Preaching the Great War:
Canadian Anglicans and the war sermon, 1914-1918

Melissa Davidson
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University, Montreal
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Abstract

When the British declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, the Dominion of Canada, as part of the British Empire, was also at war. As an overwhelmingly Christian nation, Canada's mobilization included not only its manpower, industrial capacity, and agricultural wealth, but also its spiritual resources. This thesis focuses on views of the Great War offered by Canada's Anglican clerics from 1914 to 1918 through an analysis of sermons and other documents. Situated at a crucial junction between the religious and political life, clerical rhetoric about the war provides an invaluable tool for understanding how a people's religious and national identities shaped one another during this critical period. Rather than painting the conflict in stark terms of 'good and evil,' Canada's Anglican clerics appealed to theological ideas of repentance and righteousness. The clerics denounced national sins and called on Canadians to shoulder their responsibilities both as citizens of the Empire and as Christians. Identifying and negotiating the responsibilities of citizenship in the crucible of war were key elements in the clerical rhetoric, as they sought to construct and connect their overlapping identities as Anglicans, citizens of the Empire, and as Canadians.

Résumé

Quand l'Angleterre a déclaré la guerre à l'Allemange le 4 août 1914, le Dominion du Canada a été impliqué parce qu'il faisait partie de l'Empire britannique. La mobilisation du Canada a principalement inclus des gens et des capacité industrielles et agricol. Toutefois, comme le pays était majoritairement de religion chrétienne, la mobilisation du Canada a aussi collaboré à l'élaboration de nombreuses ressources spirituelles. Cette thèse se concentre donc sur les opinions à propos de la Première Guerre mondiale présentées par les prêtes anglicans du Canada entre 1914 et 1918. Ell fait une analyse des sermons et autre documents écrits par les prêtes anglicans nous permettant d'examiner la 'rhétorique des ecclésiastiques'. La rhétorique des ecclésiastiques de la guerre fournis un outil inestimable pour la connaissance de comment l'identité religieuse et nationale des gens rejoignent, parce que la rhétorique des ecclésiastiques est au même temp religieuse et politique. Au lieu d'aborder directement l'idée «du bien» et «du mal», les prêtes anglicans ont utilisés les idées théologiques comme «le repentir» et «la vertu» pour justifier la guerre. Les prêtes anglicans ont aussi dénonçé les péchés nationaux et ont demandé aux Canadiens de répondre à leur responsabilités en tant que citoyens de l'Empire britannique et chrétiens. Les gens ont donc dû identifier et négocier pendant cette épreuve la notion de citoyenneté, afin d'identifier leurs responsabilités. Cette question est donc particulièrement importante dans la rhétorique des ecclésiastiques alors que les prêtes anglicans ont essayé construire et associer des identités chevauchant la religion anglicane, la citoyenneté de l'Empire britannique, et la citoyenneté du Canada.

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge Canon F.G. Scott. It was Canon Scott who first interested me in the intersection of patriotic and religious rhetoric through his writings and his service as Senior Chaplain of the First Division of the CEF in France from 1914 to 1918. His staunch patriotism, devotion to duty, and unwavering faith have long remained with me. On the dedication page of *In the Battle Silences: Poems Written at the Front* (1916), he had printed:

> Not by the power of Commerce, Art, or Pen,
> Shall our great Empire stand, nor has it stood,
> But by the noble deeds of noble men,
> Heroic lives and heroes' outpoured blood.

To present the 'noble deeds of noble men' through their words and in their context has been my goal with this thesis. I can only hope that I have lived up to it.

List of Abbreviations

Australia and New Zealand Army Corps	ANZAC
British Expeditionary Force	BEF
Canadian Expeditionary Force	CEF
Drocourt-Quéant Line	D-Q Line
Military Service Act	MSA
Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry	PPCLI

Introduction

The Canada of the early twentieth century was not only a profoundly religious nation, it was profoundly Christian as well. People turned to the churches, as they had been doing for centuries, to help them mark major life events — births, marriages, illnesses, and deaths. Civic events, too, often had a religious element. Clergymen, important and well-respected figures in their local communities, regularly offered prayers at council meetings, pronounced blessings at building dedications, and spoke at important anniversaries and public commemorations. For many Canadians, church-going was also an integral part of the round of their ordinary lives. Week after week, people assembled and clergymen faced their congregations, preaching on belief and doctrine, morality and practical matters, sin and redemption. In 1911, the census showed that close to ninety-five percent of the Canadian population identified themselves as members of a Christian denomination: this meant 6.9 million Christians in a nation of 7.2 million people.[1] Eighty-eight percent of Canadian Christians — eighty-five percent of all Canadians — identified themselves as belonging to one of just four major denominations: Roman Catholicism, Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Anglicanism. [2] While church attendance and

