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CANADIAN CHURCHES AND WAR:
AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY AND ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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I. Introductory Essay

This first section is a summary of the strengths and weakness of the existing historical research on Canadian churches and war, along with some suggestions for further research.¹ My hope is that this brief essay, and the annotated bibliography that follows, will aid scholars in their research into the churches and war, as well as spur present and future historians to delve into a subject

1. Christian attitudes to war and peace extend beyond reacting to a particular military conflict, for true and lasting peace requires the presence of justice. However, despite the correlation between peace and justice, and the many inspiring examples of Canadian churches lobbying for justice around the world, this study looks exclusively at the churches and a war in particular, or the churches and imperialism in general. The reason for such a narrow focus is mainly pragmatic: this article would quickly become too diffuse and unmanageable if it included everything related to justice as well as war. Consequently, helpful works such as Pratt, *In Good Faith*, or Greene's collection of essays in *Canadian Churches and Foreign Policy* are not examined. What is examined are books, articles, dissertations, theses, and papers presented at academic conferences that deal directly with the history of Canadian churches and a particular military conflict or imperialism. One book outside the parameters of this article, but which deserves notice nonetheless, is Socknat's *Witness against War*. His book does not deal particularly with the churches, but its focus on pacifism in general provides a necessary historical context for the discussion of developments in church and society in Canada. A more dated work that deals with the same subject is Moffatt, *History of the Canadian Peace Movement until 1969*. One last work to be noted is a 1955 thesis by Edward Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada," which provides important insights into the historical context for Presbyterians and their wartime attitudes.

that is critical for understanding the churches and their role in public life.

As would be expected, the majority of published works deal with the global conflagrations of the two World Wars (1914–1918; 1939–1945). The next war covered the most extensively is the South African War (1899–1902), followed by the Cold War in the late 1940s and 1950s. The coverage of other wars is noticeably thin, with only a few articles on nineteenth-century conflicts and late-twentieth-century conflicts. For instance, there is very limited research on the churches and the War of 1812,² the Riel Rebellions, the Fenian Invasion, and the Korean War, and nothing on the First Gulf War and the recent and ongoing war in Afghanistan.

Conflict ³	Publications
War of 1812	4
US Civil War	1
Nile Expedition	1
Riel Rebellion	1
Fenian Invasion	2
Boxer Rebellion	1
South African War	12
First World War	34
Interwar Period	8
Second World War	55
Cold War	6
Korean War	1
Vietnam War	5
Biafra	1
Rwandan Genocide	1
Pacifism	6
Focus on more than one war in a single article	18
Other ⁴	3

2. James Robertson is in the doctoral program at McMaster Divinity College, and intends his dissertation to focus on the Canadian churches and the War of 1812.

3. Some articles refer to more than one war. The following breakdown indicates where an article focuses most of its attention.

The study of Protestant views on war is the most developed, Catholic views on war a distant second, and only one article on the Orthodox and war exists.⁵ Vary rarely do any publications deal with both Protestants and Catholics, but there are a few note-worthy exceptions: Duff Crerar's "Belicose Priests" explores how Catholic chaplains had to contend with Protestant anti-Catholic bias, and his *Padres in No Man's Land* deals with both Protestant and Catholic chaplains in the First World War. C. T. S. Faulkner's "For Christian Civilization" is another positive example of the interaction of Protestant and Catholic views. Faulkner's thesis shows how the two religious communions differed in their motivations for supporting the war. For instance, while the Canadian churches used the same language in support of the war (e.g., a war to "defend Christian civilization"), the phrase had multiple meanings. English Protestants envisioned a "Christian civilization that was democratic, oriented toward individualism and freedom . . . tied to . . . the British Empire" whereas French Catholics tended to envision a "Christian civilization that was hierarchical, oriented toward corporatism and authority, and . . . tied to Roman Catholicism." This example illustrates the need for more research that compares the responses of the respective churches shaped by their own historical, sociological, and theological contexts.

Denomination	Publications
Protestant	140
Catholic	16
Catholic and Protestant	4
Orthodox	1

4. The following articles did not seem to fit any of the above categories: Heath, "Forming Sound Public Opinion"; Heath, "Canadian Baptists and Late-Victorian Imperial Spirituality"; Stoesz, "Scattered Documents."

5. Although some would not include Doukhobors among the Orthodox, I have included Tarasoff's article in this category (see the Annotated Bibliography for details). While it does not deal specifically with the Orthodox and war, Joseph Boudreau's treatment of the "enemy alien" problem in Canada during the First World War does identify the animosity and legal restrictions that Ukrainians faced in Canada due to their origins being from the Austria-Hungarian Empire. See Boudreau, "Enemy Alien Problem."

In regards to Protestants, the Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and United Church get a significant amount of attention (not surprisingly, since these denominations have been the largest Protestant groups for much of Canada's history). However, there are two surprises in this category. First, the number of studies on Anglicans and war is remarkably limited, especially in light of the denomination's high degree of support for the nation's war efforts over the decades. Second, the attention paid to the Mennonites is noteworthy in light of the comparatively small numbers of Mennonites in Canada. This degree of scrutiny directed to a numerically small part of the larger Protestant community is understandable due the Anabaptist view of Christian participation in state violence that places it at odds with governments during wartime, but is striking nonetheless when one realizes that by comparison there is merely one article on Lutherans, one on Pentecostals, and one on the Dutch Reformed (and even these articles are quite brief and limited in their scope).

Protestant Denominations	Publications ⁶
Anglican	8
Baptist	13
Methodist	12
Presbyterian	17
United Church	16
Mennonites	37
Protestantism in General	33
Other	11

The attention paid to Mennonites means that there is unmatched information on Canadian Mennonites and war. Scholars such as S. F. Coffman and Blodwen Davies provide an analysis of Mennonites during the First World War. However, the Second World War has the most coverage. David Fransen's

6. Includes combined articles. For instance, an article that focuses on Methodists and Presbyterians is counted for both Methodists and Presbyterians. Some United Church articles mention Methodists, but focus on the United Church—they count only in the United Church line.

and Kenneth Reddig's theses show the pressure that Mennonites faced to enlist, the tensions within Mennonite communities as they dealt with differing views on how to respond to societal and governmental pressures, as well as the eventual accommodation that occurred between Mennonites and the government. Others, such as William Janzen, John Klassen, and Lawrence Klippenstein, have provided descriptions and analysis of the plight of Mennonite conscientious objectors.⁷ Peter Neufeld, Ronald Friesen and Nathan Dirk's work raises questions about a relatively unknown (and politically sensitive, not to mention embarrassing) part of Mennonite history: the enlistment of Mennonites as soldiers. Lorraine Roth and Lucille Marr look at the churches through the lens of what was happening to Mennonite women, and provide helpful descriptions and analysis of the ways in which they helped the war effort through sewing circles, food canning, nursing overseas, or struggling to support their families at home while their husbands were serving in alternative service camps. Mara Apostol examines the changes within Mennonites as they became more "Canadian" and mainstream, and how this enculturation led to increased engagement in wider social issues. These numerous articles (along with others) provide an analysis of Mennonites unmatched for any other denomination.⁸

7. One other example of such attention is the 1992 issue of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* dedicated to Mennonites and alternative service in the Second World War. In 1988 the Mennonite Central Committee (US) began planning for a conference that recognized the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of alternative service in Canada and the United States in the Second World War. The "Conference on Mennonites and Alternative Service during World War II" was the result of such planning, and it met 30 May to 1 June 1991, at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. The articles in that issue of the *Mennonite Quarterly Journal* represent some of the papers presented at the conference. A second example of such attention can be found in 2007 when the *Journal of Mennonite Studies* dedicated an entire issue to the subject. The articles in that issue were presented at the "War and Conscientious Objector" conference hosted by the Chair in Mennonite Studies at the University of Winnipeg, 20–21 October 2006.

8. While Waiser's *Park Prisoners* is not solely about Mennonites (or any other religious group), it is an invaluable description of the work camps that housed various COs during the war years. Sider's article "Life and Labour" is

Another area that receives considerable attention is that of Canada's chaplains. Besides Crerar's extensive work is the research of Tom Hamilton and others who provide a helpful summary of chaplaincy among both Protestants and Catholics. One other example of the attention paid to chaplains is the October 1993 issue of the *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* that focused on chaplains. The works related to chaplaincy can be divided into two categories: personal reflections and historical research. In regards to personal reflections, the reminiscences of John Gorman, Waldo Smith, Benedict Murdoch, George Fallis, or Walter Steven are dated, but Laurence Wilmot's is quite recent. Regardless of the date of publication, however, these personal accounts provide firsthand insights into the life and ministry of chaplains. In regards to historical research, Crerar's *Padres in No Man's Land* and Albert Fowler's *Peacetime Padres* provide critical accounts of the development of chaplains in the First World War and in the years following the Second World War. Edward Aitken's "The Background and Development of the Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps (Protestant)" also provides an overall perspective, but the date of its composition means that it makes no mention of the last forty years. What is encouraging about the various works on chaplains is that there are over a dozen authors who have written on the subject in theses, dissertations, articles, books, or academic papers. The weakness of the work on chaplains reflects the historical nature of Canadian chaplaincy: most of the works focus on either Catholics or Protestants (and the majority of works focus on Protestants).

also a helpful description of life in the camps. On a different note, Thomas R. Yoder Neufeld's and David Schroeder's articles do not necessarily deal specifically with Mennonites in Canada (Schroeder's has more "Canadian content" than does Neufeld's), however, they provide a helpful summary of some of the postwar changes that have impacted Mennonite conceptions of non-resistance. See Yoder Neufeld, "From 'die Stillen im Lande' to 'Getting in the Way,'" and Schroeder, "Theological Reflections of a CO." For media portrayals of Mennonites and war, see the Canadian National Film Board's portrayal, *The Pacifist Who Went to War* and the video *The Different Path: Mennonite Conscientious Objectors in World War II*.

There are no monographs that cover the entire history of the Canadian churches and war, and only a few that deal with the churches and an individual conflict. What is most surprising is that there are no books on the churches and either one of the two World Wars. Crerar's *Padres in No Man's Land* provides an important analysis of the development of Canadian chaplains during the First World War, but his work—quite naturally—pays particular attention only to chaplains. Robert Wright's *A World Mission* shows how Canadian churches were involved in trying to influence global affairs between the two World Wars. Faulkner's dissertation "For Christian Civilization" is a start towards a comprehensive study of the churches during that global conflagration, but the incomplete coverage of the entire war in Faulkner's work (his study ends in 1942) is indicative of the work still needed in this area. The important topic of the churches and the Jews during the Second World War has received attention. Alan Davies and F. Nefsky's *How Silent Were the Churches?* focuses on the churches during the war years, while Haim Genizi's *The Holocaust, Israel, and the Canadian Churches* does that and more by tracing the churches' attitudes to the nation of Israel up to recent years. Despite these helpful works, however, there is a real need for monographs focused on the two World Wars.⁹

Canada's first foreign war, the South African War, is covered by Heath's *A War with a Silver Lining*, and the years immediately following the Second World War are covered by Gayle Thrift's dissertation "The Bible, Anti-communism, and the A-Bomb." Both of these works provide the type and depth of research that is lacking for the two World Wars.¹⁰ As for the other conflicts Canada participated in, however, there is no comprehensive research completed.

9. There are a few helpful Masters theses on the two World Wars, but they are quite specific in that they cover a region and/or a particular denomination. Such research is helpful, but it does not provide a comprehensive look at the churches and the two wars.

10. Despite their strengths, these two works only deal with Protestants and relatively ignore Catholics.

Despite the paucity of monographs on the topic, there are numerous journal articles that deal with various denominations and their responses to a particular conflict. This is good news. However, there are limited attempts at synthesizing these various disparate articles. The closest thing to a developing historiography in the area of the churches and war (outside of the Mennonites) is David Marshall's reconsideration of how Methodism was portrayed by J. M. Bliss. Marshall claims that Bliss's conclusions regarding Methodist support for the First World War reflect his dependence on domestic sources. If one looks at overseas sources from chaplains, Marshall argues, such support was lacking. Marshall argues that the horrors of the war actually led to a crisis of faith within Methodism. Other than that brief reconsideration, there has been no sustained attempt to engage with the various conclusions of other scholars in the field.

The study of pre-Confederation views needs attention. What about Catholics and the wars with the Iroquois in the seventeenth century? What about Catholics and the French–British wars of the eighteenth century? What did Catholics think of the American War of Independence? What did Methodists, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and others think of the War of 1812—the great “nation-building” war for Canada? How did the numerous imperial wars of the nineteenth century receive support (or criticism) from the churches? Was there any commentary from the northern side of the forty-ninth parallel regarding the Indian Wars in the United States? How did Catholics and Protestants differ in their attitudes to these and other conflicts? These are all areas that beckon historians.

Another area of research that is relatively undeveloped is that of more recent developments in the relationship between Christianity and Canadian culture. A number of scholars such as Gary Miedema have noted how since the 1960s the churches have been losing their privileged position in public life.¹¹ How has the abandonment of the concept of a “Christian” Canada and the secularization of much of Canadian life since the 1960s affected the churches' view of Canada's participation in wars?

11. Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*.

Since many churches have abandoned their nation-building identity (or at least in the way it was understood in the early twentieth century) and have become quite marginalized in post-Christian Canada, what shifts, if any, have taken place in regards to attitudes to war? Has the marginalization of the churches actually led to a new freedom to critique the state's involvement in conflicts? Mara Apostol's recent thesis on Mennonite and United Church responses to the Vietnam War begins to explore these very questions, and suggests that a denomination's trajectory in regards to cultural engagement does significantly impact wartime attitudes. But what of the other denominations, and what of the thirty years since the war?

The majority of research regarding churches and war has taken the traditional focus on the views of clergy and the official decision-making bodies. However, there is a need to listen for voices that can provide a perspective that is not necessarily that of the clergy, or of the dominant denominations. There is also a need to explore how categories such as class, ethnicity, and gender played a part in the formation of church opinions. For instance, what did women missionaries think of the empire and its relationship to missions? Roth's "Conscientious Objection" and Marr's "Ontario's Conference of Peace Churches" provide examples of ways in which an analysis of women and war can be done, but more is needed. What about the voluminous and widely read children's literature—what can this literature tell us about militarism among youth? Russell Prime's "Through the Eyes of the Tattler" is a step in the right direction in this regard, as is Heath's "Prepared to Do, Prepared to Die." But again, more is needed. What would a study of a local congregation tell us about the churches, war, and the laity that a study of numerous churches or denominations would not? What did the relatively small Protestant denominations (denominations other than Anglican, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian) think of various wars, especially the churches that were deemed unCanadian or unBritish (such as the Germans during the First World War)? David Rothwell's "United Church Pacifism" and Heath's "Irreconcilable Differences" begin to explore the reality of dissent from the dominant church position, but there is much room

for more work on the various voices of dissent and the role of pacifist minority voices.

There is also a need for more comparative research projects. James Enn's examination of Canadian, British, and American wartime periodicals is a step in the right direction, but more needs to be done. Possible avenues for further research include exploring areas such as denominational differences between Canada and the US (e.g., how did Methodists in Canada and the US differ in regards to the War of 1812?), Canada and other parts of the empire (e.g., was the Canadian churches' late-Victorian love of empire found in Australian or New Zealand churches?), or Canada and Britain (e.g., did Canadian Anglicans simply mirror their co-religionists in Britain, or was there something unique about the Canadian Anglican view of particular wars?).

Historians of Christianity have begun to note the importance of the imperial and British connection to denominations in early nineteenth-century British North America.¹² Rather than placing the denominations on a trajectory towards independence from Britain (and becoming more "Canadian"), they have correctly noted that the imperial connection and identity often remained (though frequently contested, or as imagined constructions) and provided an ideological framework for the churches' relationships with one another and their role in Canada and the world. This imperial and British connection needs more exploration, for as Heath in particular has often noted, it provided a crucial racial and ideological backdrop for the churches' support for late-Victorian conflicts, as well as the two global conflagrations in the twentieth century. Of course, what needs to be kept in mind when exploring imperial identities and the churches is that not everyone in Canada supported imperialism, and French Catholics

12. Christie, "Introduction"; Webb, "How the Canadian Methodists Became British"; Gauvreau, "Dividends of Empire"; Webb, "Making Neo-Britons"; McKim, "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation."

and English Protestants had very different conceptions of empire.¹³

One important essay, providing a template for understanding the aspirations and activities of the churches at the end of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, is that of Phyllis Airhart on the churches and nation-building. In her “Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867–1914” she outlines the many ways in which the Protestant churches sought to build a distinctly Christian nation, and as some of aforementioned researchers note, this nation-building ethos inclined the late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century churches to support the nation’s war efforts.¹⁴ Key social gospel studies such as Richard Allen’s *The Social Passion* also need to be included in the analysis of the churches, nation-building, and war, for the social gospel impulse was an important part of the churches’ (especially the Methodist) mandate to better the nation and the world; and that included going to war to bring justice to the oppressed.

What about some of the recent theories surrounding nation-building and imperialism? How do those theories relate to researching the churches and war? First, at the present time no one theory is completely satisfactory, for no one theory describes in totality the many and complex experiences of the churches. In fact, at times attempted theories seem simplistic and mono-causal. For instance, Paula Krebs in *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire* suggests that the imperial fervor shown in England during victories over the Boers was created by the press. Certainly the press in England and the Protestant press in both England and Canada played an important role in the formation of imperial attitudes, but, as noted in an article on the poetry in the wartime press, the Protestant press in Canada was also actually shaped by the contributions and expectations of the contributors

13. For a study of Canadian anti-imperial sentiment, see Miller, “English-Canadian Opposition”; Ostergaard, “Canadian Nationalism.” For French-Canadian views of empire, see Silver, “Some Quebec Attitudes.”

14. Airhart, “Ordering a New Nation,” 99.

and subscribers in a symbiotic relationship.¹⁵ Second, some theories seem to impose certain motives upon the period and people being studied (Edward Said's *Orientalism* is one example—although his identification of the construction of “the other” is very helpful). While certainly “power” is an important part of the analysis of missionary attitudes and actions, Jane Samson argues convincingly that a more nuanced approach to power and motives is called for.¹⁶ Andrew Porter's recent book on the history of British Protestant missionaries entitled *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* is an example of such an approach. Porter's work shows that the relationship between missionaries, church, and empire was more complex and ambiguous than previously thought.

One particular work helpful for exploring the churches and nation-building is H. V. Nelles's *The Art of Nation-Building*. Nelles argues that the commemoration of Quebec's Tercentenary in 1908 was “an act of self-invention.”¹⁷ It was an opportunity where various parties remembered the past, but also negotiated to shape the future. It was a time when Canada had not yet been “made,” and thus, it was an opportunity to forge bonds between French and English, elite and masses, and monarchy and people. In a similar way, through their many public services, symbols, and sermons during various wars the churches sought to shape a yet “unmade” Canada. Whether it was the idea of a Christian (Protestant) Canada with a providential mission within the British Empire, the vision of a racially homogenous (Anglo-Saxon) Canada, or the concept of a Canada radically distinct from the United States, the churches were active participants in shaping what the past had been and what the future held for Canada. Of course, they assumed that such a vision would solidify the present and future aims of the church. Related to Nelles's argument is Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's concept of invented

15. Heath, “Passion for Empire.”

16. Samson, “Problem of Colonialism.”

17. Nelles, *Art of Nation-Building*, 12.

traditions.¹⁸ The churches were active participants in inventing traditions of what the past had been and what the future held for Canada. Of course, they assumed that such traditions would solidify the present and future aims of the church.

Philip Buckner's essay on the Royal Tour of 1901 and Jonathan Vance's book on the memory and meaning of the First World War are both helpful.¹⁹ Buckner correctly notices how the popular sentiment expressed towards the monarchy was not simply created by elites or even by the monarchy, but rather, was an expression of how those with a British heritage within Canada imagined their national identity. Much of the imperial sentiment expressed within the Canadian churches simply reflects the most basic reality that many in the Protestant churches had some type of British background, and this shaped how they imagined Canada should be. Like Buckner, Vance argues that the meaning found in the First World War in the decades that followed the war was not something that was "concocted by elites." While Vance is referring to post-First World War memory or myth, his point applies to the events of all of Canada's wars. From the very opening shots of all the conflicts there were certain "myths" surrounding the memory and meaning of the war's events. As various wars progressed, the churches were often at the forefront of the interpretation of the war's meaning. Nevertheless, neither the churches as a whole, nor individual members, had their memory forced upon them by "elites." Church leaders may have invented traditions and memories, but both church leaders and individual members owned their understanding of the events, and also contributed to the ongoing memory and meaning of the war. Why? Because, as Vance argues for those during the First World War, those alive during the conflict found such myths provided meaning in the war, as well as in a world that seemed to be filled with threats and uncertainty.

While this essay deals with publications on the churches and war, a few brief closing comments on primary sources is in order. The religious press of the various denominations has

18. Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *Invention of Tradition*.

19. See Buckner, "Casting Daylight upon Magic"; Vance, *Death So Noble*.

provided a broad range of local, national, and international denominational news, articles, and editorials on international affairs, letters to the editor, as well as poetry, hymns, prayers, and stories. The number of weekly, bi-weekly, and monthly regional and national publications from the mid-nineteenth century up until the 1950s was impressive, and the publications were widely read by members of their respective denominations. The *Presbyterian Record*, for example, had a weekly circulation at the beginning of the twentieth century of over 46,000 readers, the *Christian Guardian* over 20,000 and *Pleasant Hours* over 50,000 (some of these circulation figures were larger than some secular newspapers). Later growth was even more impressive: in the late 1960s the *United Church Observer* claimed a circulation of 330,000, with over 970,000 readers.²⁰ It has been noted elsewhere that the religious press was one instrument through which the denominations sought to build a Christian nation,²¹ and not surprisingly, William H. Magney, in his essay on Methodism and its political agenda, notes just how important the study of denominational literature can be for determining the national sentiments of Canadians. He writes that “[h]istorians of national sentiment in Canada who ignore the writings of Church journals, and the declarations of the institutional churches, do so at their own peril, for they overlook one of the most fertile sources of nationalistic writings in existence.”²² Along with the denominational press, other sources for discerning the churches’ views of war are denominational resolutions made in support of wars at synod, conference, presbytery, and other church meetings. Reflecting the wishes of the majority of those in attendance, these resolutions shed light on sentiments about the particular war. Public statements, sermons, church activities in support of the soldiers, as well as wartime liturgies, can be looked at in order to gain further a sense of the churches’ attitudes to conflicts. Interviews of wartime survivors can also be an effective way to get at how the churches viewed particular

20. Clarke, “Will the Average Reader Please Stand Up?,” 8.

21. Heath, “Forming Sound Public Opinion.”

22. Magney, “Methodist Church and the National Gospel,” 5.

wars. Annual reports from each denomination also provide a sense of the resolutions made in support of war. The diverse sources are rich and bountiful, and despite the promising work listed below, many opportunities remain for exploring the churches and their responses to the various conflicts that have shaped (and continue to shape) the nation.

II. *Annotated Bibliography*

The following is a compilation of research directly related to the study of Canadian churches and war. I apologize if I have missed any publications, and hope that omissions will be brought to my attention.

Books

Brodsky, G. W. Stephen. *God's Dodger: The Story of a Front Line Chaplain, 1905–1945*. Sidney, BC: Elysium, 1993.

The biography of the Lieutenant Colonel (The Reverend) R. O. "Rusty" Wilkes, Anglican chaplain. This book covers the life of Wilkes from his early years in Ontario to his service in the Canadian Army in the Italian campaign. A valuable narrative that provides insightful glimpses into the wartime experiences of a chaplain.

Castonguay, Jacques. *Unsung Mission: History of the Chaplaincy Service (RC) of the RCAF*. Translated by Michael Hoare. Montreal: Institut de Pastorale, 1968.

Castonguay's experience as a Roman Catholic chaplain provides him with a unique insider's perspective on the history of Catholic chaplains who served in the RCAF during and following the Second World War (up to the early 1960s). The work provides a helpful and sympathetic history of the work of such chaplains.

Crerar, Duff. *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

A thorough study of the development of Canadian chaplaincy before and during the First World War. Crerar shows how the chaplains were active in the front lines, and how their faith in the efficacy of the war was shattered

by the failure of the war to bring lasting peace. He also shows that the war led to the “coming of age” of Canadian chaplaincy.

Croome, Gilbert, and Mary Mortimer, eds. *Quiet Courage: Wartime Memories of the Congregation of Carleton Memorial United Church, Ottawa*. Ottawa: Carlton Memorial United Church, 1999.

A collection of brief personal memories from overseas soldiers, as well as from those who remained on the home front in Britain or in Canada. The book includes poems and pictures, as well as reflections on wartime experiences.

Davies, Alan, and F. Nefsky. *How Silent Were the Churches? Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1997.

A reaction to the claim made by Irving Abella and Harold Troper (*None Is Too Many*, 1982) that the churches were silent regarding the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe. Davies and Nefsky state that the answer to the question “Were they silent?” is both yes and no. They find examples of church leaders, governing bodies, and leaders in the pulpit decrying the Jews’ plight, but also note that there was no sustained outcry from the leaders or rank-and-file members.

Epp, Frank H. *I Would Like to Dodge the Draft-Dodgers, but . . .* Waterloo, ON: Conrad, 1970.

Written during the Vietnam War, this book is a call to action for Canadian churches to respond positively and helpfully to the approximately 60,000 US draft-dodgers and deserters in Canada. Chapters include a brief history of Canada’s reaction to the arrival of US conscientious objectors during the First World War, the personal story of a few conscientious objectors who made it to Canada, contemporary political response to draft-dodgers, and exhortations for churches to act in a more responsible Christian manner. The book is written by those active in the churches’ response, or by actual draft-dodgers who made it to Canada.

Fairbairn, Robert Edis. *Apostate Christendom*. London: Ken-Pax, 1947.

Fairbairn was a United Church minister who ran into difficulties for his pacifism during the Second World War. He called the United Church apostate because it abandoned the anti-war statements it had made in the

years before the war. This work outlines some of his struggles with the Church, and repudiates any idea of Christendom.

Fallis, George. *A Padre's Pilgrimage*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1953.

A personal reflection on a life of ministry in the Methodist (and later United) Church. Fallis served as a chaplain in the First and Second World Wars, and his autobiography provides a helpful glimpse of wartime attitudes and struggles, and postwar developments. Fallis was instrumental in the formation of the Canadian Memorial Chapel in Vancouver, and one chapter is devoted to the history of its construction.

Farlinger, Shirley. *A Million for Peace: The Story of the Peacemaking Fund of the United Church of Canada*. Etobicoke: United Church Publishing House, 1996.

In 1985 the United Church of Canada began its five-year project devoted to funding and supporting peace initiatives in Canada. There were two tracks to the program: the Peacemaking Fund (the book describes the many projects that were supported by this fund), and the theological track (which aided the United Church's formulation of its *Statement of Faith on Peace in a Nuclear Age*).

Fowler, Albert. *Peacetime Padres: Canadian Protestant Military Chaplains, 1945–1995*. St. Catharines: Vanwell, 1996.

Written by an experienced chaplain who served in Canada's military, this book is a sympathetic history of the Protestant chaplaincy. One of the significant contributions of this survey of fifty years of chaplaincy is that it covers material, events, and decisions that had not been studied in detail (the postwar history of chaplains has been relatively ignored compared with the amount of attention paid to the two World Wars). The various lists of chaplains in the appendices are especially helpful.

Friesen, Ronald. *When Canada Called: Manitoba Mennonites and World War II*. Steinbach, MB: Ronald Friesen, 2006.

A survey of the various ways in which Manitoba Mennonites responded to the demands of the Second World War. Friesen examines the numerous and diverse pressures faced, including legal battles between those who wanted Mennonites to serve in the armed forces and those who sought to preserve their historic pacifism. What makes this work of particular interest is that Friesen also recounts the military service of a number of men who actually

fought in the war. Such conflicting testimony reveals that the Mennonite response to the war was far from homogeneous.

Genizi, Haim. *The Holocaust, Israel, and the Canadian Protestant Churches*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

This is a study of the churches' reaction to the Holocaust and the creation of the State of Israel—with the majority of the attention given to the United Church's response. Genizi argues that while the churches did critique the Nazi treatment of Jews, the deeply rooted anti-Semitism within the churches muted the reaction, and led them to be unfairly critical of the new nation of Israel. Genizi does note how recent developments within the churches (e.g., dropping of supersessionism among some) point to a brighter future between Christians and Jews.

Heath, Gordon L. *A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899–1902*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009.

Revised dissertation of the same name. This book argues that the Canadian Protestant churches' support for the war effort was rooted in the conviction that the war had a "silver lining." Central to the ministry of the churches was a concern for the application of justice, the development of the new nation Canada, the unifying and strengthening of the empire, and the spreading of missions. A British victory in South Africa would help to accomplish all four of these at once. These four aims had been pursued by the churches before the war began, but the war brought them into sharper focus and provided a unique context for their expression. How could one not support the imperial effort, it was believed, with the interests of church and missions, nation and empire, the secular and the sacred, so intertwined? It was a war with a "silver lining."

Hurst, Alan M. *The Canadian Y.M.C.A. in World War II*. National War Services Committee of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1948.

A chronicle of one of the four national voluntary organizations to aid in the war effort (the other three were the Canadian Legion, the Knights of Columbus, and the Salvation Army). The YMCA provided wide-ranging support and programs for troops in Canada and overseas.

Janzen, William, and Frances Greaser. *Sam Martin Went to Prison: The Story of Conscientious Objection and Canadian Military Service*. Winnipeg: Kindred, 1990.

This brief book outlines the ordeal of Sam Martin, an Albertan Mennonite who was imprisoned from April 1944 to November 1945 for his refusal to serve in the army (including three grueling months in a military prison). He had initially sought the designation Conscientious Objector, but that request was continually denied.

Klassen, A. J., ed. *Alternative Service for Peace in Canada during World War II, 1941–1946*. Abbotsford: Mennonite Central Committee (BC), 1998.

This 350 page book arose out of the vision of Seniors for Peace at the 1990 Mennonite World Conference in Winnipeg. The desire was for the experiences and contributions of alternative service workers (ASW) to be remembered at the fiftieth anniversary of the institution of the ASW, and this book, at the initiative of the Mennonite Central Committee (BC), is the result of such a vision. Essays, case studies, charts, and documents provide some analysis of the ASW experiences, but the 250+ pages of personal stories and pictures are the bulk of the book. A very helpful source for ASW research.

Klassen, John C., and Jake Krueger, eds. *ASM: Alternative Service Memoirs*. Morden and Altona, MB: privately published, 1995.

A compilation of the stories of persons who were conscientious objectors. An invaluable firsthand account of courtroom dramas, camp experiences, sermons, and poetry that recounts the CO experience.

Kliewer, Victor D., ed. *Mennonite Peace Perspectives from Essex and Kent*. Leamington: Essex-Kent Historical Association, 2001.

This book arose out of the concerns regarding the violence in Kosovo (1999). It was felt by the churches of the Association that Mennonites needed a renewed awareness of their historic peace position, and this book was meant to fill that need. It is divided into six parts. Parts One and Two include confessional statements on peace from the various churches. Part Three tells the stories of many Mennonites during times of war (especially during the Second World War). Part Four contains copies of letters sent to the Canadian government, Part Five recounts various peacemaking

experiences from around the world, and Part Six includes miscellaneous anecdotes and reflections.

Klippenstein, Lawrence, ed. *That There Be Peace: Mennonites in Canada and World War II*. Winnipeg: Manitoba CO Reunion Committee, 1979.

This book arose out of a reunion movement of Western conscientious objectors (COs) who wanted a way of commemorating their experience for their own and future generations. The book provides not only pictures, clippings, and documents, but also eyewitness descriptions and remembrances of the hardships, struggles, contributions, and successes of these Mennonite COs.

McCutcheon, M. F., Allan P. Shatford, et al. *The Christian and War (an Appeal)*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926.

Published by a group of Protestant ministers in Montreal as a statement of opposition to war. The book is a good example of the type of postwar anti-war sentiment that arose among many clergy in the twenties. The arguments against war are many: the roots of war in militarism, nationalism, and imperialism; the human cost; the social cost; the economic cost; and the fact that war is unchristian (goes against the ideals of the Kingdom of God's mandate of love for others). It is argued that that the only legitimate occasion for going to war (as a very last resort) would be if the international community endorsed war as a police action.

Murdoch, Benedict J. *The Red Vineyard*. Wexford, Ireland: John English, 1949. (First published in Canada in 1928.)

The memoirs and reflections of a New Brunswick Catholic chaplain. Murdoch described his experiences, from training in camp to travelling throughout France and its battlefields during the First World War.

Neufeld, Peter Lorenz. *Mennonites at War: A Double-Edged Sword—Canadian Mennonites in World War II*. Deloraine, MB: DTS, 1997.

While much of the research of this book was carried out by Peter Neufeld, his sudden death in 1993 meant that someone else had to complete his work. His wife, Elsie, did just that. This book provides some brief essays on the Canadian Mennonite experience, but is most valuable for its extensive lists of Canadian Mennonites who fought in the war.

Ogle, R. J. *The Faculties of Canadian Military Chaplains: A Commentary on the Faculty Sheet of December, 1955 and the Directives for Holy Week Promulgated March 14, 1956*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1956.

Ogle is primarily concerned with identifying and interpreting the Roman Catholic Church's laws regarding the hierarchical powers of the Church and the spiritual responsibilities of the chaplains. Nevertheless, the book does have an introduction that provides a brief history of Catholic chaplaincy in Canada.

O'Gorman, John Robert. *Soldiers of Christ: In Memoriam*. Toronto: Extension Print, 1936.

A summary of the experiences of Catholic chaplains in the First World War. This small book (72 pages) begins with a brief historical survey of Catholic chaplaincy, and commits the bulk of its pages to short biographical summaries of every Canadian Catholic chaplain in the war (including a biography of O'Gorman, who himself served as a Catholic chaplain).

Reimer, David, ed. *Experiences of the Mennonites of Canada during the Second World War*. Altona, MB: D. W. Friesen, 1951(?).

This brief work provides various wartime statements, minutes, and other documentary evidence of Mennonite reactions to the pressures of forced service. Reimer was the secretary of a Committee of Directors that commissioned the work (the other members of the committee were Bishop P. A. Toews, Bishop David Schulz, and Rev. Jac. F. Barkman). A helpful compilation of primary sources.

Rowland, Barry D. *The Padre*. Scarborough, ON: Consolidated Amethyst, 1982.

This book follows the wartime experience (1942–1945) of David Parson Rowland, a Presbyterian clergyman who was chaplain for the Irish Regiment of Canada. It is a compilation of his personal letters, and provides an insightful and candid glimpse into the personal thoughts and life of a much-loved chaplain.

Scott, Frederick George. *The Great War as I Saw It*. Toronto: F. D. Goodchild, 1922. Reprinted, Vancouver: Clarke & Stuart, 1934.

A firsthand account of Scott's experiences as a chaplain from the opening months of the war to his injury in the final weeks of the war. A valuable source of information on the responsibilities of a chaplain, some of the wartime attitudes (e.g., refers to Canada's soldiers as "Knights," or German "vulgar autocrats"), and Scott's own patriotic poetry.

Smith, Waldo E. L. *What Time the Tempest: An Army Chaplain's Story*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1953.

An eyewitness account of Smith's own experience as a Protestant chaplain in the Second World War. He recounts events from his initial experience of becoming a chaplain to the battles against the Germans in Italy. This is not a history per se, but it does provide a glimpse of the life, fears, hopes, failures, and successes of Canada's chaplains.

Steven, Walter T. *In This Sign*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1948.

A helpful, but dated, history of Canadian Protestant chaplaincy from its infancy in the eighteenth century to the years immediately following the Second World War. The various lists of chaplains in the appendices are helpful.

Toews, J. A. *Alternative Service in Canada during World War II*. Winnipeg: Canadian Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 1959.

A concise summary of Alternative Service in Canada. It traces the arrival of historic peace churches into Canada, the government's policies towards those churches during the First and Second World Wars, the alternative service programs established, and the contributions of those in the alternative service programs (e.g., forestry, Red Cross). The numerous lists in tables are especially helpful for quick reference.

Wilmot, Laurence. *Through the Hitler Line: Memoirs of an Infantry Chaplain*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2003.

Wilmot served as an Anglican chaplain in the West Nova Scotia Regiment during the Italian Campaign, 1943–1945, and during the final weeks of the war in Holland, 1945. The book is a highly detailed account of day-to-day events, and provides a vivid description of the daily routines and struggles of a chaplain.

Wright, Robert. *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918–1939*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

In the early 1920s Canada had over 760 missionaries in foreign lands, and, Wright argues, the churches believed that through these foreign missionaries a new internationalism could be built. This new internationalism, argues Wright, was the belief that "Christ alone embodied the ideals of brotherhood, peace, and justice." This book shows how international events and conflicts eventually made this vision unsustainable, despite some success (e.g., humanitarian and educational work).

Articles and Essays

Althouse, Peter. "Canadian Pentecostal Pacifism." *Eastern Journal of Practical Theology* 4.2 (1990) 32–43.

A brief summary and analysis of Canadian Pentecostal pacifism during the Second World War, with a passing reference to postwar developments. It argues that Pentecostalism moved away from its original pacifism because of theological (e.g., missionary opportunities in the army, delayed parousia, lack of clear biblical teaching) and sociological reasons (e.g., move from sect to church, attempts to make Pentecostalism acceptable to as many people as possible, social pressures during the war, influx of non-Pentecostals into the church in the postwar years).

Anger, Bob. "Presbyterian Chaplaincy during the First World War." Paper presented at the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 2002.

Unable to obtain a copy.

Angus, Murray E. "King Jesus and King George: The Manly Christian Patriot and the Great War, 1914–1918." *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 12 (1997–1998) 124–32.

An examination of Nova Scotia Methodist and Presbyterian support for the First World War. It identifies the variety of factors that contributed to young Christians who willingly fought for "King George and think that in doing so they were serving King Jesus." Some of the more important factors were imperialism (including the identification of the British Empire with God's "providential tool"), nationalism, glorified or sanitized views of war, and a muscular Christianity.

Bechtel, Ken. "A Premillennialist Pacifism: The Canadian Swiss Mennonite Peace Position." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 89–106.

An examination of the impact of the introduction of a prophetic, pre-millennial eschatology among Canadian Swiss Mennonites before, during, and immediately after the Second World War. Some communities were successfully able to graft these "newer prophecy-focused, dispensationalist worldviews onto their older nonmillennialist Anabaptist notions." However, in other instances, the "new premillennialist perspectives undermined older peace convictions" (e.g., was the Sermon on the Mount for living now, as Mennonites had traditionally believed, or was the ideal presented by Christ something to be lived in the coming millennium, as dispensationalists preached?). Ultimately, the pressures of the war would lead to questions about the appropriate Mennonite response, which traditionally had been withdrawal from the world. However, no consensus was found.

Bedal, Penny, and Ross Bartlett. "The Women Do Not Speak: The Methodist Ladies' Aid Societies and World War I." *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 10 (1993–1994) 63–86.

This article explores the Methodist women's response to the First World War. The two groups of women studied are both from southern Ontario (based on the Ladies' Aid records of the Bay of Quinte and Toronto), one rural and the other urban. It outlines the various organizations, fund raising methods, and special projects the women were involved in, as well as the formative influences on women's views of the war (articles and advertising in the *Christian Guardian*, ministers). It also tentatively concludes that Methodist women, in general, had not embraced the ideals of the social gospel movement because their activities "perpetuated an exaggerated view of women as unselfish, loyal, obedient and silent members of society."

Bergen, John J. "Teaching Certificate Is Lost as Mennonite Teacher Maintains Conscientious Principles." *Mennonite Mirror* 18.5 (January 1990) 20–22.

Bergen was a Mennonite public school teacher in Manitoba who lost his teaching certificate because of his non-resistant convictions during the Second World War. This brief article recounts the hostility expressed to those unwilling to support the war effort as the state expected, and the events that led to the loss and return (after the war) of his certification.

———. “The World Wars and Education among Mennonites in Canada.” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 (1990) 156–72.

Bergen notes how the anti-German sentiment during the war years led to such hardships as the decreased use (or elimination) of German in Mennonite schools, the closure of some schools or Bible studies, the changing of some school names to more “Canadian” and less German names, and the loss of some jobs by Mennonite teachers. The end of the war did lead to a resurgence of a number of Mennonite private schools, for the influx of Mennonite immigrants meant there was still a need for instruction in German. However, the pressures of postwar urbanization, industrialization, and assimilation meant that Mennonite schools had to prepare their students to engage the world in a way previously unheard of among Mennonites.

Bliss, J. M. “The Methodist Church and World War I.” *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (1968) 213–33.

A detailed summary of the many ways in which the Methodists supported the First World War. It argues that the Methodist Church encouraged and sustained the idealism behind English Canadian participation in the war, and shows how the “total war” effort was eventually carried over into expectations about government involvement in social reform efforts.

Bowler, Kate. “‘We Wish to Inform You’: Canadian Religious Reporting of the Rwandan Genocide.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (2008) 175–95.

An analysis of how the Rwandan genocide of 1994 was constructed in the Catholic, Adventist, and Mennonite press. It shows how the disaster was portrayed as both a Christian problem and a Canadian problem: a Christian problem because of the culpability of many Rwandan Christians in the deaths, and a Canadian problem because it brought into question the lofty ideals (or imagined identity) of Canadian multilateral peacekeeping efforts.

Brock, Peter. “Accounting for Difference: The Problem of Pacifism in Early Upper Canada.” *Ontario History* 90.1 (1998) 19–30.

A study of the difficulties faced by Mennonite, Tunker, and Quaker settlers in the face of government expectations of support for Upper Canada’s defenses during the years before, during, and after the War of 1812. The Mennonites and Tunkers ended up making a deal with the government to be

relieved of fighting if they made a payment or transported goods, whereas the Quakers were uncompromising and made no deal.

Bush, Peter. "Biafra and the Canadian Churches, 1960–1970." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (2003) 129–47.

An examination of how the civil war in eastern Nigeria (the Biafran crisis) impacted the Canadian churches (since the only Canadian denomination in Nigeria was the Presbyterians, the paper looks primarily at the Presbyterian reaction). Bush outlines the Canadian churches' reactions to the war in regards to government lobbying and providing aid (airlifting food and supplies), and contends that the conflict shifted the churches towards acting as non-governmental organizations in order to provide humanitarian aid.

Ciani, Adrian. "An Imperialist Irishman': Bishop Michael Fallon, the Diocese of London and the Great War. *Historical Studies* 74 (2008) 73–94.

This article asserts that the Catholic bishop Fallon was an avid supporter of the war effort. Fallon believed that the war provided an opportunity for Catholics to develop an identity as patriotic citizens, and his support for the war must be seen through what Ciani calls his "tripartite loyalties": to the British Empire, to Ireland and Irish Catholics, and to Roman Catholicism. While his support for the war endeared him to English Canadians, and helped to heal relations between Catholics and Protestants, that same support hurt relations between English Catholics (who supported the war effort) and French Catholics (who did not). One fascinating aspect of this article is how prescient Fallon was when it came to the outbreak of war with Germany.

Clifford, N. K. "Charles Clayton Morrison and the United Church of Canada." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 15 (1969) 80–92.

An outline of Charles Clayton Morrison's criticism of the United Church of Canada during the early years of the Second World War. Morrison's concern over the UCC's relationship with the state (as expressed through cooperative ventures such as the selling of war bonds to help the church's finances) was supported by some in Canada, and garnered intense criticism from others in Canada. Clayton concludes by asking if, despite the initial criticisms of his "outsiders" critique, Morrison was actually right.

Coffman, S. F. "Mennonites and Military Service." In *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario*, edited by Lewis J. Burkholder, 258–72. Toronto: Livingstone, 1935.

A narrative of the events surrounding Mennonites and military service in Canada. Coffman was a part of the deputation of Mennonites that wrote to the Canadian government in 1917 in order to ensure that Mennonite exemptions would continue despite the new Military Service Act—so his commentary is informed by his eyewitness experience. The text of the "Appeal to the Government of Canada in Council" (1917) is provided in its entirety, as are copies of the certificates used by the churches to identify their members to the government.

———. "The Non-resistant Relief Organization." In *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario*, edited by Lewis J. Burkholder, 273–76. Toronto: Livingstone, 1935.

Coffman was one of the officers of the organization (he was secretary)—so this brief article provides an eyewitness account of the NRRO. The organization was created late in 1917 in order to unite the relief efforts of the non-resistant churches, as well as to guard the interests of the same churches. The article identifies some of the key leaders, events, and issues, as well as member denominations (Mennonites, Tunkers, Amish).

Crerar, Duff. "In the Day of Battle: Canadian Catholic Chaplains in the Field, 1885–1945." *Historical Studies* 61 (1995) 53–77.

A survey that describes the physical stresses and dangers of chaplaincy, summarizes the spiritual care of soldiers, details the conflicts with Protestants and/or government, and lists the ways and means of the chaplaincy successes in the field. A helpful survey that ends with a call for more research into Canadian chaplaincy during and since the Second World War.

———. "The Church in the Furnace: Canadian Anglican Chaplains Respond to the Great War." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993) 75–103.

An analysis of the hopes, dreams, discouragement, and disillusionment that overseas chaplains faced when they sought to see their reform agenda implemented back in Canada after the war.

———. “Belicose Priests: The Wars of the Canadian Catholic Chaplain 1914–1919.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1991) 13–32.

Crerar shows how the development of Canadian chaplaincy had a rocky period during the Great War, and this article provides a blow-by-blow account of the struggles of Roman Catholics and their chaplains against Protestant bias and political pressure to ensure that their soldiers at the front received proper attention from Catholic chaplains. The years 1914–1917 were difficult years, with Catholics feeling that their needs were being ignored, but by the end of the war (after concerted political pressure) they had managed to gain concessions that were deemed satisfactory. Crerar also notes how there was a degree of “war-time ecumenism” at the front that was noteworthy in an age of significant Catholic–Protestant tension.

Davies, Alan, and Marilyn Felcher Nefsky. “The Church of England in Canada and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era, 1933–1945.” *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 10 (1988) 1–19.

Like the book by the same authors (see above), this article deals with the claim made by Irving Abella and Harold Troper (*None Is Too Many*, 1982) that the Anglican churches were silent regarding the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe. Davies and Nefsky argue that the Anglicans were “surprisingly vocal, especially once the fires of imperial patriotism were kindled and German totalitarianism was defined as the mortal foe of Anglo-Saxon democracy.”

———. “The United Church and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era, 1933–1945.” *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 8 (1984) 55–72.

Like the book by the same authors (see above), this article deals with the claim made by Irving Abella and Harold Troper (*None Is Too Many*, 1982) that the churches were silent regarding the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe. Davies and Nefsky argue that while there was no mass outcry against the crimes in Europe, and there was anti-Semitism imbedded within the United Church of Canada, there were voices that spoke in defense of the Jews. They conclude that much of the silence was “willed ignorance rather than conscious or unconscious anti-Semitism.”

Davies, Blodwen. “From Militia Tax to Relief.” *Mennonite Life* 5 (1950) 27–28.

A brief article that describes how Canadian Mennonites during the First World War came to show appreciation for their exemption from conscription. Eventually monies raised, food gathered, items collected, and relief workers recruited became an important part of the Mennonite response to war and suffering around the world.

Dekar, Paul R. "Envoys of Peace: Canadian Baptist Women Missionaries as Peacemakers." In *Costly Vision: The Baptist Pilgrimage in Canada*, edited by Jarold K. Zeman, 85–99. Burlington: Welch, 1988.

Dekar brings attention to the lives and ministry of Baptist women missionaries, a group that has often been neglected in Baptist research. Dekar argues that the work of Baptist women in India in the formation of educational institutions and hospitals, the care of lepers, alleviation of injustice, the breaking down of caste barriers, and the spreading of literacy places them in the category of peacemakers.

———. "Is Canada *The Peaceable Kingdom?*" *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1987) 1–15.

Dekar summarizes the lives of David Willson, Louis Riel, and Nellie McClung to provide a way of imaging a Canadian identity devoid of the violence and militarism of America and other nations. Nations are imagined communities, he argues, and the lives of these and other Canadians can provide a way of imaging a Canada that is a "peaceable kingdom."

Doell, Leonard. "Mennonite COs and the United Church in Northern Aboriginal Communities." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 125–36.

The shortage of wartime workers led to the United Church taking Mennonite COs as teachers and missionaries in their northern Manitoba ministries with the aboriginal communities (25 male COs, and 6 women). Despite some difficulties (e.g., the Mennonite problem with infant baptism), the arrangement seemed beneficial to both denominations: the experience "opened new and unfamiliar opportunities for mission projects and service" for Mennonites, and the United Church ministries received much needed help. All in all, the experience "brought together Mennonites and United Church people in a way that helped to create closer relations that brought mutual benefit, new strength, hope and vision to both churches."

Dueck, Abe J. "Making a Case for Non-combatant Service: B. B. Janz's Negotiations with the Government during World War II." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 107–24.

An examination on Janz's negotiations with the government during the critical period late-1940 to summer 1941. Canadian Mennonites were divided over how to respond to the war and government expectations, and Janz was one of eight key Mennonite figures that sought to resolve the dilemma by forging an agreement with the government. This article considers some critical correspondence that seems to have been missed by previous researchers. Dueck concludes that Janz was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempts, and lost a degree of trust among Mennonites for his efforts.

Dueck, Peter. "'The Sword of the Lord': Honorary Captain Waldo E. L. Smith and the Second World War." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48 (2006) 55–84.

Smith was a United Church minister (previously Methodist) who understood the war to be a spiritual struggle between good and evil. Dueck argues that the nationalistic elements to Smith's support for the war effort and service in the military were actually "expressions of a spiritual worldview." The "sword of the Lord" was manifested by the "faithful service of Christian individuals," and it was the job of the chaplains to exhort (and model) a life of righteousness and faithful service so that God would come to their aid in the struggle.

Durocher, Rene. "Henri Bourassa, les évêques et la guerre de 1914–1919." *Canadian Historical Association Papers* (1971) 254–69.

This article reveals Bourassa's struggle with his anti-imperial convictions and his loyalty to Catholicism. His wartime correspondence with the bishops reveals his ultramontane convictions, as well as his belief that the church—especially the bishops—was to defend the rights of the minorities. In this regard, Durocher argues that Catholicism contributed to the survival of the French-Canadian presence in Canada.

Egerton, George. "Between War and Peace: Politics, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Cold War Canada, 1945–1950." In *Religion and the Cold War*, edited by Dianne Kirby, 163–87. Houndsmill: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.

A study of the relationship between religion and politics in the early years of the Cold War. Egerton shows how the churches' desire to have a reference to God in a statement of human rights led them not to support any government or United Nation's initiatives that excluded such a reference (it was felt by some that a secular version of rights was inferior and/or a threat). The Korean conflict and the alleged communist subversives in Canada also contributed to a fear that too much support for civil rights would not enable the government to fight against the Red threat. Besides, Egerton argues, it was believed by many in the churches that civil liberties were already protected by British Common Law.

Enns, James. "Sustaining the Faithful and Proclaiming the Evangel in a Time of War: Examining the Role of Popular Evangelical Periodicals in Canada, Britain and the United States during World War II." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (2004) 113–32.

A look at six wartime evangelical publications: two each from Canada (*Evangelical Christian, Prairie Pastor*), the United States (*Sunday School Times, Moody Monthly*), and Britain (*The Dawn, World Dominion in the World Today*). Enns illustrates how the press had relatively the same themes throughout the war (all supported the war effort), and contends that the most urgent need expressed in the pages all publications was the need for overseas missions. This wartime missions zeal prepared the way for the postwar boom in global Protestant missions.

Fowler, Albert G. "Following in the Footsteps of Our Lord: Canadian Army Chaplains in Korea 1950–53." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993) 122–32.

Written by a chaplain, this brief summary provides details on the names and responsibilities of the Canadian chaplains in Korea, as well as some of their problems, ministries, and commendations.

Fowler, Michelle. "'Death Is Not the Worst Thing': The Presbyterian Press in Canada, 1913–19." *War & Society* 25.2 (2006) 23–38.

Revised Masters thesis—see below. A summary of the reasons for the support for the war in the Presbyterian press.

———. “Faith, Hope and Love: The Wartime Motivations of Lance Corporal Frederick Spratlin, MM and Bar, 3rd Battalion, CEF.” *Canadian Military History* 15.1 (2006) 45–60.

An intriguing study of the wartime markings in the Bible of Lance Corporal Spratlin. Fowler notes how Spratlin identified aspects of military service with particular Bible passages, and claims that his “annotated scripture passages tell us that at least one Canadian, and probably many more, viewed the Great War as a war in defense of others and in keeping with their deeply-held Christian beliefs.”

———. “Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press and the Great War.” Unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 2005. Accessed online: http://csp.h.ca/papers/CSPH2005_Fowler.pdf.

This paper identifies the reasons for the Presbyterian support for the war effort. It claims that the church wanted war as a last resort, acted within the longstanding just-war tradition, displayed crusading language at times, and believed that fighting for justice and liberty was a worthwhile and noble cause. A study of the denominational press indicates that certain publications were primarily supportive of the war, whereas others allowed for varied opinion and some debate on the war.

Fransen, David. “‘As Far as Conscience Will Allow’: Mennonites in Canada during the Second World War.” In *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939–1945*, edited by Norman Hillmer et al., 131–49. Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988.

A refinement of his MA thesis (see below) that details the internal divisions and cultural accommodation of wartime Mennonites.

Fraser, Brian J. “Peacemaking among Presbyterians in Canada: 1900–1945.” In *Peace, War and God’s Justice*, edited by Thomas D. Parket and Brian J. Fraser, 125–43. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1989.

Fraser argues that there were three ways that Canadian Presbyterians approached peacemaking. The first was an optimistic, evangelical liberalism that looked to “human cooperation and good will to bring about lasting

peace.” This type suffered after the First World War. The second type, which rose to prominence in the inter-war period, was the “democratic socialist and pacifist critique” of the causes of war—especially the First World War. The third type was the “suspicious neo-orthodoxy” that was “wary of human effort in the face of overwhelming evil” and one that called people back to dependence on God’s redemption in Christ.

Gauvreau, Michael. “War, Culture and the Problem of Religious Certainty: Methodist and Presbyterian Church Colleges, 1914–1930.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 29 (1987) 12–31.

A challenge to Richard Allen’s thesis that in the postwar years the decline of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches was due to an inability to resolve the tension between individual regeneration and social action: Gauvreau argues that the professors of the Methodist and Presbyterian colleges were more concerned with the intellectual and moral questions raised due to the war and recent scientific and philosophical discoveries. He calls these professors “Christian Realists,” and concludes that they were able to avoid the extremes of modernism or fundamentalism by developing a theology that provided a synthesis between faith and reason.

Hamilton, Tom. “In the Fire of Battle: Presbyterian Padre Charlie Maclean with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada.” Unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 1997.

Unable to obtain a copy.

———. “The Delicate Equilibrium: Canada’s Protestant Chaplains during the Second World War.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993) 105–20.

A description of how Protestant Canadian chaplains were organized under the leadership of the newly appointed Principal Protestant Chaplain Bishop Wells (Anglican Bishop of Cariboo). It claims that while a few Canadian Protestant chaplains failed in their duties, the majority served courageously and creatively in the face of significant adversity. It also provides a description of how chaplains balanced their responsibilities as Christian leaders and military social workers.

———. “Spiritual and Patriotic Duty: Understanding Why Anglican Clergy Enlisted as Chaplains in World War II.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1992) 113–26.

A brief examination of the theological beliefs and nationalistic convictions of twenty-seven World War II Anglican chaplains. The chaplains are divided into three categories: Anglo-catholic, traditional, and evangelical. Hamilton concludes that both nationalistic and spiritual convictions were reasons for enlisting. The conclusions of this research are tentative due to the limited number of chaplains surveyed (27 out of 228 total chaplains).

Harder, Lauren. “One Photograph, Many Stories: A Mennonite Congregation’s Diverse Response to War.” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 137–44.

Harder’s research began with the discovery of a Second World War photo of two Mennonite conscientious objectors, and two army recruits who were United Church and Lutheran. The four men had posed for the camera with arms around each other. The diversity of reactions to the war in the picture, Harder claims, is a poignant portrayal of the diversity of reactions to the war among the members of Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church in Kitchener, Ontario. While the church encouraged non-resistance, there were those who enlisted. Regardless of the response, Harder argues, the church welcomed all back into its ranks after the war.

Healey, Robynne. “Thirty-One Hours on Grindstone Island: The Canadian and American Friends Service Committees’ Experiment in Civil Defence.” *Canadian Quaker History Journal* 71 (2006) 22–32.

In 1965, a two-day experiment with fifty-one individuals at Grindstone Island revealed some of the tensions between two groups opposed to militarization and Cold War tensions. One group, Quakers, understood non-violence to be a positive doctrine related to a way of life concerned with justice. The other group, civilian defence theorists, were primarily concerned with tactics and not necessarily creating a better society. These tensions were never fully reconciled.

Heath, Gordon. “Canadian Baptists and Late-Victorian Imperial Spirituality.” (Forthcoming as a chapter of a book from the Andrew Fuller Center conference, bibliographical details not yet available).

Baptist spirituality has been marked by a passion for missions and a concern for justice. This essay shows how in the late-Victorian period Baptists believed that the best way for missions to expand and justice to occur was for the empire to grow. For those two reasons (not to mention other possible reasons) Canadian Baptists were ardent imperialists.

———. “‘Prepared to Do, Prepared to Die’: Family Values, Evangelicals, Imperialism, and Canadian Children, 1899–1902.” (Under review).

The Canadian churches at this time were imbued with an ardent imperialism, and were firmly and enthusiastically committed to the imperial cause in South Africa. This study explores one unique and little-known expression of Methodist and Presbyterian imperialism: the infusing of their children with imperial virtues. What is striking for the purposes of this research is the conflation of family values, evangelicalism, and imperialism. These children’s publications reveal how evangelicalism’s emphasis on family was a motivating factor in nurturing young imperialists. The editors of these publications believed that imperial values were synonymous with Christian values, and that girls and boys who embodied the ideals of their papers would become good mothers, fathers, and citizens, as well as defenders of empire. Consequently, articles on faith, heroes, vocation, patriotism and entertainment were permeated with imperial sentiment.

———. “Flirting with Nirvana: The Canadian Baptist Attitude to Warfare, 1919–1939.” (Forthcoming as a chapter of a book from the Seventh Canadian Baptist Heritage Conference, a part of the Hayward Lectures, bibliographical details not yet available).

Revised Masters thesis—see below. Although Baptists supported the cause of, and participated in, both World Wars, during the inter-war period they “flirted with Nirvana” and adopted a pacifist position. This shift was due to the experience of the First World War (carnage, futility, fear of another war) and the influence of the social gospel movement. This shift followed the general trend among other Protestant denominations.

———. “‘The Great Association Above’: Maritime Baptists and the War of 1812.” (Under review).

An examination of the impact of the War of 1812 on Baptists in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Unlike a number of Baptists in Upper Canada, Baptists in the Maritimes remained loyal to the British Crown. The war did

interrupt and sever a number of important cross-border relationships with American Baptists, but once the war was over the ties were immediately renewed. In fact, even during the war there were cross-border ministries and communication that reveal how evangelical and denominational loyalties were paramount—even when political loyalties differed.

———. “Ontario Baptists and the War of 1812.” *Ontario History* (forthcoming).

The disparate reactions among Baptists leaders provide concrete examples of the impact of the war on a small struggling evangelical denomination, as well a glimpse of the range of political loyalties that existed within Upper Canadian Baptist churches. They also illustrate the central argument of this article: the war did not entirely eclipse evangelicalism’s cross-border relationships, nor did evangelicalism completely erase national identities.

———. “Traitor, Half-Breeds, Savages and Heroes: Canadian Baptist Newspapers and Constructions of Riel and the Events of 1885.” In *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, edited by Gordon L. Heath and Paul Wilson, Eugene, OR: Pickwick Press, forthcoming.

Through its commentary on events, the Baptist press played a significant role in the nation-building process—and in the case of the events of 1885, supported the Canadian government’s decision to crush any dissent. It is obvious that the reports in the press shed more light on the Canadian Baptist press than on the actual person of Riel. Like much of the writing on Riel, personal and corporate biases tended to shape how he was perceived and constructed. It would seem that Riel stood in the way of everything that the Baptist press deemed important—advancement of the nation westward, racial/cultural superiority and assimilation, law and order, and patriotism and pride in their soldiers. Consequently, it seems inevitable that the press would construct Riel and his followers in such a negative way.

———. “Canada and the Nile Expedition: Canadian Baptists and Nascent Imperialism, 1884–1885.” *Baptist Quarterly* (forthcoming 2011).

In the fall of 1884 close to 400 Canadian voyageurs volunteered to assist the British in rescuing General Gordon in Khartoum in the Sudan. The attitudes expressed in the Baptist press at that time reveal a support for the new imperialism. The article argues that all the attitudes necessary for the

ardent imperial enthusiasm in the South African War (1899–1902) were already in place during the period of the Nile Expedition.

———. “Wisdom on War for Evangelicals.” *Faith Today* (January/February 2007) 24–26.

A very brief overview of the history of Canadian evangelical attitudes to war from the South African War (1899–1902) to the beginning of the twenty-first century.

———. “When Missionaries Were Hated: An Examination of the Canadian Baptist Defense of Imperialism and Missions during the Boxer Rebellion, 1900.” In *Baptists and Mission*, edited by Ian M. Randall and Anthony R. Cross, 261–76. Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2007.

Through an examination of the Canadian Baptist press this chapter explores how Canadian Baptists understood the relationship between missions and empire. It shows how Canadian Baptists quickly came to the defense of imperialism and missionaries in China, but it also demonstrates how they were quite critical of the excesses of imperialism and were quite willing to blame the Western powers for many of their overseas troubles; especially their troubles in China.

———. “‘Forming Sound Public Opinion’: The Late Victorian Canadian Protestant Press and Nation-Building.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48 (2006) 109–59.

The ignoring of the denominational press by many historians is surprising due to the importance of newspapers in the shaping of public opinion in the late-Victorian period, as well as for their value as a primary source for historians. Whatever the reasons for such neglect, the late-Victorian Protestant denominational press needs to be seen as an important factor in the development of not only religious convictions, but also political values and opinions. Consequently, this article shows how the press saw itself as having an important role in the critical task of nation-building, and outlines the ways in which it sought to do just that. It also has an extensive annotated bibliography of late-Victorian Protestant publications.

———. “‘Were We in the Habit of Deifying Monarchs’: Canadian English Protestants and the Death of Queen

Victoria, 1901.” *Canadian Evangelical Review* (2005–2006) 72–97.

Queen Victoria’s death in 1901 led to empire-wide expressions of grief and sympathy. This article details the Canadian English Protestant churches’ reaction to her death, and begins to explore how the churches’ view of the Queen influenced their attitudes to empire and gender. What this article indicates is that there was widespread support for the monarchy in general, and the Queen in particular. It also indicates that the popular conceptions of the Queen played a considerable role in the formation of attitudes to empire and gender.

———. “‘Citizens of That Mighty Empire’: Imperial Sentiment among Students at Wesley College, 1897–1902.” *Manitoba History* 49 (June 2005) 15–25.

Oftentimes, university students are some of the most vocal and passionate anti-imperialists. Yet that has not always been the case, as this study of student attitudes to imperialism indicates. The students that this article focuses on were from Wesley College in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. This article explores the imperial sentiments that permeated student life and classes by looking at the student newspaper *Vox Wesleyana*.

———. “Passion for Empire: War Poetry Published in the Canadian English Protestant Press during the South African War, 1899–1902.” *Literature and Theology* (2002) 127–47.

This article explores the imperial sentiment in the Canadian English Protestant churches through a look at the poems published in their various publications during the war years of 1899–1902. It notes the origins of much of the poetry, identifies the amount of poetry that was published, as well as outlining some of the larger themes of the war poetry. These poems indicate that imperial sentiment was, in fact, quite widespread among the members of the English Protestant churches.

———. “Sin in the Camp: The Day of Humble Supplication in the Anglican Church in Canada in the Early Months of the South African War.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 44 (2002) 207–26.

This article shows how in the late nineteenth century, Britain was very clearly considered to be God’s modern-day chosen people, its soldiers part of a holy cause, and the Church of England in Canada, despite not being the established religion of the new Dominion, acted as the modern-day

Levitical priests. A multitude of sins were considered to be blocking God's blessing. By calling the nation to repentance, offering the opportunity for humble supplication through its services, and by acting as priests of the nation, the Church of England felt that it was truly contributing to the nation-building enterprise and the victory of imperial arms in South Africa.

———. "Irreconcilable Differences: Wartime Attitudes of George C. Pidgeon and R. Edis Fairbairn, 1939–1945." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1999) 29–50.

An examination of the pro/anti-war clash in the United Church of Canada by means of an examination of two church leaders. The paper compares the wartime sermons of George C. Pidgeon with the anti-war publications of R. Edis Fairbairn. The root of the differences between these two men lay in their radically different interpretations of history, Scripture, and church polity (in particular the church's anti-war statements in the inter-war years).

Heick, W. H. "The Lutherans of Waterloo County during World War I." *Waterloo Historical Society* 50 (1962) 23–32.

Unable to obtain a copy.

Hobbs, Raymond. "Religion and the War of 1812 in Upper Canada. Part One: British Military Chaplains." Unpublished online paper:

[http://www.warof1812.ca/Chaplains.DG.cwk%20\(WP\).pdf](http://www.warof1812.ca/Chaplains.DG.cwk%20(WP).pdf).

A summary of the remuneration, responsibilities, dress, and activities of chaplains in Upper Canada during the war. It also provides helpful biographical details on the Church of England people in Upper Canada who served as chaplains.

Hogan, Brian F. "The Guelph Novitiate Raid: Conscriptio, Censorship and Bigotry during the Great War." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions* (1978) 57–80.

On 7 June 1918, the military police raided the Jesuit Novitiate of St. Stanislaus near Guelph, Ontario. The stated motive was to arrest young men evading military service. Besides illustrating the problems between governmental agencies and the bungling of the application of the Military Service Act, this raid, Hogan argues, illustrates the tensions between Protestants and Catholics (although he does indicate that the extreme Orange-Ontario feelings were not shared by the majority of Protestants).

This is an interesting examination of a little-known event that, in its day, provoked intense commentary in national newspapers, parliamentary debates, and a Royal Commission.

Humphries, Charles W. "Two B.C. Pacifists and the Boer War." *BC Studies* 45 (1980) 116–27.

A study of William Marchant's and J. Herbert Bainton's opposition to the South African War. This article details their opposition and the reaction to it, as well as concludes that an analysis of the opposition may indicate that there were more people who were opposed to the war than originally thought.

Jacobs, Shelley L. "Pacifism in Churches of Christ in Western Canada during World War II and the Influence of Nashville Bible School." *Restoration Quarterly* 48.4 (2006) 211–31.

Jacobs demonstrates how the influence of the Nashville Bible School and James A. Harding in Canada began with the establishment of a congregation in Meaford, Ontario, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Western Canadian influence of the school and Harding began when settlers from Ontario moved west and established congregations in the prairies. The American pacifist influence continued due to the ongoing arrival of American preachers and evangelists in Canada, the attendance of Canadians at the school, and the influence of restoration publications. The pacifism exhibited was a "kingdom theology" that embraced the Sermon on the Mount as the way for Christians to live in God's kingdom.

Janzen, William. "Relations between Canadian Mennonites and Their Government during World War II." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (1992) 492–507.

This article provides a helpful analysis of the Mennonite experience during the Second World War. It provides a summary of the historic reasons for exemption and Alternative Service (e.g., particular promises made by the Canadian government to immigrant communities), as well as the struggles by the Mennonites and Canadian government to come to an acceptable solution during the war. Janzen shows that there was diversity among the Mennonites when it came to what was acceptable participation, and concludes that the relations between the two groups were reasonably amicable (despite a number of Mennonites being imprisoned for their convictions).

MacDonald, Robert. "The Methodist Church in Alberta during the First World War." *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 10 (1993–1994) 145–69.

This article examines three different aspects of the Methodist support for the war in Alberta: by institutions, prominent Methodists, and local congregations. MacDonald's research indicates widespread and fervent support for the war effort at all levels and in a variety of ways (e.g., sermons, sendoffs, memorials, fund raising).

MacDonald, Stuart. "The War-Time Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985) 58–78.

Revised Masters thesis—see below. MacDonald shows how the preaching of Eakin shifted from a traditional just-war view to seeing the war as a holy war or crusade. The change was gradual, but by 1916 and 1917 the shift had occurred. This wartime attitude, MacDonald argues, was held by a large number of Presbyterians and Canadian Christians in general.

Marr, Lucille. "Ontario's Conference of Historical Peace Church Families and the 'Joy of Service.'" *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 75 (2001) 257–72.

An examination of the families of four executive leaders of Ontario's Conference of Historic Peace Churches during the Second World War. This article shows how the wives and mothers in these families understood their Christian discipleship to be marked by facilitating their husbands' service. In other words, their sacrifices (at great personal cost) allowed for their husbands "joy of service," but were at the same time understood theologically to be their "joy of service" as well.

———. "Peace Activities of the Canadian Conference of the Brethren in Christ Church, 1945–1982." *Brethren in Christ History and Life* 8 (1985) 13–36.

As study of the acculturation of the Canadian Brethren in the decades following the Second World War that illustrates how the Brethren's historic peace position was diluted by an increasing engagement with the wider Protestant evangelical community (a community that was, for the most part, not pacifist). While this movement to a more mainline position in Canadian religious life led to changes in the demographics and even theology of the denomination, the article concludes by stating that the historical peace witness of the denomination can still be found among its members.

Marshall, David. "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review* 66 (1985) 48–64.

Marshall reconsiders how the issue of Methodism and the war has traditionally been portrayed. He claims that J. M. Bliss and R. Allen's conclusions regarding ardent Methodist support for the First World War reflect their dependence on domestic sources. If one looks at overseas sources from chaplains, Marshall argues, such support was lacking. Marshall argues that the horrors of the war actually led to a crisis of faith within Methodism and a return to a more personal and evangelical-type of religion.

Martens, Lisa. "Christian Peacemaker Teams as a Current Version of Conscientious Objection." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 205–13.

Martens notes the similarities and differences between COs in the Mennonite tradition and contemporary Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT). The similarities are obvious: prophetic voice, faithfulness regardless of effectiveness, nonviolent disposition. However, the Euro-Mennonite appreciation for the Canadian government and what it offered them is not shared by CPT, for CPT see the entire European colonizing of North and South America as genocidal (and claim that even Mennonite settlers took advantage of such genocide). The article concludes with brief anecdotes about the opportunities for CO around the world, and a challenge to Canadian COs to rethink paying war taxes and supporting wartime industries (e.g., uranium for weapons).

Maxwell, Donald W. "Religion and Politics at the Border: Canadian Church Support for American Vietnam War Resisters." *Journal of Church and State* 48 (2006) 807–29.

This study shows the extent of the United Church's support for those who fled to Canada from the US to avoid military service in the Vietnam War. Maxwell notes that more clergy supported assistance than did laity, and that the reasons for support were primarily threefold: Canadian nationalism/anti-Americanism, humanitarian concerns for refugees, and a desire to bolster the church's image and relevance in an age when religion seemed to be on the wane.

McGowan, Brian. "The Churches Talk Peace." *Grail* 2 (1986) 7–21.

An examination of Canadian churches and their response to the growing nuclear threat in the early 1980s. McGowan summarizes the policy statements of not only the Canadian Council of Churches, but also the statements by the Anglican Church, Lutheran Church in America (Canada Section), Presbyterian Church in Canada, United Church of Canada, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, Conference of Mennonites in Canada, and Society of Friends. These statements from Canadian church bodies reveal a firm conviction that opposed the development and use of nuclear weapons, as well as a growing concern for international justice. These statements also reveal a growing ecumenism between churches, a rising international influence, and a budding grassroots movement for peace.

McGowan, Mark G. "Harvesting the 'Red Vineyard': Catholic Religious Culture in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1919." *Historical Studies* 64 (1998) 47–70.

McGowan's work analyzes Father Bernard Stephen Doyle's negative wartime evaluation of Catholic recruits: were Catholic recruits really so unchristian in their behavior, and did the Church really fail so miserably in its nurturing of the flock? Based on the study of chaplain's reports, war diaries, episcopal correspondence, and the personnel records of close to 1500 Catholic service men (and 60 Catholic nurses) he concludes that any portrayal of Catholic recruits must reflect a far more complex situation than Doyle presumes. There certainly were failures by the Church on the home front—especially in Ontario and the Canadian West (which contributed to the sinful behavior that Doyle lamented), but there were also signs of Catholic devotion in the face of intense wartime pressures. A helpful and sophisticated study of the lives of Catholic laity and chaplains during the war.

———. "Sharing the Burden of Empire: Toronto's Catholics and the Great War, 1914–1918." In *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place': Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1991*, edited by Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, 177–207. Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993.

This research shows how Toronto Catholics (both lay and clerical) supported the war effort—unlike many other Catholic communities in Quebec, Ireland, the United States, and Australia. Church authorities played an

important and active role in recruitment, bond purchases, and national registration, and the laity were ardent supporters of the cause. The religious motivation for the war was clear: the war was just and needed to be fought. On a more practical level, the war provided an opportunity for Toronto Catholics to prove to Protestants that they were loyal Canadians and supporters of the Empire. The charts on Catholic enlistment are especially helpful.

———. “The Degreening of the Irish: Toronto’s Irish Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887–1914.” *Canadian Historical Association Papers* 24, no. 1 (1989) 118–45.

McGowan argues that by the beginning of the First World War Toronto’s Irish English-speaking Roman Catholic community had shifted from a community that identified primarily with Ireland and its issues to a community that had a growing sense of Canadian identity, including a particular type of loyalty to the British Crown and imperialism. He also argues that the “editorials and features of the Catholic weeklies in the city helped to define and give a loose ideological framework to the dramatic social changes” that took place among the Catholic clergy and community. This newly forged Canadian identity and loyalty to the Crown meant that participation in the First World War was not something that clashed with their Irish identity, but rather, was something that necessitated their participation in the cause.

Mills, Sean. ““Preach the World’: Canadian Imperialism and Missionary Outreach at the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, 1892–1903.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 43 (2001) 5–38.

A study of the imperial and national sentiments among students at the college, and how those sentiments shaped and motivated the missionary efforts of the college (as well as the college’s own identity). This article challenges the assumptions of some that see Anglicans as somehow anti-national (of course, the type of nationalism advocated was distinctly pro-British and pro-empire). This research is based on the college’s publication *The Montreal Diocesan Theological Magazine*.

Moody, Barry. “Atlantic Baptists and the Boer War.” Unpublished paper.

Moody argues that while Maritime Baptists wholeheartedly supported the war effort once war had been declared, there was sympathy for the Boers

before (and even during) the conflict, as well as criticism of the British for the way in which the war was fought. He bases this research on a study of the denominational press.

Nefsky, Marilyn. "The Cry That Silence Heaves." Unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, 1983. Online: <http://csph.ca/papers/1983-nefsky.pdf>.

An investigation into the Presbyterian Church in Canada's alleged silence during the persecution of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. Nefsky claims that the historical record indicates that the church was not silent, and that the church should be exonerated from claims that say it did nothing to come to the defense of the Jews. This work is expanded upon in the co-authored work with Alan Davies, *How Silent Were the Churches?*

———. "The Shadow of Evil: Nazism and Canadian Protestantism." In *Antisemitism in Canada*, edited by Alan Davies, 197–225. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1992.

Nefsky argues that the plight of the Jews was known by the churches—especially by 1943. However, the churches initially had a hard time believing the stories due to the memory of exaggerated stories told about German atrocities in the First World War. Canadian Protestant preoccupation with other problems, as well as xenophobia, led to a refusal to accept Jewish refugees. There were voices that spoke out against German crimes against the Jews, but Nefsky argues that not enough was said and not enough pressure was put on the government to force it to act.

Nijhof, Timothy, and Catharina De Bakker. "The Dutch Community in the Kildonans (1893–1911): The English Churches and the War." *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 26 (2005) 1–13.

A brief summary of the pressures faced by the Dutch Reformed community in Manitoba during the war years. The article includes a summary of the support for the war among other denominations, and a description of the choice to either assimilate or become distinct from the rest of the churches (they chose the latter).

Parent, Mark. "T. T. Shields and the First World War." *McMaster Journal of Theology* 2, no. 2 (1991) 42–57.

Parent argues that Shields's experience of the war (especially his two wartime trips to Europe) "conditioned the manner in which" he was to fight the war against Modernism. In other words, Shields's stance of no neutrality, and victory to those who hang on to the very end, was forged in the war; the good Fundamentalists were to wage war against the evil Modernists, just like the war was waged against the Kaiser.

Pelletier, Yves Yvon J. "Faith on the Battlefield: Canadian Catholic Chaplaincy Service during the Second World War." *Historical Studies* 69 (2003) 64–84.

A detailed analysis of Catholic chaplaincy in the Second World War. Pelletier argues that Catholic chaplains had learned their lessons from the First World War (better organization, better recruits, clearer responsibilities, friendlier chaplains), and had become significantly more effective in the Second. Evidence for this effectiveness, he argues, was the participation rate of Catholic soldiers in the wartime activities of the chaplains.

Pennacchio, Luigi G. "The Torrid Trinity: Toronto's Fascists, Italian Priests and Archbishops during the Fascist Era, 1929–1940." In *Catholics at the 'Gathering Place': Historical Essays on the Archdiocese of Toronto, 1841–1991*, edited by Mark G. McGowan and Brian P. Clarke, 233–53. Toronto: Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1993.

This research shows how Italian Catholic priests supported the spread of fascism among their congregants in Toronto throughout the thirties. Those priests, it is argued, believed that fascism helped to keep their community from being assimilated into the Irish Catholic community, or from being converted to other denominations—especially the United Church. It is also argued that Archbishop McGuigan knew little of this support for fascism. When war was declared between Canada and Italy in June 1940, the support for fascism was dropped.

Penton, James. "Jehovah's Witnesses and the Second World War: Resistance to Militarism and to Alternative Service." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 75–88.²³

23. For a work that touches on Jehovah's Witnesses in general, including how they were impacted by the war, see Penton, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Canada*.

Penton traces the troubles faced by Canadian Jehovah's Witnesses (or their predecessors the Bible Students). He shows how the Jehovah's Witnesses faced harsh treatment by the Canadian government; they were outlawed by the War Measures Act from July 1940 to October 1943, and many faced fines and imprisonment as a result. They were also one of the larger groups in the alternative service camps. Penton notes that the radical sectarian impulse of the movement led to hostility from both government and other churches (Catholic and Protestant). He also argues that the battles waged for religious freedom by Jehovah's Witnesses led to the advance of civil liberties in Canada.

Prime, Russell. "Must We Have War Again? A Preliminary Explanation of Pacifism in the Restoration Movement in Canada through the Pages of the *Gospel Herald* (1936–1940)." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (2000) 115–30.

A summary of the anti-war sentiments of various Churches of Christ leaders since the founding of the restoration movement, and in particular of the Ontario and Western Canada publication the *Gospel Herald*. Prime shows that there was a considerable degree of pacifist sentiment in the pages of the *Herald*, although his research only goes to 1940 (leaving many unanswered questions, such as how such sentiments evolved as the war progressed and conscription was introduced). The pacifism was rooted in the conviction that loving one's enemy is essential, and the biblical command not to murder. Nevertheless, obedience to the government meant that Christians should join a work camp and contribute to the nation in a non-violent way.

———. "Through the Eyes of *The Tattler*: Concerns of Baptist Youth in Rural Nova Scotia, 1933–1940." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1998) 45–65.

A study of Canada's "smallest newspaper" (3x5 inches!) published in rural Nova Scotia by two Baptist teenagers. Prime uses this paper as a rich resource for a social history of rural life, and looks at many different themes in the paper. One of the themes he briefly looks at is war and peace. Like many publications, it had a strong anti-war sentiment in the years before the war, but when Canada went to war in 1939, there was a shift to a grim resolve to support the war effort.

Profit, Beth. “‘The Making of a Nation’: Nationalism and World War One in the Social Gospel Literature of Ralph Connor.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1992) 127–38.

This essay argues that Ralph Connor’s novels indicated a positive assessment of the war on the development of Canadian nationalism—this in contrast with those who argue that the war shattered the optimism of the social gospel. Profit suggests that it was World War Two that shattered the optimism of liberal theology and social gospel proponents such as Connor.

Regher, T. D. “Lost Sons: The Canadian Mennonite Soldiers of World War II.” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (1992) 461–80.

An analysis of Canadian Mennonite enlistment in the Second World War, with a particular focus on showing how the Canadian Mennonite churches let their young men down by offering contradictory advice regarding military service, and by not providing a graceful means for returning soldiers to re-enter church life. The article also provides a helpful summary and analysis of the numbers of Mennonites who served in the military (or in Alternative Service) and their reasons for joining.

Robertson, James Tyler. “Band of Brothers: Connection and Tension within Upper-Canadian Methodism during the War of 1812.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (forthcoming, 2010).

An examination of how the war impacted Methodists in Upper Canada. Robertson notes how the war cut off the fledgling Methodist churches that were dependant on American itinerant ministers, as well as how the war led to tensions within Methodism. For instance, how could Methodists support the British war effort in Upper Canada without alienating Methodists in United States? Robertson shows how the cause of the church in the postwar years superseded postwar national animosities.

———. “‘A Very Present Help in Trouble’: The Ontario Baptist Response to the Fenian Invasion of 1866.” In *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, edited by Gordon L. Heath and Paul Wilson, Eugene, OR: Pickwick Press, forthcoming.

An examination of the significance given to the Fenian invasion of 1866. Robertson argues that that “Baptists sought to identify Canada as a nation that found its hope and identity in Protestantism, the love of peace,

submission to the rule of law and Home Rule, which promoted fidelity to England.” He also shows how the perceived American support for the Fenians strengthened the Canadian Baptist desire to retain a distinct national identity from their co-religionists to the south.

Roth, Lorraine. “Conscientious Objection: The Experiences of Some Canadian Mennonite Women during World War II.” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 66 (1992) 539–45.

While the war did not force Mennonite women to declare their willingness to fight, it did impact them in a variety of ways. Sewing circles, food canning, and other practical activities were significant ways in which they helped the war effort. A number of Mennonite women also went overseas as nurses or providers of relief (one woman died of illness in Asia). Women also faced hardships when their husbands left to join an Alternative Service work camp. Roth’s research was based on a numerous interviews with Mennonite women.

Rothwell, David R. “United Church Pacifism, October 1939.” *The Bulletin* 27 (1973–1975) 36–55.

While the majority of United Church ministers were supportive of the war effort, there were a number who were not. This article details the contents of and reactions to the “Witness against War,” a letter published in the denominational magazine, the *United Church Observer*, on 15 October 1939 by 68 ministers opposed to the churches’ support for the war effort. Rothwell shows how the actions of these ministers led to a public outcry in the Church and press, and from legal authorities (the Attorney-General considered laying charges for violating Regulations 39 or 39A of the War Measures Act).

Ruggle, Richard I. “Canadian Chaplains: A Special Issue.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993) 65–74.

The introductory essay for the special 1993 chaplain’s issue of the *Journal for the Canadian Church Historical Society*. The essay provides a brief overview of the history of Canadian chaplaincy, what primary sources are available for study, and what research has been done in this area.

———. “Some Canadian Anglican Attitudes to War and Peace, 1890–1930.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993) 133–42.

A very brief summary of Anglican attitudes to war from the Fenian invasion to the interwar years. The most helpful aspect of this article is that it illustrates the consistent support among Anglicans for Canada's war efforts—while showing that the support was not always universal.

Shantz, Mary-Ann. "Kingston Christians and the Persecution of European Jews during the Nazi Era." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1992) 5–18.

This paper looks at the Kingston Ministerial Association and the Roman Catholic Church in Kingston in order to answer the question of what the churches were doing about the mistreatment of Jews in Europe before and during the war. It argues that, while the two groups had their differences, their response to the plight of the Jews was similar: both knew of the atrocities, and both expressed some concern over the events in Germany, but neither acted significantly to alleviate the predicament of Jews in Europe.

Sider, E. Morris. "Nonresistance in the Early Brethren in Christ Church in Ontario." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 31 (1957) 278–87.

A summary of the legislative decisions that exempted the Brethren in Christ (Tunkers) from military service. The Militia Act of 1793 granted exemptions to newly arrived immigrants of Tunkers, Quakers, and Mennonites from militia duty, and these exemptions in some form or another continued up to the First World War.

Socknat, Thomas. "Conscientious Objectors in the Context of Canadian Peace Movements." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 61–74.

A helpful survey that outlines the contribution of conscientious objectors to the broader peace movement in Canada. Socknat argues that during the World Wars, COs remained faithful while various other pacifist movements (such as that found in liberal Protestantism) faded. He also notes how their witness and lobbying over the course of the twentieth century ensured that the "pacifist, non-violent alternative is now a part of the Canadian tradition."

Stoesz, Conrad. "Scattered Documents: Locating the CO Record in Canada." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 25 (2007) 145–60.

An invaluable article for identifying sources for research into conscientious objectors in Canada. Stoesz identifies the three main types of records as

government, religious, and personal, and provides a helpful description of some of the characteristics, contributions, and locations of each category of sources.

Takashima, Sachiyo. “Dreams for Missionaries, Realities for Diplomats—Why the United Church of Canada’s Chinese Missionaries Were Involved in Politics during the 1940s and 1950s.” *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (2001) 65–80.

A number of United Church ministers were asked by the Canadian government to act as advisors and informants in regards to the postwar situation in China, and this paper outlines that it was their eyewitness expertise that qualified them for this role. The article also notes that two prominent leaders differed significantly in regards to support for the opposing sides in the civil war. James Endicote supported the communists (and faced RCMP and CIA threats because of it), while William McClure supported the nationalists.

Tarasoff, Koozma J. “Doukhobors in World War II.” Paper presented at the War and the Conscientious Objector conference, University of Winnipeg, 2006. Available at: http://www.spirit-wrestlers.com/excerpts/Doukhobors_WW2.html#1

Tarasoff notes that while a small number of Doukhobors fought in the war, most resisted government attempts to encourage enlistment. Close to one hundred spent time in prison for their views, around the same number entered Alternative Service work, but the majority reluctantly paid to the Red Cross and resisted supporting the war effort. He does note how the government’s rescinding of the 1898 Order-in-Council that determined Doukhobors to be exempt from military service was fought by the Doukhobors—with partial success (e.g., they were allowed to register their own members for the National War Services Department). He also notes that there were some more extreme strands within the Doukhobors (more the BC community) that indulged in some excesses with anti-government protests. He concludes with brief bio-sketches of eight wartime Doukhobors and their experiences.

Teichroew, Allen. "World War I and the Mennonite Migration to Canada to Avoid the Draft." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 45 (1971) 219–49.

Teichroew notes how numerous Mennonites fled the US to Canada after the American declaration of war on Germany in 1917 (he estimates 600–800 Mennonites, and 1000 Hutterites fled north). What made Canada appealing were the exemptions already in place for Mennonites, the proximity and open border, the Canadian Mennonite communities already in existence, the lack of US control over its citizens abroad, and the law that stated that an American in Canada could select which flag to pledge allegiance to. The article notes that many Canadians resented these immigrants, and many harsh words and a number of demonstrations let the Mennonites know that they were not wanted.

Thrift, Gayle. "Has God a Lobby in Ottawa? The 'Christian Left' in the United Church of Canada during the Vietnam War, 1966–68." Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting at the University of Western Ontario, 31 May 2005.

Unable to obtain a copy.

———. "Living in an Apocalyptic Age': Canadian Protestant Churches and Atomic Anxiety during the Cold War Years." Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting at the University of Manitoba, 3 June 2004.

Unable to obtain a copy.

———. "'Concerning the Evil State of the World out of Which Strife Comes': Church–State Relations in Early Cold War Canada, 1945–1955." Paper, Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association at Laval University, 25 May 2001, 1–29.

This paper illustrates how the United Church of Canada considered postwar communism to be a mortal threat. It outlines the ways in which the Church attempted to counter the perceived threat; it pays particular attention to the efforts of the Committee on the Church and International Affairs (CCIA) to awaken people (both the public and government officials) to the threat to the West. It also shows how the UCC saw itself as a national church

speaking to national and international affairs in order to bring peace and justice—in the tradition of the social gospel.

Vance, Jonathan. “Sacrifice in Stained Glass: Memorial Windows of the Great War.” *Canadian Military History* 5.2 (1996) 16–23.

A brief but helpful look at the “wave of commemorative activity unlike anything the country had ever seen” after the First World War. Vance argues that the text and iconography of these windows indicates that the traditional ideals of sacrifice and glory were not destroyed by the carnage and horror of the war, nor had the idea that the war had been just and right to fight.

Warne, Randi R. “Nellie McClung and Peace.” In *Up and Doing: Canadian Women and Peace*, edited by Deborah Gorham and Janice Williamson, 35–47. Toronto: Women’s Press, 1989.

This chapter tries to reconcile McClung’s statements (in *The Next of Kin*) that support the war with her earlier statements (in *In Times Like These*) that are clearly against the war. Warne argues that *The Next of Kin* must be read as a phenomenology rather than as a treatise: and when that is done the pro-war statements can be seen as isolated outbursts of “despair wherein perspective is completely lost.” In other words, McClung never really abandoned the anti-war position with which she is commonly identified.

Wright, Robert A. “The Glow in the Eastern Sky: The Impact of Mahatma Gandhi and Toyohiko Kagawa on the Canadian Protestant Churches in the Interwar Years.” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 32 (1990) 3–23.

This paper studies the “enchantment of the Protestant clergy with Gandhi and Kagawa” in the inter-war years. It argues that the vibrant and selfless spirituality of these men was seen by numerous Protestant clergy as a remedy for what they felt was a decaying Western Christianity and culture.

Dissertations and Theses

Aitken, C. D. Edward. “The Background and Development of the Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps (Protestant).” BLitt, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 1965.

A history that traces the development of chaplains from ancient Egypt and Rome, through to medieval and modern British developments. With the big picture of the development of chaplains in place, Aitken provides a survey of the progress of Canadian Protestant chaplaincy from the first chaplains in the nineteenth century, through the two World Wars to the Korean War. He ends with comments about what impact the proposed integration of the three services would have on the Protestant chaplains and organization.

Angus, Murray E. "Living in the 'World of the Tiger': The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Nova Scotia and the Great War, 1914–1918." MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1993.

Angus argues that institutions, like individuals, have a worldview and possess a particular character, and the Methodists and Presbyterians in Nova Scotia "confronted the experience of the Great War with a set of conceptions about human nature and moral issues." He argues that these conceptions, such as loyalty to Britain and the Empire, support for the social gospel impulse of justice and social regeneration, and emphasis on muscular Christianity, were at the heart of the two denominations' support for the war effort. Angus also points out how the reality of war did not match the propaganda or the pastor's exhortations, and that many were shocked when the reality of modern war was made apparent.

Apostol, Mara. "Speaking Truth to Power: How the *United Church Observer* and *The Canadian Mennonite* Helped Their Denominations Navigate a New Church–State Dynamic during the Vietnam War." MA thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 2010.

During the 1960s both the United Church and Canadian Mennonites reassessed their relationship to the state. During the Vietnam War, the United Church increasingly shifted from a priestly, supportive role to a prophetic and critical role in Canadian culture, whereas the Mennonites moved from their isolation to a more engaged and prophetic role.

Brewer, Charles G. "The Diocese of Antigonish and World War I." MA Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1975.

Through an examination of parish priests, the bishop, and the diocese newspaper *The Casket*, Brewer shows that the diocese was loyal to the war effort, due in no small part to the pro-war (and pro-British) views of the bishop and *The Casket*. He also argues that the war had no profound

postwar impact on the community, with most soldiers returning quietly to their rural farms, mines, and fishing.

Davidson, Melissa. "Preaching the Great War: Canadian Anglicans and the War Sermon, 1914–1918." MA thesis, McGill University.

Currently being written. Expected completion in 2011.

Dirks, Nathan. "War Without, Struggle Within: Canadian Mennonite Enlistments during the Second World War." MA thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 2010.

Examines why roughly 41% of Canadian Mennonites enlisted in the armed forces during the Second World War. Dirks argues that the divisions among Mennonites in Canada (*Kanadier* vs *Russlaender*), lack of direction from leaders, and Mennonite assimilation into Canadian culture, led to many Mennonites shunning the traditional peace church response to war.

Doyon, Pierre. "Aumoniers Catholiques dans la Marine Royale du Canada de 1939 á nos jours." MA thesis, University of Ottawa, 1968.

A study of Catholic Chaplains in the Canadian Navy from 1939 to the mid-1960s. Helpful (since most works focus on Protestant chaplaincy), but now dated.

Epp, Frank H. "An Analysis of Germanism and National Socialism in the Immigrant Newspaper of a Canadian Minority Group, the Canadian Mennonites, in the 1930s." PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1965.

An analysis of pro-German sentiment in the Canadian Mennonite immigrant press in the 1930s. This extensive study (close to 400 pages) includes both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The qualitative includes an examination of the actual content of the papers, while the quantitative is concerned with the number of references to Germany and National Socialism. Epp argues that the press contained significant pro-German sentiment in the 1930s, and that such sentiment was "a fairly representative reflection of the Mennonite immigrant mind, which, in the 1930s was very strong on nurturing and preserving cultural Germanism, as essential to the Mennonite way of life."

Faulkner, Charles Thomas Sinclair. “‘For Christian Civilization:’ Churches and Canada’s War Effort, 1939–1942.” PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975.

Faulkner argues that while the Canadian churches used the same language in support of the war (e.g., a war to “defend Christian civilization”), the meaning of such language was quite diverse. English Protestants envisioned a “Christian civilization that was democratic, oriented toward individualism and freedom, . . . tied to . . . the British Empire” whereas French Catholics tended to envision a “Christian civilization that was hierarchical, oriented toward corporatism and authority, and . . . tied to Roman Catholicism.” He also argues that while both Protestants and Catholics saw themselves as national churches, they also both underestimated their authority in society.

Fowler, Albert. “The Adaptation of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to Military Bureaucracy, 1945–1968: The Pursuit of Assumed Status.” MA thesis, Carlton University, 1991.

The development of Protestant chaplains in the postwar period has been marked by “the clergy’s pursuit of status.” The urgent driving force behind such a pursuit was the feeling that they had lost their wartime independent status. Consequently, activities such as the push to have an honorary chaplain appointed to the Queen “typified their pursuit of status.”

Fowler, Michelle. “Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War, 1913–1919.” MA thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, 2005.

Based on the contents of four Presbyterian newspapers, Fowler argues that Presbyterian leaders believed that the war was just and could be reconciled with Christian principles. She argues that the church was relatively free of blind patriotic zeal, and that its response was based on a thoughtful and consistent belief in the righteousness and justice of the cause. She also notes how the papers sought to console those grieving losses, and guide those doubting the commitment to the war effort.

Fransen, David. “Canadian Mennonites and Conscientious Objection in World War II.” MA thesis, University of Waterloo, 1977.

A study of two tensions within the Mennonites: the struggle for internal unity and the quest for government recognition of their nonresistant status. These two tensions were not new, but the war did raise fresh and pressing dynamics that needed to be addressed. One outcome of governmental and

societal pressure to fight was the eventual requirement that all citizens—Mennonites included—had to take part in some form of service. Fransen argues that during the war the “forces for movement and change seemed inexorable” and that the war led to a new self-understanding among Mennonites that shifted them to become collectively “somewhat more ecumenical, and Canadian.”

Heath, Gordon L. “A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899–1902.” PhD dissertation, University of St. Michael’s College, 2004.
See book description above.

———. “Flirting with Nirvana: The Canadian Baptist View of Warfare, 1919–1939.” MDiv (Honours) thesis, Acadia University, 1994.
See article description above.

Hemmings, Michael A. “The Church and the Japanese in Canada, 1941–1946: Ambulance Wagon to Embattled Army?” MTh thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1990.²⁴
Hemmings concludes that while the churches did initially support the government’s evacuation of the Japanese due to their trust in the government’s pronouncements on the military threat that they posed, by 1943 the churches began to come to the defense of the Japanese against what they deemed to be the repressive, unjust, and racist action of the state. He argues that while the churches did not do everything right, they “did not succumb to the xenophobic and racist attitudes of some other Canadians who, after 1941, openly advocated sending the Japanese community into exile.”

MacDonald, Stuart. “From Just War to Crusade: The Wartime Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin.” MDiv thesis, Knox College, 1985.

24. While Tadashi Mitsui’s thesis on the United Church and the Japanese deals with a wider range of issues than just internment, it should be consulted nonetheless on how the UCC responded to the wartime internment of Japanese. See Mitsui, “United Church of Canada amongst Japanese Canadians in British Columbia.”

An analysis of the wartime sermons of Toronto Presbyterian minister Thomas Eakin (pastor of St. Andrew's, King Street). MacDonald argues that Eakin's view of the war shifted from that of a just war to a crusade by 1916/17 due to certain factors such as the influence of wartime propaganda, the sinking of the Lusitania, the Germans' first use of poisonous gas, and atrocity stories regarding the German advance through Belgium. He also argues that Eakin believed that the war would purge individuals and nations of their sin, leading to an optimistic future.

Reddig, Kenneth. "Manitoba Mennonites and the Winnipeg Mobilization Board in World War II." MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1989.

This thesis claims that the Second World War was the "most divisive event" in the Canadian Mennonite experience. Some have pointed out that the pro-British and pro-war Mobilization Board Chairman, Judge John E. Adamson, was the cause of the grief for Mennonites in Manitoba. Reddig, however, argues that the division in the ranks of the Mennonites (some actually joined the military, some served in alternative service programs, and others claimed exemption from all activities deemed pro-war) made their case particularly difficult. The divisions within Manitoba Mennonites, he claims, occurred between two immigrant groups; those who fled Russia in the 1870s, and those who fled Russia after the communist revolution (this latter group, it is claimed, were more willing to cooperate with the government in lieu of military service).

Richards, Samuel J. "Ministry of Propaganda: Canadian Methodists, Empire, and Loyalty in World War I." MA thesis, Salisbury University, 2007.

Canadian Methodist leaders Reverends Samuel Dwight Chown and W. B. Creighton voluntarily supported the British Empire during the war. Their support was based on two primary factors: historic loyalism to Britain and Social Christianity's concern for liberty and justice. Methodist ministers believed that the issue was black and white: Kaiser Wilhelm II was barbaric and demonic, and King George V was just and honorable (thus, God was on the side of Britain).

Robertson, James T. "His Dominion versus New Ireland: The Ontario Protestant Churches and the Fenian Invasion, 1866." MDiv thesis, McMaster University, 2007.

This thesis shows how the Protestant churches in Ontario were adamant in their outrage and opposition to the Fenian attempts to strike at Britain by attacking Canada. The response of the churches reveals a nascent Canadian nationalism and an ardent loyalty to Britain and the Empire that in no small measure shaped the response to the invaders.

Southgate, H. Jane. "An Examination of the Position of the Mennonites in Ontario under the Jurisdiction of the Military Service Act, 1917." MA thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, 1976.

Southgate claims that Ontario Mennonites did not fare well in the First World War. While they did gain special provisions under the Military Service Act, 1917, there was confusion, harassment, and uncertainty for a time. The reasons for such difficulties, Southgate concludes, were at least two: the government's ignorance of the denomination (not to mention government's overworked bureaucratic system), and the failure of Ontario Mennonites to act early to clarify with the government their exemption status.

Stevenson, Craig I. "Those Now at War Are Our Friends and Neighbors': The Views of Evangelical Editors in British North America toward the American Civil War, 1861–1865." MA thesis, Queens University, 1997.

An analysis of Free Church Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist coverage of the Civil War in their British North America denominational press. Stevenson identifies how postmillennial optimism among all three denominations influenced their interpretation of the war: it was a necessary struggle for social justice in preparation for Christ's return. The Free Church Presbyterians and the Maritime Methodists and Baptists were significantly influenced by their strong British connections (and consequently viewed the republican form of government as a cause of the problems), whereas central-Canadian Methodists and Baptists had their views influenced by both their British and American roots (they had a more positive view of a republican form of government, and did not blame it for America's ills—in fact, they felt a strengthening of the Union would help alleviate social ills).

Thrift, Gayle. "The Bible, Anti-communism, and the A-Bomb: Canadian Protestant Churches in the Cold War Era, 1945–1968." PhD dissertation, University of Calgary, 2005.

This thesis explores the response of Canadian churches to fundamental ethical, moral, and religious issues relating to foreign policy that were exacerbated by the destructive potential of the atomic bomb, Communism, and heightened international tensions of the Cold War.

Unger, Brian. "A Struggle with Conscience: Canadian Mennonites and Alternative Service during World War II." MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1990.

An examination of the Mennonites and how they faced a threat to their pacifism. Unger argues that the conflict with the Canadian government over enlistment led to Mennonites becoming a people "stronger, better unified and more highly respected" by Canadians.

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