fear, a search for meaning, the example of friends or family, or the direct work of the Holy Spirit.

What most of these applicants had in common was a sudden rather than a gradual experience of conversion. Conversion marked the beginning of their Christian life through a personal encounter with God. At First Alliance, “satisfactory evidence of regeneration” derived from a genuine conversion experience. The church actively sought to make converts through its weekly services, evangelistic campaigns, and other programs. Reimer emphasizes the significance of conversion for evangelicals in particular. He observes: “For evangelicals, whether Pentecostal, Baptist, Nazarene, or Lutheran, the importance of religious experience is difficult to overemphasize. The salvation experience is fundamental and central to their identity.”⁷⁹

The contrast between the place of the liturgy and the sacraments in the Anglican Church and the centrality of personal conversion for First Alliance demonstrates a fundamental distinction between these two forms of Christianity, defined by Hart as confessional and revivalist Protestantism. These differences informed every aspect of religious life within the two Calgary communities, including the relationship between the church and the family, interaction with the outside world, and women’s involvement in the church. During the 1950s and 1960s, the confessionalism of the Anglican Church and the

revivalism of the Alliance would inform how these churches were able to cope with shifting social values and patterns of religious participation in Calgary.

⁷⁹ Reimer, Evangelicals and the Continental Divide, 58.

CHAPTER TWO

“Come Together to Sunday School!”

For Anglicans in Calgary during the 1950s and 1960s, “getting religion” was a corporate and participatory process, while for members of First Alliance it was essentially individual and experiential, although in both cases family was an important component. This chapter focuses in greater depth on the process by which faith was transmitted from one generation to the next in both the Alliance and Anglican communities, exploring the relationship between the family and the church. It also considers how successful the churches’ children’s and youth programs were in keeping the baby-boom generation within the fold. The argument of this chapter is that First Alliance actively evangelized children inside and outside the church, operating extensive children’s and youth programs during the 1950s and 1960s that stressed the importance of a personal relationship with God. The Anglican diocese of Calgary, on the other hand, relied primarily on families to provide religious instruction to children. Consequently, as it became more and more clear that families were failing to provide adequate religious instruction to their children, Anglican churches struggled to find a solution while First Alliance was not required to reassess its approach.

Historians of the Victorian era have highlighted the union of domesticity and religion that was embodied in the concept of the Christian home.¹ Lynne Marks describes

¹ Some of the best examples include Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1986); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class (London: Routledge, 1987).

the mutually supportive relationship between family and religion that was idealized in nineteenth century Canadian Christian journals. "Christianity was presented as essential to the creation and preservation of happy, harmonious, and closely knit families, while such Christian families were seen as crucial to the survival of the church and of Christian society more generally."² Margaret Lamberts Bendroth traces the evolution of domestic Christianity in the United States from the Victorian period through the 1970s. She suggests that during the twentieth century the Christian family was conceptualized as a child-centred, democratic family that regularly engaged in prayer, worship and religious instruction.³ However, Bendroth argues that there were problems inherent in the ideology, and that while the Depression and the Second World War delayed full recognition of its flaws, the ideal of the Christian family began to falter during the post-war era. She writes, "the heyday of Christian family life in the 1950s...brought into sharp focus all of the ideology's inherent flaws. The postwar era, for all its idealization of the suburban middle-class family, marked the end of a long and increasingly unrealistic Protestant discourse about the family..."⁴ Canadian historians such as Marks, Dirks, and Marshall also underscore the fragility of the Christian family during the first half of the twentieth century.

In the 1950s, the Anglican diocese of Calgary promoted the ideal of the Christian family and its role in providing foundational religious instruction to children. In 1955, the Bishop of Calgary wrote in *The Sower*, "God has placed at the heart of the Christian Religion, the Holy Family, that all the families of the earth may have a pattern to follow in

² Lynne Marks, "'A Fragment of Heaven On Earth'? Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals," *Journal of Family History* 26:2 (April 2001), 253.

³ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children, and Mainline Churches* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 61.

⁴ Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 98.

worship, work, and play.”⁵ The 1958 Lambeth Conference featured resolutions on the family that included a “summary of the marks of a Christian family”. First among the characteristics of a Christian family was that it “seeks to live by the teaching and example of Jesus Christ,” “joins in the worship of Almighty God on Sundays in church,” and “joins in common prayer and Bible reading, and grace at meals.”⁶

The Christian family was an important partner to the Church. In an article on the need for more men to enter the ministry, Calgary’s bishop pointed to the home as the place where the seeds of faith and a sense of calling should first be instilled. The Christian family was one “where mothers teach their little ones to pray and bring them up in the Christian tradition, where fathers work to provide a Christian home and where their daily life is given over to truth and righteousness.”⁷ A new generation of church leaders, as well as church members, would be developed through the nurture of Christian parents.

The subject of religious instruction in the home received a good deal of emphasis within the Anglican diocese during the 1950s. A regular column called “Heavenly Washing”, touted as being “especially for young mothers”, was written by the wife of a local Anglican priest and appeared in *The Sower* from 1954 to 1956. It was an advice column addressing issues related to the religious instruction of children, such as teaching children to pray, conveying the meaning of repentance, and talking to children about death. The writer believed that parents should begin religious instruction with their children as early as possible, although instruction should be age-appropriate. She also stressed honesty: “if you don’t know how to answer a child’s question, tell him so. After all, it’s

⁵ “Bishop’s Letter,” December 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶ “Lambeth Conference 1958: Recommendations to the Anglican Communion,” October 1958, *The Sower*, AADC.

God whom we want our children to know as all-knowing, not ourselves!”⁸ She encouraged parents to prepare children for church by teaching them about the service and the cycles of the church year, observing:

We should help our children love going to Church by preparing them for it. Tiny ones can be taught the responses and things like the “Glory be to the Father” in their nightly prayers so that they can join in...Let them colour during the sermon because that is for adults, and dropped crayons are less disturbing than shushing parents.⁹

When the column stopped appearing after the writer moved from the diocese, the editor noted that the column had sparked a number of appreciative comments from readers.¹⁰

A group called “Little Helpers” was a department of the Anglican Church that was specifically concerned with equipping parents to provide religious instruction to children younger than seven. The Little Helpers department was described as the “link between the Church and home”. A Little Helpers’ worker visited the homes of parents of young children and distributed “Parents’ Kits,” “the aim of these being to lead the child into the presence of God by relating God to the events of every day life.”¹¹ The program was based on the belief that parents held primary responsibility for the religious instruction of their children, and was designed to play a supportive role in this endeavor.

The Christian family was promoted as a solution to the social problems facing modern families. A synod motion in 1953 suggested the following as a remedy for juvenile delinquency: “be it resolved that this Synod of the Diocese of Calgary, urge all Anglican parents to spend as much time as possible with their children, with a view to creating an

⁷ “Bishop’s Letter,” September 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁸ “Heavenly Washing,” June 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁹ “Heavenly Washing,” March 1956, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁰ “Heavenly Washing,” October 1956, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹¹ “The Little Helpers,” January 1955, *The Sower*; “Little Helpers’ Conference,” March 1956, *The Sower*, AADC.

environment in which the members of the family will pray, play and work together, in an atmosphere of Christian discipline and simplicity.”¹² Ten years later, 1963 was declared “The Christian Family Year” by an international Anglican organization called the Mothers’ Union, and was also affirmed at the Canadian annual meeting of the Woman’s Auxiliary. Dean Noel of the Calgary Cathedral Church of the Redeemer commended the move, and affirmed its relevance to the city of Calgary. He argued:

If any reader should think that this city has no need of the Christian family year campaign, then, my friend, you know little of the grievous problem that confronts your clergy every day – the appalling increase in the divorce rate, the desertions, the unwed mothers, the delinquent parents and the children, who did not ask to come into this world, who find here very little love or appreciation.¹³

Dean Noel’s statement reflected the increased public discourse on the state of the post-war family.¹⁴ The Christian Family Year emphasized the redemptive role of the Christian family in this context.

At the same time that the Anglican Church in Calgary continued to promote the responsibility of parents for the religious instruction of their children there was growing recognition within the church that the reality fell short of the ideal. An editorial in *The Sower* was devoted to the subject, prompted by a lack of readership of the “Children’s Corner” column. The writer of the children’s column had asked children to write to her on two different occasions, and received no replies. The editor accused parents, grandparents, and godparents of exhibiting “a sad laxity” in regards to the spiritual education of children. He observed: “It is apparent in these present days that the parents are kind, generous and

¹² Proceedings of the 36th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1953), 21, AADC.

¹³ “A Crusade for the New Year: Make it a Christian Family Year,” January 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁴ Mona Gleason studies the popular psychological discourse of the post-war years. Mona Gleason, “Psychology and the Construction of the ‘Normal’ Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-1960,” *Canadian Historical Review* 78:3 (1997), 442-477.

even indulgent to their children, but do practically nothing to interest and instruct their offspring in the Bible and in church matters relating to our Christian Family.” He concluded by asking: “How can a child fight manfully under Christ’s banner if the child is not trained, how can (s)he constantly believe God’s holy word, and obediently keep His commandments if there is not any regular, intelligent and interested enlightenment imparted by those closest to the little ones?”¹⁵

Some commentators blamed parents for allowing distractions to get in the way of religious practice. A columnist in *The Sower* wrote skeptically: “It is reassuring to realize that we Anglicans don’t let the break-neck tempo of modern living interfere with our families’ daily visit with God... It is reassuring, but this family worship of ours is really just the natural and logical result of our belief in prayer and worship. This is true, isn’t it?”¹⁶ In his address to synod in 1963, the Bishop observed: “One of the most difficult problems is that of continuance among those who have been led to a belief in Christianity... especially we face it in family life where the worth of pleasure, sport and business is so magnified that religion becomes an appendage to life and not that which gives real meaning to life.”¹⁷

One of the problems with the ideology of the Christian family was the difficulty of defining its distinctiveness. What made a Christian family different from any other family? Bendroth observes, “Protestant homes proved no more cohesive or orderly than those of their pagan next-door neighbors.”¹⁸ The family values promoted by the Anglican Church did not necessarily differ from general societal values during the 1950s. For example, an

¹⁵ “Editorial,” October 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁶ “Comments of an angry Anglican,” June 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁷ Proceedings of the 41st Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1963), 41, AADC.

article in *The Sower* informed parents, “We parents have a Christian duty to help our children find the fun in reading...”¹⁹ The resolutions on the family by the 1958 Lambeth Conference also illustrate this point. In addition to the characteristics cited earlier, a Christian family was defined as one that, “Is forgiving one to another”, “Shares together in common tasks and recreation”, and “Is a good neighbour, hospitable to friend and stranger”.²⁰ Surely these were values that many parents tried to put into practice and instill in their children. In fact, Owram’s suggestion that many parents sent children to church for socialization rather than religious education suggests the congruency of the churches’ values with those of the general Canadian society.²¹

A second problem with the Christian family ideal was the sense of confusion on the part of many parents regarding what to teach their children about the faith. Bendroth argues that the parents of the baby-boom generation were themselves in many cases “the children of the religiously illiterate generation of the 1930s”. Bendroth cites evidence of decline in religious practice within the family during the 1920s and 1930s, and also indicates that where religion was practiced, its purpose and meaning were often unclear.²² Several Canadian historians cite evidence of “religious illiteracy” earlier in the twentieth century. Patricia Dirks suggests that “in the socially disruptive and materialistic environment of the opening decades of the century, unsatisfactory Protestant church membership gains were increasingly linked to a deterioration in family life and parental

¹⁸ Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 115.

¹⁹ “Heavenly Washing,” February 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁰ “Lambeth Conference 1958: Recommendations to the Anglican Communion,” October 1958, *The Sower*, AADC.

²¹ Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 20.

²² Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 98, 84.

neglect of children's religious training."²³ According to Marks, there was general agreement amongst church leaders at the turn of the twentieth century that the practice of family prayer had declined significantly in recent years. "The hand-wringing engaged in over this subject underlines just how important the churches saw the Christian family as being in providing the basis for strong churches and a Christian society."²⁴ Marshall notes that Canadian military chaplains during the Great War were appalled at the ignorance of Christianity among the men they served. "Little was known besides a few hymns and the Lord's Prayer, and the Bible was an unknown book." During the 1920s, leaders of the United Church concluded that "secularization of life in the home denied the young a primary Christian influence" and called for "a return to family worship and prayer."²⁵

The decline of religious instruction in the home was not a new theme; but it was a reality which the Anglican Church in Calgary was forced to acknowledge during the 1960s. Anglican leaders in the Calgary diocese as well as nationally feared that religious ignorance among church members, particularly those who were the parents and Sunday school teachers of the baby-boom generation, posed a serious threat not only for that generation but for their children. The secretary of the Calgary diocesan board of religious education wrote:

As the message of our last Anglican Congress stated: "Again and again in our congress we have realized the fundamental importance of the laity as partners with the clergy in the work of the church. Our lay delegates have asked more urgently for more adequate training. Our Anglican laity want to understand the faith..." The

²³ Patricia Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920," in *Households of Faith*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 290.

²⁴ Marks, "A Fragment of Heaven On Earth?", 261.

²⁵ Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 177, 188.

strength of our ministry to our children and youth is dependent upon the adults who work with them, far more than upon our choice of curriculum.²⁶

This realization was particularly grave in light of the “biblical illiteracy” one member of the national board of religious education observed in the adult generation. He argued that ignorance of the Bible was not so much a problem outside the church as within the church: “The real scandal of biblical illiteracy is precisely in the fact that those who are the products of education in the church are so ignorant of the facts and their meaning. It appears that a decade of church school with a Bible story every Sunday fails to make any significant contribution to the knowledge of the Bible.”²⁷ The diocesan secretary outlined the potential consequences of a failure on the part of the Church to provide effective adult education. First, she argued, “Adults will not be able to give adequate Christian training to their children in their homes.” Second, “Adults will not be prepared to act as teachers and leaders.” And finally, “Adults will not be able to witness as fully to their faith in Christ in their life in the community.”²⁸

How would Calgary’s Anglican community cope with the situation? There is some evidence that the idea of individual conversion was increasingly stressed by those concerned about a failure on the part of the family to pass along Christian faith. One writer in *The Sower* argued that, “in these days when family life in many cases is disintegrating, it is of vital importance to reach the child as an individual and to bring him or her in contact with the Living Saviour.”²⁹ A young woman who attended a youth camp at the Anglican Camp Kananaskis wrote about her experience. Speakers led the youth to question what

²⁶ “Strong Adult Education Program Can Change Tone of Parish Life,” October 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁷ “It’s like an adventure, risky but rewarding,” November 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁸ “Long and careful development features new curriculum plan,” October 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁹ “Boys Learn Christian Way Through Games”, May 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

Jesus meant to them as individuals. The young woman observed that, “many of us had never before taken time to think deeply about our beliefs, and the effort was almost overwhelming.” By the conclusion of the weekend, she wrote, “A number of the campers are obviously changed, converted people, and this could only be the work of the Holy Spirit.”³⁰

That some within Calgary’s Anglican community during the 1960s emphasized individual conversion should not be viewed as a fundamental shift in practice or theology. Rather, it was an indication of how serious a problem the decline of religious instruction in the home was for the Anglican Church. Increased emphasis on the religious experience of the individual was an attempt to address the breakdown in the mutually supportive relationship between church and family that was central to the transmission of faith within the Anglican Church.³¹

The main strategy of Calgary’s Anglican churches, however, was to provide greater educational opportunities for adults so that parents could continue to resume responsibility for the spiritual instruction of their children. The Calgary diocesan board of religious education noted: “Many are concerned today about the near-hypocrisy of infant baptism, when sponsors glibly make promises which they neither understand nor accept.” As a solution, the Board highlighted classes for parents and godparents that some churches had begun to offer prior to the baptism.³² Citing concern over the low church attendance by parents of recently baptised infants and children in the Sunday school program, one parish began a monthly “children’s eucharist” in 1960. *The Sower* reported: “The parish feels that

³⁰ “Young Campers Look For God and Find Their Lives Changed,” October 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

³¹ Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 206.

³² “Diocesan Board of Religious Education,” June 1957, *The Sower*, AADC.

the addition of this children's eucharist, with its instruction for children and their parents (and for regular church attenders who would like to refresh their understanding of the meaning of the eucharist), will work for more solid teaching and worship in God's Church."³³ While its name implied that children were the focus, the religious instruction at the service appeared to be directed at parents as much as at children.

Sunday school teachers were also targeted for more training. A revised training program for Sunday school teachers in the Calgary area in 1961 included Bible study in its schedule for the first time, "because it was felt that more knowledge of the Bible was needed."³⁴ The need for ongoing training of Sunday school teachers was reflected in the new Christian education curriculum introduced in 1964. One of the four standards of the curriculum was "the provision of a continual training programme for teachers and leaders."³⁵

The 1960s witnessed a general trend towards increased emphasis on adult education. During this time, the diocesan board of religious education began offering a series of lecture courses designed for lay readers but open to all lay people in the Calgary area. Topics included "Holy Scriptures", "Church History" and "The Faith of the Church". The first series was "enthusiastically received" with interest "running high".³⁶ The popularity of the lecture series led to the creation of a "lay college" in the Calgary diocese,

³³ "Parish Institutes Regular "Instructed" Communion," November 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁴ "New Program for Training of S.S. Teachers," October 1961, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁵ "Long and careful development features new curriculum plan," October 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁶ "High Interest in Lectures," January 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

which offered courses to lay people in biblical studies, theology, and church history, as well as topics such as “The Church’s Changing Ministry in the 20th Century”.³⁷

The actions of the Calgary Anglican diocese in increasing adult education programs suggest that the religious instruction of children was proving difficult for parents of the baby-boom generation because they themselves had not received effective religious education. This posed a significant problem in a denomination that relied on the family as the primary means of transmitting faith.

As Chapter One demonstrated, family played a significant part in the conversion experience of many members of First Alliance Church. However, the church did not leave the religious instruction of children primarily to parents, but took its own role in this respect very seriously. In fact, the Christian Education department was the largest ministry of the church, and a priority at both the local and district levels during the 1950s and 1960s. At First Alliance the average Sunday school attendance throughout the 1960s was around 450, approximately equal to the number of church members.³⁸ Children’s and youth programs run by the Alliance church included Sunday school, girls’ and boys’ clubs, and the Alliance Youth Fellowship, all designed to encourage each young person to develop a personal relationship with God.

There were two clear contrasts between First Alliance Church and the Calgary Anglican diocese with respect to the religious instruction of children. First, the task of the Alliance Church was in some sense a more straightforward one – conversion, in contrast to the wide-ranging responsibilities of Anglican parents to instruct children in the Lord’s

³⁷ “Lay college starts course,” September 1964, and “Lay theology school resumes,” January 1967, *The Sower*, AADC.

³⁸ Annual Reports, 1960-1969, FAC.

Prayer, the creeds, and catechism, as well as to explain the meaning of the sacraments and the various events of the church year. That is not to suggest that conversion was an easy goal for the Alliance Church, or that it did not also entail a significant investment in children's religious education. But it did provide a unity of purpose for parents, Sunday school teachers, and leaders of children's programs, and made everything secondary to the development of a child's personal relationship with God.

The 1969 report from the girls' club stressed that, "Evangelism is the heart of Girls Club. Each activity, whether it be a game, hike, handcraft or Bible study provides a natural opportunity for witnessing. The emphasis is on personal evangelism." Similarly, leaders of the boys' club declared: "The main aim of Christian Service Brigade is to win and train boys for Christ."³⁹ Leaders of the various children's programs at First Alliance regularly reported the number of children who had made "decisions for Christ". The emphasis began at a young age and continued through the teenaged years. The first two goals set out by the CMA in 1947 for the Alliance youth program were "To maintain a close personal walk with God" and "to engage in the winning of others to Christ".⁴⁰

A second contrast between First Alliance Church and the Calgary Anglican diocese concerned the relationship between the church and the family. While children's programs in the Anglican Church were designed to support the Christian family, and took a secondary role to parents in the education of children, the Alliance Church operated its Sunday school and children's programs with the clear objective of bringing children to Christ, with or without the help of their parents. Children were viewed as individuals in

³⁹ "Report of the Board of Christian Education," 1969 Annual Report, FAC.

⁴⁰ Proceedings of the 1948 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

need of personal salvation just like anybody else. The district Sunday school secretary underscored the importance of reaching children in the community, and the efforts being made to do so.

As we are faced with the condition of juvenile delinquency, with two out of three children still outside of Sunday School, an increased effort should be made to reach these lost ones. In our contacts we have urged churches to conduct a community census and to use every possible means to contact prospects...Further, it is necessary not only to find them but to win them to Christ and then to hold those who have been reached.⁴¹

The Alliance actively evangelized children outside the church and attempted to get them regularly involved in the Sunday school program. Van Die observes a similar emphasis within evangelical churches in late-nineteenth century Ontario. "Intended to provide religious instruction to the children of the church, Sunday schools had also become the primary means of evangelism for Brantford's churches, aimed especially at the parents and children of the unchurched in surrounding areas."⁴²

The ideal was to reach the whole family. The objective of a 1956 Sunday school attendance campaign, "Come Together to Sunday School!", was "to bring complete families into the Sunday School."⁴³ But in reality, leaders of children's programs at First Alliance reported the presence of non-church children, whose parents did not attend. For example, one girls' club report noted that "approximately half the girls attending are from non-church homes".⁴⁴ There was no hesitation about encouraging the participation of these children. In fact, if parents were not leading their children to Christ, children might serve as evangelists to their parents. One church worker in the district wrote: "We have a young

⁴¹ Proceedings of the 1948 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

⁴² Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79:3 (1998), 552.

⁴³ Proceedings of the 1956 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

people's prayer meeting, the children from this home attend and it is so good to hear them praying for their father. The girl (14 years old) prayed, 'Lord, help daddy to get what I've got, so we may all come to church as a happy family.'"⁴⁵

The Sunday school was intended to provide biblical instruction to children, with particular emphasis on its practical application. It was described as a "Christ-centered and Bible-based program", teaching "the application of Scripture truth to his [the child's] own young life".⁴⁶ The girls' club, Pioneer Girls, and the boys' club, Christian Service Brigade, also placed significant emphasis on evangelism and Bible instruction. In addition, they stressed gender-specific values and activities. Pioneer Girls and Christian Service Brigade were both founded in the United States around 1940, and were non-denominational, church-based programs for children that were evangelical in theology. Like the Boy Scouts organization, children in these programs were encouraged to earn merit badges. Both groups were formed at First Alliance around 1960. Pioneer Girls was initially offered for girls aged 8 to 14 years old; a group for girls 14 and older began in 1965. The Christian Service Brigade was intended for boys aged 8 to 18 years old.

The groups met weekly for activities. While Pioneer Girls was intended to provide girls with the "opportunity to develop qualities of Christian womanhood", Christian Service Brigade stressed "doing handyman and action projects".⁴⁷ These goals were reflected in the various activities. The boys' groups often participated in camping trips, outdoor activities, and sports tournaments, while the girls' groups more often had banquets, did service

⁴⁴ "Report of the Christian Education Committee," 1968 Annual Report, FAC.

⁴⁵ *Western Workers' Witness*, April 1953, WCDO.

⁴⁶ "Report of the Board of Christian Education," 1969 Annual Report, FAC.

⁴⁷ "Report of the Board of Christian Education," 1969 Annual Report, and "Report of the Christian Service Brigade," 1960 Annual Report, FAC.

projects for seniors or needy children, and worked towards badges in “home management” and first aid. The girls in the Pioneer Girls program were each partnered with a woman from the church, who was called their “Pal”, as well as being mentored by their female leaders. A “Brigade Dads” program that would have recruited men from the church to “act as spiritual fathers for the boys” does not appear to have gotten off the ground.⁴⁸ But in keeping with the gendered nature of the groups, the Boys’ Brigade leaders were all male.

What purpose did these groups fulfill at First Alliance Church? First, participation in an all-male or an all-female club prepared children and youth for their adult involvement in a church that had clearly defined gender roles and also promoted traditional gender roles within the home. The topic of gender in the context of both the Alliance and Anglican churches will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

A second purpose of the girls’ and boys’ clubs was that they provided an additional opportunity for children to participate in church activities, filling their time in place of involvements outside the church. In addition to Sunday school and Pioneer Girls or Christian Service Brigade, teenagers could also be involved in the Alliance Youth Fellowship group at First Alliance. This meant that they could potentially participate in a First Alliance group three days per week, leaving little time for other activities outside of school. Dirks writes that in the early twentieth century, new child development theories contributed to the belief that week-day activities were an important component in keeping children, boys especially, within the church: “boys could best be won for the church if they

⁴⁸ “Report of the Christian Service Brigade,” 1960 Annual Report, FAC.

met not only on Sunday for religious purposes but in mid-week sessions to do the things that came naturally to them under appropriate Christian leadership.”⁴⁹

Several activities were also available for young adults, who could attend the Young Adult Fellowship or the Couples’ Club during the week. The activities of the youth and young adult groups indicate that the primary objective of these groups was to promote socialization within, rather than outside, the church. Occasionally, the pastor spoke to one of the groups, or they held a Bible study or missions event, but many of the events run by the youth and young adult groups were social activities such as sports nights, Stampede breakfasts, skating, or banquets. The message was that church could be fun as well as serious, and social as well as spiritual needs could be met at First Alliance.

Many of the children’s, youth, and young adult programs at First Alliance, outside of the Sunday school, were not organized until the late 1950s. Most likely this was because the Alliance Church was still working to establish itself and building its membership in Calgary during the 1950s. Nevertheless, attendance at Christian Service Brigade and Pioneer Girls was consistently strong during the 1960s, with average attendance of 45 and 68 respectively. The Alliance Youth Fellowship and the Young Adult Fellowship each averaged 30 people per event over the decade, although there was greater fluctuation in attendance at these groups.⁵⁰ The youth and young adults lead their own programs, for the most part, and this may have contributed to less experienced or consistent leadership in contrast to the committed, long-term involvement of many of the adult leaders of the boys’ and girls’ clubs. In addition, the young adult group in particular experienced a

⁴⁹ Patricia Dirks, “Serving Church and Nation: Methodist Sunday Schools in Canada’s Century,” CSCH Papers 1993, 50.

⁵⁰ “Report of the Board of Christian Education,” Annual Reports, 1960-1969, FAC.

drop in attendance in 1966, the year a second Alliance Church opened in Calgary. It seems likely that some of the young adults transferred their membership to the new church. Overall, however, children's, youth, and young adult programs at First Alliance were running smoothly during the 1960s.

Young people's programs similar to those offered at First Alliance existed in the Calgary Anglican diocese, though on the whole they were not as robust, particularly those for teenagers. Programs for girls were operated under the auspices of the Anglican Women's Auxiliary (WA): Junior Auxiliary (JA) for girls aged 7 to 12 and Girls Auxiliary (GA) for teenaged girls. These groups operated at the national, diocesan and parish levels, just like the parent WA organization. JA and GA were similar to the Pioneer Girls program in that they were female-only, mid-week programs designed to complement Sunday school participation. In contrast to the evangelistic emphasis of Pioneer Girls, however, the JA and GA groups stressed service. One JA leader wrote: "The object of this organization is to help the Junior girls of the Church to live daily as Jesus Christ would have them live, and to provide an opportunity for service which will be an expression of loyalty to Christ and the Church."⁵¹ The motto of the GA was: "Service before Self".⁵²

Reports in *The Sower* on the JA and GA indicate that a number of parishes in the Calgary diocese had active groups. However, during the 1950s the annual reports of the Calgary board of the WA expressed concern for these groups. In 1951, the GA appealed to the WA for help in recruiting additional leaders. The state of the JA and GA was discussed in the Calgary WA's 1953 annual report, and it contained the following observation:

⁵¹ "Junior Auxiliary," November 1954, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵² 1952 Constitution and By-Laws, The Calgary Diocesan Board of the Women's Auxiliary (Box 25), AADC.

“These young children and teen-age girls are our potential WA workers and merit a much larger consideration of leader material than is given...girls could become keen on the work were it presented to them by their elders.”⁵³ Three years later, no real progress had been made: “Once more we have a record number of Little Helpers [age 0 to 7] and again we ask ourselves what will become of them between babyhood and maturity...there seems to be an alarming decrease in the numbers during the growing-up period.”⁵⁴

Though sometimes struggling to find leaders and sensing declining participation, the WA managed to operate girls’ programs in Calgary’s Anglican churches that it believed met girls’ needs “as well, if not better, than any other organized club.” In addition, it was a uniquely Anglican organization that emphasized Anglican traditions and values, in contrast to the non-denominational girls’ and boys’ programs held at First Alliance. For example, girls were encouraged to earn their “churchmanship badge” which included instruction on the church seasons and symbols of the church, and their meanings.⁵⁵ The value of service was clearly a priority of the WA and one it wished to pass on to the younger generation. The WA recognized that the future of the organization, and possibly the Anglican Church, depended on its success in doing so.

There was no boys’ program in the Calgary diocese comparable to the JA and GA. Some Scout and Cub groups were based in Anglican churches in the Calgary diocese. The Boy Scout movement was founded by Robert Baden-Powell in Britain in 1908 as an organization for boys that stressed physical, mental and spiritual development.⁵⁶ Unlike the

⁵³ 1951 Annual Report and 1953 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the Women’s Auxiliary, AADC.

⁵⁴ 1956 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the Women’s Auxiliary, AADC.

⁵⁵ 1955 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the Women’s Auxiliary, AADC.

⁵⁶ David I. Macleod, “Act Your Age: Boyhood, Adolescence, and the Rise of the Boy Scouts of America,” *Journal of Social History* 16:2 (1983), 4.

Christian Service Brigade, it was not evangelical, though a Boy Scout promised to “do my duty to God”. In 1962, there was a conference of the “Anglican Scouters of the Calgary region”. These leaders met with Anglican clergy to discuss the place of religious education in the Scout program. One man in attendance reported:

We all agreed that the Scout group was not the place for religious instruction as such; that it could never take the place – nor should it attempt to take the place – of the Sunday school or Bible class – but that many opportunities did present themselves in the group activities of making our lads appreciate the importance of their duty to God – of letting them know how this duty could be carried out – and of making them feel proud, and loyal, members of their church.⁵⁷

Participants at the conference suggested opening and closing Scout groups with prayer, and encouraging boys to attend Sunday school and to qualify for the “Religion and Life” badge. In contrast to the girls’ and boys’ clubs at First Alliance and the Anglican JA and GA, which prepared children for life in the church and in the family, the Scout movement was more concerned with preparing boys to be active and responsible members of society.

According to Dirks, churches recognized the growing popularity of voluntary children’s associations such as the Boy Scouts in the early twentieth century and became involved in these movements in the hopes that it would work to their advantage. Churches were influenced by “reports that involvement in non-church related activities resulted in a loss of adherents while church-sponsored ones brought in members.”⁵⁸ Apart from Scouts, two other boys’ programs were offered at some of the churches in the Calgary diocese. Several parishes had children’s or boys’ choirs. These provided musical training and also promoted greater participation and familiarity with the liturgy of the church. For boys

⁵⁷ “Report On Anglican Scouters’ Conference,” January 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵⁸ Dirks, “Serving Church and Nation,” 51.

more athletically inclined, a Church Boys' League began in the Calgary area in 1961. Branches of the Church Boys' League competed in sports tournaments with one another.

However, even more than the girls' programs, the Anglican boys' programs appeared to suffer from a crucial shortage of leadership. In an article that pled for male volunteers for the diocesan summer camp, one minister observed: "One of the needs of the world is for leaders in every area of life. Nowhere is this more true than in the church...it is especially hard to get the services of men and older boys."⁵⁹ The Brotherhood of Anglican Churchmen (BAC), a Canadian organization begun in 1951, recognized this need as well. In 1959 it developed the following objective: "That we strive to bring more men into the ministry of the Anglican Church." The BAC outlined five aspects of this objective; three of the five pertained to the recruitment of men to act as teachers and leaders for children and youth.⁶⁰ Several BAC chapters operated in the Calgary diocese from the mid-1950s to the early 1960s, and they embraced the goal of the organization. However, at the 1961 diocesan annual meeting the mood was less than optimistic. A speaker at the meeting declared: "Here we are, claiming to be the Brotherhood of Anglican Churchmen for the whole diocese of Calgary, and all we can muster at this annual meeting is a gathering of what is it? – 50 men... in reality the Brotherhood of a FEW Anglican Churchmen."⁶¹

The problem was hardly a new one. Nineteenth-century religious historians have demonstrated that men were not as religiously active as women. Van Die's analysis of evangelical churches in Brantford, Ontario, reveals that in the mid-nineteenth century

⁵⁹ "Not ONE Layman Volunteer Has Offered Leadership Help for Camp Kananaskis," June 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶⁰ "Brotherhood of Anglican Churchmen," November 1959, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶¹ "Diocesan BAC Annual Meeting," March 1961, *The Sower*, AADC.

women's membership outstripped men's by 16 percent.⁶² According to Marks, "Protestant churches were well aware that few young men remained in Sunday school classes in their late teens, and they were concerned that most did not become church members or active churchgoers."⁶³ Dirks' study of early twentieth century reactions to the "feminization" of the church indicates that "worries about Christianity's lack of appeal among men and boys stimulated efforts to place fathers at the centre of family religious life at home and in the church."⁶⁴ By the 1950s and 1960s, the efforts of the BAC to bring men into the active participation in the church were of little consequence.

The cause of greatest concern within the diocese, however, was the state of its youth programs. Headlines in *The Sower* during 1965 and 1966 indicated a sense of urgency, and the need for changes in the Anglican church's approach to youth work. Examples included: "Young people 'in despair'," "Adult understanding' of young people urged," and "Christianity seems to young people 'to be somewhat irrelevant and sissy'."⁶⁵ An extensive evaluation of Anglican youth programs in the city of Calgary, undertaken by a group of seven youth in 1965, concluded that the youth work was "inadequate in both quality and numbers of young people being reached." The study included discussion at a camp gathering attended by 45 young people, and interviews with one clergyman from every parish in Calgary. The findings indicated that out of nineteen parishes, eleven had

⁶² Van Die, "The Marks of a Genuine Revival," 535.

⁶³ Marks, "A Fragment of Heaven On Earth?," 258.

⁶⁴ Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood," 291.

⁶⁵ "Young people 'in despair'," and "Christianity seems to young people 'to be somewhat irrelevant and sissy'," November 1965; "Adult understanding' of young people urged," October 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

active branches of the Anglican Young People's Association (AYPA), an organization for 13 to 25 year olds, and only six of these were described as "effective and worthwhile".⁶⁶

One of the major recommendations of the evaluation was that a youth worker be hired by the diocese. The suggestion was not a new one. As early as 1953, before the baby-boomers had reached adolescence, the Calgary Synod voted to appoint a committee to examine the need for a youth worker in the diocese.⁶⁷ At the following Synod two years later, the subject was referred for further consideration, but no action resulted. The outcome of the youth report to the 1965 Synod was that the Bishop was asked to appoint a committee to consider the matter of hiring a diocesan youth worker, and the diocesan Executive Committee was authorized to act on this committee's recommendations. The Bishop himself expressed doubts that a youth worker was the best solution.⁶⁸

The subsequently appointed "Bishop's special committee on youth work", comprised of lay youth workers and clergy, agreed with the Bishop on the subject of hiring a youth worker. What the committee did recommend was the suspension of the diocesan council of the AYPA and the formation of parish youth committees "to plan, coordinate and implement local programs for youth". The committee particularly emphasized the importance of teenagers themselves being involved in planning youth programs, and their active participation in all aspects of church life.⁶⁹

At the beginning of the 1960s the Anglican diocese of Calgary showed little awareness that a major reassessment of its youth programs would soon be necessary. As the baby-boom generation entered their teenage years, youth programs garnered greater

⁶⁶ "Church "parliament" facing big decisions," March 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶⁷ Proceedings of the 36th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1953), 22, AADC.

⁶⁸ Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 27, 45, AADC.

attention in *The Sower*. It attested to the presence of some thriving youth groups at Calgary churches, such as those at St. Gabriel's boasting average attendances of 60 and 50 at the junior high club and the AYP, respectively, in 1960.⁷⁰ There was also evidence of enthusiastic response to special youth programs, such as a weekend youth retreat held jointly by Christ Church and St. Martin's in 1963. The weekend included speakers, discussion groups, worship and recreation.⁷¹ Other articles noted strong participation at parish youth services.

One program declared "highly successful" in 1965 was a youth coffee club run by the St. Stephen's parish. St. Stephen's was one of the largest Anglican parishes in the city of Calgary. The club, called The Stone's Throw, was held Friday evenings in the parish hall and was for 15 to 20 year olds. It featured medieval scenery, live music, and food. In order to attend, purchase of a membership was required, at a cost of fifty cents. After three months of operation, the club had 200 members, and by the end of the year there were close to 500 members. The only rules of the club were "no rowdiness and no drinking." *The Sower* devoted an article to the club after its first year of operation, which highlighted the goals of the club's organizers:

The young people hoped the club would be attended by those from other faiths, and especially those who had no faith at all...It was hoped the members would eventually join a church, not necessarily St. Stephen's or another Anglican church, but a church which taught what they believed. It was hoped that through the club, the members would become happier, more responsible members of society.⁷²

Like the youth and young adult programs at First Alliance, the Stone's Throw was primarily intended to promote socialization in a church-sanctioned environment.

⁶⁹ "'New Deal' for Youth," November 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁷⁰ "Youth Groups Have Large Attendance," November 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁷¹ "Youth fellowship weekend held in camp," October 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

Despite its strong start, the club folded after only two years. Some members of St. Stephen's pointed to the transfer of the minister identified as "the driving personality behind the Stone's Throw" as the reason for its closure. An article in the April 1968 issue of *The Sower* discussed the closure of St. Stephen's coffee club and other youth programs. The article indicated that there was presently only one "successful" youth group in the city of Calgary, and observed: "Lack of adult interest is the reason most often given for the failure of Anglican youth clubs in the city of Calgary."⁷³

During the 1960s, the state of children's and youth programs in the Anglican diocese of Calgary reached a crisis point. The work of scholars such as Bendroth, Marshall and Dirks suggests that this crisis was rooted in the declining religious education of children in the early part of the twentieth century. Parents of the baby-boom generation were ill-equipped to provide the religious nurture to their children that was expected of them. Emphasis on the role of the Christian family remained strong through the 1950s, but the reality was that many families did not live up to the ideal. Children's and youth programs struggled to find committed and able leaders. Anglican Church leaders demonstrated growing pessimism about their ability to minister to the younger generation, and the impact this might have on the future of the Anglican Church.

The confessional nature of the Calgary Anglican diocese meant that it faced particular challenges in the post-war era. The Anglican Church ministered to believers, and relied on parents to transmit faith from one generation to the next. In contrast, the activism of First Alliance and its evangelistic impulse meant that it reached out to people as

⁷² "St. Stephen's Stone's Throw in solid – as coffee clubs go," June 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁷³ "Youth clubs fold as interest wanes," April 1968, *The Sower*, AADC.

individuals, young and old, and sought to bring them into the church. In contrast to the challenges and concerns regarding youth programs in the Anglican diocese of Calgary, First Alliance Church's programs had consistently strong participation throughout the 1960s. They also were more effective at encouraging church-sanctioned socialization over non-church activities than the Anglicans because they did not experience the same crisis of leadership.

Randall Balmer highlights a tension within evangelicalism between the role of the family in passing on faith and the emphasis on personal conversion. He asks, "What can be harder than passing on religious verve and vitality from one generation to the next, especially within a tradition that defines itself by the conversion process, that transition from darkness to light, from sinfulness to redemption?"⁷⁴ This chapter argues that in fact the transmission of religious faith proved more difficult for the Anglican Church in Calgary than it did for the evangelical First Alliance.

From 1965 onwards, discussions of youth programs in *The Sower* underscored themes of failure and confusion. A layperson who served as a member of the Bishop's special committee on youth reiterated the problem of leadership. He wrote: "The problem simply is that generally speaking the church in this diocese, and across the country for that matter, has failed to impress youth, and to retain their active support. It has failed to do this...partly by offering them programs which seem irrelevant to them, but more often, and far worse, by ignoring them completely."⁷⁵ Others in the Calgary diocese suggested that the relevance of the Church, or lack thereof, was the biggest issue for young people. The

⁷⁴ Balmer, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory*, 93.

⁷⁵ "Church 'fails' to impress young people," February 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

Anglican chaplain at the University of Calgary argued: “The young people of the church want to find meaning within the framework of the church. They want the church to be meaningful in this day, they want the church to be relative to the world.”⁷⁶ The call for relevance was a refrain that would permeate the discourse of Calgary’s Anglican diocese during the 1960s.

⁷⁶ “Youth’s place?” May 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

CHAPTER THREE

Relevance and Revival

It is not good enough for the church to be trying to interpret the 1st or even 19th Century theology to the 20th Century atomic age, nor to busy herself with the preservation of ancient traditions that have no meaning for modern man. Either we must find God everywhere in contemporary life, or we shall find Him nowhere.¹

This comment by one of Calgary's Anglican clergy in 1963 reflected a growing concern within Anglicanism that the church be relevant to contemporary society. This was a trend that stretched well beyond the bounds of the Calgary diocese. In her study of religion in Britain in the post-World War II period, Davie argues that the Church of England reacted to the social and sexual revolution of the 1960s by attempting to become more up to date; "relevance was the order of the day." Davie suggests that the desire for relevance led to theological and moral debates, new translations of the Bible and revisions of the Prayer Book, and greater ecumenical cooperation.² Across Canada, as well, there were ongoing discussions amongst clergy and laity alike about how the church should respond to social change. Pierre Berton's commission by the Anglican Church of Canada to write The Comfortable Pew, published in 1965, catalysed a debate that had been underway for some time. The book was a critical examination of the mainline Protestant churches, and Berton's charge was that they had become irrelevant to Canadian society.³ The push for the Anglican Church to be relevant to society came then from within and without.

¹ "Christianity Hangs in Balance," November 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

² Davie, Believing Without Belonging, 34.

³ Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at the Church in the New Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1965), 38.

This emphasis on the practical significance of religion for daily life constituted a breakdown in the separation between the sacred and the secular. It was precisely this separation that Hart argues was a distinctive feature of confessional Protestantism. “Unlike pietist Protestantism, which attaches great religious significance to public life and everyday affairs, confessionalism situates the things of greatest religious meaning in the sacred sphere of the church and its ministry.”⁴ As a result, the Missouri Synod Lutherans studied by Hart advocated a strict separation of church and state. However, this chapter will demonstrate that Hart’s argument about the distinction between confessional and pietist Protestants in their relationship to the temporal world requires qualification in the Canadian context. Calgary’s Anglican churches were not disengaged from public life; the Anglican diocese of Calgary was outspoken on a variety of public issues throughout the 1950s and 1960s. It bore a sense of responsibility for the maintenance of a Christian Canada. Even so, the focus on “relevance” marked a significant shift in Anglican discourse and theology during the 1960s. In the case of the Alliance, issues of daily life were a significant part of their intensely personal faith, but their understanding of the world as a fallen place and their millennial expectations gave them an otherworldly focus that meant First Alliance remained largely disengaged from the Calgary community.

Anglicans in Calgary were concerned with a number of public issues in the postwar years. Concerns during the 1950s included restriction of commercial sport on Sunday and religion in the public school system. The 1951 Calgary Synod passed motions on both of these matters. With regards to the former it recommended:

⁴ Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism*, xxiii.

that this Synod express to the Provincial Government of Alberta and the Municipal Governments that are within the boundaries of the Diocese of Calgary our strong disapproval of commercialized sports on Sundays and we request the Provincial Government to make a full investigation of the whole matter of the prostitution of sportsmanship by commercial interests.⁵

The Synod also proposed that a copy of the Ten Commandments be placed in every school in Alberta “in a conspicuous place” and be taught to students in light of “a decreasing respect for moral law and an increasing dulling of the individual conscience in every department of living.” The question of commercial sport on Sunday resurfaced in 1956. The editor of *The Sower* expressed great consternation that Vancouver voters had approved an amendment to allow it. “This generation has more leisure time than any of its predecessors and it spends more time and money on its pleasures. We MUST, for the peace of the world, for the sake of our children and because of God’s love for us, set aside our Sabbath for that for which it was intended.”⁶ A similar argument was made by the Bishop of Calgary a few years later. “The day of rest should be shared by the whole community – we need this day as perhaps it has never been needed before in the history of man. We need it for our peace of mind, we need it for the restoration of our souls and bodies, above all we need it for the Worship of God.”⁷ On questions of Sunday observance and religion in the schools the Anglican Church sought to preserve the public role of the Christian faith in an increasingly secular society.

Despite the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Canada in the nineteenth century, scholars such as Westfall and Grant have demonstrated that the Anglican Church, along with other major Protestant denominations, played an important public role in

⁵ Proceedings of the 34th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1951), 14, 17, AADC.

⁶ “Editorial,” February 1956, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁷ “Bishop’s Letter,” March 1962, *The Sower*, AADC.

Canadian society during the nation's first century. This was evident in the message the Anglican diocese of Calgary issued to the Canadian Prime Minister and Parliament on the occasion of Canada's centennial. The message read:

We give thanks for the role which the Christian Church has been privileged to play in the development of the Canadian Community; we trust we will be enabled to be a positive resource in the continued growth of Canada. We ask God's blessing and guidance upon Canada herself and her role amongst the nations of the world.⁸

Calgary's Anglican community felt a responsibility to help maintain a Christian nation. However, the post-war period signalled a change in the relationship between church and society. Grant observes, "the main-line churches now found themselves sharing the ground with churches based on more recently arrived ethnic groups, with newer denominations of conservative evangelicals, and with unbelievers and other-believers who challenged their status as an unofficial establishment."⁹

Why did the Anglican diocese of Calgary engage with issues of public policy if, as Hart has suggested, confessional churches understand the sacred and the secular to be discrete categories? Clearly the Anglican community in Calgary differed from the confessional churches studied by Hart that believed in a strict separation of church and state. What I do not mean to suggest, however, is that public involvement took precedent over the sacred functions of the Anglican Church. As outlined in Chapter One, liturgy and sacraments were central to the religious practice and faith of Anglicans in the diocese of Calgary. From its disestablishment in the nineteenth century to the 1960s, the Anglican Church in Canada balanced its ministry of the liturgy and sacraments to believers with its public role in contributing to a Canadian Protestant culture. But the theme of relevance that

⁸ Proceedings of the 43rd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1967), 27, AADC.

became dominant in discussions on the role of the church in the 1960s, encapsulated in The Comfortable Pew debate, challenged this balance. Like revivalism had done for American Protestantism, the desire for relevance threatened to direct Anglicanism “away from the formal and corporate beliefs and practices of the church toward the informal settings and personal affairs of believers.”¹⁰

The preoccupation with relevance occurred in conjunction with the loss of the Anglican Church’s “unofficial establishment” status and the decline of the Christian family ideal during the 1960s. At the same time that Anglicans faced the failure of families in the church to effectively transmit faith to the younger generation, their church also had to cope with a loss of public status and influence. Both of these factors provided the impetus for a serious re-evaluation of the Anglican Church’s mission and methods. The members of the Department of Religious Education of the Anglican Church, that commissioned Berton to write The Comfortable Pew, hoped the book would provide insight into the areas of the church that were cause for concern, and promote dialogue amongst church members and non-church members alike. The book was recommended for reading and reflection during the 1965 season of Lent. In the Foreword to the book, one of the members of the department, Ernest Harrison, wrote:

Some readers, of course, will see no good in such a book at all, and others will simply read it to see the Church get its come-uppance. Our gamble is that there will be a large number of people who fall into neither of these extreme positions. Some will be members of the Church; some will not. They will, we hope, share one assumption – that the Church matters. It matters enough to join, and it matters enough to leave. It is worth criticizing and it is worth supporting.¹¹

⁹ Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 176.

¹⁰ Hart, The Lost Soul of American Protestantism, 23.

¹¹ Ernest Harrison, “Foreword: The Uncomfortable Gamble,” in Berton, The Comfortable Pew, 9.

The bestselling status of Berton's book and the reactions it received, both positive and negative, indicate that readers engaged with the book as the Department of Religious Education had hoped.

The Comfortable Pew was both controversial and engaging. Berton believed that mainline Protestant churches were stuck in the Victorian era while the rest of the world had entered a period of dramatic change, and he criticised them for supporting the status quo. "The Christian faith...which in its beginnings was anything but respectable, is now the basis on which community respectability and prestige rests."¹² The Victorian values that he criticized in the church included a prudish attitude towards sexuality and preoccupation with religious instruction in the school system. Berton saw the Cold War and the sexual revolution as two of the most significant features of the times. His challenge to the churches was to awaken to the situation around them: "The Church, in short, must ask itself questions based on the world as it is and not as it was. The Church must join the New Age."¹³ Berton accused the church of putting "more emphasis on formalized religious observance than it does on ethical relationships."¹⁴ He predicted that religion would cease to exist, and argued that the only way for Christianity to survive would be to "rid itself of religion's trappings and false goals."¹⁵ What was important to Berton was the Christian ethic of love for neighbour.

Berton was not the first to make many of these observations. Berton was influenced by English bishop John Robinson's book, Honest to God, published in 1963. Robinson and Berton were both part of a larger culture that was reassessing the role of the church in the

¹² Berton, The Comfortable Pew, 80.

¹³ Berton, The Comfortable Pew, 38.

¹⁴ Berton, The Comfortable Pew, 85.

world. In 1963, the Anglican Primate of Canada identified one of the major concerns of the global Anglican Church as “the necessity to free herself from her own machinery and to adapt to the changing world of today”.¹⁶ These concerns were echoed at a special conference of clergy of the Calgary diocese.

Much of the irreligion of our day is simply the dismissal of the petty God that has often been preached, served, and believed in bygone days. It is right that such a God should die. It is not sufficient to train priests merely to keep the ecclesiastical machinery operating, nor to recruit the laity’s help solely for such sterile “church work.”¹⁷

Local Anglican clergy and laity that participated in a Labour-Management Conference sponsored by the federal and provincial governments agreed. They observed: “It is not too often recognized that the real battles of religion in our day are not being fought in churches, or theological colleges, but in factories, board rooms, and council chambers, and if ministers of religion would truly help their people, they must equip them with a meaningful faith relevant to these situations.”¹⁸ What made this push for relevance significant was that it did not call simply for greater public involvement on the part of the Anglican Church, but entailed a reassessment of the ministry of the church itself. The critique was directed inward instead of outward.

Some Anglicans welcomed Berton’s book, while others were not pleased with his criticisms. Even before it was written, the executive committee of the Diocese of Calgary issued a strong reaction to plans for its publication.

The executive committee of the Diocese of Calgary by unanimous vote protests strongly against any association of the church’s name directly or indirectly with any book to be written by Pierre Berton. Even the suggestion of a sponsorship with the

¹⁵ Berton, *The Comfortable Pew*, 139.

¹⁶ “Primate Urges Vital Christianity and Unity to Enlarge Christendom,” May 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁷ “Christianity Hangs in Balance,” November 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

¹⁸ “Anglican clergy, laity participate in meet of labor and management,” June 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

one who repudiates publicly the moral standards of the Christian church is repugnant to our people.¹⁹

Once the book appeared, *The Sower* contained a number of responses to it. One reader agreed with Berton that the church was far from perfect, but argued: "It is the failure of mankind which makes us all critical of The Church because we wish that there were some perfect body of people who could eliminate all the world's ills."²⁰ Another reader challenged Berton's arguments in a letter to the editor. The reader viewed Berton's push for change as "a direct attack upon the fundamental truths and principles of the Christian faith," and was especially concerned that Berton would have the church compromise its "moral standards."²¹

While the "new morality" espoused by Berton garnered a good deal of public reaction, it was his questioning of liturgy and sacraments that was most serious for the Anglican Church. He spoke to this matter in a public appearance in Calgary that was reported in *The Sower*.

Pierre Berton said people who say the Apostle's Creed and don't believe in the Virgin Birth are hypocrites. He feels he doesn't have to believe in the Virgin Birth to be a Christian because the mechanics of the birth don't matter. However, Mr. Berton said "It is on points like this that the Church will flounder."²²

Surprisingly, Anglican clergy echoed Berton's dismissal of the creeds. The Rev. Ernest Harrison, who wrote the Foreword to Berton's book, published a book entitled Let God Go Free. A review of Harrison's book in *The Sower* summarized his perspective. "The faith is said to be submerged in tradition that ties it to concepts of a God, imprisoned first in primitive tribal beliefs, and later in credal pronouncements that are outdated by modern

¹⁹ "Executive wires 'strong protest' against Pierre Berton association," April 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁰ "In Reply...", May 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

²¹ "Letter to the Editor," June 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

theological thought and scientific knowledge.”²³ Bishop Bayne, of the American Episcopal Church, gave an address in Calgary in 1966. He declared: “I personally have no problems intellectually with the creed or traditional Christian doctrine. The words and forms are not the important things, however, but the reality they seek to express.”²⁴

Such disregard for the liturgy called into question a defining feature of the Anglican Church. Davie highlights potential consequences: “Taken to extremes, policies which break down too many barriers between the sacred and the secular can be dangerous, for they leave the sacred in a vulnerable position. The process of secularization, many would argue, has penetrated the churches themselves.”²⁵ This is precisely what David Marshall suggests occurred within Canada’s mainline Protestant churches from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. By attempting to be relevant, the churches compromised the sacred or supernatural aspects of their message; to borrow the language of Hart, they “trivialized” Christianity. Marshall argues that by adopting an accommodating approach to the secular world, mainline churches contributed to their own secularization and decline. He wonders if churches that adhered “to a more distinctive and historic Christianity...managed to balance the objectives of religious integrity and social influence more effectively than the liberal modernist mainstream...”²⁶

This approach was advocated by a rector in the Calgary diocese in 1965. In light of talk that the church was in crisis, he suggested that what was needed was for church members to more fully embrace the distinctive practices of the Anglican Church.

²² “Mr. Berton in Calgary,” June 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

²³ “Let God go free,” June 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁴ “Bishop Bayne Challenges Anglicans,” May 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁵ Davie, *Believing Without Belonging*, 35.

²⁶ Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 250, 256.

What will accomplish the divine purposes is the church being more consistently and fully in practice that which she already is and always has been...Our failure is with those things in which we are most unlike the world and in which our distinctive identity consists...we do not sufficiently know our own scriptures, nor the fathers who show us what they mean, nor the creeds which embody some of their most precious insights. We do not pray enough nor well enough nor use the sacraments enough or well enough. These are the only means by which that spiritual and supernatural power is received without which we can accomplish nothing of ultimate importance.²⁷

This clergyman appeared to be a lonely voice in a decade in which churches were preoccupied with making their message relevant to everyday life. A 1961 recommendation by the Bishop's Committee on Evangelism for the Calgary diocese also went unheeded. It expressed "belief that Mass Evangelistic Rallies and meetings of like nature on a regional or Diocesan level are not the final answer to the 'luke-warmness' of the Church, but rather that we must base our continuing action on sound Biblical Preaching and teaching and upon the wholeness of faith as found in the Book of Common Prayer, used in its entirety."²⁸ The following year witnessed the largest evangelistic mission ever conducted in the Calgary diocese.

The lack of progress toward union between the Anglican and United Churches of Canada, and its ultimate failure, was perhaps an indication that Anglicans would not soon abandon their traditions despite the rhetoric. On more than one occasion, including the 1967 Synod, the Anglican diocese of Calgary expressed its concern that "in all discussions on union the Lambeth Quadrilateral be foremost, and our relationships with the regional Anglican Churches be maintained."²⁹ Nevertheless, the push for churches to be relevant to

²⁷ "'Hitting the Panic Button' Not Way for Church to Succeed," February 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

²⁸ Proceedings of the 40th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1961), 64, AADC.

²⁹ Proceedings of the 43rd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1967), 36, AADC.

daily life was a serious challenge to confessional Anglicanism and one that was not easily overcome.

Practically speaking, the concern with relevance prompted the Anglican diocese of Calgary to engage with a greater range of social and political issues during the 1960s. For example, the 1965 synod advocated the need for a national health care plan “which makes full medical care available to all persons in Canada, regardless of the individual’s ability to pay.”³⁰ In 1967, the Bishop of Calgary voiced his support for a brief submitted by the Anglican House of Bishops to the Senate and House of Commons Joint Committee on Divorce. He summarized the position of the brief in his address to synod. “The Bishops do not favour the addition of new grounds for divorce to the present law, but consider that marriage breakdown should be substituted for matrimonial offense, as the basis for divorce in any new legislation.”³¹ Of local concern, *The Sower* featured stories on a low-income housing crisis in Calgary in the late 1960s, complete with pictures of Anglican clergy picketing alongside other clergy and community members in protest of a family’s eviction from their home.³²

The Woman’s Auxiliary and the Diocesan Council for Social Service (DCSS) were two groups within the Anglican Church that offered a variety of services to Anglicans and non-Anglicans alike in the Calgary community. The WA cooperated with local United Church Women to establish the “Meals on Wheels” program that provided meals for people unable to cook for themselves. DCSS projects in the post-war period included building a residence for seniors and operating a second-hand clothing centre. A report by the DCSS

³⁰ Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 22, AADC.

³¹ Proceedings of the 43rd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1967), 42-43, AADC.

³² “Low-income home plight dramatized,” March 1969, *The Sower*, AADC.

revealed how the Council understood its role in society. While acknowledging that social service work traditionally performed by the church was now done primarily by secular agencies, it still believed that the church had something important to offer. “Many of the physical needs of people are met today by government or secular agencies, no longer requiring The Church to serve much in this way she so often pioneered, but there is still enormous scope for The Church to serve in a rehabilitative and redemptive way in the disordered and purposeless lives of the masses of society.”³³

Both the WA and the DCSS spoke out on social issues. For example, both promoted the legalization of contraception in Canada during the second half of the 1960s.³⁴ Viewed alongside the political outspokenness of the Calgary diocese on issues such as divorce legislation and medicare during this period, the picture that emerges is that of a church striving to be relevant by reflecting the cultural mainstream. The Anglican diocese of Calgary was not progressive in advocating a national health care plan in 1965, the year one came into existence. The United Church, on the other hand, had passed a resolution in favour of medicare in 1952.³⁵ Similarly, in promoting legalization of contraception and easing of divorce legislation during the late 1960s, Calgary’s Anglican diocese was embracing issues that already had a ground swell of support in Canadian society. Being relevant meant being neither overly radical nor too conservative.

While relevance became the focus of the Anglican Church during the 1960s, the application of faith to everyday life had always been a defining feature of evangelicalism.

³³ Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 63, AADC.

³⁴ “Volunteers needed for ‘Meals on Wheels,’” May 1966, *The Sower*; “ACW resolution backs birth control law change,” September 1968, *The Sower*; Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 64, AADC.

³⁵ Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 172.

Hart describes the impact of revivalist religion on religious practice: “being a believer now became a full-time duty, with faith making demands in all areas of life.”³⁶ Personal salvation was outwardly demonstrated by leading a Christian life that was distinct from those of non-Christians. According to Van Die, evangelicals held the conviction “that since all of life was lived under the eye of God, there could be no compartmentalization of the sacred and the secular, the public and the private. Through their active work in church and voluntary societies, evangelicals were called to place every nook and cranny of life, from family to business and leisure activity, under the transforming influence of religion.”³⁷

Members of First Alliance shared the belief that faith impacted daily life. One woman highlighted the practical impact of her conversion. “My life was a failure, home broken – then made whole in the Lord.” A young man credited his conversion to the Christian example of others. “The Lord lead me to the A__ residence to live. Seeing the way they lived and their Christian friends making the Lord first and authoritative in their lives, I realized that I was missing the Lord in my life...” Someone else wrote, “through knowing the changed life of a new Christian friend I came to know and accept Jesus Christ as Lord of my life.”³⁸

Hart argues that both the liberal and evangelical branches of revivalism became more focused on the practical application of Christianity to the temporal world than on its otherworldly nature.³⁹ This was not the case for the evangelical First Alliance Church. The church’s religious subculture and millennial hopes were evidence to the contrary. Members

³⁶ Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism*, 13.

³⁷ Van Die, “The Marks of a Genuine Revival,” 528.

³⁸ J.A., 1965 Membership Application; S.W.J., 1964 Membership Application; F.A.M., 1966 Membership Application, FAC.

³⁹ Hart, *The Lost Soul of American Protestantism*, xviii.

of the CMA viewed the world as a fallen place. The superintendent of the Western Canadian District of the CMA conveyed this perspective in his address to the 1948 district conference. "Because of the increase of false cults and the intensified opposition to the Gospel, also because of the shortness of time as evidenced by the signs of the times, we must increase our efforts for the Lord."⁴⁰ This pessimistic view of the world was expressed again at the conference a decade later. "Our generation finds itself in one of the most sordid eras of time this world has ever experienced. Never was the world in greater need of an adequate spiritual message and experience."⁴¹ Even the ecumenical movement was cause for concern. The 1970 report of the General Council of the CMA adopted the following resolution on the subject: "It is our conviction that within these organizations [the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches] the trends of apostasy from the historic faith are both open and pronounced... We hold that this position is based upon the clear teaching of the scripture."⁴²

The Alliance believed conditions in the world were deteriorating, a view that was consistent with its pre-millennial theology. According to CMA doctrine, "the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is imminent and will be personal, visible, and premillennial. This is the believer's blessed hope and is a vital truth which is an incentive to holy living and faithful service."⁴³ The hope of Alliance members was for revival and the second-coming of Christ. In 1946, the Western District superintendent declared, "As we gather in this holy convocation in Regina all our hearts are burdened for the one thing

⁴⁰ Proceedings of the 1948 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

⁴¹ Proceedings of the 1959 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

⁴² *District Data*, Summer 1970, WCDO.

⁴³ "Statement of Faith of the Christian and Missionary Alliance – 1965," in Rivard, "The Hymnody of the C&MA," Appendix III, 257.

that will be the solution for our every problem. Many of us have prayed for over 20 years that it may please Almighty God to give us an old-fashioned, Holy-Ghost revival.”⁴⁴ A successor to the position of district superintendent echoed these sentiments in 1960. “The Alliance was born in revival. Many of us were saved in revival. Apart from a new visitation of His presence I fear we will only become another ecclesiastical monument to both a better day and a blighted heritage. We must have revival!”⁴⁵ Later he looked forward with hope to the second-coming. “We tread an unknown and untried path as we enter into 1965. Who knows what will face us as God’s children? The days ahead may be darker, who knows? Surely the coming of the Christ is near at hand...”⁴⁶ Belief in Jesus as the “Coming King” was the fourth fold of the Four-fold Gospel. God’s intervention in the world, through a “Holy-Ghost revival” or through the second-coming of Christ, was the only basis for optimism about the condition of the temporal world.

Bebbington describes the impact of pre-millennialism on the social involvement of evangelicals. “The premillennial teaching so widespread in conservative Evangelical circles directly inhibited social action...it was not the business of the church to Christianize society. Rather, the church was to evangelise until, when God had called out his people, Christ would return.”⁴⁷ First Alliance Church actively engaged in evangelism and pursued revival in the hopes that God would work through the church and its individual members to reach the unsaved. Every year the church ran several evangelistic campaigns, bringing in evangelists and missionaries as guest speakers. It also cooperated with a number of missions organizations such as Youth for Christ or other local evangelical groups. In 1950,

⁴⁴ Proceedings of the 1946 Western Canadian District Conference, WCDO.

⁴⁵ *The Western Worker*, January-February 1960, WCDO.

⁴⁶ *The Western Worker*, January-March 1965, WCDO.

First Alliance cooperated with the local Pastors' Gospel Fellowship to run a "Revival Week," and also collaborated the following year on "a mass invasion of Calgary."⁴⁸ In addition, every person at First Alliance was expected to be a worker for Christ, witnessing to family, friends and neighbours. A pastor at First Alliance stressed this point. "Since our families come from a distance from the church, it is necessary for each family to penetrate their own neighbourhood through personal contacts and to concentrate on the winning of families to Christ."⁴⁹ Conversion accounts in the membership applications to First Alliance reveal that individual church members were effective in leading others to faith. But apart from its evangelistic activities, First Alliance was disengaged from the Calgary community as a result of its pessimistic view of the world and focus on the spiritual life. Christians were to be the light in an otherwise dark world.

Despite its oppositional stance toward the world, leaders at First Alliance indicated some concern for the public image the church projected. Joel Carpenter's portrayal of American fundamentalism applies well to Calgary's First Alliance Church.

"Fundamentalists were in many respects determinedly sectarian and isolated from the American cultural mainstream, but they were also remarkably sensitive to changes in the cultural atmosphere and quite conscious of their reputation."⁵⁰ This concern appeared to motivate the decision by the Board of Elders to remove a tract rack from the outside of the church building and to get rid of "any tracts of a controversial nature" from the rack

⁴⁷ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 264.

⁴⁸ Minutes of Deacons Executive Board Meeting, 2 October 1950 and 14 May 1951, FAC.

⁴⁹ "Pastor's Report," 1967 Annual Report, FAC.

⁵⁰ Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), xii.

inside.⁵¹ The pastor and elders were also concerned about public perception in terms of the relationship between First Alliance and the local Protestant League. They discussed this matter at a meeting in 1958.

There was a feeling that to have too close association with the Protestant League would make it more difficult to reach Roman Catholics with the Gospel. It was also felt that the time may come when we might have to change our present decision on the matter, partly because our church is coming more and more into the limelight and because of more pressure from the Roman Catholic church. It was moved by Mr. W__, seconded by Mr. D__ that we should not have their meetings in the church and that the Pastor not be a member, though he be free to attend the meetings, contribute to the organization, and bring in speakers such as converted priests on the basis that anyone else would come to speak and tell of their experiences with Christ.⁵²

The question was not one of principles but of public perception. Image was also clearly identified as a motivation for changing the name of the church from “The Alliance Tabernacle,” which was the name of the church during the 1940s and 1950s. The pastor suggested that the Board of Elders consider a new church name “that carries more weight among the public.”⁵³ From the late 1950s to the mid-1960s the church was referred to as “The Alliance Church,” and it officially changed its name to “First Alliance Church” in 1966. These apparently small concerns with public image were perhaps early indications that First Alliance wished to increase, and improve its public profile. But in comparison to the array of political and social issues with which the Anglican Church was concerned, First Alliance could hardly be viewed as a church that was engaged with public life.

An examination of the worldviews and public participation of Calgary’s Anglican community and First Alliance Church reveals that Hart’s characterizations of confessional and pietist Protestantism need qualification in this context. In contrast to the American

⁵¹ Minutes of Elders Board Meeting, 4 January 1956, FAC.

confessional churches that separated the sacred from the secular, the Anglican diocese of Calgary saw a public role for itself in society, and the Calgary diocese took official positions on matters of public policy such as religion in the schools. Nevertheless, the sacred ministries of the church, namely the liturgy and sacraments, were the basis of Christian practice for Anglicans in the diocese. During the 1960s, challenges that the church be relevant to modern life came from inside and outside the global Anglican Church. This was a criticism directed inward at the traditions and practices of the church, and it threatened the heart of the faith. At First Alliance, the emphasis on the relevance of Christian faith to individual daily life is consistent with Hart's portrayal of American evangelicalism. Where First Alliance differed was in the extent to which it existed as a religious subculture and had an otherworldly focus. The temporal world was a fallen place in need of God's redemption. Alliance members were active in Calgary to the extent that they sought to bring individuals to a personal faith in God, but their hopes were fixed on revival and the second-coming of Christ. These findings indicate that the relationship between church and world in the city of Calgary was complex. It was not a matter of total separation or all-consuming involvement for either the Anglicans or the Alliance. What is also suggested here is that the decades of the 1950s and 1960s were important ones in terms of defining this relationship.

⁵² Minutes of Elders Board Meeting, 27 February 1958, FAC.

⁵³ Minutes of the Elders Board Meeting, 8 May 1958, FAC.

CHAPTER FOUR

“Prayer Warriors” and “Handmaidens”?

The contrasting world-views of the Anglican and Alliance churches in Calgary provided the context for their differing perspectives on women’s leadership. First Alliance saw the world as a chaotic, disordered place; a clear division of gender roles created a sense of order. In contrast, Anglicans in Calgary felt called to be part of, rather than separate from the world. The desire to be culturally relevant provided impetus for the Anglican Church to expand the opportunities for women in the church at the same time that this was occurring in other areas of society.

The Second World War and the post-war period were years of profound change for Canadian women. Women were a vital part of the war effort, providing labour in areas such as manufacturing and agriculture and rallying behind the Allied cause. But when the war ended, women were encouraged to leave their jobs and return to the home, to marry and raise children. Joy Parr writes: “The primary message that a young woman growing up in the 1950s received was that no undertaking which deflected her energies from her primary task as wife and mother was to be taken seriously...homemaking was magnified so that it appeared to demand a woman’s entire waking attention.”¹ Despite the rhetoric, the 1950s witnessed increased female participation in the workforce. Some scholars suggest that “the very vigour with which the “happy homemaker” image was promoted by the media may well have been a reaction to women’s growing involvement in activities outside

the home.”² In fact, the 1950s marked the first time in Canadian history that the number of women entering the workforce was greater than the number of men. At the same time, attitudes about women’s roles began to change. Ann Porter indicates that during the 1950s, “women’s organizations and trade unions became increasingly concerned with equality rights for female workers, and attitudes concerning the proper role of women began to evolve.”³

Examining the United Church’s attitude towards sexuality, particularly female sexuality, between 1945 and 1966, Nancy Christie considers how church leaders tried to appease women while attempting to discourage their increased workforce participation. Clergymen affirmed women’s sexual gratification within marriage as a means of discouraging women’s employment, believing that this would overcome women’s desire for economic independence, reaffirm the status of the male breadwinner, and defend the patriarchal family. Christie concludes, “though the impulse of Protestantism to resist...disruptive social forces was an essentially conservative one,” it “had peculiarly liberal results that were instrumental in establishing the cultural preconditions for modern sexual mores.”⁴ Christie demonstrates that, contrary to popular assumptions, “cultural change also occurred in the more traditional corridors of mainstream Protestantism,” and reveals how conservative motivations could lead to progressive outcomes.

Following Christie’s lead, this chapter considers women’s participation in Calgary’s First Alliance Church and in the Anglican diocese of Calgary in light of the changing status

¹ Joy Parr, ed. *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5.

² Alison Prentice, *et al.*, ed. *Canadian Women: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 384.

³ Ann Porter, “Women and Income Security in the Postwar Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962,” in *Canadian Women: A Reader*, ed. Wendy Mitchinson *et al.* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 323.

of women in Canadian society during the 1950s and 1960s. Throughout this period, women at First Alliance were shut out of key leadership positions and were subordinate to men in their role in the church. But in spite of the limited positions of authority available to women in the Alliance Church, they were active and vital participants in the church community. Like the Alliance women, those in Calgary's Anglican diocese were excluded from positions of ecclesiastical authority during the 1950s. However, there were significant developments during the 1950s and 1960s that contributed to greater opportunities for women in the Anglican Church. These occurred as the Anglican Church strove to be relevant to contemporary society, in contrast to the religious subculture that existed at First Alliance. Another point of distinction between these two communities was the place of the Bible: the sole authority for the Alliance on matters of faith, it comprised one part of the Anglican quadrilateral (the Bible, creeds, sacraments, and apostolic order). Alliance theology of Biblical literalism and inerrancy contributed to greater inflexibility at First Alliance in terms of women's role in the church.

Churches had a pragmatic interest in discussions of women's roles, rights and changing workforce participation, beyond any theological one; women comprised the majority of church-goers, and provided churches with invaluable volunteer work. Research by Canadian historians, such as Marks, Dirks, and Van Die, has shown that Ann Douglas' arguments about the feminization of American culture also apply to Canada. Women outnumbered men in the pews and women's religious organizations played an important social and political role during the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning

⁴ Christie, "Sacred Sex," 349.

of the twentieth century.⁵ But as Valerie Korinek has demonstrated, feminization of the church did not necessarily translate into improved status for women. Fear of women's numerical dominance contributed to opposition to women's ordination in the United Church during the 1920s and 1930s, as some suggested that "feminization of the clergy, with its attendant loss of status, would undermine the work of the church and emasculate the clergy."⁶ Despite a denial of status for women within the church, their religious volunteer work remained the driving force behind Canadian churches through the mid-twentieth century. Christie observes, "the practice of women's participation within religious organizations persisted well into the twentieth century – the only real break appears to have occurred in the 1950s, when United Church ministers began for the first time to expatiate upon the problem of getting a sufficient supply of volunteer female workers, upon which the edifice of Christianity so depended..."⁷

As opportunities increased for women outside the church in the wake of the Second World War, churches faced a difficult choice. Would they promote greater participation and equality for women in the workforce and in public life, or would they support the status quo and discourage women from claiming new social and economic opportunities? In addition, would they broaden the roles available to women within the church? Already in 1923, Baptist laywoman Helen Barrett Montgomery warned, "If the world is more hospitable to

⁵ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977); Marguerite Van Die, "Revisiting 'Separate Spheres': Women, Religion, and the Family in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," in *Households of Faith*; Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*.

⁶ Valerie J. Korinek, "No Women Need Apply: The Ordination of Women in the United Church, 1918-65," *Canadian Historical Review* 74:4 (1993), 486.

⁷ Nancy Christie, "Introduction," in *Households of Faith*, 14.

the claims of women, offers them larger opportunities of initiative, responsibility and self-expression, then the church must bear the consequent loss of power.”⁸

In the CMA denomination, women did not serve as pastors nor did women sit on the two main decision-making bodies of Alliance congregations, the Board of Elders and the Board of Deacons. At First Alliance, there was a paid deaconess position at the church during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The woman who held this position performed a wide range of tasks, specializing in pastoral care and education. The minutes of the annual meeting of First Alliance in 1950 noted: “Her [the deaconess’] activities the past year had included being secretary of the church, visitation in homes and hospitals, Teacher Training Class, and meetings and classes with the young women of the Tabernacle.”⁹

American historians have debated the question of women’s place in conservative Protestant denominations during the first half of the twentieth century, disagreeing on whether or not the proscribed gender ideology matched the reality and whether changes were for the better or the worse. According to Marty Green, “a radical devaluation of women’s moral, religious, and domestic authority” occurred between 1900 and 1940. He suggests that this devaluation occurred in response to a tension between the Victorian view of women as more virtuous and naturally religious than men and an emphasis on masculine, virile religion in the early twentieth century. Resolved in favour of masculine authority, women subsequently experienced a loss of authority.¹⁰

⁸ Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 55.

⁹ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board, 1 November 1950, FAC.

¹⁰ Marty Nesselbush Green, “From Sainthood to Submission: Gender Images in Conservative Protestantism, 1900-1940,” Historian 58:3 (1996), 554.

While Green focused on the proscriptive rhetoric of male clergy, Michael Hamilton has attempted to uncover the actual experience of evangelical women between 1920 and 1950. He suggests that women held a range of responsibilities in local churches, and that full-time Christian service was pursued by many, highlighting female authors, teachers and social reformers in the fundamentalist movement who had national and international public ministries. Hamilton argues that the interwar period was one of tremendous growth for fundamentalism, in contrast to the hard times that hit mainline churches after the First World War. While job cutbacks in mainline churches meant fewer ministry opportunities for women, the great need for workers and low pay during the Depression created opportunities for fundamentalist women.¹¹

Hamilton and Bendroth both indicate that an increasing range of job opportunities were available to women in conservative Protestant denominations during the 1930s and 1940s. These included positions as secretaries, deaconesses, youth and children's workers, and music directors, in addition to the constant need for female missionaries. The articles in the collection, Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada, describe the engagement of Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and United Church women in similar areas of work outside of the male preserve of ordained ministry. MacFarlane's description of the work of deaconesses in the United Church of Canada between 1925 and 1945 is consistent with that of the deaconess at First Alliance. Hers was "low-status, behind-the-

¹¹ Michael S. Hamilton, "Women, Public Ministry, and American Fundamentalism, 1920-1950," Religion and American Culture 3:2 (Summer 1993), 180.

scenes, and supportive work that served to enhance the public, visible ministry of the male ordained clergy.”¹²

According to Bendroth, fundamentalist attitudes towards female vocations became more restrictive during the post-World War II period. “Women’s primary energy was to be spent in the home...Under the stresses of rapid social change during and after World War II, emphasis on gender differences shifted toward an insistence on hierarchy and masculine control.”¹³ Gender roles provided a sense of order in a world that felt chaotic and threatening. Brenda Brasher also highlights this effect, suggesting that “belief in a God-instituted order for human relationships is part of the sacred canopy that covers each congregation.”¹⁴

There is some evidence of increasing restriction of vocational opportunities for women at First Alliance consistent with Bendroth’s argument. When First Alliance’s deaconess resigned in 1952 she was not replaced. Instead the Boards of Elders and Deacons increasingly recruited female volunteers to fill supportive roles. For example, the deacons requested the women’s prayer groups to arrange a farewell service for a church family, appointed two female members to purchase material and make baptismal gowns, and asked a women’s group to take responsibility for the church kitchen.¹⁵ In addition, a male Associate Pastor was hired in the late 1950s to assist the Senior Pastor. It appears that

¹² Mary Anne MacFarlane, “Faithful and Courageous Handmaidens: Deaconesses in the United Church of Canada, 1925-1945,” in Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada, ed. E.G. Muir and M.F. Whiteley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 239.

¹³ Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 98.

¹⁴ Brenda E. Brasher, Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Power (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 126.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board, 7 May 1955, 12 March 1956 and 28 November 1957, FAC.

he assumed responsibility for some of the visitation and Christian Education work that the deaconess had previously fulfilled.¹⁶

The formation of a Board of Deaconesses was broached on more than one occasion at meetings of the elders and deacons. In 1956, the Board of Deacons passed a motion endorsing “the idea of using Deaconesses to assist in making church calls,” and requested the Board of Elders to appoint women to this position. The elders subsequently engaged in a discussion of the question, “Should we have deaconesses in the church?” They decided that instead of being called deaconesses, the women appointed to do visitation should be called “official [‘lady’ crossed out] visitors”, and the elders passed a motion that their visits be recognized as “official church calls”.¹⁷ The women were appointed by the Board of Elders, in contrast to the election of elders and deacons by church members at the Annual Meeting, they were not to be called deaconesses, and the elders felt the need to legitimize the women’s visits through a special motion; all of these details indicate that there was a good deal of discomfort at First Alliance Church surrounding the question of women’s role in the church.

The steps taken at this time did not end discussions on the matter of deaconesses. The position of the elders and deacons at First Alliance on the subject of deaconesses appeared haphazard, perhaps contingent on which men were serving on the boards and on the needs at hand. In 1959 the Board of Deacons appointed five women to serve as deaconesses. These same women were mentioned as the church deaconesses in a meeting

¹⁶ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board, 1 December 1959, FAC; 1960 Annual Report, FAC.

¹⁷ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board, 7 December 1956; Minutes of the Elders Board, 8 January 1957, FAC.

two years later.¹⁸ However, these women did not appear to be organized as a group; instead, they were individually responsible to the elders and deacons. In addition, their profile in the church was minimal. For example, they did not submit reports for the Church's annual reports produced throughout the 1960s. They served as assistants to the male leadership of First Alliance in meeting the needs of the church, to be called on as required.

A motion passed at the 1970 Annual Meeting authorized the Board of Elders "to appoint a Board of Deaconesses consisting of six members and to outline their ministry to the church."¹⁹ The meeting marked the formation of an organized group of deaconesses and raised greater awareness of their work within the church. In 1971 the Board of Deaconesses was elected for the first time at the Annual Meeting of First Alliance. The report submitted that year by the Board of Deaconesses described their undertakings, noting that 53 calls had been made "to the sick, bereaved or lonely people from our church, either in the hospital or at home." They also noted that they had arranged and served lunches following six funerals, as well as doing the same for the Seniors' Christmas Party and following a special church service.²⁰ Despite their elected status and higher profile in the church, the deaconesses continued to play a support role to the Boards of Elders and Deacons, and to do the "women's work" at the church. The position of deaconess was not the female equivalent to a deacon, but was a female-gendered role with its own area of ministry.

¹⁸ Minutes of the Deacons Executive Board, 13 March 1959 and 28 April 1961, FAC.

¹⁹ "Minutes of the Annual Meeting," 1970 Annual Report, FAC.

²⁰ "Report of the Board of Deaconesses," 1971 Annual Report, FAC.

While only a few women served as deaconesses at First Alliance, many were involved in children's work, forming the backbone of the Christian Education program. They acted as Sunday school superintendents for the nursery and early elementary departments, while men generally oversaw the departments for the older children and teenagers. Women taught Sunday school at a variety of levels, and some were members of the Christian Education committee. Bendroth points to the existence of tension within fundamentalist churches in terms of women teaching the Bible, but argues: "Though extemporaneous speaking, lecturing, and public preaching remained a closely guarded male preserve, women could assume the softer tones of instruction and guidance."²¹ Practically speaking, First Alliance could not have run the children's programs it did without the extensive oversight and instruction provided by women.

One area of ministry at First Alliance that was specific to women was the Women's Missionary Prayer Band (WMPB). The WMPB was organized nationally under the CMA, with district divisions and local branches. Concerned women at the 1914 General Council of the CMA met together and developed the idea for women's prayer groups. In 1929 the CMA Board of Managers formally approved "the formation of women's prayer bands in the interest of our foreign work." A 1967 article on the history of the WMPB concluded: "Our work advances and our missionaries, national leaders, and pastors are protected and spiritually strengthened for their tasks as we pray – and only as we pray!"²² As its name suggests, the main concerns of the WMPB were prayer and missions.

²¹ Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 84.

²² *Western Worker*, Spring 1967, WCDO.

At the Western Canadian District Conference in 1955, a plan to classify churches as “standard,” “non-standard,” “home mission” or “outstation” included a qualification that a standard church must have an active WMPB, in addition to a Sunday school and Alliance Youth Fellowship group. At First Alliance, an afternoon and an evening group operated during the 1950s and 1960s. The annual reports made by these groups provide insight into their concerns and the types of activities in which they engaged. One report contained the following update:

“We meet for intercessory prayer week by week...A monthly day of prayer is held, except during July and August, with a guest speaker in attendance. This is often a missionary on furlough, telling of the needs in their field of labour, how we should pray for missionaries, etc. Helpful and encouraging messages have also been given by our pastors...There have been 16 speakers in all.”²³

Another year’s report highlighted “prayer for the needs of the missionaries, our church, special requests and for one another...Our pastor’s wife, Mrs. Young gave us an interesting Bible study and several of our ladies brought Bible messages.”²⁴ The groups functioned as a prayer ministry for the church, as a place for Biblical teaching by and for women, and as a spiritual support network.

In her work on women in evangelical denominations, Marie Griffith argues that the role of women in these churches is much more complex than it might appear on the surface. “The apparent simplicity of the ideology of submission masks a rich variety of meanings that, once enacted in devotional practice prove to be more intricate and subtle than they initially seem.” She suggests that women’s prayer groups exercised a special kind of power. “The discourse of spiritual warfare prayer is distinct from that of submission,

²³ “Report of the Ladies Afternoon Prayer Group,” 1960 Annual Report, FAC.

²⁴ “Report of the Ladies Evening Prayer Group,” 1961 Annual Report, FAC.

emphasizing female power and authority rather than meek surrender and extending women's realm of activism beyond home and church into the broader society."²⁵

Comments by the pastor of First Alliance in 1966 stressed the importance of the women's and other prayer groups at the church. He wrote:

We must bear in mind that the success of our ministry does not depend on money or crowds, but upon lives touched, blessed and helped. This is wrought by prayer. Priority ought to be given to Tuesday Mid-week Service, Ladies' Wednesday Afternoon Prayer Group, Ladies' Evening Missionary Prayer Fellowship, and Pre-Service Prayer Meeting. Neglect of prayer greatly hinders the progress of growth in grace and outgrowth in reaching others.²⁶

But there is little to suggest that the WMPB at First Alliance had the kind of influence in the church and community suggested by Griffith. A more convincing argument, in the context of the WMPB at First Alliance, is that forwarded by Brasher. "Ironically, the enclaves that are the primary source of women's empowerment in Christian fundamentalist congregations are also a principle source of their disempowerment." Brasher observes that women's groups in fundamentalist churches often "siphon off the time and energy of some the most talented women from overall congregational life."²⁷ These groups then help to keep women within the church who might otherwise have worked for change or left the congregation.

The segregated nature of the WMPB at First Alliance and an emphasis on the women's attitude of submission indicate the applicability of Brasher's arguments to this context. The reports on the WMPB made to the Western District Conferences emphasized the spiritual value of the women's groups and indicated that this was an area of service

²⁵ R. Marie Griffith, "Submissive Wives, Wounded Daughters, and Female Soldiers: Prayer and Christian Womanhood in Women's Aglow Fellowship," in Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 172, 186.

²⁶ "Pastor's Report," 1966 Annual Report, FAC.

specially suited to women. "God alone knows how much is accomplished through these groups. We have been impressed with the manifest spirit of enthusiasm among the women in our District. There is an eagerness to work and we believe there are many true prayer warriors."²⁸ Another report suggested:

One of the quietest and least noticed ministries of the District is that carried on by the Women's Missionary Prayer Bands. Without fanfare our sisters are accomplishing a most effective piece of work...Wonderfully do they combine the qualities of Mary and Martha. They find time to sit at Jesus' feet in worship and intercession. It is also in their hearts to serve our Lord in loving ministry...Truly they are doing the work of the Lord and manifesting the Spirit of the Lord in their loving service for others.²⁹

These comments stressed prayer and service as the special gifts of women, and praised the low profile of the WMBP groups and their submission to God.

The topic of women's role in the church received little attention in the records of First Alliance during the 1950s and 1960s, yet evidence suggests that two factors accounted for the persistence of their subordinate position. First, belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and its literal interpretation was a serious obstacle to women's full equality in church leadership. The Statement of Faith of the C&MA adopted by its General Council in 1965 reiterated Alliance doctrine on the primacy and authority of the Bible that had been consistent throughout its history. The fourth point of the Statement of Faith read: "The Old and New Testaments, inerrant as originally given, were verbally inspired by God and are a complete revelation of his will for the salvation of men. They constitute the divine and only

²⁷ Brasher, *Godly Women*, 112.

²⁸ "Report of the Secretary of the Women's Missionary Prayer Bands," Proceedings of the 1955 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

²⁹ "Women's Missionary Prayer Bands," Proceedings of the 1957 Western Canadian District Conference of the CMA, WCDO.

rule of Christian faith and practice.”³⁰ As Bendroth observes of debates between feminists and fundamentalists from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century, the Bible could be invoked to justify the position of either side. Yet “the defense of women’s right to preach and teach...depended on a nonliteral, thematic interpretation of Scripture, sensitive to the cultural conditions that gave rise to Paul’s prohibitions against female leadership.”³¹ In contrast, a literal reading of the Bible permitted less flexibility in interpreting Pauline injunctions that women should keep silent in the church and submit to their husbands. Practically speaking, women were not “silent” at First Alliance, but were vital workers as Sunday school teachers, deaconesses, and members of the WMPB. Nevertheless, full equality for women as ordained ministers, elders or deacons was denied on the basis of scriptural authority. This continues to be reflected in the current Statement of the C&MA in Canada on the Role of Women in Ministry that outlines “Basic Scriptural Principles of Women in Ministry.” The Statement references numerous scriptural passages to justify “a restraint upon the woman’s role in the government of the local church,” including I Corinthians 11:3: “Christ is the head of every man and the man is the head of woman and God is the head of Christ.”³²

A second factor in the limitation of women’s leadership at First Alliance was the church’s opposition to cultural change. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the church viewed the world as a fallen place and looked with hope to the imminent second coming of Christ. Nothing of this world provided reason for optimism; in fact, the world was getting

³⁰ “Statement of Faith of the Christian and Missionary Alliance – 1965,” in Rivard, “The Hymnody of the C&MA,” Appendix III, 256.

³¹ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 38.

worse, not better. In this context, gender roles provided a sense of order, while second-wave feminism and the decline of the Christian family characterized the disorder of the times. Bendroth suggests that the women and men in conservative Protestant churches like First Alliance were attracted to “a clear, though perhaps narrow, call to Christian vocation and a language of cultural critique that simplified the daunting range of choices in a secular lifestyle.”³³ Increasingly during the 1950s and 1960s, the cultural critique focused on the family and women’s role in modern society; “in response to the growing formlessness of middle-class sexual mores, conservative Protestants began to insist all the more on the necessity of a wife’s submission to her husband’s authority.”³⁴

In contrast to the persistent exclusion of women from positions of authority at First Alliance, the women in the Anglican diocese of Calgary became increasingly integrated into parish and diocesan life during the 1960s, and this occurrence in turn led to greater openness to women’s leadership. Increased opportunities for women in the Anglican diocese were part of the emphasis on cultural relevance within the Anglican Church that encouraged it to change with the times.

The Woman’s Auxiliary (WA) was the largest women’s organization in the Anglican Church of Canada. It began as a missionary society with the objective of raising money and awareness for church missions work. As it grew, its activities expanded to include a variety of areas of service. This was reflected in the 1952 objective of the WA: “to serve the Church in every phase of its life, and in all fields of its activity, special

³² “Statement – The Role of Women in Ministry,” *Manual of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada*, 2004, http://www.cmacan.org/files/571_Role_of_Women_in_Ministry_-_page_61.pdf (June 28, 2005)

³³ Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 11.

³⁴ Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant*, 139.

emphasis being given to the missionary aspect.”³⁵ The first meeting of the WA in the Calgary diocese occurred in 1891.³⁶ By 1951, the WA in the diocese of Calgary reported a membership of 1,558 women in 72 branches.³⁷ The fundraising efforts of the WA branches were extensive, and the money they raised paid the salaries of female workers in the diocese and supported several female missionaries.

The WA boasted a lengthy and noteworthy history of service. When the Dean of Calgary referred to the WA as the “handmaid of the whole church” in his address to the 1951 Annual Meeting of the Calgary WA, the imagery he used evoked a sense of submission and servitude.³⁸ But throughout the ‘50s and ‘60s the WA in the diocese of Calgary struggled to overcome its position as an “auxiliary” to the church, and to claim a place for women as equal partners.

WA members themselves criticized their role as “money changers” and called for Anglican women to become more involved in all aspects of church life. The WA was well known for its bazaars, teas, bake sales and banquets that yielded significant profits for the work of the organization. Speaking to the 1955 Annual Meeting of the Calgary WA, the wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury presented a challenge. “As women we have special gifts which we can give to God in all aspects of the Church’s work. We are given wide opportunities, but only too often we fail to take advantage of them.” During discussion that followed, WA members observed that money making should not overshadow other

³⁵ 1952 Constitution and By-Laws, Calgary Diocesan Board of the Women’s Auxiliary (Box 25), AADC.

³⁶ 1953 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

³⁷ 1951 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

³⁸ 1951 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

important areas of WA work.³⁹ A similar sentiment was expressed in an article that appeared in *The Sower* in 1960, entitled “When Will Women Leave Their Nets?” The writer observed, “Today, women all over the world are reaching for a new equality with men, seeking to be understood as individuals...But, too often, in the life of the church, they seem reluctant to leave their old familiar nets.” She asked, “What is the force which so powerfully restrains some women from a plan to minister directly to human need, and makes them prefer an indirect, round-about ‘I’ll-make-the-money-for-you-to-do-it’ discipleship?” By way of solution, the writer’s proposals included representation by women on every committee of the church, and integration of the finances of women’s groups with those of the church as a whole.⁴⁰

Both of these measures were undertaken in the Diocese of Calgary during the 1960s. Women’s right to serve as delegates at synod and to sit on vestry, the decision-making body of the parish, came first. As early as 1952, the diocesan WA discussed the question, “Should women be represented on vestries and at synod?”⁴¹ Motions in favour of women’s representation on vestry and synod were voted down at the 1957 synod by a vote of 66 to 41, and in 1961 by a vote of 75 to 48. In 1963, the vote was taken “by orders”, which meant that lay and clerical delegates voted separately and to pass the motion needed to win a majority in both orders. In this case, the lay delegates voted first and “decisively defeated” the motion before it could be put to the clerical delegates.⁴²

³⁹ 1955 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA; Report of Discussion Groups, 1955 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

⁴⁰ “When Will Women Leave Their Nets?” January 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴¹ 1952 Annual Report, Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

⁴² Proceedings of the 38th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1959), 23; Proceedings of the 40th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1961), 22; “Synod Highlights,” May 1963, *The Sower*, AADC.

At all three of these synods, motions were made that would have restricted the number of women permitted to serve as synod delegates or vestry members. At the 1957 synod, the motion to allow women to serve as synod delegates included a restriction that “at least half of the number of delegates of any Parish shall be male.” In 1961, an amendment was proposed to the original motion to allow women vestry members; the amendment added the words, “providing that female membership shall be restricted to 1/3 of the total membership”. Both the amendment and the original motion were defeated. A similar amendment, to limit the number of women on vestry to fifty per cent, was defeated in 1963.

While the General Synod had voted in 1943 to allow women representatives to its Lower House, Fletcher-Marsh remarks:

...their actual participation in it was limited by the willingness of Diocesan Synods and parishes to allow the full participation of women in their own bodies. By definition, one could only be a delegate to General Synod if one served at a Diocesan Synod, and was elected there to General Synod. In turn, one could not be elected to the Diocesan Synod unless one had been previously elected to a parish council.⁴³

During the 1950s, the Canadian Primate appointed a task force to study the role of women within the Anglican Church of Canada and make recommendations. Its report, released in 1955, found opposition to the representation of women in synod. According to Fletcher-Marsh, two different arguments were used in opposition. One was that “women were totally unsuited to take part in such gatherings, and were not interested in participating anyway.” A second argument was that if women were eligible to serve as representatives

⁴³ Wendy Fletcher-Marsh, “The Limitation and Opportunity of Gender: Women and Ecclesiastical Structures in Canadian Anglicanism, 1920-1955,” Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 37 (1995), 50.

to synod, they would “swamp” the meetings. “In an inverse way, this fear acknowledged the fact that women were actually a significant majority in the Church.”⁴⁴

Even before the start of the 1965 synod of the diocese of Calgary, it was clear that momentum had shifted in favour of women’s participation on synod and vestry. The most significant difference between 1965 and the previous years was that the Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA passed a motion to the Executive Committee of the diocese in favour of women’s representation on synod and vestry. In February 1965, *The Sower* published the recommendations made by the diocesan board of the WA, as well as an article by its secretary entitled, “The ‘case’ for women on vestry and synod.” She wrote, “In all of Canada women of the church raise and administer well over a million and a half dollars a year toward the extension of Christ’s Kingdom...There are women involved in this work who could contribute valuably to the wise administration of the parish churches.” She noted that the Calgary synod had repeatedly defeated motions in favour of women’s representation and observed, “It is now felt that if the canons are ever to be changed on these points, women themselves must express their feelings to the clergy and laymen of the church.”⁴⁵ The secretary stated that the WA had received encouragement on this matter from several parishes in the diocese. The diocesan president also voiced her opinion that “women should be recognized as equals in the church” in a speech she made at a WA meeting.⁴⁶

Interestingly, the recommendations of the Diocesan Board of the WA included a limit of 25% for the representation of women on vestry, and suggested similar limitations

⁴⁴ Fletcher-Marsh, “The Limitation and Opportunity of Gender,” 51.

⁴⁵ “The ‘case’ for women on vestry and synod,” February 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴⁶ “‘Disturbing the peace’ message given to WA,” April 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

for the number of female synod delegates. The only apparent rationale for this was that it might increase the chances of approval by synod, appeasing those who feared that women would quickly outnumber men as delegates. However, the diocesan Committee on Canons, that reviewed all proposals to amend the constitution of the diocese, reported to synod that in its view, “in principle if Synod does decide to give effect to the request of the Woman’s Auxiliary there ought to be no limit set on the number of female lay delegates or vestrymen.” Synod agreed, and approved the motion allowing women to serve as synod delegates and vestry members without any numerical restrictions.⁴⁷ *The Sower* reported that the motion passed “with very little opposition”.

A motion by one diehard delegate to have a ceiling on the number of women who could serve at the same time was soundly beaten... The large gathering of males not only voted overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution but they were prepared to make it factual by moving to sit the WA president, Mrs. K.H. Bjerring, among the delegates with the power to vote during the remaining days of the synod, and thus the honor of being the first woman to serve on the Calgary synod.⁴⁸

She was welcomed to the floor of the Synod with applause.

The decision was overdue and caused little controversy in the diocese. The response was “warmer than January’s weather,” and at the annual parish meetings in January 1966, eight out of ten parishes that reported election results to *The Sower* had elected women to vestry or synod. Nevertheless, change did not happen overnight. While one woman was elected as a synod delegate to represent Calgary’s Cathedral Church of the Redeemer, the paper noted that no women had been elected to vestry, despite the fact that “well over 50 per cent of the eligible electors at the meeting were ladies.” A conversation between two church members following the meeting was transcribed. “‘To me,’ murmured

⁴⁷ Proceedings of the 42nd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1965), 82, 25, AADC.

a male elector, 'with two such fine women candidates, that result just doesn't make sense.' 'Perhaps at heart we are still a wee bit Victorian,' said a woman as she cloaked herself to depart."⁴⁹

Change came gradually. Nevertheless, the question of women's representation on vestry and synod reveals two striking points of comparison between Calgary's Anglican diocese and First Alliance Church. First, scriptural references to women's role in the church were entirely absent from the discussions. Calgary's Anglicans were not tied to a literal reading of the Bible, nor was the Bible their sole reference point. Anglican faith was also grounded in the creeds, sacraments, and apostolic order. Evidence suggests that Calgary's bishop supported women's representation on vestry and synod. In his 1967 address to synod, the Bishop remarked: "You will remember that at the last Synod we voted to allow women to represent their parishes, and they are here tonight and I personally thank God for this, because I have always thought that we were not using the best we had in the counsels of our Church."⁵⁰ During the early 1960s, discussions in the Calgary diocese of whether or not women should serve on synod and vestry took a pragmatic tone that considered the best way forward for the church, without reference to Biblical imperatives.

A second point of distinction between the Anglican Church and First Alliance was their attitudes towards cultural change in Canadian society. In her article in *The Sower*, "The 'case' for women on vestry and synod," the secretary of the diocesan board of the WA concluded, "We are living in a new age. The church throughout the world is entering another reformation just as powerful as in the time of Luther. We should be honest enough

⁴⁸ "Synod Favors 'Equality' for Indians," May 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁴⁹ "Parish highlights: Women elected to vestries, synod," March 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

to accept the changes brought about by this revolution.”⁵¹ Anglicans in Calgary affirmed the increased opportunities for women in Canadian society, and sought the same for women within the church.

Having gained representation for women on the major decision-making bodies of the Anglican Church at parish level and beyond, the WA began serious consideration of changes within its own organization. There were a number of motivations. The most significant was the desire for one national Anglican women’s organization that would embrace all women of the Anglican Church and the various women’s groups that existed within it, such as the WA and the Mother’s Union. While the WA had experienced growth during the 1950s, it struggled to maintain its membership during the 1960s. In 1967 it was reported that nationally the WA had experienced a drop of 10,000 members in five years, though it was suggested that “many of them have been absorbed in other capacities.”⁵² That same year, the report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA stated: “We have been watching a steady decline in membership of the WA and a gradual folding of branches, not only here but across Canada – and are re-organizing in order to survive. We are determined to move forward, learning from other Anglican women new ways of working together.”⁵³

The WA was especially concerned with making the organization relevant and appealing to young women. In 1956, the annual meeting of the Diocesan Board of the WA included discussion of, “How to get young married women into the WA when they are not particularly interested in WA work,” and raised the need for a “new look” for the

⁵⁰ “Bishop’s Charge,” Proceedings of the 43rd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1967), 41, AADC.

⁵¹ “The ‘case’ for women on vestry and synod,” February 1965, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵² 1967 Annual Report, Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

organization.⁵⁴ WA leaders recognized the “changing pattern” of women’s work, and at the national WA meeting in 1964 the women in attendance expressed “desire for more effective dialogue with the new generation of younger women including professional women.”⁵⁵

In 1966 the Dominion Board of the Woman’s Auxiliary voted to change the name of the national organization to Anglican Church Women (ACW). The new organization did not require membership, but was envisioned as embracing all Anglican women “in sympathy” with its purpose. Its objective was: “To unite women in a fellowship of worship, study and offering which will deepen and strengthen their own spiritual lives, and lead them into Christian service in parish, community, diocese, nation and world.”⁵⁶ The ACW was concerned with promoting greater flexibility of programs at the parish level, as well as greater integration of women in parish life, in contrast to the Woman’s ‘Auxiliary’ that connoted an organization secondary to the main body of the Church. Following the lead of the national organization, the Calgary Diocesan Board of the Woman’s Auxiliary voted to become the Diocesan Board of Anglican Church Women in 1967.⁵⁷

How successful was the ACW in achieving its goals? In the short term, *The Sower* reported positive responses to the proposed change from the WA to the ACW by women from various parishes in the diocese even before it became official. Two years after the creation of the ACW, the Calgary Diocesan Board reported, “a number of deaneries have had evening or Sunday afternoon meetings to accommodate business women. All this has

⁵³ “Report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA,” Proceedings of the 43rd Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1967), 85, AADC.

⁵⁴ “Report of Discussion Groups,” 1956 Annual Report, Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

⁵⁵ “Soul-Searing Study of Values by 300 Delegates,” October 1964, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵⁶ “Anglican Church Women,” July-August 1966, *The Sower*, AADC.

resulted in greater interest and understanding of our work, better attendance at meetings and increased financial support.”⁵⁸

In the longer term, the ACW took advantage of the move to allow women to serve on vestry and synod as the first tangible step towards increased integration of, and leadership by, women in the Anglican Church. In 1969, the ACW began working towards integration of its finances at the parish and diocesan levels; the Calgary diocese participated as one of three experimental dioceses in Canada that were the first to do so. Since women were able to sit on vestry and synod, the rationale for maintaining separate budgets no longer existed.

Another area of church involvement that became open to women during the 1960s was the administration of communion and the reading of the gospel during communion services. In 1969, *The Sower* reported: “The House of Bishops of the Anglican Church of Canada...decided to take the necessary steps to permit ordained deaconesses to become members of the diaconate, equal with male deacons. The diaconate is the first stage of the priesthood.”⁵⁹ The deaconess was no longer a gender-specific role but the female peer of the male deacon. By 1972, a motion in favour of the ordination of women appeared before the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary.⁶⁰ The Anglican Church of Canada approved ordination of women in 1976.⁶¹

The ordination of women in the Anglican Church was approved forty years after the first ordination of a woman in the United Church of Canada, and two decades behind

⁵⁷ “Diocesan WA Becomes Anglican Church Women,” April 1967, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁵⁸ “Report of the Calgary Diocesan Board of the WA,” Proceedings of the 45th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1969), 63, AADC.

⁵⁹ “Women may assist at communion,” November 1969, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶⁰ Proceedings of the 47th Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary (1972), AADC.

mainline Methodist and Presbyterian denominations in the United States. However, the ordination of women did not become widespread in any denomination until the 1970s and 1980s.⁶² As Chapter Three argued, being culturally relevant meant being neither too radical nor too conservative. In its approval of women's ordination during the 1970s, Calgary's Anglican diocese was once again moving with the cultural mainstream.

The WA and the ACW worked for greater equality for women in the Anglican Church, promoting their active participation in church life. During the 1950s and 1960s, however, these groups continued to embrace a gender ideology that saw women as fundamentally different from men, with their own special areas of ability. Had this not been the case, it may have been difficult to justify the ongoing existence of a separate women's organization. But an emphasis on the primacy of woman's role as mother declined over the course of these decades. A writer in *The Sower* affirmed the role of mothers in a 1955 article.

In these days of 'equal rights and equal pay' (with which we certainly agree), women often forget that although they are able both mentally and physically to do many jobs formerly delegated to the male of the species only, their prime privilege is child-bearing. Let's not get carried away on a wave of militant feminism and forget our true place as mothers.⁶³

Another woman echoed this perspective in 1960. "For centuries women have blessed the world by providing the creature comforts in a spirit of love, which is the spirit of our Lord Himself. The preparing of food, shelter and clothing; of being a mother in a spirit of gentleness, compassion and service is the finest role a woman can ever play."⁶⁴ But a woman who gave an address to a diocesan WA meeting that same year defined women's

⁶¹ Fletcher-Marsh, "The Limitation and Opportunity of Gender," 53.

⁶² Korinek, "No Women Need Apply," 473; Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender*, 33.

⁶³ "Mother's Column," November 1955, *The Sower*, AADC.

strength more broadly as “creativity”. “We [women] all have the same mechanism, physical, emotional and spiritual, for bearing and rearing children, yet even that is varied so that some people have a naturally stronger drive toward a creativity of the mind, or hands, than toward the building of a family.”⁶⁵ When the national president of the ACW spoke to the diocesan annual meeting in Calgary in 1967, she told the group that “Christian women’s first responsibility was as a wife and mother,” but that they should be concerned with their community and their world as well as their families. While she did not applaud all of the social changes for women, noting that “there are many reasons in this day and age why Christian women cannot stay home but are forced to work,” she felt that a pragmatic approach should be taken. “She mentioned the need now for pay nurseries, concern we should have for women in later years, for women as church members, and women as professional church workers...”⁶⁶

The decreased emphasis on women’s role as mothers corresponded to the decline of the Christian family. While the mother had assumed primary responsibility for the religious instruction of children in the ideal Christian family, the realization of its failure and greater adult education for both men and women in the Anglican Church removed the weight of responsibility from women. Coupled with the church’s concern for cultural relevance, this created greater openness to women’s leadership in the church.

The roles available to women in the Anglican diocese of Calgary and First Alliance Church did not differ significantly in the immediate post-war years. However, during the 1960s the churches diverged sharply from one another in this respect. While an emphasis

⁶⁴ “When Will Women Leave Their Nets?” January 1960, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶⁵ “The Work of Christian Women,” April 1961, *The Sower*, AADC.

⁶⁶ 1967 Annual Report, Diocesan Board of the WA, AADC.

on separate gender roles consistently defined, and limited, women's participation at First Alliance, women in the Anglican community gained the right to serve on the decision-making bodies at the parish and diocesan level and were increasingly integrated into the life of the church as full, rather than auxiliary, members. The religious subculture that existed at First Alliance, in contrast to the Anglicans' concern with cultural relevance, was a basis for their differing positions on women's leadership in the church during the 1960s. The primacy and authority of the Bible for First Alliance, and its literal interpretation, informed Alliance theology on women's role in the church, while the Bible did not enter discussions of women's representation on vestry and synod in the Calgary Anglican diocese during the 1960s. Instead, a concern for relevance motivated the Anglican Church to change with the times and open up leadership opportunities for women in the church.

CONCLUSION

The 1950s and 1960s were a time of significant change in Canadian society. The distinctive features of the Anglican and Alliance churches meant that they engaged with change in very different ways during these crucial decades. At the most fundamental level, the two churches held different understandings of the Christian life. For Calgary's Anglicans, the Christian life was corporate and participatory; the Christian was nurtured through participation in the liturgy and sacraments of the church. In contrast, members of First Alliance believed that a personal experience of conversion was the foundation for the Christian life. Their own experiences lead them to actively evangelize others both inside and outside the church.

The Anglican Church's ministry was to believers, and for this reason the relationship between the church and the family was vital in the transmission of faith from one generation to the next. The family played an integral role in the religious nurture of children, in bringing them to church and introducing them to the creeds, the sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and the catechism; church programs played a secondary role in the religious instruction of children. However, religious instruction in the home had been in decline since the early twentieth century, creating a shaky foundation for the Christian family of the 1950s. By the 1960s, the Anglican Church was forced to acknowledge that parents were ill-equipped to instruct their children in the faith, and it responded with increased adult education programs. But it could not adequately address the need for leadership in its

children's and youth programs, and by the late '60s its youth programs in particular were in crisis.

First Alliance was not as dependent on the Christian family to transmit faith from one generation to the next. It emphasized the need for personal conversion for children and adults alike. Its strong Sunday school, boys' and girls' clubs, and youth and young adult programs were united in their focus on developing each young person's personal relationship with God. Through these programs, First Alliance proved effective at keeping the baby-boom generation within the church through the 1960s.

The decline of religious instruction in the home and the changing place of the Anglican Church in Canadian society provoked a debate over its cultural relevance. The Anglican Church had played a public role throughout Canada's history. However, the 1960s marked a shift in discourse, focusing on relevance and bringing the church up-to-date, that profoundly impacted the Anglican Church globally and locally, in the city of Calgary. The call for relevance was a criticism directed inward at the historic traditions and practices of the church, and posed a serious threat to confessional Anglicanism. But it also gave the Anglican diocese of Calgary a greater openness to social changes during this period that contributed to increased opportunities for women within the church. Calgary's Anglican community was neither groundbreaking nor behind the times in terms of its position on women's leadership; it moved with the Canadian mainstream in creating more space and freedom for women during the '60s and '70s. The question of women's leadership was intimately connected to the church's relationship with the outside world.

First Alliance did not share the Anglicans' concern with cultural relevance. For members of the Alliance Church, faith was relevant to daily life on an individual rather

than collective basis. A personal experience of conversion impacted every aspect of one's life. First Alliance and its members were active in the city of Calgary in so far as they sought to reach others with their evangelistic message. Apart from that, their understanding of the world as a fallen place and their millennial expectations gave them an otherworldly focus and an insular orientation. At First Alliance, clearly defined gender roles provided a sense of order, while second-wave feminism and the decline of the Christian family characterized the disorder of the times. Consequently, social changes during the '60s reinforced, rather than challenged, the subordinate position of women at First Alliance.

This study has demonstrated the usefulness of Hart's categories of confessional and revivalist Protestantism in the context of post-war Calgary. This framework has revealed how the cultural changes of the 1950s and 1960s challenged the Anglican diocese of Calgary to a much greater degree than they challenged First Alliance. First Alliance had effective evangelism, strong children's and youth programs, and a religious subculture that insulated it from the threats of societal change. In contrast, Calgary's Anglican community faced a rupture in the relationship between church and family that was vital to its transmission of faith, and a changing relationship with society. Ironically, a consequence of this uncertainty was greater engagement with social change. First Alliance, on the other hand, needed to adapt its sectarian relationship with the world if it wished to assume a greater public role in the city of Calgary.

A number of sociologists and historians have observed trends of decline in the major Protestant denominations and growth in evangelical churches since the 1960s. Grant writes, "the membership of denominations professing conservative forms of evangelical

Protestantism has grown steadily as that of the major churches has stagnated...”¹ In Calgary, First Alliance has developed into a mega-church, and is embarking on a new building project to meet the needs of its large congregation. The vitality of the Anglican diocese of Calgary is more difficult to assess. But Grant, like Hart, recognizes something distinctive about Anglicanism that might enable it to avoid the liberal and evangelical poles that have proved divisive in the contemporary Christian church.

Evangelism has become almost synonymous with conservatism and social action with doctrinal novelty. Either without the other seems doomed to a hardening of ecclesiastical arteries or to a constant search for new dragons to slay.

What seems most lacking is a sense of historical continuity that allows for movement with the times while retaining a sense of direction from the past. Anglicanism at its best has always manifested this quality...²

The need for both continuity and flexibility has also been embraced by an Anglican writer reflecting on the way forward for the Anglican Church. Richard Holloway, editor of a book entitled, The Anglican Tradition, writes: “The Anglican Church used to pride itself on cleaving to the great central truths, while allowing freedom of approach and emphasis on secondary matters. We must try to rediscover both the conviction that characterized the former, and the tolerance that characterized the latter.”³ Both men echo the Calgary rector who, in 1965, called on the Anglican Church to reaffirm rather than discard the confessionalism of the faith.

¹ John Webster Grant, “Postscript: After the Deluge,” in Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to Present, ed. Mark G. McGowan and David B. Marshall (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 347.

² Grant, “After the Deluge,” 353.

³ Richard Holloway, ed. The Anglican Tradition (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1984), 22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS/ARCHIVES

Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, Special Collections, University of Calgary Library (AADC)

First Alliance Church, Calgary, Alberta (FAC)

Western Canadian District Office of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Calgary, Alberta (WCDO)

BOOKS

Berton, Pierre. The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at the Church in the New Age. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1965.

The Canadian Book of Common Prayer. The General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 1962.

Goodman, M.L. They Couldn't Call Me Mary: Memoirs of Morse L. Goodman. Winnipeg: Country Guide BookShelf, 1992.

Secondary Sources

BOOKS

Baine, Richard P. Calgary: An Urban Study. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1973.

Balmer, Randall. Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Bebbington, D.W. Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Bendroth, Margaret Lamberts. Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children, and Mainline Churches. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002.

- Bendroth, Margaret Lamberts. Fundamentalism and Gender: 1875 to the Present. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Brasher, Brenda E. Godly Women: Fundamentalism and Female Power. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Carpenter, Joel A. Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Carrington, Philip. The Anglican Church in Canada. Toronto: Collins, 1963.
- Cook, Sharon A. "Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Davie, Grace. Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing Without Belonging. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class. London: Routledge, 1987.
- Diamond, Etan. Souls of the City: Religion and the Search for Community in Postwar America. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- Douglas, Ann. The Feminization of American Culture. New York: Knopf, 1977.
- Fahey, Curtis. In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991.
- Gauvreau, Michael. The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Grant, John Webster. The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1972.
- Hart, D.G. The Lost Soul of American Protestantism. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002.
- Hayes, Alan L. Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

- Holloway, Richard, ed. The Anglican Tradition. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1984.
- Katerberg, William H. Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Korinek, Valerie. Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Marsden, George. Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- Marshall, David B. Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- McDannell, Colleen. The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Owram, Doug. Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Parr, Joy, ed. A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Prentice, Alison *et al.*, ed. Canadian Women: A History, 2nd ed. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996.
- Rambo, Lewis. Understanding Religious Conversion. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Rawlyk, G.A., ed. Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Rawlyk, G.A. The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Reimer, Sam. Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.
- Reynolds, Lindsay. Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada. Toronto: Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, 1982.

Reynolds, Lindsay. Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada 1919-1983. Willowdale: The Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada, 1992.

Stackhouse, Jr., John G. Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Van Die, Marguerite. An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Vaudry, Richard W. Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Westfall, William. Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

ARTICLES

Carter, David J. "Foreword." In The Anglican Church in Calgary: Church Activities, 1878-1974. Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975.

Christie, Nancy. "Sacred Sex: The United Church and the Privatization of the Family in Post-War Canada." In Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760 – 1969. Ed. Nancy Christie. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, 348-376.

Dirks, Patricia. "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920." In Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760 – 1969. Ed. Nancy Christie. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, 290-316.

Dirks, Patricia. "Serving Church and Nation: Methodist Sunday Schools in Canada's Century," Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers (1993), 46-62.

Fletcher-Marsh, Wendy. "The Limitation and Opportunity of Gender: Women and Ecclesiastical Structures in Canadian Anglicanism, 1920-1955," Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 37 (1995): 41-54.

Gleason, Mona. "Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-1960," Canadian Historical Review 78:3 (1997): 442-477.

- Grant, John Webster. "Postscript: After the Deluge." In Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to Present. Ed. Mark G. McGowan and David B. Marshall. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992, 338-357.
- Green, Marty Nesselbush. "From Sainthood to Submission: Gender Images in Conservative Protestantism, 1900-1940," Historian 58:3 (1996): 539-556.
- Griffith, R. Marie. "Submissive Wives, Wounded Daughters, and Female Soldiers: Prayer and Christian Womanhood in Women's Aglow Fellowship." In Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice. Ed. David D. Hall. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997, 160-195.
- Hamilton, Michael S. "Women, Public Ministry, and American Fundamentalism, 1920-1950," Religion and American Culture 3:2 (Summer 1993): 171-196.
- Hindmarsh, Bruce. "'My chains fell off, my heart was free': Early Methodist Conversion Narratives in England," Church History 68:4 (December 1999): 910-929.
- Korinek, Valerie J. "No Women Need Apply: The Ordination of Women in the United Church, 1918-65," Canadian Historical Review 74:4 (1993): 473-509.
- Lofland, John and Norman Skonovd. "Conversion Motifs," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 20:4 (1981): 373-385.
- MacFarlane, Mary Anne. "Faithful and Courageous Handmaidens: Deaconesses in the United Church of Canada, 1925-1945," in Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada. Ed. Muir, E.G. and M.F. Whiteley. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, 238-258.
- Macleod, David I. "Act Your Age: Boyhood, Adolescence, and the Rise of the Boy Scouts of America," Journal of Social History 16:2 (1983): 3-20.
- Marks, Lynne. "'A Fragment of Heaven On Earth'? Religion, Gender, and Family in Turn-of-the-Century Canadian Church Periodicals," Journal of Family History 26:2 (April 2001): 251-271.
- Porter, Ann. "Women and Income Security in the Postwar Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962." In Canadian Women: A Reader. Ed. Wendy Mitchinson *et al.* Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996, 322-352.
- Reid, Darrel R. "Towards a Fourfold Gospel: A.B. Simpson, John Salmon, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada." In Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience. Ed. G.A. Rawlyk. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, 271-288.

Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945." In The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 – 1990. Ed. G. A. Rawlyk. Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1990, 198-252.

Strong-Boag, Veronica. "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60," Canadian Historical Review 72:4 (1991), 471-504.

Van Die, Marguerite. "Revisiting 'Separate Spheres': Women, Religion, and the Family in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario." In Households of Faith: Faith, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969. Ed. Nancy Christie. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 234-263.

Van Die, Marguerite. "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," Canadian Historical Review 79:3 (1998): 524-563.

Van Die, Marguerite. "'A Woman's Awakening': Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada." In Canadian Women: A Reader. Ed. W. Mitchinson *et al.* Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996, 49-68.

Vaudry, Richard W. "Evangelical Anglicans and the Atlantic World: Politics, Ideology, and the British North American Connection." In Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience. Ed. G.A. Rawlyk. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, 154-170.

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Opp, James. "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940." M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1994.

Rivard, Eugene Francis. "The Hymnody of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (1891-1978) as a Reflection of its Theology and Development." D.M.A. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1991.