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[1] Statistics Canada gives the following population figures and estimates for the 1911-1921 period:

1911	**7.207 million**	1915	7.981 million	1918	8.148 million
1913	7.632 million	1916	8.001 million	1919	8.311 million
1914	7.819 million	1917	8.060 million	**1921**	**8.788 million**

K.G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram, "Table A1: Estimated Population of Canada, 1867-1977," *Historical Statistics of Canada, Section A: Population and Migration,* Statistics Canada. Available online from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm

[2] In its *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Section A: Population and Migration), Statistics Canada gives the following information from the 1911 census:

Total Population	**7,206,643**				
Roman Catholic	2,833,041	(38.3 %)			
Presbyterian	1,116,071	(15.5 %)			
Methodist	1,089,993	(15.0 %)			
Church of England	1,043,017	(14.5 %)			
Baptist	382,720	(5.3 %)			
Lutheran	229,864	(3.2 %)			
Other Christian	197,128	(2.7 %)			
No religion stated	32,490	(0.45 %)	Jewish	16,401	(0.23 %)
No religion	26,893	(0.37 %)	Other	217,856	(3.4 %)

K.G. Basavarajappa and Bali Ram, "Table A164-184: Principal Religious Denominations of the Population, census dates, 1871-1971," *Historical Statistics of Canada, Section A: Population and Migration,* Statistics Canada. Available online from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/4147436-eng.htm

membership rolls give figures that are somewhat lower than the census totals, it is nonetheless clear that religion played a real and vital role in people's lives, thoughts, and identities — less than one percent of Canadians in 1911 either gave no religious affiliation or said that they had none.[3] Religion, and Christianity in particular, helped shape the cultural and ideological landscape of the nation, and when war broke out in 1914, after nearly a century of peace and prosperity, many people turned to their religion for answers, for guidance, and for comfort.[4] But what, in this time of crisis, were they hearing from their clergymen?

The question of what Canadians were hearing about the war from their clergymen is an immense one. The war lasted from August 4, 1914, until November 11, 1918, a period that stretches across four Christmas seasons, four Eastertides, and some 220 Sundays. From the gathering of war clouds to the joy and relief of the Armistice, clergymen stood before their congregations and wrote for denominational newspapers, attempting to make sense of a world at war and all that that entailed through the lens of Christian belief and doctrine. This dissertation follows Canadian Anglican clergymen through the Great War, using their words to try to shed some light on how the war was perceived and experienced on the Canadian home front. In a way, it is an attempt to re-people the pulpits of Canadian Anglican churches, to look both at what clergymen said about the war and at the important questions of identity that lay beneath their words. Where and how Canadian Anglican clergymen addressed the war speaks not only to how they understood themselves and their roles, but also to how they understood the relationship between the church and the nation. What churchmen said was also fundamentally shaped by their experiences of the war as a lived and constantly unfolding reality. In turn, their actions and words helped to shape the way their congregations experienced and coped with the war.[5] In August 1918, in a *Canadian Churchman* article

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[3] See previous footnote for a partial breakdown of the relevant statistics. The full breakdown is available in the Statistics Canada report.

[4] Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Soldier in the First and Second World Wars* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 22

[5] cf. J.M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 49.3 (September 1968): 213-233.

dealing with the church and organized labour, the Rev. R.C. Blagrave of St. Mark's, Parkdale (Toronto), offered the following summary of the church's efforts in relation to the war:

> It is well to reflect upon the leading position the Church has taken in the war. The pulpits of the land have been the greatest incentive to recruiting; they have furnished the greatest amount of information; they have instilled the most genuine patriotism; they have exalted the national ideals; they have inspired the morale of the people; they have comforted the stricken and the bereaved as no other single force has managed to do; to say nothing of the personal influence, enlightenment, encouragement and helpfulness which thousands of priests and pastors moving around among their people have been able to to exercise.[6]

From the distance of nearly a century, the goal of this dissertation has been to frame and present the scale and importance of the efforts of Canada's Anglican clerics using their own words and writings.

Since the publication of Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* in 1929, the seeming waste and futility of the First World War has become a powerful force in shaping the cultural heritage and collective remembrance of the war. Some claim that this sense of waste has become the dominant way of reflecting back on the First World War, but this kind of thinking would have been quite foreign to most Canadians during the war itself and during the immediate post-war period.[7] Even the terms of reference have changed between then and now — what is for us the First World War, or more simply WWI, could not have been called this prior to the outbreak of another global war in 1939. Following the example of John Herd Thompson, who asserts that "These terms of reference seem ahistorical, a barrier to any attempt to understand the Canada of 1914 … [T]he war will be referred to throughout the text as it was christened by the generation whose future it altered, the Great War."[8] Often it will also simply be referred to, both in quotations and in the main body of the text, as 'the war' without further

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[6] R.C. Blagrave, "The Church and the Labour Problem," *Canadian Churchman*, 22 August 1918, 540.

[7] cf. Jonathon Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994); Modris Eksteins, "*All Quiet on the Western Front* and the Fate of a War," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15.2 (April 1980): 345-366.

[8] John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, 1978), 11.

elaboration or description. Throughout, a sustained effort has been made to root the discussion in the events of the war as an unfolding experience. The choice to use the contemporary nomenclature is one of the more visible markers of this effort. Another key marker, and one not intended to be overtly apparent to readers, is the care taken to avoid foreshadowing events that had not yet taken place or providing information that would only be known much later.

Many threads are woven together in this history, each with its own distinct contribution to make to the story of life on the home front for Canadian Anglicans. The first and most visible is drawn from the key primary source material from this period, the sermons of Canada's Anglican clerics, but there are others that inform and contextualize their words. Although the battlefield was an ocean away for Canadians remaining at home, the progress of the war overseas and the actions of Canadian soldiers were followed eagerly through daily newspapers. The military successes and setbacks were a driving force behind both the pace of the war effort and the war experiences of all Canadians, both at home and overseas. A second thread is life on the home front with its local peculiarities; no comprehensive national history exists of life at home during the Great War, so such information must be drawn from a variety of sources. Given the religious focus of this thesis, two other threads run, often invisibly, through the background. One of these is a matter of form and methodology, relying on studies of sermons in relation to war and other national events. The other is the history of Canadian and imperial Anglicanism. Although each of these four themes has its own distinct historiography, which will be dealt with below, in the body of this thesis they are often brought together to form the necessary background for the primary source material. The balance may seem occasionally skewed toward military events overseas, but the lead in this was taken from the sermon texts themselves.

Two comprehensive works are indispensable for understanding the Canadian war in the trenches. The first, G.W.L Nicholson's *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (1962) remains the classic, presenting information about recruiting and conscription, statistics, and the action of Canadian soldiers overseas, as well as

outlining how Canadian actions fit into the broader British prosecution of the war.[9] The second, Tim Cook's more recent two volume work — *At the Sharp End* (2007) and *Shock Troops* (2008) — focusses almost exclusively on the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France, providing a detailed, often unit by unit, description of all the major and minor actions conducted by the CEF, interspersed with quotes drawn from soldiers' letters and diaries.[10] Desmond Morton's *When Your Number's Up* (1993) helps detail the day-to-day life of CEF soldiers, filling in the gaps of life between major battles.[11] Alexander Watson's *Enduring the Great War* (2008), although presenting a more general view of the British and German armies, provides insight into what motivated soldiers to keep fighting through four years of trench warfare — the answer, in addition to the often cited unit cohesion, was the safety and security of their homes and loved ones.[12] With letters, news reports, and even people moving back and forth between Europe and Canada, there was a constant connection between families at home and their soldiers overseas, despite the distance. This connection, as Watson and Morton demonstrate in their different ways, was important for the morale and fighting efficiency of soldiers, but it was equally as important for those at home who were being called upon to support an ever-widening war effort. The publication of casualty lists would have served to reinforce this connection, because each casualty maintained his individual identity. The practice of naming the dead on memorials shows the importance of continuing to recognize individual citizen-soldiers.[13]

The version of the military campaigns presented in this dissertation may seem

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[9] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962). Thanks to the Department of National Defence (Canada) Historical Section and a team of dedicated volunteer transcriptionists with the CEF Study Group, this work, which can be difficult to find in hard copy, is available in its entirety online at http://cefresearch.com/matrix/Nicholson/

[10] Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007) and *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008).

[11] Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1993).

[12] Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[13] For the historiography of the war in later Canadian histories, see Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). For the transition between the war period and memorialization in Canada, see Jonathon Vance, *Death So Noble*.

decidedly whiggish at times with its lack of critical discussion of strategy and relatively rosy presentation of attritional battles like Passchendaele. The intention, however, has not been to present an objective view of the conflict, but to present it as contemporary Canadians might have known it. This means that, in general, official battle names and dates are avoided unless confusion might otherwise result. Preference has been given, instead, to the dates and place names published in contemporary reports. Unit names, which would not have been published owing to censorship restrictions, are also generally avoided, although published post-war casualty statistics are used for convenience and clarity. These casualty figures are noted because the fluctuation in the size of casualty lists published in newspapers would have given contemporaries a clear visual marker of the activities of the Canadian Corps, even if the details were unknown, and would, in fact, have been far more visually striking than simply a number on a page. Partially in an effort to counter this deliberate teleological arc, which is further accentuated by the clerical rhetoric itself, more focussed and critical modern works are referenced in the footnotes for the major battles of the CEF, including the fighting around St. Julien (the Second Battle of Ypres in May 1915), Vimy Ridge (April 1917), and Passchendaele (the Third Battle of Ypres in October 1917). Jeffrey Keshen's *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (1996), along with his "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-1919," are useful for sorting out what information Canadians at home would have received and what was deliberately withheld.[14] M.J. Farrar's *News from the Front* (1998) is one of only many works looking at the process of information gathering by war correspondents and the process of information control exercised by the British government, even before Canadian authorities reviewed the suitability of the material for domestic publication.[15] The filtering of information prevented Canadians from receiving an objective view of the war overseas, if such a thing was even possible in the middle of the conflict; it can be argued

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[14] Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996); Jeffrey Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-1919," *Canadian Historical Review* 73.6 (1992): 315-343.

[15] M.J. Farrar, *News from the Front: War Correspondents on the Western Front 1914-18* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishers, 1998).

that Canadians were nonetheless aware of the heavy casualties being suffered overseas and the vulnerability of the human body on a modern battlefield. Their continued support for the war was not necessarily, as Keshen implies, due to their ignorance of the reality of war, but rather was a result of the meaning with which the Great War had been imbued since its early days, especially (for our purposes) through the efforts of the clergy.

Life on the Canadian home front has generally received far less attention than the actions of Canada's soldiers overseas, and, while there is no comprehensive history, there are a number of local and regional histories from which information can be drawn. A volume of essays edited by David MacKenzie, *Canada and the First World War* (2005), provides regional portraits, and points out how rural and urban experiences within the same province often differed greatly.[16] The regional perspectives provided by Elizabeth Armstrong in her *Crisis of Quebec* (1974) and for the prairie provinces by John Herd Thompson in his *The Harvests of War* (1978) help showcase how both geography and ethnicity altered people's perceptions and experiences of the war, as well as providing valuable additional information. Both point out the differences between the manner in which English-speaking Canadians experienced the war and how non-English minority groups experienced it.[17] Since the war is often held up as a nation-building moment (and that is one of the themes traced here as well) it is important to note that the national construct was anchored firmly with the experiences and outlooks of the English-speaking majority. B.S. Kordan's *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War* (2002) presents the too-often forgotten story of those 'enemy aliens', often Ukrainians, imprisoned by the government during the war, ostensibly for reasons of national security.[18] Patricia McKegney's *The Kaiser's Bust* (1999) deals with heavily German-speaking population of Berlin/Kitchener, Ontario and the effect of propaganda on its population; its narrow focus, however,

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[16] David MacKenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

[17] Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974); Thompson, *The Harvests of War*.

[18] B.S. Kordan, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada During the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

severely limited its usefulness in the context of the present study.[19] Robert Rutherdale's *Hometown Horizons* (2004) also takes a local perspective, looking at the cities of Lethbridge (Alberta), Guelph (Ontario), and Trois Rivières (Quebec) in order to highlight the similarities and differences of the war experience in three communities in distinct regions of Canada. Although Rutherdale's approach has the benefit of allowing a direct comparison of on issues like leave-taking rituals and recruitment, the structure also makes it difficult to get a sense of the lives of the different communities, limiting its usefulness in treating the war as an unfolding lived experience.[20] Iain Miller's study of Toronto during the war, *Our Glory and Our Grief* (2002), presents Torontonians not as ignorant of the cost of war, but as informed supporters of the war effort. Relying primarily on newspaper reports in making this assessment, Miller presents a different perspective than that given by Keshen in *Propaganda and Censorship*, arguing that the information available to Canadians was sufficient for them to understand something of the war being fought overseas.[21] Although his reliance on newspaper sources has left the work open to criticism from those who would wish to point out the gap between the reality at the front and what was being presented to Canadians, his portrayal of war-time Toronto is situated clearly in the information world of that time. This dissertation and its approach owes much to Miller's work. Despite the differences in experience pointed out in these various regional and local histories, a surprising amount of concordance can be observed among in Anglican sermons across the country throughout the period. This concordance argues both for a strongly shared worldview — one that, for Anglicans, was based largely on the shared ethos exemplified by the Book of Common Prayer — but also for the fact that there were important ways in which all English Canadians shared the experience of the war, regardless of their geography. Although it was not written for a scholarly audience, L.M. Montgomery's *Rilla of Ingleside*, first published in 1921, remains an important

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[19] Patricia McKegney, *The Kaiser's Bust: A Study of War-time Propaganda in Berlin, Ontario 1914-1918* (St. Jacob's, Ontario: Bamberg Press, 1991).

[20] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

[21] I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

source of information for how Canadian families and communities experienced the war and were changed by it. Alana Vincent's forthcoming *Remembering Amalek* will offer a comparison of the fictional Blythe family and their experiences with the real-life experience of Montgomery and the social structures of early-twentieth century Canada.[22] Like this thesis, Vincent's work eschews the notion of Vimy Ridge serving as a single nation-building moment and, instead, views the war as a whole as a gradual movement towards a distinctive Canadian national identity.

More specific works were also mined to provide information on attitudes, actions, and the particular consequences of national actions. David Carnegie's *The History of Munitions Supply in Canada 1914-1918* (1922) remains the only work to look at the transformation of the Canadian shell manufacturing capacity during the war and the immense labour needs of the burgeoning industry.[23] Desmond Morton's *Fight or Pay* looks not only at the support provided to soldier's families by the Canadian Patriotic Fund, but also serves to illustrate the many demands being placed on citizens who remained at home and the extent to which the Canadian war effort was a civilian effort.[24] Matthew Bray's article "'Fighting as an Ally': The English Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War" helped to provide the general rhetorical context into which Anglican sermons fit, although its brevity leaves many details remaining to be filled in by other researchers.[25] Duff Crerar's *Padres in No Man's Land* (1995) looks at the clergymen who served overseas as chaplains, with his article "The Church in the Furnace: Canadian Anglican Chaplains Respond to the Great War" providing more specific information about the Anglican case.[26] The nominal roll of chaplains provided was an invaluable aid

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[22] Alana Vincent, *Remembering Amalek: Religion, War, and National Identity* (Eugene: Pickwick Press, forthcoming 2012).

[23] David Carnegie, *The History of Munitions Supply in Canada 1914-1918* (Toronto: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1922). Carnegie also looks briefly at the expansion of shipbuilding and airplane construction in connection with the war as well as at the growth of mining and other raw materials processing necessary to provide the components for shell casings.

[24] Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

[25] R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review* 61.2 (1980): 141-169.

[26] Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Duff Crerar, "The Church in the Furnace: Canadian Anglican Chaplains Respond to the Great War," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993): 75-183.

when attempting to determine the overall number of Anglican clergymen who had served in uniform during the war, either as chaplains or in other capacities. Canon F.G. Scott's memoir *The Great War as I Saw It,* first published in 1922, is one of the classic Canadian accounts of the war. His memoir, together with his book of war-time poetry *In the Battle Silences*, shows the extent to which Canon Scott's Christianity mingled with his sense of imperialism and his pride in 'his' Canadian 'boys'.[27] Arthur Ford's "Some Notes on the Formation of the Union Government" and George Wrong's "Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet", although dated, are nonetheless important sources of information on the political changes that took place as a result of the war, both within Canada and on the international stage.[28] Thompson's *Harvests of War* is also useful in this respect, offering detailed information about the call for Union government and the effects of the 1917 election in the West. These topics figure prominently in post-war Canadian memories of the war on account of the changing status from Canada as an 'Imperial daughter' to Canada as a 'junior but sovereign' ally. Amy Shaw's *Crisis of Conscience* (2009) looks at the 1917 Military Service Act (MSA) and conscientious objectors. Because of the terms of the MSA and more general Canadian views, the work hints at important attitudes regarding religious identity and its relationship to national responsibility, attitudes which have been further explored throughout the course of this thesis.[29]

Recruiting and conscription were key issues during the war, not only for politicians, but also for citizens. As prominent local figures, Anglican clergymen often addressed these issues either from the pulpit or in the denominational press. Nic Clarke's "'You will not be going to this war': The Rejected Volunteers of the First Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force" is the first study of men who attempted to enlist for overseas service but were rejected for medical reasons. Given the high percentage of men

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[27] F.G. Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.G. Goodchild, 1922) and *In the Battle Silences* (London: Constable, 1916). Scott was Canada's most famous Great War chaplain and the streets of Montreal were lined with hundreds of veterans for his funeral in 1944. As the copyright has lapsed, both can be found online at http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/confederation/FGScott/index.htm

[28] Arthur Ford, "Some Notes on the Formation of the Union Government in 1917," *Historical Review* 19.4 (December 1938): 557-364; George M. Wrong, "Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet," *Canadian Historical Review* 1.1 (March 1920): 286-305.

[29] Amy J. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada During the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

rejected for service and the shame often associated with not being in uniform, this study is an important first step toward understanding the impact on individuals and the reasons why men were being rejected, especially since the reasons for many of these medical rejections would have been invisible under normal circumstances.[30] Tim Cook's "'He was determined to go': Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force" looks not only at child soldiers, but at the intense desire to enlist experienced by many under-aged boys and the societal pressures experienced by men in Canada during the war.[31] Like other men, Anglican clergymen would have been subjected to societal pressure to enlist, but they would also have felt institutional pressure to remain at home — the church tended to consider their parish service as a form of national service. This tension, however, is only dealt with in passing in the body of this study. *Broken Promises* (1977) by J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman is the most important source of information on the MSA and conscription in Canada and, together with a pair of recent works — Martin Auger's "On the Brink of Civil War: The Canadian Government and the Suppression of the 1918 Quebec Easter Riots" and Gordon Heath's forthcoming "The Protestant Denominational Press and the Conscription Crisis in Canada, 1917-1918," — fills in the outlines of what happened both militarily and socially as a result of the MSA.[32] Armstrong's *The Crisis of Quebec,* Miller's *Our Glory and Our Grief,* Nicholson's *Official History,* and other works also deal with conscription and its impact. J.L. Granatstein's essay rethinking the military necessity of conscription in *Canada and the First World War* is an important and noteworthy contribution to this ongoing discussion — he concludes that the Canadian Corps was only able to maintain its fighting efficiency as a result of the MSA.[33] Robert Craig Brown and Donald Loveridge's often-cited

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[30] Nic Clarke, "'You will not be going to this war': The Rejected Volunteers of the First Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *First World War Studies* 1.2 (2010): 161-183.

[31] Tim Cook, "'He was determined to go': Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41.81 (2008): 41-74.

[32] J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The Story of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977); Martin Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War: The Canadian Government and the Suppression of the 1918 Quebec Easter Riots," *Canadian Historical Review* 89.4 (December 2008): 503-540; Gordon Heath, "The Protestant Denominational Press and the Conscription Crisis in Canada, 1917-1918," *Historical Studies* (forthcoming).

[33] J.L. Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," in MacKenzie, *Canada and the First World War*, 62-75.

"Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF 1914-1918" should also be mentioned in relation to declining enlistment figures in connection with the decision to implement conscription, but it must also be noted that in a number of cases the figures in this article disagree markedly and without explanation from those used by Nicholson in his *Official History.*[34] Even on the home front, both the military situation and the demand for men — 'Your country needs YOU!' — were a constant preoccupation.[35]

The religious side of the conflict has received very little attention. Gordon Heath's recent "Canadian Churches and War: An Introductory Essay and Annotated Bibliography" should form a starting point for any research on the Canadian churches and war, although, as he points out, there are many gaps in the historiography remaining to be filled in. Notably, very little has been written about Canada's Anglicans.[36] Two books not listed in Heath's bibliography are nonetheless useful. W.J. Armitage's *The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book* (1922) has relatively little to say about the war. As the book's title suggests, its main topic is the revision of the Book of Common Prayer undertaken by General Synod, but is nonetheless invaluable for what it does say about Canadian Anglican practice and thinking during the conflict.[37] Richard Allen's seminal *The Social Passion* (1971) also spends relatively little time musing on the effects of the war on the Social Gospel movement in Canada, but his study of the movement is nonetheless essential for contextualizing the growing social consciousness among Anglicans as a result of the war experience.[38] Although not discussed by Allen, the post-war flourishing of the Social Gospel movement can also be seen as an extension of the ideological belief that the Great War was fought for the salvation and betterment of

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[34] Robert Craig Brown and Donald Loveridge, "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF 1914-1918," *Revue International d'Histoire Militaire* 51 (1982): 53-79.

[35] Although this phrasing is drawn specifically from the famous British recruiting poster featuring Lord Kitchener, variations on this were published daily on the editorial page of the *Toronto Globe,* were featured on Canadian recruiting posters, and used by other daily Canadian newspapers.

[36] Gordon Heath, "Canadian Churches and War: An Introductory Essay and Annotated Bibliography," *McMaster Journal of Ministry and Theology* 12 (2010-2011): 61-124.

[37] W.J. Armitage, *The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book* (Toronto: Stewart and McClelland, 1922).

[38] Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religious and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

civilization, although this notion awaits future research. J.M. Bliss's 1968 article "The Methodist Church and the First World War" is the classic text on Canadian churches and the Great War, providing a defence of Canadian Methodists' record of support for the war but also suggesting the more general role played by Canadian religious figures in sustaining the population.[39] David Marshall's "Methodism Embattled" takes another look at the same ground, but he concludes that the war caused a crisis of faith for many Canadian Methodists.[40] Stuart MacDonald's study of the sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin, a Presbyterian minister, is one of the very few Canadian studies of sermon literature from the Great War period and proved a useful model, although there are divergences between the model presented by MacDonald and what was discovered in the Anglican material.[41] Michelle Fowler's MA thesis looking at the Canadian Presbyterian press from 1913-1919 is another important contribution to this developing field, although, once again, there were a number of significant divergences between her findings and the Anglican material.[42] For both MacDonald and Fowler, the primary source material was divorced from the day-to-day progress of the war and analyzed on broad themes. The generalizations made as a result sometimes obscure the precise way in which rhetoric shifted as the conflict went on. Of course, much work remains still to be done before it is possible to know whether the rhetoric within denominations followed the same or divergent paths in dealing with the war; but this task is made more difficult by the 'just war'/'crusading' model adopted by both MacDonald and Fowler. This model is not borne out by the Anglican material when it is viewed in the context of the war, and even the examples chosen by MacDonald and Fowler throw suspicion on this widely-accepted model.

The limited amount of secondary source material in Canada can be supplemented by reference to other studies. A.J. Hoover in his *God, Germany, and Great Britain in the*

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[39] Bliss, "The Methodist Church," 213-233.

[40] David Marshall, "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* (March 1985): 48-64.

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

[42] Michelle Fowler, "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War, 1913-1919" (MA thesis, Wilfred Laurier University, 2005).

Great War (1989) provides a survey of sermons from Great Britain and Germany, highlighting key themes and the similarity between British and German clerical rhetoric. The arrangement is thematic, and many of his themes also appear throughout this thesis, although a strictly thematic arrangement hides the changes in rhetoric that took place over time.[43] Alan Wilkinson's *The Church of England and the First World War* (1978), Albert Marrin's *The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War* (1974), and Shannon Bontrager's "The Imagined Crusade: The Church of England and the Mythology of Nationalism and Christianity during the Great War" look at the institutional response of the Church of England in Britain. Although there were tight links between the Canadian church and the British church, the vast differences between the Canadian and English circumstances limit the usefulness of their conclusions for Canadian studies.[44] Ken Inglis' introduction to the translation of Annette Becker's *War and Faith* (1998) poses interesting and insightful questions based on Becker's work on the French religious imagination during the war and its application to an English situation. These questions and observations are broadly applicable beyond these specific geographic contexts to studies of religious practice during the period.[45] Australian historians are in many ways further ahead than Canadian historians in considering the impact of imperial Anglicanism on national identity. In particular, R.S.M Withycombe's "Australian Anglicans and Imperial Identity, 1900-1914" and John Moses' "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918" were useful comparisons in the context of this thesis.[46] There are important differences in the way that Australians and Canadians experienced the war, and therefore the way their clergymen spoke about it, but for both the experience irrevocably

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[43] A.J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Great Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1989).

[44] Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978); Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974); Shannon Bontrager, "The Imagined Crusade: The Church of England and the Mythology of Nationalism and Christianity During the Great War," *Church History* 71.4 (December 2002): 774-798.

[45] Ken Inglis, "Introduction," in Annette Becker, *War and Faith: The Religious Imagination in France, 1914-1930*, translated by Helen McPhail (New York: Berger 1998), i-xiii.

[46] R.S.M. Withycombe, "Australian Anglicans and Imperial Identity, 1900-1914," *Journal of Religious History* 25.3 (October 2001): 286-305; John A. Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The 'Prussian Menace,' Conscription, and National Solidarity," *The Journal of Religious History* 25.3 (October 2001): 306-323.

altered the imperial relationship and strengthened growing nationalist thought.

Also helpful for framing the Great War experience are studies of earlier conflicts. Carman Miller has made a case for including the Boer War in studies of the Great War, and several good studies of the Boer War exist.[47] Gordon Heath's *A War with a Silver Lining* (2009) is the most useful study of the reactions and attitudes of Canada's churches during the Boer War, but he has also published a number of related articles on the topic.[48] Carman Miller's *Painting the Map Red* (1993) is a useful and brief general history of Canada's participation in the Boer War and his "Loyalty, Patriotism, and Resistance" provides the general ideological context.[49] Also worth mentioning is Mark Chapman's study of British Anglican sermons during the Boer War — "Theological Responses in England to the South African War, 1899-1902" — which served in many ways as a model for the treatment of sermons as text in this thesis.[50] *Canada 1911* (2011) by Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie, although focussed on the politics of the 1911 election that brought Sir Robert Borden to power after his defeat of Sir Wilfred Laurier, helps fill in the decade between the end of the war in South Africa and the beginning of the war in Europe.[51] Moving back further in time, beyond the Boer War, Allan Smith's "American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century Canada" and two essays by S.F. Wise — "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History" and "God's Peculiar Peoples" — show that the themes and keywords picked up by Anglican clerics between 1914 and 1918 had, in many cases, been in use a century earlier.[52] Wise's "Sermon Literature and

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[47] Carman Miller, "Framing Canada's Great War: A Case for Including the Boer War," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 6.1 (April 2008): 3-21.

[48] Gordon Heath, *A War with a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[49] Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Carman Miller, "Loyalty, Patriotism, and Resistance: Canada's Response to the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902," *South African Historical Journal* 41.1 (1999): 312-323.

[50] Mark Chapman, "Theological Responses in England to the South African War, 1899-1902," *Journal for the History of Modern Theology/Zeitschrift für Neuere Theologiegechichte* 16.2 (April 2010): 181-196.

[51] Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie, *Canada 1911: The Decisive Election that Shaped the Country* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011).

[52] Alan Smith, "American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century Canada," *Historical Papers* 6 (1971): 169-182. Both the essays by S.F. Wise are contained in S.F. Wise, *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on the Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Canada*, ed. A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993).

Canadian Intellectual History" was another invaluable model for this thesis in its treatment of sermons as both public and community documents. When it came to analyzing clerical rhetoric for content and fine distinctions between terms, "Just War, Holy War, and Millennialism in Revolutionary America" by M.B. Endy, Jr., was among the best and most useful models. The often confused terms 'just war' and 'holy war' were clearly differentiated in terms of rhetoric and underlying belief, an essential task given the precise meanings accorded the different terms by clerics and theologians in comparison to the loose way they are sometimes used by historians.[53]

As was mentioned above, the history of early twentieth-century imperial Anglicanism has not received much attention in Canada. Two works, however, look at the imperial connections of Canadian Anglicanism during earlier periods. Rowan Strong's *Anglicanism and the British Empire c. 1700-1850* looks at the connections during the pre-Confederation period and offers useful reminders that there are often differences between the published and private views of Anglicans. Strong also points out that "the texts written by these preachers … have a good claim to be regarded as indicative of the outlook of contemporary official Anglicanism" because the clergy were not merely acting as private individuals but as public figures.[54] While this can be argued, the general lack of disagreement within the church over the war seems to support making this assumption. The second is Richard Vaudry's *Anglicans and the Atlantic World* (2003), which looks at the connection between Quebec Anglicans and Great Britain during the mid-nineteenth century and points out the close links that existed between the English and Canadian churches from an institutional level down to the level of individuals.[55] Vaudry's study, like much Anglican history, focusses on the tension between High Church Anglicans and Evangelical Anglicans, a tension not addressed in the body of this work. Here again, a surprising concordance was found between the

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[53] M.B. Endy, Jr., "Just War, Holy War, and Millennialism in Revolutarionary America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 42.1 (1985): 3-25.

[54] Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire c. 1700-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33.

[55] Richard W. Vaudry, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

published words of Anglican clergymen. Although there were slight differences in emphasis — Bishop Lennox Williams of the High Church diocese of Quebec City was more inclined to call for intercessory prayer, for example, and the Rev. