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**A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment
on the English-Canadian University Campus, 1920-70**

by

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**A thesis submitted to the Department of History
in conformity with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Queen's University
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Abstract

This dissertation examines the existence of a liberal Protestant establishment on six university campuses – Dalhousie and the University of King’s College in Halifax, McMaster University in Hamilton, Victoria and University Colleges at the University of Toronto, and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver – during the period from 1920 to 1970. Historians generally agree that at the turn of the century Protestantism permeated the cultural fabric of English-Canadian society generally and of the university more specifically. Yet little is known of what happened to the moral dimension of Protestantism from the 1920s to the 1960s. While some historians have posited the seeds of secularization in the changing nature of Protestantism at the turn of the century, others have argued for its continuing public influence in the decades prior to World War Two and have looked to forces external to Protestantism as contributing to the process of secularization.

This dissertation argues that for much of the twentieth century a liberal Protestant establishment continued to impart to denominational and non-denominational campuses alike its own particular vision of moral and intellectual purpose. The existence of this vision can be seen in the rhetoric of university presidents, and in the moral regulation of residence and campus life, as well as in student religious clubs. From the late 1940s onwards, however, cracks in the edifice began to appear. The decades around mid-century mark a period in which one can identify both the continuing place of liberal Protestantism as the public voice of the university and the growing fissures that would undermine that place. Through the 1950s and 1960s Protestant hegemony was gradually eroded by a number of factors, including a loosening of social mores, a more religiously diverse student body, and the ascent of the multiversity. Only in the late 1960s, however, can one begin to speak of a university whose public voice was predominantly secular, and where the voice of liberal Protestantism had been reduced to one among many.

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Introduction

In October 1967 students and faculty at the University of Toronto organized their third annual teach-in. Previous teach-ins had focused on what we now see as typical sixties topics such as "Revolution and Response" -- which centred on the Vietnam war -- and "China: Coexistence or Containment." Yet in 1967, two students, Jeffrey Rose and Michael Ignatieff, persuaded the International Forum Foundation, the organizing body of the teach-in, to let them develop a teach-in around the topic "Religion and International Affairs." These two young men, wrote Kingsley Joblin of Emmanuel College in the Alumni magazine Victoria Reports, "had become quite convinced that the motivations and goals of participants in today's struggles were basically moral and religious in nature." The issues raised in the teach-in continued to be debated for several weeks in a Post-teach-in session organized by the campus chaplaincy, the Sir Robert Falconer Association.¹ The Association sponsored addresses such as "Is Peace Possible?" by Professor Paul Fox of the Department of Political Economy, "From the Religion of the Clouds to the Religion of the Clods" by Rabbi Gunther Plaut of Holy Blossom Temple, and "Is Religion An Illusion?" by the Reverend Gregory Baum, Assistant Professor of Theology at St. Michael's College.²

While the inclusion of religious issues in a teach-in, one of the symbols of 1960s student radicalism and counter-cultural activity, may seem surprising, it was not unique. Two years earlier at the 1965 teach-in at the University of Toronto on "Revolution and Response," the Organizing Committee requested that the Sir Robert Falconer Association

¹Kingsley Joblin, "The Third International Teach-In," Victoria Reports 17 (Dec. 1967): 22-24.

²"Post Teach-In," Strand, 26 Oct. 1967.

sponsor a religious service.³ Moreover, other Canadian universities such as Dalhousie and the University of British Columbia (UBC), which held simultaneous teach-ins, received some of the Toronto sessions by telephone hook-up.⁴ The teach-in at UBC, like that in Toronto, included a Sunday panel on "Moral Responsibility and Personal Commitment," a topic that revealed the continuing attempts by students to understand the relation of religion to world events.⁵

Religious groups were similarly involved in radical student activity. The Student Christian Movement (SCM), a liberal Protestant religious organization, participated in 1963 in the formation of the University of Toronto Non-Violence Committee, a social action coalition to improve civil rights in Canada, and influenced by the American Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, more commonly known as SNCC. Several years later the SCM was involved in protests against the American presence in South-East Asia. In 1966 it participated in a demonstration in Ottawa organized by the New Left organization, Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), against Canadian involvement in Vietnam.⁶ And in the fall of 1969, the UBC Student Christian Movement boasted of being "one of the moving forces in the Anti-Vietnam War Movement on campus." This group sponsored, among other things, an Anti-War Benefit Dance which raised \$250.00 for the Vancouver Committee to End War in Vietnam, and it helped organize an anti-war

³University of Toronto Archives [hereafter UTA], SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 9, File: Sir Robert Falconer Association, Board of Chaplains Meeting, Falconer Association, 14 Sept. 1965.

⁴Dalhousie University Archives [hereafter DUA], Dalhousie University Newsletter 31 (Oct. 4-10, 1965): "BC Universities' Teach-in." Ubysey, 7 Oct. 1965, 11.

⁵"BC Universities' Teach-in." Ubysey, 7 Oct. 1965, 11.

⁶UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 68, University of Toronto SCM Newsletter, Nov. 1963, 9 Dec. 1963, 11 Feb. 1964, 25 Feb. 1966 and Box 14, File: Church and University Committee, SCMC, "A Brief to be Submitted to a Consultation of Christian Churches and Agencies Regarding University Work in Canada," May 1965.

march.⁷

This evidence, at the height of student anti-establishment sentiment, of activism by a liberal Protestant group on campus jars with contemporary and historical interpretations of campus life in the sixties. The student movement's anti-establishment orientation is rarely linked to religious activities.⁸ For those who read Canadian religious history, this does not seem surprising. Historical interpretations of Protestantism both on campus and in English-Canadian society more generally have tended to trace the ways in which it has declined over the course of the twentieth century.⁹ Thus, the inclusion of religious issues at the teach-in, along with the radical activities of the SCM, raise some intriguing questions: Did Protestantism continue to play a more important role on the twentieth-century campus than the conventional interpretation suggests? If so, how pervasive was it, and who was affected by it?

If the teach-in indicates the need for research in new areas, it also points to a

⁷United Church of Canada, British Columbia Conference Archives [hereafter UCC, BCCA], SCM Records, SCM Digest, Fall 1969.

⁸In Canada, accounts of the sixties point to the way in which Protestant moral imperatives informed the peace movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s but tend to ignore the role of Protestantism in student culture thereafter. See Myrna Kostash, Long Way From Home: The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1980); Cyril Levitt, Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984). In the United States, a few studies have begun to examine the influence of Protestant ideals on the sixties more generally. See Robert S. Ellwood, The Sixties Spiritual Awakening: American Religion Moves from Modern to Postmodern (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

⁹See for example A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario 1791-1951 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 563-64. In assessing the Christian nature of Canada in the 1950s, and particularly the religious revival of the times, Owrarn puts forward a functionalist interpretation that growth in religious attendance had more to do with a process of socialization than with faith. Thus as baby boomers reached adulthood they easily discarded the garb of Christianity. See Doug Owrarn, Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 106-9.

transformation, not only of student culture, but of Protestant culture. Certainly, the radicalism of religious groups was not a new phenomenon. Early in the twentieth century, Protestants drawn to the new social gospel movement sought to transform society by applying Christian principles of brotherhood and social justice.¹⁰ There was certainly a continuity of religious rhetoric and ideals between this movement and the religious activities and beliefs of students, faculty, and religious leaders in the 1960s who sought to effect social and cultural change. Yet the teach-ins also reflect the significant changes which had occurred on Canadian campuses since the 1920s and 1930s. Organizers of the teach-ins, for example, spoke of providing an inter-faith service or of discussing "religion" and international affairs. In the 1930s such activities would have been understood within the discourse of Christian renewal. By the 1960s any explicit Christian language had been removed.

Though historians such as John Webster Grant and John S. Moir, writing in the early 1970s, did not write about university campuses, they did paint a picture of a Christian Canada through the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries.¹¹ In their accounts, Protestantism in English-Canada and Roman Catholicism in Quebec acted as "shadow establishments" or informal religious establishments through which the values and ideals of Christianity permeated the public life of the nation -- its education system, its political system, and its moral foundation.¹² The 1960s, however, marked, according

¹⁰See Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

¹¹J.W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 2nd ed. (Burlington, Ont.: Welch Publishing Co., 1988); John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Hamilton: The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1974).

¹²The term "shadow establishment" is used by David Martin, "Canada in Comparative Perspective," in Rethinking Church, State, and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America, ed. David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 23.

to Grant. "the disappearance of Christendom as a universally intelligible frame of reference."¹³ During that decade church membership, Sunday school enrolment, and weekly attendance declined.¹⁴ In Quebec the Catholic Church lost its established position in the fields of education and social welfare and its influence in society, as priests were "displaced from positions of power in normal schools, labour unions, and cooperatives."¹⁵ This process continued apace in the 1970s.

Not surprisingly, given these profound changes, the 1980s witnessed a new interest in religious history, not as church or institutional history, but as intellectual history. A younger generation than Grant and Moir, writing at a time when the cultural influence of Christianity had declined, became interested in the timing and process of secularization. Focusing on Protestantism in English Canada in the nineteenth century, a time and place when by all accounts it was a dominant force, these historians asked when and how it had begun to lose its cultural authority. Historians have sought the answer to these questions in a number of places. A.B. McKillop focused on the university curriculum as educators tried to find ways to salvage its intellectual coherence and moral tone in the wake of Darwinian thought and the new higher criticism of the Bible. Drawing on Hegelian idealism to do so, these educators, McKillop argues, undermined Protestant orthodoxy by substituting ethical and "sociological concerns for theological ones" so that material existence and concrete experience became all-important.¹⁶ More

¹³Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 216.

¹⁴Ibid., 227-29.

¹⁵Ibid., 203. The creation of a ministry of education in Quebec in 1964 impinged on Roman Catholic prerogatives in teacher training. Religious communities in business were taxed for the first time in the 1960s. And during the 1960s the Roman Catholic Church witnessed the decline of attendance at mass and involvement in voluntary societies. See *ibid.*, pages 202, 227.

¹⁶A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1979), 226.

recently. McKillop has contended that the moral imperative given force by evangelical Christianity in the nineteenth century continued to shape the ethos of the mid-twentieth-century university but that it became increasingly secular in form after World War One.¹⁷

Focusing on a number of social reformers at the turn of the twentieth century, Ramsay Cook argues that in adapting Protestant thought and belief to modern society, social critics moved easily "from a religious to a social science perspective."¹⁸ Drawing on the ideas of Cook and McKillop, Doug Owsram, Marlene Shore, and Sara Z. Burke have concluded that theological modernism and philosophical idealism aided the shift within social science during the interwar years from a reformist impulse to a stance of detached investigation.¹⁹ David Marshall, examining the changing beliefs of Protestant clergymen, argues that by embracing liberal theology they accommodated the purposes and aims of the churches to secular society.²⁰ In Marshall's view, "compromises were made within the evangelical creed which transformed its message and character to something that was more concerned with this world and more attuned to the tastes and demands of consumer culture."²¹

The view that the seeds of secularization are to be found in the changing nature of

¹⁷McKillop, Matters of Mind, 563-64.

¹⁸Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 3-6.

¹⁹Doug Owsram, The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Sara Z. Burke, Seeking the Highest Good: Social Service and Gender at the University of Toronto, 1888-1937 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

²⁰Cook, The Regenerators, 3-6; David Marshall, Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 1-24.

²¹Marshall, Secularizing the Faith, 19.

mainstream Protestantism has been challenged by a second group of historians. Picking up from the work of Grant and Moir, Richard Allen, Marguerite Van Die, Brian Fraser, Phyllis Airhart, and Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have demonstrated that while the theological underpinnings of mainstream Protestantism were indeed rearticulated during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, this process involved neither the loss of traditional faith to modern culture nor the abandonment of evangelical doctrine. Rather, clergymen and educators integrated progressive thought into the tenets of the older evangelical creed, allowing Protestant belief and values to remain vital and permeate political, educational, and social welfare institutions in the first few decades of the twentieth century.²²

Canadian historiography on the timing and process of secularization is part of a transatlantic debate among historians and sociologists. The theory of secularization posits the process of modernization as a differentiation of the secular from the religious spheres and a consequent differentiation of the religious sphere itself. From this premise, José Casanova argues, proponents of the theory wrongly identified it with religious declension, or with privatization and marginalization of faith. They have either anticipated decline in their analyses or assumed the disappearance of religion.²³ Thus, some historians, sociologists, and theologians in Britain and the United States, such as

²²Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988); Marguerite Van Die, An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Richard Allen, The Social Passion.

²³José Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 19-20.

Bryan Wilson, Owen Chadwick, and Harvey Cox, have seen the process of secularization as leading to religious decline.²⁴

While secularization theory has largely explained the British and European situation, its explanatory power fails when confronted with the continuing vitality of religion in the United States. Indeed, in the United States, as well as in Canada, historians such as William Hutchison, J.S. Grant, and John Moir, have noted the cultural influence of liberal Protestantism, and in Quebec, Roman Catholicism, until well into the mid-twentieth century.²⁵ Though both countries have in recent years experienced some of the effects of secularization, these have affected each in different ways. Comparing the two countries, American religious historian, Mark Noll, drawing on the work of sociologist David Martin, has concluded that in Canada thanks to the historic unofficial establishment of a few dominant denominations, secularization was able to proceed at a considerable pace. In the United States, on the other hand, with its many denominations and sects, Christianity was in a stronger position to weather the forces of modernization and secularization. Thus, in Noll's words, "The forces of modernity...have worked through the communal, top-down structures of traditional Canadian religion, while they have worked alongside the more fragmented, populist structures of American churches."²⁶ In short, as some sociologists such as Casanova and Martin have pointed out, religion and modernity are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories, and secularization does not

²⁴Bryan Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966); Harvey Cox, The Secular City, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966); Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

²⁵William R. Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), and "Preface: From Protestant to Pluralist America," in Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960, ed. William R. Hutchison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), vii-xv.

²⁶Mark Noll, A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 549. Underlining in the original.

always result in the privatization or marginalization of religion. Religion can simply restructure or relocate itself and, as in the case of the United States, in so doing, maintain much of its cultural authority.²⁷

The debate on the place of religion within modern life has been transposed into examinations of the relationship between religion and higher education on the North American campus.²⁸ A number of historians have begun to revise and complicate traditional interpretations of the modernization and secularization of American higher education, in particular claiming a greater role for Protestantism into the twentieth century.²⁹ George Marsden, following an approach similar to that of Canadian historians Cook and Marshall, argues that the turn of the century had marked a period of methodological secularization in which educators began to undermine the distinctive features of the traditional Protestant presence on the university campus. In modernizing their institutions, university leaders privileged scientific objectivity over religious belief and in the process eliminated many of the substantive Christian components -- such as compulsory chapel or courses in moral philosophy -- which had previously provided a shaping force to the university. Protestantism continued to provide a general moral consensus on many campuses until World War Two but, Marsden contends, university leaders allowed evangelicalism to mutate into an ethical liberal Protestantism. Educators came to advocate general ideas such as tolerance, service, inclusiveness -- goals which

²⁷See for example, Martin, "Canada in Comparative Perspective," and Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World.

²⁸This period witnessed a wide range of literature lamenting the lack of values within higher education and the lack of any moral vision projected by the modern university. For example, see Allan David Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987).

²⁹The older view appears, for example, in Laurence Veysey in The Emergence of the American University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 203, where he argues that between 1865 and 1890 the leaders of American colleges gradually eliminated Christian theology as central to the academic enterprise.

meshed with the aims of the university. In doing so, liberal Protestants, he argues, eased the process from methodological to ideological secularization. Not only did the acceptance of liberal Protestantism marginalize any other substantive religious perspectives but as society became more pluralistic the effect was ultimately to exclude liberal Protestantism itself.³⁰

Other historians have taken up the need to take seriously the continuing influence of Protestantism on American university campuses. P.C. Kemeny perceives Princeton in the 1920s as animated by a voluntary expression of Protestantism which continued as a shaping force until the post-war period, when it came under fire as the campus became increasingly pluralistic.³¹ Douglas Sloan, in Faith and Knowledge, sees the period from the 1930s to the 1950s as a time of Protestant renaissance. In a variety of ways, such as through faculty Christian organizations and missions to the university, church leaders and educators attempted to reintegrate Protestant ideals and values into university life. Sloan argues that the most significant challenge confronting Protestantism was the relationship between faith and knowledge. While some theologians, employing neo-orthodox thought, attempted to reconstruct this relationship, they did not challenge the core of the modern university system: the claims of science to true knowledge. According to Sloan, this brief theological "boom" met its final demise with the upheaval of the 1960s and the

³⁰George M. Marsden, The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). For similar arguments see George Marsden, "The Soul of the American University: A Historical Overview," James Turner, "Secularization and Sacralization: Speculations on Some Religious Origins of the Secular Humanities Curriculum, 1850-1900," Bradley Longfield, "From Evangelicalism to Liberalism: Public Midwestern Universities in Nineteenth-Century America," and "For God, for Country, and for Yale': Yale, Religion, and Higher Education between the World Wars," in The Secularization of the Academy, ed. George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

³¹P.C. Kemeny, Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice, 1868-1928 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

collapse of its institutional networks.³²

Julie Reuben also takes up the question of the relationship between science and religion. She takes issue with Marsden, arguing that "religion disappeared from the university...not because university educators neglected religion" but because their efforts "to modernize religion to make it compatible with their conception of science" failed.³³ She contends that the secularization of the university was due less to the shortcomings of liberal Protestantism, though she does point to some of these, than to the inability to incorporate science into a Christian framework.³⁴ She argues that the nineteenth-century conception of the unity of truth gave way in the twentieth century to a division between facts and values: science came to constitute true knowledge and moral and spiritual values were marginalized in the curriculum. In response, she contends, educators in the 1920s, who continued to believe in "the moral mission of the university," turned to extracurricular activities and dormitories as sites for character formation.³⁵

American historians such as Reuben, Sloan, Kemeny, and Marsden disagree as to the process of secularization and the continuing impact of Protestantism on the university in the twentieth century. All, however, see the disappearance of the influence of

³²Douglas Sloan, Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and Twentieth-Century American Higher Education (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1994).

³³Julie A. Reuben, The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 13.

³⁴Reuben argues that university educators attempted in a number of ways to maintain a moral basis within higher education up to the 1930s. From 1880 to 1910 they tied Christianity to morality through the scientific study of religion. As student interest began to lag in this area, educators in the years between 1900 and 1920, began to look to "secular sources for moral development" first in the sciences and then the humanities. In each case, as the scientific method and concepts of specialization took hold, the emphasis on moral education was marginalized. Reuben argues that "liberal Protestantism contributed to its own demise" in its equation of "religion with morality" and its tendency towards vague and inclusive rhetoric. But she argues that science as much as liberal Christianity "was responsible for secularization." See The Making of the Modern University, 14.

³⁵Ibid., 255-65.

Protestantism by or during the post-war period. Others, on the other hand, see a continuing place for Protestantism on the modern campus. Writing specifically about divinity schools, Conrad Cherry agrees with those who have documented many of the forces at work in the transformation of the university. He argues that specialization, professionalization, and pluralism -- forces embraced by educators themselves -- contributed to the fragmentation of knowledge and the elimination of a unifying moral vision for the university. However, he characterizes the relationship between divinity schools and the modern university as neither secularization nor marginalization but rather as one marked by "the inability...of the divinity schools to center a severely decentered institution."³⁶ Moreover, he believes these divinity schools continue to play an important role on campus through, for example, their scholarship and their emphasis on social justice issues. More recently, in Religion on Campus, Cherry and his colleagues Betty deBerg and Amanda Porterfield have questioned historians' conclusions regarding the disappearance of religion from American campuses. In their contemporary study of the public expression of religion on four American universities they found that a vibrant religious life continues to exist.³⁷ Such studies, then, raise on-going questions about the nature and effects of secularization on university campuses.

Some historians and sociologists thus see liberal Protestantism as itself the agent of secularization. Others point out that to be meaningful religion had to address new problems, and in the process it underwent a transformation in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries from evangelical to liberal Protestantism. This change occurred simultaneously with other changes in society which pushed Protestantism into a more

³⁶Conrad Cherry, Hurrying Toward Zion: Universities, Divinity Schools, and American Protestantism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 293.

³⁷Conrad Cherry, Betty A. DeBerg, and Amanda Porterfield, Religion on Campus (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

restricted role: new secular leisure activities: new trade unions which did not look to religious leadership as had the older mechanics' institutes: the gradual involvement of government in areas such as health and social welfare: and, with the rise of the new sciences, specialization and professionalization in higher education.³⁸ Those on both sides of the debate would say that the place of religion was indeed changing. Did these changes, however, mean that religion became simply a private matter?

For Canada, many historians affirm that at the turn of the twentieth century, Protestantism permeated the cultural fabric of English-Canadian society. Protestants sought to create a better, more godly, society. They established and joined voluntary societies aimed at improving the nation: Sunday schools, temperance organizations such as the WCTU, youth groups like the YMCA, or mission bands engaged in direct evangelization, to name only a few.³⁹ They began working towards church union as a means "to extend Christian influence" in Canada.⁴⁰ And Protestant leaders also began to embrace a Christian internationalism, to accept "their collective responsibility in the world."⁴¹ Protestants sought to mould individual behaviour and reshape society at large. They saw in Christian service, to church, community, and nation, the means to transform the fabric of Canadian society and the world beyond.⁴²

The university campus became a natural site for the diffusion of a cultural understanding of Protestantism. Professors accepted and taught within this Christian

³⁸John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 226; Allen, Social Passion, 11-13.

³⁹Grant, Profusion of Spires, 186-91; Robert Wright, A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 6-7.

⁴⁰Grant, Profusion of Spires, 194.

⁴¹Wright, A World Mission, 8.

⁴²Allen, Social Passion, 4; Fraser, The Social Uplifters, xiii.

framework. Indeed, administrators both hired and assessed the performance of professors based on their moral character and religious beliefs as much as their scholarship. Christian principles were reinforced within regulated residences, through codes of behaviour, and through required chapel services. Moreover, if living the "good life" had become equated with the morals and behaviour of the individual, these values could be transmitted through the teaching of western culture, a central endeavour of the university.⁴³

Little is known, on the other hand, of what happened to this moral dimension of Protestantism in English-Canada from the 1920s to the 1960s. Given the recent work of Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, which emphasizes the continuing public influence of Protestant churches in the area of social reform in the decades prior to World War Two, a new approach is needed which does not assume an inevitable link between modernity and religious privatization, but which focuses instead on the public voice of religion. And since the universities were so closely identified with Protestant cultural authority in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they are the focus of this dissertation. In order to explore these issues further I have chosen to examine a number of Canadian universities between 1920 and 1970: Dalhousie University and the University of King's College in Halifax, McMaster University in Hamilton, Victoria and University Colleges at the University of Toronto, and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. These universities were selected in order to provide both regional and religious diversity. Dalhousie University was founded in 1818 as a non-denominational college but had a strong Presbyterian stamp.⁴⁴ King's was founded in 1789 at Windsor, Nova Scotia. An

⁴³Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 135.

⁴⁴The university historian, P.B. Waite, contends that much of the early driving force behind the university arose from Presbyterian circles. See P.B. Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume One, 1818-1925, Lord Dalhousie's College (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 94.

Anglican college. it relocated to Halifax and became federated with Dalhousie after its main buildings were destroyed by fire in 1923.⁴⁵ Founded as a Baptist institution, McMaster gained its charter in 1887 and opened its doors in Toronto in 1890. In the fall of 1930 it moved to Hamilton. Financial constraints forced McMaster in 1957 to cut its ties to the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec by becoming a private non-denominational institution in order to receive provincial funding.⁴⁶ Victoria College was founded as a Methodist institution in Cobourg, Ontario, in 1841. It federated with the University of Toronto in 1887, although it was not operational in Toronto until 1892.⁴⁷ With church union in 1925, Victoria College became affiliated with the United Church of Canada, with 22 of its 42 members on the Board of Regents appointed by the General Council of the Church.⁴⁸ University College was founded in 1853 as the non-sectarian arts college of Ontario's provincial university, the University of Toronto.⁴⁹ And UBC was established in 1908 as the provincial university for British Columbia.⁵⁰

The composition of the student body at these universities was overwhelmingly Protestant well into the post-World-War-Two era. Paul Axelrod argues that English-Canadian universities in the 1930s were predominantly white, middle-class, Anglo-Celtic.

⁴⁵P.B. Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 1925-1980, The Old College Transformed (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 9-10.

⁴⁶Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, The Early Years in Hamilton 1920-1957 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 4, 33, 260-61.

⁴⁷C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), 22, 182-84, 190.

⁴⁸Ibid., 288.

⁴⁹McKillop, Matters of Mind, 27.

⁵⁰Harry T. Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia, foreward by N.A.M. MacKenzie (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1958), 35.

and Protestant, providing a culturally homogeneous environment.⁵¹ Indeed, the student population at the universities under consideration remained well over 70 per cent Protestant into the 1950s. Axelrod's compilation of students' religious affiliation in the 1930s for Dalhousie and the University of Toronto⁵² reveals that at Dalhousie 71.8 per cent of the student population was Protestant, 15.1 per cent Roman Catholic, and 11.3 per cent Jewish, while at the University of Toronto, 75.4 per cent were Protestant, 14.7 per cent Roman Catholic, and 7.2 per cent Jewish.⁵³ While no interwar statistics exist for University College,⁵⁴ at Victoria College 94.6 per cent of the student population in 1937 was listed as Protestant.⁵⁵ At McMaster in 1931-32, 99.5 per cent of students were Protestant and 0.5 per cent of no denomination.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, no figures exist for King's or UBC. Yet statistics for the later period suggest that these institutions too were predominantly Protestant. UBC had a student population which was 72.4 per cent

⁵¹Paul Axelrod, Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada During the Thirties (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 4, 162.

⁵²All statistics for the University of Toronto include the three denominational colleges: Trinity (Anglican), Victoria (United Church), and St. Michael's (Roman Catholic).

⁵³Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, Table 6. Axelrod's compilation of students' religious denomination for not only the University of Toronto and Dalhousie University, but also the Universities of Western Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta in the 1930s suggests that most English-Canadian universities were overwhelmingly Protestant. At these institutions, the Protestant population ranged from between 70 to 80 per cent of the student body.

⁵⁴In 1919-1920 the religious affiliation of students at University College was 89 per cent mainline Protestant, 4 per cent Roman Catholic, and 4 per cent Jewish. See Charles Morden Levi, "Where the Famous People Were? The Origins, Activities and future Careers of Student Leaders at University College, Toronto, 1854-1973" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1998), 222.

⁵⁵United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives [hereafter UCC/VUA], Records of the President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 54-15, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, 15 Nov. 1937.

⁵⁶Canadian Baptist Archives [hereafter CBA], McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Report of Chancellor 1931-32, Registration by Denomination. At McMaster in 1927-28 no Roman Catholics were registered but 2.2 per cent of the student population was Jewish.

Protestant in the late 1950s, 12 per cent Roman Catholic, and 2 per cent Jewish.⁵⁷ This figure was matched at Dalhousie, where in the mid-fifties 76 per cent of the student population was Protestant, 15 per cent Roman Catholic and 5 per cent Jewish.⁵⁸ Although there are no statistics for McMaster, University College or the University of Toronto in the mid-1950s, Victoria's student population was 94 per cent Protestant, 2.8 per cent Roman Catholic, 0.3 per cent Jewish, and 2.9 per cent other.⁵⁹ Moreover, as late as 1970, King's was 82 per cent Protestant, 13.3 per cent Roman Catholic, 0.4 per cent Jewish, and 4.3 per cent other.⁶⁰

The universities under consideration not only had a predominantly Protestant student population but students also tended to belong to one of the mainline Protestant churches. At some denominational colleges the student population remained linked to the religious affiliation of the institution. For example, at Victoria in 1936-37, 73 per cent of the student population belonged to the United Church while 21.6 per cent belonged to one of the other Protestant mainline churches.⁶¹ Not all denominational colleges maintained such a high proportion of affiliation. In 1927-28, while still located in Toronto, 67 per cent of McMaster's students were Baptist.⁶² When it moved to Hamilton, its student population became more diverse. In 1931-32 Baptists composed only 33 per cent of the student population; but together, Baptists, members of the United Church, Anglicans, and

⁵⁷UBC President's Report 1959-60.

⁵⁸Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 175.

⁵⁹"Victoria College, Religious Denominations, 1954-55." Victoria Reports 5, 1 (Spring 1955).

⁶⁰University of King's College Archives [hereafter UKCA]. Report of the Registrar in Report of President, 1971-72.

⁶¹UCC/VUA, Records of the President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 54-15, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, 15 Nov. 1937.

⁶²Alyson E. King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. diss., OISE, University of Toronto, 1999), 353.

Presbyterians composed 96 per cent of the student body.⁶³ The Protestant student population at other universities also tended to originate from within the mainline denominations. In the 1930s, at Dalhousie, 70.9 per cent of the student population belonged to one of the mainline churches while at the University of Toronto 69 per cent did so.⁶⁴ While statistics are more sketchy for the post-war period, 90 per cent of students at Victoria College in 1954-55 continued to list their religious affiliation as mainline Protestant while the previous year 75 per cent at Dalhousie had done so.⁶⁵ In the late 1950s UBC had the most religiously diverse Protestant population with only 54.5 per cent of students belonging to one of the mainline denominations and 19.3 per cent adhering to other Protestant groups.⁶⁶

It is important to note that students, faculty, and administrators at these universities, while overwhelmingly Protestant, often referred to themselves as Christian. Until the 1950s they rarely used this term in an inclusive way to refer to both Protestants and Roman Catholics. Rather, the term "Christian" was assumed to refer to the Protestant religious establishment of English Canada. Thus, I use the terms "Christian" and "Protestant" interchangeably, as did students, religious leaders and educators at the time, when referring to the unofficial Protestant establishment in English-Canadian universities.

⁶³The remaining 4 per cent were listed as Christian Science, Lutheran, Evangelical Temple, Gospel Hall, Church of Christ, Congregational, Unitarian, or no denomination. See CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Report of Chancellor 1931-32, Registration by Denomination.

⁶⁴Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 31.

⁶⁵UCC/VUA, Records of the President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 56-4, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, Table V, Victoria College Religious Denominations, 1954-55. For Dalhousie see Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 175.

⁶⁶UBC President's Report 1959-60.

This dissertation does not pretend to offer an institutional history of any of the universities under consideration.⁶⁷ While some institutional changes were central to the changing nature of the university and will be explored, tracking institutional development is not a central aim of this thesis. Nor is it specifically about student culture and life. While student religious clubs and campus morality are central components of the thesis, much of student life is left unexplored. It is also not a thesis about individual belief, although some of that will appear. Rather, my focus falls upon the moral vision of the university from a perspective outside the classroom -- elucidated from the public pronouncements of university educators, the moral regulation of campus, and student religious culture. In this dissertation I ask several central questions. Was there such a thing as a liberal Protestant establishment on campus? Supposing that it did exist in 1900 or 1920, as most scholars agree, how long did it last beyond that? Was a traditional liberal Protestant culture largely eclipsed by 1950, as some historians have implied? If not, when did the shift take place?

In the pages that follow, I am going to answer these questions in the following way. A vision of a moral community, informed by liberal Protestantism, was dominant in the early years of the twentieth century, and, I will argue, remained an animating presence as late as the early 1960s. To put it another way, a Protestant establishment existed on

⁶⁷Most of these universities have their own histories. See for example Claude T. Bissell, ed., University College, a Portrait 1885-1953 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); W. Stewart Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto, 1827-1927 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927); Sissons, A History of Victoria University; C.M Johnston and John Weaver, Student Days: An Illustrated History of Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s (Hamilton: McMaster University Alumni Association, 1986); Johnston, McMaster University, Volume 2: F. W. Vroom, King's College: A Chronicle 1789-1939, Collections and Recollections (Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1941); Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two; Logan, Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia. There are also several general histories on higher education. For example, see D.C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966); Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

both denominational and non-denominational English-Canadian university campuses for much of the twentieth century and imparted to these campuses its own particular vision of moral and intellectual purpose. The existence of that vision can be illuminated in a variety of ways: by examining the views of leading administrators and other educators, by probing the way in which the university tried to shape student values and behaviour, by assessing the role of religious clubs and other pertinent student activities, and in other ways as well. I also argue, however, that cracks in the edifice began to appear from at least the late 1940s onwards and to widen as the post-war era proceeded. In this respect, the two decades around mid-century form the hinge decades where one can identify both the continuing place of liberal Protestantism as the public voice of the university and, despite that, the growing fissures that would undermine it. It was only in the late 1960s, however, that one can begin to speak of a university whose public voice was predominantly secular, and where the place of liberal Protestantism had been reduced to one voice among many.

Much of this dissertation focuses on the middle decades of the century, which are marked by subtle tensions between tradition and change, and by tendencies often distinguished only by degrees of emphasis. On any given topic, at any given moment, it is often very difficult to fathom what constitutes the voice of tradition as opposed to the currents of change. In order to impose some clarity (and at the risk of oversimplifying the flux of history) I have organized my dissertation into two distinct parts, one which focuses on the resilience of the liberal Protestant voice from the 1920s to the early 1960s, and the other which attempts to elucidate the forces that gradually undermined it.

The first three chapters examine the continuing presence of the liberal Protestant voice from 1920 to the early 1960s. Chapter one focuses on the way in which educators continued to envision the university as a moral community. While accepting, and often encouraging, the growth of both the research ideal and professional education,

administrators drew upon ideological and theological currents of the time such as idealism, pragmatism, and liberal Protestantism to reinforce the importance of the role of the liberal arts in preserving the traditions and expectations of western and Christian society. These expectations did not simply appear in rhetoric but also shaped ideals of behaviour and comportment to which faculty and students were expected to adhere. This Christian culture found expression in the formal religious symbols of the university such as opening chapel or university services. Chapter two explores further this formal religious culture as well as the way in which Protestant beliefs and mores were reinforced in residence and on campus more generally. Chapter three examines how such religious influences were reinforced by Protestant religious clubs. The SCM, and at McMaster the McMaster Christian Union, played a dominant role in shaping a public religion on campus.

Chapter four begins to explore the ambiguities: it focuses on the national University Christian Missions and attempts at one and the same time to illuminate the strengths of the tradition and the subtle shifts in language and attitudes which begin to reveal a changing temper. That sets the stage for part two, which explores the erosion of the Protestant establishment in the post-war years. In chapter five I consider the ways in which changes in the larger university environment created new challenges and in chapters six to eight I explore the impact of these changes on the moral regulation of campus life and on the place of liberal Protestantism on campus. A concluding chapter presents an overview of the entire argument and points to the dramatically changed place of religion on English-Canadian campuses as they entered the last third of the twentieth century.

Chapter 1

"To live the good life": The Moral Vision of the University, 1920s-1960s.

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the university was clearly being reshaped by the growing emphasis on research, graduate studies, and professional education -- what A.B. McKillop and others describe as the gospel of research and the culture of utility. Yet these were not the only influences at work, and they were balanced by a different ideal that had its own resonance: the idea of the university as a moral community. This latter concept of the university gained a strong foothold in Britain and the United States in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries through proponents of philosophical idealism and pragmatism such as Edward Caird at the University of Glasgow, T. H. Green at Oxford, Josiah Royce and William James at Harvard, and John Dewey at Chicago.¹ These philosophers gained popularity in the attempt to rearticulate the philosophical and moral underpinnings of western society during a time of intellectual and social upheaval. Idealists perceived the universe to be an organic whole, with all phenomena interrelated. Individual and moral development and social betterment occurred as individuals came to identify their interests with those of the community.² James and Dewey both perceived democracy and Christianity as interchangeable, with individual and social uplift occurring as Christian virtues permeated all institutions.³ Thus, in different ways, pragmatists and idealists believed that the spiritual could infuse

¹McKillop, Matters of Mind, 198-99.

²Ibid., 189-91, and McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence, 184-6.

³Henry Samuel Levinson, "Religious Philosophy," Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements, Volume II, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 1198, 1201-2; Bruce Kuklick, Churchman and Philosophers: From Jonathan Edwards to John Dewey (New Haven: York University Press, 1985), 243-44.

all of culture. They believed that democracy required "an informed and virtuous citizenry" which could act "on behalf of the common good" and that the role of the philosopher was to train the future citizens and leaders of the nation "both to depict virtue and evoke it in others."⁴ Such ideas gained hold in Canada from the 1870s on through the teachings of philosophers such as John Watson at Queen's, George Paxton Young at University College, George Blewett at Victoria College, and James Ten Broeke at McMaster.⁵

Another way in which the moral uncertainties of the late-nineteenth century were kept at bay within universities was through the traditional core subject of classics and the emerging discipline of English literature. The 1880s witnessed the hiring of W.J. Alexander and Maurice Hutton at the University of Toronto, James Cappon at Queen's, and Archibald MacMechan at Dalhousie. Influenced by idealism and the Christian humanism of Matthew Arnold, these men believed that great literature could provide the verities of western civilization that promoted moral enlightenment and social harmony.⁶ Literature, in their view, provided "enduring moral insight."⁷ They thus understood their disciplines as an extension of the "liberating and uplifting spirit" of Christianity.⁸

Such ideas meshed well with, and indeed helped reshape, new emphases within Protestantism. A gradual liberalization of Protestant doctrines and belief had occurred over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. Liberal evangelicals

⁴Levinson, "Religious Philosophy," 1189.

⁵McKillop, Matters of Mind, 188; Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott, The Faces of Reason: An Essay on Philosophy and Culture in English Canada, 1850-1950 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1981), chapters 7-9. For the Christian pragmatism of Ten Broeke see Michael Gauvreau, "Baptist Religion and the Social Science of Harold Innis," Canadian Historical Review 76, 2 (June 1995): 169.

⁶McKillop, Matters of Mind, 218-29; Van Die, Evangelical Mind, chapter 5.

⁷Marsden, Soul of the American University, 191.

⁸Ibid., 193.

replaced a literal interpretation of the Bible with an emphasis on understanding its historical context.⁹ They took a Christomorphic approach to religious experience, believing that "Christ was the form by which the reality of God and the nature of human experience could be identified."¹⁰ Yet more than such theological changes, theological liberalism expressed a "search for a broader insight into Christianity."¹¹ Doctrine became insufficient to "express religious experience."¹² Instead, liberals came to believe that "poetic statements and paradoxical forms of expression might be more accurate barometers of truth than literal propositions."¹³

Liberal Protestantism and philosophical idealism became powerful intellectual forces for the practical Christianity of the social gospel. Social gospellers understood sin not simply as an individual phenomenon but as permeating the social structure. Both the individual and society needed to be transformed in order to usher in the Kingdom of God. Thus liberal clergymen "emphasized Christianity's support for the welfare and aspirations of the total human community."¹⁴ In the university of the early-twentieth century this

⁹William McGuire King, "Liberalism," Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements, Volume II, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 1135. See also William McGuire King, "An enthusiasm for humanity: the social emphasis in religion and its accommodation in Protestant theology," in Religion and Twentieth-Century American Intellectual Life, ed. Michael J. Lacey (Cambridge: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Cambridge University Press, 1989), 67-68. This became one of the dividing issues by the first World War between conservative and liberal evangelicals, as they were called in Britain, and fundamentalists and modernists in the United States. See David Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1989), 14, 181.

¹⁰McGuire King, "Liberalism," 1137.

¹¹Ibid., 1130.

¹²Ibid., 1131; McGuire King, "An enthusiasm for humanity," 52.

¹³McGuire King, "Liberalism," 1132. For Britain see Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, 183.

¹⁴McGuire King, "Liberalism," 1130. For Britain see Bebbington, Evangelicalism in Modern Britain, 183, 211-12.

found practical expression through the settlement house movement. Proponents of this movement believed that in linking idealism with empirical research, scientific methods could be applied to effect a moral purpose -- to bridge class and ethnic divisions. Through the settlement house, members of the movement believed, the poor would have access to the elevating culture of the university-educated, while young men and women would achieve their own moral fulfilment as they became aware of their obligations and duties as representatives of Protestant, middle-class, democratic values and mores.¹⁵

The ideals of character formation and of the elevating influences of western culture embodied within the settlement house movement were central to the aims of many university educators. In particular they were seen to have their place within the arts college. It was, after all, through subjects such as history, philosophy, and English that students could be inspired and trained to their Christian duty. In the late-nineteenth century, when Victoria College federated with the University of Toronto in order to enhance its facilities, Nathanael Burwash argued that not only would the moral formation provided by Victoria remain an important facet of education, but through federation the moral influence of the College would extend to the wider university environment.¹⁶ Thus, while liberal Protestantism, western literature, and new movements within philosophy provided the intellectual underpinnings for the vision of a moral community, university educators believed the arts college would be its institutional base.

Burwash's vision of the university as a moral community continued to be shared by much of Canada's university leadership throughout much of the twentieth century. This may be seen in particular with the twenty-two men who served as presidents or principals at the universities included in this study, between the twenties and early sixties.

¹⁵Burke, Seeking the Highest Good, 5; Cathy L. James, "'Not Merely for the Sake of an Evening's Entertainment': The Educational Uses of Theater in Toronto's Settlement Houses, 1910-1930." History of Education Quarterly 38, 3 (Fall 1998): 289-90, 309-10.

¹⁶Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 124-29.

They include: Robert Falconer (1907-32), H.J. Cody (1932-45), and Sidney Smith (1945-57) at the University of Toronto; Maurice Hutton (1901-28), Malcolm Wallace (1928-44), Sidney Smith (1944-45), W.R. Taylor (1945-51), F.C.A. Jeanneret (1951-59), and M. St. A. Woodside (1959-1963) at University College; R.P. Bowles (1913-1930), E.W. Wallace (1930-41), W.T. Brown (1941-49), and A.B.B. Moore (1950-70) at Victoria College; H.P. Whidden (1923-41) and G.P. Gilmour (1941-61) at McMaster University; Arthur Stanley MacKenzie (1911-31), Carleton Stanley (1931-45), and A.E. Kerr (1945-63) at Dalhousie University; A.H. Moore (1924-37), A. Stanley Walker (1937-53), and H.L. Puxley (1954-62) at the University of King's College; and Leonard Klinck (1919-44) and Norman MacKenzie (1944-62) at UBC.¹⁷

This is a list that covers at least three generations and includes men with diverse backgrounds. There are differences in the periods when they were educated -- before and after the First World War for example -- and given the cultural differences in these periods we should expect to see subtle differences in beliefs and attitudes. Nor is there uniformity of background among all twenty-two of them. Not all had a liberal arts background: not all put the same emphasis on the centrality of the liberal Protestant tradition.¹⁸ What all did share, however, were common convictions about the nature of the university, and it is those commonalities, rather than the differences, which will form the focus of this chapter.

¹⁷This list does not include acting presidents or principals who were only in office for one or two years. See also Appendix A.

¹⁸There are differences in emphasis for example between H.J. Cody, who wrote extensively on the importance of Christianity to a liberal arts education, and Carleton Stanley, who wrote little on the topic; equally, Leonard Klinck's background was in agriculture, Sidney Smith's and N.A.M. MacKenzie's law. See, for example, D.C. Masters, Henry John Cody: An Outstanding Life (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995) and P.B. Waite, Lord of Point Grey: Larry MacKenzie of UBC (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987).

Compared at least to the late-twentieth century, these presidents and principals were able to place their own stamp on their universities. The fact they were able to do so, it should be emphasized, was due in no small measure to the relatively modest size of the institutions they led. In 1929-30, the largest university, the University of Toronto (which included four colleges as well as a number of professional faculties) only had a student population of 7718.¹⁹ UBC and Dalhousie were considerably smaller. UBC had 1904 students in 1929-30 and Dalhousie, 925.²⁰ University College had a student population of 1600, Victoria College under 1000, McMaster under 400, and King's under 70.²¹ At places such as McMaster, Victoria and University Colleges, King's and Dalhousie, these figures did not increase substantially in the immediate post-war period. In 1949-50 McMaster had a student enrolment of 1100 while in 1950-51 Victoria College had a student population of 1450, University College had 1578 students, King's had a population of 102 and Dalhousie, 1553.²² Even at UBC and the University of Toronto, where enrolment rose significantly higher, the student population remained relatively small, by modern standards at least. In 1950-51, UBC had an enrolment of 6432 while the University of Toronto had a student population of 13,129.²³ Moreover, in many universities the majority of students remained within the faculty of arts and science. Although only 48 per cent of University of Toronto students were in this faculty in the late 1930s, the other universities under consideration had over 60 per cent of their

¹⁹University of Toronto President's Report 1929-30.

²⁰Dalhousie University President's Report 1929-30; UBC President's Report 1929-30.

²¹King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," 325; Dalhousie University President's Report 1929-30; Victoria College Bulletin 1930-31; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 428.

²²McMaster University President's Report, 1949-50; University of Toronto President's Report 1950-51; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, Table I.

²³UBC President's Report 1950-51; University of Toronto President's Report 1950-51.

students in arts and science.²⁴ These figures did not change substantially in the immediate period after World War Two.²⁵ Indeed, at some places enrolment in arts increased. At the University of Toronto by 1951-52, for example, 56 per cent of students were enrolled in arts and science.²⁶

Despite their small size, Canadian universities continued to be influenced by the broader western trend towards greater specialization of the curriculum. McKillop has shown for the University of Toronto that the old curriculum, centred around a select number of chairs, quickly expanded in the twentieth century to include a variety of social science disciplines as well as more practical vocational and professional subjects. But most of this expansion took place within a single faculty of arts and science. With the exception of the University of Toronto, which had a number of professional schools, the number of faculties at most universities was limited to three or four.²⁷ The number of

²⁴McKillop, Matters of Mind, 531. At Dalhousie 76 per cent of students were enrolled in arts and science in 1929-30. UBC had over 60 per cent enrolled through the period and McMaster over 80 per cent. See Dalhousie University President's Report 1929-30; UBC, President's Report 1929-30, 1935-36; CBA, Box: McMaster Chancellor's Correspondence, File: Report of Senate, "Report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University," 1923-24.

²⁵In 1949-50, 58 per cent of students at UBC were enrolled in Arts and Science. The figures for students in arts and science drop to 46 per cent after 1950-51 as a number of departments formerly counted under arts and science, such as physical education and commerce, were counted separately. Sixty-one per cent of Dalhousie's students remained enrolled in arts and science in 1953-54. See UBC President's Report 1949-50, 1950-51, and Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 174.

²⁶University of Toronto President's Report 1951-52.

²⁷In 1933-34 the University of Toronto had a number of faculties such as: medicine, applied science and engineering, household science, forestry, music, and dentistry. In addition it had schools of graduate studies, hygiene, and nursing as well as the Ontario College of Education, among others. McMaster's professional programs were limited to nursing and divinity until the mid-1950s when it added the Bachelor of Commerce under the purview of the department of political economy, as well as a school of engineering. At UBC practical departments such as nursing, forestry, and education were created during the 1920s. Yet until the end of World War Two, UBC consisted of three faculties: arts, agriculture, and applied science. Similarly, until the late 1940s Dalhousie only had four faculties: arts and science, law, medicine, and dentistry. See Appendix A, University of Toronto President's Report 1933-34; Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two,

faculty members was equally modest. For example, although new subjects such as economics, psychology, and commerce began to appear at many universities during the interwar years, most humanities and social science disciplines continued to be taught by a single professor well into the post-World War Two era.²⁸ Educators could also consider the faculty of arts and science as the core of the university because opportunities for research and access to graduate programs remained limited.²⁹ While Dalhousie and UBC offered the M.A. in most of its programs, and at McMaster in some, none had a faculty of graduate studies until after World War Two and none would grant doctoral degrees until the 1950s.³⁰

Thus, although the ideal of research was making inroads into the university campus, this occurred relatively slowly at many institutions. Specialized disciplines, professional programs, and graduate training appeared only on a modest scale. Moreover, the intimate nature of many Canadian universities and the lack of powerful counterweights in the form of diverse faculties and departments allowed presidents and

227, 235: Dalhousie University President's Report 1945-46, 1946-47.

²⁸At Dalhousie-King's in 1935-36, for example, philosophy, psychology, and modern languages were each taught by one professor. There were two instructors for history and three for English, a core subject. Similarly, during the interwar years, UBC had approximately 67 staff members in arts and science, including 3 in philosophy, 4 in history, 5 in classics, and 9 in English. See Dalhousie University Calendar 1935-36, 1950-51; UBC Calendar 1930-31.

²⁹Indeed by the end of World War Two only five universities -- Queen's, Toronto, McGill, Manitoba, Laval -- had awarded the degree of Ph.D., conferring only a total of 100. Edward F. Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," in Canadian Education: A History, ed. J. Donald Wilson et al. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 433-34.

³⁰UBC did not award its first Ph.D. until 1950 while Dalhousie did not do so until 1957. McMaster did not offer Ph.D.-level work until 1949. The first post-graduate degrees awarded tended to be in a handful of sciences: biology at Dalhousie; physics, biology and botany, and zoology at UBC; and chemistry at McMaster. A faculty of graduate studies was established at UBC in 1948 and at McMaster in 1957. See Dalhousie University President's Report 1955-59; Logan, Tuum Est, 97; Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 181-83.

principals to exercise a strong hand in shaping their institutions to their own vision of what the university should be.

That vision was remarkably similar among the presidents and principals, in large part because of the common background so many of them shared.³¹ Nineteen of the twenty-two were born or grew up in Canada.³² Of the nineteen Canadians, all but two grew up in Ontario or Nova Scotia and fourteen of these were born or grew up predominantly in small-town Nova Scotia or Ontario, places such as Embro, Port Dover, and Lakefield in Ontario and Antigonish, Pugwash, and Louisburg in Nova Scotia.³³ Those twenty-two men who were presidents or principals from the 1920s to the 1960s generally received their education before 1920.³⁴ Eighteen of the nineteen Canadians took their B.A.s in Canada, fourteen at the University of Toronto, Victoria College, Dalhousie-King's or McMaster Universities.³⁵ Nineteen of the twenty-two presidents and

³¹Statistical information which follows has been gathered from Canadian Who's Who (1920-1970) and Who's Who in Canada (1920-1970).

³²Maurice Hutton, A. Stanley Walker, and H.L. Puxley were from England.

³³Those who grew up in small-town Nova Scotia: R. Falconer, S. Smith, H.P. Whidden, N.A.M. Mackenzie, A.S. MacKenzie, A.E. Kerr. Those who grew up in small-town Ontario: H.J. Cody, M. Wallace, W.R. Taylor, F.C.A. Jeanneret, M. St. A. Woodside, R.P. Bowles, E.W. Wallace, W.T. Brown, L. Klinck.

³⁴For the most part the presidents and principals can be grouped into four educational co-horts: those educated in the 1880s and early 1890s, those between 1900 and 1910, those immediately before and after World War One, and those during the interwar years. The first group includes Robert Falconer and H.J. Cody at the University of Toronto, Malcolm Wallace at University College, R.P. Bowles at Victoria, H.P. Whidden at McMaster, and A.S. MacKenzie at Dalhousie. Those educated between 1900 and 1910 include: E.W. Wallace and W.T. Brown at Victoria, W.R. Taylor at University College, Carleton Stanley at Dalhousie, and Leonard Klinck at UBC. Those educated before and after the first World War include: Sidney Smith at the University of Toronto, Harold Bennett at Victoria, F.C.A. Jeanneret at University College, N.A.M. MacKenzie at UBC, A.E. Kerr at Dalhousie, G.P. Gilmour at McMaster, and A. Stanley Walker at King's. Those educated during the interwar years consisted of A.B.B. Moore at Victoria, M.St.A. Woodside at University College, and H.L. Puxley at King's. Only Hutton received his education prior to 1880.

³⁵Five attended the University of Toronto, 4 Victoria, 1 McMaster, 3 Dalhousie, 1 King's.

principals had some sort of post-graduate degree.³⁶ Among these, five had Ph.D.s, eleven had M.A.s as final degrees, and one an L.L.M. from Harvard. The majority of the higher degrees were taken in Canada or the United States. Of the Ph.D.s one was granted from the University of Toronto, one from Laval, and four in the United States: two at Chicago, one at Harvard, and one at John Hopkins.³⁷

As Paul Axelrod has pointed out, moreover, presidents at both denominational and non-denominational universities in the 1930s were "frequently raised in devout Christian settings, they were models of moral probity."³⁸ The presidents of the universities under consideration in this study tended to be mainline Protestants: six were Anglicans, three Presbyterians, two Methodist, six were members of the United Church, two Baptist, and three unknown. Twelve of the twenty-two presidents or principals were ordained. Some became prominent religious leaders. Robert Falconer was principal of Pine Hill Divinity College in Halifax from 1904 to 1906 before he became president of the University of Toronto.³⁹ His successor, H.J. Cody, was minister at St. Paul's, a

³⁶Maurice Hutton only had a B.A., while A.E. Kerr and A.B.B. Moore each possessed both a B.A. and a B.Div.

³⁷W.R. Taylor received a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto and F.C.A. Jeanneret from Laval University. The rest received theirs from American institutions: M. Wallace from the University of Chicago, W.T. Brown from Harvard, and A.S. MacKenzie from Johns Hopkins. Of the 11 M.A.s only five were taken in Great Britain while four were received in Canada and two in the United States. Robert Falconer received an M.A. from Edinburgh, Stanley Walker from Birmingham, Carleton Stanley and M.St.A. Woodside from Oxford, and H.L. Puxley from both Oxford and Yale. E.W. Wallace received his M. Ed. from Columbia and G.P. Gilmour, his M.A. from Yale. H.J. Cody received an M.A. from the University of Toronto, Sidney Smith from Dalhousie, R.P. Bowles from Victoria College, and A.H. Moore from Bishops. In addition, N.A.M. MacKenzie received the L.L.M. from Harvard. L. Klinck received an MSA from Iowa State College. And H.P. Whidden did some form of post-graduate work at Chicago but it is unclear from sources what type of degree he received.

³⁸Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 40.

³⁹James G. Greenlee, Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 75, 104.

leading Anglican Church in Toronto.⁴⁰ A.E. Kerr of Dalhousie University had also been principal of Pine Hill Divinity College from 1939 to 1945.⁴¹ R.P. Bowles of Victoria College had been a minister at prestigious Methodist churches such as St. James in Montreal and Sherbourne St. in Toronto.⁴² E.W. Wallace, of Victoria College, had been a missionary in China for 23 years.⁴³ W.R. Taylor, principal of University College from 1945 to 1951, had been professor of Old Testament literature at Westminster Hall, Vancouver, from 1910 to 1914.⁴⁴

Several of the presidents were also involved in progressive organizations. The revivalist spirit of the 1880s and 1890s had given a new lease of life to organizational involvement. Voluntary organizations provided institutional vehicles for moving beyond personal salvation to include the transformation of society.⁴⁵ Robert Falconer, along with other influential members of the university community such as Vincent Massey, was a member of the League of Nations society. Richard Allen argues that "like most groups at work in the field it [the League] was heavily manned by Christians giving social expression to their faith."⁴⁶ H.J. Cody and H.P. Whidden were both deeply involved in the moral reform of the liquor trade, though eventually on different sides. Both supported temperance but in the 1920s Cody endorsed government control of liquor while Whidden became president of the new Prohibition Organization in 1923, seeking to eliminate the

⁴⁰Masters, Henry John Cody, 33.

⁴¹Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 140.

⁴²Sissons, A History of Victoria University, 260.

⁴³Ibid., 300.

⁴⁴Canadian Who's Who 1948.

⁴⁵Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1973), 13-18.

⁴⁶Allen, The Social Passion, 338-39.

liquor trade completely.⁴⁷ Sidney Smith had been president of the Canadian YMCA from 1939 to 1942, chairman of the United Church Pension Fund, chairman of the National Council of the Student Christian Movement of Canada from 1955 to 1958, and chairman of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, among many other positions.⁴⁸ G.P. Gilmour was president of the Canadian Council of Churches from 1946 to 1948.⁴⁹ As a student and as president of UBC, Leonard Klinck attended a number of conferences of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions as well as the Guelph Conference over Christmas 1920 at which the Student Christian Movement was formed.⁵⁰ He also served for many years as president of the BC Branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as governor of Union College, and as a member of the Advisory Board of the YMCA.⁵¹ N.A.M. MacKenzie was equally involved in the SCM and SVM. Although of a younger generation than Klinck, MacKenzie attended many of the same conferences as his predecessor.⁵²

In sum, the presidents at the universities under consideration had remarkably common backgrounds and educational experiences. They remained committed to the nineteenth-century liberal evangelical impulse which had shaped their childhoods, participating in a variety of voluntary organizations. Most remained active members in one of the mainline churches and many were ordained ministers. Generally from small-

⁴⁷Ibid.: CBA, McMaster University, Box: McMaster Chancellor's Correspondence, File: Prohibition Federation, Whidden to Dr. T. Albert Moore, 18 Oct. 1923.

⁴⁸E.A. Corbett, Sidney Earle Smith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 36; Canadian Who's Who 1955-57.

⁴⁹Canadian Who's Who 1961-63.

⁵⁰University of British Columbia Archives [hereafter UBCA], Klinck Papers, Box 4-27, "Some Impressions of the SCM," 23 Jan 1924, 1-21.

⁵¹Blythe Eagles, "Makers of the University: Leonard Sylvanus Klinck, UBC President 1919-1944," Alumni Chronicle (Spring 1957): 24-25.

⁵²Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 32-33, 43.

town central and eastern Canada, they received their B.A.s predominantly in Canada and then went on to post-graduate work in Canada, the United States, or England.

Not surprisingly, given such similar backgrounds, they also shared a common intellectual outlook. Educated during a period of tremendous intellectual and theological ferment, many administrators were influenced by the philosophical idealism, the liberal theology, and the progressive intellectual and social ideals of the time. Indeed, taking their degrees in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, many presidents attended university at a time when the impact of new philosophical movements such as idealism and pragmatism and the importance of western literature were becoming widespread. As a result, they came to believe that religious and moral development would be fulfilled through the cultural process.

In 1936, for example, W.T. Brown, principal of Victoria College, presented an address entitled "Victoria and a Century of Education" as part of that year's Burwash Memorial Lectures held in conjunction with celebrations of Victoria College's centennial. Brown, who had done post-graduate work in philosophy at Harvard under Josiah Royce, stated that the aim of education "is to make the individual fully a member of his community and of his race by bringing him into such vital contact with its history and tradition that he becomes a living witness of this culture."⁵³ Civilization, for Brown, was not a mere series of facts, events, or movements. "It always has some principle of unity," he argued, "which is wide enough to afford room for a variety of movements and of individuals, and yet strong enough to discipline their waywardness and give purpose and direction to their efforts."⁵⁴ Brown believed that in western civilization this unifying

⁵³W.T. Brown, "Victoria and a Century of Education," in On the Old Ontario Strand: Victoria's Hundred Years, ed. Victoria University (Toronto: Victoria University, 1936), 120.

⁵⁴Ibid., 120-21.

factor was "furnished by Christianity."⁵⁵ Indeed, in keeping with the prevailing view of the progressive development of religions, he contended that Christianity had taken up the best of Greek and Roman thought and continued to infuse "its spirit into our social and political life, giving motives and standards to our creations in the realms of art, architecture, and literature, and interpreting man and the whole order of nature as the creation of an eternal and divine spirit who is concerned with the welfare and redemption of the human race."⁵⁶

Brown's statements were not that different from those of a previous Victoria president, Nathanael Burwash. Burwash believed that maintaining the moral traditions of Victoria could be achieved through studying subjects such as literature and languages which could provide "'high ideals of right, of honour, of beautiful sympathies and affection'."⁵⁷ Nor was this tradition of attributing moral training to literature limited to the denominational college. Presidents at the University of Toronto similarly expressed religious sentiments through the prism of literature and the arts. For example, H.J. Cody, president of the University of Toronto during the 1930s and early 1940s, spoke of God as "The Great Examiner."⁵⁸ His successor, Sidney Smith, stated in his presidential report for 1945-46 that a state university could not ignore "the realm of man's faith which has supported and encouraged him in his search for the beautiful, the good, and the true."⁵⁹

If presidents placed great importance on the values which could be learnt through literature, they were often more wary of more "useful" subjects. Certainly they welcomed

⁵⁵Ibid., 121.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 126.

⁵⁸"Science and Letters Both Necessary: Functioning of the University in a Democracy Discussed by President Cody in Report." University of Toronto Monthly 35, 5 (Feb. 1935): 127.

⁵⁹University of Toronto President's Report 1945-46.

the benefits of science. But they were also increasingly concerned that with technological progress, academics and Canadians more generally would lose sight of greater moral goals. As Principal Wallace of University College stated, "We are all so dazzled by the marvellous achievements of modern science and their application to our comforts and conveniences that we seldom stop to consider the price of the achievement."⁶⁰ Or as Lord Tweedsmuir put it at a McMaster convocation, technological progress was a "triumph of the human mind" but it also had the danger of dominating humans. "It is the moral of the Bible," he continued, "that it is small profit to gain the whole world if you lose your soul."⁶¹

Such concerns accompanied the increasing role that science, especially applied science, was coming to play within the university. For many presidents, therefore, the modernization of the university made even more imperative a moral basis for the institution. By the mid-1930s Robert Falconer of the University of Toronto, like others, believed that the scientific method, contrary to earlier claims, could not be solely relied upon to provide the solutions to the dilemmas of the human condition. He also contended that the challenges presented to Protestant belief by new knowledge, science, or historical criticism did not mark the decline of religious faith as had once been feared, but rather could help clarify theological ideas.⁶² Falconer's successor, H.J. Cody, argued that the

⁶⁰Principal M.W. Wallace, "Culture: the Essential Background of Science," University of Toronto Monthly, Supplement 30, 9 (June 1930): 415.

⁶¹William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University [hereafter McMUA], Convocation Material 1892-1966, Box 1, File: 1937 Convocation, Lord Tweedsmuir, "Quality and Quantity," Convocation Address, 4 Nov. 1937.

⁶²Sir Robert Falconer, "From College to University," University of Toronto Quarterly 5, 1 (Oct 1935): 11.

sciences and humanities needed to be balanced. "No university worthy of its ideal," he stated, could afford to neglect "aesthetic, moral, and spiritual values."⁶³

Whidden, president of the more evangelical McMaster University, took a similar approach to Cody's that the humanities and the sciences were mutually beneficial. McMaster was proud of the place of science on its campus. With the move to Hamilton, the university witnessed improvements in its science facilities for both teaching and research. One commentator on science at McMaster wrote in the alumni newsletter, McMaster News, in 1930. "In such a manufacturing centre as our new home it is only natural that those departments of knowledge which supply the basis upon which so many industrial operations depend should bulk very largely in the public estimation."⁶⁴ Whidden perceived no danger in expanding the place of science within the arts college. Both science and literature, he contended, could bring youth "into sympathetic acquaintance with the best there is in the experience of men."⁶⁵

Accordingly, alongside his support for scientific work, Whidden stressed the importance of religion to the campus. In the face of a growing curriculum, Whidden considered it important to "not introduce so many specializations in the third and fourth years that it will be impossible for students to elect, if they so desire, certain of the great character making courses, such as Ethics, Christian Apologetics, Comparative Religion," and similar senior courses.⁶⁶ In addition, courses in English Bible were required, including "the Study of the Life and Teachings of Jesus, the life and letters of Paul and

⁶³University of Toronto President's Report 1933-34, 20.

⁶⁴"Science at the New McMaster." McMaster News 1, 2 (1 March 1930): 2.

⁶⁵"The Chancellor's Inaugural Address." McMaster Graduate 4, 1 (March 1924): 4.

⁶⁶CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, File: Annual Reports, Report of Chancellor 1931-32.

the records of the Early Church, Old Testament History..."⁶⁷ Educators of other denominational colleges equally emphasized the important role Christianity played on their campus. Walter T. Brown, the president of Victoria College, stated in 1932 that religion adds to education by creating the open-minded pursuit of truth, maintaining freedom of thought and speech and through the search for truth overcoming the fragmentation of the university into specialized departments.⁶⁸

For some of these presidents courses in Religious Knowledge provided a means to recognize officially the important place of Christianity on campus. Religious Knowledge reinforced the concept of a disciplined intelligence after the old tradition of a curriculum crowned by moral philosophy had disappeared.⁶⁹ At Victoria, for example, the President explained to student leaders at a student-faculty retreat in 1932 the importance of such courses: they provided the basic discipline of the university, they provided knowledge of western civilization, and they introduced students to ultimate questions. Western civilization and the history of Christianity were inextricably bound together.⁷⁰ Although courses in Religious Knowledge were electives at Victoria, students were strongly urged to take them. At McMaster, however, they were compulsory. Every student was required to take, and pass, two courses in Religious Studies until the early 1960s.⁷¹ The presidents

⁶⁷Baptist Year Book, 1938, Report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University, 130.

⁶⁸Walter T. Brown, "Contribution of Religion to Higher Education," University of Toronto Monthly, Supplement 33, 3 (Dec. 1932): 103-4.

⁶⁹McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence, 202-203; Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 138-39.

⁷⁰UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc 89.130v, Box 48-13, Student Faculty Retreat, 25 Sept. 1932.

⁷¹McMUA, Box: President's Reports 1952-72, Report of the President 1956-57. In the late 1950s and early 1960s these courses consisted of Old Testament in first year and New Testament in second year. Both were taught by G.P. Gilmour, the president of the university. See R.D. Gidney, personal records, McMaster University Transcript, 1958-62. Roman Catholic students were able to fill this requirement extramurally. See CBA,

of these institutions thus believed that courses in Religious Knowledge rounded out students' education, allowing them to place their specialized knowledge within a larger moral framework.

Historians have demonstrated that clergymen in the late-nineteenth and well into the twentieth century accepted the new insights of science, literature, and social science, yet merged these with more traditional, evangelical concepts such as individual regeneration and evangelism.⁷² Many of the presidents under consideration similarly followed this pattern. Falconer, for example, maintained a commitment to individual regeneration. Preaching to students in Convocation Hall in the 1920s, he expounded not only on the power of the Cross to redeem but urged students "to take up the Cross."⁷³ This emphasis on the power of the Cross not only to redeem the individual but also to become the saving force of civilization had been common among chaplains on the front.⁷⁴ It was reiterated by Falconer in the 1920s and in the next decade by the future president of Dalhousie, A.E. Kerr. Addressing convocating students at Manitoba College, Kerr declared of the narrow nationalism and militarism developing in the world, "that the way up and the way out, today and tomorrow and for all time is none other than the way of the

McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, G.P. Gilmour, Memoranda 1948-60, "Memorandum on Extramural Privileges for RC Students."

⁷²Airhart, Serving the Present Age; Fraser, The Social Uplifters; Van Die, An Evangelical Mind; Catherine Gidney, "Contextualizing Richard Roberts' Thought: Liberal Protestantism and the Dilemmas of the Modern Age," in Gwen R.P. Norman, Grace Unfailing: The Radical Mind and the Beloved Community of Richard Roberts (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1998), 263-81; David Plaxton, "'We Will Evangelize with a Whole Gospel or None': Evangelicalism and the United Church of Canada," in Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 106-22.

⁷³"Sunday's Sermon is on Sacrifice: President Falconer Preaches in Convocation." Varsity, 15 Oct. 1923, 1.

⁷⁴Duff Crerar, Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 148-50.

Cross."⁷⁵ Similarly, Cody's biographer has shown that while teaching at Wycliffe between 1893 and 1910 Cody taught evangelical beliefs such as the sovereignty of God, the sinfulness of man, the doctrine of election, and salvation by God's Grace. In the 1920s, in keeping with his evangelical outlook, he often preached sermons on the Second Coming.⁷⁶

The modernization of faith, particularly its incorporation of idealism, is perceived by historians as a sheering away of traditional doctrine.⁷⁷ Yet most presidents did not fully embrace the new or reject the old. Central to liberal Protestantism in the context of the universities was a spirit of flexibility, a flexibility which allowed for the reconciliation of modern thought with traditional religious beliefs. On the one hand, liberal Protestants came to understand spiritual belief as emerging through cultural development, through a reading of the classics and of English, leading to the development of personal character. Presidents and principals, however, did not simply believe in this working of the spirit through human and cultural development. They also held to traditional doctrines of their faith: the Cross, the Second Coming, and so on.

If liberal Protestantism and philosophical idealism informed presidents' and principals' vision of the moral community, they situated this community in institutional form in the arts college. The arts college, for them, represented less a set of subjects than

⁷⁵Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia [hereafter PANS], MG1, Vol. 1472, Folder 9, Kerr Papers, Kerr, Convocation Address, Manitoba College, 9 April 1936, "The Cross and the Present Day Crisis."

⁷⁶Masters, Henry John Cody, 37, 143. These sermons were in keeping with social gospel emphases. Cody took a post-millennialist approach that the Kingdom of God would come at some unidentified time through the concerted efforts of Christian reformers and evangelists.

⁷⁷McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence, 221. Falconer's biographer, for example, argues that there is a shift in the president's language as he moved from Presbyterian Pine Hill to the non-denominational University of Toronto from the "specifically religious" to a "broadly humane" orientation. Greenlee, Sir Robert Falconer, 144.

a set of interconnected ideals. Educators believed in the importance of students gaining educational breadth. Such breadth was achieved through the dissemination of the western heritage, a central component of which was the Christian tradition. As Burwash had done in the 1890s, educators during the interwar years condemned specialists for being unable to place their narrow field of knowledge within a broader variety of experience, and unable to think broadly about the issues and problems of the day. Indeed the specialists were considered uneducated unless able to relate their specialty to other fields. The arts, educators believed, could "humanize" the specialist. Arts provided "sound learning, balanced judgement."⁷⁸

In keeping with their desire to maintain a balance between arts and sciences, alluded to earlier, educators were convinced that truth was unified, and could ultimately only be understood within a Christian framework. Liberal arts, educators argued, preserved the idea that humans are spiritual beings.⁷⁹ True education "cannot neglect that which most vitally concerns the life of man as a unified personality."⁸⁰ The best that has

⁷⁸Principal W. Hamilton Fyfe, Queen's, "The Object of a University Education," University of Toronto Monthly, Supplement 32, 2 (Nov. 1931): 60-61; Principal M.W. Wallace, "Culture: the Essential Background of Science," University of Toronto Monthly, Supplement 30, 9 (June 1930): 416; H.J. Cody, "Science and Letters Both Necessary," University of Toronto Monthly 35, 5 (Feb. 1935): 127; DUA, MS-1-Ref, Dalhousie Addresses: President's Address to Freshman Class, Session 1931-32, 24 Sept. 1931. This was, of course, in a long tradition of thought about a liberal education. See for example, Arthur Engel, "The English Universities and Professional Education," in The Transformation of Higher Education, 1860-1930: Expansion, Diversification, Social Opening, and Professionalization in England, Germany, Russia, and the United States, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 293-96 and Sheldon Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 24.

⁷⁹H.P. Whidden, "The Chancellor's Inaugural Address," McMaster Graduate 4, 1 (March 1924): 7.

⁸⁰E.W. Wallace, "Religion and Education," University of Toronto Monthly, Supplement 30, 5 (Feb. 1930): 215-20. Educators in the interwar years tended to refer to both students and humankind more generally by using the masculine pronoun. During this period the majority of students in university were men and it was male students in particular who tended to become specialists, be it in an honours arts program or in a professional program such as engineering.

been thought and said, for those educators, found its source in the divine Spirit and it was the acceptance of this Spirit which allowed humans to rise to higher levels of existence.⁸¹ Education should be a "preparation for complete living,"⁸² but the creation of personality could only be completed by faith in Christ.⁸³ At denominational colleges such ideals were set in university mottos such as McMaster's "In Christ All Things Consist," Victoria's "The Truth Shall Set You Free," or the University of King's College's "For God, For Law, For King and For Country."⁸⁴ But this linking of liberal arts with Christianity was not limited to denominational colleges. At the University of Toronto, Cody argued that "the ultimate aim of education, even the highest, is to teach us not merely to earn a good living, but to live (in Aristotle's phrase) 'the good life'."⁸⁵

But what was the "good life"? It involved the concept of usefulness, not narrowly in terms of vocation or technical knowledge, but in the greater enterprise of service. As Cody explained the concept, "The Great Examiner will be best satisfied with those pupils who enter manhood and womanhood listening for the call to service and duty, whose minds are undefiled and 'whose morning faces are turned towards the light.'...The moral

⁸¹UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 37-14, Baccalaureate Service, 19 April 1942; McMUA, Convocation Material 1892-1966, Box 1, File: 1937 Convocation, Lord Tweedsmuir, "Quality and Quantity," Convocation Address, 4 Nov. 1937.

⁸²"King's." Record, Dec. 1921.

⁸³"McMaster Motto was Dr. MacNeill's text at Special Service." Silhouette, 20 Nov. 1930.

⁸⁴Ibid.: "King's." Record, Dec. 1921.

⁸⁵"Science and Letters Both Necessary: Functioning of the University in a Democracy Discussed by President Cody in Report." University of Toronto Monthly 35, 5 (Feb. 1935): 127. For Cody's Christian idealism see William Westfall, "Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites: The Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment," in Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 42-43.

control of the individual leads to the moral control of the state. The greatness of a state can be no greater than the character of the citizens."⁸⁶

The enterprise of administrators during the interwar years has been nicely captured by a historian of Dalhousie University, Henry Roper. Writing of Dalhousie in the 1920s, Roper argues,

Protestantism, whether in its Calvinist or Anglican form, remained potent on the Dalhousie campus. The humanities in particular embodied the strength of this tradition. Truth was to be pursued by studying the philosophical and literary heritage of Europe, which had Christianity at its centre. Knowledge involved grasping, to a greater or lesser degree, the wisdom contained in that tradition. A humane education meant the unfolding of this wisdom to the student, as both intellectual nurture and a guide to conduct throughout life.⁸⁷

Thus at Dalhousie, as at the University of Toronto and elsewhere, presidents placed their faith in a "humane education," a "liberal education" derived from Greco-Roman and Christian thought which together reflected the values of western civilization. These values could contribute not only to individual uplift but also to the betterment of the community as students, the future leaders of the country, came to understand their duty as servants of the nation.

The ability of the university to create a moral community depended not only on administrators' projection of their vision, but also in the moral example set by professors. Administrators expected their professors to play a central role in the character formation of students. What this entailed was often more assumed than clearly spelled out. However, a number of cases in which professors' statements or behaviour raised public

⁸⁶"Science and Letters Both Necessary: Functioning of the University in a Democracy Discussed by President Cody in Report." University of Toronto Monthly 35, 5 (Feb. 1935): 127. See also President of the University, "The Place of the University in National Life." University of Toronto Quarterly 4, 3 (1934-5): 421-33, and University of Toronto President's Report 1933-34.

⁸⁷Henry Roper, "Two Scandals in Academe." Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections 43 (1991): 143.

controversy indicates general expectations by administrators, church leaders, and the public at large. Such expectations included both professors' contentions within the classroom and their behaviour and public pronouncements outside the walls of academe.

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries a number of controversial cases arose at denominational colleges as professors in faculties of theology began incorporating higher criticism into their theology. Historians have documented the cases of the Reverends George Coulson Workman in 1890-92 and George Jackson in 1910 at Victoria, and Professors I.G. Matthews between 1908 and 1910 and L.H. Marshall in 1925 at McMaster.⁸⁸ All had been influenced by the German higher criticism and believed that books of the Bible should be understood within their historical context. Their detractors, often conservative church leaders, favoured a more orthodox and literal interpretation of the Bible. Presidents at the universities generally supported the biblical interpretation presented by these professors and their right to continue teaching at the university. Although Workman resigned, Jackson, Matthews, and Marshall persevered through the controversies. Ultimately administrators' support for the professors, along with that of more liberal Methodist and Baptist churchmen, brought an end at Victoria after 1910 and at McMaster in the 1920s, to serious attacks by conservative Protestants on the teachings within these denominational colleges.

Administrators at denominational colleges, however, continued to expect professors to be supportive of the moral aims and purpose of the institution. This was true not just in departments of theology but also in the faculties of arts and science. In 1923 King's hired Norman J. Symons as its professor of psychology. Symons came

⁸⁸The cases are well documented elsewhere. For Workman and Jackson see Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 89-113, and for Matthews see G.A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University," in Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 43-44. All the cases can also be found in Michiel Horn, Academic Freedom in Canada: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 26-31, 82-84.

recommended as a good churchman, with references from the Anglican Bishop of Ontario. But at the time of his hiring Symons was being increasingly drawn to Freudian thought and practice. He often gathered reports of students' dreams and interpreted them in class, openly discussing sexuality. In 1929 Symons is reported in the Dalhousie Gazette to have asked a female student to define "necking."⁸⁹ Forced into resigning, Symons acknowledged his question as improper. A.H. Moore, president of King's, wrote of the incident, "we cannot have a man who has made shipwreck of his Christian faith or who teaches modern theories regardless of the way in which he may shock the religious convictions or the sense of delicacy of his students."⁹⁰ Symons had transgressed middle-class and Christian propriety and he was quickly replaced by Hilton Page, an ordained United Church minister.⁹¹

At denominational colleges, expectations were often stated explicitly. At McMaster, for example, Whidden, speaking about the goal for hirings in 1939, noted that "we are anxious to have a reasonable percentage of our professors and lecturers definitely interested in the mission of our great denomination."⁹² As he stated in his report to the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, "While it is true that there is no such thing as 'Christian Mathematics' or 'Christian French,' it is equally true that Mathematics and French taught by men and women with a Christian interest and purpose does make a difference." Through courses in arts and science, Whidden continued,

⁸⁹Henry Roper and James W. Clark, "Religion and Intellectual Freedom on the Dalhousie Campus in the 1920s: The Case of Norman J. Symons," Dalhousie Review 69, 2 (Summer 1989): 179-83. For this case see also Horn, Academic Freedom in Canada, 84-86.

⁹⁰A.H. Moore, 21 May 1929, quoted in Roper and Clark, "Religion and Intellectual Freedom on the Dalhousie Campus in the 1920s," 183.

⁹¹Roper and Clark, "Religion and Intellectual Freedom on the Dalhousie Campus in the 1920s," 183.

⁹²Quoted in Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 66-67.

first principles are learned: the meaning of man as he has been and is becomes real: the universe and its Creator are unfolded: man's dependence upon the Father of the human spirit, his obligation to and need of that Father are brought home: so too is the duty of each one to his brother man near and far.

It is living with teachers and fellow-students who are committed to the findings of truth at any cost, living in 'the Christian Way,' and growing a life not self-centered, but Christ centered, that counts for most.⁹³

At non-denominational universities requirements for proper deportment were less explicit. Yet if professors deviated from expected norms they were quickly chastised. During his tenure at UBC in the interwar years, for example, President Klinck fired a staff member caught playing poker on campus.⁹⁴ In 1930, at Dalhousie, James Gowanloch, an Assistant Professor of Biology, was forced to resign after his wife filed for divorce based on a confession from a student of adulterous relations with her husband. Gowanloch quickly left town after the story broke leaving numerous debts behind him. His colleagues, Henry Roper has shown, could not accept either his sexual impropriety or his financial dishonesty.⁹⁵

During the 1930s administrators at the University of Toronto and Victoria College faced a number of problems from their more radical professors who were seen as subversive of the cultural Christianity of the times. These cases have been documented by Michiel Horn in tracing the history of academic freedom, but they also provide important illustrations of Canadians' assumptions of the university as a Christian institution. For example, in 1931 the Toronto Police Commission denied the Fellowship of Reconciliation a permit to hold a public meeting. As a result of these actions, sixty-eight people, many of whom were senior professors at the University of Toronto, signed

⁹³Baptist Year Book, 1938, Report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University, 132-33.

⁹⁴Waite, Lord of Point Grey, 110.

⁹⁵Roper, "Two Scandals in Academe," 136-42; see also Horn, Academic Freedom in Canada, 86-87.

and publicized a letter written by historian Frank Underhill and classicist Eric Havelock protesting the denial of freedom of speech and assembly.⁹⁶ The Globe and Mail condemned the sixty-eight as colluding with communists and attempting "'to supplant Christianity with atheism'".⁹⁷ Undeterred, in 1932 Havelock gave an address in which he argued "that governments are the puppets of capitalism."⁹⁸ The premier of Ontario, George Henry, complained in 1932 that through such statements and by his association with the LSR and CCF Havelock was not upholding his position of moral authority.⁹⁹ Such responses illustrate the moral expectations placed on professors. Socialism, many believed, was a threat not only to capitalist society but also to the Christian nature of the nation. Professors were seen to be in positions of privilege working in institutions where they shaped the unformed minds of future leaders. Radical activity stood out against the common ideals expressed especially by university administrators.

Unlike their stance on social and political radicalism, by the Great War university administrators had begun to establish a pattern of defending their professors engaged in more liberal interpretations of theology. They were less supportive in the interwar years of improper behaviour or of statements which undermined the Christian nature of Canadian society. This was in part due to the university's need for public support on financial grounds. University administrators needed to curry favour with both the provincial government and private donors in order to maintain the financial viability of their institutions. Yet many presidents were also deeply concerned about the impact

⁹⁶Greenlee. Sir Robert Falconer. 290-91; Horn. Academic Freedom in Canada. 88-91.

⁹⁷Quoted in Greenlee. Sir Robert Falconer. 292.

⁹⁸UCC/VUA. Records of President's Office. Acc 89.130v. Box 53-4, Clipping, Daily Star. 27 Oct. 1932.

⁹⁹UCC/VUA. Records of President's Office. Acc. 89.130v. Box 53-4, Geo. S. Henry to Wallace. 28 Oct. 1932 and 6 Feb. 1933.

professors had on impressionable young men and women in their care. Moreover, they considered it their responsibility to ensure proper influences over their wards.

Such beliefs would continue to shape university life in the post-war years. When A. E. Kerr arrived at Dalhousie in 1945 and heard that some faculty members played poker and drank beer on Friday and Saturday nights in a room in the gym, he banned such activity and the participants had to move off-campus.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, at McMaster, G.P. Gilmour accepted that not all professors could be expected to be adherents of the Baptist faith, but, he wrote in a 1948 memoranda, "no word of cynical or irresponsible kind shall be spoken in the classroom as regards the connection of any subject with the Christian faith."¹⁰¹ When the first psychologist was appointed at McMaster, the candidate who received the position, R.H. Nicholson, was questioned about his church connections, for as Gilmour stated, "...we do not want work in...Psychology to fall into the hands of men who are out of sympathy with the aims and convictions of Christian men".¹⁰² Indeed, the historian of McMaster University relates that this was a common occurrence in the post-war period.¹⁰³

The preceding paragraphs have stressed the "coercive" aspects that university authorities could (and sometimes did) exercise in order to ensure conformity with their views of the moral purpose of the university. But that is to neglect an entire facet of the issue. Most faculty apparently conformed without difficulty to the norms. Michiel Horn has argued that few faculty challenged the status quo.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, many faculty were in

¹⁰⁰Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University, Volume Two, 168.

¹⁰¹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: G.P. Gilmour, Memoranda 1948-60, Memorandum, 29 June 1948.

¹⁰²Quoted in Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 224.

¹⁰³Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 224.

¹⁰⁴Horn, Academic Freedom in Canada, 126, 183-84, 219.

fact committed to administrators' views of the university as a moral community. As we have seen, English literature in particular had become the central means of transmitting cultural ideals. Academics hired in the 1920s and 1930s such as Northrop Frye, Watson Kirkconnell, and A.S.P. Woodhouse were at the height of their power in the university in the 1950s and 1960s. Their ideals shaped not only their fields but the tone of the university. Reflecting in 1967 on the impact of these men at the University of Toronto,

Roy Daniells stated.

I see Watson Kirkconnell, through all the protean range of his writing and his multilingual interests, never losing the thread whose strands are a concern for political liberty, a feeling for Christian doctrine and a preoccupation with ethics. Of Arthur Woodhouse...the same thing can substantially be said. And of Northrop Frye it can be hazarded, without pretending to contain him within a form of words, that his world of translucent critical concepts, with their hermetic shapes and geometrical exactness, has been crystallized from the saturated solution of Christian tradition...¹⁰⁵

According to Daniells, their teaching and their scholarship were steeped in ethical concerns. Nor was English literature alone, for scholars in other disciplines adhered to similar ideals. George Grant believed in the traditional understanding of education as cultivating a sense of the whole, from which "would flow a refined sense of justice and a desire to subordinate one's individual impulses to the perfection of the larger order..."¹⁰⁶ Others such as Arthur Lower and Eric Havelock equally believed "university education should be aimed, above all, at nurturing the spiritual health of the nation."¹⁰⁷

If many faculty reinforced the concept of the moral community in their teachings, they also engaged in a whole variety of activities which testified to their faith in the

¹⁰⁵Roy Daniells, "Literary Studies in Canada," in Scholarship in Canada, 1967: Achievement and Outlook, ed. R.H. Hubbard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 30.

¹⁰⁶H.D. Forbes, "The Political Thought of George Grant," Journal of Canadian Studies 26, 2 (Summer 1991): 52.

¹⁰⁷Patricia Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum: An Intellectual History, 1880-1950" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 1987), 263.

virtues of an education in liberal Protestant beliefs. Numerous examples will be provided in the three succeeding chapters and hence will not be introduced here. But what should be clear is that the views of principals and presidents were only rarely imposed, and more often were actively shared, by a similarly committed professoriate.

Although many faculty members supported the aims and purposes of university administrators well into the post-war years, during the early 1940s there were indications that these aims were coming under attack. It was the role of liberal arts and the ability of its graduates to serve the nation which became of particular concern during the war years as government officials, university administrators, and many faculty began to focus on the technical and scientific possibilities of the university. While enrolment in the humanities declined through the war, enrolment in the practical sciences increased.¹⁰⁸ For many educators, the war presented an opportunity for the university to demonstrate its service to the nation and emphasize its relevance.¹⁰⁹ The desire to have the universities perceived as meaningful to war production led some educators to question the validity of the arts during wartime. In late 1942 Principal R.C. Wallace of Queen's and Cyril James of McGill called a special conference of the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) for January 1943. Due to mounting public pressure regarding non-productive courses and their own desires to follow the British lead, they proposed that arts courses be curtailed. They were not alone in their views. W.P. Thompson, acting-president of the University of Saskatchewan, felt uncomfortable allowing fit men to enter arts, and Malcolm Wallace of University College spoke in favour of the proposal at the NCCU. But the Canadian Social Science Research Council quickly sent a petition to the Prime

¹⁰⁸McKillop, Matters of Mind, 529.

¹⁰⁹UBCA, Klinck Papers, Box 1-2, Address by Klinck to Freshmen Students during Newcomers' Organization Period, 18 Sept. 1942.

Minister against suspending any subjects. Since the humanities did not have such an organization. Harold Innis, Watson Kirkconnell, and a number of other professors initiated a similar petition representing the humanities. Administrators such as Cody, Smith, MacKenzie, and Carleton Stanley all opposed the proposal to curb teaching in arts courses. Ultimately, government officials, who had been as uninformed as academics about the purposes of the meeting, reiterated that no such proposal was currently on the table. A meeting of the NCCU in 1943 rejected the proposal. Such pressure, in other words, called into question the usefulness of the arts, but it also mobilized defence of the humanities and helped lead to the creation in 1943 of the Humanities Research Council of Canada.¹¹⁰

If those within the liberal arts tradition felt embattled, they also used wartime anxieties to bolster their position within the university. In keeping with long-cherished beliefs, many thought that the survival of the western world would come not with the end of the war but with spiritual and moral regeneration. For Gilmour, as for others, the ruin of much of Europe could be at least partly attributed to years of misdirected education -- education for gainful occupation and self-interest.¹¹¹ Falconer contended that the greatest evil of the war "is the attendant moral deterioration, as human nature, losing restraint, shows itself at its worst: fierce, vindictive, false, with consequent disaster to civilized life." He continued, "Intellect, when developed without moral purpose and a supreme

¹¹⁰Kirkconnell, "Introduction: The Organization of the Humanities and Social Sciences in Canada." in Scholarship in Canada, 1967, ed. R.H. Hubbard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), x; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 105; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 532-35; Frederick W. Gibson, "To Serve and Yet Be Free": Queen's University, 1917-1961 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), 206-13.

¹¹¹CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, Binder 1, "Sound Learning and True Religion." c. 1945, 1.

human end, is destructive of what is most distinctive and worthy in man."¹¹² Indeed, war reaffirmed for many educators the need for the western and Christian tradition to be taught through the arts college. As the president of Victoria stated to his graduating class in 1940.

Today, with clearer vision, we realize that we are fighting not merely for the maintenance of a particular type of government, but that the very foundations of civilization are at stake. The civilization of the western world, slowly built up during the last two thousand years incorporating into itself the wisdom and practical genius of the various nations of Europe, unified and inspired by ideals, drawn from the Christian faith, is being challenged by rival conceptions of the good life with such diabolical ingenuity that the whole edifice is being shaken to its foundations.¹¹³

Several educators emphasized the important role of students in this process of regeneration. Not only were students expected to serve their country during war but, it was believed, it would fall to them to help restore western society after the war. Duff Crerar contends for World War One that "the soldier repeatedly heard" from chaplains "that the living owed a debt to the fallen, who had died for their safety and freedom. Those who had been killed in war," Crerar argues, "became martyrs for national righteousness."¹¹⁴ During World War Two students on the home front heard much the same rhetoric. Victoria College students, for example, were told at their baccalaureate service in 1945.

The task of you and your generation is to re-establish a civilization based upon the supremacy of intellectual moral and spiritual values. This is the task for which men of our nation, men of this college, and men of your

¹¹²Sir Robert Falconer, "The Humanities in the War-time University," University of Toronto Quarterly 13, 1 (Oct. 1943): 1-3.

¹¹³UCC/VUA, Records of the President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 37, File 14, Address to Graduating Class, 21 April 1940. See also University of Toronto President's Report 1945-46: Sir Robert Falconer, "The Humanities in the War-time University," University of Toronto Quarterly 13, 1 (Oct. 1943): 1-13; CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, Binder 1, "Sound Learning and True Religion," c. 1945.

¹¹⁴Crerar, Padres in No Man's Land, 151.

year have given their lives. By the sacrifice of their lives they have increased your responsibility.¹¹⁵

As principal of University College, in 1944-45 Sidney Smith voiced a similar view. The gradual yielding of the humanities to the physical sciences, he said, a process accelerated by war, presented a special challenge to the arts college. Students and teachers must not create at University College a "defensive citadel for the humanities" but rather "sally forth from it" to "proclaim anew the eternal verities of man's relations with his fellow-men and with his God." In doing so, he went on to say, the College "will serve not only Canada, but our very civilization."¹¹⁶

This vision of the university articulated by administrators and educators from the 1920s through the war years, continued to resonate from the late 1940s right through to the early 1960s. For example, when in 1958 Claude T. Bissell became president of the University of Toronto,¹¹⁷ his inauguration was heralded in the University College Gargoyle as a stellar event which began with opening prayers by the chaplain of Hart House and the president of Victoria University.¹¹⁸ It was a festive occasion in which "representatives from the spheres of religion, politics and armed forces, as well as the

¹¹⁵UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 37-14, Baccalaureate Service 1945, no author.

¹¹⁶University of Toronto President's Report 1944-45.

¹¹⁷In 1958 the president of the University of Toronto, Sidney E. Smith, took a position with the Department of Foreign Affairs, leaving his post vacant.

¹¹⁸UTA, Hart House Records, A74-0012, Box 16, File: Hart House Pamphlets, "Installation of Claude Thomas Bissell as President of the University of Toronto, 24 Oct. 1958."

academic world of Toronto and its sister Universities" gathered together for "a magical and splendid occasion."¹¹⁹

In his inauguration address, Bissell articulated his vision for the University, and in particular stressed the need for the new to be "organically related to the old." "Here," he stated, "the emphasis is upon the centrality of the humanities, upon the value of residential life, and upon religious literacy as an essential element of higher education." Bissell continued, "A university can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom...The concept of freedom as it flourishes here owes much to the two major traditions -- the secular tradition of the usefulness of all knowledge, and the religious tradition of the redemptive power of truth." Explicitly reaching back in time, he went on to state, "One recalls the words of Chancellor Nelles in an eloquent speech that he gave at the graduation ceremonies of Victoria University in 1885: 'It is one of the glories of Christianity that it can stand unabashed and unshaken in the presence of all forms of scholarly research and make them tributary to its progress.'"¹²⁰

In the post-war years the humanities continued to be perceived as the cornerstone of a liberal education. Indeed, as we saw at the beginning of the chapter, in the 1950s student enrolment in this area remained high. Educators such as Watson Kirkconnell and A.S.P. Woodhouse, professors of English at McMaster University and the University of Toronto respectively, continued to repeat the rhetoric of the interwar years. In their report, The Humanities in Canada, a survey of the state of the humanities in Canada commissioned in the fall of 1944 by the Humanities Research Council of Canada, and published in 1947, they eschewed technical expertise and narrow experience in favour of

¹¹⁹"The State, the Church, the University Convene for Festive Occasion." Gargoyle, 10 Nov. 1958, 1.

¹²⁰Claude Bissell, "The Years that Lie Ahead." Varsity Graduate 6, 4 (Dec 1958): 183-93.

knowledge which could connect the individual to universal human experience.¹²¹ This could be achieved, they believed, only through an education which included knowledge of western culture. As Kirkconnell and Woodhouse argued in the preface,

In literature, by projecting ourselves imaginatively into the environment, the problems and the characters created for us by the great masters, we enter vicariously into the whole range of human experience -- extending, refining and ennobling our feelings as we identify ourselves with this or that character, living with his life and growing with his growth.¹²²

The humanities, more than other subjects, they emphasized, "tend to stimulate our sensitivity to the human values in art, morality and religion."¹²³ The important role of the humanities in providing moral enlightenment was recognized not only by academics but also by politicians. Paul Litt has observed that Prime Minister St. Laurent defended the federal government's 1949 appointment of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission), by stating, "there is another side to human life that is quite as important as the dollars and cents resulting from trade. Upon that side of the normal activities of civilized, Christian human beings, sufficient attention has not been focused nationwide."¹²⁴

As St. Laurent's speech indicates, Christianity was seen to be an integral part of the spiritual and moral formation embodied in the humanities. The Christian nature of the universities, and the nation more generally, was simply assumed by many leaders in

¹²¹Watson Kirkconnell, "Preface," in The Humanities in Canada, ed. Watson Kirkconnell and A.S.P. Woodhouse (Ottawa: Humanities Research Council of Canada, 1947), 5.

¹²²Ibid., 5.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Paul Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 31. For a similar comment see "Address by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent," in Canada's Crisis in Higher Education, Proceedings of a Conference held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities at Ottawa, November 12-14, 1956, ed. C.T. Bissell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 257.

the public sphere. Not unlike St. Laurent, Victoria President A.B.B. Moore stated in his 1951 inauguration address at Victoria College.

As Christians our convictions are that God is illuminatingly and decisively acted within the events of history to confront men with His love and to call them by His purpose. In Jesus Christ we find the ultimate awakener of Man's moral initiative, the test of His values and the pattern of His relationships. Here is the personal focus which sets man in living relationships with the ultimate spiritual order of reality with whom he must come to terms...I believe then that no scheme of education is complete until the student has been confronted by the intellectual relevance of the Christian position.

Moore continued on. "the Christian convictions are the living background of our educational task."¹²⁵ The beliefs of N.A.M. MacKenzie, president of UBC, corresponded to those of Moore. In a religious broadcast in 1954 MacKenzie stated. "Here in the Western World, our own society, our codes of ethics and morals, our attitudes toward citizenship and law and order, are based upon or profoundly affected by the Christian religion."¹²⁶ Speaking in 1957 MacKenzie argued in an address to University Hill United Church that Christianity and Christ's teachings "more than any other religion" had much to teach about the values of "honesty, integrity, decency, in courage, determination, and a willingness to accept responsibility for ourselves and our society."¹²⁷ A 1956 University of King's College pamphlet, designed to attract financial support to the College, is illustrative of the continued interconnectedness of Christian morality and a liberal education. The pamphlet, entitled, "Help King's Build Christian Character," stated that "scientific progress must continue, and scientific education must go on. But to cope with

¹²⁵"Address by Rev. A.B.B. Moore on Occasion of His Installation as President and Vice-Chancellor." Victoria Reports 1, 1 (March 1951): 11-18.

¹²⁶UBCA, MacKenzie Papers, Box 103-10. "Religion and Education: Religious Period Broadcast on Sunday, Sept. 26, 1954."

¹²⁷UBCA, MacKenzie Papers, Box 104-33. "The Relationship of Education to Religion and Religion to Education." Address given at University Hill United Church, 1 Dec. 1957.

the problems and hazards of the uncertain future we must train as leaders in business, industry and the professions, in our pulpits and our schools, broadly educated men and women whose minds are imbued with the qualities of justice, compassion, tolerance, and understanding."¹²⁸

This sense of the interrelatedness of Christianity and a moral education may be seen most explicitly at McMaster. In an attempt to maintain the traditional religious goals of the university, G.P. Gilmour ensured in the 1950s that new programs included requirements in Religious Knowledge already in place in the faculty of arts and science. When the faculty of engineering was created in the mid-1950s, for example, the curriculum included two courses in Religious Studies: Introduction to the New Testament in Year I and Comparative Religion in Year III.¹²⁹ Gilmour's insistence that engineering students receive some exposure to religion formed part of his belief about the interconnectedness of the sacred and the secular. His vision of Christianity was one which unified the two. As he stated,

Christianity is unmistakably secular in its emphasis since it puts emphasis on the relief of the poor, the bettering of living standards and the cause of justice. And if we try to say just what is sacred and what is secular we are at once in difficulty and properly so. No one has succeeded in clearly separating the sacred and the secular.¹³⁰

Such interconnectedness was not easy to maintain in education. As he argued in an address to the Hamilton and District Chartered Accountants' Association, the danger to higher education was not that it would become vocational, for "it has always been that."

¹²⁸UKCA, E.1.1.50., Central Filing System, General Correspondence, Campaign Jan. 1956, Pamphlet, "Help King's Build Christian Character." For similar comments see Vincent Massey, "Chancellor's Address," Varsity Graduate 1, 1 (March 1948): 18.

¹²⁹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 21, File: Annual Reports, 1959-60, Report of Department of Religion.

¹³⁰CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, "Sacred Things Cannot Clearly Be Separated from the Secular," Globe and Mail, 6 June 1959.

but that it would no longer be liberal. And he continued on. "concentration on formulae and experiments and on a diminishing range of study make it possible for both staff and students to live in a university without grappling with ultimate problems, which grappling [sic] is the only justification for thinking and living at all." The university and church, Gilmour emphasized to his audience, exist to force humans to be thinking individuals who can preserve the "fabric of the society and of the soul."¹³¹

Despite the inroads made by new specialized disciplines, vocational subjects, and professional programs, administrators and many faculty, from the 1920s until the early 1960s, continued to understand the university, as their predecessors had before the Great War, as a moral community. This concept was specifically rooted in the new philosophical movements of idealism and pragmatism, in liberal Protestantism, and in the ideal of the liberal arts college. University administrators and faculty, with strong religious backgrounds, linked together the language of liberal education, democracy, and Christianity. They believed that together these three concepts formed the basis of a stable and prosperous nation. The university, in providing a liberal education, contributed to the public good by turning out future leaders trained in the principles of Christianity and nationhood. Whereas revisionist historians in the United States perceive the cultural authority of Protestantism continuing on American campuses during the interwar years, in Canada university administrators employed Christian rhetoric well into the post-war period. Indeed, for the first six decades of the twentieth century university presidents and principals continued to project a moral vision of the university that was rooted in the nexus of beliefs that characterized liberal Protestantism.

¹³¹CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, Binder 3, "The University and the Community," Address to 7th Annual Joint Hamilton and District Chartered Accountant's Association, April 1957.

Chapter 2

"Training for freedom":

Moral Regulation in the University, 1920s-1960s

The vision of a moral community which animated senior university administrators and infused their rhetoric from the 1920s to the early 1960s found concrete expression in a number of ways. One of these was the process by which student life on campus was regulated. This chapter will focus on the ways in which residences, clubs, and other facets of campus life were designed to govern student behaviour and shape it to ends which reflected not simply conventional notions of propriety but specifically Christian conceptions of morality.¹

One obvious means of moral regulation was the establishment of student residences controlled by university authorities.² Given the commonly accepted notions

¹In Canada at least the pervasiveness of moral regulation on campus (as well as the gap between ideal and reality) has been best documented for the period before 1920. My own analysis in this chapter extends it forward to the 1950s. For the pre-1920 period see Alison Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996); Johanna M. Selles, Methodists and Women's Education in Ontario, 1836-1925 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Paula J.S. LaPierre, "The First Generation: The Experience of Women University Students in Central Canada" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1993); Alyson E. King, "Centres of 'Home-Like Influence': Residences for Women at the University of Toronto," Material History Review 49 (Spring 1999): 39-59; Keith Walden, "Respectable Hooligans: Male Toronto College Students Celebrate Hallowe'en, 1884-1910," Canadian Historical Review 68, 1 (March 1987): 1-34, and "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps, and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). For the much richer American literature see for example, Lynn D. Gordon, Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); David O. Levine, The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); Paula S. Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

²Provision for such facilities, however, varied greatly across Canada. By the 1930s all the Ontario universities had some sort of facilities for men and women. Dalhousie provided facilities for women as of 1923. No residence was built for men until 1959.

that universities were expected to act in loco parentis, and that this was of particular importance in the case of women students. It is not surprising that residence rules varied with students' age and sex. For example, while generally no formal rules about curfews existed for male university residents at University and Victoria Colleges, women faced an intricate system of late leave and sign-in procedures.³ In 1920, for instance, all female students were expected to be in by 10:30 p.m. on weekdays. Students at University College required the permission of the dean to be out past this time. At Victoria, all women students were allowed one late leave until 12:30 a.m. while third and fourth years were allowed more frequent leaves with the dean's permission.⁴ Through the interwar years the number of late leaves increased fairly liberally and were extended later into the night as social events increased in number. In the 1930s, women at both University and Victoria Colleges had some combination of 1:30 and 2:30 a.m. leaves. By 1935, for example, senior women at Victoria had eight 1:30 a.m. leaves a year, six of which could

although some boarded at nearby Presbyterian Pine Hill Divinity College. The University of King's College provided temporary facilities for men from 1923, when the university moved to Halifax, until 1930 when a permanent building was erected. UBC did not have residences for men or women until temporary facilities were set up at the end of World War Two. No permanent facilities existed for women until the 1950s. For a full list of residences at the University of Toronto and McMaster University see King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," Table 30, 355-56. For Dalhousie and King's see Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 28-30, 234. For UBC see Logan, Tuum Est, 152 and Lee Stewart, 'It's Up to You': Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), 85, 88.

³Records about men's residence rules generally do not stress curfews. See for example, UTA, University College Records, A67-0011, Box 22, Minute Book University College Men's Residence, 1926-41 or UCC/VUA, Burwash Hall and Men's Residence Committee, Acc. 87.195v, Box 1, File 5, Burwash Hall and the Residences for Victoria College and Emmanuel College, c. 1935.

⁴UCC/VUA, Acc. 90.146E, Box 1, File: Rules and Regulations for Annesley Hall, Constitution and Regulations of the ASGA, 1920-21; UTA, University College Dean of Women Records, B74-0011, Box 1, File 10, Annual Reports, 1920-21.

be extended to a 2:30 a.m. leave.⁵ In the 1940s, rules at Victoria were relaxed further in an effort to simplify the late leave system. By the mid-1940s frosh at Victoria were still expected to be in by 10:30 p.m. during their first term but other students were permitted to stay out until 12:30 a.m. and provided with their own keys on the night of their late leave.⁶

These rules remained remarkably similar in the 1950s and early 1960s. While administrators extended curfews slightly, generally first-year students had to be in between 11 p.m. and 12:30 a.m., with limited late leaves from between 12 a.m. and 2:30 a.m. For example, at University College, in 1960, frosh had to be in by 11 p.m., but had the equivalent of one 12:30 a.m. and one 2:30 a.m. late leave per week, to be apportioned as students desired throughout the term. Seniors generally had to be in by 12 a.m. They received a greater number of late leaves than frosh but as with the younger students, these were scrutinized by their peers. In 1963-64 at Dahousie, for example, seniors could take late leaves every night except Sunday but they had to enter these on a late leave card which was checked by the House Committee once a month.⁷

Although Victoria College maintained residence rules in line with those of non-denominational colleges, Paul Axelrod has argued that generally the "rules governing

⁵UCC/VUA, Dean of Women, Acc. 90.141, Box 3, File 7, Regulations of Annesley Hall, 1935; UTA, University College Records, A69-0011, Box 22, File: Falconer House, 1932-36, Minutes, House Meeting, Falconer House, 14 Oct. 1932.

⁶The reason for the latter, the dean of women explained, was that door duty past 12:30 a.m. was exhausting for students and the 2:30 a.m. late leave did not allow students to stay out until the end of college dances. UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 71, File 9, Memo by Jesse Macpherson for the President Re Women's Residence, 16 April 1946.

⁷Melvyn Pelt, "A Masculine Viewing of Whitney Hall," *Varsity*, 5 Dec. 1960, 1-2. For similar rules elsewhere see DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 17a, File 3480, Shirreff Hall, "Constitution of the SHSGA, 1963-64": CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 21, Annual Reports, File: 1958-59, Report of Dean of Women, "Residence Rules." Unlike other places, Victoria students had unlimited 12:30 a.m. late leaves. See "Girls Say Hours All Right," *Varsity*, 9 Nov. 1955, 8.

religious colleges were more stringent."⁸ Certainly this holds true for McMaster, where by 1930 women still only had one late leave of 11 p.m. per week.⁹ In that same year, women at the University of King's College needed permission to be out after 10 p.m., a curfew which by 1960 had only been extended by one hour.¹⁰ Unlike at provincial universities, men at denominational colleges had specified curfews. However, even here a sexual hierarchy was maintained with men allowed out slightly later than women. At King's, for example, men were allowed out until 11 p.m. in 1930 and 12 a.m. by 1960, in both cases an hour later than their female counterparts.¹¹ Nor were the strict rules at these institutions unique. Many of the rules in place at Protestant denominational colleges also existed at Roman Catholic institutions. At St. Francis Xavier, for example, lights continued to be turned out in the men's residence at 11 p.m. in the mid-1950s so that allegedly at the end of term many students could be found cramming for their exams in the washrooms where the lights remained on all night.¹²

If university women generally faced stricter and more formal curfew rules than men, other regulations were also gender specific. During the interwar years the dean at Victoria's Annesley Hall discouraged card-playing on the main floor of the residence or in public rooms. At Falconer House, the women's residence at University College, card-playing and dancing were forbidden on Sundays.¹³ Women were also often prohibited

⁸Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 108.

⁹"Women invite seclusion." Silhouette, 2 Oct. 1930, 1.

¹⁰UKC Calendar 1930-31, 1959-60.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²John Sawatsky, Mulroney: The Politics of Ambition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991), 21. Thanks to R.D. Gidney for this reference.

¹³UCC/VUA, Dean of Women, Acc. 90.141v, Box 2, File 21, Dean's Council Minutes, 1925-34, 3 Feb. 1932; UTA, University College Records, A69-0011, Box 22, File:

from smoking. Although men at McMaster could smoke in their rooms, women were prohibited from doing so.¹⁴ For some deans of women believed smoking led to loose behaviour.¹⁵ Regulations against smoking were not restricted to maintaining the purity of Canadian womanhood: prestigious female colleges in the United States such as Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith, also forbade such activities, with penalty of expulsion.¹⁶

While deans of women discouraged women from smoking and card-playing in the interwar years, administrators of men's residences forbade such activities as the use of intoxicants, gambling, throwing water or garbage out the window, throwing balls, and the misuse of fire hoses.¹⁷ In the early 1920s men at Dalhousie could not play sports such as tennis or croquet on Sundays.¹⁸ Such rules remained in effect well into the post-war years. In November 1950 the Dalhousie Council of Students voted strongly in favour of a motion requesting that the university's Board of Governors allow Sunday skating on campus rinks. Eight years and two student generations later a new student council president renewed the request. In both cases, President A.E. Kerr turned down students' demands. The proposal for Sunday skating was one to which Kerr was personally

Falconer House, 1932-36. Minutes of House Meeting, Minutes, 26 Oct. 1934.

¹⁴Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 51; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 442. For the reference to the men's residence see CBA, McMaster University, Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body and Executive Minutes, 6 Oct. 1930.

¹⁵Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), 180.

¹⁶Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful, 295.

¹⁷UCC/VUA, Burwash Hall and Men's Residence Committee, Acc. 87.195v, Box 1, File 5, Burwash Hall, 1935 and File 1, Victoria University Men's Residences, 1946-47; CBA, McMaster University, Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body, 8 Oct. 1940; UKC Calendars 1930-31, 1939-40; DUA, MS-1-3, A-203, President's Office, Buildings-Birchdale-University Hall, Dalhousie University, 1 July 1922, Regulations for University Hall, 1922-23; DUA, MS-1-3, A226, Dalhousie President's Office, Buildings -- Men's Residence (Howe Hall), Dalhousie Men's Residence Handbook, c. 1959.

¹⁸DUA, MS-1-3, A-203, President's Office, Buildings-Birchdale-University Hall, Dalhousie University, 1 July 1922, Regulations for University Hall, 1922-23.

opposed. Students, Kerr believed, should be attending church and engaged in quiet study or contemplation on the Lord's day. And so, through the 1950s Sundays remained a day of imposed quiet on the Dalhousie campus.¹⁹

In the late 1950s dons at University College were expected to reinforce regulations against alcohol, gambling, hazing, and to encourage proper dress in the dining hall.²⁰ In 1956 the dean of men at University College received a report from one of his staff urging him not to readmit a student to residence as "his time is spent chiefly in card-playing, gambling, drinking and (when weather permits) race-tracking."²¹ Gambling in particular raised the ire of administrators. Despite the 1960 findings of the Dalhousie student council that card-playing was not disruptive to student life, the student relations committee on the senate endorsed President Kerr's recommendation that no card-playing occur during class hours, a recommendation acted upon by the 1961 Council of Students which prohibited card-playing in the common room of the men's residence.²²

Most men's and women's residences had strict rules about receiving visits from the opposite sex, events confined to afternoons or particular evenings in common rooms. Yet even here rules for men and women differed slightly. For example, some men's residences allowed women in a male student's room if accompanied by a proper chaperon.²³ The purpose of men's rules, as stated in a 1945 Dalhousie brochure on residence regulations, was to foster "a spirit of good fellowship...fair-play and mutual

¹⁹Edl., "The Forum," Dalhousie Gazette, 21 Nov. 1950, 2: DUA, MS-1-3, A479, President's Office, Council of Students 1957-65, Memo, 9 Jan. 1958.

²⁰UTA, University College Records, A74-0009, Box 11, File: Sir Daniel Wilson, Residence Dons Correspondence, Meeting of Dons, 2 Oct. 1957.

²¹UTA, University College Records, A74-0009, Box 10, File: Students' Incidents 1956-57, Letter John C. Cairns to H.I. Macdonald, 9 April 1956.

²²DUA, MS-1-3, A-479, President's Office, Council of Students 1957-63.

²³UCC/VUA, Burwash Hall and Men's Residence Committee, Acc. 87.195v, Box 1, File 1, Victoria University Men's Residences, 1946-47.

consideration."²⁴ Male students, then, were expected to behave in a proper manner. Universities with stronger denominational ties connected such comportment specifically to Christian character. As the men's residence rules at Victoria College stated in 1946-47, "Each member of the Residence is expected to conduct his personal life according to the principles of intelligent, responsible, Christian behaviour which are consonant to the standards of an institution of the Church."²⁵

Concern about students' moral environment also extended to the off-campus student. Students not living in residence, especially co-eds, generally remained under the care of their parents.²⁶ Students living in boarding houses may have escaped some of the restrictions of campus life but parents and university officials generally expected all student living quarters to recreate the rules and moral atmosphere of the home. UBC provided a list of separate male and female boarding houses where "the moral and sanitary conditions" were deemed satisfactory.²⁷ Until the end of the 1950s women at UBC could not board in the same house as men and if under twenty-five could only rent

²⁴DUA, MS-1-3, A225, President's Office - Buildings, Men's Residence (Howe Hall) 1942-61. First draft of rules and regulations relating to Dalhousie Men's Residence, c. 1945.

²⁵UCC/VUA, Burwash Hall and Men's Residence Committee, Acc. 87.195v, Box 1, File 1, Victoria University Men's Residence Rules, 1946-47.

²⁶Alyson King has found, for example, that at Victoria College in 1921, 146 women lived in residence, 20 boarded, and 75 lived at home. At University College in 1935, 62 per cent of co-eds lived at home, 26 per cent lived in residence, and 12 per cent boarded, some of these with relatives. See King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," 76-77.

²⁷UBC Calendar 1920-21, 37. Lee Stewart argues that UBC catered substantially to Vancouver women rather than those of the province at large due to its lack of residence facilities. In 1919-20, 85 per cent of female students lived at home and only 15 per cent boarded. Although the number of women boarding increased to 37 per cent in 1949-50, 63 per cent still lived at home. Stewart, 'It's Up to You', 82.

an apartment if living with an older woman and in consultation with the dean.²⁸ At Ontario universities, boarding houses were usually neither approved nor inspected for male students but deans of women did keep an eye on the conditions of female boarding houses.²⁹ In 1934 at McMaster, for example, the dean of women, checking into the rules at surrounding boarding houses, was pleased to find that they were nearly the same as in residence.³⁰ There were always a few cases which served to reinforce the notion that universities should provide moral guardianship. A scandalized Margaret Addison, dean of women at Victoria College, reported in 1928, "Last year, four girls were together in an apartment: they all smoked, there were late parties and one girl married secretly in June."³¹

University officials acted as concerned parents not only in regard to students' living arrangements but also in regard to their activities. In the 1920s at Victoria College, for example, residence women required chaperons for off-campus activities such as going motoring, boating, or eating at a respectable restaurant.³² Women with accommodating brothers were somewhat less restricted. As the 1920 regulations of Annesley Hall stated, "With a brother as escort and subject to the discretion of the Dean, a student may be

²⁸UBC Calendar1930-31, 1940-41, 1950-51, 1959-60.

²⁹Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 108. This was one of the duties of the dean of women at Queen's University during the interwar years. See Maureen McCallum Garvie and Jennifer L. Johnson, Their Leaven of Influence: Deans of Women at Queen's University, 1916-1996 (Kingston: Queen's Alumni Association Committee on Women's Affairs, 1999), 43.

³⁰CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Reports to Chancellor 1933-34, Annual Report, Dean of Women, Spring 1934.

³¹UCC/VUA, Victoria University, Dean of Women, Dean's Reports, Acc. 90.064v, Box 3, File 10, Report to Committee of Management by Margaret Addison, 11 Oct. 1928.

³²UCC/VUA, Acc. 90.146E, Box 1, File: Rules and Regulations for Annesley Hall, Constitution and Regulations of the ASGA, 1920-21; UTA, University College, Dean of Women Records, B74-0011, Box 1, File 10, Annual Reports 1920-21. See also Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 108.

granted further privileges than are stated in the rules."³³ Chaperons were also needed for all co-ed social functions. The dean of women at UBC acted as chaperon at most student functions.³⁴ Professors were also called upon to supervise functions. Chester New, professor of history at McMaster University, found himself rising at 5:30 a.m. one October morning in 1920 to chaperon the seniors to Niagara Falls for a picnic.³⁵ Indeed, the office of the dean of women at McMaster supervised arrangements for chaperons to be present at residence and campus parties into the post-war period.³⁶

Students and clubs not abiding by the written or unwritten standards of the university often faced serious repercussions. The Hart House Warden remembered alcohol consumption as being a problem in the first few years after the Great War. Men attending dances, dinners, or society meetings at Hart House would smuggle in alcohol, hiding it in their hip pockets. Administrators differed in their approach to drinking on campus. While alcohol was forbidden in Hart House, a policy supported by the Warden, he nevertheless identified with the "frolics" of youth and turned a blind eye to minor cases of intoxication.³⁷ Not all took a similar approach. Reminiscing about attitudes towards alcohol in the early 1920s, the warden stated,

I was talking about all this with the president after one of these incidents, and at some point I told him, "After all, Sir Robert, we've all been drunk in our time!" He looked at me rather quizzically. I was still new to the university and hadn't learned he was an absolute teetotaler. For years

³³UCC/VUA, Acc. 90.146E, Box 1, File: Rules and Regulations for Annesley Hall, Constitution and Regulations of the ASGA, 1920-21.

³⁴Report of Dean of Women, in UBC President's Report 1928-29, 41.

³⁵George P. Gilmour, "College News," McMaster University Monthly 30 (Nov. 1920): 72; L.H. Fowler, "College News," McMaster University Monthly 35 (Nov. 1925): 76.

³⁶CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: G.P. Gilmour, Memoranda 1948-60, "Memorandum for Mr. Beaton, Montreal on the Christian element in higher education" by G.P. Gilmour, 29 June 1948.

³⁷Ian Montagnes, An Uncommon Fellowship: The Story of Hart House (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 82-83.

afterward he loved to tell people, with a twinkle in his eye, how I had accused him of drunkenness.³⁸

Falconer took a strong position on alcohol consumption not only in order to enforce the province's laws but also because of his own beliefs. Indeed, in 1923, after reports of drinking on campus, he reminded students that alcohol was forbidden on university grounds with penalty of expulsion.³⁹ Yet despite evidence of drinking on campus, investigations into drinking usually concluded that fears about the prevalence of these activities were unfounded.⁴⁰ University authorities, however, worried about and continued to survey the moral environment of their students.

Drink was not the only way in which students broke the rules. Dress codes, for example, applied to men and women equally, particularly in residence, but also on campus more generally, with men usually in a coat and tie and women in skirts.⁴¹ In 1937 the Varsity reprinted an article from the Queen's Journal about a Queen's student being ejected from class for not wearing a jacket and tie.⁴² Female students caught smoking could equally face expulsion. In 1938 two women at McMaster were thrown out of

³⁸Quoted in Ian Montagnes, An Uncommon Fellowship, 83.

³⁹"Sir Robert Falconer Makes Statement Re Intoxicants." Varsity, 11 Dec. 1923, 1.

⁴⁰UTA, A67-0007, Office of President Falconer, Box 95, File: Mills, G.G., letter to Falconer from Mills of Mutual Life Insurance Co., 18 Dec. 1925, reply 22 Dec. 1925. The clampdowns at McMaster usually occurred after one or two incidents involving a small number of students. See CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 15, Annual Reports, File: Annual Reports 1934-35, Report on Edwards Hall by Fred G. Samis, 1934-35.

⁴¹UCC/VUA, Fonds 2047, Ryerson House, Acc. 90.178, Box 1, File 3, Ryerson House Meeting, 21 Sept. 1960; UTA, University College Records, A74-0009, Box 10, File: Amendments in Residence Rules, c. 1958; CBA, McMaster University, Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body and Executive Minutes, 6 Oct. 1930. DUA, MS-1-3, A226, Dalhousie President's Office, Buildings -- Men's Residence (Howe Hall), Dalhousie Men's Residence Handbook, c. 1959.

⁴²Edl., "Ejection." Queen's Journal, reprinted in Varsity, 22 Jan. 1937, 2.

residence after being caught smoking.⁴³ Similarly, in the late 1920s the social sciences club at UBC was called before the board of governors and given a dressing down after holding a debate on birth control. Despite the fact that the club had engaged a local minister to give the proceedings "a high moral tone," local newspapers after hearing of the event described it as "Free Love Comes to Campus." The board of governors, unhappy with this situation, slapped the club on the wrist for creating unfavourable publicity which might make fundraising more difficult.⁴⁴

Administrators could not, however, control all student behaviour. Students constantly pushed the boundaries in an attempt to free more space for themselves. Just prior to World War One a few students at Victoria College had rebelled against the college's promenades (the institution's substitute for dancing and an activity where men and women walked to music arm in arm in a supervised setting) by sneaking off to unsupervised areas to dance cheek to cheek. Such hi-jinks came to an end, A.B. McKillop relates, both after officials became aware of this behaviour and perhaps more significantly, with the beginning of World War One.⁴⁵ Yet if war brought a seriousness of purpose to campus which had not previously existed, the end of war brought renewed efforts on the part of students to create more freedom for themselves. In 1921, for example, Victoria students complained that their early curfew meant that they had to return home before the end of Hart House dances. As a result of their demands, the dean

⁴³Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 51.

⁴⁴Samuel Leonard Simpson '28, "The Social Sciences Club -- A Study in Sex and Censorship," in Philip A. Krigg et al. The Way We Were: Anecdote - Antic - Absurdity at the UBC (Vancouver: UBC Alumni Association, 1987), 36.

⁴⁵A.B. McKillop, "Marching as to War: Elements of Ontario Undergraduate Culture, 1880-1914," in Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 89.

of women extended late leaves.⁴⁶ Similarly, at places such as Victoria and McMaster where administrators forbade dancing due to continuing denominational ties, students forced changes to the rules by organizing and attending dances off-campus. In order to maintain supervisory control, university officials, after great dispute, allowed students at Victoria to hold dances on campus beginning in 1926 and at McMaster during World War Two.⁴⁷ The inability of administrators to enforce rules at McMaster is also illustrated by the establishment in the early 1940s of a smoking room for female students so they would not smoke outside, around the residence.⁴⁸

One way for administrators to avoid the subversion of rules was to encourage students to become responsible for their own conduct. Thus, universities increasingly allowed student governments the right to enforce non-academic conduct and maintain the moral tone of campus. The administration considered such greater responsibility by the student body an important way for students to develop self-control and loyalty to the interests of the university.⁴⁹ This was especially true within residences. By the 1930s at Victoria and University Colleges, for example, discipline was maintained less by the administration, though they still developed many of the rules, than through a self-policing

⁴⁶UCC/VUA, Dean of Women, Acc. 90.141v, Box 3, File 3, Rules of Conduct, 1921-22.

⁴⁷UCC/VUA, Acc. 90.v, Victoria University, Clubs and Activities, Women's Associations, Women's student union/ Wymilwood, Box 1, File 2, Wymilwood Committee Minutes, 4 Dec. 1925; CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 17, Annual Reports, File: Professors Annual Reports, 1942-43, Report of Student's Council, May 1943. Administrators' inability to control off-campus dances was equally a problem at other denominational colleges. Methodist Wesley College, Winnipeg, lifted a ban on dancing in 1931 for similar reasons. See Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 113.

⁴⁸CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 17, Annual Reports, File: Reports 1943-44, Report, Wallingford Hall.

⁴⁹UCC/VUA, Acc. 90.146E, Box 1, File: Rules and Regulations for Annesley Hall, Constitution and Regulations of the ASGA, 1920-21.

system in which every residence became a "little democracy."⁵⁰ According to Hilda Laird, dean of women at Queen's University from 1925 to 1934, regulations were created to protect and guide new students in their new environment but also to press upon senior students their responsibilities within the community. As Laird stated, "training for freedom is desirable."⁵¹

Female students' role in reinforcing existing rules was particularly evident in the late leave system. Well into the 1950s residence councils scrutinized their fellow students' adherence to this system. Coming in late or taking leaves without permission resulted in the loss of late leaves, in monetary fines, or even in being "gated" or "campused" for up to a week.⁵² More serious than being late was not obeying the rules for male visitation. For example, in 1931 two women at McMaster were fined and "campused" for one week for allowing men to remain in a residence kitchenette past the appointed time.⁵³ The concern over men in women's residences remained thirty years later. In 1964, for example, a woman resident at UBC complained about two fellow residents who allowed three men to stay in their rooms. The don found one man on the floor and one in each of the young women's beds. Not only did the dean of women

⁵⁰UCC/VUA, Victoria University Subject File Collection, Box 1, File: Annesley Hall, "'U' Girls' Residence Like Tiny Democracy," Toronto Star, 9 April 1927. See also UTA, Office of the President, Falconer, Acc. A67-0007, Box 117, File: Waller, C., Letter President Falconer to Principal Waller of Huron College, 28 Jan. 1929.

⁵¹Queen's Review 1931, quoted in Garvie and Johnson, Their Leaven of Influence, 34.

⁵²UTA, University College Records, A69-0011, Box 22, Files: Falconer House, 1932-36, 1937-1953, 1955-60, Minutes of House Meetings; UCC/VUA, Victoria University, Women's Residences, Annesley Hall, ASGA, Acc. 90.136v, Box 1, Files 3-4, ASGA Executive Minutes 1920-34; CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 16, Annual Reports, File Report to Chancellor, 1938-39 and 1941-42; "Shirreff Hall," Pharos, 1952. See also Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 108.

⁵³"Late Suppers for Men Taboo at Wallingford," Silhouette, 16 Oct. 1930, 1.

inform the students' parents but she immediately expelled the women from residence.⁵⁴ This peer-policing system was not always successful as students managed to find ways to circumvent the rules. Unless they were caught, records of such circumstances are difficult to find, usually emerging only in memoirs or remembrances of university graduates. Some Queen's alumni of the 1930s, for example, remembered that when they returned to campus late they simply crawled through windows in order to avoid being caught.⁵⁵ Generally, however, peer policing reinforced university expectations for female behaviour.

It is important to note, however, the limits of this system of self-policing, for dons or deans of women scrutinized late leave books to ensure councils actually enforced rules. Moreover, in some cases, parents could have access to reports on their daughters' conduct. At UBC in the early 1960s, for example, the dean of women would provide reports of students' conduct to inquiring parents. The dean contended that parents sent their children to UBC with "certain expectations."⁵⁶ As a result, the dean allowed concerned parents to check up on their daughters by requesting access, through the office of the dean of women, to the number of late leaves taken by their daughters.⁵⁷

Students not only helped reinforce administrators' rules within residences but also on campus more generally. The editor of the Varsity, for example, noted his own support

⁵⁴UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 2, File 18, Report by Dean Gage, Inter-Faculty and Student Affairs, and Mrs. Morris, Assistant Dean of Women, 7 May 1964.

⁵⁵Herb Hamilton, Queen's, Queen's, Queen's (Kingston: Alumni Association of Queen's University, 1977), 24.

⁵⁶UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 1, File 13, Men's Residence Rules Committee, 1965, Minutes, 25 Feb. 1965.

⁵⁷UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 2, File 15, "The UBC: The Office of Dean of Women." c. 1963-65.

for Falconer's 1923 statement to students against drinking on campus.⁵⁸ Similarly, after an incident in the mid-to late 1930s involving four out-of-residence students, McMaster's residence council, anticipating future problems, clamped down on gambling and drunkenness by formulating a policy against drinking in residence or returning to residence in an intoxicated state. The council was particularly concerned about the influence seniors who engaged in drinking might have on the "new men."⁵⁹ A 1940 editorial in the Ubysey similarly supported the enforcement of university rules prohibiting liquor. Many students, the editor complained, seemed to feel they could only have fun if they drank. Unsure of the cause of students' perceived need to drink, the editor went on to suggest that "perhaps also the cynical movements of thought of the past twenty or thirty years have made a difference. Much of the youth has no faith, or faith only in temporal things." As a solution, the editor suggested that "perhaps some branch of the W.C.T.U. will take the University under its care."⁶⁰

As well as seeking to regulate drinking on campus, student leaders monitored smoking and dancing. In the early thirties, reports at UBC of women sneaking off to out-of-the-way places in order to smoke resulted in the Women's Undergraduate Society of UBC voting to forbid smoking on campus by women.⁶¹ During the same period, the editor of the Dalhousie Gazette complained about the "dance craze" on campus. Alarmed by the number of dances being held, the editor worried about their effect on students' studies and pocketbooks as well as in creating the impression among the broader public

⁵⁸"Sir Robert Falconer Makes Statement Re Intoxicants." Varsity, 11 Dec. 1923, 1; Edl., "Drinking in University Buildings." Varsity, 17 Dec. 1923, 2.

⁵⁹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 15, Annual Reports, File: Annual Reports 1934-35, Report on Edwards Hall by Fred G. Samis, 1934-35.

⁶⁰Edl., Ubysey, 13 Nov. 1940, 2.

⁶¹Edl., Ubysey, 23 Jan. 1931, 2; "Co-ed Students Reject Smoking by Big Majority," Ubysey, 6 Feb. 1931, 1.

that the university was but a training place for social graces.⁶² Such issues were of particular concern during the depression when universities such as Dalhousie and UBC were struggling financially. Student comportment which differed from societal norms could result in complaints by the public about their tax dollars being funnelled into education for the elite.

The belief in the need to provide a moral environment was based on more than maintaining a superficial propriety for the sake of attracting public or private money. It was also based on the notion that university students were not fully formed adults. As Doug Owram contends for the 1950s, administrators and parents perceived students as having simply moved from the nuclear family to the extended one embodied in the university community. Here students would continue their moral and intellectual development.⁶³ This moral environment, moreover, was shaped and articulated differently for men and women. The existence of formalized rules for men on dress, gambling, and intoxicants, and for women on curfews, suggests the gendered nature of comportment. The type of rules women faced compared to men, such as the intricate late leave system, may have been linked to the belief in the need to protect women's moral character and ensure their sexual conformity. Young men, it would seem, were not in need of sexual protection but did need to be taught to be gentlemen, hence the reinforcement of standards of dress and comportment.

Such rules may seem to be simply the enforcement of good moral conduct. Indeed, there is nothing religious about requiring a chaperon or forbidding garbage being thrown out the window. Yet the prohibition against drinking, dancing, and card-playing at McMaster and its controlled tolerance at the University of Toronto, or the prohibition

⁶²Edl., "The Social Whirl," Dalhousie Gazette, 3 Dec. 1930, 2; Edl., "A Suggestion," Dalhousie Gazette, 4 Feb. 1931, 2.

⁶³Owram, Born at the Right Time, 178.

against sports on Sunday at Dalhousie. were part of broader Protestant imperatives. Students were being trained to become Christian ladies and gentlemen. For example, while Victoria had no religious tests for students and staff and no restrictions were imposed on students except for "those of ordinary morality and decorum." as the Victoria College Bulletin stated. "The whole atmosphere and spirit of the College are such as to foster the steady upbuilding of Christian character and high-mindedness."⁶⁴

Expectations of moral comportment were not simply expressed through residence or broader campus rules. Deans of women, many believed, set the standards for the residence.⁶⁵ As a result, the president of Dalhousie stated in 1930, the dean of women needed to be someone of "personality and character."⁶⁶ At denominational colleges, character was explicitly linked to Christian belief. In his search for a new dean of women for Victoria College in 1931, Principal E.W. Wallace stated that he wanted a woman "of stimulating personality and intellectual keenness, who will arouse and develop in our women an interest in the pursuit of truth for its own sake" but also one "whose outlook on life is deeply founded on spiritual conviction, one who has a religious experience, positive, dynamic and growing."⁶⁷ These requirements corresponded to the duties of the dean: to give advice, conduct prayers, support ASGA, and "through a council of her staff and through her own personal efforts, to keep a Christian spirit which will make the residents believe in the possibility of the existence of the Kingdom of God upon earth

⁶⁴Victoria College Bulletin, 1920-53.

⁶⁵Parallel records on deans of men are unavailable.

⁶⁶DUA, Staff Files.

⁶⁷UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89, 130v, Box 65, File 8, Letter E.W. Wallace to Mrs. Ivor Helmstrom, 13 May 1931.

now."⁶⁸

In the early-twentieth century, deans of women at denominational colleges expressed their religious commitment openly. Margaret Addison, who supervised Annesley Hall at Victoria College from 1902 to 1933, often referred in her reports to God's guiding hand. In 1931 she wrote, "For all those ways in which He has led us, we offer grateful thanks. For all those ways less seen, in which we failed to be led by Him, we implore forgiveness."⁶⁹ Addison stressed students' need for both moral and spiritual supervision. As she stated, each individual needed to be cared for, because "Christ values every human life."⁷⁰ The responsibility of the dean of women for the spiritual care of the individual student was also evident at McMaster. During a period of spiritual renewal in 1932-33 Marjorie Carpenter provided, at the request of the students, guidance to the McMaster Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), accompanying and sometimes leading SVM meetings as well as conducting "after-meetings."⁷¹

Most deans of women did not explicitly attempt to transform students' spiritual lives. Many, however, especially at Ontario universities, had established themselves as leaders in Protestant organizations, and often in youth groups, and thus were well prepared to take on the task of moulding students' character. Marion Bates, dean of women at McMaster from 1947 to 1965, was the daughter of a Baptist missionary in India. She was heavily involved in the Baptist Church, serving on the War Services

⁶⁸UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 37, File 1, Annesley Hall, Committee of Management, Duties of Dean of Women and Duties of Head of Residences, 1931.

⁶⁹UCC/VUA, Records of the President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 37, File 1, Report to Committee of Management, Annesley Hall by Margaret Addison, 1930-31.

⁷⁰UCC/VUA, Victoria University, Dean of Women, Dean's Reports, Acc. 90.064v, Box 3, File 10, Report to Committee of Management by Margaret Addison, 11 Oct. 1928.

⁷¹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Report to Chancellor, 1932-33, Student Christian Activities, by M.L. Orchard.

Committee of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec and becoming Vice-President of the Convention in 1947.⁷² One of Margaret Addison's successors, Jesse Macpherson, who was dean from 1934 to 1963, had been Girl's Work Secretary of the Ontario Religious Council prior to her appointment and had led SCM groups for several years.⁷³ Before becoming acting dean of women of University College from 1929 to 1930, Dorothy Hamilton Kilpatrick was a missionary in India, first with the Presbyterians and then the WMS of the United Church.⁷⁴ Marion Ferguson, the dean of women at University College from 1930 to 1955, had become president of the University College YWCA while working towards her B.A. After 1916 she held the position of national secretary of YWCA work in India, returning home in 1922-23 to become the national secretary of the YWCA for Canada. She subsequently became first the travelling secretary and then the general secretary of the Toronto YW from 1928 to 1931.⁷⁵ Ferguson's successor at University College, Mary Innis, who remained dean until 1964, had a similar pedigree. Innis had a history of involvement with religious work, having been editor of the YWCA's Quarterly for ten years and a member of the YMCA's National Council. During her term as dean Innis became, from 1956 to 1958, a member of the advisory board of the Toronto SCM.⁷⁶

Deans of women at Dalhousie and UBC did not have the extensive involvement in

⁷²"Marion Stillwell Bates, Dean of Women." McMaster Alumni News 17, 3 (June 1947): 2.

⁷³UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89-130v, Box 42, File 11, "Dean of Women Appointed by Victoria University," Dec. 1933 and "Statement Read at the Executive Meeting," 11 Dec. 1933.

⁷⁴UTA, A73-0026/201 (38), Department of Graduate Records.

⁷⁵Anne Keen, "Long Association Ends As Dean Retires." Gargoyle, 7 March 1955, 1.

⁷⁶UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 61, File: 1954-55, "Mrs. H. A. Innis U.C. Dean of Women." Globe and Mail, 4 April 1955; Joyce Pearl, "Meet Mary Q. Innis." Gargoyle, 20 Nov. 1958.

religious organizations as did those at McMaster University or Victoria and University Colleges. Yet here too many of the deans could draw upon at least some experience in Protestant organizations or youth groups. At Dalhousie, Margaret Lowe, warden from 1923 to 1930, had been national secretary of the SCM for the five years preceding her appointment.⁷⁷ One of Lowe's successors had, prior to her appointment, held the position of Halifax YWCA Senior Girls' club secretary.⁷⁸ At UBC, Mary Bollert, dean of women from 1921 to 1941, was a member of, among other organizations, the BC Temperance League.⁷⁹ Lee Stewart contends that Bollert considered education to be "important for women to develop ethical character and inner control, and to teach them how to use their leisure time in a responsible manner."⁸⁰ Dorothy Mawdsley, dean of women at UBC from 1941 to 1959, provided support to campus religious clubs. In 1958, for example, Mawdsley was an ex-officio member of the SCM advisory board.⁸¹ The background and experience of these women led presidents to believe that they could be relied upon to reinforce the Protestant nature of the university by setting a high example for Christian womanhood.

The choice of dons too was often based on respectability and ability to reinforce the moral standards of the university. At Victoria College during the 1950s Jesse Macpherson's moral authority was reinforced by the presence of exemplary dons. Margaret Prang, for example, a don in 1952-53, was also a committed member of the SCM. Other dons provided moral and religious leadership through their participation in

⁷⁷"New Appointments to the University." Dalhousie Alumni News 4, 1 (Sept 1923): 1.

⁷⁸DUA, Staff Files. For reasons of confidentiality the identity of the warden cannot be revealed.

⁷⁹Stewart, 'It's Up to You', 69-70.

⁸⁰Ibid., 73.

⁸¹UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, SCM Advisory Board Meeting, 7 Oct. 1958.

such activities as chapel choir.⁸² Similarly, during the same time period, the application for the position of headship of the University College women's residence included questions on applicants' moral behaviour. For example, applicants were asked how much they smoked and drank as well as their church affiliation and the frequency of their church attendance.⁸³ Thus the position of don or headship provided another means within residences for university authorities to set a moral example.

If deans of women, as well as other residence staff, ensured a moral presence on campus, students too helped maintain a religious atmosphere. Paula Fass has argued for American colleges in the 1920s that while many students attended church regularly, "college life tended to foster a critical attitude toward the church and made for religious indifference."⁸⁴ Canadian students, at least in the universities examined here, seem to have maintained stronger ties to their faith. An informal survey of religious attitudes by the Student Christian Movement at the University of Toronto in 1939 suggested that 72 per cent of students professed some religious faith, 21 per cent were agnostic, and 5 per cent atheist.⁸⁵ The survey also provided some insight into the type of religious belief held by students. God was conceived first as the Supreme Good, then as Father, and finally as intelligence. Students conceived of Jesus in a number of overlapping ways. Fifty-one per cent perceived him as Teacher, 49 per cent as Saviour, 40 per cent as Son of God, 13 per

⁸²For Prang see UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 56, File 2, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, Report of Senior Tutor for 1952-53 and File 6, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, Report of Dean of Women, 1956-57. For reference to dons in choir see Kingsley Joblin, "The Chapel, the Choir, and the Organ," Victoria Reports 11 (May 1961): 12-14.

⁸³UTA, University College Records, Dean of Women, B74-0011, Box 3, File 6, University College Women's Residences, Application for Headship.

⁸⁴Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful, 137-38.

⁸⁵UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 51, University of Toronto SCM, News Bulletin 3, 2 (March 1939).

cent as Prophet, 7 per cent as a legendary figure, and 1 per cent as a fanatic. Moreover, 74 per cent of students believed in prayer and 64 per cent believed religion relevant to social and economic change.⁸⁶ Thus while students continued to think of God and Jesus in supernatural terms commensurate with views of nineteenth-century evangelicals, they had also been influenced by the stress placed by social gossellers on social improvement.

Evidence of the profession of religious faith may be found within residences and on campus more generally. Until the mid-1920s at UBC and the mid-1930s at Dalhousie, students living at home or boarding were expected to attend church and report the name of the church to the president of the university.⁸⁷ Similarly, during the interwar years, many residence students came into daily contact with religious practices. For example, grace was said prior to dinner in female residences at University and Victoria Colleges and at McMaster University.⁸⁸ The dean of women at McMaster suggested that these practices were "a means of cultivating a spirit of reverent worship and raising the standard of our family life."⁸⁹ In 1925 the president of the McMaster men's residence, noting that men could be lax in sustaining their spiritual life once free of their parents, reported weekly prayer meetings held by three of the "years," and daily prayers at the

⁸⁶UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 51, University of Toronto SCM, News Bulletin 3, 2 (March 1939).

⁸⁷UBC Calendar, 1920-21, 1926-27 and Dalhousie University Calendar 1920-21, 1934-35.

⁸⁸UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 64, File 9, Report of Dean of Women, c. Nov. 1934; CBA, McMaster University, Departmental Reports, File: Annual Reports, 1926-27, Chancellor's Report to Senate, 1925-26, Wallingford Hall; Melvyn Pelt, "A Masculine Viewing of Whitney Hall," Varsity, 5 Dec. 1960, 1-2. In the mid- to late 1950s the President of the Student Union of St. Francis Xavier could be found saying benediction before dinner. See John Sawatsky, Mulroney: The Politics of Ambition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1991), 21. At Queen's University deans of women said grace prior to dinner through the 1920 to 1970 period. See Garvie and Johnson, Their Leaven of Influence, 32, 82.

⁸⁹CBA, McMaster University, Departmental Reports, File: Annual Reports, 1926-27, Chancellor's Report to Senate, 1925-26, Wallingford Hall.

evening meal.⁹⁰ Similar activities occurred at other Canadian universities. Alyson King relates that in 1929 Queen's women "would often attend a sing-song held by the SCA" in the women's residence, Ban Righ Hall, after church on Sunday.⁹¹ At some universities, church attendance remained part of the residence schedule well into the post-war era. As late as 1964 women living on campus at Dalhousie received no late leaves on Sunday evenings other than a nine p.m. church leave.⁹²

Those outside the fold of Christianity may have found residence life less welcoming. Despite the non-denominational character of University College, Alyson King argues that not all felt at home within Ontario's female residences. In her study of the second generation of female university students in Ontario, King records Canadian poet Miriam Waddington's reaction to University College's women's residence before the Second World War. In one of her essays Waddington wrote that "'Jewish girls didn't usually think of living in residences such as Whitney Hall for the simple reason that they would not have been welcome there.'"⁹³ Charles Levi has found that in 1948 the short-lived student journal Campus charged the dean of women of University College, Marion Ferguson, with anti-semitism, arguing that she actively attempted to prevent Jewish women from entering residence and harassed them when they did get in. The charges,

⁹⁰CBA, McMaster University, Chancellor's Reports for Year 1925, 26. File: Chancellor's Report 1925-26. Report High Kakiak, Resident Student Body, 1925-26. Shortly after the move to Hamilton male students seemed to have discontinued the tradition of prayers at meal time. See CBA, McMaster University, Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body, 14 Oct. 1932.

⁹¹King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," 291.

⁹²DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 17a, File 3480, Shirreff Hall, "Constitution of the SHSGA, 1963-64."

⁹³Miriam Waddington, quoted in King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," 77.

however, were never investigated.⁹⁴ Yet such charges confirm Waddington's feelings about University College's residences, suggesting that at least some Jewish students experienced feelings of exclusion. Moreover, such exclusion confirms the way in which Christianity was simply taken for granted within the College.

The Christian presence on Canadian campuses extended well beyond residence life. The formal opening of the academic year by university officials usually included a university service. McMaster traditionally opened its session with an annual chapel service, which combined devotional exercises, the introduction of new professors, and an address by the Chancellor.⁹⁵ As the number of students increased at McMaster in the immediate post-war years the annual opening chapel became a strictly frosh chapel. At the request of the student council in 1948, an annual open-air Sunday service was therefore also held for all students at the president's house, often with the student council president presiding and President Gilmour preaching the sermon.⁹⁶

Such occasions were not limited to denominational colleges. The University of Toronto held opening church services which included participation by the president and senior faculty. Such events in the forties could draw up to four hundred people, or five per cent of the student population.⁹⁷ Similarly, a 1940 editorial in the UBC student newspaper considered the University Student Service to be one of the significant points of term-opening, with the city's most eminent clergymen asked to preach the sermon.⁹⁸

⁹⁴Levi, "Where the Famous People Were?" 440-41.

⁹⁵Louis H. Fowler, "Campus News," McMaster University Monthly 35 (Oct. 1925): 22-23; "Chapel Service Formally Opens Academic Year," Silhouette, 2 Oct. 1935, 4.

⁹⁶"Frosh Chapel," Silhouette, 25 Sept. 1950, 1.

⁹⁷UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 42, File: SCM Printed Material, University of Toronto SCM Advisory Board, 1942-43 and Box 30, File: Minutes 1941-47, Minutes Advisory Board, 14 Oct. 1943.

⁹⁸"Norwood Speaks At Service Sunday Next," Ubysey, 27 Sept. 1940, 3.

Initiations also often included some sort of religious service. Through the interwar years the women's initiation at Victoria College consisted of a weekend "Party" hosted by the seniors in which students were introduced to the physical geography of the campus, to college officials, and to other female students. During the weekend students attended a number of social events such as a tea hosted by the dean of women, an evening's entertainment at one of Toronto's more respectable theatres, a cocoa party, or an evening party attended by the dean of women and the chancellor of the university. But the weekend also reflected the Christian nature of the college, with prayers at 9 a.m. on Saturday morning in the College chapel, a Sunday service at one of the local churches such as Timothy Eaton Memorial Church, and an SCM meeting or vesper service to close the weekend.⁹⁹

Nor was church service unique to Victoria or to the interwar years. The 1952-53 women's initiation at McMaster was followed by Vesper Service.¹⁰⁰ Into the late 1950s the Dalhousie Council of Students organized a church service as part of initiation events.¹⁰¹ At King's too the university service had a central place during initiation, although by the early 1960s the President, H.L. Puxley, did have to send a reminder to the deans of men and women that students should have a full night's rest Saturday night so as not to fall asleep during the service.¹⁰² Church services were also featured as part of other secular activities. Homecoming, an event established at the University of Toronto in the

⁹⁹UCC/VUA, Dean of Women, Dean's Reports, Acc. 90.064v, Box 3, File 9, Report to Committee on Management, 13 Oct. 1927; "Vic Holds House Party," *Varsity*, 1 Oct. 1931, 5; UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 48, File 2, Victoria College Council, Advisory Council, Minutes, 23 April 1932.

¹⁰⁰CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 19, Annual Reports, File: 1952-53, Report on WSB Activities.

¹⁰¹DUA, MS-1-3, A-1023, President's Office, Council of Students, 1946-57, Initiation Program 1956.

¹⁰²UKCA, E-1-3-23, Central Filing System, General Correspondence, File: Dean of Men's Residence, H.L. Puxley to Dean of Men, 28 Sept. 1962.

1950s. included a worship service. In 1952 for example, the service featured prominently both President Smith and Provost R.S.K. Seeley of Trinity College.¹⁰³ Winter carnivals at the University of Toronto and McMaster University during the early 1960s also included chapel services. Warden McCulley of Hart House read the Scripture lesson at the University of Toronto chapel service in 1962 while the student's council president led the 1964 chapel at McMaster's winter carnival.¹⁰⁴

At denominational colleges attendance at religious functions did not end with initiations, opening ceremonies, or special events. Daily chapel was intended to provide a focal point for campus life. At King's it was held in the morning at 8:40 a.m., and again in the evening, and was compulsory along with Sunday service. At Victoria a brief service was held each morning in the chapel at 9:50 a.m. At McMaster chapel formed part of the university schedule, with classes breaking mid-morning so that students could attend. Unlike at King's, at Victoria and McMaster chapel was voluntary.¹⁰⁵ It was, however, considered an important part of campus life. Indeed, at McMaster university officials believed that through student and faculty leadership chapel could provide a central means to unite the student body. Replicating nineteenth-century patterns of family prayer, both faculty and members of student executives were expected regularly to attend

¹⁰³UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 56, File: UC, "Service of Worship," University of Toronto Homecoming, Oct. 1952; "Dalhousie's First Homecoming Weekend," Dalhousie Alumni News, April 1950, 14; "Graduate's Day," McMaster Alumni News 25, 2, (2 May 1955); 2; McMUA, Alumni Affairs, General Information 330, Pamphlet, "Grad's Day Committee, 1969".

¹⁰⁴UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 103, File: SAC, Don Cousens, Blue and White Society to Warden McCulley, 13 Dec. 1962; McMUA, Box: Conference Lectures, Pamphlets "1963 Winter Carnival" and "Winter Carnival 1964."

¹⁰⁵See also UKCA 30, King's College Co-eds Student Body Minute Book, Minutes, 13 Oct. 1943; UKC Calendar, 1950-51; Victoria College Bulletin, 1955-56, 1960-61. Thanks to W.P.J. Millar for the reference to McMaster.

and lead daily chapel in order to set an example.¹⁰⁶ Such expectations were not simply imposed by administrators. Students themselves requested religious services. In 1931, an editorial in the *McMaster Silhouette* called for Sunday chapel in addition to the daily devotional period, stating that this would be "an additional means of strengthening bonds of fellowship by bringing together resident and outside students, the faculty, and friends in an atmosphere of worship."¹⁰⁷ Leadership in the creation of fellowship arose from the initiatives of the chancellor, who, along with the dean of divinity, was directly responsible to the board of governors for the religious program of the university.¹⁰⁸ Faculty, however, also participated in the religious life of the community in a number of ways, for example, contributing articles to the *Silhouette* on why they attended chapel, or preaching special morning services held at nearby MacNeill Memorial Baptist Church.¹⁰⁹ At the beginning of the 1950s daily chapel continued to be so well attended at McMaster that the students' council renewed requests that special Sunday services for students be held on campus.¹¹⁰

In addition to daily chapel, officials at Victoria College began holding monthly Sunday morning services for students after 1933. From the 1930s to the 1950s the speakers tended to rotate among the chancellor, principals, and professors.¹¹¹ In 1932-33,

¹⁰⁶CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 16, Annual Reports, File: Annual Reports to Chancellor, 1939-40, Report, Chair Chapel Committee, C.H. Stearn; "Religious Activities," *McMaster Alumni News* 15, 5 (Dec. 1945): 3.

¹⁰⁷Edl., "Sunday Chapel," *Silhouette*, 12 March 1931, 2.

¹⁰⁸CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: McMaster YMCA, YMCA Constitution, March 1927; McMUA, Students, Box: Constitutions of McMaster Student Organizations and Clubs, File: Constitution of McMaster Christian Union, n.d.

¹⁰⁹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 16, Annual Reports, File: Annual Reports to Chancellor, 1939-40, Report, Chair Chapel Committee, C.H. Stearn; "Salvation Through Suffering," *Silhouette*, 21 March 1941, 1.

¹¹⁰*Baptist Year Book*, 1949-50, Report of Board of Governors of McMaster University.

¹¹¹*Victoria College Bulletin*, 1933-34, 1935-36, 1940-41; UCC/VUA, Fonds 2014, Victoria University Student Organization Records Collection, Acc. 91.174, Box 1, File

for example, the Chancellor of the University, E.W. Wallace, led the first chapel service. Subsequently, Principal W.T. Brown and Professor E.J. Pratt of Victoria College and Principal R. Davidson and Professor John Line of Emmanuel College, each took responsibility for a service.¹¹² In the 1950s and early 1960s the chapel services at Victoria College which were led by national or international speakers were often filled to capacity.¹¹³ In the early 1960s Victoria residence students even requested that the monthly Sunday service be replaced by weekly services in the chapel. Each house took responsibility for conducting one of the weekly services and representatives from the men's and women's residence took part in a chaplains' council to plan inter-residence religious discussions.¹¹⁴

Regular religious services were not limited to denominational colleges. In the 1920s the University of Toronto held weekly services, with the first service led by President Falconer and subsequent Protestant services conducted by prominent national and international speakers with clerical backgrounds such as Professor Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago, Dr. Rennie MacInnis, Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, and Dr. R. Bruce Taylor, Principal of Queen's University.¹¹⁵ Although remaining records

16. Executive Meeting VCSU, 28 Sept. 1950; Notice, Strand, 27 Feb. 1957.

¹¹²UCC/VUA. Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 76, File 10, Sunday Morning Services, Victoria College Chapel, 1930-39.

¹¹³Hal Bennett, "Late News from Vic." Victoria Reports 1, 3 (Nov. 1951): 9-13; UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 57-1, Report to Board of Regents, 1961-62.

¹¹⁴UCC/VUA, Fonds 2014, Victoria University Student Organization Records Collection, Acc. 91.174, Box 1, File 18, Office of the Chaplain, Kingsley Joblin to Residence Student Body, 10 Jan. 1962.

¹¹⁵UTA, SCM Records, College Sermons Committee, B79-0059, Box 1026, File: Correspondence 1922-23, College Sermon Series, Fall 1922; UTA, Office of the President, Falconer, Acc. A67-0007, Box 98, File: Colleges' Sermons Committee, 1925-26.

make no mention of what happened to these services in the 1930s and 1940s. university sermons were re-initiated in Hart House during Sidney Smith's tenure in the 1950s.¹¹⁶

At the University of Toronto the presence of a chapel in Hart House helped reinforce official religious activities such as monthly services. Vincent Massey established Hart House for the purpose of providing young men with a facility for athletic, intellectual, and spiritual activity. It thus contained a gym, club meeting rooms, an office for the YMCA, and a chapel. While Massey had intended the chapel to be Anglican, J.B. Bickersteth, the first warden of Hart House, opened it to Protestants more generally. Anglican Holy Communion was celebrated one Sunday per month while Anglican services were held regularly, although they were usually attended by students of many Protestant denominations. In addition, Methodists (prior to 1925), Presbyterians, members of the United Church, and Lutherans all held their own services in the chapel.¹¹⁷

The assumption of a Christian campus was, at times, also reinforced in the student press. As previously noted, student newspaper editors often supported such regulations as the prohibition of alcohol on campus, thus reinforcing Christian standards of behaviour. They tended to support Christian belief as well. Historians, on the other hand, have made note of student proclamations about widespread atheism on campus. One case which has gained attention is a 1931 incident in which the editor of the Varsity proclaimed the university to be a seedbed of atheism. The furor that the editorial caused both inside and outside the university resulted in the firing of the editor and suspension of the paper.¹¹⁸ More often, however, editors were less likely to be supporting atheism than simply being critical of traditional forms of Christianity. Some students, for example,

¹¹⁶Report of Hart House Warden in University of Toronto President's Report 1958-59, 101: "Dr. Coleman Speaks in Great Hall." Varsity, 26 Sept. 1955, 2.

¹¹⁷This openness was, however, criticized by at least some who believed the chapel should remain Anglican. See Montagues, An Uncommon Fellowship, 90-91.

¹¹⁸Greenlee, Sir Robert Falconer, 295-97; Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 137.

criticized what they considered to be a false Christianity. In 1931 an editorial in the Dalhousie Gazette proclaimed that students were fed-up with a Christianity that did not practise the tolerance, sympathy, and broad-mindedness that it preached.¹¹⁹

Student newspapers could also be found periodically encouraging their readers to pay attention to their faith. In several editorials on this subject in 1940 the Ubysey editor called upon campus religious groups to organize a series of services with well-known speakers.¹²⁰ In 1949 the Dalhousie Gazette encouraged students to attend a religious series sponsored by the IVCF and SCM, stating that "as citizens of a community built on Christian principles, it is our privilege and our duty to give some thought to the faith which we propose to be ours."¹²¹ In 1960 in a similar vein the editor of the Strand recommended chapel as "a beneficial experience."¹²² In a long tradition of exercising moral leadership some student newspaper editors contended that there was an important role for religion to play on campus.

So too, editors could be found reinforcing the general moral vision of the university projected by administrators. In 1936, for example, one critic of the University of Toronto condemned the institution for being "controlled by predatory capitalists whose policy is the maintenance of the status-quo." This attack elicited a response from the Varsity editor in support of President Cody's vision of the university as serving the needs

¹¹⁹Edl., "Hypocrisy," Dalhousie Gazette, 18 March 1931, 2. See also edl., "The Student and the Church," Varsity, 27 Nov. 1923, 2. Criticism by students of what they considered to be outdated Christian principles or beliefs had a long history. In 1913 a young J.S. Woodsworth, writing in Victoria College's student journal, Acta Victoriana, criticised the fact that ministerial candidates were "expected to assent to doctrines in which they no longer believed." See Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 192.

¹²⁰Edl., "Student Services," Ubysey, 18 Oct. 1940, 2; Edl., "Tolerance," Varsity, 15 Nov. 1923, 2.

¹²¹"Canon T.W. Isherwood to Conduct Series of Talks," Dalhousie Gazette, 24 Jan. 1950, 1.

¹²²Edl., "Remaining Chapel Services," Strand, 16 March 1960, 5.

of the country. As the editor stated.

Dr. Cody in his opening address and in many other speeches at campus functions has always stressed the fact that the function of the university is to cultivate in its students a keen interest in domestic and international problems and to uphold "worthy spiritual and moral standards."

Far from supporting the status quo, the editor continued, "the real interest of those who direct the policies of the University of Toronto, is 'the moral and intellectual advancement of its students.'"¹²³

While students recognized and often publicly supported the aims of administrators it is difficult, of course, to know the extent to which this had an effect on their religious life. Without attendance figures for university services or chapel, for example, the regularity of student participation in such events remains absent from the historical record. More significantly, it is difficult to know to what extent religious faith continued to motivate student participation in university life in a consistent manner. Rather, as is often the case, the religious temperature seemed to rise and fall with little explanation. Reports on chapel life suggest fluctuating attendance from year to year. The dean of women at Victoria stated in 1934-35 that while vespers had been well attended during the year, next year's officers were not "interested much in the religious life of the University."¹²⁴ On the other hand the chancellor of Victoria could report in 1937 that during Passion Week chapel had overflowed with students and that during the year student attendance generally had increased.¹²⁵ The same Ubysey editor who linked alcohol consumption to students' lack of faith in November 1940 had complained a

¹²³Edl., "Destructive Criticism," Varsity, 9 Dec. 1936, 2.

¹²⁴CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 15, Annual Reports, File: Annual Reports 1934-35, Report of the Dean of Women, 2.

¹²⁵UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 64, File 6, Meeting Victoria College Council, 15 Nov. 1937.

month earlier about the declining presence of religion on campus. He argued that Christian youth were immobilized at a time when young people in other countries were adopting "dangerous ideals." "Christian youth," the editor wrote, "are doing very little to spread the message of the only workable alternative to Naziism, Communism and Fascism." Religious groups, he continued, must overcome their differences and unite, "to bring others into the miracle of rebirth and a new life."¹²⁶

The vitality of religious life on campus also differed from one university to the next. Neither Dalhousie nor UBC had a chapel. Although the UBC Committee on Religion at the University reported in 1947 "that a University Chapel would make a valuable contribution to the life and aims of the University" and that a site should be reserved for a chapel on campus, no chapel was ever built.¹²⁷ In addition, Dalhousie did not have a residence for men until 1959 while UBC lacked facilities for either sex until after World War Two, thus limiting the extent of campus regulations on students to a much greater degree than at Ontario universities.¹²⁸ At the University of Toronto, with residences and a strong denominational college structure, the religious life of students was more apparent.

There is no doubt, as historians of American and Canadian higher education have argued, that after the Great War at least some of students' religious energy was being redirected "to sports, dating, and song."¹²⁹ Yet historians have also linked the liberalization of social mores from the 1920s on with a growing indifference by students

¹²⁶Edl., "Christian Youth Today," Ubysssey, 1 Oct. 1940, 2.

¹²⁷UBCA, Senate Minutes, Report of Committee on Religion of the University, 13 May 1947, 1321-22.

¹²⁸For residences see note 2.

¹²⁹Fass, Damned and the Beautiful, 45. See also Marsden, Soul of the American University, 340-42.

to religion. Speaking of some of the most prominent and respected universities in the United States, George Marsden contends that in the 1920s students became increasingly disinterested in religious belief and that their behaviour was less affected by the values of their denominational heritage. This was evident, he argues, in the prevalence of drinking and dancing, in students' support for fraternities and sororities rather than religious organizations when looking for fellowship, and in their assault on required chapel.¹³⁰ In a similar vein A.B. McKillop has suggested for Canada that a more secular spirit existed on campus by World War One. He argues that there was a shift from "right spirit" to service to the community, "from inner spirit to outward conduct."¹³¹ In their different ways both historians contend that the moral imperatives which had shaped the nineteenth-century university were becoming, in the early-twentieth century, derooted from their Christian heritage.

In focusing on the early-twentieth century as the point at which the intellectual emphasis shifted from service to God to service to society, these historians have overlooked the way in which religion and culture continued to be interlocked during much of the twentieth century. Paul Axelrod has argued for the 1930s that despite the secularization of student culture, "both denominational and non-denominational institutions still associated the character development of students with the Christian complexion of the country as a whole."¹³² This continued to be true into the 1960s. Presidents and administrators of the selected universities, in their public pronouncements, projected a Protestant vision of the university, a vision which was reaffirmed in a variety of ways through residence culture and religious life on campus. Far into the twentieth century, residence rules, and the moral comportment expected of students more generally,

¹³⁰Marsden, Soul of the American University, 340-46.

¹³¹McKillop, Matters of Mind, 229-31.

¹³²Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 13.

reflected middle-class Protestant values. These rules were partly created and enforced by students themselves. Yet moral comportment was not simply shaped through regulations. It was also taught by example. Thus authority figures such as deans of women, who often helped set regulations, were also expected to reflect the high moral standards of the university.

The moral influences of deans of women and presidents were also reinforced through public expressions of religious faith on campus. From prayer at dinner, to church services during initiation, opening and monthly university services, chapel, and local church attendance, students were exposed to a Protestant culture which was simply taken for granted. Together these various events created a pervasive Protestant atmosphere on campus that few could escape. Students, of course, participated not only in religious activities but also in many secular clubs and events. They attended dances, theatre, played sports, were involved in student politics and dramatics. Yet José Casanova argues that the differentiation of the secular from the religious spheres does not necessarily involve secularization or the loss of a public expression of religion.¹³³ In a modern world students could dance on Saturday night but also attend church on Sunday morning, if perhaps a little more bleary-eyed than in the past. Indeed, students' continuing acceptance of, and participation in, the Protestant culture of campus may be seen not only through administrators' moral regulation of residence and campus more generally, but also in the student voice of religion as expressed in a venerable tradition of voluntary associations.

¹³³Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World, 38-9.

Chapter 3

The Student Christian Movement: The Public Voice of Religion and Reform on the University Campus, 1920s-1960s

In 1920 young men and women arriving in Halifax for the first time in order to attend the provincial university could arrange beforehand to be met at the train station by a member of the Student Christian Movement (SCM). The Dalhousie board of governors granted the Dalhousie SCM, as it had previously the Y, money to welcome and orient new students to the city. Once settled into a new place of residence, students received a college guidebook. At non-denominational Dalhousie, the Students' Handbook, printed and distributed in the early 1920s by the SCM, was clearly Christian. It encouraged students to "follow Christ," and to pray individually and with others.¹ In a long tradition of liberal evangelicalism, such activities were attempts by the SCM, like the Y before it, to make personal contact with, and hopefully recruit, new students.²

The activities of the SCM formed part of the heritage of the Ys, organizations shaped by late-nineteenth-century evangelicalism. Marguerite Van Die has observed that for "evangelicals the need to 'refresh' the faith was constant." This was achieved not simply through the transformation of the individual but was also expressed "in institutions established to ensure the continuity and permanence of the revival."³ The 1880s and 1890s, Richard Allen argues, witnessed a series of urban revivals which had

¹Until 1923 the Dalhousie board of governors granted the Dalhousie SCM, known in its early years as the Dalhousie Student Christian Association, funds in order to welcome new students. See DUA, MS-1-3, A954, President's Office, SCM 1921-63, letter H.A. Creighton, Secretary of the Men's Dalhousie Student Christian Association to the Board of Governors, c. 1922. For the reference to handbooks see DUA, Dalhousie University, Handbooks, Dalhousie Students' Handbook 1922-23.

²Murray G. Ross, The YMCA in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), 223.

³Van Die, An Evangelical Mind, 10.

periodically swept across North America since the eighteenth century.⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, this revivalist spirit, given voice by American evangelists such as D.L. Moody and I.D. Sankey and Canadians like H.T. Crossley and J.E. Hunter, led to a particularly active period of organizational renewal. Evangelicals in North America both created and revived a whole host of institutions such as missionary societies, temperance unions, and Sunday schools, as well as youth organizations such as the Epworth League and the Baptist Young People's Union.⁵

It was natural, then, that voluntary societies would appear on campus. In the 1870s and 1880s student branches of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) appeared on various North American campuses for the purpose of providing prayer meetings and evangelistic services.⁶ The spread of student Ys was given impetus by an international resurgence of student interest in evangelistic activity as well as the spread of international student Christian organizations at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1888 YMCA leadership in the United States established the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), a co-educational organization intended to unite volunteer bands, missionary societies, and local branches of the YM/YWCA across North America. John R. Mott, YMCA Student Secretary, became the chairman of the SVM. Under Mott's direction the Quadrennial Conferences held by the SVM "assumed the role of a convention for all

⁴Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," 11.

⁵Allen, "Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," 12-18; Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review* 79, 3 (Sept. 1998): 528, 547, 557; Noll, *A History of Christianity in North America and Canada*, chapter 9.

⁶The first student YMCA was formed at University College in 1873. As a movement, Ys did not become widespread until after 1879 when the student secretary of the International Committee of the YMCA in New York and the University College YMCA organized a student YMCA convention at Queen's University. See Ross, *YMCA in Canada*, 115.

student religious movements in North America."⁷ In 1895, in Sweden, Mott helped instigate the formation of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) which became the organizational body uniting North American student Ys with British and Western European Student Christian Movements.⁸

In Canada the student associations of the YMCA and YWCA developed independently of national or local branches. Presidents or faculty, such as Daniel Wilson at the University of Toronto, J.W. Dawson at McGill, and President Forrest at Dalhousie, who were themselves involved in the YMCA, usually took the initiative to encourage the development of such campus clubs.⁹ Murray Ross contends that SVM conferences had a greater influence "on the leaders of student work in Canada" than the local or provincial YMCA.¹⁰ Indeed, leaders within the SVM helped stimulate religious work in Canada. A visit to the Maritimes in 1888 by SVM chairman John R. Mott led to the first Maritime Student Conference in 1890.¹¹ Administrators thus supported Ys on campus as a means to give students physical, social, and religious outlets.¹²

The drive for a student Christian movement occurred gradually in the years prior to the Great War as tension increased between student Ys and local city associations.

⁷Donald L. Kirkey, "'Building the City of God': The Founding of the Student Christian Movement of Canada" (M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1983), 19.

⁸Kirkey, "'Building the City of God,'" 19-20. For a history of the WSCF see Philip Potter and Thomas Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth: The First Hundred Years of the World Student Christian Federation (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997).

⁹Ross, YMCA in Canada, 115.

¹⁰Ibid., 117.

¹¹Ibid., 117.

¹²Diana Pederson, "'The Call to Service': The YMCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 191.

According to Murray Ross, students complained about the self-righteousness and over-seriousness of city associations.¹³ Such tensions increased in particular as Christian students began to recognize their common bonds both as students and as Canadians. As a result, student YMs, YWs, and volunteer bands united in 1914 to form a Canadian Student Council of Student Movements.¹⁴ Despite the increasing influence of the social gospel movement within the Y, many students found Y leadership slow to adapt to modern issues and concerns. Indeed, they believed that the Ys remained too narrowly evangelical and unconcerned with student issues.¹⁵ Although the YMCA, along with military chaplains, ministered to the needs, and helped sustain the faith, of many student soldiers, upon returning home, veterans who enrolled in university expressed disillusionment with both the churches' support of the war and their reluctance to address contemporary economic and social problems.¹⁶ Students were beginning to entertain the idea of a new movement as an alternative to more traditional religious organizations. They wanted to build a new Christian order by following the teachings of Jesus and desired a co-educational, democratic, independent, national, youth movement.¹⁷ Discontent with traditional religious institutions converged with currents of the social gospel movement and broader post-war desires for the reconstruction of society.¹⁸ At the

¹³Ross, YMCA in Canada, 120-21.

¹⁴Ibid., 226.

¹⁵Edl., "Why a 'National' SCM," Varsity, 9 Nov. 1923, 2; R.B. Ferris, "The Student Christian Association," University of Toronto Monthly 24, 2 (Nov. 1923): 72-3; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 68, File: SCM, J. Burgeon Bickersteth to Dick, 4 March 1957; Pederson, "'The Call to Service,'" 188, 203, 205-206.

¹⁶Crerar, Padres in No Man's Land, 75-80; UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-11, File: 21st Anniversary Committee., J.D. Ketchum, "After Twenty Years" c. 1941; Dale, Twenty-One Years A-Building, 5; Pederson, "'The Call to Service,'" 206.

¹⁷Ferris, "The Student Christian Association," 72-73; Beattie, Brief History of the SCM, 7; Kirkey, "'Building the City of God,'" 32-47, 60-61, 77-92.

¹⁸Allen, The Social Passion, 213-18.

SVM conference in Des Moines, Iowa, in December 1919, four hundred Canadian students gathered to form a Canadian caucus to discuss the creation of a new Canadian student movement.¹⁹

Student attitudes towards the Y had not gone unnoticed by university administrators. In his study on the origins of the SCM Donald Kirkey relates that at a conference of Canadian university presidents in 1916, "Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto and patron of the YMCA there, advocated the British model of an independent joint men's and women's Student Christian Movement rather than the American YMCA model."²⁰ Students in Britain and Europe had already created such student Christian movements by the 1890s.²¹ Kirkey contends that Falconer's ideas gained popularity among Canadian students.²² At the request of the Canadian caucus at Des Moines, the Canadian Student Council of Student Movements called a conference of student Christian groups to be held at the Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph over Christmas vacation 1920. At the conference, students voted to withdraw from the Ys and form the Student Christian Movement, a more theologically liberal club with broad interest in international concerns.²³

¹⁹Ross, YMCA in Canada, 226.

²⁰Kirkey, "'Building the City of God.'" 61.

²¹The British SCM was formed in 1898 as an umbrella organization for the Student Volunteer Missionary Union and the British College Christian Union. See Steve Bruce, Firm in the Faith (Aldershot, 1984), 68. As is the situation for Canada, there is no comprehensive study of the SCM in Britain. For the origins of the movement see Tissington Tatlow, The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland (London: SCM Press, 1933). For a useful insider's perspective see David L. Edwards, Movements into Tomorrow: A Sketch of the British SCM (London: SCM Press, 1960).

²²Kirkey, "'Building the City of God.'" 62.

²³Ross, YMCA in Canada, 228-231; Kirkey, "'Building the City of God,'" 124.

A decade after its founding, SCM locals existed at most of the major universities and colleges in Canada.²⁴ This quick expansion was accomplished at least in part by the transfer of Y offices and personnel to the SCM.²⁵ It was also aided by university presidents, administrators, and faculty who were willing to accept and support the new movement both for its religious emphases and its ability to help mould students' character.²⁶ Presidents, for example, often helped provide a stable base from which the SCM could build. At the University of Toronto, Robert Falconer established an advisory board of senior lay people who could help raise funds for the club. He also secured for the local its first men's secretary.²⁷ In addition, Falconer wrote letters to the Varsity encouraging students voluntarily to support the SCM financially.²⁸ At UBC President Leonard Klinck gave addresses to the Y, and later the SCM, on such topics as "How to Provide the Christian leadership of the future."²⁹ Klinck's successor, Norman MacKenzie, had as a student been a member of the SCM and continued to support it once in office, becoming honorary president of the group and of the advisory board at different points

²⁴Kirkey, "'Building the City of God.'" 150.

²⁵Many Y workers simply became SCM workers after its formation. Ernest Clarke, the senior secretary of the student department of the YMCA, became General-Secretary of the SCM. Margaret Lowe, later dean of women at Dalhousie, belonged to the YWCA student department and became a travelling secretary for the SCM. Similarly, the national SCM office was initially housed in the YWCA national headquarters building. See Mary Quayle Innis, Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1949), 101.

²⁶Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 130.

²⁷UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 10, File 67, Warden's Office, "SCA."

²⁸R.A. Falconer, "SCA Campaign," Varsity, 5 Nov. 1923, 1.

²⁹UBCA, Klinck Papers, Box 4. Presidents at other universities also sat on SCM Advisory Boards. When the SCM formed at Memorial University in 1953 President Gushue was a member of its Advisory Board. See Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University Library, Cap and Gown, 1953, "SCM."

during his time as president of UBC from 1944 to 1962.³⁰ Indeed, almost every president from the 1920s to the 1950s at UBC, the University of Toronto, Victoria College, and Dalhousie University provided active support at some point during their careers to the SCM.³¹

Administrators such as deans of women reinforced presidential support for the SCM. Jessie Macpherson at Victoria College, Mary Innis at University College, and Helen Reynolds at Dalhousie could often be found on SCM advisory boards as well as leading study groups.³² Moreover, at the University of Toronto the position of the SCM on campus was bolstered through its connection with Hart House. J.B Bickersteth, Nicholas Ignatieff, and Joseph McCulley, the successive wardens of Hart House from 1921 to 1965, all supported the work of the SCM. In addition, at the University of Toronto the general-secretary not only had an office in Hart House but often acted as the chaplain of the House.³³

³⁰UBCA, President's Office, General Correspondence, Roll 72, MacKenzie to Jim Williams, V.P. SCM UBC, 8 Aug. 1944.

³¹University presidents supported the SCM in a variety of ways. For example, at the University of Toronto, H.J. Cody wrote the preface to an SCM pamphlet in 1943. Sidney Smith sat on the advisory board of the University of Toronto SCM in 1944 and was national chairman of the Student Christian Movement of Canada from 1954 to 1957. At University College, William Robert Taylor, who became principal in 1945, had, in 1928, been a member of the Faculty Financial Committee for the SCA. At Victoria College Walter T. Brown (1941-49) could be found leading the occasional SCM meeting. A.E Kerr, of Dalhousie University, donated money to aid the SCM financially. For Cody see UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 42, File: SCM Printed Material, SCM, University of Toronto, 1942-43. For Smith see UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 75, File: SCM, SCM, University of Toronto Spring-Term Newsletter, April 1959. For Taylor see UTA, Office of the President, Falconer, Acc. A67-0007, Box 110a, File: Taylor, William Robert. For Brown see UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84, File 25, SUB, Victoria College, 1909-32. For Kerr see DUA, MS-1-3, A954, President's Office, SCM, I Roy de Marsh to Kerr, 11 Jan. 1962. Presidents at other Canadian universities such as Queen's and McGill were equally supportive of the SCM. See Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 130.

³²For Reynolds see DUA, MS-1-3, A954, President's Office, SCM 1921-63, SCM Program 1958-59.

³³UTA, Hart House Records, A79-0022, Box 10, File Hart House Chaplain, "The Chaplaincy in Hart House," 15 July 1976.

Many faculty, at both denominational and non-denominational universities, supported the SCM as they had earlier the YMCA and YWCA. At Dalhousie, faculty in the 1930s such as Dr. Bronson, professor of physics, and Dr. R.A. MacKay, professor of political science, led study groups.³⁴ This participation by members of the Dalhousie faculty continued into the 1950s. G.E. Wilson, dean of arts and science, spoke on spiritual values in life at an SCM open house in 1951.³⁵ George Grant, professor of philosophy, participated in a panel discussion on the Apostle's Creed at the 1951 SCM fall retreat.³⁶ Several years later Professor F.H. Page, head of the department of psychology, attended a retreat and led discussions on "Worship and its Psychology" and "The Christian in the University."³⁷ Wives of both faculty and administrators at Dalhousie also became involved with the SCM. In the early thirties, for example, Dr. Roberta Nichols, wife of Professor E.W. Nichols and in the mid-forties an alumnae representative on the board of governors, led SCM groups.³⁸ Later in the decade, Mrs. G. Fred Pearson, wife of the chairman of the board of governors, sat on the SCM advisory board.³⁹

The support for the SCM by faculty, administrators, and presidents, was given a visible presence in the location of the SCM office. SCM locals could usually be found in a central and accessible place on the university campus. At the University of Toronto the men's secretary had an office in Hart House and the women's secretary had an office in

³⁴Pharos 1933.

³⁵"SCM Holds Open House at Shirreff Hall." Dalhousie Gazette, 16 Jan. 1951. 1.

³⁶"Local SCM Groups Hold Mass Meeting." Dalhousie Gazette, 27 Feb. 1951. 1.

³⁷"SCM, Hillel Plan Meetings." Dalhousie Gazette, 26 Oct. 1954. 3.

³⁸Pharos 1933.

³⁹Pharos 1939.

the household science building at Victoria College.⁴⁰ Although the women's office was not central to the physical geography of the university, the household science building did form an integral part of women's space on campus. Similarly, at Dalhousie, Katharine B. Hockin, the SCM secretary from 1937 to 1939, had an office in the women's residence, Shirreff Hall.⁴¹

The success of the movement, however, arose not only from the support given by administrators and faculty but also from its ability to reach students. Participation in the SCM or in SCM-sponsored events remained steady at around four to eight per cent of the student body through the 1920 to 1965 period.⁴² Although a fairly small core group, SCMs were supported by, and contributed to, the broader student community. At the University of Toronto, the Women's Undergraduate Association of University College annually sent a member of council to Canadian SCM conferences in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁴³ Similarly, in the early 1930s the Varsity provided space for an SCM column and supported appeals for money. Moreover, it continued regularly to report on and discuss SCM events into the post-war period.⁴⁴ SCMs were also active in broader campus

⁴⁰UTA, B79-0059, Box 7, File: Archives 1934-35, letter from unknown to student movers, 25 March 1923; "Varsity Y Still Does Good Work," University of Toronto Monthly 20, 7 (April 1920): 261-62.

⁴¹Ernest Heighton, Dr. Howard L. Bronson, Physicist, 1878-1968 (Printed Privately, Spring 1990, Halifax), 221.

⁴²Report of the Warden of Hart House, in University of Toronto President's Report 1929-30, 85; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 51, SCM, University of Toronto, News Bulletin, May 1940; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 15, File: 1963-4, SCM President's Report, University of Toronto, 1963-64. Axelrod found that during the 1930s at Victoria College and the University of Alberta SCM meetings attracted 10 per cent of the student body. See Making a Middle Class, 130. This exceeds participation in the YM/YW in American colleges and universities. Fass, Damned and the Beautiful, 141, argues that the core of the YM/YW constituted 5 per cent of students at American Colleges in the 1920s.

⁴³UTA, University College Records, A67-0011, Box 12, File: Annual Reports, Women's Undergraduate Association, Report of President of WUA, 1932-33.

⁴⁴Edl., "SCA Appeal," Varsity, 18 Nov. 1931, 2. In January and February 1951, for example, the Varsity reported on speakers addressing the SCM as well as the activities of

affairs, participating in athletics, student councils, and left-wing politics.⁴⁵ During her four years at UBC in the late 1930s, for example, Janet Walker, the future wife of Pierre Berton, participated in the SCM and the Social Problems Club, and wrote for the student newspaper, the Ubysey.⁴⁶ Similarly, an examination of the Victoria College Bulletin for the years 1933 to 1937 illustrates that a number of students who joined the SCM executive also became, during their four years at Victoria, executive members of other major clubs such as the Debating Union, year executives, the Victoria College Union, the Acta Victoriana editorial board, and the Athletic Union.⁴⁷

While membership represented only a small portion of the student body, the SCM attracted many students through its great variety of yearly activities. For example, SCMs provided frosh receptions, teas, supper parties, sing-songs, student services, addresses,

the SCM political commission, which was discussing the need to raise the basic standard of living. See for example, "Paul Scherer Will Address SCM Group," Varsity, 19 Jan. 1951, 3; "SCM Series on Painting in UC Today," Varsity, 14 Feb. 1951, 3; "Should Raise Living Level SCM Agrees," Varsity, 28 Feb. 1951, 3.

⁴⁵"Marion Hilliard Awarded Moss Scholarship," University of Toronto Monthly 25, 2 (Nov. 1924): 55; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 75. File: SCM, SCM, University of Toronto, Spring-Term Newsletter, April 1959; Sheila MacLeod, "SCM on Campus and in the World," Strand, 21 Nov. 1963; Clare Buckland, "The SCM at UBC," in Way We Were, ed. Philip A. Krigg, 29.

⁴⁶Pierre Berton, Starting Out: the Days of My Youth, 1920-1947 (Toronto: Penguin books, 1987), 156. I would like to thank R.D. Gidney for this reference.

⁴⁷Victoria College Bulletin, 1933-34 to 1935-36. For example, in 1934-35, Miss A.P. Carscallen was Vice-President of the Women's Executive of the SCM and became Associate-President of the Victoria College Debating Union in 1935-36. Miss M.S. Thomson, Groups Convenor of the Women's Executive of the SCM in 1934-35 became Secretary of the Victoria College Union in 1935-36. G.R. McCready, Year III Representative on the Men's Executive of the SCM in 1934-35, had been a member of the Bob Committee for 1933-34 and in 1934-35 was also on the Executive for Year III. In 1935-36, A.I. Manson, Vice-President of the Men's Executive of the Victoria College SCM was also Treasurer of the Victoria College Debating Union. In the early 1920s James Endicott was a member of the Victoria SCM and then during his M.A. was elected to SAC. See Stephen Endicott, James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 35, 48.

and open forums, as well as retreats and small missions.⁴⁸ SCM offices provided a place where students could meet friends and future spouses.⁴⁹ One member of the UBC local remembered the SCM office in the 1930s as a "vibrant place with constant discussions."⁵⁰ SCM locals also exposed students to issues beyond the confines of the campus by bringing in national and international speakers and by sending members to local, national, and world conferences. The Student Volunteer Movement and the World Student Christian Federation periodically engaged major speakers such as T.Z. Koo, a Chinese Christian leader, to speak to North American and Western European students. Within Canada, for example, Koo visited McMaster in 1931-32 and again in 1945, UBC in 1933-34, King's in 1935, and the University of Toronto in 1931 and again in 1940.⁵¹ Thus Koo provided a link between students on Canadian campuses and between these students and the international Christian community.

Many of the SCM's activities focused around study groups, lectures, and debates. Generally SCM groups focused on both theological issues such as the life of Jesus and mission study and secular problems such as war and peace, or industrial relations. Clubs at Dalhousie and UBC, which were small, tended to maintain the emphasis on both

⁴⁸For examples of the activities of the SCM see "Frosh Reception in Hart House," Varsity, 9 Oct. 1923, 1; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 42, File: SCM Printed Material, University College Women's SCA, University of Toronto, Programme 1931-32; UTA, SCM, B79-0050, Box 51, SCM, University of Toronto, News Bulletin, Nov. 1939; Pharos 1939.

⁴⁹Eric Kelly, "Recollections of the SCM: 1926-31," in Way We Were, ed. Philip A. Krigg, 32.

⁵⁰Frances Tillman, "Recollections of the SCM: 1936-39," in Way We Were, ed. Philip A. Krigg, 33.

⁵¹CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Reports of Chancellor 1931-32, Professor Orchard, "Student Christian Activities"; UKCA, SU.B.1.1.2, Student Body, Administrative Records, Minutes Student Body, 27 Nov. 1935; "SCA Corner," Varsity, 3 Dec. 1931, 1; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3-88, Secretary's Annual Report, 1933-34; "Dr. Koo Proves Novel," Silhouette, 2 Nov. 1945, 1; UTA, SCM, University of Toronto, B79-0059, Box 51, University of Toronto SCM News Bulletin, May 1940.

aspects of study.⁵² At the University of Toronto the emphasis on either social action or faith expanded and contracted according to the period at hand. Radicalism increased in the early 1920s, mid-1930s, and the late 1950s, periods which witnessed respectively the formation of the SCM and student discontent with the existing social order, a radical critique of society emerging out of the social and economic conditions of the Great Depression, and the growing influence of peace activism and the emergence of the New Left. During these points in time SCM groups tended to place more of their focus on social issues. The late 1920s, early 1930s, the war years, and the immediate post-war era were more conservative times for the SCM. The graduation of student veterans and the fragmentation of the social gospel movement by the end of the 1920s, the sombre atmosphere on campus during the war and the attempt to return to normalcy after the Second World War, all led to periods in which the University of Toronto SCM emphasized theological issues.⁵³ These conservative periods, however, tended to be short. As one former member recollected, while neo-orthodoxy became popular as a system of thought, especially at Toronto, its influence was generally limited to wartime.

⁵²UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84, File 35, SCM Handbook, "Our History," c. 1963; Ferris, "The Student Christian Association," 73-4; Edl., "Internationalism," *Varsity*, 17 Oct. 1923, 2; "SCA Corner," *Varsity*, 15 Oct. 1931; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 51, SCM, University of Toronto, *News Bulletin*, May 1940; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3, File 88, Secretary's Annual Report, 1933-34; *Pharos* 1936, 1953; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3, File 88, SCM 1927-28; *Totem*, 1936, UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, SCM in UBC, Report of SCM, UBC, 1948-49; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, SCM UBC Executive Meeting Minutes, 1955-60, 19 Sept. 1959.

⁵³Catherine Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind? The Student Christian movement at the University of Toronto, 1920-1965," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, New Series, 8 (1997): 147-63. For the social and theological orientation of the SCM see also Kirkey, "'Building the City of God'"; Margaret Beattie, *A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement 1921-1974* (Toronto: Student Christian Movement, 1975); Darren W. Schmidt, "Crossing the 'Great Divide': The Student Christian Movement and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship on Varieties of Canadian Protestantism, 1928-1939" (M.A., Queen's University, 1998).

An orientation towards social Christianity remained prominent both before and after World War Two.⁵⁴

The concern for modern social conditions was reinforced through the period by the use of a particular form of bible study, developed at the end of the nineteenth century by a wealthy businessman from Guelph, Henry Burton Sharman, which became known as the Sharman method. Sharman believed that Christians' understanding of Jesus had become clouded due to numerous, and often contradictory, accounts. He encouraged students, through study groups, to reject past interpretations of scripture, to acknowledge their own preconceptions of Jesus, and to turn a fresh eye on the records by exploring and interpreting the Bible for themselves. In this process students would be guided by each other and by study group leaders.⁵⁵ Katharine Hockin, an SCM secretary at Dalhousie during the 1930s, recollected her encounter with the Sharman method as a student at the University of British Columbia from 1927 to 1935 as "a process of active doubt and criticism that kept throwing out the miracles of seemingly obscure passages until there was very little left, but eventually leading to more discussion and gradually finding new meaning in the discarded sections, and ending with the original record fairly intact!"⁵⁶ In particular, the method concentrated on the life of Jesus and applications of his teachings.

⁵⁴UBCA, MacKenzie Papers, Box 90-32, William R. Coleman, "Some Reflections of the Place of Theology in the Canadian SCM," 1973. Coleman argues that the renewed emphasis on social gospel activities in the post-war period resulted in a reduction of theological reflection which lasted until the 1970s.

⁵⁵Murray Brooks et al., eds., This One Thing: A Tribute to Henry Burton Sharman 1865-1953 (Toronto: SCM, 1959), 12, 37; UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-35, Peter Paris, "Report on SCM of Canada: Part III," Aug. 1965. Kirkey notes that the content of Sharman's method changed over time. In 1896 with the publication of Studies in the Life of Christ Sharman emphasized "the Christ of faith, the Messiah and leader of the Church." By 1917 and 1918 with the publications of Records in the Life of Jesus and Jesus of the Records he was examining "Jesus the man and ethical teacher." See Kirkey, "Building the City of God," 68, fn 59.

⁵⁶Katharine Hockin, "Memories of the SCM, 1927-1933," in Way We Were, ed. Philip A. Krigg, 29.

Roger Hutchinson relates that SCMerS emerged out of Sharman's study groups believing that Jesus had not simply attended to the suffering but had railed against the conditions and established authorities which perpetuated that suffering.⁵⁷ The study of the life of Jesus thus encouraged many young Christians to investigate the social conditions of their own society to determine whether it was fulfilling its potential.⁵⁸

Diana Pederson argues that the use of the Sharman method by YMCA leaders unintentionally led many students to reject the theological conservatism in which they had been raised.⁵⁹ The use of this method may have had such an effect on some students within the SCM, but on the whole, participants stressed the way their faith had been revitalized in new ways. As one UBC student related, these innovative discussion groups addressed "everything from sex, politics, religion to bible study," and played an important role in the attempt "to see the importance of faith related to action."⁶⁰ Participating in an SCM study group led by Sharman, who had temporarily located to Toronto in the early 1920s, James Endicott, a future missionary and peace activist, came to the realization that

⁵⁷Roger Charles Hutchinson, "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: 1934-1945," in A Long and Faithful March: "Towards the Christian Revolution" 1930s/1980s, ed. Harold Wells and Roger Hutchinson (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1989), 21.

⁵⁸Beattie, Brief History of the SCM, 75-77.

⁵⁹Pederson, "'The Call to Service,'" 203. Similarly, Katharine Hockin's biographers note how Sharman's method marked "a radical departure from traditional views" for her and many other students like her. See Mary Rose Donnelly and Heather Dau, Katharine: Katherine Boehner Hockin. A Biography (Winfield, B.C.: Wood Lake Books, Inc., 1992), 89.

⁶⁰Frances Tillman, "Recollections of the SCM: 1936-39," Way We Were, 33. See also Harold T. Allen, "A View From the Manse: The Social Gospel and Social Crisis in British Columbia, 1929-1945," in Allen, ed., The Social Gospel in Canada, 156. Allen contends that his participation in the UBC SCM led him to greater involvement with Christian Socialism. The Sharman method was equally as prominent at Dalhousie under the leadership of Dr. Howard L. Bronson, a physicist who led study groups and summer seminars until the early 1960s. See Heighton, Dr. Howard L. Bronson, Physicist, 1878-1968, 156, 201.

"Jesus took a path in opposition to the traditions and great institutions of his day."⁶¹

During the 1930s professors such as John Line and Eric Havelock at Victoria College reinforced such radical teachings. These men helped found the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order (FCSO), a predominantly United Church organization which, like the League for Social Reconstruction and CCF to which it was connected, sought solutions to the growing economic dislocation of the period in the creation of a co-operative and social democratic society.⁶² In their SCM study groups, as well as in public pronouncements more generally, Line and Havelock criticized existing capitalist society. Their Christianity and their socialism were interlocked in the radical social gospel belief that a commitment to social salvation would lead to personal salvation.⁶³

The general critique of society that emerged out of study groups led to a variety of forms of social action. SCMerS continued traditional forms of evangelical activity such as charity work. They worked in the downtown boy's club or the university settlement house in the 1920s, canvassed for used clothing to aid the unemployed in the 1930s, helped renovate rooms in the Fred Victor Mission in the 1940s, and in the 1950s engaged in local church clean-ups and held monthly patients' dances at the Ontario Mental Hospital.⁶⁴ This kind of work, however, was also becoming increasingly international in

⁶¹Endicott, James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China, 36-7.

⁶²Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945," in The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Burlington, Ont: Welch Publishing Co. 1990), 178; Michiel Horn, League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 3-14.

⁶³"Principle of Love Should Be Dominant," Varsity, 5 Nov. 1931, 1. For this view as held by others in the FCSO see Phyllis D. Airhart, "Christian Socialism and the Legacy of Revivalism in the 1930's," in A Long and Faithful March: Towards the Christian Revolution 1930s/1980s, ed. Harold Wells and Roger Hutchinson (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1989), 35.

⁶⁴"Varsity Y Still Does Good Work," University of Toronto Monthly 20, 7 (April 1920): 261-62; "Students asked to Aid Destitute," Varsity, 3 Nov. 1931, 1; "Work Weekend Planned by SCM," Varsity, 14 Nov. 1946, 1; UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7,

scope. Robert Wright contends that the organization of European relief work "provided the cause of Christian internationalism in Canada with a sense of urgency in the early 1920s, hastening interdenominational co-operation through such organizations as the Canadian Committee of the Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches of Europe."⁶⁵ Concerned about the condition of people internationally, especially students, the SCM raised money for such causes as European Student Relief, under the auspices of the WSCF, in the 1920s, and Spanish relief in 1939.⁶⁶ During the Second World War they raised money for the International Student Service (ISS) and put on clothes drives for war-torn France.⁶⁷ And in the immediate post-war period they raised money for India University Relief.⁶⁸

SCMers also sought to apply what they learned in study groups to their personal lives in new and innovative ways. In the mid-1930s a group of students at Victoria College became influenced by Kagawa Toyohiko and the more radical strain of the social gospel movement. Kagawa gained popularity in the West because of his evangelistic work in Japan, and his experiences working in Japanese slums and among Japanese

File: 1950-51, Report of the University of Toronto SCM, 1950-51, and File: 1958-59, University of Toronto SCM, 1958-59.

⁶⁵Wright, A World Mission, 75.

⁶⁶"Student Service." Dalhousie Gazette, 4 March 1926; Pharos 1938, 1939; "SCM," Totem, 1923.

⁶⁷"Student Christian Movement has Busy Year." University of Toronto Monthly 43 (9 June 1943): 264; "Clothes Drive by SCM Planned for France," Varsity, 10 Dec. 1946, 1; "Work Week-end Planned by SCM." Varsity, 14 Nov. 1946, 1.

⁶⁸"SCM Undertakes Work Camp Idea." Varsity, 21 Jan. 1947, 3; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File 1947-48, Undergrad News, SCM, University of Toronto, Oct. 1947; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File 1949-50, Report of the Toronto Unit of SCM of Canada, 1949-50; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1950-51, SCM, University of Toronto, Undergrad News, Nov. 1950; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File: Archives 1953-54, SCM, University of Toronto, Newsletter, 10 Nov. 1953.

workers led him to espouse the need for a co-operative economic system.⁶⁹ Influenced in part by his ideas, students at Victoria College in the mid-1930s established Rochdale House, a student residence based on co-operative and democratic control.⁷⁰ Similarly, the SCM developed summer work camps in the forties which lasted into the 1960s. Living co-operatively, students worked at such divergent jobs as in heavy industry or mental institutions to learn first hand about the problems and the social conditions of the less privileged.⁷¹

While students were engaged in finding new ways to live, their disillusionment with the existing social order also led them to engage themselves periodically in more politically active ways. This was especially true at the University of Toronto in the 1930s.⁷² During this period, one contemporary stated, "the challenge of the left to the Church became focused through the SCM."⁷³ The SCM at the University of Toronto often acted as a student branch for the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order. Concerned with the increasingly appalling social conditions caused by the depression, such organizations sought a more ethical and democratic society based on co-operation.⁷⁴

By the early 1930s the SCM was particularly involved in social action revolving

⁶⁹A. Hamish Ion, The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931-1945 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 18.

⁷⁰The Rochdale's success was aided by the donation of the house by Victoria College for the cost of upkeep. UTA, Office of the Registrar, Acc. 73-0051, Series 5 Clippings, Box 220, File: Student's Cooperative Residence 1936-39, Varsity, 18 Oct. 1939.

⁷¹UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File: Archives 1944-45, News of the Student Christian Movement, University of Toronto, June 1945.

⁷²At Dalhousie and UBC, where branches of the SCM were smaller and had fewer resources than those at Toronto, students tended to focus primarily on developing study groups rather than engaging in political activism.

⁷³UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84, File 35, SCM Handbook, "Our History," c. 1963.

⁷⁴Horn, League for Social Reconstruction, 202-3.

around disarmament, and in introducing university students to the peace movement. The SCM, along with other groups such as the League of Nations Society and Student Peace Movement spread petitions calling for disarmament, campaigns often initiated by international organizations such as the World Student Christian Federation and the International Student Service.⁷⁵ Arguing that militarism engendered a spirit of war and distrust, SCM locals protested the re-formation of the Canadian Officers' Training Corps on their campuses in the late 1920s. At the national level the Student Christian Movement of Canada (SCMC) presented a petition, signed by 10,000 students, to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett asking the Canadian government to work for a reduction of armaments at the upcoming Geneva disarmament conference in 1932.⁷⁶ Three years later, the SCMC established its position on war and peace, recommending the renunciation of war and encouraging social action through co-operation with League of Nations societies, protests against militarism, and Armistice Day services emphasizing peace instead of war. The Toronto branch quickly inaugurated such a remembrance service, which attracted a large crowd of 700, much to the consternation of the Alumni Association, who had always sponsored the traditional Armistice Day service.⁷⁷ SVM conferences in the United States, which were attended by student leaders in the SCM, also helped reinforce SCMCers' radical activities at home. At the 1923-24 Indianapolis convention "500 students pledged themselves not to support war under any circumstances."⁷⁸ Similarly, at the 1932 conference in Buffalo participants voted in "opposition to war, to armaments

⁷⁵Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 140.

⁷⁶UTA, Office of the President, A67-0007, Box 130, File: Brooks, Murray, letter Murray Brooks, General-Secretary SCMC to Falconer, 14 October 1931; Beattie, A Brief History of the SCM, 19-20; Thomas P. Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 156.

⁷⁷Edl., Varsity, 10 Nov. 1936, 2; Letter to Editor, Varsity, 10 Nov. 1936, 2; Beattie, A Brief History of the SCM, 21; Socknat, Witness Against War, 156-57.

⁷⁸Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful, 334.

and to military training in universities."⁷⁹ During the 1930s peace activity generally had the support of students on campus. With the arrival of war, however, most students would come to see it as their duty to serve their country.⁸⁰

During the 1930s the SCM helped spawn other radical student groups. Members of the SCM and Canadian Youth Congress, an organization which advocated on behalf of youth and to which the SCM belonged, desired a politically active national assembly of students. The SCM was considered the only student group able to organize a conference on behalf of students on a national level. As a result, over the Christmas break of 1937-38 the SCM hosted in Winnipeg a national student conference at which the Canadian Student Assembly (CSA) was established. The CSA thus emerged in part out of the fold of Christian activism. Indeed, in the opening sessions of the conference students were addressed by international Christian leaders such as T.Z. Koo and Reinhold Niebuhr. Moreover, the CSA came to focus on issues similar to those of the SCM, opposing militarism, advocating for student scholarships, and acting as a watchdog on issues of civil liberties.⁸¹

The war and immediate post-war period brought a more conservative climate within the SCM. Social activism continued, but in a more limited manner and often on a local basis. In 1941-42, the SCM at the University of Toronto petitioned the provincial government to join the Dominion Youth Training Plan to help finance students' studies.⁸² The UBC SCM sent a resolution to Prime Minister King protesting the repatriation of Japanese-Canadians, a position supported by other locals and the Student Christian

⁷⁹"Majority Vote Made Against Armaments." Varsity, 8 June 1932, 1.

⁸⁰Socknat, Witness Against War, 156.

⁸¹Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 130-34.

⁸²Charles Levi, "The S.A.C. Historical Project, 1930-1950" (unpublished manuscript, 1992), 75.

Movement in Canada during World War Two.⁸³ In the immediate post-war period the president of the University of Toronto SCM attended the World Youth Festival in Prague in 1947, and two years later the Canadian SCM sent several members to a similar festival in Hungary. These festivals were intended as cultural events for youth from around the world, a substantial number of whom were from communist countries.⁸⁴ Not only did the president make his experiences with communists known at the University of Toronto fall camp that year, but students from other organizations, such as the United Jewish People's Order, were also invited to describe their experiences at the Prague Youth Festival and on the Yugoslav Youth Railway.⁸⁵ Moreover, the SCM helped maintain a degree of freedom of speech on campus. One such instance was a visit by the Right Reverend Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury, a controversial figure who, in 1948, embarked upon a cross-country tour of Canada speaking about his support for the USSR. It was the SCM, with the University College Literary and Scientific Society, and the Women's Undergraduate Association, who sponsored the "Red Dean" when other student groups failed to find space on campus where his talk would be allowed.⁸⁶

⁸³"SCM Wires Ottawa on Jap Resettlement." Ubysey, 3 Nov. 1945, 1; Beattie, A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement, 45-48.

⁸⁴UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7. File: 1947-48. Undergrad News, SCM, University of Toronto, Oct. 1947: Edl., "Pathetic Fallacy." Dalhousie Gazette, 15 Nov. 1949, 2. The festival in Prague drew 20,000 youth. The festivals were organized by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, of which the British SCM was a member, and which the British and American governments considered to be a communist front organization. Joel Kotek, Students and the Cold War, translated by Ralph Blumenau (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 112-22.

⁸⁵UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7. File: 1947-48. Undergrad News, SCM, University of Toronto, Oct. 1947. The Youth railway was constructed from Samac to Sarajevo by more than 10,000 youth from 42 countries. See Kotek, Students and the Cold War, 253, note 84.

⁸⁶UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 16. File: Communism. Associate Secretary, SCM to Rev. G. MacGregor Grant, 2 Feb. 1949. This record leaves undocumented why other groups failed to find space on campus or why the SCM was able to do so. For the WUA see Levi, "Where the Famous People Were?" 418.

Despite such incidents, it was not until the late 1950s that social activism reappeared within the SCM on a scale similar to that of the 1930s. Discussion groups and lectures focused increasingly on the examination and study of a range of radical theological ideas which had for some decades influenced intellectual circles and were now penetrating into the campus. By the late 1950s the SCM was beginning to embrace a changing Christian outlook arising out of new theological and philosophical positions. The thought of theologians and philosophers such as Karl Barth, Dieter Bonhoeffer, Martin Buber, Paul Tillich, Will Herberg, Rudolf Bultmann, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Soren Kierkegaard, along with literary figures ranging from Albert Camus to Jack Kerouac, helped radically reshape beliefs and desires.⁸⁷

Such philosophers and literary figures emphasized the need for authenticity, experience, and feeling, elements seemingly lost in an increasingly rationalized and bureaucratized world. On North American campuses, students "uncomfortable with conformist pressures" of the 1950s gathered together to listen to "Beat" poetry and folk music and to discuss existentialist philosophy.⁸⁸ SCMs were equally involved in such activities,⁸⁹ but the new literature also refocused the club on the importance of social Christianity. Although existentialism generally expressed the alienation and

⁸⁷"Rev. Discusses Atheism." Ubysey, 31 Jan. 1954, 3; "SCM," Totem, 1956; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2-45, "SCM", 1961-62 and Box 1-10, SCM Annual Newsletter, SCM Dalhousie and King's, March 1958; "SCM," Record, 1961, 1963; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1956-57, Fall Programme, File: 1959-60, SCM, University of Toronto, Newsletter, April-May 1960, Box 61, File: B13, SCM pamphlet, 1960-61 and Box 68, "Seminars," 1964; UCC/VUA, Victoria College, Union Council, Fonds 2004, 93.001v, Box 2, File: Reports 1962-68, Report of Victoria College SCM 1962-63; Victoria College Bulletin, 1967-68, 55.

⁸⁸Horowitz, Campus Life, 169; Owram, Born at the Right Time, 188-90.

⁸⁹The SCM and Hillel co-sponsored talks and even sponsored a folk concert by Pete Seeger in 1958. See UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7, File: FROS post 1959, University of Toronto SCM, Spring-Term Newsletter, March-April 1958.

disorientation of 1950s youth. its emphasis on experience and feeling helped refocus SCMerS on social action.

Particularly in the late 1950s and early 1960s social activism centered around the Combined University Committee on Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND). Established in 1959, the CUCND, influenced by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Britain and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) in the United States, challenged cold war ideology that equated the build-up of nuclear arms with nuclear deterrence. CUCND drew upon traditional strains of pacifism and religious reformism. By the early 1960s it was also beginning to include increasing numbers of young members influenced by the emerging New Left.⁹⁰ The early New Left, centered in the CUCND in Canada, was marked by an emphasis on personal responsibility, according to Cyril Levitt, as well as by "Beat" concerns for "authenticity, alienation, and individual freedom."⁹¹ In this period of the movement "each individual was deemed to be morally responsible for the existence of immoral conditions....The great emphasis was thus placed upon personal commitment in moral protest."⁹² The beliefs of the SCM, with its emphasis on moral commitment and social action, thus converged with those of CUCND.

Various chapters of the SCM supported the CUCND and had representatives on its committee. In the late 1950s the SCM at the University of Toronto passed a motion to ban nuclear weapons for three years. It sponsored, along with a number of other campus groups, a Peace and Disarmament Conference in February 1958, attended by some four

⁹⁰Owram, Born at the Right Time, 218-20. D. Roussopoulos, studying at LSE and involved in the British CUCND, decided to establish a branch in Canada. See Michael Maurice Dufresne, "'Let's Not be Cremated Equal': The Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 1959-1967" (M.A., Carleton University, 1996), 19, 22.

⁹¹Levitt, Children of Privilege, 6-8, 98. In the United States, Levitt argues, the New Left grew out of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Student Peace Union, and Students for a Democratic Society. See page 42.

⁹²Ibid., 6.

hundred students. One of the panels at the conference was on religion and disarmament. In 1963 the SCM participated in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament observance at Toronto and co-hosted with CUCND a lecture series on peace.⁹³ And on Labour Day weekend in 1964, members of CUCND and the SCM used civil disobedience to protest the existence of the Bomarc base at LaMacaza, Quebec.⁹⁴

The SCM did not gain an equal foothold in all universities and in fact, administrators at some universities, such as McMaster, prohibited the organization. During the 1920s modernist-fundamentalist controversies divided the Baptist denomination, as T.T. Shields, the fundamentalist preacher of Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto, led an attack against modernism within the denomination, particularly within its educational institutions, Brandon College and McMaster University.⁹⁵ To avoid conflict between conservatives and liberals within the university and among its supporters, the McMaster administration refused to allow the SCM on campus after its

⁹³UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, UBC SCM Executive Minutes, 1955-60, Meeting, 16 Oct. 1960; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 61, File CUCND, Edward Johnston, Corresponding Secretary, Toronto CUCND, to President, University of Toronto SCM, 6 March 1961; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 71, File: SCM 1957-58, SCM, University of Toronto, Newsletter, 1957-58; UCA/VUA, SCM, Box 84-65, Program of the Student Conference on Problems of Disarmament and Peace, University of Toronto, Feb. 1958; UTA, B79-0059, Box 7, File: FROS post-1959, SCM, University of Toronto, Newsletter, March-April 1958, Box 15, File: Executive Cabinet Meeting 1963-64, Minutes SCM Cabinet Meeting, 17 Sept. 1963, and Box 68, SCM, University of Toronto, Newsletter, 1 Oct. 1963.

⁹⁴Kostash, Long Way From Home, 4.

⁹⁵Brian Clarke, "English-Speaking Canada From 1854," in A Concise History of Christianity in Canada, ed. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perrin (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 344. Shields had become involved with conservatives' attacks on McMaster as early as 1910 when professor I.G. Matthews was accused of being a higher critic. Conflict re-emerged in the mid-1920s with Shields' attack on the appointment of L.H. Marshall to the department of theology. The virulence of the attacks racked the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, ultimately resulting in a split within the denomination with a minority of Baptists following Shields in 1927 to form the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. For details on the Matthews and Marshall affairs see chapters five and nine in Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two.

formation in 1920. During the 1920s McMaster maintained the YMCA and YWCA. Some students wished to join the SCM in the 1920s but fear of further division among Baptists led students to agree with administrators in the 1930s that it was "better to attempt to unite the more conservative and the more liberal elements, which exist among the students, in an organization with no outside affiliations."⁹⁶ Since the Ys had abandoned student work in the 1920s, with their move to Hamilton, McMaster students renamed their religious clubs the McMaster Women's Christian Association and the McMaster Men's Christian Union. In 1938 students created the McMaster Christian Union (MCU), uniting all religious bodies on campus into one organization.⁹⁷

With diverging loyalties within the student population the MCU tried to bridge the gap between more liberal and evangelical students. In replacing the Ys, the MCU tempered its allegiance to traditional evangelical principles. The constitution of the McMaster YW, for example, had emphasized the importance of individual salvation, stating its purpose as "to lead young women into personal loyalty to Christ as Saviour."⁹⁸ The MCU was somewhat broader and in line with the "seeking" spirit of the SCM. Its purpose was "to foster the spiritual life of undergraduates through providing for fellowship among all who profess faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Master."⁹⁹ In 1946 the requirement that members be committed Christians was dropped after President Gilmour expressed the desire that the constitution of the MCU be more inclusive.

⁹⁶CBA, McMaster University, Departmental Reports, File: 1930-31, Annual Report of Fyfe, and YMCA 1930-31.

⁹⁷The MMCU was established in 1930 and the MWCA in 1933. See CBA, McMaster University, YMCA Executive and General Meeting Minute Book 1908-36, MMCU Meeting 13 Oct. 1931, and YWCA Minute Book 1919-34, Minutes, 3 March 1933.

⁹⁸"Women's Department," McMaster University Monthly 27, 5 (Feb. 1928): 215.

⁹⁹McMUA, Students, Box: Constitutions of McMaster Student Organizations and Clubs, File: Constitution of McMaster Christian Union, n.d.

accepting those who "for sincere reasons" had not yet made a "formal profession of faith."¹⁰⁰

The attempt to unite conservative and more liberal religious elements on campus may also be seen in the MCU's program. At times it made efforts to reach out to conservatives and evangelicals:¹⁰¹ yet it also addressed issues important to religious liberals. In 1935-36, for example, its members expressed the desire to pay more attention to modern problems and community service and accordingly developed discussion topics such as "Work Among Polish People in Hamilton."¹⁰² If the MCU invited conservative speakers to their meetings, they also hosted liberal ones such as Gerry Hutchinson of the Student Christian Movement of Canada.¹⁰³ As well, the MCU maintained contact with theologically liberal students on other campuses, in particular by sending delegates to SCM conferences. In 1936 one McMaster student stated of an SCM conference in Toronto, "It was a most inspiring week-end, and I feel gave those of us who attended a wider outlook and a sense of being part of a great body of Christian students, scattered throughout the world, but with very much the same problems to face and the same ideals

¹⁰⁰CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: UCM 1955, 1960, G.P. Gilmour to Kenneth Gillespie, 11 March 1946.

¹⁰¹For example, the MCU invited leaders of the Varsity Christian Fellowship to speak to them. In 1931 the Reverend Noel Palmer, General-Secretary of the Varsity Christian Fellowship, led a discussion in the female residence. In 1948 Cathy Nicholl, a pioneer staff member of the IVCF, addressed an MCU social. Several years later Joe Curry, director of the IVCF for Western Ontario, spoke at an MCU meeting. See "Report to be Given of SCM Conference" and "Rev. Noel Palmer leads Discussion," Silhouette, 19 Feb. 1931, 1; CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 18, Annual Reports, File: 1947-48, Report of MCU, 8 May 1948; "Mr. Curry to Speak," Silhouette, 13 Oct. 1950, 1.

¹⁰²CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 15, Annual Reports, File: Reports to Chancellor 1935-36, Report of MWCU, 1935-36.

¹⁰³CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 18, Annual Reports, File: 1947-48, Report of MCU, 8 May 1948.

to strive for."¹⁰⁴ Students in the MCU also opened themselves to the influences of the national and international activities of large mainline Protestant organizations. They participated in mainline Protestant student activities such as the annual Day of Prayer of the World Student Christian Federation and raised money for the European Students' Relief Fund and the International Student Service.¹⁰⁵ In particular, McMaster students remained connected to the broader community of Christians by participating in SVM conferences.¹⁰⁶

Participation in SVM conferences, generally held in the United States every four years, helped reshape Canadian students' religious beliefs. This may be seen in particular in changing ideas about foreign missions. In the first three decades of the twentieth century the spiritual and cultural imperialism of foreign missions came under attack as mainline church leaders increasingly favoured non-western leadership in indigenous churches to the more traditional evangelical missions.¹⁰⁷ The issues raised at SVM conventions had an important influence on McMaster students. Between the 1928 Detroit and 1936 Indianapolis conventions, support for missions in the McMaster University Monthly changed. Whereas in 1928 McMaster students had returned from the convention

¹⁰⁴CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 15, Annual Reports, File: Reports to Chancellor 1935-36, Report of MWCU, 1935-36.

¹⁰⁵"SMS." Record, Dec. 1922, 58.

¹⁰⁶Local branches of the SVM, called Student Volunteer Bands, continued to exist on Canadian campuses during the interwar years. These clubs were oriented towards students interested in becoming missionaries. Although records do not reveal the relationship between local SVB and SCM clubs, student leaders with the SCM and MCU did attend and report on SVM conferences held in the United States every four years. UTA, University of Toronto SCM, B79-0059, Box 9, File: SVB of University College, Minutes 1913-1924, Minutes 20 Oct. 1919: "India's Hope lies in Christianity," Varsity, 10 Dec. 1923, 1; "Around the Hall," McMaster University Monthly 27, 2 (Nov. 1927): 26; "SVB," Dalhousie Gazette, 8 Dec. 1920, 3.

¹⁰⁷Wright, A World Mission, 142-43; William R. Hutchison, Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 179-80.

realizing the great need for foreign missions though with attention to the concerns of indigenous Christian leaders.¹⁰⁸ by 1936 reports indicated that "the modern religious approach has changed" and students were more doubtful about the value of foreign missions.¹⁰⁹

Students at McMaster, then, were open to the new theological and social currents of the twentieth century. While the MCU did not stray far from the more traditional activities of the Ys, its evangelicalism became tempered. The students at McMaster who in the 1920s had attempted, but failed, to establish an SCM club on campus, worked hard to ensure that the MCU would maintain its ties to national and international mainline Protestant organizations. While maintaining links to its evangelical tradition, students within the MCU also embraced the issues and institutions important to mainline Protestants on other campuses.

In summary, building on older Y connections with university administrators, as well as with international organizations such as the SVM and WSCF, in the 1920s the SCM developed an infrastructure for mainline Protestants on campus. The MCU was connected to the SCM through common speakers and events but more importantly through SCM and SVM conventions. Student leadership was reinforced or bolstered by administration and faculty support and, for the SCM, through the help of religious workers. All of this provided a cross-Canada network of academics and students with common Christian interests and concerns.

Although the more individualistic aims of the evangelical Ys were transformed by the SCM into a social ethic, the SCM continued the Ys' emphasis on civic responsibility.

¹⁰⁸E.P.M., "The Detroit Convention," McMaster University Monthly 27, 5 (Feb. 1928): 203.

¹⁰⁹"Indianapolis Convention," Silhouette, 30 Jan. 1936, 1.

The SCM and MCU were not simply new clubs, they came to stand for new ideas: a more liberal theology and a strong concern for social and political issues. These concerns were given force by SCMer's vision of their role in the creation of national awareness. As one SCM document stated, "The existence of the Movement implies the recognition by the students of this Dominion of their corporate responsibility to the nation."¹¹⁰ Examining American universities, George Marsden contends, on the other hand, that the Ys did not maintain their hold on students after the Great War.¹¹¹ The 1920s, he argues, witnessed a sharp decline in membership as well as in "the prewar generation's enthusiasm for sacrificial public service."¹¹² Within Canada, however, many students within religiously liberal clubs continued to identify their aims with those of the university and the nation more generally. Supported by administrators, the SCM, and at McMaster the MCU, provided, well into the 1950s, a leading religious voice in residence and campus life which helped to broadly shape progressive student views.

Compared to the MCU, however, there can be no doubt that the SCM clubs were substantially more liberal-minded and provided a more open milieu to question or critique existing society. As one member remembered the University of British Columbia SCM in the 1920s, it was an exciting and stimulating group that "soon became known as a radical movement challenging all the rigidities of more conservative organizations."¹¹³ Historians of higher education in North America have remarked on students' lack of political activity during the interwar years and have noted that what activity there was

¹¹⁰"Student Christian Movement of Canada." *Occidentalia* (1927), 45, quoted in King, "The Experience of the Second Generation of Women Students at Ontario Universities, 1900-1930," 285.

¹¹¹Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 343-45.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 345.

¹¹³Mildred Farhni '24, "SCM - Campus Beginnings," in *The Way We Were*.

usually arose out of student Christian movements.¹¹⁴ This is certainly the case in Canada. At the University of Toronto, for example, SCM groups often provided one of the few outlets for political activism on campus, and often took a stance well in advance of that of the general student population. Charles Levi notes that in the 1930s, the Students' Administrative Council (SAC) at the University of Toronto refused to support many of the SCM's activities such as its protests against the militarism of Remembrance Day services or its petitions demanding that the provincial government join the Dominion Youth Training program.¹¹⁵ Although in the 1960s student councils often became centers of radicalism, this was not the case in the 1930s. At the University of Toronto, Levi argues, SAC acted as a benevolent society, providing student loans and employment and housing assistance.¹¹⁶ The SCM, then, provided one of the few outlets in the interwar years for students' social concern. This role was maintained well past mid-century. Indeed, Doug Owram has noted for the 1960s that "the first stop on the road to campus activism was often in organizations like the SCM."¹¹⁷

The SCM's liberal theology and its political activism were not unchallenged, but caused periodic outcries by some Christians of communist infiltration into the SCM and allegations that the club was "Poisoning the Student Mind" -- an issue which will be addressed in a later chapter.¹¹⁸ Such fears were in part rooted in the SCMs' high profile

¹¹⁴Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful, 334; Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 135.

¹¹⁵Levi, "The S.A.C. Historical Project," 20-21, 24, 75.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 20-21. Similarly, NFCUS, founded in December 1926 acted primarily as a service organization, running, for example, inter-collegiate debates. See Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 129.

¹¹⁷Owram, Born at the Right Time, 219.

¹¹⁸Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?" 150. This song originated during the campaign to launch the SCM. It was written as a satire of YMCA leaders' concerns regarding the liberal beliefs advocated by the leaders of the future SCM. See Ross, YMCA in Canada, 227-28.

because of its influential supporters and its members' energy in broadcasting their concerns. Despite their detractors' views, SCMerS perceived their activities as Christian service, fulfilling their duties to both God and their nation. Thus the SCM, like the Y before it, provided a liberal space on campus for Christians to voice, and act upon, their concerns regarding Canadian public life.

Chapter 4

University Christian Missions During the War and Post-War Years

In March 1939 the University of Toronto SCM initiated a Religion and Life week, a series of sermons, lectures, and small-group discussions, the purpose of which was to present students with the challenge of Christ to their lives. The club invited Dr. Howard Thurman, professor of philosophy at the African American Howard University in Washington, D.C., to head the mission. In preparation for the week the SCM asked a number of university leaders to participate in a speakers series at Hart House. Among these was the former president of the University of Toronto, Sir Robert Falconer, who spoke on "I believe in Christ," and Dr. J.R.P. Sclater of Emmanuel College, who addressed students on the topic of "Christianity and Inner Power." The group also organized events such as morning prayer at University College, student chapel services at Victoria College, and a student-faculty supper at Hart House for male medical students. As a prelude to the mission, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honorable Albert Matthews, who was also the honorary chair of the Toronto SCM, held a reception in honour of the Thurmans.¹

The main objective of the mission was to lead students to "a vital faith in God as revealed in Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Lord of Life, and to a thorough personal commitment to his cause in the world."² The week began with 750 people, mainly students, attending a Sunday service in Convocation Hall. During the week Thurman addressed students at Victoria, Trinity and University Colleges, as well as at Hart House.

¹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 23, File: Religion and Life Week, 1939, Report of the Religion and Life Week Committee.

²UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 51, File: SCM in the University of Toronto, News Bulletin 3, 2 (March 1939).

At the end of the week he led a follow-up discussion with about fifty students.³

During the week Mrs. Thurman spoke to female students, holding a tea for women from the executive of Panhellenic, the body representing all Toronto sororities, the University College Women's Undergraduate Association, and the residents of Gamma Phi Beta. She also gave lunch and dinner addresses at the main female residences on campus and to female medical students. Mrs. Thurman's addresses focused on the plight of women in India as well as of Blacks in America. The Thurmans found that students were particularly interested in the relation of religion to social issues. In regard to his follow-up discussions, Howard Thurman reported that with the looming threat of war, many students were eager to discuss the issue of pacifism.⁴ Students also raised questions about racial prejudice, Anglo-Saxon imperialism, and the need for racial and cultural tolerance.⁵

The success of the Religion and Life week encouraged religious leaders to initiate a series of these weeks and then a succession of large-scale University Christian Missions at a number of universities. Indeed, between 1940 and 1966, 46 such missions were held in addition to Religion and Life weeks. At the universities under consideration, the most successful of these missions occurred during the war and immediate post-war period, losing ground in the early to mid-1950s. Yet the missions continued on at other universities well into the 1960s.⁶

The University Christian Missions were not missions to the university but rather

³UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 23, File: Religion and Life Week, 1939, "The Work of the Committee."

⁴Ibid.

⁵UTA, SCM, B79-0059, File: Religion and Life Week, 1939, "Report on Mrs. Thurman's Activities."

⁶See Appendix B.

evolved from within the university to renew and strengthen individual faith and to maintain the corporate Christian spirit of the university. They represented neither the voice of outsiders nor that of an internal minority. Rather, they represented the official voice of the university. As a result the missions illustrate the way in which university and religious leaders conceived the university as essentially a Christian community and Christianity as an integral part of both the intellectual and moral mission of the institution.

Yet the University Christian Missions also provide insight into the growing uncertainties among university and religious leaders about the present and the future. Administrators and clerics became increasingly uneasy through the war and post-war years about the survival of the establishmentarian consensus, and about the place of liberal Protestantism as an abiding, animating presence in the moral and intellectual life of the university. This chapter, then, contributes to the two major themes of this dissertation: it illustrates the continuing strength of the liberal Protestant hegemony into the post-war years; and it signals the changes taking place in the temper of the times, the tensions between established assumptions and the emergent currents that threatened to undermine them.

The first Religion and Life week at the University of Toronto in 1939 developed as a result of at least three factors. First, it grew out of the strong organizational structure of the SCM on campus. Second, it drew upon a continuing tradition of evangelism within the university. Student religious leaders at the University of Toronto enthusiastically participated in the 1920s and 1930s in the conferences of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. During the 1930s and 1940s student leaders at Victoria College attended yearly student-faculty retreats at which professors and students joined

together to discuss the place of religion in college life.⁷ And in the mid-1930s a number of students at the University of Toronto and McMaster University had also experienced the direct evangelization of the conservative Oxford Group movement.⁸ Finally, at least some of the impetus for the Religion and Life week arose out of the broader emphasis on evangelization within the United Church. During the 1930s religious leaders within the denomination attempted, in a number of ways, to re-ignite a spirit of evangelization. In 1931 the United Church created a Joint Committee on the Evangelization of Canadian Life. In 1934, many clergymen supported the evangelising efforts of the Oxford Group. And in the mid-1930s the moderator of the United Church, Richard Roberts, helped plan a cross-country tour by British Methodist evangelists.⁹ Thus, while many students in the 1930s advocated a social Christianity both on campus and in the SCM's broader base, the United Church, the 1930s also witnessed an emphasis on personal evangelism.

The success of the 1939 Religion and Life week at Toronto inspired students, administrators, and religious leaders at Toronto and elsewhere to sponsor similar

⁷UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 48, File 14, Student and Faculty Retreat, 23 Sept. 1934, and Box 41, File 15, Walter T. Brown to Mr. Miller, 16 Sept. 1944.

⁸Led by Frank Buchman, an American Lutheran, the Oxford Group toured Britain and the United States before arriving in Canada in the early 1930s. The purpose of the Group was evangelistic and its method was to use personal testimony to encourage others to public confession, conversion, and in turn to present their own testimony. At McMaster University, the Dean of Women, Dr. Marjorie Carpenter, noted that after a visit by the Oxford Group in 1932-33 there was a marked increase in students' interest in their religious life and several conversions. The visit also led the Toronto Student Christian Association to hold a one-week lenten mission in 1933. See CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14B, Annual Reports, File: Report to Chancellor, 1932-33, Dean of Women's Report, M. Carpenter 1932-33; Report of the Warden of Hart House in University of Toronto President's Report 1932-33, 96. For the movement itself see N.K. Clifford, "Religion in the Thirties: Some Aspects of the Canadian Experience," in The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada, ed. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1980), 132-34.

⁹Christie and Gauvreau, Full-Orbed Christianity, chapter 7. The thrust of their chapter is that personal evangelism supplanted social evangelism in the United Church during the 1930s. This is not what I have found within the universities, where the SCM continued to focus on social activism in combination with evangelism.

missions throughout the war. Such initiatives gained impetus in the post-war period from a religious revival within North American society. John Webster Grant has argued that after ten years of depression and five years of war Canadians welcomed peace and normalcy. The return of veterans combined with a period of prosperity resulted in a desire to return to the traditional values of family life and church attendance.¹⁰ During the next fifteen years both church membership and financial support grew considerably in such mainline Protestant denominations as the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church.¹¹ Each of these denominations built new churches and halls and witnessed an increased desire among their members for religious periodicals and books.¹² Church growth was accompanied by renewed emphasis on evangelism, and in the post-war period the United Church launched a series of missions such as the "Crusade for Christ," the National Evangelistic Mission, and the Mission to the Nation.¹³

University Christian missions had been held in many educational centers in the United States and Britain in the 1930s.¹⁴ In April 1940, after receiving advice from leaders within the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on its missions to the university, Canadian church and SCM leaders formed the University Christian

¹⁰Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 162-63. This was a North American phenomenon. In the United States church affiliation grew dramatically, from 49 per cent of the population in 1940 to 69 per cent by the end of the 1950s. See Deane William Ferm, "Religious Thought Since World War II," in Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements, Volume II, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 1159.

¹¹Clarke, "English-Speaking Canada From 1854," 355.

¹²Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 160-61.

¹³Ibid., 169.

¹⁴Philip Potter and Thomas Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth: The First Hundred Years of the World Student Christian Federation (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997), 114; Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

Movement for Canada.¹⁵ In the early forties the SCM national and local secretaries provided the staff necessary to organize such missions while the United Church's Joint Committee on Evangelization of Canadian life provided the necessary financial backing.¹⁶ In 1949 the Department of Evangelism of the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC), an organization created in 1944, took over executive responsibility for the missions from the SCM.¹⁷ However, as an agency of the churches in the universities the SCM continued to place its staff at the disposal of the University Christian Mission.¹⁸

The aims of post-war attempts at Christian renewal by the SCM and the UCMs were similar to the revivalistic endeavours of the United Church: to set forth the truths of the Christian faith and provide opportunities for personal commitment. Yet the UCMs also had a more specific purpose, to relate the truths of the Christian faith to the present-day concerns of students.¹⁹ Indeed, the UCMs would come to focus on attempting to illustrate the relevance of religion in a changed world. As President Klinck of UBC wrote in the foreword to the 1944 Religion and Life Week pamphlet,

As a result of the addresses and discussions it is hoped that new outlooks and new insights concerning religion will be gained, that some of the

¹⁵Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

¹⁶Ibid. During the 1940s some of these official missions continued to be called Religion and Life Weeks and were held under the auspices of the SCM and the CCC. This was the case, for example, with the 1944 and 1949 missions at UBC.

¹⁷Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1949, Department of Evangelism, "University Christian Mission."

¹⁸Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1946, Department of Evangelism, "University Christian Missions." In order to carry out the mission, the national committee, after consulting with the local organizers, secured a mission team and provided for its travelling expenses. The local committee took responsibility for advertising expenses, the entertainment of the team, and the arrangement of the program. See Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

¹⁹Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

intellectual difficulties of individual students will be resolved, that interest in religion will be quickened, that greater spiritual poise will be attained, and that religious life on campus, whether organized or purely personal, will find renewed expression through many avenues of well-considered thought and action.²⁰

Such aims were important because, as the chairman of the UCM, Charles G. Stone, reported to the CCC in 1944, "the religious atmosphere of the universities can be a major factor in shaping the lives of the young men and women who pass through their halls."²¹ This became particularly imperative in the immediate post-war period when veterans returned home. By 1946 the university population had significantly increased as veterans took advantage of the educational opportunities under the Post-Discharge Rehabilitation Order.²² Mission organizers perceived an opportunity both to influence the future leaders of the country and help ease the transition to normalcy. Indeed, Christianity, many believed, could provide a stabilizing influence after the social disruption of the war years.²³

The University Christian Missions can best be understood by looking at two in detail: a 1944 mission at UBC and a 1952 mission at the University of Toronto. The records for these particular missions are fairly rich and illustrate the way in which

²⁰UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2, File 31, UBC, "University Discussion on Religion and Life, Jan. 15-19, 1944."

²¹Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

²²The Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order provided veterans with free tuition and a living allowance to attend university for an equivalent period of their length of service. And veterans flocked to the universities. See Peter Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," in The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada, ed. Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 110-48.

²³Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, "University Christian Mission"; Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1945, Department of Evangelism, Report of University Christian Mission Committee.

missions received not only a hearing at provincial universities at mid-century but also the support of students and faculty. They also provide an important example of the changing scope of the missions. The 1944 mission to UBC was a fairly small endeavour, though even then it attracted 14 to 21 per cent of the student population.²⁴ As religious leaders, faculty, and students continued to support missions in the post-war period, the missions grew substantially in size.

A general committee of student club presidents, faculty, and local ministers organized the mission to UBC in 1944. This committee, with help from the Canadian Council of Churches, brought in four religious leaders.²⁵ The mission included Dr. William P. Remington, the Anglican Bishop of Eastern Oregon, Miss Gertrude L. Rutherford, principal of the United Church Training School, Dr. Leslie G. Kilborn, dean of the faculty of medicine, West China Union University, and President George P. Gilmour of McMaster University. After finishing at UBC, the team continued on to the Universities of Alberta and Manitoba.²⁶ The missionaries offered both an international and national perspective and could address concerns of students in both arts and science. Kilborn and Rutherford could turn students' attention outward, towards foreign missions, while Gilmour could emphasize the need for evangelization at home and especially on the university campus. The missionaries, then, were selected to reach students on a number of fronts.

Many UBC administrators and faculty supported and helped organize the mission. The Religion and Life week committee consisted of, among others, the dean of women, Dorothy Mawdsley, the head of the department of mechanical and electrical engineering,

²⁴CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, File: G.P. Gilmour, Writings, "Religion and Life Among Western Students," n.d.

²⁵J.A. Irving, "Religion and Life," Graduate Chronicle, March 1944, 26-27.

²⁶CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, File: G.P. Gilmour, Writings, "Religion and Life Among Western Students," n.d.

Dr. H.J. MacLeod, and the head of the department of geology and geography, Dr. M.Y. Williams. Faculty also actively participated in the missions. President Klinck not only wrote the foreword to the program but also opened his house for an SCM fireside meeting. Professor J.A. Irving, head of philosophy and psychology, chaired a round-table discussion on comparative religion.²⁷ And after an address by Dr. Kilborn, Dr. A.H. Hutchinson, head of the department of biology and botany, gave a brief address on the relationship between science and religion.²⁸ University administrators not only personally supported the mission but gave official sanction to it, cancelling all lectures for an hour on the first day of the mission so students could attend the opening mission talk in the auditorium.²⁹

Organized student groups also officially supported the mission. The mission was held under the auspices of the Alma Mater Society, which, at the conclusion of the mission, sponsored the editing and mimeographing of the Proceedings.³⁰ A variety of campus clubs participated. Club presidents sat on the Religion and Life week committee. The Alma Mater Society president chaired the first talk on "Religion and Life," at which all four missionaries had a chance to address students. Campus fraternities and sororities, the executive of the Literary and Scientific Society, as well as the International Relations, Social Problems, and Parliamentary Forum Clubs, all sponsored round tables.³¹

Addresses and round tables during the mission covered a variety of topics. One aim of the mission was simply to relate to students the basis of the Christian faith. As a

²⁷UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2, File 31, UBC. "University Discussion on Religion and Life." Jan. 15-19, 1944.

²⁸J.A. Irving, "Religion and Life." UBC Graduate Chronicle, March 1944, 26-27.

²⁹"Program Will Continue Until Wednesday," Ubyssy, 14 Jan. 1944, 1.

³⁰J.A. Irving, "Religion and Life." UBC Graduate Chronicle, March 1944, 26-27.

³¹UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2, File 31, UBC. "University Discussion on Religion and Life." Jan. 15-19, 1944.

result. students listened to such topics as "Why Christianity." and the "Fundamental Elements of Christianity."³² The mission was also intended to force students to ask searching questions of Christianity. Klinck wrote in the pamphlet for the mission.

Transition periods, especially transition periods in thought, are always difficult. Through one of these periods the world is now passing. Everywhere the spirit of enquiry, historical, philosophical and scientific, is abroad. Nothing is being taken for granted.³³

Such intellectual enquiry, he suggested, was a stimulus rather than a deterrent to "mental fight." Klinck's words were thus a call for students to grapple with intellectual and religious challenges. In topics such as "Science and Religion," "The Place of Liberal Arts Colleges in the Post-War World," "Religion and Social Reform in Canada," and "Religion and Internationalism" missionaries urged students to explore deeply their personal faith, to examine the relationship between religion and their academic subjects, and to investigate the relationship between religion and the world more generally.³⁴ Emphasizing the interconnection between religion, learning, and leadership, Klinck stated in the mission pamphlet that "increasingly it is felt that there is nothing inconsistent in being liberal in spirit, scientific in temper, fearless and independent in thinking and, at the same time, reverent and constructive in the search for truth."³⁵

The mission held eight years later at the University of Toronto was similar in format to that at UBC, but had a much larger number of missionaries. The 1952 mission consisted of a main series, noon-hour forums, and individual and small-group interviews by Canon T.R. Milford, chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral in England. There were also twenty associate missionaries who preached at local churches and led discussions on

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

campus. The composition of this group consisted roughly of equal numbers of male and female missionaries. It also included cleric as well as lay missionaries of both liberal and evangelical faiths who represented the disciplines of the humanities, social sciences, and applied and pure science. Most came from various parts of Canada but there were also several Americans. For example, missionaries included Dr. L.H. Cragg, professor of chemistry at McMaster University, the Reverend H.L. Puxley, general-secretary of the SCMC, Catherine Nicoll, staff secretary of the IVCF, Ursula Niebuhr, a professor at Barnard College and the wife of Reinhold Niebuhr, and Professor George B. Caird of McGill University. Many stayed in residences on campus such as Burwash Hall at Victoria College, Whitney Hall at University College, and St. Hilda's at Trinity College.³⁶

As during the 1944 mission at UBC, faculty at the University of Toronto could also be found participating in the mission held on their campus. Sixty faculty members (or approximately 5 per cent of faculty) met with Canon Milford prior to the mission to discuss the role of Christianity in the university.³⁷ Principal F.C.A. Jeanneret of University College chaired Milford's first main address.³⁸ Lunch-time addresses by associate missionaries to the various faculties were not only geared towards the disciplinary make-up of the attendees but chaired by a faculty member from the subject area. For example, Dr. G.E. Haist, of the medical faculty, chaired an address by Professor George B. Caird of McGill on "Is Christianity Unique?" Professor G.F. Tracy, head of the department of electrical engineering, chaired a similarly titled talk by Dr. Karlis

³⁶UCC/VUA. SCM Records, Box 84-1. File: University Christian Council, University Christian Mission, Programme 1952.

³⁷Ibid. The percentage figure is derived from the University of Toronto President's Report 1951-52, and includes instructors and sessionals as well as tenured faculty.

³⁸UCC/VUA. SCM Records, Box 84-1. File: UC Council, UCM Programme, Jan. 1952.

Leyasmeyer to the faculty of engineering and applied science.³⁹

Students participated in the mission in large numbers, with approximately 400 to 800, or 3 to 7 per cent of the student population, attending the main series. Noon-hour discussions had anywhere from 40 to 250 students. In some residences and fraternities fifty per cent of the students turned out for bull sessions led by prominent students.⁴⁰ For example, Douglas Sherk, president of the Engineering Society, John Devereux, president of the Victoria College Union, and Margaret Fleming, president of the University College Women's Undergraduate Association, all acted as chairs for Canon Milford's main addresses.⁴¹ In addition, during the week of the mission the Philosophical Society had an open meeting at which Canon Milford spoke on "Are Theological Statements Verifiable?"⁴²

The topics at the 1952 mission focused much more extensively on the basis of Christian faith than had those at UBC. This shift towards a more theological orientation may have arisen out of reports to the Canadian Council of Churches regarding the wartime missions. In 1942, for example, missionaries at Queen's and the University of Western Ontario had noted "the illiteracy of most students in Biblical knowledge," and had presented the problem of a need to find a common language "through which to convey Christian truth."⁴³ President Gilmour had come to a similar conclusion after his

³⁹UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, Addresses by the Associate Missioners.

⁴⁰UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, Report of the University Christian Mission 1952.

⁴¹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 41, File: UCM, Toronto 1952.

⁴²UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, UCM Programme Jan. 1952.

⁴³UBCA, President's Office, General Correspondence, Roll 68, "Report of University Christian Missions."

tour of Western universities in 1944.⁴⁴ Thus Milford's topics in 1952 included subjects such as "Would God Create A World Like This." "How God Deals With Evil." and "The Weakness and Glory of the Church." Addresses by missionaries were generally on similar topics, such as for example, "Is Christianity Unique?" or "Christian Faith - Escape or Reality." A couple of topics on social issues did, however, appear in the program: one on "A Christian Understanding of Sex" and the other on "Church and Peace."⁴⁵

The 1944 mission to UBC and the 1952 mission to the University of Toronto illustrate the basic aims, structure, and format that all the other missions followed.⁴⁶ University Christian Missions attempted to have national and international missionaries. The 1949 Mission at UBC was led by the Reverend James Robinson, one of the founders of Sydenham Interracial Hospital and the Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York, as well as a director of the Board of, among other organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP).⁴⁷ The 1954 Mission at Toronto was led by the Reverend D.T. Niles, of Ceylon, chairperson of the World Student Christian Federation (1953-1960) and secretary of the World Council of Churches Preparatory Commission on Evangelism. The one at Dalhousie in the same year was led by Dr. J.S.

⁴⁴Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, "University Christian Mission."

⁴⁵UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, UCM Programme, Jan. 1952.

⁴⁶The missions at UBC and Dalhousie tended to be organized on a much smaller scale than those at the University of Toronto. The mission at Dalhousie in 1954 only had 5 assistant missionaries; the 1944 Religion and Life week at UBC and 1949 mission at UBC each had 4. Moreover, in the outlying areas of Canada, missionaries tended to be more local. The 5 missionaries at Dalhousie in 1954 either lived in Halifax or were graduates of Dalhousie. In 1949 at UBC, of the 4 missionaries, two were local to Vancouver. Of the two international participants, one lived close by, in Washington State. See UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, "Religion and Life Week", 1949: CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: UCM 1955, 1960, "UCM Oct. 26-28, 1954, Dalhousie University."

⁴⁷UBCA, MacKenzie Papers, Box 103, File 10, Radio Broadcast by Dr. MacKenzie for SCM, Jan. 17, 1949.

Bonnell, minister of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, NYC. And Bishop Stephen Neill, Assistant Archbishop of Canterbury and later Assistant General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, led not only the 1949 mission at the University of Toronto but a mission at the University of Alberta in that same year and one at McMaster University in 1963.

The prominence of international leaders was an attempt to draw students by offering them an opportunity to hear renowned religious figures to whom they would not otherwise have been exposed. It also formed part of a growing spirit of internationalism which had taken root within the leadership of the mainline churches during the interwar years. Robert Wright contends that this Christian internationalism emerged especially as church leaders undertook to reform foreign missions. In the 1920s and 1930s they came to believe, he notes, "that Christ alone embodied the ideals of brotherhood, peace, and justice, and that the implementation of these ideals in the world, including the conditioning of men's hearts to abide by them, was impossible without God's special guidance."⁴⁸ During this period foreign missions were recast from the attempt to spread a westernized Christianity to the creation of an indigenous leadership. This increasingly international outlook found expression in the post-war years in such organizations as the World Council of Churches.⁴⁹

The use of international leaders was probably one reason for the high attendance at the main lectures. But the impact of the missions did not end there. Influential and high-ranking professors and administrators were either on the UCMs' organizing committees or participated in the missions. The UCM committee for the 1954 mission to the University of Toronto, for example, included among others the provost of Trinity College, Dr. R.S.K. Seeley, who had led a mission to UBC the previous year, the

⁴⁸Wright, A World Mission, 4.

⁴⁹Ibid., 251, 255.

Reverend Principal R. Armitage of Wycliffe College. Principal F.C.A. Jeanneret of University College. Moffat St. Andrew Woodside. dean of the faculty of arts, Dr. C.T. Bissell. dean of residence at University College. and President Sidney Smith.⁵⁰ On the first Sunday of the mission President Smith. Professor John Coleman of the mathematics department. and the Honorable Mr. Justice J.K. Mackay assisted the Reverend Niles with the opening church service. At McMaster in 1960 the chief missionary. Dr. George Forell. professor of systematic theology at Chicago Lutheran Theological Seminary. led the university chapel and was introduced on different days by President Gilmour of McMaster University. the dean of men. Paul R. Clifford. and Dr. William Kilbourn of the history department.⁵¹

While administrators at denominational colleges supported missions on campus whole-heartedly. such encouragement was often tempered at non-denominational institutions. At UBC President MacKenzie gave a radio broadcast preceding the 1949 mission to announce and encourage attendance at the mission. In the broadcast he thanked the SCM for organizing the mission. stating that "because of the sectarian character of our religious life and secular values of the University. it is not easy for the University officially to put religion in the place which its historic and contemporary importance warrants."⁵² Yet the support of individual faculty members was also implicitly an "official" endorsement. At the 1953 mission at UBC the university senate

⁵⁰UTA. SCM Records. B79-0059. Box 13. File: 1953-54. "General Committee." For Seeley see "Religious Program Next Week." Ubysey, 22 Jan. 1953. 1.

⁵¹CBA. McMaster University. Transfer Case 14. File: UCM 1960. Working Draft of Program. Reports of Missions at other universities. such as the University of Manitoba or Saskatchewan. indicate that Presidents and staff of other institutions were equally involved in the missions. Board of Evangelism and Social Service. United Church of Canada. The Eternal...The Contemporary. Annual Report. 1940 (Toronto: United Church Publishing House. 1940).

⁵²UBCA. MacKenzie Papers. Box 103. File 10. Radio Broadcast by Dr. MacKenzie for SCM. Jan. 17. 1949.

gave the mission committee two hundred dollars to cover such expenses as publicity, hospitality, and the travel costs of missionaries.⁵³ Similarly, at Dalhousie in 1954, President Kerr was not only involved in organizing the mission but had class and campus activities cancelled at noon during the week to give the mission a more prominent place on campus.⁵⁴

Student participation in and reaction to the missions is difficult to gauge as few attendance records remain for the missions. However, the 1944 and 1952 missions illustrate that student leaders usually took visible and leading roles. This was true of other missions. At UBC in 1949 the Alma Mater president officially welcomed the Reverend James Robinson at a banquet for student government and club officials.⁵⁵ The exceptionally high participation rates by UBC students at the 1944 mission of 14 to 21 per cent of the student population was not replicated in the post-war missions. Attendance figures, however, did remain consistent through the 1940s and early 1950s with between five and seven per cent of the student body attending the main talks. At the 1953 mission at UBC, the final main address had an attendance of 200 to 300 or four to six per cent of the student body.⁵⁶ In 1954 at Toronto the average attendance at the main series was 800, or 7 per cent of the student body, while attendance at smaller addresses ranged from 12 to 500, or up to 5 per cent of the student population.⁵⁷ The missions were not simply attracting students involved in religious clubs. The University College

⁵³UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2, File 31, "UCM," UBC, Jan. 26-30, 1953.

⁵⁴DUA, MS-1-3, A986, President's Office, University Christian Conferences, 1947-54, Kerr to Dr. J. Sidney Bonnell, 10 Dec. 1953.

⁵⁵UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, "Religion and Life Week," Jan. 23-28, 1949.

⁵⁶UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2, File 31, "UCM," UBC, Jan. 26-30, 1953.

⁵⁷UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Programme, Nov. 7-11, 1954" and Box 55, File: Post-Mission Comments, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Report of the UCM, University of Toronto, 1954."

Undergrad, reporting on a 1949 mission, stated, "That such a crowd of students...should turn out to a meeting of this sort indicates the great impression made on the campus..."⁵⁸ Similarly, during the 1954 event missionaries who addressed students living in fraternities and residences often found that fifty per cent of the residents turned out.⁵⁹

Some missions, especially the earlier ones, were alleged to have had a long-term impact. After the 1949 mission at Toronto the SCM stated that a number of students in leadership positions had their lives changed by the mission.⁶⁰ While organizers tended to complain that the missions resulted in few conversions or even students drawn into the student religious clubs,⁶¹ there were still often small numbers of students who continued to engage in more serious and in-depth study of Christianity. The 1949 mission at Toronto, for example, resulted in 170 students joining in continuation meetings across campus.⁶² Moreover, the unity of efforts among Christian groups in 1949 resulted in the establishment of a University Christian Council of staff and students who began planning a mission for 1952.⁶³ Similarly, after the 1952 mission the SCM sponsored a panel discussion by four students on "Why I am a Protestant...a RC...a Jew...an agnostic." Approximately 400 students attended the meeting, the success of which was attributed to

⁵⁸R.M Tait, "Bishop Neill," Undergrad, Jan. 1949, 45.

⁵⁹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Programme, Nov. 7-11, 1954" and Box 55, File: Post-Mission Comments, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Report of the UCM, University of Toronto, 1954."

⁶⁰UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1949-50, Undergrad News 3, 1 (Dec. 1949), 2.

⁶¹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 30, File: Minutes 1947-54, Minutes Advisory Board, 1 Nov. 1949.

⁶²UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 58, File: UCM, UCM Continuation Committee Minutes, 17 Feb. 1949.

⁶³UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1949-50, Undergrad News 3, 1 (Dec. 1949), 2.

the work of the mission.⁶⁴

The structure, format, and results of the missions point to a number of things. They illustrate that many administrators provided their full support to these events. They show that religious leaders of international reputation could draw a large crowd of students. Moreover, they indicate that the missions encouraged at least some students to explore the depth of their religious commitment. What these details cannot convey, however, are the reasons why significant numbers of students and faculty took an interest in the missions during the 1940s and early 1950s.

Missions may have attracted student and faculty support at least in part because of missionaries' attempts to assuage the fears of the era. Historians of post-war America have noted the way in which the period was "simultaneously an age of celebration and an age of anxiety."⁶⁵ Indeed, the "experience of modernity," as Marshall Berman has called it, resonated strongly during the missions of the 1940s and 1950s. Berman defines this experience as, on the one hand, feeling overpowered by the rationalization and bureaucratization of modern society which destroys "communities, values, lives," and yet wishing to create and find self-realization within that society.⁶⁶ In the 1940s and 1950s fears centered around the rising materialism and consumerism of society. After ten years of depression, four years of war, and the emergence of a cold war, many feared that economic growth and prosperity would not last. At the same time, religious leaders

⁶⁴UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1. File: UC Council, Report of UCM, University of Toronto, 1952. This number comprised about 3 per cent of the student body.

⁶⁵Paul Lyons, New Left, New Right and the Legacy of the Sixties (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 41. See also Joel A. Carpenter, Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 213.

⁶⁶Marshall Berman, All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982; reprinted, New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 13.

feared the effects of this prosperity.⁶⁷ Consumerism brought fears of conformity and loss of individuality.⁶⁸ Such fears were intricately connected to the effects of communism, which threatened the individualism of western society. Much of the anxiety of the time became located in concerns about the moral decline of the family and "the nation's moral fitness to cope with its challenges."⁶⁹

During the war and continuing into the post-war period, religious leaders in Canada also expressed a greater concern about family life. Church leaders took a more conservative view of the purpose of marriage. For example, although in the 1930s the United Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service supported access to birth control through the concept of voluntary parenthood, by 1946 its Commission on Christian Marriage and Christian Home reinforced traditional views equating marital relations with procreation.⁷⁰ Concern about the family formed part of a broader rhetoric among medical and psychological experts as well as religious leaders wishing to safeguard the stability of Canadian society. Indeed, concerns during the war and immediate post-war period about the increase of divorce rates, venereal disease, sexual promiscuity, juvenile delinquency, and the growing number of women in the workforce, resulted in a general anxiety about the stability of the family and in calls for the moral regeneration of society.⁷¹ During the 1950s such fears were fuelled by cold war anxiety

⁶⁷Carpenter, Revive Us Again, 168-213.

⁶⁸Lyons, New Left, New Right, 37-45.

⁶⁹Carpenter, Revive Us Again, 168.

⁷⁰Brenda Margaret Appleby, Responsible Parenthood: Decriminalizing Contraception in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 123-28.

⁷¹For views of religious leaders and the religious press see Appleby, Responsible Parenthood, 123-38, and Catherine Gidney, "Under the President's Gaze: Sexuality and Morality at a Canadian University during the Second World War," Canadian Historical Review 82, 1 (March 2001): 36-54. For medical and psychological experts see Mona Gleason, "Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-60," Canadian Historical Review 78, 3 (Sept. 1997): 442-43; Annalee Golz,

about the threat of secularism and materialism seen to be posed by communism, all of which, religious leaders believed, would contribute to immorality and a weakening of the Christian family.⁷²

The concerns expressed about Canadian society generally were echoed in the rhetoric of missionaries. As we have seen, during the war missionaries raised concerns about the spiritual illiteracy of students, a feature, they believed, of the creeping secularism and materialism of society. They placed the blame for this situation on the lack of a strong religious atmosphere within Canadian homes and a church which had failed at evangelism for the past twenty-five years.⁷³ Anxiety about the state of students' religious knowledge was at least partially assuaged for missionaries by the positive reception of students to the missions. As President Gilmour of McMaster hopefully noted, if spiritual illiteracy exists among students, "spiritual interest and one might even venture to say spiritual concern are also real."⁷⁴ Organizers contended that the missions were needed to reassert the stabilizing force of Christianity.⁷⁵

Fears about the stability of Canadian society had increased at war's end with the

"Family Matters: The Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period." Left History, 1, 3 (Fall 1993): 9, 13; Ruth Roach Pierson, 'They're Still Women After All': The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 20.

⁷²Appleby, Responsible Parenthood, 130.

⁷³Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1945, Department of Evangelism, Report of University Christian Mission Committee; Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1956, Department of Evangelism, "University Christian Missions." The notion of student illiteracy in the Bible was not limited to religious leaders. University presidents also believed this to be true. See, for example, University of Toronto President's Report 1947-48. For the charge that the churches had failed at evangelism see Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, "University Christian Mission."

⁷⁴CBA, McMaster University, Gilmour Papers, File: G.P. Gilmour, Writings, "Religion and Life Among Western Students," n.d.

⁷⁵Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1945, Department of Evangelism, Report of University Christian Mission Committee.

demobilization of soldiers. This was especially true in universities, where veterans flooded into the classroom. Ironically, despite administrators' fears that the veterans might be a disruptive force to campus life, the student veterans of the immediate post-war period arrived with a seriousness of purpose which, for at least some, also translated into religious concern. Chaplains and religious leaders at the University of Toronto, for example, grew increasingly elated in the years immediately after the war when, for the first time in Hart House's history, morning and evening prayers were said daily in chapel, holy communion was held once a week, and there were special services for Lent and Advent.⁷⁶ The University of Toronto's Ajax campus, set up mainly as a branch of the faculty of applied science and engineering, included a community center, named Hart House Ajax, which included not only a reading room and tuck shop but also a chapel. Students were also leading some of this spiritual deepening, gathering in small groups to pray and to explore the Christian faith and its expression in practice. Veterans asked for their own SCM groups.⁷⁷ University of Toronto administrators, concerned about the return of veterans and their adjustment to civilian life, and also about their spiritual welfare, hired full-time chaplains for students both at the new Ajax campus and at Hart House.⁷⁸ The Reverend Carl Swan, an ex-navy officer, provided counselling at the Ajax

⁷⁶"Hart House Warden looks Back." University of Toronto Monthly 47 (9 June 1947): 220.

⁷⁷UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1949-50, Undergrad News, Dec. 1949. Student interest in religious life increased not only at the University of Toronto but on Canadian campuses more generally. SCM study group activity, for example, increased significantly in the immediate post-war period. In 1943-44 there were approximately 300 students attending study groups. In 1945-46 this number had increased to 2000. See UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-35, Peter Paris, "Report on SCM of Canada: Part II: Study Life of the Movement 1921-1965." Aug. 1965, 53.

⁷⁸By 1946 there was a second chaplain, the Reverend E.M. Nichols, on the main campus. See UTA, Hart House Records, A79-0022, Box 10, File: Hart House Chaplain, no author, "The Chaplaincy in Hart House," 15 July 1976. A similar attempt was made at UBC. Although there was no university chapel to take up this ministry to veterans, the Anglican chaplain asked the president of UBC to appoint a chaplain for veterans and their families. Because the university could not make such an appointment, N.A.M.

campus while the Reverend Douglas Candy worked full-time out of an office in Hart House. These were not simply random appointments. Swan and Candy had prior relationships with the new veteran students. Candy, for example, had a base of sixty men at the University of Toronto from his own army battalion as well as young people from his former parish from which to build friendships with students on campus.⁷⁹ This surge of interest in things religious thus gave impetus to the missions.

University and religious leaders, however, were concerned for more than just the reintegration of veterans into Canadian society and the stability of the nation. They were also concerned more particularly about the diminishing place of religion on campus. President Smith addressed the role of religion in his President's Report of 1947-48. He wrote.

The separation of the state and the church is embedded in our political philosophy, but we have paid a high price for the divorce. In our educational institutions, through our endeavours to be impartial in respect to religious denominations, we have left the impression that we are indifferent to their teachings.

Smith worried that "in a mood of academic neutrality" the university community might be "failing to encourage the student to develop his own sense of values." "In this age of materialism," he continued, "there is a tendency to separate the consideration of social, economic and political matters from their moral and religious setting." Moreover, the threat of communism required adherence to "spiritual values" by even the strongest

MacKenzie asked the SCM to consider the issue and so the Reverend J.P.H. Stewart, a graduate of Wycliffe College and an army chaplain, was recommended. See Archives of the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster, Fonds D.P. Watney, Box 479, File 1, Special Committee of Diocesan Board of Religious Education, Diocese of New Westminster, to Rt. Reverend Sir Francis Heathcote, Chair, Diocesan Executive, Diocese of New Westminster, 7 Oct. 1946.

⁷⁹UTA, Hart House Records, A79-0022, Box 10, File: Hart House Chaplain, no author, "The Chaplaincy in Hart House," 15 July 1976; F.C. Boyd, "Operation Ajax," University of Toronto Monthly 47, 6 (March 1947): 147-48; Report of Warden of Hart House, in University of Toronto President's Report 1946-47, 72. A number of businessmen provided the funds necessary to maintain this chaplaincy.

students in order "to enable them to stand erect and unswerving before the threats of tyrants and the follies of false prophets." The University Christian Mission, he argued, afforded "students an opportunity to re-examine their philosophy of life and thereby stimulate and strengthen religious convictions in these days when materialism and materialistic philosophies are rampant."⁸⁰

International concern about the role and nature of the university in a modern world had developed in the late 1930s. The World Student Christian Federation newspaper, Student World, had had a series of articles on this issue in 1938. The National Assembly of the American Student Christian Associations had commissioned a report on the topic and in May 1938 the Committee of International Student Organizations had held a conference in Luxembourg, with W.A. Visser't Hooft, General-Secretary of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches, as the "general rapporteur". During a period of increasing political turmoil, students and educational and religious leaders had raised concerns about the role of the university in national and international affairs. But they had also voiced concerns over the increasing specialization and fragmentation of university life and the inability of university courses to provide cultural and philosophical unity.⁸¹ In the late 1930s, then, an international group of educators and religious leaders had begun to express their concerns over the place of religion on campus.

These concerns continued in the post-war period. In 1944 Arnold Nash, former chaplain at the University of Toronto and former secretary in the British SCM, wrote The University and the Modern World, in which he discussed the chasm between his work in

⁸⁰University of Toronto President's Report 1947-48.

⁸¹Potter and Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth, 125-27.

the physical sciences and his Christian faith.⁸² Robert Johnson points out that Nash's work was followed by a series of pamphlets and books, the best known of which was Sir Walter Moberly's 1949 The Crisis in the University.⁸³ The WSCF placed John Coleman in charge of digesting the debate. The result was the publication of The Task of the Christian in the University, which historians of the WSCF contend became "the point of reference for discussion in the Federation."⁸⁴ In October 1948, Professor Charles W. Leslie, addressing Victoria College students on "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," contended that out of this international literature "has come the disposition to restore to religion something of its former place as a valid part of a university curriculum: or at least, if not to go that far, to provide for it a fair hearing of its claim to possess truth."⁸⁵ In the 1950s such work would be continued by Sir Richard Livingstone and Stanley Jones⁸⁶ and in the 1960s by Christopher Dawson. Academics such as Nash and Moberly did not wish to reimpose Christianity as "the common basis for the university" but rather to "heighten the Christian influence" which already existed within the institution.⁸⁷ In the United States such ideas were put into practice through conferences of Christian faculty sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ as well as through their publication, The Christian Scholar.⁸⁸

⁸²Robert L. Johnson, "The University Question Revisited," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 32, 3 (Summer 1995): 521-25.

⁸³Ibid., 521-22. Johnson cites a number of titles such as John Baillie, The Mind of the Modern University, H.A. Hodges, Objectivity and Impartiality, A.R. Vidler, Christianity's Need of a Free University.

⁸⁴Potter and Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth, 164.

⁸⁵UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, Charles W. Leslie, "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," 17 Oct. 1948.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Johnson, "The University Question Revisited," 522.

⁸⁸Ibid. See also Marsden, Soul of the American University, 395.

The claim of Christianity to truth was in question because of increasing specialization and fragmentation of knowledge. As Leslie had contended, "The assumption underlying the classical idea of university education for centuries has been that Truth is One, and that all Truth is of God." Yet increased specialization, and the disinterested detachment of the scientific method, had, Leslie went on to argue, resulted in scholars "seeking 'truths' rather than 'Truth'."⁸⁹

The task of the missions, then, was to present to students a relevant faith and to convince them that there was one Truth, revealed in God. Missioners found that students had all sorts of challenging questions about the role of the church in modern society and about the ability to integrate faith with modern thought. During the 1952 Toronto mission students posed questions to missioners about the relation between faith and reason and how one attained the assurance of faith. They challenged the church's involvement in overseas missions and the right to impose the Christian gospel on other cultures. They questioned the uniqueness of Christian ethics by arguing that the social sciences could also provide the tools to enable humans to build ethical systems. Finally, they took issue with the church's traditional emphasis on the miraculous elements of the Bible, such as the resurrection or the Virgin birth, arguing instead for a greater focus on the ethical Jesus.⁹⁰ As one missioner stated, "The students I met wanted, above all, to be convinced that one can be a committed Christian and at the same time an honest intellectual with his eyes open."⁹¹

In their addresses and sermons missioners for the most part advocated traditional Christian ideals. For example, they stressed the Divinity of Christ and the Atonement as

⁸⁹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, Charles W. Leslie, "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," 17 Oct. 1948.

⁹⁰UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, Report of the University Christian Mission, 1952.

⁹¹Ibid.

exemplifying God's love for humans.⁹² They emphasized the importance of the concept of sin.⁹³ Several missionaries emphasized the need for daily prayer. R.S.K. Seeley, for example, stated in a talk that the "result of prayer is that we are able to see things a little more according to God's will..."⁹⁴ One missionary stressed the importance of bible reading and of finding a practical outlet for inner Christian conviction.⁹⁵ One missionary, witnessing to the fact that faith was considered important, suggested witness through prayer for others instead of direct proselytization.⁹⁶

The Christian concepts might be traditional, but missionaries also used modern language, concepts, and events to make Christianity relevant to students. The effects of the atomic bomb, the two world wars, the problem of human suffering and why God would allow such evil needed to be understood in a religious framework. One sermon addressed such modern problems in age-old terms of human pride and the effects of defying God's will, and thus no different from the biblical account of building the Tower of Babel.⁹⁷ More commonly, while missionaries drew on modern examples, they also used modern language. Human conflict, both internal and outward, was described in Freudian terms as appetites in conflict. The solution was not to be found in psychology, however, but through belief in Christ. To explain the frailties of the church, missionaries described

⁹²UTA, SCM Records, B79-0050, Box 41, File: UCM, Provisional Outline of Addresses by Canon Milford.

⁹³McMUA, Box: Conferences, meetings, symposiums and seminars held at McMaster, File: UCM Feb 7-12, 1960, "Life and Decision by Dr. George Forell, a series of addresses given at the UCM 1960, Address "sin and decision."

⁹⁴"Pray to See Says Seeley in Noon Talk." Ubysey, 30 Jan. 1953, 2.

⁹⁵UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 41, File: UCM, "Living as a Christian: the Address of Bishop Stephen Neill."

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, Charles W. Leslie, "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," 17 Oct. 1948.

the church as a colony or a fifth column, an imperfect institution connected to a perfect heaven.⁹⁸ So while the language or illustration might be modern the message was a traditional one of God's saving grace.

The effort to ensure the continued relevance of faith was partly to enable students to integrate their religious faith with science. A 1943 Ubysey editorial stated that students entering university encountered scientific findings which often conflicted with the religious teachings of their childhood.⁹⁹ Many of the missions made a strong effort to discuss science or have talks directed to science students. During the 1952 mission at the University of Toronto, for example, students listened to professors of medicine and engineering speak about the importance of Christianity. Organizers of other missions made equal efforts to address science students. At the 1954 mission at Dalhousie, for example, there were five missionaries and of these, three were ministers and the other two had backgrounds in science.¹⁰⁰

The concern to relate science to the traditional verities of Christianity was not a new enterprise. Prior to the war much of this discussion had centered on arguments that the positive advancements of science did not supplant the need for religious faith. This line of presentation could also be found in the missions.¹⁰¹ Yet, in the face of the cold war, intellectual concerns in the 1940s and 1950s also focused on the threat of a science which had become unleashed. As Professor Charles C. Leslie contended in his address on missions, the "sense of Crisis within University Education has been deepened and heightened by the sudden awareness of the crisis within Civilization itself." Leslie

⁹⁸UTA, SCM Records, B79-0050, Box 41, File: UCM, Provisional Outline of Addresses by Canon Milford.

⁹⁹Edl., "Religion and Life," Ubysey, 26 Nov. 1943, 2.

¹⁰⁰CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: UCM 1955, 1960, "UCM Oct. 26-28, 1954, Dalhousie University."

¹⁰¹"Kilborn Discusses Science," Ubysey, 21 Jan. 1944, 1.

continued.

The best example of our state of mind was the fright among the scientists themselves after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Now at long last even they have become aware of the horrible evil that lurks in the heart of man, and many of them are now ready to admit that man is lost: doomed, if not damned: and they are frantically searching for a formula for safety, security, and the survival of modern civilization.¹⁰²

For Leslie, this desire for "safety" was more appropriately defined as "salvation" and could only be brought about through faith in God. At least some students reiterated this belief. A 1949 editorial in the University College Undergrad stated, "No more urgent task awaits this generation of students and veterans than the establishment of a religious faith intensified rather than nullified by the scientific knowledge of our civilization."¹⁰³

Large numbers of religious leaders believed the university to be a place of central importance. Society's scientific and philosophical knowledge was anchored in the universities, but this knowledge was seen to have become increasingly attenuated through the twentieth century from ethical or moral principles. The salvation of society, many mission organizers and students felt, could only be achieved through the reunification of the spiritual and rational.¹⁰⁴ To effect this was the primary goal of the university missions.

In the United States, Douglas Sloan argues, such campus missions "inadvertently revealed the basically outsider position from which the church was working in American higher education." "'Religious emphasis week.'" Sloan concludes, "was by that time an ironically apt expression of the Protestant churches' conception of the task within the

¹⁰²UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, Charles W. Leslie, "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," 17 Oct. 1948.

¹⁰³Edl., Undergrad, Jan. 1949, 14.

¹⁰⁴UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, Charles W. Leslie, "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission, 17 Oct. 1948: Edl., Undergrad, Jan. 1949, 14.

university and of the position it actually held there."¹⁰⁵ In the Canadian context too, the necessity of emphasizing the public profession of faith during one "week" indicates the growing concern about the place of mainstream Protestantism on campus. Yet the missions also illustrate that rather than being imposed from outside, as on American campuses, in Canada much of the impetus and support for missions originated from within the university. Administrators, faculty, students, and church leaders drew upon extensive church and university organizations to initiate, prepare, and sustain national University Christian Missions during the 1940s and early 1950s.

At the same time, the widespread support for the missions also reflected a growing sense of insecurity, unease, and uncertainty about the place of Christianity on campus. Missioners and university leaders raised concerns about students' religious illiteracy, about the university's inability to provide cultural and philosophical unity within the curriculum, and about the challenges presented to Protestant values by the materialism of consumerism and communism. Their unease signaled a shifting environment -- apprehended, but not fully realized in the 1940s and early 1950s -- in which the place of a cultural Protestantism on campus would be fundamentally altered.

Such fears must be understood within their context. If missioners perceived a need to reclaim a Protestant presence on campus, they did so within the context of an established Protestant milieu. Students welcomed missioners into their residences and fraternity houses. Many attended the lectures and sermons of national and international religious figures. And student leaders supported these endeavours in a visible manner, chairing sessions and introducing speakers. Moreover, many faculty, and especially administrators, attended and participated in the missions. The active support of a significant portion of the university community for the University Christian Missions indicates that at mid-century, church, university, and student leadership continued to see

¹⁰⁵Sloan, Faith and Knowledge, 24-25.

the university as a Protestant establishment, which at most needed to be reclaimed.

Thus while that establishment at mid-century could no longer be taken for granted, the University Christian Missions of the 1950s assumed that Protestantism needed to remain an important part of the intellectual spirit on Canadian campuses. As President Klinck stated after the 1944 mission at UBC. "This conference demonstrated anew, if demonstration were needed, that many University students are interested in religion."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶UBCA. Klinck Papers, Box 5-19. "Chairman's Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the B.C. Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 19 April 1944," 1-2. Underlining in original.

Chapter 5

Expansion and Transformation: The Emergence of the Modern University System

The unease about the place of religion on campus expressed by missionaries and other university leaders was just that -- unease, not despair. And it would lead to renewed efforts in the post-war period to reinvigorate the traditional place of religion through new institutional departures, a subject which will be taken up in chapter 8. But there were also new forces emerging which pressed in a different direction -- toward a diminished place for liberal Protestantism as an official voice on campus and, indeed toward a more secular environment. One of these was the changing character of the Canadian university itself. There was, as well, an increasing degree of religious pluralism, and the slow but steady withdrawal of the authority the university exercised over students' behaviour. These three themes form the basis of this, and the next two chapters.

Canadian universities in the immediate post-war period experienced a crisis caused both by financial constraints and rising rates of enrolment.¹ On the one hand, David Cameron, in his study of universities and public policy in Canada, has demonstrated that universities suffered from deteriorating facilities, small staffs, and low salaries caused by over twenty-five years of depression, war, and post-war inflation.² On the other hand, with the discharge of veterans at the end of World War Two, the

¹For this view see for example, J.E. Hodgetts, "Introduction: Higher Education in a Changing Canada," in Higher Education in a Changing Canada: Symposium presented to the Royal Society of Canada in 1965 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), viii-ix.

²David M. Cameron, More Than an Academic Question: Universities, Government, and Public Policy in Canada (Halifax: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1991), 4. Throughout this chapter I am relying in particular on this source as well as other relevant secondary literature.

universities witnessed a dramatic rise in enrolments. As early as 1941 the federal government gave intent in its Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order that at war's end grants would be provided to veterans wishing to pursue their education. During the war federal officials met periodically with university leaders such as N.A.M. MacKenzie, Sidney Smith, and G.P. Gilmour, among many others, to develop plans to accommodate the veterans.³ Many of these university leaders, who had themselves served in the First World War, were intent not only on improving their own institutions but on providing opportunities for veterans which had not been in place when they themselves had returned home.⁴ The grants offered to veterans resulted in huge enrolments. A.B. McKillop notes that "University enrolment in the country, which had been 38,000 in 1944-5, expanded to over 80,000 by 1947-8."⁵ Universities met their obligations to the veterans by such temporary measures as renting space, borrowing equipment, and increasing faculty teaching.⁶ But the Veterans Rehabilitation Act also provided federal money to universities so that they could build new facilities and hire more faculty.⁷ Additional provincial grants aided this process. For example, improved financial fortunes at UBC in the immediate post-war period enabled the construction of twenty new buildings between 1945 and 1951.⁸ Such building programs were equally prevalent at other universities.⁹

³Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," 110-15.

⁴McKillop, in Matters of Mind, 523, makes this point in regard to civil servants and cabinet ministers. However, it equally applies to educators.

⁵Ibid., 547.

⁶Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 4; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 551-52; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 163.

⁷Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," 141.

⁸Logan, Tuum Est, 176-79.

⁹McKillop, Matters of Mind, 558-59.

Although the enrolment crisis within the universities was caused initially by veterans flooding into the universities, general enrolment was also on the rise. David Cameron notes that "discounting the veterans, university enrolment in Canada increased from 36,400 in 1941-42 to 61,600 in 1951-52, an increase of almost 70 percent in 10 years."¹⁰ High enrolment was then sustained, after a small dip in the early 1950s, by the prosperity of the post-war period, which allowed more parents to send their children to university, and by demands by business for a better educated workforce.¹¹ Administrators were also concerned because university enrolment was projected to double by the mid-1960s with the entrance of the first baby boomers. In 1955 Edward Sheffield, of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, addressed a symposium held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU) on university enrolment at which he projected that the student population would double in the next decade.¹² His projections alone were enough to alarm the NCCU. The organization began a concerted publicity campaign, circulating Sheffield's report to all the major Canadian newspapers in an attempt to make the public aware of the crisis facing Canadian universities and to put pressure on government to increase university funding.¹³

The sense of crisis within the universities arose not only because of rising enrolment and a financial crunch. In their attempt to gain support for their institutions, educators also helped create a public belief in the right of all Canadians to higher

¹⁰Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 45.

¹¹Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 419; Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 59.

¹²Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 420.

¹³For a summary of these events see C.T. Bissell, ed., Canada's Crisis in Higher Education, Proceedings of a Conference held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities at Ottawa, November 12-14, 1956 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957); Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982): 23; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 565.

education and the importance of institutions of higher education to the well-being of the nation.¹⁴ In particular they spoke of the university as the site of salvation for western civilization. As the Massey Commission stated in its report, in examining the cultural development of the nation it was "concerned with nothing less than the spiritual foundations of our national life."¹⁵ And in light of the developing cold war, that spiritual foundation was seen to be under threat. As has been noted earlier, fear of Bolshevism had surfaced periodically in the universities during the interwar years -- in addresses, in regard to the SCM, and in relation to academic freedom.¹⁶ However, especially from the late 1940s into the late 1950s, fears of the challenge of communism to Western society became more widespread and more mainstream. Watson Kirkconnell stated in a 1948 pamphlet entitled Liberal Education in the Canadian Democracy,

Slave education in the hands of despotism is welding millions of young Russians into a well-steered military force, zealous for our destruction...The very dynamic centre of our Western way of life is to be found in the intellectual and spiritual freedom associated with liberal education.¹⁷

Similarly, Vincent Massey stated in 1948 in a chancellor's address to students at the University of Toronto,

Our humane Christian tradition is now imperilled as it has not been for many centuries; imperilled not so much by physical forces...as by an opposing philosophy, pagan, materialistic, tyrannical, ruthless...Our

¹⁴J.E. Hodgetts, "Introduction: Higher Education in a Changing Canada," in Higher Education in a Changing Canada: Symposium Presented to the Royal Society of Canada in 1965, ed. J.E. Hodgetts (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), xi.

¹⁵Quoted in Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission, 4.

¹⁶Baptist Year Book, 1921, Report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University, 143; UKCA, B.2.1.9., Encaenia Records, Alumni Oration by Richmond Shreve, Dean of Quebec, 8 May 1924.

¹⁷McMUA, Box: Faculty Publications, File: Gilmour, G.P., Watson Kirkconnell, Liberal Education in the Canadian Democracy (Hamilton: McMaster University, 1948), 18.

universities stand both as the exponents and guardians of our ancient way of life. They bear the very seeds of freedom.¹⁸

Such fears had become even more pronounced by the late 1950s with the technological advances made by the Soviets. As long as technological advances in the west exceeded or matched those in the Soviet Union, North Americans perceived the communist threat to be contained. The successful launching, however, of Sputnik, the first satellite in space, in October 1957, seemed to herald for Americans "a kind of technological Pearl Harbor."¹⁹ Canadians would equally feel the effects of Soviet advances. Reflecting in 1961 on the developments of the previous years, Claude Bissell contended that to the sense of urgency created by the Sheffield report "was added the national sense of guilt engendered by the failure of our scientific education to keep up with the Russians."²⁰

Although scientific education and technological expertise gained importance, for many the need to bolster the humanities was equally important. Science might keep the west technologically ahead of the Soviets, but it was western culture which would preserve society. In a report to the board of regents in 1957, President A.B.B. Moore voiced his concerns for Victoria College:

The place of liberal arts colleges is being challenged in an age when the demand is so persistently for the technical expert. No one will doubt for a moment the necessity of such a person with such a training in this world and in large numbers with increasing competence. But it can become a

¹⁸Vincent Massey. "Chancellor's Address." Varsity Graduate 1. 1 (March 1948): 19.

¹⁹David Halberstam. The Fifties (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 625.

²⁰Claude Bissell. "The Problems and Opportunities of Canada's Universities," in Canada's Universities in a New Age: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges in Ottawa, November 13-15, 1961, ed. Davidson Dunton and Dorothy Patterson (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1962), 4. For similar statements in the 1950s by members of the business community and by government officials see Axelrod. Scholars and Dollars, 24.

world of satellites and savages without that cultural tradition and faith for which Victoria stands. Let us not be crowded off the scene!²¹

Similarly, in an address to the Empire Club in 1957, Joseph McCulley, warden of Hart House, argued for the continued need to expand the scope of Canadian universities on the basis that "the future of our own country and, in fact, the whole future of our western world and what we rather glibly describe as 'our way of life' is dependent on our universities."²² Administrators, therefore, not only expressed the need to expand based on cold, hard statistics but also drew upon the heightened rhetoric of the day. In doing so they helped increase public support for their institutions.

Administrators were not the only ones advocating the necessity of increased funding for the university. In the 1950s members of the business community and government officials worried about the shortage of Canadians with the professional and technical skills necessary to fill the growing white-collar sector.²³ Such immediate concerns were intermixed with a growing public belief that educational training, in the words of Paul Axelrod, "was linked to the goals of personal security and industrial progress."²⁴ Government needed to invest in Canadian education, business leaders and others believed, in order to maintain economic competitiveness.²⁵ Drawing on such ideas, economists in the 1950s developed what became known as human capital theory, which gained popularity in the 1960s. They contended that investment in advanced

²¹UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 57-1, Victoria University, Report to Board of Regents for Session 1956-57.

²²UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 84, File: "University -Yesterday, Today, and ?" April 1957, Joseph McCulley, "The Uni-Yesterday, Today, and ?" 25 April 1957.

²³R.D. Gidney, From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 38.

²⁴Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 23.

²⁵Ibid., 25.

education, be it professional, technical, or liberal, would ultimately contribute to the gross national product.²⁶ Human knowledge and expertise should be treated as capital, the support of which would add to the economic betterment of Canadian society.

Already with the conclusion in 1951 of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, known as the Massey Commission, universities had begun to see the results of suggestions for the need to increase funding to Canadian universities. The Massey Commission recommended federal funding to the universities based on the argument that involvement in education, normally a provincial jurisdiction, already existed in the form of the Direct Veterans Assistance Plan (DVAP).²⁷ Brian McKillop has pointed out, "The universities laboured intensively for such support, fearful that with the end of the DVAP they would no longer be able to finance expanded facilities and staffs."²⁸ In 1951-52 members of Parliament approved grants to universities based on 50 cents per capita of the population, to be distributed to universities based on the number of full-time students. This initiative resulted in a federal expenditure of 7 million dollars. In 1956-57 the per capita grant was doubled to one dollar and thereafter gradually rose until it reached 5 dollars in 1966-67. In that year federal grants to universities totalled 100 million dollars.²⁹ Moreover, in 1957 the government, following another recommendation by the Massey Commission, established the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences. Its creation made available to universities 50 million dollars as an endowment for scholarships and research grants and another 50 million for capital grants.³⁰

²⁶Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 321.

²⁷McKillop, Matters of Mind, 564.

²⁸Ibid., 564.

²⁹Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 427-29.

³⁰Ibid., 427.

The increased funding provided to Canadian universities in the post-war period helped fundamentally reshape these institutions. The modernization of the university system is a familiar and well-documented subject and thus it can be dealt with relatively briefly; but it is no less important for that. The sheer size of the enterprise expanded dramatically. Enrolment in Canadian universities rose from 38,000 in 1944-45 to 72,737 in 1955-56, 178,200 by 1964-65, and 340,000 by 1970-71, overall an increase of almost 900 per cent.³¹ Ontario universities alone increased from 6 in 1945 to 16 in 1969, while the number of Canadian institutions rose from 28 to 47.³² The greater number of institutions and an increasing enrolment resulted in the need for more staff. According to David Cameron, between 1955 and 1960 alone, 2726 faculty positions were created, an increase of 42 per cent.³³

All of this profoundly reshaped the universities which form the basis of this study. In 1949-50, with only small numbers of veterans remaining, McMaster had a student enrolment of 1100 while in 1950-51 Victoria College had a student population of 1432, University College, 1578, and Dalhousie-King's, 1553. UBC stood at 6432 and the University of Toronto at 13,129.³⁴ By 1965 the University of Toronto had an enrolment of 22,964, University College stood at 2247, Victoria College at 2394, and McMaster University at 3780. UBC had an enrolment of 16,337 and Dalhousie-King's of

³¹Figures from McKillop, Matters of Mind, 547, 566, and Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 82, 124.

³²Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 422. This includes both universities and degree-granting institutions.

³³Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 81.

³⁴McMaster University President's Report, 1949-50; UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 55-14, Annual Meeting, Board of Regents, 29 Nov. 1951, Summary of Enrolments; University of Toronto President's Report 1950-51; UBC President's Report 1950-51; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, Table I.

3701.³⁵ By 1969-70 the University of Toronto stood at 34,573, University College, 2048, Victoria at 2460, McMaster at 6924, UBC at 21,238 and Dalhousie at 5633.³⁶ These institutions, then, saw a significant increase in enrolment. Between 1950-51 and 1969-70 student numbers increased 58 per cent at Victoria, 77 per cent at University College, 38 per cent at the University of Toronto as a whole, 28 per cent at Dalhousie-King's, and 30 per cent at UBC. Not only did enrolment increase but so too did the faculty. Whereas in 1935-36 Dalhousie had 54 faculty members from full professor to lecturer, by 1964-65 it had just over double that number with 110 faculty members.³⁷ The department of English, which had four members in 1949-50, had 12 fifteen years later.³⁸ At UBC, there had been approximately 67 faculty in arts and science in 1930. By 1960 this number had risen to 261. English, which had 9 members in 1930, now had 32.³⁹

Universities, however, not only multiplied in size and number, but more importantly changed their shape and character. That is to say, they did not simply grow bigger, they were transformed. Writing in Canada's centennial year, William Kilbourn had been able to describe the post-war campus, after the brief disruption and excitement of the veteran influx, as

a quiet liberal-arts college, perhaps run by the church, but in any case essentially the same place its founders had built at the turn of the century.

³⁵University of Toronto President's Report 1965-66; McMaster University, President's Report, "Summary of Enrollment," 1965-66; UBCA, President's Office, Subject Files, Box 22-1, News From UBC No. 1 (1966); Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume II, Table II.

³⁶University of Toronto President's Report 1969-70; McMaster University, President's Report 1969-70; UBC President's Report 1969-70; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume II, Table II.

³⁷Dalhousie University Calendar, 1950-51 and 1964-65.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 1964-65.

³⁹UBC Calendar 1960. This figure includes full professors to assistant professors but not lecturers or instructors.

The students all knew each other, and the subjects and courses they took were pretty much the same ones their parents had taken before them.⁴⁰

What Kilbourn says of the immediate post-war years may well be true. But it increasingly became less accurate each year as the 1950s advanced. By 1963 Clark Kerr, president of the University of California at Berkeley, speaking of the United States, which had witnessed a similar growth, had coined the term "multiversity" in order to describe the nature of the modern university.⁴¹ Although it quickly became a pejorative term and university presidents sought other ways to define the university -- Bissell, for example, called it "the complex university"⁴² -- the image of multiplicity or diversity hit at the core of the transformation.

The vision of the university as a unified system centered around a faculty of arts became increasingly difficult to maintain. In the post-war years more faculties and programs established a foothold on campus to compete with the old arts core. Whereas at the end of World War Two UBC had only three faculties (arts and science, applied science, and agriculture) by 1951 it had added five: law (1945), graduate studies (1948), medicine (1949), forestry (1950), and pharmacy (1951).⁴³ By 1950 it also had seven schools: social work, physical education, education, home economics, commerce, nursing, and architecture.⁴⁴ And by the mid-1950s the schools of commerce and education had become faculties in their own right. During the same time period, institutes of oceanography, fisheries, and social and economic research were also

⁴⁰William Kilbourn, "The 1950s," in The Canadians, 1867-1967, ed. J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1967), 313.

⁴¹Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963).

⁴²University of Toronto President's Report 1964-65, 1.

⁴³Logan, Tuum Est, 157, 186, 190.

⁴⁴UBC President's Report 1950-51.

established.⁴⁵ UBC was not unique. In 1950 Dalhousie had four faculties: arts and science, law, medicine, and dentistry. In 1948-49 a faculty of graduate studies was created. In 1959 an institute of oceanography was established. And in 1962 administrators developed a faculty of health professions which provided an umbrella for schools of nursing, pharmacy, and physiotherapy.⁴⁶

In particular graduate studies at all institutions developed rapidly. Although by 1945 fewer than 100 Ph.D.s had been conferred by 5 universities, by 1968 nearly 1000 such degrees had been awarded by over 25 institutions.⁴⁷ While in 1948 UBC accepted Ph.D. candidates only in physics, biology and botany, and zoology, with the first degree conferred in 1950, by 1955 it also offered the degree in chemistry, mathematics, forestry, anatomy, bacteriology and immunology, electrical engineering, geology, and pharmacy.⁴⁸ UBC's president reported at the end of the 1954-55 academic year that the time had come to "pursue a vigorous programme of development in graduate studies."⁴⁹ In the post-war period, then, "professional education was diversified, graduate studies and research expanded."⁵⁰

Moreover, despite administrators' continuing belief in the importance of liberal education, the humanities were losing out to the sciences. At a conference on "Canada's Crisis in Higher Education," held in 1956, A.S.P. Woodhouse noted the need to strengthen the humanities, pointing out that

⁴⁵Logan, Tuum Est, 193-94.

⁴⁶Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 170, 273-75, 308.

⁴⁷Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 433-34.

⁴⁸UBC President's Report 1950-51, 1954-55. See also Logan, Tuum Est, 191.

⁴⁹UBC President's Report 1954-55.

⁵⁰Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 416.

beyond the MA degree, provision in the humanities is much less widespread than in the sciences or even the social sciences. At present only Toronto offers anything like a fully organized programme for the Ph.D. degree in the subjects of the humanities, and even it has not yet reached this level in Fine Arts, Music, Slavic and East Asiatic Studies. While the degree is offered and occasionally given by two or three other institutions in History, Philosophy, English, or French, organized graduate study in the humanities beyond the master's degree is for most institutions the substance of things hoped for.⁵¹

Despite his concern, during the post-war years the sciences continued to make enormous financial gains compared to the humanities and social sciences. Federal support for the humanities and social sciences in Canada reached 412,800 dollars in 1964-65 and 2.1 million in 1967-68. This funding was minimal, however, when compared to grants for scientific research, which in 1967-68 reached 71 million dollars.⁵²

As universities grew more diverse they also transformed their traditional centers of power. Until the 1950s power had centered on the president, his appointed administrators, a board of governors which dealt with financial affairs, formed primarily from the community, and a senate, composed of professors, which dealt with academic affairs. A significant amount of this power resided solely in the hands of the president. He appointed faculty, set their salaries, and had the right, although rarely executed, to fire them.⁵³ But through the 1950s and 1960s presidential authority was gradually eroded as faculty members demanded and gained more power. First, as post-war inflation eroded professors' salaries, and as provincial governments began to bring in collective bargaining legislation, faculty members began to create faculty associations which would be able to

⁵¹A.S.P. Woodhouse, "The Humanities," in Canada's Crisis in Higher Education: Proceedings of a Conference Held by the National Conference of Canadian Universities at Ottawa, November 12-14, 1956, ed. C.T. Bissell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 134.

⁵²Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 119, 130.

⁵³Ibid., 318, 344; Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 430.

negotiate on their behalf with presidents and boards of governors.⁵⁴ This would begin the process of faculty having a greater say over the terms of their employment.

In 1958 the notorious Crowe affair galvanized tendencies towards greater faculty autonomy already in motion. In that year the board of regents of United College, Winnipeg, fired Henry Crowe, a professor of history, after the president of the college intercepted a letter from Crowe to a colleague which impugned the character of the president and condemned Christianity as a "corrosive force."⁵⁵ David Cameron has shown that as the case unfolded it infused life into the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT). Established in 1951, CAUT became a strong advocate on behalf of faculty members against presidents and boards of governors.⁵⁶ The Crowe affair also led universities to establish more clearly defined terms of employment, particularly for such procedures as appointments, promotions, or dismissals.⁵⁷ And it gave impetus to a movement which would see its fruition after the Duff-Berdahl report of 1966, which advocated having more faculty on university governing boards, faculty electing their representatives, and greater faculty involvement in the appointment of administrators.⁵⁸ Cameron has further demonstrated that the 1950s and 1960s witnessed a period of democratization and decentralization of decision-making authority. Faculty gained power as departments became more independent and as faculty committees were created for

⁵⁴Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 344.

⁵⁵For a full account of the Crowe case see Kenneth McNaught, Conscience and History: A Memoir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), chapters 9-10, and Horn, Academic Freedom in Canada, chapter 9.

⁵⁶Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 298.

⁵⁷Ibid., 299.

⁵⁸Commissioned by CAUT and the NCCUC, Robert Berdahl, professor of political science at San Francisco State College, and Sir James Duff, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durham, prepared a report, completed in March 1966, recommending the need for, and the process by which, university governance could be modernized. See Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 299-306.

such issues as appointments and promotions. By the end of the 1960s, as formal tenure procedures were put in place, faculty independence would be guaranteed.⁵⁹

As universities expanded so did the bureaucracy required to run them. Whereas in 1945 a university such as Toronto could still be run largely by the president, by 1968 there were seven vice-presidents.⁶⁰ Again, to quote Cameron, "the personal hand of the president...was ever more surely being restrained by the shift of power to departments, committees and senates, as well as by the growing size and diversity of the emerging modern university."⁶¹

One significant transformation during the post-war period was that many denominational universities turned into public institutions. This was most pervasive in Ontario where the provincial government became reluctant to support denominational institutions. McMaster provides a case in point. By the 1940s McMaster's administrators found themselves under pressure to modernize and expand the university's programs. During the interwar years professional programs had been limited to nursing and divinity. In the post-war period, however, Canada's need for technological expertise led to expansion not only in professional programs but also in the sciences.⁶² In particular, the university could no longer secure from denominational sources alone the money necessary to sustain advances in the sciences.⁶³ Nor, however, could it remain as it was. As President G.P. Gilmour argued in 1948, an arts college could no longer be considered

⁵⁹Ibid., 315-16, 322.

⁶⁰Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 431. For this phenomenon at Ontario universities more generally see Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 205.

⁶¹Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 319.

⁶²Johnston, McMaster University, Volume 2, 235.

⁶³Ibid., 121.

a complete university.⁶⁴ In order to obtain provincial funds the university had to reorganize itself. The Baptist Convention, which did not believe in state aid, continued to support McMaster, which was now reconstituted as University College, consisting of the arts program and the divinity school. Since the provincial government would not provide financial aid to a denominational college, administrators created Hamilton College, for science work by senior students, incorporated as its own division and thus able to receive provincial grants.⁶⁵

However, the post-war period was still one of overlapping loyalties for McMaster's constituency. Science professors, led by H.G. Thode, a professor of chemistry, had begun advocating for increased research and for Ph.D. programs shortly after the end of World War Two. As the university's historian, Charles Johnston, relates of Thode, "For some time, he had been reacting against an academic colonialism at McMaster that decreed that advanced graduate studies be left to other institutions, notably the University of Toronto."⁶⁶ Chester New, professor of history at McMaster, was one of those who feared for the place of liberal arts and opposed any fast move into doctoral programs which would change the nature of the institution.⁶⁷ Such opponents of the reorganization of university work feared McMaster would become godless. To them, Gilmour responded that Hamilton College was simply an extension of work already under way within the university, work compatible with the aims of the institution, to create "spiritually mature" citizens. Indeed, to ensure such aims junior science students would

⁶⁴McMUA, McMaster University, Box: Faculty Publications, File: Gilmour, G.P., G.P. Gilmour, Higher Education in the Canadian Democracy (Hamilton: McMaster University, 1948), 15-16.

⁶⁵For the details on the process of reorganization see Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, chapters 4 and 6.

⁶⁶Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 179.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, 180-81.

receive a liberal education for two years prior to transferring to Hamilton College. This reorganization represented, for Gilmour, the reconciliation of tradition with academic excellence.⁶⁸

The changes at McMaster, however, slowly reduced the place of religion on campus. In creating Hamilton College, for example, the university's charter had to be changed, and the senate, which had previously been composed only of Baptists, now also consisted of the non-Baptist representatives of Hamilton College.⁶⁹ Moreover, through the 1950s as increased funding advanced the place of science within the university, the humanities and social sciences were left behind. Public funding was now required to give these areas the due regard provided to science in 1948. Thus in 1957 the university was again reorganized, this time with University and Hamilton Colleges united while the divinity school became incorporated as its own body. As summarized by Johnston, "McMaster ceased to be a trust of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec and was transformed into a private non-denominational institution."⁷⁰

McMaster was not alone in this process. In much the same way, Roman Catholic Assumption College had gained, through the creation of Essex College in 1956, access to provincial grants for work in the sciences. By 1963 Assumption had become part of the secular University of Windsor. Similarly, the University of Waterloo was created in 1959 after initiatives first undertaken by Waterloo College, a Lutheran institution.⁷¹ Moreover,

⁶⁸Ibid., 126, 178. For Gilmour's comments see McMUA, McMaster University, Hamilton College Minute Book, Book I, 1948-51, Minutes 28 Nov. 1949.

⁶⁹Johnston, McMaster University, Volume Two, 177-78.

⁷⁰Ibid., 261.

⁷¹Assumption College gained degree-granting status in 1953. By 1956 Assumption faculty and community leaders had established Essex College, a non-denominational institution which could receive provincial grants for instruction in the sciences. In that same year Essex affiliated with Assumption to form Assumption University of Windsor. In 1963 the university was re-organized. A provincial charter proclaimed the creation of the University of Windsor, with Assumption becoming an affiliated, non-teaching

the creation of non-denominational colleges such as Essex in Windsor was not simply a means to gain access to provincial funds but also part of a new pattern of community boosterism. Whereas many early universities in Canada, especially in central and eastern Canada, were established as denominational colleges, the new institutions of the post-war period would gain their support from community groups.⁷²

By the early 1960s the "crisis in education" had begun to take on a note of optimism. The sense of crisis did continue as enrolments continued to rise⁷³ and higher enrolment figures continued to leave administrators scrambling to find additional space, faculty, research facilities, and funding.⁷⁴ Yet with the increase in provincial and federal funding the language of crisis so prominent in the immediate post-war years began to dissipate. In an address at the 1961 National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, Claude Bissell noted the change in titles from a similar conference held in 1956

institution. As at Assumption and McMaster, Waterloo College, in 1956, created a science faculty which was non-denominational. The plan was that in 1959 the University of Waterloo would gain a provincial charter, with Waterloo Lutheran University and the University of St. Jerome's College, a Catholic institution, becoming affiliates. In 1960 the Lutheran Synod vetoed this decision. The University of Waterloo went ahead and Waterloo Lutheran remained its own institution but in 1973 became the non-denominational Wilfrid Laurier University. See Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 76-7.

⁷²This was, for example, the case for Carleton College, York University, and Lakehead College. Interestingly enough, in the cases of Carleton and York, initiative came at least in part from a traditional Christian source, the YMCA, but with the intent of establishing non-denominational universities. Cameron, More Than An Academic Question, 79-81.

⁷³Between 1954-55 and 1964-65 enrolment increased two and a half times. See E.F. Sheffield, "University Development: The Past Five Years and the Next Ten," in Canada's Universities in a New Age, Proceedings of a Conference held by the NCCUC, Ottawa, Nov. 13-15, 1961, ed. Davidson Dunton and Dorothy Patterson (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1962), 11.

⁷⁴John B. MacDonald, Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future (Vancouver: UBC, 1962), 1; Hodgetts, "Introduction: Higher Education in a Changing Canada," viii, ix; McMUA, McMaster University, Convocation Material 1892-1966, Box 1, File: Convocation 1961, Installation Address by H.G. Thode, 27 Oct. 1961.

to that held in 1961. Where the former conference had been entitled "Canada's Crisis in Higher Education," the latter, "Canada's Universities in a New Age," showed a turn had been taken, he contended. Bissell believed that since the mid-1950s all sectors of society had accepted university administrators' assumptions about the importance of higher education, and they were now prepared to fund education.⁷⁵ Thus the universities no longer had to be talked about "in terms of subsistence" but could now be discussed "in terms of expansion."⁷⁶

University presidents in the 1940s and 1950s had worked hard to gain the financial resources necessary for their institutions to stay abreast of modern scholarship. However, both the desire and need to expand would also help erode the traditional foundations of the university system. The diversity of the institution would make it increasingly more difficult for administrators and religious leaders simply to assume the university to be a part of the liberal Protestant establishment. It would also erode the authority of the president and his representatives over both faculty and students. Indeed, administrators would find it increasingly difficult to impose traditional Protestant moral imperatives within residences and on campus more generally. Finally, the changing nature of Canadian universities would result in a loss of the kind of coherent vision that had existed in the interwar years. A single moral vision -- or at least the kind of vision of a singular moral community informed by the values of liberal Protestantism -- would become less and less pervasive and increasingly less relevant.

⁷⁵Bissell, "The Problems and Opportunities of Canada's Universities," 3-5.

⁷⁶Ibid., 5.

Chapter 6

Religious Pluralism, the New Left, and the Decline of the SCM

The massive changes that took place on Canadian universities in the two decades after 1945 were accompanied by changes in the spectrum of religious activities on campus. Along with the institutional growth just examined, greater religious pluralism challenged the very notion of a liberal Protestant hegemony and along with it the unifying influence of the SCM. At the same time new currents of thought both secular and religious swept through the campus and contributed their own momentum to undermining the legitimacy of the SCM as a voice for a common Christianity.

One of the most important of these developments was the growing support garnered by the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF). The IVCF was, it must be emphasized, not a new feature of campus life in the post-war era: indeed its roots lay deep in the early-twentieth century. Even before the First World War some conservative Protestants had expressed discontent with mainstream religious beliefs and organizations on campus. The Ys had come under attack, for example, for uniting Christian men and women in common goals at the expense of denominational doctrinal teachings. Moreover, by the 1910s, Y leadership increasingly supported social gospel emphases.¹ Although some students found Y leadership too conservative, thus causing them to break away to form the SCM, other students found the increasing focus by university branches on social issues, and their use of the Sharman method, too liberal. While evangelical students had maintained a place for themselves within the Ys, when the SCM replaced the older club, conservative Protestants found their evangelical focus increasingly marginalized.

¹Pederson, "The Call to Service," 193, 199.

The creation of a Canadian student religious group based on evangelical principles arose out of initiatives among conservative Christian students in Britain. Evangelical students at all the leading British universities broke from the SCM after 1910.

Attempting to unite together, these various groups began to meet after 1919 in an intervarsity conference. In 1928 the InterVarsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVF) was formed. Fledgling movements developed in Canada. A Varsity Christian Fellowship club, for example, was formed in 1924 at UBC, and an Intercollegiate Christian Union in 1929 at the University of Toronto. As a result of this activity in Canada, the IVF decided to send Howard Guinness, a recently graduated medical doctor, to Canada to organize these independent evangelical Christian student groups into a movement. In 1929 Guinness called the First Evangelical Students conference in Kingston, which drew only three students but at which the Canadian IVCF was formed. From this inauspicious start the Canadian student evangelical movement began to build, establishing itself on most campuses in the 1930s.²

From its founding, university branches of the IVCF situated themselves in opposition to the SCM.³ The Intercollegiate Christian Union at the University of Toronto drew its founding members from McMaster, Knox, Wycliffe, and Victoria, many of

²For the establishment of the Canadian clubs see UTA, Office of Registrar, Acc. 73-0051, Series V, Clippings, Box 240, File: Intercollegiate Christian Union 1929-39, Edl., Varsity, 17 Jan. 1929; "VCF becomes of Age at UBC," Ubysey, 2 Oct. 1945, 3. A club was not established at Dalhousie until 1938. See "IVCF Plans Fireside Meet," Dalhousie Gazette, 22 Nov. 1940, 1. There is no comprehensive study of the IVCF in Canada. For its origins see John G. Stackhouse, Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 90-91. For a comparison of the SCM and IVCF in the interwar years see Schmidt, "Crossing the 'Great Divide.'" For the origins of the movement in Canada and its history in the United States see Keith and Gladys Hunt, For Christ and the University: The Story of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship of the USA, 1940-1990, foreword by John R.W. Stott (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 17, 61-66.

³University branches were called Varsity Christian Fellowship, or VCF, each being a member of the larger IVCF. Because the term IVCF is more recognized, and for the sake of consistency, I will refer to IVCF for both the local and national movements.

whom, the organizers claimed, formerly belonged to the SCM and viewed themselves as "a new current in the stream of undergraduate religious opinion."⁴ Their reason for forming a new movement was that their members had found that "the Student Christian Association affords no opportunity to testify to the reality and cause of Jesus Christ in our lives."⁵ Certainly some faculty believed that the SCM's lack of a strong statement of beliefs could be a problem for some students. In 1945 a UBC faculty group on "Relations of Religion to Other Intellectual Disciplines in the University," reported its perception that students turned to the IVCF rather than the SCM because it "has more definite standards."⁶ IVCF members would continue to contend into the early 1960s that membership in the IVCF was a way of registering disapproval of the SCM.⁷

The different standards of the SCM and IVCF are evident in their basis of membership. From its founding the SCM developed an open movement policy without any formal membership, rejecting the religious tests required by the Ys. Its "Basis and Aim" stated that "the Student Christian Movement of Canada is a fellowship of students based on the conviction that in Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realization of life." The movement sought to improve the spiritual life of members through study, prayer and practice, and testing of the faith, and to share "the values discovered in Jesus Christ" by joining with like-minded people around the world.⁸

⁴UTA, Office of Registrar, Acc. 73-0051, Series V, Clippings, Box 240, File: Intercollegiate Christian Union 1929-39, Edl., Varsity, 17 Jan. 1929.

⁵UTA, Office of Registrar, Acc. 73-0051, Series V, Clippings, Box 240, File: Intercollegiate Christian Union 1929-39, "New Movement is Fundamentalists Says Organizer," Varsity, 18 Jan. 1929.

⁶Archives of the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster, Fonds D.P. Watney, Box 479-2, UBC Faculty Group, 15 Nov. 1945.

⁷UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 61, File: IVCF, Fellowship News, 1 Dec. 1962.

⁸UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 57, "A Comparative Statement, 1962."

The IVCF, on the other hand, had more stringent beliefs that its members were to hold. "It is generally understood," one organizer at the University of Toronto stated to the Varsity, "that the members of the Union will be of fundamentalist convictions, and that it will work along evangelical lines."⁹ Its doctrinal beliefs included the divine inspiration and authority of the Bible, the deity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the importance of the atonement, the historic fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the existence of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration, and the Second Coming. All full members of the IVCF were required to adhere to the IVCF's statement of faith.¹⁰

The purpose of the IVCF, as a club, was to deepen students' spiritual life.¹¹ This aim was reflected in its activities. In the interwar years, IVCF meetings consisted mainly of study groups or guest speakers, with topics such as "the World Mission of Christianity," "Basic Principles of the Life of Christ," and "Messages from the Old Testament."¹² In the 1940s and 1950s the club developed a greater interest in social activities, holding freshmen parties, missionary teas, skating parties, wiener roasts, and hikes. Its focus, however, continued to be on religious devotion, with weekly Bible study, monthly worship services, and daily prayer groups before class.¹³ Most chapters arranged for small weekly meetings in residence rooms "for conversational study of the

⁹UTA, Office of Registrar, Acc. 73-0051, Series V, Clippings, Box 240, File: Intercollegiate Christian Union 1929-39, "New Movement is Fundamentalist Says Organizer," Varsity, 18 Jan. 1929.

¹⁰UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 61, File: IVCF, Constitution of VCF, n.d.

¹¹Pharos 1950, 1964.

¹²"IVCF Plans Fireside Meet," Dalhousie Gazette, 22 Nov. 1940, 1; "Notices," Varsity, 20 Oct. 1936, 28 Oct. 1936, 6 Nov. 1936.

¹³Pharos 1950, 1964; "Nicolson Speaker at VCF Meeting," Ubysses, 15 Jan. 1946, 1; UTA, B79-0059, Box 45, File: 1955, VCF, Notice of Events 1955; UCC/VUA, Victoria College Union Council Fonds, Acc. 93.001v, Box 3, File: Minutes 1960-61, VCU Assembly Minutes 6 Dec. 1960, "VCF Reports," and Box 2, File: Reports 1962-68, "VCF Report," c. 1962.

Bible."¹⁴ Moreover, at a time when liberal Protestants favoured the indigenization of the mission field, IVCF staffers encouraged students to think about becoming missionaries.¹⁵

The tensions between the IVCF and SCM can be seen in the respective topics discussed. For example, during the interwar years the IVCF at UBC engaged speakers who emphasized the infallibility of the Bible while the SCM heard addresses that told of the Bible being "Man-Made" or that evolution could be seen in the Bible and that God's purposes were evolving to fruition in history.¹⁶ Such differences divided the two groups. The IVCF's belief in the Bible as the inspired word of God clashed with the SCM's view of the historical Jesus. Although both wanted to change the world, the IVCF understood change through inner piety and evangelization while the SCM felt social conditions needed to be transformed as much as the individual personality.

Despite such fissures, as Darren Schmidt has argued, the SCM and IVCF had more in common than perhaps either side was willing to admit. They both sought to improve the spiritual life of members through study and prayer, to share the message of Jesus Christ with others, and to deepen their spiritual understanding through prayer, services, study, and discussion.¹⁷ That these two groups could develop, one countering the other, suggests the depth of the Christian presence on Canadian university campuses. Students were interested enough in religion to form two Protestant organizations and to articulate in student newspapers their support for one or the other.

¹⁴Stackhouse, Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century, 97.

¹⁵Ibid., 96.

¹⁶"Bible God-Made and Infallible VCU Told," Ubysey, 7 Nov. 1930, 4; "Bible Man-Made and Fallible SCM Told," Ubysey, 4 Nov. 1930, 4; "SCM," Ubysey, 24 Nov. 1921, 8.

¹⁷Schmidt, "Crossing the 'Great Divide,'" 49-60. See also UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 38, File: Campus Religious Clubs, Barbara Savary, Secretary, University College SCM, to Wilf Bauman, President, University College VCF, 26 Nov. 1954; UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 57, A Comparative Statement Prepared by the IVCF and the SCMC, 1 March 1962.

Yet the very existence of two Protestant Christian groups belied the claims of Protestant unity on campus and threatened to breed divisions and fissures which neither side would be able to bridge. So long as the IVCF remained a small minority, the implications could remain hidden. But from the 1940s onwards it became a significant force in its own right. At the end of the 1930s the IVCF had a full-time staff of only five. By 1952, however, its staff had grown to 25 and by 1968 this number had doubled.¹⁸ In the post-war era, in other words, the IVCF had the strength to challenge the claims that the SCM could speak for all Protestants on campus.

The division between the SCM and IVCF may be credited at least in part to evangelical students' perception of themselves as religious outsiders on campus. This was owing partially to the IVCF's recent origin on North-American campuses. But, as Joel Carpenter contends for the United States, it was also because of fundamentalists' estrangement from mainstream Protestantism and American culture more generally, an estrangement which led them to forge their own particular identity.¹⁹ Occasionally the IVCF co-operated with the SCM, for example, in church renovation projects, or by sponsoring the occasional lecture series.²⁰ More often, however, the IVCF refused to co-operate with its more liberal counterpart. In 1951, for instance, the UBC IVCF refused to co-sponsor a chapel service with the SCM.²¹ John Stackhouse relates that in Canada the

¹⁸Stackhouse, Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century, 95, 98, 101. Staff members include not just those working in universities but also in institutions such as high schools, normals schools, and camps. The IVCF in the United States also grew rapidly. Established in 1941 it had "200 campus chapters in 1945 and over 550 by 1950." See Carpenter, Revive Us Again, 183. This growth was given impetus by the creation in 1947 of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES). See Potter and Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth, 197.

¹⁹Carpenter, Revive Us Again, 33-35.

²⁰UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 46, File: Newsletter 1957-58, Fellowship News, 21 Oct. 1957, and Box 57, File: IVCF, Fellowship News, Feb. 1959.

²¹UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, UBC SCM, Executive Minutes 1950-54, Meeting, 3 Feb. 1951.

IVCF was interested in interdenominational activity but only along evangelical lines. In 1949 the board of directors of the IVCF stated, "As an organization, we desire to cooperate with any local church or religious organization which is loyal to Jesus Christ as God incarnate and which trusts in His atoning death as the only basis of acceptance with God."²² While many SCMerS would not have disagreed with such a statement, they were less willing, especially by the 1950s, to limit their movement to specific doctrinal beliefs. The IVCF, on the other hand, did not identify with the broader Canadian culture but rather was set up to counter its corrosive impact on group identity.

The threat posed to the SCM by the IVCF may be seen most visibly in the reaction of the IVCF to the University Christian Missions. The IVCF was often ambivalent towards missions sponsored by the SCM and the Canadian Council of Churches. At the University of Toronto, for example, the IVCF participated as a group in the 1949 and 1952 missions but was less supportive of those held in the early 1940s or in 1954.²³ The IVCF expected missionaries to hold to its basis of faith and missions to be evangelistic.²⁴ Some missions met neither of these requirements. The aim of the 1954 University Christian Mission, for example, was not only to unsettle the nominal Christian but also to

²²Quoted in Stackhouse, Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century, 94.

²³UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 7, File: 1950-51, Undergrad News 4, 1 (Nov. 1950); UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, UCM Programme 1952. For the lack of support by the VCF see UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 48-1, Marjorie McLaren, Secretary IVCF to Chairman, Committee of Victoria College Mission, 18 Feb. 1942; UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2-31, "UCM," Jan. 26-30 1953; UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 13, File: UCM, Executive Committee Minutes, 27 April 1954.

²⁴Although there is no evidence that the missionaries in 1949 and 1952 agreed to do so, both Bishop Neill and Canon Milford emphasized traditional doctrines of the faith. Milford, as seen previously, in his addresses stressed the divinity of Christ and the importance of the atonement. Neill was known to emphasize the importance of conversion, the truth of the Christian experience, and the need to share this experience with others. For Neill's religious beliefs see Timothy Yates, Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 147-48.

challenge the agnostic. Rather than taking the approach of the IVCF to consider agnostics as potential converts, organizers included agnostics as equal participants in the mission.²⁵ This approach resonated with SCMer's central interest during the 1950s to enter into dialogue with agnostics.²⁶

Other issues also negatively affected SCM-IVCF co-operation. In 1954 the organizers of the UCM decided against signing cards or an altar call after the main addresses.²⁷ This position mirrored that of other liberal Protestant missions of the era. In United Church missions during the 1950s, for example, officials placed a greater emphasis on their members' active involvement in the church rather than on attempting to induce immediate conversion.²⁸ Similarly, supporters of the UCMs expected a rational, rather than emotional, approach to prevail in the missions. As Leonard Klinck stated of the approach of the 1944 mission at UBC, "Naturally...[it]...was the scientific approach." The missionaries, he went on to say, took for granted "that questions pertaining to religion should, like historical, philosophical and scientific questions, be critically analyzed and fearlessly subjected to the severest tests which unfettered intellectual enquiry imposes."²⁹ A rational, rather than emotional, approach also resonated with many students. After a visit to UBC in 1950 by Dr. Bob Jones, American fundamentalist evangelist and president of Bob Jones College, the editor of the Ubysey wrote,

Dr. Jones has told us the solution to our ills is emotional not rational. And that, coming from a university president, is a bit unsettling.

²⁵UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 13, File: 1953-54, "UCM, Minutes Executive Committee, 12 Nov. 1953.

²⁶Gidney, "Poisoning the Student Mind?" 156.

²⁷UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 60, File: UCM, Continuation Committee Meeting, 15 Dec. 1953.

²⁸Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 169-70.

²⁹UBCA, Klinck Papers, Box 5-19, "Chairman's Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the BC Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society," 19 April 1944.

It is high time those who are prepared to put their religious point of view forward on a reasoned basis came out and gave the rabble-rousers a raking over the coals.³⁰

This editorial indicates that students wanted a rational presentation of the faith. It also indirectly draws out the emotional nature of evangelical missions and thus the differences in aims and purposes of missions held by the Canadian Council of Churches and those of the IVCF.

The conflicting aims of the SCM and IVCF were not simply a problem for Canadian missions but were also endemic to the relationship between the two groups at an international level. In the attempt to improve ecumenical relations among national churches, the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) found "the really difficult relationship" in the post-war period to be with the International Federation of Evangelical Students (IFES).³¹ The central difference, historians of the WSCF contend, was in the field of evangelism. The IFES believed, according to Robert Mackie, general-secretary of the WSCF from 1938 to 1948, that "only a personal commitment to Christ should guarantee membership in the IFES" whereas the WSCF, as with the Canadian SCM, welcomed all into its folds.³²

By the mid-1950s the IVCF had decided to attempt to respiritualize Canadian university students on its own terms.³³ In fact, IVCF missions replaced missions

³⁰Edl., "And All That," Ubysey, 26 Oct. 1950, 2.

³¹Potter and Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth, 197. Robert S. Ellwood, The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American Religion in a Decade of Conflict (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 26, also notes the division of Protestants in the United States between the ecumenism evident in the World Council of Churches and National Council of Churches, formed in 1950, and an evangelicalism re-emerging with the growing popularity of such evangelists as Billy Graham.

³²Potter and Wieser, Seeking and Serving the Truth, 198.

³³Joel Carpenter relates that in the United States fundamentalists had directed revivals towards youth since wartime. The Youth for Christ movement, which developed during the war, was the first fruition of efforts by evangelical leaders in the 1930s and 1940s to revive revivalism. Youth for Christ rallies sprang up "wherever the Allied forces were

sponsored by the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) at some non-denominational universities in the 1950s. At the University of Toronto, for example, the last University Christian Mission was held in 1954. The IVCF, however, sponsored missions in the fall of 1956, in November 1958, and the fall of 1959 at the University of Toronto. It also sponsored missions at the Universities of Western Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia in 1956 and 1957.³⁴ The Reverend John Stott, an English evangelical leader and rector of All Souls Langham Place, London, England, led, among others, the 1956 IVCF mission in Toronto. Stott had conducted missions at Cambridge in 1952 and Oxford in 1954. At the University of Toronto the main series was held in Convocation Hall on traditional topics such as "The Fact of Sin," "The Death of Christ," and "The Necessity of Decision."³⁵ As with the UCMs, administrators and faculty participated in the mission. Chairs for the main series included President Sidney Smith, J.S. Cunningham, chaplain of Hart House, Professor G. Edison, vice-provost of Trinity College, Professor R.R. McLaughlin, dean of the faculty of applied science and engineering, and Dr. J.A. MacFarlane, dean of the faculty of medicine. Stott addressed a number of student clubs such as the International Student Organization, the Household Economics Club, the University College Classics Club, and the Chemical Club, speaking on such topics as the "Universality of Christianity" and the "Advantage of a Scientist in Viewing Religion."³⁶

stationed" and these rallies, along with evangelical students being stationed in foreign countries, led to renewal of the missionary impulse among evangelicals. See Revive Us Again, 167-69, 178.

³⁴UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, SCM UBC Executive Minutes, 1955-60, Meeting 7 Jan. 1957; UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 57, File: IVCF, Varsity Christian Fellowship News, Oct. 1958, and Box 30, File: Minutes 1954-56, Advisory Board, 13 May 1957.

³⁵UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, "Mission in the University."

³⁶Senior faculty and student leaders also participated in VCF missions at other universities. A VCF mission to UBC, also led by Stott, included meetings chaired by

In structure and format the IVCF mission was much the same as the UCMs, but it had a stronger evangelistic tone. Of the sixteen associate missionaries, three were IVCF staff members and one, Dr. J.O. Buswell, had been, from 1926 to 1940, the president of Wheaton College. No SCMs formed part of the team. The mission included not only the usual morning devotions but also a Saturday night Bible reading. Finally, instructions to IVCF members strongly encouraged students to do their part in evangelistic activity on campus during the week. Members were to encourage friends to attend, to try to read on the follow-up material, and to make time during the week to help new Christians understand the faith. IVCFers were advised that "it is the responsibility of all Christian students to bring out non-Christians, and, if possible, converse with them afterwards about the main message."³⁷

While the SCM could assume up until the 1950s that it spoke for most Protestants on campus, in the second half of the twentieth century the IVCF began to have a significant presence on university campuses. At many universities its missions replaced those held by the SCM and CCC. They drew on the support of administrators who had previously been supporters and participants of the UCMs. This gave the IVCF public recognition and a legitimacy on campus previously granted primarily to the SCM. Through its refusal to participate in UCMs and by setting up its own missions, the IVCF gave notice that the UCMs did not represent all Protestants.

If the IVCF posed the first noticeable threat to the dominance of a liberal Protestant voice, the proliferation of other Protestant religious clubs and chaplains also

S.N.F. Chant, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science, N.V. Scarfe, Dean of the College and Faculty of Education, H.C. Gunning, Dean of the Applied Science Faculty, as well as Don Jabor, AMS President. See "Campus Mission Starts Monday." Ubysey, 18 Jan. 1957, 5.

³⁷UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, "Report of the Mission in the University, Nov. 12-18, 1956."

created concern about the division of Protestant forces on campus.³⁸ As we saw in chapter 4, the religious revival of the 1940s and 1950s resulted in a rise in church attendance, a flourishing of men's and women's organizations, church-building campaigns, and evangelistic missions.³⁹ Much of this work occurred along traditional denominational lines. J.W. Grant contends that the economic prosperity of the time allowed for denominational building projects while the desire "for reassurance and stability" led Canadians to reinvest their energies "within familiar denominational compartments" rather than in unknown ecumenical ventures.⁴⁰

The Canadian pattern of denominational attachment was replicated on university campuses where denominations began supporting their own chaplains and clubs.⁴¹ During the interwar years university campuses usually had only one or two Protestant religious clubs. In the mid- to late 1950s new clubs began to appear. While the Dalhousie Student Handbook, for example, listed the SCM in the interwar years, by the mid-1950s it also included the Canterbury Club (Anglican) and the IVCF.⁴² Student religious clubs at the University of Toronto during the interwar years included the SCM and the Toronto Intercollegiate Christian Union. By the late 1950s these were joined by the Canterbury, Christian Science, Delta Psi (Lutheran), and Presbyterian clubs.⁴³ Even

³⁸Several historians have pointed to the rise of denominational competition in Canada in the 1950s. See for example Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 164 and Christie and Gauvreau, A Full-Orbed Christianity, 250. Christie and Gauvreau have also posited that the origins of secularization might be sought in this "fragmentation of the evangelical experience."

³⁹Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 160-61.

⁴⁰Ibid., 164.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²UKCA, SU, A.5.1.3., Student Council, Student Handbook, 1955-56, Student Directory, Dalhousie University and King's College.

⁴³Torontonensis, 1918, 1924, 1932, 1935; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 92, File: Freshman Information, David K. Bernhardt, ed., Freshman's Handbook

McMaster students and faculty, who had not allowed religious clubs other than the McMaster Christian Union on campus in the first half of the twentieth century, found it increasingly difficult to follow this policy. While the McMaster Student Union of 1957-58 preferred the religious unity provided by the MCU, it also realized that the diversity of the student body now made this impossible.⁴⁴ In the late 1950s Canterbury, Baptist, and United Church clubs could all be found at McMaster.⁴⁵ In 1958, the president of the McMaster Student Union stated, "Perhaps this is the price paid by an expanding campus that the Protestants at least must divide."⁴⁶ Similarly, at UBC a number of new clubs appeared in the late 1950s and early 1960s including the Southern Baptists, Christian Science, and a Lutheran club.⁴⁷ Most of these clubs had their own chaplains. By 1962, for example, the SCM, along with the United Church, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Lutheran clubs, each had their own denominational chaplains.⁴⁸

(Toronto: SAC, 1957-58).

⁴⁴CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 20, Annual Reports, File: 1957-58, Departmental Reports, Report of the president of the Student Union 1957-58.

⁴⁵McMUA, Directories, Faculty and Student, 1928-74, McMaster Directory 1957-58, 1958-59. Although McMaster allowed denominational clubs on campus in the late 1950s, it continued to prohibit the SCM and VCF. While students were interested in the IVCF and SCM and desired greater contact with these groups, in 1959 students and faculty feared the existence of these clubs on campus might revive the old modernist-fundamentalist conflicts. UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-64, File: McMaster University, 1950s, John C. Duff, President McMaster Christian Union to the General-Secretary of the SCM, 22 April 1959.

⁴⁶CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 20, Annual Reports, File: 1957-58, Departmental Reports, Report of President of Student Union 1957-58.

⁴⁷UBCA, Tuum Est 1958-59; Totem 1961; Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1958, Department of Evangelism, Report of Commission on the Church and the University, 100.

⁴⁸UBCA, Senate Minutes, 14 Feb. 1962, 3104; UBCA, Senate Fonds, Box 28-52, Report by William Nicholls, Professor Religious Studies to President N.A.M. MacKenzie, c. 1962 and G.O.B. Davies, Secretary, Committee of Academic Deans to Professor Nicholls, Department of Religious Studies, 22 Oct. 1962.

Older religious clubs such as the SCM and MCU continued to serve their constituencies in traditional ways, providing religious and social outlets for their membership. Newer clubs often developed a similar focus to older clubs. Canterbury, for example, held corn roasts, discussion groups, and banquets, and engaged in international charitable activities promoted by their own denomination such as raising money for the Primate's World Relief Fund.⁴⁹ In doing so, clubs such as Canterbury drew off student support which might otherwise have been directed to the SCM or at McMaster the MCU.⁵⁰

This was not only a concern of the SCM. Anglicans at various universities worried about the threat posed by competing denominations to Protestant unity on campus. Anglican chaplains at both Toronto and UBC, for example, urged their students to maintain close contact with the SCM. This was aided at Toronto by the rector of the Canterbury Centre being a member of the SCM Advisory Board.⁵¹ At UBC too the chaplain favoured an ecumenical approach, hoping "that 'on campus' activity will be largely SCM, the Chaplains working closely with the SCM, and in fact, as part of it, so far as the Study and Discussion Program goes."⁵²

But the concerns voiced about denominational competition, and perhaps more so about the fragmenting of cultural Protestantism in Canada, were to little avail. Despite

⁴⁹UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-63, File: Denominational Work 1955-56, 9th Annual Conference, Canterbury Clubs of Ontario and Quebec, Club Reports; Pharos 1962, 1964; Yearbook of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, 1960, Report on Church and University, 185-86.

⁵⁰In Britain after 1950 the increase of denominational societies on university campuses similarly drew support away from the SCM. See Edwards, Movements into Tomorrow, 39.

⁵¹UTA, A74-0009, Box 14, File: Inside Correspondence 1958, Canterbury Center, "Memorandum to Anglican Faculty Members."

⁵²Archives of the Anglican Diocese of New Westminster, Fonds D.P. Whatney, B479-4, D.P.W. to Mr. Frank Thompson, 17 Dec. 1957.

the arguments by the Canadian Council of Churches, the SCMC, and SCM locals that denominational work be performed "within the ecumenical framework of the SCM," many denominations continued to favour establishing their own clubs.⁵³ Thus the development of denominational clubs and chaplains ate away at the appearance of Protestant unity which had been projected by the SCM in the interwar years.

The degree of religious pluralism on Canadian campuses was increasing in another way as well: in the greater presence of Roman Catholic and Jewish students, and a new concern for a wider pluralism. Both played their part in undermining the old Protestant consensus. Catholic and Jewish clubs had been founded on numerous campuses by the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁴ They grew in number and in organization in the post-war years. Robert Ellwood has found for the United States that the religious boom of the 1950s can be understood at least in part as a "supply-side phenomenon." He argues that "Catholics, Jews, and evangelicals moved into high visibility and into the mainstream, and unprecedented prosperity meant that all denominations could put up parish halls."⁵⁵ A similar situation occurred in Canada. Dalhousie, for example, which had only a Roman Catholic club in the interwar years, gained a Jewish club in the early 1950s.⁵⁶ McMaster, which, as we have just seen, had not allowed denominational clubs

⁵³UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 68, File: SCM, SCM Advisory Board, 18 April 1956. See also UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 40, File: Staff Newsletter SCMC, Dec. 1952.

⁵⁴Newman Clubs were founded at many Canadian universities just prior to and immediately after the First World War. Clubs were established at the University of Toronto in 1913, Dalhousie University in 1919, and UBC in 1926. See the Reverend J. G. Hanley, Across Canada with Newman: A Brief History of the Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs (Kingston: Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs, 1953), 1.

⁵⁵Ellwood, The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace, 7.

⁵⁶Hillel appeared at UBC in 1947 and at Dalhousie c. 1952-53. See Jewish Historical Society of British Columbia, "'Generation to Generation,' Hillel, Vancouver B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Golden Anniversary, June 17, 1997"; Pharos 1955.

on campus prior to the 1950s, gained both Jewish and Roman Catholic clubs in that decade. More significant was the change in the nature of these clubs. By 1942 the number and size of Newman clubs had grown sufficiently in Canada that a Canadian Federation of Newman clubs was established.⁵⁷ Equally, by the 1940s, following an earlier American pattern, the small, intellectually oriented Jewish Menorah Society had been replaced by the Hillel Foundation which focused on religious observance and social activities, as well as intellectual discussion.⁵⁸

As has been noted, most English-Canadian campuses remained predominantly Protestant well into the post-war period. At provincial universities such as Toronto, Dalhousie, and UBC, which had high rates of Jewish and Catholic attendance, the Roman Catholic student population still only reached approximately twelve to fifteen per cent and the Jewish presence ranged from a minimal two percent at UBC to a high of nine per cent at the University of Toronto. Together, nonetheless, they represented a sizeable minority on campus -- pushing, indeed, towards 20 per cent.⁵⁹ Yet the impact of religious

⁵⁷In 1931 a Canadian Province of the Federation of Catholic Colleges was created which included all the clubs in eastern Canada. The Canadian Federation of Newman clubs, created in 1942, gradually united all Canadian clubs. UBC, for example, joined in 1947. Unlike the SCM, the Canadian Federation of Newman Clubs did not have the finances to establish either a permanent office or a paid secretary. As of 1943, however, the Canadian Federation did hold conventions hosted annually by a different local. See Hanley, Across Canada, 1-2, and Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver, GR4, S24, Box 1, Newman Club, "Newman Association of Vancouver," 1989-90.

⁵⁸In the United States in the 1920s campus chapters of Menorah began to be supplanted by the Hillel Foundation, sponsored by B'nai B'rith, which provided a broader program, including not only cultural activities but also religious services, socials, and athletics. Jenna Weissman Joselit, "Without Ghettoism: A History of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, 1906-1930," American Jewish Archives 30 (Nov. 1978): 152.

⁵⁹UBC's student population in the late 1950s was 12 per cent Roman Catholic and 2 per cent Jewish. This figure was matched at Dalhousie where in the mid-fifties 15 per cent were Roman Catholic and 5 per cent Jewish. While I could not find religious affiliation for the University of Toronto in the 1950s, a Hillel report suggests that the Jewish student population was 9 per cent. Even if the Catholic population remained at 1930 levels this would bring the Jewish and Catholic student population to 24 per cent. See UBC President's Report 1959-60; Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume

pluralism had less to do with the number of Jews and Catholics on campus, or with the increasing size and number of non-Protestant religious clubs, than with a changing mentality -- a gradual recognition by presidents and religious leaders of a religious pluralism that had existed on campus for some time. This recognition did not come immediately or quickly in the post-war years, but gradually and from a variety of sources: from students' desire for interfaith activity, from a gradual rapprochement between Christians and Jews, and from administrators' recognition of a more pluralistic campus.

A limited amount of interfaith activity had begun to occur on Canadian campuses in the post-war period. At the end of World War Two, for example, at least some of the veterans at the University of Toronto returned home with a desire for peace and unity. At their request, D.C. Candy, a former military chaplain hired to help veterans readjust to civilian life, organized a series on religions of the world which attracted an average attendance of 200 men.⁶⁰ Efforts by veterans led to subsequent interfaith activity in the post-war years such as meetings between the SCM and Hillel as well as all-university religious services.⁶¹ Such meetings continued after veterans had graduated. A growing rapprochement between Protestants and Jews was also made possible in part as Jews and Protestants identified common concerns. In an examination of three of Toronto's Reformed rabbis from 1920 to 1960, Gerald Tulchinsky found that in drawing on their own faith these rabbis championed social justice issues similar to those of social

Two, 175; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 55, File 29, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation Annual Report, 1952-53.

⁶⁰UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc 89.130v, Box 79-6, "The Padre's Program: An Initial Report," Nov. 1, 1945.

⁶¹"Varsity Hillel and SCM Convene with plea for racial tolerance," Varsity, 8 Jan. 1946, 1; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 55, File 29, Annual Report, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, University of Toronto, 1952-53; "Rabbi Backer Addresses Service," Varsity, 2 Dec. 1955, 6; UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 30, File: Hart House Bulletin, Hart House Bulletin, 11 Jan. 1960.

gospellers and advocated universal values of tolerance and human decency.⁶² Thus rabbis emphasized social justice issues which were often the same as those of SCMs. Moreover, at least some presidents were beginning to articulate the commonalities between these groups. In 1949-50, Sidney Smith, president of the University of Toronto, emphasized in his President's Report the importance of the Judeo-Christian tradition to western civilization. He stated, "The understanding, as well as the maintenance, of Western culture and its democratic institutions depend upon the transmission of the Judeo-Christian tradition strengthened by the wisdom of the classical period from both of which we derived the vitality of our civilization."⁶³ In using such language Smith was participating in a broader Canadian movement which was beginning to perceive the Judeo-Christian and eventually the religiously pluralistic nature of Canadian society. Thus, the very presence of Roman Catholics and Jews, along with the creation of viable religious clubs which made their presence palpable, posed a challenge to any easy assumption that the voice of liberal Protestantism, or even Protestant forms of Christianity, was co-terminus with, let alone representative of, the Canadian university.

Religious pluralism, then, both Protestant and non-Protestant, constituted one challenge to the liberal Protestant hegemony the SCM had represented. But it was not the only one. In the late 1950s and 1960s, the SCM was itself undergoing transformation. As argued in chapter three, the SCM's interest in the early 1950s in Christian evangelism and theological introspection became refocused by the late 1950s on social action, mainly around the issue of nuclear disarmament. And this, it would seem, brought renewed

⁶²Gerald Tulchinsky, "'Justice and Only Justice Thou Shalt Pursue': Considerations on the Social Voice of Canada's Reform Rabbis," in Religion and Public Life: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 319-25.

⁶³University of Toronto President's Report 1949-50.

energy and enthusiasm to clubs at the University of Toronto and UBC. In other places, however, no such renewal took place. Dalhousie is a case in point. In 1961 the president of Dalhousie claimed that the local SCM did not touch "more than a small proportion" of students and that its program did not command "general attention on campus."⁶⁴ The SCM at Dalhousie had always been in a more precarious position than that at the University of Toronto. It relied more heavily on travelling secretaries, for example, rather than having a part-time or full-time worker on campus. When the movement grew in the mid-1950s with rising interest in religion more generally, Dalhousie only gained a part-time secretary as compared to the three full-time workers at the University of Toronto.⁶⁵ Unlike the University of Toronto which had the influence of Victoria College, the lack of a nearby denominational arts college affiliated to the United Church may also have limited the impact of the SCM at Dalhousie. Yet the aims of the SCM, as indicated in the University of King's College Record, also points to increasing internal contradictions within the movement. By 1961, according to this source, the SCM considered itself an open movement, welcoming "agnostics, atheists, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims who are seriously questioning or doubting God -- Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."⁶⁶ In 1963, on the other hand, the excerpt from the Record stated that while some doubted it was a Christian movement, it did indeed have "a definite Christian character, because its chief aim is to draw all men to Christ and encourage those who are drawn to Him to bear witness to Him on the campus and outside."⁶⁷ The SCM, it was clear, was having difficulty reconciling its desire to be pluralistic with its Christian endeavour. By 1965 the

⁶⁴DUA, MS-1-3, A-954, President's Office, SCM 1921-63, President to Mr. Haan de Boer, 3 July 1961.

⁶⁵Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1954, Report of the Student Christian Movement in Canada, 51-53.

⁶⁶"SCM," Record, 1961, 45.

⁶⁷"SCM," Record, 1963, 60.

Dalhousie-King's local, which had always been relatively weak compared to other chapters, simply vanished.⁶⁸

Still, at other campuses the situation of the SCM was different, and different in part because of the congruence between the social emphasis within the SCM clubs and the growth in the 1960s of student radicalism so characteristic of campuses in Europe, the United States and Canada. The fight for nuclear disarmament in the late 1950s, the civil rights marches of the early 1960s, and the escalation of war in Vietnam by the mid-1960s all heightened the political awareness of university students in the sixties.⁶⁹ This political radicalism converged with the new moral and aesthetic sensibilities of the counter-culture. Both of these phenomena had a major impact on the nature of Canadian universities.

A good part of students' critique of society during the 1960s focused on their own institution, the university. With the phenomenal growth of universities in the post-war period, students who had expected a scholarly community with small classes marked by discussion with professors instead found themselves in large lectures feeling like part of a production line.⁷⁰ Students felt unable to contribute to, or control, the direction of their education. Such sentiments led students to demand a greater degree of choice in, and direction over, their own studies as well as participation in university governance.⁷¹ The

⁶⁸"Campus Chaplains Analyse Role of Religion in Modern Life." Dalhousie Gazette, 19 Jan. 1967, 3: DUA, Dalhousie University Newsletter 3, 6 (Oct. 1967).

⁶⁹Owram, Born at the Right Time, 219.

⁷⁰Edl. "Artsmen-unite!" Gargovle, 17 Nov. 1966, 2. See also C.W. Gonick, "Self-Government in the Multiversity," in The University Game, ed. Howard Adelman and Dennis Lee (Toronto: Anansi, 1968), 39, 41; Julyan Reid, "Education for What?" in Student Power and the Canadian Campus, ed. Tim and Julyan Reid (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1969), 1-2.

⁷¹UBCA, President's Office, Subject File, Box 24-1, "The Future of Education at the University: Fair Weather or Foul?" 14 June 1968; McMUA, Press Releases, June 1968-76, "Report to the Senate from the Senate Committee on Student Affairs, May 1968, Student Participation on Senate and Presidential Committees."

explosion in university enrolment resulted in trenchant critiques that "the intellectual elite was...being massified." In the words of a more recent analysis of the New Left, its members seized upon this process "as evidence of the proletarianization of educated youth...which would serve as the vanguard of the coming socialist revolution."⁷² Thus the New Left linked attacks on the university to emerging world-wide struggles for liberation by the dispossessed.⁷³

At least some of the attack on the traditional nature of the university came from liberal Protestant circles. Radicalism and counter-cultural activity has generally been equated with secular groups such as the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), the Student Non-Violent Co-ordination Committee, Students for a Democratic University, and the Canadian Union of Students. Yet, Doug Owram argues, and this study concurs, that the SCM "remained influential on many issues and in the mood of the sixties translated the idea of Christian Stewardship into a radical critique of contemporary society."⁷⁴

Influenced by Students for a Democratic Society in the United States, SCMers took the same turn as other Canadian students in the 1960s, becoming involved in more broad-based activism than simply the peace movement. SUPA came to embody many of the ideals of the New Left. While SUPA continued to support nuclear deterrence, it also broadened its mandate to include the issues moving American students: civil rights and anti-Vietnam protest. It emphasized the importance of participatory democracy and grassroots organizing.⁷⁵ New Left ideology saw students and others, such as natives, francophones, and women, excluded from the reins of power but also as the agents of

⁷²Levitt, Children of Privilege, 28.

⁷³Owram, Born at the Right Time, 227-28; Kostash, Long Way Home, 13.

⁷⁴Owram, Born at the Right Time, 225.

⁷⁵Ibid., 220-21.

social change.⁷⁶ Students especially, while dispossessed, were seen to be members of "a critical community" which had the opportunity to learn the skills to organize.⁷⁷ SUPA focused attention on radicalizing youth and setting them to work in disadvantaged communities. They created community projects such as developing playgrounds for north-end children in Kingston and creating educational and social centers for Victoria youth.⁷⁸

Influenced by SUPA, SCMerS in the 1960s, following their predecessors who had been influenced by the social gospel movement in the 1920s and 1930s, became involved in radical activities. However, their ideas were also shaped by theological ideas of the time. If in the late 1950s SCMerS, as has already been noted, had been influenced by such intellectual trends as beat poetry and Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Letters and Papers from Prison, during the 1960s they also discussed in study groups such theological strands as Death of God theology and Harvey Cox's response to secularism in The Secular City (1965).⁷⁹ The thrust of much of this literature was that Christians "must become fully involved in righting the wrongs of this world."⁸⁰ While Death of God theologians preached "worldly witness" as a solution to the death of God, Harvey Cox believed "that God was very much alive in the process of secularization" and that affirmation in God occurred "by becoming a responsible moral agent working to bring about social change."⁸¹

⁷⁶Ibid., 228.

⁷⁷Kostash, Long Way From Home, 14.

⁷⁸Owram, Born at the Right Time, 221.

⁷⁹Bob Stewart, "The Student Christian Movement: From Church to Sect." unpublished paper, circa 1970, 7-8. Thanks to Bob Stewart for this document.

⁸⁰Ferm, "Religious Thought Since World War II," 1162.

⁸¹Ibid., 1162-63.

SCMers. then. were influenced both by secular and religious political and intellectual ideas during the 1960s. Both helped broaden the scope of their activism. In March 1965 students engaged in a sit-in before the American consulate in Toronto to support the Selma civil rights march. As Myrna Kostash, a student activist in the 1960s, remembered, SUPA provided many of these students with their first lessons in non-violent disobedience: "they took them by the carloads to the Student Christian Movement (SCM) office and ran them through a 'quick session on how to do a non-violent demonstration.' returned them to the sit-in. and picked up another carload."⁸²

The SCM was thus involved in emerging New Left activities. Overlap between the SCM and SUPA may be seen not only in their joint activities but in the SUPA Newsletter. In 1964 the Newsletter contained information about the upcoming SCM conference and featured an old-west-style "wanted" picture of Jesus Christ, the "professional agitator." on the front cover.⁸³ While the SCM's long-term influence on campus and its favoured treatment by the administration may on the surface make it seem a strange participant in the early New Left, both student groups had the same ideals: general interest in social issues, a sense of democracy unfulfilled, and the desire for an improved society.⁸⁴

Even as the SCM continued to play a role on university campuses, it was itself affected by the events of the 1960s. By 1965 the SCM locals, as well as the national movement, were undergoing reassessment. The UBC SCM experienced the greatest implosion. Between 1963 and 1966 the local was facing financial difficulties and the

⁸²Kostash, Long Way From Home, 10.

⁸³UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 47, File: SUPA, SUPA Newsletter, 21 Dec. 1965.

⁸⁴Levitt, Children of Privilege, 8; Owram, Born at the Right Time, 220.

inability to pay for staff to maintain a large and effective local.⁸⁵ Added to this, serious division developed within the UBC SCM. In the fall of 1965 two groups had emerged: an older one involved in radical activities and a younger group interested in promoting traditional study group programs aimed at first and second year students.⁸⁶

Commentators on the period contend that intellectual strands from the 1950s converged with newer ideas in the 1960s, creating a period first of intellectual excitement and then, as internal division increased, leading to the groups' destruction in 1966.⁸⁷ While the local regrouped in the late 1960s it had been chastened, member Bob Stewart contended, by "an awareness of the limits of what we could do."⁸⁸

While the UBC SCM may have been most affected by division caused by political radicalism it was not the only SCM group undergoing reassessment. Commentators noted a number of reasons for the problems faced by the University of Toronto SCM. In the mid-1950s the club found itself attempting to reach an increasing student population but unable to secure necessary finances from mainstream denominations.⁸⁹ Given its nature as a campus society, the ability of the club to secure funds from local churches was difficult for as one commentator on the state of the SCM at the University of Toronto contended, "The churches have only a limited understanding of the SCM and its peculiar role within the life of the University, and in relation to the Church."⁹⁰ As the general-

⁸⁵UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3-87, N.K. Clifford, "Piety, Poverty and Illusion in the SCM." 5.

⁸⁶UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3-87, SCM, UBC, J.R. Hugh Dempster, Chair, Advisory Board, to Members of Advisory Board, 25 Nov. 1965.

⁸⁷Stewart, "The Student Christian Movement." 7-8.

⁸⁸Stewart, "The Student Christian Movement." 10.

⁸⁹UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 67, File: Chaplaincy, "A Summary," 12 Feb. 1957.

⁹⁰Ibid.

secretary of the SCM at the University of Toronto, Alan M. McLachlin, argued, although the SCM relied on funds from various denominational churches, these churches increasingly favoured support for visible denominational work. "Church courts," he contended, "seem almost inevitably to favour the appointment of clergymen as campus Christian workers."⁹¹

Yet finances were not the only problem. As noted, since the late 1940s the SCM had faced increasing competition from other religious groups on campus. It also experienced competition from secular clubs. As one commentator stated, "So many of the services formerly provided by the SCM have now been taken over by various organizations who can often do a better job because of a narrower purpose."⁹² Ironically, some of this competition was of its own making. The SCM had participated in and helped create the New Left. Increasingly there was less need for the SCM as a social crusader. Paradoxically, in contributing to the "poisoning of the student mind" through its radical activities, the SCM had also helped spawn secular alternatives through which students could express their political activism. As Doug Owram argues, "the first stop on the road to campus activism was often in organizations like the Student Christian Movement. The belief in service, duty, and commitment brought them there, and the same beliefs often led them onward to new stops and new organizations."⁹³

⁹¹UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 75, File: SCM, Allan McLachlin, general-secretary, "The Future of the Toronto SCM," 16 Nov. 1959.

⁹²UCC/VUA, SCM Records Box 84-35, Peter Paris, "An Interim Report of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," April 1965, 7-8. See also UCC/VUA, SCM, Box 84-92, File: Church and University Committee 1963-65, Minutes of Church and University Council, 23 March 1965. For a similar comment on how competition from "the new action groups on campus" was leading to "a loss of purpose and direction" see Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1966, Student Christian Movement of Canada, 131-32.

⁹³Owram, Born at the Right Time, 219.

Yet the increase of other groups was not the only reason for the SCM's loss of direction. Reflecting on the state of the SCM in Canada in the mid-1960s, Peter Paris, an SCMC staff member, argued that SCMerS seemed unsure of what the movement stood for.⁹⁴ One of its central aims during the 1950s had been outreach to agnostics. But its openness towards all was becoming a problem within the movement as the SCM now contained as many who were not Christian as who were.⁹⁵ and thus had "very little conscious Christian orientation."⁹⁶ In some sense this made it more able to interact with the New Left. Indeed, the SCM's open membership policy also converged with early New Left ideology. In a succinct summary of the impact of such convergence, Levitt contends that "since the thrust of the early New Left critique was moralistic, the ideological adherence of individual members was considered to be irrelevant. A communist and a Christian would both be welcomed if each were willing to engage in moral action for peace and civil rights wherever and whenever they were threatened."⁹⁷ Writing in 1965 on the objectives of the UBC SCM, V.V. Murray of the faculty of commerce argued that the purpose of the club was to jolt students out of their complacency and develop in them "grace, brotherly love, humanity, and concern for others." Christianity was imparted through living not teaching. Belief would follow upon action. "Since such action also forms the basis of non-Christian religion or moral philosophies," Murray continued, "there is no guarantee that the belief which develops will be Christian in the traditional sense. The person may end up a Buddhist or a

⁹⁴UCC/VUA. SCM. Box 84-35, Peter Paris, "An Interim Report of the Student Christian Movement of Canada." April 1965, 7.

⁹⁵Ibid., 7, 79-80.

⁹⁶Ibid., 65, 80.

⁹⁷Levitt, Children of Privilege, 8.

Humanist or something else. This does not personally bother me."⁹⁸ For at least some supporters of the SCM, social action had become more important than Christian doctrine.

By the mid-1960s, then, many SCM branches had become focused on political activism. Unlike in the 1930s, however, when SCMerS had also engaged heavily in social activism, the aim in the 1960s was less the social gospel emphasis of creating a Christian society than simply the creation of a more humane one. This change in emphasis was due at least in part to the growing religious pluralism on campus. The SCM's religious and political liberalism in the post-war years, however, engendered a reaction in the form of an increasingly aggressive evangelical Christianity. By the 1960s confrontation between different visions of Protestant belief had appeared not only on campus, but John Webster Grant argues, within mainline denominations such as the United Church. Indeed, more conservative members of this denomination became increasingly disillusioned by the church's liberal positions on such issues as abortion.⁹⁹ The overall effect of the growth of the IVCF and other Protestant and non-Protestant religious clubs in the post-war years, was a changing religious landscape which would challenge liberal Protestant hegemony. That hegemony would also come increasingly under attack in the post-war years as students and educators adopted new social mores and cultural attitudes.

⁹⁸UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 3-87, V.V. Murray, faculty of commerce, "The Local SCM -- A Naive Look at Objectives and Structure." June 1965.

⁹⁹Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 238.

Chapter 7

The Decline of In Loco Parentis

In many respects, during the 1950s and early 1960s views about the nature and role of the university in character formation remained remarkably similar to those of the interwar period. In residence and on campus more generally administrators and students reinforced many pre-existing moral and religious views. Deans of women ensured a religious presence in residence. Students were exposed to mainstream Protestantism through initiations, orientations, and carnivals. And many worried about their own personal faith as well. Indeed, students who attended university in the 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s were part of an institution that was closer to the university of their parents in the interwar years than it would be to that of their children. In this sense the structure of moral capital in the university appeared firmly in place.

Yet if the 1950s is noted for the return to traditional values within Canadian society it is also marked by changing social mores and new intellectual currents which would erode these values. Historians have tended to focus on the idealized aspirations of the 1950s: the rise of consumerism, the growth of suburbia, the emphasis on family and on heterosexuality. Yet as historians have argued, the construction of idealized notions of family life occurred at a time of significant change and anxiety about traditional gender and familial norms.¹ The increase in the birth rate, for example, occurred only among younger women – those under thirty, and most notably among married women under twenty-five.² Similarly, prescriptions about women's important role in the home occurred

¹Mona Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 55-56. For a view of the 1950s as conformist see Levitt, Children of Privilege, 14.

²Prentice et al., Canadian Women, 379.

during a time when more and more married women worked outside the home, albeit for limited time periods before and after childrearing.³ Even the religious revival of the 1950s, which has been connected to the development of suburbia and the beginning of the baby boom, veiled a continuing decline, through the twentieth century, of Protestant church attendance.⁴ Thus, if on the surface the 1950s looks like a period in which many returned, or wished to return, to traditional values, there was also significant change occurring within Canadian society.

This was equally true within youth culture. Campus culture in the 1950s has often been portrayed as a time of quietude marked by formal dances, pinning ceremonies, youthful pranks, and an apolitical student culture.⁵ Yet within youth culture significant change was also occurring. The music of Elvis Presley and other white musicians such as Bill Hailey, which opened the way for blacks such as Chuck Berry and Little Richard, challenged sexual and racial mores. Movies such as "Rebel Without a Cause" and "The Wild One" set the tone for youthful rebellion. Intellectuals in the 1950s wrote on the negative aspects of mass consumerism, on the dehumanizing aspects of technological society, and on the emasculation of the male white-collar worker. Works such as The Lonely Crowd, The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit, and The Organization Man expressed a rejection of conformity and a sense of alienation. These sentiments would be reaffirmed in the Beat poetry and literature of Jack Kerouac and Alan Ginsberg.⁶ None of these

³In 1941 the participation rate for married women in the labour force was 4.5 per cent. This increased to 11.2 per cent in 1951 and 22 per cent in 1961. See Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60," Canadian Historical Review LXXII 4 (Dec.1991): 479-80.

⁴John G. Stackhouse Jr., "The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945," in The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Burlington, Ont: Welch Publishing Co. 1990), 206.

⁵Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, chapter 6.

⁶David Halberstam, The Fifties (New York: Villard Books, 1993), 300-301, 472, 486.

events had an immediate impact on student culture. But they penetrated into, and shaped the minds of, 1950s youth, opening the way to new codes of behaviour.

The new codes of behaviour could be seen in particular within campus residences. Residence rules had been gradually loosening, bit by bit, through the first half of the twentieth century as administrators extended curfews and added on late leaves. Although rules for residence freshettes remained restrictive in the post-war period, administrators became ever more tolerant towards seniors. In the 1930s both frosh and seniors tended to be limited to one or two late leaves a week. While, as we have seen, such restrictions continued to hold true for freshettes, by the late 1950s seniors had much more leeway. At University College, for example, they could take as many 2:30s as they wanted. At UBC seniors received unlimited 4 a.m. leaves. At McMaster they were given keys, returnable prior to 7 a.m.⁷ However, female students were still far from free of the ideology of in loco parentis. Students who returned to residence after the appointed time of their late leave still faced fines or gatings from the residence council.⁸ Late leaves thus continued to be understood as senior privileges, not student rights.

In addition to the loosening of residence rules for seniors, administrators began to reassess the rules regarding boarding houses. At UBC, for example, accommodation still had to meet the approval of the Dean in the 1950s. Yet women who filed with the dean a letter of approval from their parents could live by themselves in an apartment or in a boarding house which also accommodated men.⁹ By 1960 the dean of women at UBC no

⁷Melvyn Pelt, "A Masculine Viewing of Whitney Hall," Varsity, 5 Dec. 1960, 1-2; CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 21, Annual Reports, File 1958-59, Report of Dean of Women, "Residence Rules": UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 2, File 15, "The UBC: the Office of the Dean of Women," c. 1963-65.

⁸"Shirreff Hall," Pharos, 1952.

⁹UBC Calendar 1959-60, 65.

longer checked into the moral or physical standards of women's accommodation.¹⁰ This liberalization of women's accommodation at UBC fits a broader Canadian pattern. Historians of women in Canada argue that during the interwar years women who left their families, either to pursue educational opportunities or to enter the workforce, were expected to live in supervised quarters, either under the watchful eye of another family or in a supervised and respectable boarding house. However, through the 1950s it became increasingly more acceptable "for a young woman to live on her own or independently with people of her own age."¹¹

Men at the universities under consideration generally remained unimpeded by rules about curfews or boarding. Like female students, however, they had to abide by set times for entertaining the opposite sex. In the 1950s these times were usually limited to weekend visits in a common room.¹² For women, visiting rules remained relatively the same into the 1960s, though visits were often extended to include weekdays.¹³ In many men's residences, however, the rules began to liberalize in the early 1960s. In 1961, for example, University College men could, on the weekend, entertain their female friends in the relative privacy of their rooms rather than simply in the common room.¹⁴ Similarly, Ryerson House, a men's residence at Victoria College, allowed women in men's rooms until midnight any evening of the week.¹⁵

¹⁰UBC Calendar 1960-61, 67.

¹¹Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History, 379.

¹²UTA, University College Records, A74-0009, Box 10, File: Student Incidents 1956-57, H.I. Macdonald to Mrs Innis, 25 March 1957.

¹³CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 21, Annual Reports, File: 1958-59, Report of Dean of Women, "Residence Rules"; DUA, MSI-Ref, Dalhousie Societies, Constitution of the Shirreff Hall Self-Governing Association, 1964.

¹⁴Rosemary Speirs, "The UC Men's Residence," Gargolyle, 6 Jan. 1961, 1-2.

¹⁵UCC/VUA, Ryerson House Fonds, Acc. 90.178, Box 1, File 3, Ryerson House Meeting, 21 Sept. 1960.

From the mid-1960s on the radicalization of youth and the development of a counter-culture began to have far-ranging effects on campus life. Demands for greater freedom in their course of study and in their social life led students to challenge the traditional moral imperatives imposed by university administrators. Victoria's students complained that residence created "mindless conformity" rather than self-development.¹⁶ They felt that there was a rigid hierarchy of age and experience, and instead called for leadership to create an equal community.¹⁷ Women complained about the restrictiveness and absurdity of the rules. They disliked having to wear a skirt to the dining room. They fumed about having to stand just inside the dining room doorway if late for dinner, where they had to wait for a nod from the head table before they could sit down to eat. And they were annoyed that they constantly had to sign in and out between 7:30 p.m. and 12:30 a.m. just to go to the library.¹⁸ Changing the residence rules became central to students' pursuit of individual freedom. Critics argued that students had a right to self-determination and that such rules were "a further extension of the administration's control over students' lives."¹⁹

Because of such criticism, the liberalization of residence rules which had been occurring through the post-war period continued apace in the late sixties. In 1968, at UBC, for example, first-year male and female students and those under 18 had to be in by 2 a.m. but restrictions no longer applied to students in second year or above, or to those over 19.²⁰ This system still did not allow total freedom however. As one don reported,

¹⁶UCC/VUA. Victoria College Handbook, '69, 38-39.

¹⁷UCC/VUA. Victoria University Handbook '70, 8-9.

¹⁸"About Residence." Strand, 11 Nov. 1968.

¹⁹Dorothy Wigmore and Martha MacDonald, "Residence Rules: the 5w's." Dalhousie Gazette, 6 Nov. 1970, 3.

²⁰UBCA, Dean of Women Fonds, Box 1-9, Committee on Residences, 11 March 1968.

"one girl was discovered to be staying out all night" and she was soon asked to leave residence.²¹ Yet changing rules did provide young women with greater control over their own lives. Moreover, rules similar to those at UBC were implemented across the country. By 1970, for example, seniors at Dalhousie had unrestricted leaves.²²

While the liberalization of late leaves had occurred relatively gradually through the post-war period, in the late 1960s the extension of co-ed visitation was especially noticeable. In 1966 Dalhousie witnessed a trial period for co-ed visitation in the men's residence. Women were allowed in men's rooms from 2 to 5 p.m. on Sunday with the restriction that doors had to remain wide open.²³ Students themselves were often uneasy with the liberalization of such rules. At Dalhousie in 1966 while 66 per cent of residence men believed late leaves should be extended in the women's residence, 72 per cent argued that women should be allowed in men's rooms only with restrictions.²⁴ By 1970, however, women were allowed in the men's residences from 9 a.m. to 3 a.m. Doors to private rooms could now be closed but not locked.²⁵ Women were allowed male visitors in residence for a slightly shorter period of 12 p.m. to 3 a.m. daily.²⁶

²¹UBCA, Dean of Women Fonds, Box 1-9, Annual Report as Day Don at Place Vanier, by Helen Kahma, 13 May 1968.

²²As at UBC, however, rules for frosh remained more restrictive, with a curfew of 1:30 a.m. DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 17a, File 3480, Shirreff Hall, "By-Laws of Shirreff Hall," 1970.

²³DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, Henry Hicks, Box 28, File: Men's Residence, 63-66, Memo, A.L. Foote, Dean of Men's Residence to Hicks, 11 Oct. 1966. Similarly, at McMaster women voted in 1965 to allow men in residence from 2 to 5 p.m. on Sundays. See Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 101.

²⁴DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, Hicks, Box 28, File: Men's Residence 1963-66, The Hiccup, March 1966, 2.

²⁵DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, File 1800, Howe Hall Correspondence, "The Howe Hall Handbook, 1971-72."

²⁶DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 17a, File 3480, Shirreff Hall, "By-Laws of Shirreff Hall," 1970.

Rules about co-ed visitation liberalized even more substantially at other universities. At Victoria College women were allowed in men's rooms at Ryerson House at any time with the exception that a roommate could ask that no lady be in the room from 12 a.m. to 9 a.m. Sunday to Thursday and 3 a.m. to 9 a.m. Saturday and Sunday mornings.²⁷ Similarly, Trinity College instituted "open weekends" which allowed women to stay overnight in men's rooms on the weekend. While D.R.G. Owen, the provost of Trinity College, tried to argue that the new rules did not mean that ethical principles had been weakened, he did acknowledge that existing rules were unenforceable. In his 1968 report the provost wrote that the changes were not "an invitation to licence." Rather, he continued on, "Here at Trinity we have always maintained that the purpose of the College was to provide a liberal education." Taking the definition of a liberal education as "an education fit for a free man," Owen argued that "if students are to be regarded as free and responsible human beings, we can no longer impose rules and prohibitions upon them, especially if these rules are based on an earlier cultural situation that no longer obtains."²⁸

Such rules became acceptable in the late 1960s as traditional social mores around sexuality disappeared. Ideals of freedom, including sexual freedom, propagated by the counter-culture spread among youth. Sexual licence was also aided by the availability of the Pill.²⁹ Despite the illegality of the distribution of birth control information until 1969, some student groups provided access to such information from the mid-1960s on.³⁰ Such

²⁷UCC/VUA, Ryerson House Fonds, Acc. 90.178, Box 1, File 3, Ryerson House Rules 1970-71.

²⁸D.R.G. Owen, "Open Weekends at Trinity," *Strand*, 15 Jan. 1970, 3. By 1976 McGill, Simon Fraser, University of Manitoba, and the University of Waterloo had 24-hour visiting 7 days a week and even Acadia had it on weekends: DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 17a, File 3480, Shirreff Hall, "Open Hours Committee Report, April 1976."

²⁹Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, chapter 10.

³⁰As early as 1965 the University College Literary and Athletic Society planned lectures on sex and birth control and developed seminars at which birth control was

activities were supported by the United Church chaplain on campus and, on the suggestion of the SCM, the Reverend Hilbert Frerichs led a full-year seminar for first-year students on the ethical issues around birth control.³¹ In 1968, to give a further example, the McGill Student Society not only published a handbook on birth control but also became involved in abortion counselling.³²

The late sixties was not the first time in which discussions about sex or birth control had occurred on Canadian campuses. While evidence of public meetings on this topic are difficult to find, historians have discovered that SCM groups across Canada held discussions on the topic in the 1930s.³³ What made the 1960s different from the 1930s was two-fold. First, as historians contend, the availability of contraception, combined with new attitudes towards sex, resulted in the "collapse of social authority surrounding premarital chastity for women."³⁴ Second, whereas during the 1930s university authorities generally took a dim view of discussions on birth control, by the late 1960s students could distribute literature on the topic relatively unimpeded. Yet if students felt freer to discuss sexual issues and could now escape some of the moral guilt previously associated with pre-marital sex, sexual activity continued to be constricted by the boundaries of respectability. As Prentice et al. have argued, "Despite the greater freedom, it seems likely that most single women limited their sexual relationships to the men

distributed. In that same year a UBC group defied the student council, university officials and the law to distribute birth control literature. By 1967 the Students' Administrative Council at the University of Toronto was doing so unimpeded. The McMaster Students' Union, in conjunction with the student newspaper, distributed a birth control handbook as of 1968. Owram, Born at the Right Time, 268; Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 101; Valkmar Richter, "Lit Plans Sex Lectures," Varsity, 8 Dec. 1965, 1.

³¹Eleanor Coulter, "Chaplain Advocates Birth Control," Varsity, 11 Oct. 1967, 3.

³²Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History, 389.

³³Axelrod, Making a Middle Class, 116.

³⁴Owram, Born at the Right Time, 249. See also Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History, 389.

whom they intended to marry."³⁵ Indeed, this continued to be the case at least partly because doctors were often reluctant to provide contraception for purposes other than family planning by married couples.³⁶

Changing attitudes towards sexuality, combined with student demands for greater freedom in choosing their living conditions, led some administrators, by the early 1970s, to allow co-ed residences. McMaster announced in 1970-71 that one of its residences would become co-ed.³⁷ Similarly, in 1972, after much pushing by students, the administration at Victoria College decided to try a co-ed residence for sophomores and seniors, though a letter of explanation was sent to the parents of those applying.³⁸

If residence rules were beginning to change so too were more general attitudes toward student behaviour. Although smoking had been taboo for women during the 1930s, by the 1950s it had become more acceptable. Similarly with alcohol use. In the immediate post-war period administrators accredited the greater prevalence of alcohol on campus to the return of veterans who, many believed, had become accustomed to the more free-drinking traditions of Europeans. Yet problems involving students and alcohol did not cease after veterans graduated. If anything, alcohol gradually became embedded in student culture. During the 1950s cases of beer were periodically discovered in the

³⁵Prentice, et al., Canadian Women: A History, 389.

³⁶Christabelle Sethna, "'We Want Facts, Not Morals!' Unwanted Pregnancy, the Toronto Women's Caucus, and Sex Education," in Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader, ed. Edgar-André Montigny and Lori Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 414.

³⁷"McKay Hall Goes Co-ed!" McMaster News (Spring 1970), 4.

³⁸UCC/VUA, Ryerson House Fonds, Acc. 90.178, Box 1, File 3, letter 22 March 1972, Elizabeth Graham, Dean of Women and Michael Cross, Dean of Men, to residents. If students fought for such rights they did not always know what to do with them once they had achieved them. Having worked hard to convince the Board of Regents to allow a co-ed residence, Michael Cross argues, the project failed when not enough students applied. Interview with Michael Cross, May 1997.

McMaster men's residence.³⁹ At University College one alcohol infringement incident per year usually appeared before the residence court, ending in a fine, with threat of expulsion if it happened again.⁴⁰ And while student newspapers at the University of Toronto endorsed bans on drinking in the 1920s, by 1953 the editor of the Strand, the student newspaper for United Church-affiliated Victoria College, jokingly advocated that in order to show their temperance, students should engage in "intoxication in moderation."⁴¹

Both administrators and students sometimes complained about excessive drinking on campus. The president of Victoria College, A.B.B. Moore, attributed this problem to the fact that the campus was located in the city. He urged university officials to keep such behaviour to a minimum.⁴² Drinking was particularly a problem at major campus events. At a 1955 Queen's-Toronto football game in Kingston, Queen's administrators warned that any student caught drinking would be arrested by the Kingston police or Alma Mater Society (AMS) constables.⁴³ In that same year administrators at UBC had to remind students before a Homecoming dance that alcohol was forbidden on campus.⁴⁴ In 1960 a Ubysssey editorial condemned the excessive drinking at a Homecoming football game and dance and called for an AMS enforcement agency to control the problem.⁴⁵

³⁹CBA, McMaster University, Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body, 13 Feb. 1950, Meeting Faculty and Edwards Executive; CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 19, Annual Reports, File: 1954-55, Report of Kakiak, 29 April 1955.

⁴⁰UTA, A74-0009, Box 14, File: Outside Correspondence, Report to the Men's Residences Board, c. 1958-59, by R.L. Watts.

⁴¹Edl., "Alcohol: Its Use and Abuse," Strand, 5 Feb. 1953, 3.

⁴²UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 79, File 11, Letter from President to Principal Taylor, 25 Oct. 1950.

⁴³"Rigid Rulings at Queen's Stop Student Drinking," Silhouette, 11 Nov. 1955, 8.

⁴⁴"Faculty Says No Liquor," Ubysssey, 4 Nov. 1955, 1.

⁴⁵Edl., "No Discipline," Ubysssey, 1 Nov. 1960, 2.

Similarly, in the 1960s administrators and alumni at McMaster complained about reports of alcohol on campus. In 1961, Johnston and Weaver have noted, liquor bottles were discovered in the garbage outside the offices of the student newspaper the morning after a student Christmas party. The students involved were each fined one hundred dollars. Alcohol was also so prevalent at the Homecoming weekend that year that the Alumni Club refused to sponsor subsequent events.⁴⁶

The prevalence of drinking at public campus events made enforcement within residence more difficult. Administrators often found that student representatives in residences were reluctant to charge students caught drinking not only because it was difficult to police individual rooms but also "due to the laxity of enforcement of this rule elsewhere on campus, particularly in the stadium and at formal dances."⁴⁷ Smuggling alcohol onto campus could also be seen as a badge of honour and ratting out a fellow student, one of dishonour. For example, although liquor was forbidden at St. Francis Xavier University in the 1950s, Brian Mulroney claimed that he and his friends routinely smuggled it onto campus despite the threat of expulsion.⁴⁸

The liberalization of student values may be seen most clearly at McMaster University and Victoria College, both of which were tied to denominations which traditionally had supported temperance. Baptists and members of the United Church continued to be strong tee-totallers in the 1950s. At Victoria the principal in order to maintain the standards of his denomination refused to serve alcohol at college events. In holding a dinner at his house in honour of Lester B. Pearson's installation as chancellor of Victoria College, President A.B.B. Moore felt it to be inappropriate to serve alcohol.

⁴⁶Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 97.

⁴⁷UTA, A74-0009, Box 14, File: Outside correspondence, Report to the Men's Residences Board, c. 1958-59, by R.L. Watts.

⁴⁸Sawatsky, Mulroney: The Politics of Ambition, 21.

much to the dismay of some of the board members.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, then, the possession or consumption of alcohol was officially forbidden in the residences of these institutions. Yet students found that rules were not always enforced to the letter. The minutes of a 1959 executive meeting at Ryerson House stated that despite the official ban on alcohol within the House, "custom has dictated otherwise. It was decided that any drinking outside of the rooms should not be tolerated by this body and would result in disciplinary action being taken."⁵⁰ Thus, unofficially, students could drink in their rooms, in a discreet manner, if unseen by the don. The rules at McMaster were slightly stricter. At a meeting of the Joint Faculty-Edwards Executive, it was agreed that students drinking in residence would face expulsion. At the same time, the decision was hedged carefully for as the minutes stated,

A man who goes out and does a bit of drinking and returns to residence and goes directly to his room is minding his own business. The same man who returns under similar condition and proceeds to make a nuisance of himself is out. In the latter case there might be room for official consideration if said is a real asset to residence.⁵¹

Students did not always obey these rules. In 1950, men in McMaster's North Edwards Hall held a party in which beer was openly consumed. A meeting between faculty and the Edwards Hall Executive resulted in a fine for North Hall and a warning that "drastic action would be taken if another event occurred."⁵²

With drinking continuing to be a problem on campus in the early 1960s, administrators began to define it as a legal rather than moral issue. Already in 1958-59,

⁴⁹A.B.B. Moore. Here Where We Live (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1988), 63.

⁵⁰UCC/VUA. Ryerson House Fonds, Acc. 90.178v, Box 1, File 1, Ryerson House, Executive Meeting, 28 Nov. 1959.

⁵¹MDA. McMaster University. Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body, Spring 1947. Joint Faculty-Edwards Executive Spring Meeting.

⁵²CBA. McMaster University. Minute Book, Residence Men's Student Body, 13 Feb. 1950.

one report to the Men's Residence Board at University College suggested that it was important for the residence council to enforce the ban on alcohol as failure to do so "might put the university in a difficult legal position."⁵³ Until the 1950s prohibitions against such things as drinking, gambling, or pre-marital sexual intimacy were described in moral terms. During the 1960s students began demanding that they be treated as adults. As university administrators lost the ability to control students' behaviour on moral grounds, they began to rely on the law to define proper conduct. Denominational colleges in Ontario such as Trinity or McMaster had already begun to lift moral prohibitions in the early 1960s.⁵⁴ Similarly, by 1968 UBC's residence policy followed provincial law, allowing students over 21 to have liquor in their rooms.⁵⁵ In 1966 deans of residences in the Maritimes met at the Association of Atlantic Universities and recommended that because of the difficulty of enforcing no drinking policies on campus, controlled outlets should be established for those of legal age.⁵⁶ By the late 1960s pubs had begun to appear on most campuses. In 1968, for example, the McMaster Students' Union sponsored its first pub on campus.⁵⁷

Administrators would also come to apply legal rules to the new problem in the late 1960s of the possession and use of drugs. Legal rules could allow students more freedom of choice. Yet these rules also became more clear-cut and lost the flexibility of a more paternalistic system. Disobeying the law, for example, could bring harsh

⁵³UTA, A74-0009, Box 14, File: Outside correspondence, Report to the Men's Residences Board, c. 1958-59, by R.L. Watts.

⁵⁴In the early 1960s Trinity College allowed students over 21 to possess alcohol in their rooms. See "Men's Residence Rules," Strand, 3 Nov. 1961. By 1966 students were allowed to drink in residence at McMaster. See Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 97.

⁵⁵UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 1-9, Committee on Residences, 11 March 1968.

⁵⁶Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University, Volume Two, 253.

⁵⁷Johnston and Weaver, Student Days, 97.

consequences. In severe cases, breaking moral rules resulted in expulsion and students' returning to the parental home. Breaking legal rules could, and did, particularly in regards to drugs, result occasionally in jail terms.⁵⁸

As moral attitudes began to change on campus so too did the traditional attitudes towards the place of religion on campus. As part of the resurgence of interest in religion in the post-war period, the Lord's Day Alliance attempted to reassert Sunday as a day of worship. The organization, for example, threatened in 1955 to prosecute the Hart House orchestra for its Sunday evening concerts. The Students' Administrative Council, supported by President Sidney Smith and the chaplain of Hart House, James S. Cunningham, protested these threats by the Alliance.⁵⁹ Cunningham, who was an ordained minister, contended that such activities on the part of the Lord's Day Alliance made the church seem irrelevant. Indeed, he argued, "The Church will never convince the rising generation that religion is relevant to the needs of the individual and of society by negative prohibitions alone."⁶⁰ Thus, in this case student leaders had the support of university officials in challenging what they considered to be outdated laws and rules. Indeed, administrators' and religious leaders' flexibility and openness to change allowed for a quiet, though deep, period of transition in the 1950s.

This period of transition could also be seen in the changing place of chapel on campus. Although many students continued to give public and private expression to their

⁵⁸A UBC student was jailed for six months in 1965 for possession of marijuana. See Owsram, Born at the Right Time, 196-97.

⁵⁹"Council Battles Blue Laws." Varsity, 13 Oct. 1955, 1.

⁶⁰Letter to ed., James S. Cunningham, Varsity, 13 Oct. 1955, 4. Sunday was generally considered a day of rest in the 1950s. Only in 1959 did the University of Saskatchewan finally allow supervised dances on Sunday evenings, conditional upon it not interfering with church attendance. See Michael Hayden, Seeking a Balance: The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983): 216.

faith at Victoria. by the late 1950s both administrators and newspaper editors noted the lack of interest in Sunday chapel. In 1959-60 the president of Victoria College. A.B.B. Moore stated. "I wish I could report that the Chapel was crowded every Sunday but honesty compels me to say that there are vacant places."⁶¹ This was not simply a problem at Victoria. At McMaster. for example. only a handful of students. from 26 to 75. attended daily chapel in the late 1950s.⁶² This was a far cry from a campus which in 1920 had witnessed the conversion of 150 of its students. or 69 per cent of the student body. Over the years. however. the denominational background of students had changed. Whereas in 1920 most students were Baptists. by the 1950s less than 20 per cent of students adhered to the religious origin of their alma mater.⁶³ Moreover. in the early 1960s the 15-minute mid-morning chapel break disappeared from the undergraduate timetable.⁶⁴ Although services continued. the elimination of an official break is illustrative of the effect. previously discussed. of the official secularization of the university in 1957.

Declining chapel attendance paralleled a declining corporate expression of faith more generally. At the college with the strictest religious rules. the University of King's College. its Student's Handbook of 1940 stated that students were expected to attend morning. evening. and Sunday services in the college chapel. By 1959-60 students were still expected to attend Sunday chapel but were only encouraged to attend the daily chapel

⁶¹UCC/VUA. Records of President's Office. Acc. 89.130v. Box 57-1. Report to Board of Regents. 1959-60. For a similar comment see Edl.. "Chapel Dogmatics." Strand. 3 Nov. 1961.

⁶²CBA. McMaster University. Transfer Case 14. File: UCM 1955. 1960. "Attendance of Chapel for One Week."

⁶³Charles M. Johnston. McMaster University. Volume Two. The Early Years in Hamilton. 1920-1957 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1981). 221.

⁶⁴Johnston and Weaver. Student Days. 95.

services.⁶⁵ A similar situation existed at Victoria. Chapel had always been voluntary at Victoria, but administrators expected the whole college to exemplify Christian decorum. Indeed, administrators at Victoria, as they stated yearly in the Victoria College Bulletin, expected in the early 1950s the atmosphere of the College "to foster the steady upbuilding of Christian character and high-mindedness."⁶⁶ By 1955-56, however, the term "Christian character" had been dropped. Only five years later the principal of Victoria College stated in the Victoria College Bulletin that Victoria had continued "its own distinctive traditions, and it has a religious connection with the United Church of Canada, which is there to be useful to the student who wants to use it, and will not bother him if he doesn't."⁶⁷

Students, along with administrators, continued to voice concern, as they had periodically through the first half of the twentieth century, about the religious knowledge and faith of their peers. As we have seen, universities were considered to be the training ground for leaders, and leadership was conceived of as moral as well as intellectual. As a 1961 article in the UWO Gazette, reprinted in the Ubysey, put it,

The university campuses in Canada have the intellectual leaders of tomorrow straggling about them. Who is going to lead religion in its all-important battle against doubt, distrust, disbelief and garden-variety evil, if the intellectual leaders are mentally incompetent to defend their faith?⁶⁸

By the 1960s, then, a student body, immersed in any faith, let alone the Christian tradition, could no longer be assumed.

⁶⁵UKCA, E.1.1.4, UKC Student's Handbook, 1940; UKC Calendar, 1959-60. In the mid-1950s at St. Francis Xavier students were expected to attend daily mass at 7 a.m. as well as a 15 minute chapel service before dinner. See Sawatsky, Mulronev: The Politics of Ambition, 20.

⁶⁶Victoria College Bulletin, 1920-53.

⁶⁷Victoria College Bulletin, 1961-62, 5.

⁶⁸"Religion -- Students are Spiritual Slobs," Ubysey, 6 Jan. 1961, 4 (reprinted from the University of Western Ontario Gazette).

While moral attitudes began to undergo significant change under student pressure through the post-war period, so too did the office of the dean of women. Events at University College provide a good example. From the 1930s to the 1960s Marion Ferguson and her successor Mary Innis had, as deans of women, embodied the ideal of Christian womanhood. Their training had arisen out of their work in religious organizations and they continued to be leaders in a variety of religious endeavours. When Innis retired in 1964 she was replaced by Charity L. Grant, dean from 1964 to 1978. Grant, like her predecessors, embodied the ideal of female service. But her work experience had not included religious voluntary groups. Rather, she was trained as a social worker and gained experience through secular organizations, holding positions overseas with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration as well as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Association.⁶⁹ The dean of women's office at Victoria College similarly witnessed a departure in tradition, shifting from the figure of an older matron to a young advisor. Hired in 1969, Betty Bindon was a recent graduate of Victoria who had taught with CUSO in the British Honduras.⁷⁰ Although she believed that students "should accept the benevolent paternalism of the Board of Regents," she was prepared to provide students with information about abortion and to discuss premarital sex.⁷¹

The changing background of deans of women was at least partially related to the expansion of Canadian universities. Deans were no longer able by the 1960s to supervise the growing number of residence, let alone non-residence, students. UBC provides a case in point. Whereas before 1950 the dean of women's office assisted women with any

⁶⁹UTA. Graduate Records Clipping Files. Charity L. Grant. "Women Changing World." Varsity, 7 Aug. 1964.

⁷⁰UCC/VUA. Board of Regents Fonds. Acc. 91085v. Box 3. Report by President to Board of Regents for 1969-70.

⁷¹UCC/VUA. Victoria University Handbook '70. "Dean of Women." 12-13.

"emotional, financial, social, academic problems."⁷² by 1965 the dean of women was more of a "consultant" for the welfare of students. Students now had personal contact primarily with a don. In the 1960s UBC witnessed the creation of a bureaucracy responsible for dealing with residences. In 1960, for example, a supervisor of women's residences became responsible for the daily operation of the residences, reporting periodically to a director of housing.⁷³

Deans of women at other universities experienced similar changes in their position. At Queen's during the 1960s the female undergraduate population increased four-fold.⁷⁴ As a result of the great influx of students, Beatrice Bryce, dean from 1959 to 1971, found herself unable on her own to fulfill the traditional "protective and maternal role" of the dean. The responsibilities of the dean became spread among "administrative staff, dons, student government, and even...students themselves." There was a constant streamlining of regulations, as historians investigating the position of the dean of women at Queen's recount, and continual redefinition of the don's roles.⁷⁵

Increasingly, power shifted from deans of women to residence councils. At UBC administrators began relinquishing power to students' councils in 1967-68. The director of housing shifted much of "the responsibility for maintaining standards and discipline" from dons to students. In May 1968 the residence advisor at UBC noted that dons and resident fellows had little power. The student council felt they were in charge of behaviour and refused to accept interference by dons. The dons reported that while there was not much problem with late leaves, some students were disregarding the sign in-out

⁷²UBCA. Dean of Women Fonds 1957-1972.

⁷³UBCA. Dean of Women's Fonds. Box 2-24. Residence Staff Handbook. Sept. 1965.

⁷⁴Garvie and Johnson. Their Leaven of Influence. 70.

⁷⁵Ibid.. 73.

policy and liquor was on the increase and used more openly.⁷⁶ As one residence advisor reported, mature student councils worked well at controlling behaviour, councils under immature leadership did not.⁷⁷

The principle of in loco parentis was losing ground everywhere. By the late-1960s students at Victoria felt that deans should be essentially counsellors, that the decisions of the dean should be made in consultation with students, and that residence discipline should rest mainly with students.⁷⁸ If students were rejecting the universities' attempt to act in loco parentis, so too were some deans. Michael Cross, who became dean of men for Victoria in 1969, argued that "the concept of the university acting 'in loco parentis' is dead." Cross contended that the "preliminary report of the college commission on discipline made it clear that the college is no longer directing morality."⁷⁹ Cross saw his role rather as an ombudsman, bringing students' views to the administration.⁸⁰ Similarly, deans of men and women in the Maritimes agreed with reports on student behaviour and discipline such as the University of Toronto's Campbell Report: "It is no longer possible even in our smaller universities to practice the principle of in loco parentis."⁸¹

⁷⁶UBCA, Dean of Women, Box 1, File 9, Annual Report of Residence Advisor, May 1968.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸UCC/VUA, Victoria College Union Council Fonds, Acc. 93.001v, Box 2, File: Reports 1962-68, "AASGA Report on the Choosing of a New Dean," c. 1968-69 and "Reports on the Role of the Dean of Victorian College," c. 1968-69.

⁷⁹Louis Erlichman, "First Dean of Men 'Old Fashioned Leftist'," Strand, 12 Sept. 1969.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, Henry Hicks, Box 13, File: Committee of Deans of Men and Women, "Report from Committee of Deans of Men and Women Commissioned to Study into Social Behaviour and Discipline at Atlantic Universities, January 1970." The 1969 Report on Disciplinary Procedures by Professor D. Ralph Campbell arose out of the Committee on Disciplinary Problems established in 1967-68 to consider the disciplinary mechanism needed to deal with the new problems arising on

Students in the immediate post-war period had followed their predecessors in pushing at the boundaries of expected behaviour. By the 1950s traditional Protestant prohibitions against dancing, smoking, and card-playing had virtually disappeared. While concern about alcohol remained strong, even here prohibitions on drinking were coming to be defined along legal terms. Students demanded, and administrators accepted, more liberal residence rules for senior co-eds. Johnston and Weaver have argued for McMaster that "the compact of paternalism formulated during the Baptist years entailed a reciprocity. If the administration maintained -- usually in gradual retreat -- a religious and Victorian tone, it also extended intimacy."⁸² This compact would find its final demise in the 1960s. The radicalization of the 1960s uprooted traditional morals and values altogether. Students would be given freedom to live on campus as they wished, within the bounds of the law. They would also live on a larger, more impersonal campus with less direct contact with senior advisors, moral or academic.

campus. In that year the University of Toronto witnessed, among other things, militant action by students to keep Dow Chemical recruiters off campus. See University of Toronto President's Report 1967-68.

⁸²Johnston and Weaver. Student Days, 97.

Chapter 8

"All the King's Horses...": Responses and Transformations

In 1952-53 the president of the University of Toronto, Sidney Smith, was invited to participate in the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the University of Western Ontario. In an address at the university, Smith stated,

I believe that we have gone too far along the road of secularizing institutions of higher learning. There is a gap in liberal education; it has been caused by the policy, which is all too prevalent in universities throughout the English-speaking world, of evading, ignoring, or even opposing, the teaching of religion.

In any discussion of the teaching of religion, the gain to the individual personality in spiritual terms is the best argument for such teaching. In this company, however, it would be unnecessary and inappropriate for me to speak of the personal values of religion - the enrichment of life through grace and worship and that service to God which, paradoxically, is perfect freedom. Rather I would suggest that, on intellectual grounds alone, this lacuna in liberal education is both lamentable and inexcusable. It is the task of universities to conserve and transmit the cultural heritage of the race. The Judeo-Christian element has been one of the most important strains in that cultural heritage. It is impossible to claim that we are fulfilling adequately our duty if we are contributing to, or even if we are tolerating, religious illiteracy.¹

One can see in this passage, once again, as was the case with the university missions, the new tensions that marked the post-war era. There is the assumption that Christianity is at the centre of the good life and an integral part of the moral mission of the university, as well as the conviction that a liberal education, the transmission of the cultural heritage, is the chief means to carry out that mission. But there are other indications here as well: the unease about the progressive marginalization of Christianity on campus; the need to redress that situation; and a phrase which was heard only on the rarest occasions in the interwar period, "Judeo-Christian." On the one hand, then, there

¹UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 55, File 29, Annual Report, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, University of Toronto, 1952-53. See also University of Toronto President's Report 1952-53. For similar comments by the warden of Hart House see University of Toronto President's Report, 1954-55.

were traditional sureties about the centrality of religion to the mission of the university; on the other hand, the conviction that there were new challenges and circumstances which demanded fresh responses if the traditional moral mission of the university was to survive in a new era. Faced with these challenges, university leaders like Smith reached for new language to reinterpret traditional assumptions, and new institutional vessels to maintain them. The very fact they could do so is proof of the continued tenacity of their convictions. Yet in the two decades after mid-century it would prove more and more difficult to sustain their public implementation. In the main, the new initiatives failed to have their intended effect or entailed unintended consequences, and in both cases contributed to the increasing secularization of the Canadian campus. In the changed world of the post-war era it would become increasingly difficult to assume that the university was a liberal Protestant establishment.

As we saw in chapter six, during the 1940s and 1950s religious pluralism, both Protestant and non-Protestant, belied this easy assumption. Administrators, faculty, and religious leaders were thus left with the question of how to maintain a unified voice for Protestantism on campus. In their search for an answer, they turned to a variety of new vessels: ecumenism, interfaith activity, and the creation of chaplaincies and religious councils. Their earliest efforts to reunite Protestant endeavours on campus appeared in the attempt to initiate an ecumenical University Christian Movement. In 1955 the Canadian Council of Churches appointed a Commission on the Church and the University in response to "the growing concern in the several Communion and in the University Christian Missions Committee of the Canadian Council about the responsibility of the Churches to the Universities in Canada."² After difficulties organizing itself the

²Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1958, Department of Evangelism, Report of Commission on the Church and the University, 80.

commission met frequently throughout 1957 and 1958. Headed by R.S.K. Seeley, provost of Trinity College, it included Professors W.O. Fennell of Emmanuel College; A.J. Coleman of the department of mathematics at the University of Toronto and a long-time supporter of the SCM; Miss K.M. Darroch, dean of St. Hilda's; the Reverend E.M. Nichols, secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Canada and former secretary of the University of Toronto local; and four denominational representatives. Membership thus consisted of three Anglicans, three members of the United Church, two Presbyterians, and one Baptist.³

The commission felt that "as churches, we should confess our share of responsibility for the nominal Christianity and the indifference to religion found in university life."⁴ Reiterating comments made by missioners, its report noted that

the traditional forms of instruction in our churches have not provided most Christian students coming into the university with a grasp of the faith sufficiently mature to serve as a basis for their intellectual life. Common reactions among them are: - to abandon Christianity for some form of liberal or scientific humanism; to attempt to put Christ and faith in a water-tight compartment far removed from all intellectual activities; to drift into a state of indifference where religion loses its significance; to live in a state of unresolved tension or despair.⁵

The commission believed it was crucial to deal with these issues because the university is the "place where future leaders of church and society are trained."⁶

Repeating the concerns of Charles W. Leslie in his address of a decade earlier to Victoria College students on "The 'Why' and the 'What' of a University Christian Mission," the commission noted that university life had become increasingly divided within itself as a result of the fragmentation of academic disciplines and the

³Ibid., 80-81.

⁴Ibid., 82.

⁵Ibid., 83.

⁶Ibid., 84.

secularization of campus life. The work of the church on campus, it contended, was equally falling prey to division. As a result, the church needed to provide a worshipping, teaching, pastoral, and evangelizing community on campus. As we saw in chapter 4, similar ideas had been voiced in the 1940s and early 1950s by religious and university leaders such as Arnold Nash, Walter Moberly, and others who were concerned about the place of Christianity in university life. The commission re-emphasized these academics' belief that the university campus needed not only an infusion of Christian workers but also the reawakening and unifying of Christian forces already in existence.⁷ As the commission stated,

The Church is already present in the University. God has placed His people in every part of its life, amongst faculty, students and administrators. The ministry of Christ and His Church is being exercised through their life and words, the love they show and in the quality of the academic work they accomplish...Indeed the church loyalty which many university members bring with them to the campus is fundamental. It is the working capital of campus religious life.⁸

Yet the commission went on to comment that "the chief trouble is that this community of God's people in the University is often largely unaware of its responsibility or is at a loss as to how to discharge it."⁹ The various Christian elements on campus -- faculty, students, denominational and university chaplains -- needed to unite and assert themselves. The main proposal for accomplishing this task, it argued, was to form a university Christian movement providing a "comprehensive co-operative witness."¹⁰ In

⁷Ibid., 81-86, 94.

⁸Ibid., 94.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., 96.

1959 the CCC established a Provisional National University Christian Council (PNUCC).¹¹

The creation of the PNUCC in order to promote ecumenical activity was thus one response to the fragmentation of Protestant forces on campus. Other leaders began to focus in the post-war years on interfaith initiatives. Although, as we saw in chapter 6, the number of Jews and Catholics on many campuses before World War II was quite sizeable, it was not until the post-war period that a more pluralistic attitude developed on campus and in society more generally. Interfaith activity, for example, appeared on campus in the immediate post-war period with the return of the veterans and continued in the 1950s. The changing rhetoric surrounding the university missions provides a particularly apt illustration of the turn towards interfaith activity to shore up a religious presence on campus.

By the mid-1950s, large-scale University Christian Missions had begun to disappear at non-denominational universities. The disappearance of mainstream missions may be attributed to a number of factors. The organization of such missions was an enormous task and depended upon the co-operation of students, faculty, and religious leaders. When the first missions were held in the forties, this task was fairly successful. Yet the attempt to sustain, by voluntary means, the work involved in presenting a mission every four years proved ever more difficult.¹² Organizers also admitted in the 1950s that the missions seemed to have little visible long-term impact. Missioners hoped these events would not only renew and deepen individual faith but also reignite a visible

¹¹UCC/VUA, SCM Records, B84-87, File: SCM Church and University Commission, Report "Church and University," n.d.

¹²By the 1950s organizers reported that both faculty and student involvement were lagging. At the 1953 mission at UBC, for example, much of the organization fell to the SCM general-secretary, with little help from faculty or other religious leaders. UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2-31, "UCM," Jan. 26-30, 1953. See also UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 55, File: Post-Mission Comments, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Report of the UCM, 1954."

Christian presence on campus. Increasingly, however, they were finding that the missions attracted primarily those students already interested in Christianity.¹³ Moreover, the missions also had to compete with student interest in an escalating range of other activities. At one lunch address during the 1953 mission at UBC, only fifty students attended owing to a concurrent visit and address by the Yugoslavian ambassador which drew a large number of students.¹⁴ The decline of the missions, however, should not be attributed simply to decreasing student interest or organizational challenges. The fate of the missions was also interwoven with the changing place of liberal Protestantism on campus more generally in the post-war years. The growth of the IVCF, the proliferation of Protestant organizations, and the development of a more pluralistic campus, as well as the changing interests of the SCM -- all of these issues, which were discussed in chapter 6, affected the fate of the University Christian Missions. The response of organizers was to reorient the missions gradually from an intensely Protestant focus to one of interfaith dialogue.

Initially at least, in the 1940s and early 1950s, the UCMs were assumed to be unambiguously Christian. For example, one of the round tables at the 1944 UBC mission was on comparative religions. Although there was a rabbi present to speak on Judaism, Protestant speakers addressed the other faiths. Gertrude Rutherford of the United Church

¹³In 1952, despite the attendance of 7 per cent of the student population at the main series, only five study groups developed in the subsequent weeks to carry on the aims and purpose of the mission. See UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, Report of the UCM 1952. Similarly, after the 1954 mission at the University of Toronto, one organizer argued that the mission generally only reached the converted or, at the most, lapsed Christians. UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 55, File: Post-Mission Comments, "UCM in the University of Toronto, Report of the UCM, 1954." This sentiment was reiterated by an SCMer in 1958 replying to a questionnaire about University Christian Missions. As the student wrote, "I'm not sure that a UCM is of much value in attempting to reach students who are uninterested or antagonistic. It probably does a valuable job in stimulating already interested Christians and doubtless provides excellent opportunities for Christian cooperation and fellowship." See UTA, SCM Records, B79-0059, Box 56, File: UCM, "Query Re UCM, 28 March 1958."

¹⁴UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2-31, "UCM," Jan. 26-30, 1953.

spoke on Buddhism. Dr. Leslie G. Kilborn on Confucianism and Taoism in China, and George P. Gilmour, the Baptist president of McMaster University, on Islam. The discussion, reported J.A. Irving, head of philosophy and psychology at UBC, focused on how

religion may be judged by what it has done in society. The religions of China and India, as well as Mohammedanism, encourage complete fatalism or submission, or formalism and rationalism. None of the great religions of the world except Christianity has provided the dynamic so essential to social change.¹⁵

Thus, for Irving, as for the mission leaders, religions were still ranked in ascending scale, with Christianity at the top. The belief that Christianity was superior to other faiths was, Grant Wacker argues for the American context, a common one among Protestants in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁶

Christianity, however, was usually meant to refer more narrowly to Protestantism. Organizers usually interchanged "Christian" and "Protestant." In the proceedings of the 1944 Canadian Council of Churches, the chairman of the UCM, Charles G. Stone, referred throughout his report to the need to proclaim the Christian faith. Yet in discussing the organization of the missions he was clear that they were "conducted under the auspices of a national committee" which represented "the entire Protestant church of Canada."¹⁷ Indeed, during the missions speakers often covered only the spectrum of Protestant belief.¹⁸ At the 1953 mission at UBC neither the Roman Catholic Newman Club nor the Christian Science club chose to participate, on the grounds that the mission

¹⁵J.A. Irving, "Religion and Life," Graduate Chronicle, March 1944, 26-27.

¹⁶Grant Wacker, "A Plural World: The Protestant Awakening to World Religions," in Between the Times: The Travail of the Protestant Establishment in America, 1900-1960, ed. William R. Hutchison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 257.

¹⁷Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1944, Report on University Christian Mission, 60-62.

¹⁸UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, Minutes 19 Feb. 1951.

was a "specifically Protestant Christian" mission.¹⁹ Similarly, one pamphlet for a 1954 Dalhousie mission had scrawled across it the notation "University Protestant Mission. The Roman Catholics on campus would not take part in programme."²⁰

But after the war such views began to shift in new directions. By the early 1950s, for example, Sidney Smith was increasingly uncomfortable with being seen to support Protestant missions alone. In preparation for the 1949 mission, and this step would be repeated for later missions, he requested that Roman Catholic and Jewish religious leaders be approached and assured that similar facilities to those available to the University Christian Mission would be put at their disposal if they so desired.²¹ Smith's concerns at the University of Toronto were gradually taken up by the Canadian Council of Churches. By the late 1950s that organization had concluded that support should be given chiefly to "missions which endeavour to draw on the leadership of all Christian groups in the universities."²² Before Vatican II this remained difficult to achieve.²³ Until the early 1960s Roman Catholics rarely engaged in conversations on doctrine with other faiths and indeed Pope Pius XI had warned "the faithful against participation in the

¹⁹UCC, BCCA, SCM Records, Box 2-31, "UCM," UBC, Jan. 26-30, 1953.

²⁰This pamphlet is housed in the McMaster Archives. See CBA, Transfer Case 14, File: UCM 1953, 1960, "UCM, Oct. 26-28, 1954, Dalhousie University."

²¹University of Toronto President's Report 1947-48, 6: UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 60, File: UCM, General Committee Meeting, 26 Oct. 1953; UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 54-1, File: University Christian Council, Minutes, 19 April 1950.

²²Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1958, Department of Evangelism, UCM Committee.

²³Universities had some success in meeting these conditions. At the 1960 mission at McMaster members of all Protestant religious clubs co-operated to organize a UCM with the guidance of the administration. CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 21, Annual Reports, File: 1959-60, Reports, President Student Union, 1959-60. Church services were held in conjunction with the mission at United, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Anglican churches. CBA, McMaster University, Transfer Case 14, File: UCM 1960, "UCM Presents Life as Decision, Feb. 7-12, 1960."

ecumenical movement."²⁴ Vatican II, however, allowed Catholics to engage in discussions both with Protestants and non-Christians. As a result, the character of the missions changed: for example, during the 1963 mission at McMaster, led by Bishop Stephen Neill, former Assistant Archbishop of Canterbury, alternating communion services -- United Church, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican -- began each day, each led by the respective denominational campus chaplains.²⁵ And one of the last UCMs, held at Mount Allison in 1966, was organized as a "dialogue" among the Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant leadership.²⁶

The attempt to create an ecumenical University Christian Movement and the development of interfaith activity in the missions provide two examples of efforts to address the increasing religious fragmentation on campus. In another effort to unify religious forces, both Protestant and non-Protestant, presidents and religious leaders in the 1950s attempted to create chaplaincies and religious councils. At Victoria College the president created the position of chaplain in 1955-56. He argued that "there is a manifest need for counselling, particularly in religious problems, among our students. There is need also for someone to give, through proper supervision, unity and continuity to the Chapel services and religious activities of our Campus."²⁷ Like Victoria, non-denominational universities found themselves in the mid-1950s attempting to develop united religious efforts. President Sidney Smith and the Hart House chaplain came to believe in the mid-1950s that a university religious council might be an option to combat

²⁴Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 156.

²⁵McMUA, McMaster University, Box: Conferences, Meetings, Symposiums, File: UCM, Oct. 15-20, 1963, "UCM 1963."

²⁶Canadian Council of Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1966, Department of Evangelism.

²⁷UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc. 89.130v, Box 57-1, Report to the Board of Regents, 1954-55.

denominational competition. Smith initiated talks with representatives of religious groups and the academic community, efforts which resulted in the creation of a University Religious Council. By 1962 the Council was more formally constituted as the Sir Robert Falconer Association. The purpose of the Council was to encourage fellowship, mutual understanding, and common action.²⁸

In order to organize denominational activity at UBC, a University Religious Council was established in 1960, composed of representatives from the theological colleges, faculty, and student organizations.²⁹ Hearing of UBC's venture, in 1962 J.D. McLean, dean of dentistry at Dalhousie, and an interested participant in the religious life at the university, urged President A.E. Kerr to establish a university chaplaincy in order to avoid denominations "jockeying for position."³⁰ Kerr set aside an office for the SCM secretary and denominational chaplains.³¹ This chaplaincy work became more tightly

²⁸UCC/VUA, SCM Records, Box 84-1, File: University Christian Council, John Gordon Rowe, Chaplain of Hart House to Graham Cotter, 29 Nov. 1954. The Association provided a network for campus religious workers, enabled joint projects, and in 1964 established the Bickersteth lectures, which brought to campus prominent religious leaders. During its first two years the Association consisted of the House chaplain, an SCM and VCF staff member, Trinity, Victoria, Anglican, and Lutheran chaplains, and the Presbyterian Dean of Students. At its inception in 1960-61, the Council had also included a representative from Hillel, two chaplains from Newman Hall, and the Religious Superior of St. Michael's College. Documents leave unrecorded why Jewish and Catholic participation did not continue. UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 115, File: Falconer Association Minutes 1965-66, Rev. Alan M. McLachlin, Acting Chaplain to Hart House to J.B. Bickersteth, 5 June 1961.

²⁹UCC, BCCA, Cooperative Campus Christian Ministry, Box 1, SCM, UBC, Fall Programme 1967; *ibid.*, "CCCM Notes," c. early 1970s; *ibid.*, "The Cooperative Christian Campus Ministry: Notes on the Past Two Years," 1973-75. By 1967 the religious council at UBC had become reconstituted as the Cooperative Campus Ministry.

³⁰DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, Henry Hicks, Box 12, File: Chaplain's Services, 1967-70, Memo J.D. McLean, Dean of Dentistry to Kerr, 14 March 1962.

³¹Only the United Church chaplain was expected to spend any time in the office as the Anglican chaplain was based out of King's, and the Jewish Rabbi, Roman Catholic priest, and Baptist and Presbyterian ministers all had churches nearby. See DUA, President's Office, Staff Files. In the mid-1960s a Lutheran chaplain was added to the University Chaplaincy. See "Further Appointments to University Chaplaincy," *Alumni News* 23, 1 (Spring 1966): 10.

integrated into the institution when space was set aside for a chaplaincy office in 1968 in the new Student Union Building.³² At McMaster a campus ministries council was organized in June 1971. This was an independent body of faculty, students, and members of the community and local churches and was supported by Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and the United Church.³³

In all their ventures, however -- in the attempts to create chaplaincies and religious councils, to strengthen interfaith activity, and to further ecumenical efforts -- university and religious leaders ran into problems. By the spring of 1962, for example, the Provisional National University Christian Council (PNUCC) had been unable to establish a permanent council and was thus dissolved. The SCM had established in 1961 a Committee on Church and University in order to help underpin the PNUCC.³⁴ With the collapse of the latter organization, the SCM's Church and University Committee once again found itself "the only national ecumenical agency continuing the task of forwarding the responsible ecumenical approach to the university."³⁵ Yet ecumenical work seemed unlikely to arise if centered in the SCM. The problem of denominational competition facing the SCM was equally a factor here. At the University of Toronto, for example, while the SCM worked closely with the Anglican center and received financial and moral support from the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, it continued to draw only on those of

³²DUA. Dalhousie University Newsletter 4. 2 (Sept. 16-22, 1968).

³³McMUA. McMaster University, Box: McMaster Divinity College, File: McMaster Campus Ministerial Council, 1971-74. "An Open Letter to the McMaster Community from the Campus Ministries."

³⁴UCC/VUA. SCM Records, Box 84-87. File: SCM Church and University Commission. Report "Church and University," n.d.

³⁵Ibid.

like mind, receiving little support or co-operation from more evangelical students.³⁶ It thus had little power on its own to create a unified Christian endeavour on campus.

Similarly, by 1966 the Department of Evangelism of the Canadian Council of Churches surmised that traditional missions "may be passé" and that other approaches needed to be explored.³⁷ Missions which had once united Protestant efforts on campus had been transformed into dialogues intended to overcome religious exclusivity and thus undermined the original purpose of the missions. Moreover, attempts at interfaith activity also weakened ecumenical aims. Ironically, as interfaith activity increased, particularly after Vatican II, liberal Protestant hopes of achieving Protestant unity diminished. The dialogue which for liberal Protestants had come to replace traditional evangelistic activity was part of a broader movement within the World Council of Churches, intended to close the gap between liberal Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. This, however, did not come without a price. Liberal Protestants' distinct message of openness, inclusiveness, and tolerance allowed them to develop networks with Catholics and Jews, but not for conservative Protestants, who saw them as having increasingly abandoned a Christian distinctiveness. One long-term impact was to strain further the relations between evangelicals and the World Council of Churches, thereby aiding the resurgence of the evangelical movement in the 1970s.³⁸

Nor did the creation of chaplaincies or religious councils always live up to expectations. At the University of Toronto and UBC, for example, administrators and religious leaders could not gain official university recognition for such organizations.

³⁶UTA, SCM, B79-0059, Box 67, File: Robert Falconer Association, Rev. A.M. McLachlin, General-Secretary SCM to Rev. J.F. Madden, St. Michael's College, 26 May 1961. This refers to the IVCF and Lutherans.

³⁷Canadian Council Churches, Record of Proceedings, 1966, Department of Evangelism.

³⁸Yates, Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century, 195-96.

When the UBC university religious council asked the university for official recognition of chaplains, the request was turned down as being inappropriate for a secular institution.³⁹

Only Dalhousie and McMaster established official university chaplaincy services.

Ironically, the effect of creating chaplaincies or religious councils was in some respects to marginalize the place of religion on campus. Traditionally, for example, faculty and principals at denominational colleges such as Victoria or McMaster had been collectively responsible for the religious life of the college. By creating a chaplaincy office, the corporate responsibility for moral formation became centered in one office -- which moreover was removed from the centres of authority. Thus in their efforts to maintain a place for religion on campus, university administrators often unintentionally narrowed the place of religion to a circumscribed advocacy by particular offices or individuals.

Chaplains continued to be involved in outreach. In 1966, for example, the Dalhousie Student Union, together with faculty and the chaplaincy, sponsored a retreat program on problems for university students in society. In 1967 the chaplaincy was involved in a conference on "Service -- national, international, sacred and secular" with CUSO, Crossroads, and the drama division.⁴⁰ But increasingly chaplains began to fill the rather different role of counsellors. As J.W. Grant relates, pastoral counselling gained popularity in the immediate post-war years as veterans attempted to readjust to civilian life.⁴¹ As psychology gained prestige through the post-war period, ministers "learned the

³⁹UBCA, Senate Minutes, 14 Feb. 1962, 3104; UBCA, Senate Fonds, Box 28-52, Report by William Nicholls, Prof. Religious Studies to President N.A.M. MacKenzie, c. 1962 and G.O.B. Davies, Secretary of the Committee of Academic Deans, to Prof. Nicholls, Religious Studies, 22 Oct. 1962.

⁴⁰DUA, Dalhousie University Newsletter 3, 8 (Oct.-Nov. 1967) and 2, 6 (Nov. 1966).

⁴¹Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 174.

value of cooperating with doctors and social service workers."⁴² At McMaster over one-third of the chaplain's time was spent in counselling and at Dalhousie chaplains met regularly with Student Health.⁴³ Chaplains thus began to fill a needed institutional role in mitigating the psychological and emotional strain students might feel in facing the demands of the modern university. But they did so at some cost to their traditional role as religious leaders.

Most of these initiatives by administrators and religious leaders to shore up a Christian presence on campus occurred in the 1950s. By the time many of these efforts saw their full realization in the 1960s, however, the university had become a very different place. That transformation may be traced, in particular, in the transition to a new generation of university presidents who accepted the religious pluralism of campus and recast their rhetoric to address this new reality.

Between 1958 and 1963 the four major universities under consideration all gained new presidents. In 1958 Claude Bissell (1958-1971) replaced Sidney Smith at the University of Toronto. In 1961 the Reverend George P. Gilmour of McMaster retired, replaced by H.G. Thode (1961-71), a professor of chemistry. In 1962 John B. MacDonald (1962-1967), a dentist by training, replaced N.A.M. MacKenzie at UBC. MacDonald was succeeded by Walter Gage (1967-1968, 1969-75) and Kenneth Hare (1968-1969). And in 1963 Henry Hicks (1963-1980), a Liberal politician, replaced the Reverend A.E. Kerr at Dalhousie University. As in most periods of transition no immediate break with the past was noticeable. In many respects they continued to

⁴²Grant, Church in the Canadian Era, 174.

⁴³McMUA. McMaster University, Box: McMaster Divinity College, File: McMaster Campus Ministries Council, letter to Campus Ministries Council from Norman Perry, n.d.; DUA, MS-1-3, President's Office, Henry Hicks, 1963-80, Box 12, File: Chaplain's Services, "Chaplain's Report." c. April 1966; DUA, Dalhousie University Newsletter 54, (March 21-22, 1966).

embody the ideal of the upstanding Christian leader. Hicks, for example, was the president of the Canadian Bible Society in 1965,⁴⁴ while Bissell could be found participating in opening services at the University of Toronto. In 1955, for example, he provided the Scripture reading.⁴⁵ And his inauguration address as president of the university, as noted in chapter one, provided a stalwart defence of the centrality of the religious tradition. That presidents continued to express a public faith in the 1950s and 1960s is not surprising. Public figures of authority were expected to uphold such sentiments. As Gary Miedema has illustrated in regard to Canada's centennial celebrations in 1967, Christianity and nationhood were intricately interlocked. In their official capacity, prime ministers, with the support of the Canadian public, expressed and celebrated the Christian nature of the nation during the celebrations and in the years preceding the centennial.⁴⁶

Under this new leadership, however, the traditional links between liberal education and Protestantism would disappear. This break can be seen most clearly in the changing rhetoric of the new presidents. Administrators and faculty, as they had always done, continued to speak eloquently of the importance of the liberal arts. The values imparted by a liberal education continued to be perceived as crucial to the future well-being of the individual student and thus also to the nation. Yet if much of the rhetoric remained the same, the connection between western civilization and Christianity was being attenuated.

In his inauguration address, for example, Henry Hicks, the new president of Dalhousie, stated that the university's founding as a secular institution was not a neglect

⁴⁴DUA. Dalhousie University Newsletter 31 (Sept. 27-Oct. 3, 1965).

⁴⁵"Dr. Coleman Speaks in Great Hall." Varsity, 26 Sept. 1955, 2.

⁴⁶Gary R. Miedema, "For Canada's Sake: The Re-visioning of Canada and the Restructuring of Public Religion in the 1960s" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 2000), 1-5, 26.

of the spiritual but rather encouraged the nurturing of an atmosphere of tolerance and objectivity for a diverse group of scholars. He cited Dalhousie's motto, "pray and work," as a source of inspiration. Yet rather than connecting the motto to a Christian heritage as A.E. Kerr might have done, Hicks used it as a call for faculty and students to go forward and seek truth.⁴⁷ Indeed, whereas in the mid-1950s Christianity remained integral to the rhetoric about values, by the mid-1970s, presidents who wished to establish the central role of the university in character formation promoted universal values such as "truth, freedom, goodness, honesty, curiosity, tolerance, caring."⁴⁸

University administrators' emphasis on broad, inclusive values did not mean these men had abandoned their own faith. Some continued to understand the issues of the day in religious terms. Kenneth Hare, president of UBC in the late 1960s, for example, believed that student radicalism had developed due to a "religious crisis, arising from a loss of faith in the purpose of life." Yet administrators were less willing to endorse only one road to salvation. As Hare contended, "It will be awakened Christians, awakened Jews, awakened humanists – all awakened men, who will set matters right."⁴⁹ Similarly, one of Hare's successors, D.T. Kenney, contended that education must provide intellectual understanding so that a

student leaves a better informed or more widely enlightened Baptist, Buddhist, atheist and so forth, than when he came. In an intellectual atmosphere where no dogma is dominant, where no doctrinal adhesion is insisted upon, where such things as mysticism, faith, and the checkered history of the churches can be discussed dispassionately, we may hope that the will of God is being fulfilled. If God has given us the faculty of reason He expects us to use it to the full even if it leads some to deny his

⁴⁷DUA, MS-2-511, Hicks Papers, File 70, Inauguration Address, 1 Feb. 1964.

⁴⁸UBCA, President's Office, President's Personal Files -- D.T. Kenney, Box 127-34, "The Three R's Plus One: Values and the University," 15 Nov. 1976.

⁴⁹UBCA, President's Office, Subject Files, Box 24-3, File: Kenneth Hare, "For Student Unrest," c. 1969, address given from a pulpit.

existence. This is hard saying and many will question it. A University must accept and exemplify it.⁵⁰

In the late 1960s, then, university leaders still construed students' character formation and the role of a liberal education as vital in creating a sharp intellect and a whole person. Yet to a large extent, these aims had been detached from a Christian moral purpose.

Although presidents continued to offer the rhetoric of a liberal education, the reality of a liberal arts education, rooted in the Christian tradition, was itself evaporating under their feet. The arts curriculum underwent significant transformation in the post-war years. One aspect of this has already been stressed in chapter 5: the fissiparous effects of the expansion of professional schools, and of technical and scientific studies. This challenged the traditional vision of the faculty of arts as the center of the university.

But no less important was the explosion of curricular offerings within arts itself. There was a decay of any semblance of a genuine core of studies which might resemble the traditional view of a united liberal arts program. In her study of the English-Canadian liberal arts curriculum, Patricia Jasen contends that "through the first half of the century, the poverty of Canadian institutions acted as a break upon curricular reform, but the prosperity which they finally began to enjoy towards the end of the fifties transformed the arts course dramatically."⁵¹ More diversity appeared both in the number of courses and departments and in new regulations, which increased the number of electives available to students.⁵² At UBC, for example, the number of departments in arts and science grew almost twofold between 1930 and 1960.⁵³ Writing of the Ontario scene, Paul Axelrod

⁵⁰UBCA, President's Office, President's Personal Files -- D.T. Kenny, Box 127, File 16, Address, 1975.

⁵¹Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 318.

⁵²Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 103.

⁵³UBC Calendar 1930-31, 1960.

contends that such diversity was due in part to the hiring of new faculty members able to teach a greater range of subjects as well as to interests in new subject areas such as Eastern European languages and East Asian studies.⁵⁴ This trend was equally true elsewhere in Canada. At Dalhousie, for example, the increase in staff in English from four faculty members in 1950 to twelve in 1965 brought greater variety and breadth within the discipline.⁵⁵ Similarly, at UBC by 1960 the faculty of arts and science contained both Slavic studies and Asian studies. Indeed, Canadian universities would see the development of a whole host of new subjects -- urban studies, fine arts, drama, Canadian studies, linguistics, African studies, Latin American studies -- due to new "social and cultural trends."⁵⁶

The number of university departments also expanded as subjects which had been gaining popularity and legitimacy throughout the early-twentieth century became disciplines in their own right. Subjects in the social sciences such as sociology, geography, and anthropology, which had made their appearance at select universities in the interwar years, became more widespread in the post-war period. Sociology, which had gained a foothold at McGill as early as the 1920s, developed as a discipline at many other universities only in the 1950s and 1960s. At McMaster, for example, there was no permanent appointment in sociology until the mid-1950s.⁵⁷ At UBC, sociology had formed part of the department of economics, sociology, and political science in 1930-31. By 1960, a department of sociology and anthropology had appeared, leaving economics and political science as a department of their own. Similarly, geography, which was

⁵⁴Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 104.

⁵⁵Dalhousie University Calendar, 1950-51 and 1964-65.

⁵⁶Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 433.

⁵⁷Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 246, 322-23; McKillop, Matters of Mind, 484.

rarely taught during the interwar years, formed a department with geology at UBC until the 1960s; only then did each discipline form its own unit.⁵⁸

Arts and science programs also underwent curricular change from the mid-1950s on. According to Axelrod, in Ontario universities "as the pressures for pluralism and greater freedom of choice increased, several universities abandoned some long-standing compulsory courses, which had traditionally been defended on the grounds that such prescribed courses provided academic programs with an intellectual coherence otherwise unobtainable."⁵⁹ McMaster, for example, witnessed a major reorganization of its arts and science program in 1962, the first in twenty-five years. While still requiring students to take courses in divisions other than their field, administrators allowed students a much greater number of electives.⁶⁰

Some of the curricular changes were part of a transformation which scholars such as McKillop and Jasen have traced back to the interwar years. The changes, however, became more apparent after World War Two. Following a trend which had commenced in the interwar years, courses in classics, which had focused on reading the Latin texts, were gradually replaced by courses in which these texts were read in translation. As a result, Latin, traditionally a core component of a liberal education, was gradually dethroned from its place of privilege. At the University of Toronto, where, beginning with the tutelage of Maurice Hutton, Latin had had a central place in the curriculum, courses in classical civilization, denuded of Latin, became available in the mid-1950s.⁶¹ Similarly, Peter Waite has demonstrated that Dalhousie's curriculum, which had remained

⁵⁸UBC Calendar 1930-31, 1960. For the general reference to geography see Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 322-23.

⁵⁹Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 104.

⁶⁰Ibid., 104.

⁶¹Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 165.

much the same through the first half of the twentieth century, began to change after 1956, and that central to this change was the elimination of the compulsory requirement of two years of Latin.⁶² The elimination of Latin was only part of a more pervasive change which radically reshaped the learning experience. As the dean of the faculty of arts and science encapsulated these changes,

in 1958-59, which is the beginning of the period presently under review, the Faculty had a considerably small and compact student body and a teaching staff which fostered personal and intimate relationships between them. It is said that the informal and warm relationship has now broken down. Changes have consequently brought both advantages and disadvantages. The old sense of "family" has been lost; while on the other hand the increase in staff has greatly strengthened the teaching body and has engineered a broader program of classes.⁶³

Through the interwar and post-war period, the arts curriculum had increasingly become a "supermarket of electives". As more courses and departments were added to the curriculum, students could often pick and choose according to their own interests. At the same time, to provide some coherence, various institutions instituted highly specialized programs of studies -- honours courses in which students took the majority of their courses in one discipline, such as history, philosophy, or anthropology. This plan, however, deviated from traditional notions of a liberal education. Of course, that ideal was in many respects a myth long before the 1960s. But at institutions such as Dalhousie, where all students took, for example, a core course in English and Latin, it had continued to have some compelling power. By the 1960s the ideal was much more likely to be simply empty rhetoric.

⁶²Waite, The Lives of Dalhousie University: Volume Two, 174. At Dalhousie by the 1950s, English 2, covering Shakespeare and Milton, had become a common denominator for the whole campus.

⁶³Dalhousie President's Report 1959-63, Report of Dean of Faculty of Arts and Science, 38.

Educators did, however, attempt to maintain some semblance of unity in the creation of common-core courses and also in broad courses on western civilization. Concern about over-specialization led many universities from the mid-1960s on to make revisions to their undergraduate curriculum, and to tout "general education," in particular, as a solution.⁶⁴ The idea of general education had come to have an impact within the United States from the 1920s to the 1950s. Paul Axelrod contends that "achieving distinction at Columbia after the First World War and once again, after 1945, at Harvard, general education was seen in both periods as a necessary component through which higher education could be prevented from becoming too professionally and vocationally oriented."⁶⁵ Its aim was to "provide students with a shared body of knowledge" and a shared set of values, creating a "consensus on questions of truth, morality, and taste."⁶⁶ In Canada the experiment with general education took hold from the mid-1960s on.⁶⁷ Universities attempted various approaches, such as ensuring that students took courses from a number of prescribed areas, or providing required interdisciplinary courses for first-year students.⁶⁸ UBC, for example created what came to be known as the Arts I

⁶⁴Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 104-5.

⁶⁵Ibid., 105. For the development of general education in the United States see Christopher J. Lucas, American Higher Education: A History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 210-19, 247-55, and Elsie Watts, "The Freshman Year Experience, 1962-1990: An Experiment in Humanistic Higher Education" (Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1999).

⁶⁶Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 277-78.

⁶⁷It was tried at only three institutions in the 1920s and 1930s: Sir George William College, the University of Saskatchewan, and the University of Manitoba. While plans for general education were debated in the post-war period, little was achieved. See Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 288-94, 300-305.

⁶⁸Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 104-5; Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 329-32.

Program in 1967, which provided first-year students with an interdisciplinary program of study.⁶⁹

Many of these programs fell apart shortly after they were created. At York, for example, where a core program had been planned, there was difficulty "finding people who could devise and teach such wide-ranging courses."⁷⁰ Specialization had resulted in an inability of faculty to agree upon a common core. As Patricia Jasen relates of York, "By 1968, a curriculum committee had conceded that 'there is, we believe, no single core of human knowledge demanding collective absorption'."⁷¹ Indeed, she concludes,

General education was intended to produce a cultural consensus and yet, time after time, reformers found that such a consensus within the university itself was a necessary but unattainable pre-condition of a successful core curriculum. With the continuous proliferation of disciplines and specialities within disciplines, the possibility of arriving at an agreed-upon set of core requirements grew slimmer as each year went by.⁷²

Even if a common core could have been agreed upon, by the late 1960s faculty at many institutions would question the very desirability of creating courses such as those at Harvard and Columbia designed to save western and Christian civilization. New intellectual trends such as neo-marxism and feminism were having an impact on many faculty, leading them to reject Eurocentric meta-narratives. Thus diversity and specialization of university subjects, the increasing acceptance of a pluralistic campus, and the rise of a faculty with more control over what it taught and with interests beyond western society, all gradually eroded any notion that a core program could be recreated.

⁶⁹Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 336, note 31; Sheffield, "The Post-War Surge in Post-Secondary Education: 1945-1969," 434.

⁷⁰Jasen, "The English Canadian Liberal Arts Curriculum," 331.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., 306. Jasen states this in discussing the attempt to develop programs of general education in the 1950s but it applies equally to the 1960s.

Even if such core courses had been successful, their aims would have been different from those intended by proponents of liberal education of the 1950s. In particular, the new courses tended to dethrone religion by reducing it to the status of the subject of history or philosophy. Moreover, in many of these courses Christianity was viewed as a shaping historical force up to and including the early modern period; but the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were often portrayed as more secular time periods, with Christianity seen largely through the critical lens of neo-colonialism. The intellectual forces driving the progress of democratic society were seen to be those of science and the social sciences. The values taught became those of liberal pluralism.⁷³

The creation of departments of religion offers the best illustration of the displacement of Protestantism within the curriculum. Presidents in the 1950s, as their rhetoric indicated, were still concerned about the place of religion in the curriculum. So too were other faculty, religious leaders, and concerned members of the community. In the United States, academics such as Charles Foster Kent of Yale divinity school had been promoting the creation of religious studies programs since the early twentieth century.⁷⁴ The efforts of Kent and others, D.G. Hart has elaborated, led in the years after World War Two to the growth of departments of religion. He argues that

proponents of religious studies, which often meant the ethos of liberal Protestantism, made a common cause with humanistic scholars and resurrected the philosophical idealism of the old genteel tradition under the label of general education. Apparently a marginal force within American culture during the 1920s and 1930s, after the Second World War liberal Protestantism revealed its continuing strength and influence through the rise of departments of religion.⁷⁵

⁷³See for example History 121, Queen's University, in which the emphasis is on the development of democratic values in western civilization and where Christianity has a historical role but is no longer considered to impart moral values to the contemporary situation.

⁷⁴Henry Samuel Levinson, "Religious Philosophy," 1204.

⁷⁵D.G. Hart, "American Learning and the Problem of Religious Studies," in The Secularization of the Academy, ed. George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield (New

In Canada, calls for the creation of departments of religion began to be heard in the 1950s from a number of quarters. As early as 1952 the editor of the Alumni Chronicle stated, "At various times, it has been asserted that institutions of higher learning -- particularly publicly-supported Universities like the UBC -- have become almost pagan." The editor suggested that a school of religion might be an answer to such criticism.⁷⁶ In 1957 the chaplain of Hart House wrote, "For our generation at least, the Christian religion must regain some vestige of intellectual respectability in the field of education, especially in the University....A Department of Religion in the college programme would be, for example, a sign that religion is worthy of study on the part of the keenest minds in the academic world."⁷⁷

In the late 1950s the belief in the need to find a place for religion within the curriculum had become widespread. At UBC, for example, after the prompting of the Alumni Chronicle editor in 1952, and with the support of MacKenzie, members of the alumni association made a proposal, accepted by the senate in 1957, that UBC introduce courses in religious studies.⁷⁸ By 1964 the university had established a department of

York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 219.

⁷⁶"Speaking Editorially," Alumni Chronicle, June 1952, 13.

⁷⁷UTA, Hart House Records, A73-0050, Box 88, File: Chaplain to Hart House, Rev J. Cunningham, Chaplain to Robert B. Tillman, 7 Nov. 1957. For the desire by scholars in Ontario for courses in the study of religion see Harold Remus, William Closson James, and Daniel Fraikin, Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 57.

⁷⁸For the history of the creation of this department see Brian J. Fraser, The Study of Religion in British Columbia: A State-of-the-Art Review (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1995), 6-7, 12-20. For MacKenzie's belief that universities should provide overview courses of the great religions see Norman A.M. MacKenzie, "The Challenge to Education," in Canada's Tomorrow: Papers and Discussion, Canada's Tomorrow Conference, Quebec City, Nov. 1953, ed. G.P. Gilmour (Toronto: Macmillan, 1954), 181; UBCA, MacKenzie Papers, Box 103-10, "Religion and Education," CBC, 26 Sept. 1954.

religious studies.⁷⁹ Similarly, at McMaster a department of religion was created in 1959 and by 1963 a three-year pass degree in religion became possible.⁸⁰ With its more complicated federated system, the creation of a department of religion took longer at the University of Toronto. Beginning in 1965 the faculty of arts and science began to discuss this issue and in 1967-68 a department of religious studies was created.⁸¹ The President of Victoria College wrote of this development that it gave "religious studies the stress and importance it deserves in university education."⁸²

Although the idea of departments of religious studies spread in the 1950s, often nurtured by the presidents of the time, they saw their fruition in the 1960s under a new presidential leadership and a professoriate holding new expectations. They are thus illustrative of the changing times. First, their establishment led to the abolition of compulsory and voluntary courses in religious knowledge. Such was the case at both McMaster and Toronto. At McMaster, religious knowledge courses became less acceptable with the official secularization of the university in 1957. In the late 1950s the requirements came under revision as a result of "complications of policy and conscience" owing partly to the transfer of the university from Baptist to secular control, but also to the growth of the university and the strain on faculty and resources.⁸³ In 1962, the year

⁷⁹UBCA. Senate Minutes. 11 Dec. 1957, 2499; UBCA. Senate. Minutes. 12 Dec. 1962.

⁸⁰McMaster University President's Report, 1961-62. Report of the Department of Religion. 61: "Religion Gains Importance with New Course." McMaster Alumni News 33. 3 (Summer 1963), 6.

⁸¹UCC/VUA. Records of President's Office. Acc 89.130v. Box 64-8. Meeting Victoria College Council. 15 Nov. 1965 and 18 March 1968.

⁸²"Dr. Moore Reports." Victoria Reports, Dec. 1968. 6-7.

⁸³McMUA, McMaster University. Box: President's Reports 1956-72. Report of the President 1957-59. Religious Studies report by G.P. Gilmour.

after G.P. Gilmour retired, courses in religion were no longer required for a B.A.⁸⁴ Instead, students could elect to take a degree in religious studies.

At Toronto a department of religion was created as the faculty of arts reassessed its own course structure and complained about the one hour religious knowledge courses taking time away from honours courses. The faculty formed a committee in 1965 to reassess the place of religious knowledge courses.⁸⁵ By 1969 the departments of religious knowledge of the federated colleges, along with members of the Near Eastern, Islamic, and East Asian studies departments in the university joined together to form the combined departments of religious studies. In 1975 this would be renamed as the department of religious studies.⁸⁶ As at McMaster, the effect of this change was that religious knowledge was phased out as a component of the B.A. program: instead, students could take a degree in the more scientifically oriented department of religious studies.⁸⁷

Departments of religious studies led to the phasing out of courses in religious knowledge, and they also, like the chaplaincies or religious councils, led to a more limited place for religion on campus. When Sidney Smith articulated his concerns about the secularization of higher education in 1952-53, he expressed fears that students might be graduating from universities "in complete ignorance of theology." For Smith it was the religious values, the morals taught by religion, which created that disciplined intellect so necessary to the creation of the whole individual. By the 1960s many academics would

⁸⁴McMUA, McMaster University President's Report, 1961-62, Report of the Department of Religion, 61; Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, 104.

⁸⁵UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc 89.130v, Box 64-8, Victoria College Council Meeting, 15 Nov. 1965.

⁸⁶UCC/VUA, Records of President's Office, Acc 89.130v, Box 64-8, Victoria College Council Meeting, 18 March 1968; Remus, Religious Studies in Ontario, 59.

⁸⁷"Dr. Moore Reports." Victoria Reports, Dec. 1968, 6-7.

become set against the teaching of anything that even smacked of theology and faith commitment. At its core, this was the difference between theology, or religious knowledge, and religious studies. The former represented advocacy or proselytization while the latter became conceived as the objective, scientific study of religion.

Brian Fraser has shown that in the attempt to create a department of religion at UBC, "the key term used in the early documents was that religion should not be 'inculcated' and no attempt should be made to 'indoctrinate' students into the tenets of any particular religion."⁸⁸ At Dalhousie, objections were raised to a department of religion for this same reason. One faculty member at Dalhousie objected to the creation of such a department on the grounds that religion was "socially pernicious" and that there was an "exceedingly small probability that such a department would treat religion objectively."⁸⁹ Could religion be taught in any objective form? Indeed, its proponents would work to legitimize it as a distinct, specialized, and secular program. At UBC, for example the department did so by making "it clear that it would teach not one but five of the major world religions."⁹⁰ Similarly, McMaster gave equal emphasis to eastern and western religious traditions.⁹¹ George Grant stressed in 1968 that "the curriculum must not proceed from the assumption that any particular religion has a privileged status in the nature of things."⁹²

⁸⁸Fraser, The Study of Religion in British Columbia, 19. See also Remus, Religious Studies in Ontario, 2, 25. For a similar situation in the United States see Hart, "American Learning and the Problem of Religious Studies," 196-97, 213.

⁸⁹DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 8, File 1380/23 (1), Faculty of Arts and Science, Department of Religion, David Braybrooke, "The Case Against Establishing a Department of Religion," 5 Feb. 1969. For similar concerns in Ontario see Remus, Religious Studies in Ontario, 58.

⁹⁰Fraser, The Study of Religion in British Columbia, 19.

⁹¹Remus, Religious Studies in Ontario, 58-59.

⁹²G.P. Grant, "The Academic Study of Religion in Canada," in Scholarship in Canada, 1967: Achievement and Outlook, ed. R.H. Hubbard, with an introduction by Watson

In addition, proponents of religious studies programs at all universities considered the scientific study of religion an important contribution to the work of the university. As recorded in the UBC Senate minutes, "Religious Studies, although a descendant of Christian theology, had now become a secular discipline, appropriate to a secular university, attempting to study by academic means what could be known academically about religious thought."⁹³ Observing the diminished place for religion on campus, faculty and administrators turned to departments of religion as places to maintain a secure presence for religion. Yet in doing so, they replaced a faith-based approach with the scientific study of religion. Moreover, religion became merely one more specialized discipline in an increasingly specialized university system.

Although departments of religion thus secured a place for religion on campus, the nature of these departments was not always that intended by their early supporters. Administrators and religious leaders had looked to departments of religion, as they had to chaplaincies and religious councils or programs in general education, as new vessels which could maintain traditional assumptions. Yet by the 1960s those assumptions were themselves under attack. Departments of religion and chaplaincies, for example, became new tentacles of the modern university: the former as another specialized branch of study and the latter providing counsellors in a growing student services bureaucracy. Moreover, early proponents had seen departments of religion in particular as a means to reassert a Christian presence on campus. When they were created in the 1960s, however, educators carefully placed other world religions on par with Christianity. Since the

Kirkconnell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 63.

⁹³UBCA, Senate Minutes, 12 Dec. 1962. For similar comments see McMUA, McMaster University President's Report 1962-63, Report of Department of Religion, Dean P.R. Clifford, 85 and DUA, President's Office, MS-1-3, Box 8, File: 1380/23(1), Faculty of Arts and Science, Department of Religion, "Report of the Committee on the Status of Religious Studies of Dalhousie University," Nov. 1971.

1930s. Grant Wacker argues. Protestant attitudes towards other religions had changed from a belief in Christian superiority to an acceptance of other faiths on their own terms.⁹⁴ As a result, by the 1960s, faculty members and chaplains refrained from foisting their beliefs upon the campus and, as liberal Protestants themselves believed should be the case, simply made their services available to those interested. Similarly, the failure of curricular reform to provide students with programs of study in a common core of knowledge was equally a sign of the times. Ideals concerning the university's role in creating tomorrow's leaders, the importance of arts for disciplining the intellect, and the need to develop the whole person, did not disappear. But in the 1960s such ideas were no longer rooted -- indeed they were specifically de-rooted -- from the Christian tradition. The cultural consensus which had animated the vision of the university for presidents well into the fifties and even into the early sixties had gradually eroded in the wake of the changing nature of their institutions.

⁹⁴Wacker, "A Plural World," 263-68.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation with a description of the religious activism which accompanied the teach-ins of the late 1960s, and I suggested that the phenomenon raised unexplored and interesting questions about the place of religion on Canadian campuses even in a period when its role has been generally discounted. To briefly restate the questions: Did Protestantism continue to play a more important role on the twentieth-century campus than the conventional interpretation suggests? If so, how pervasive was it and whom did it affect? What, then, are my answers to these questions? Certainly, the teach-ins demonstrate the continued interest in religious issues, and perhaps the relevance of personal faith, among portions of the student body, senior administrators, and the professoriate. And certainly the official voice of liberal Protestantism can still be heard in these events, and in the active participation of university officials and student organizations like the SCM. Yet the 1920s and 1930s are not the 1960s. In the preceding chapters I have attempted to chart the process of change and the gradual erosion of the liberal Protestant ascendancy on campus.

I am not contending that religion, in any of its manifestations, simply disappeared from Canadian universities. For significant numbers of the university community, personal faith was and remains an animating force in their lives and in their work. Religious clubs continue to flourish. Departments of religion have multiplied, as have their enrolments. Scholarship on religion, sometimes of the highest order, continues to contribute to the academic enterprise.¹ Yet the university of the late-twentieth century was not the same kind of place it was in the 1920s, or even in the decades when such

¹See for example, Donald Harman Akenson, Saint Saul: A Skeleton Key to the Historical Jesus (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000) and Surpassing Wonder: The Invention of the Bible and the Talmuds (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998).

scholars as Northrop Frye or George Grant illuminated it with the penetrating insight of their Christian faith. Nor was it a place where a good historian like Chester New could ask a candidate for a job. "Are you a Christian?"²

What, then has changed? In the interwar years, I have argued, one can speak of the university as a moral community, and of an official voice of liberal Protestantism as its animating force. "Pervasive" is perhaps too strong a word for this phenomenon; but still it shaped the vision of university presidents as well as of significant numbers of both students and professors. Nor is this evident from their words alone: many educators and students were engaged in translating that vision into campus activism, through the SCM, for example, and the University Christian Missions. In the immediate post-war era, moreover, both vision and activism continued to inform and contribute to campus life. Faced with changing circumstances, university leaders sought creative new means of maintaining inherited assumptions -- for example, through curricular reform, through ecumenical and inter-faith activity, through new institutional vessels like chaplaincies and departments of religion.

These, however, proved to be reeds too frail to withstand the changes that swept over the campus in the post-war years. Indeed, some of the most fundamental features of liberal Protestantism itself would contribute to dethroning it: its tolerance of diverse viewpoints, its emphasis on experience rather than doctrine, its tendency to confuse zeal for a better society on earth with salvation in the next. Both forces external to liberal Protestantism and those internal to it form part of my explanation for the decline of the liberal Protestant ascendancy in the Canadian university.

²Margaret Ormsby was asked this question when she applied for a position in the department of history at McMaster University in the early 1940s. See Alison Prentice, "Women Becoming Professional Scholars: Historians and Physicists," Unpublished Paper, Research Group on Women and Professional Education, Nov. 2001, 11. My thanks to Alison Prentice for allowing me to cite this paper.

During the period from the 1920s to the 1960s the ideal of the university was animated by a vision of an underlying unity in the university endeavour. Presidents spoke of the university as centered in the faculty of arts and science. They perceived western culture, with its roots in the Christian tradition, as an elevating force through which the history, values, and morals of the past could be transmitted to a new generation. To draw on the past was not an attempt to thwart change but rather to provide a broad shaping force which would on the one hand instil cherished values in students and on the other hand create citizens able to think broadly about the issues of the day. Educators believed that particular courses such as English or Latin would help create a disciplined intellect. Such courses provided the means through which the moral values of Protestantism continued to find concrete expression.

Administrators also believed that proper Christian morals and behaviour could be inculcated in residence life and on campus more generally. Administrators, and students themselves, reinforced pre-existing moral and religious views. Deans of women ensured a Protestant religious presence in residence. Students were exposed to Protestant ideals and values through such events as initiations, orientations, carnivals, Sunday services, and daily chapel. Liberal Protestantism was also given voice on campus through the SCM, and at McMaster the MCU. Such clubs provided a place for religious and social expression as well as an outlet for students to explore more radical ideas and challenge the status quo.

During the post-war years new circumstances and new intellectual ideas challenged the privileged place of liberal Protestantism on campus. During the 1950s the increasing presence of the IVCF, the proliferation of denominational clubs and chaplains, a growing acceptance of pluralism -- all of these factors challenged attempts to maintain a liberal Protestant establishment. Students of the post-war period followed their predecessors in pushing at the boundaries of expected behaviour. By the 1960s

traditional Protestant prohibitions against dancing, smoking, and card-playing had virtually disappeared. Even prohibitions on drinking were coming to be defined in legal, rather than moral, terms. Students demanded, and administrators accepted, more liberal residence rules for senior co-eds.

A.B. McKillop has argued that by mid-century a moral imperative drawn from nineteenth-century evangelical Christianity continued to exist in a moralistic though secular form.³ Reining the argument in slightly, Paul Litt, looking explicitly at the supporters of the Massey Commission, contends that "the humanism of the culture lobby can be seen as traditional Christian values shorn of their overt religious import to suit a secular political culture."⁴ In the American setting, George Marsden sees liberal Protestantism as animating the American university well into the twentieth century, but a liberal Protestantism so broadly inclusive as to be essentially devoid of substantive Christian doctrine.⁵

But the argument that secular humanism had by mid-century replaced, or even excluded, Christian moral imperatives overstates the case for the Canadian context. The efforts of university presidents such as A.E. Kerr, G.P. Gilmour, Sidney Smith, and N.A.M. MacKenzie were part of a larger movement which aimed in the 1940s and 1950s to retain a place for Christianity on the university campus. They participated in and supported the University Christian Missions. They enforced traditional moral codes. And during a period of pervasive cultural change they were actively involved in the search to establish a secure place for religion on campus, through, for example, the creation of chaplaincies and departments of religion. Their efforts, of course, failed, or at least did not live up to their expectations. They looked to new vessels to hold traditional

³McKillop, Matters of Mind, 563-64.

⁴Litt, The Muses, the Masses, and the Massey Commission, 92.

⁵Marsden, Soul of the American University.

verities at a time when those verities were under attack and when the universities which they governed, and which traditionally had provided support, were being fundamentally reshaped. Indeed, in many respects their efforts to secure a place for religion on campus inadvertently helped marginalize the authority of liberal Protestantism.

History, of course, tends to record final outcomes -- in this case the secularization of higher education. Yet it is important to look beyond the process of secularization itself to examine the way in which many administrators and educators conceived of their institution at the time. This latter portrait reveals a community which continued to place a great deal of importance on the integration of Protestant ideals within the university. Indeed, in the 1940s and 1950s the rhetoric of presidents indicated concern about the place of Protestantism on campus, but rarely panic. Administrators regretted the elimination of Christian content from the curriculum but sought out solutions to rectify this problem. They did so not as isolated individuals but with the support of the university community. Administrators, professors, students, religious leaders worked together in myriad ways to shore up the Protestant establishment on campus. That they failed is only part of the story -- and a part which overlooks the complexity of the university community at mid-century.

Since Canadian historians have not examined the place of religion in higher education at mid-century, we have only American patterns of secularization to help us understand the Canadian context. Yet an examination of the University Christian Missions suggests the American pattern cannot simply be transposed onto the Canadian situation. As in the United States, liberal Protestants in Canada viewed their goals as those of the university and of society more generally. The 1950s, however, witnessed the growth of a pluralism involving greater differentiation among Protestants and the greater influence of non-Protestant groups. In the United States, Marsden argues, university administrators accepted a broadly defined Christian morality, relegating non-liberal

religious voices to the sidelines. In Canada, I would suggest, it was at least partly as different religious groups began to assert themselves, particularly as evangelical conservatives with close ties to the British IVCF began holding their own missions, that university administrators began to back away from visible support for only one form of religious belief. Competition among ideologically and doctrinally opposed groups of Protestants, among other factors, helped to weaken the formerly dominant voice of liberal Protestantism. As the hegemony of liberal Protestants was challenged, they themselves also began to relinquish control of their previously dominant place on campus. It was thus partly the profusion of a variety of competing religious groups, and the voluntary acceptance of a pluralistic campus by liberal Protestants themselves, which reduced the prominence of any one religious voice on campus.

Sociologists have pointed to the need to look beyond the concept of secularization to the relocation or restructuring of religious activities. There are a number of points in this dissertation at which the beginning of such relocation or restructuring might be located: the rise of the IVCF, the proliferation of other Protestant religious clubs and chaplains, the creation of official chaplaincy services or religious councils, the moral impulse within radical organizations of the sixties. In this thesis, however, I have been concerned with questions which arise primarily out of secularization theory, such as the timing and process of secularization. These questions continue to be important, for they help explain why and how religion was restructured and relocated.

The close connection between Protestantism and western culture in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries has led historians and sociologists to speak of an unofficial religious establishment or a "shadow establishment" in English Canada. Historians have argued that Protestantism remained an influential force into the twentieth century in a variety of ways -- in public schools in Ontario, in foreign affairs, in civil

service.⁶ So too did it remain a shaping force in institutions of higher education. There were unmistakable signs, however, that with the abandonment of Common Sense philosophy, and the threat posed to faith by Darwinian thought and the higher criticism of the Bible, the foundations of this establishment were beginning to crumble. Examining the university curriculum, McKillop and others have traced the beginning of this process to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁷ Yet Protestantism would remain a moral and cultural force on the twentieth-century campus in a variety of ways: through presidential leadership, in residence culture, through the moral regulation of campus, and in student religious clubs. The post-war era, however, would witness a second disestablishment: no longer would a single religious perspective comprise the authoritative religious voice of the university community.⁸

I do not believe, it should be emphasized, that there is any definitive historical moment when one can say "at this point the secularization of the campus takes place." Secularization is like "the rise of the middle class": one can find it "happening" over enormous stretches of Western history. In Canada, John Strachan claimed it happened with Baldwin's University Bill and he had a point: the new University of Toronto, as William Westfall has argued recently, was hardly a secular institution, but it was

⁶See, for example, R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 275-93, Alwyn Austin, "Missionaries, Scholars, and Diplomats: China Missions and Canadian Public Life," 130-52, and Don Page, "From a Private to a Public Religion: The History of the Public Service Christian Fellowship," 294-310, in Religion and Public Life in Canada, ed. Marguerite Van Die.

⁷McKillop, Matters of Mind, 563-64.

⁸Robert Handy used this term in 1971, perceiving the pressures in the United-States from intellectual change and greater pluralism as contributing in the 1920s to a second disestablishment. Other historians have subsequently located this second disestablishment, "the dethroning of Anglo-Protestant hegemony," in the 1960s. See Robert T. Handy, A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 210, and Ellwood, The Sixties Spiritual Awakening, 327.

indisputably non-denominational, which to a great many people. Strachan at the forefront, was no better than secular.⁹ Those historians who have pointed to the turn of the twentieth century have made their own good case, as have those like McKillop who see it occurring in the years after World War One. On the other hand, Sidney Smith, as much as Robert Falconer or H.J. Cody, did not believe he was head of an institution bereft of the animating force of Christian faith -- or at the very least he believed that it must prevail if the moral and intellectual purpose of the university was to prevail. Thus, if we are to understand the Canadian university in the twentieth century we need to take account of the continuing vibrancy of liberal Protestantism as the official moral voice of the university community far into the century. And we need to locate its final demise in the forces at work in a much later period than historians suspected, forces which, contrary to the assumption of many historians of the secularization of Canadian society, were in large part beyond the control of liberal Protestants. Indeed, within institutions of higher learning, the twentieth century was marked by tensions between liberal Protestant "hopes" and "historical realities," tensions which would finally be resolved in favour of the latter in the 1960s.

⁹Westfall, "Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites: The Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment," 28-29.

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Appendix AUniversity Presidents and Principals:

Dalhousie University:

1911-1931	Arthur Stanley MacKenzie
1931-1945	Carleton Stanley
1945-1963	Alexander E. Kerr
1963-1980	Henry Hicks

McMaster University:

1911-1922	Abraham Lincoln McCrimmon
1923-1941	Howard Primrose Whidden
1941-1961	George P. Gilmour
1961-1971	Harry G. Thode

University of British Columbia:

1913-1918	Frank Fairchild Wesbrook
1919-1944	Leonard S. Klinck
1944-1962	Norman A.M. MacKenzie
1962-1967	John MacDonald
1967-1968	Walter Gage. Acting President
1968-1969	Kenneth Hare
1969-1975	Walter Gage

University of King's College:

1924-1937	Rev. Arthur Henry Moore
1937-1953	Rev. A. Stanley Walker
1954-1962	Rev. H.L. Puxley
1963-1969	H.D. Smith
1969-1970	Dr. F. Hilton Page. Acting President

University of Toronto:

1907-1932	Robert Alexander Falconer
1932-1945	Henry John Cody
1945-1957	Sidney Earle Smith
1957-1958	Moffatt St. Andrew Woodside. Acting President
1958-1967	Claude Thomas Bissell
1967-1968	John H. Sword. Acting President
1968-1971	Claude Thomas Bissell

University College:

1901-1928	Maurice Hutton
1928-1944	Malcolm Wallace
1944-1945	Sidney Smith
1945-1951	William Robert Taylor
1951-1959	François Charles Archile Jeanneret
1959-1963	Moffat Saint Andrew Woodside
1963-1964	Robin Harris, Acting Principal
1964-1970	Douglas LePan

Victoria College:

1913-1930	Richard Pinch Bowles
1930-1941	Edward Wilson Wallace
1941-1949	Walter T. Brown
1949-1950	Harold Bennett
1950-1970	Rev. Arthur Bruce Barbour Moore

Appendix B

List of University Christian Missions, 1940-1966¹

1940	-----
1941	University of Manitoba. University of Saskatchewan. University of Alberta
1942	Queen's University. University of Western Ontario
1943	-----
1944	University of Manitoba. University of British Columbia, McMaster University
1945	Mount Allison University. University of Saskatchewan. University of Alberta. Acadia University
1946	University of New Brunswick
1947	McMaster University. Dalhousie University
1948	University of Alberta
1949	University of British Columbia. University of Toronto
1950	Mount Allison University
1951	Queen's University. University of Saskatchewan. University of New Brunswick
1952	Acadia University. University of Toronto
1953	University of Manitoba. University of Saskatchewan. University of British Columbia
1954	Mount Allison University. Acadia University. Dalhousie University. University of Toronto. Carleton University
1955	McMaster University. McGill University. University of Alberta
1956	University of Western Ontario. University of Saskatchewan
1957	Acadia University
1958	Mount Allison University
1959-60	McMaster University. University of Saskatchewan. University of Alberta. University of Manitoba
1961	McGill University. Dalhousie University
1962	-----
1963	McMaster University
1966	Mount Allison University

¹Canadian Council of Churches. Record of Proceedings, Nov. 12-16, 1956. Department of Evangelism. "University Christian Missions"; Canadian Council of Churches. Record of Proceedings, Oct. 27-31, 1958. Department of Evangelism. University Christian Missions Committee; Canadian Council of Churches. Record of Proceedings, Nov. 3-7, 1960. Department of Evangelism. "University Christian Missions."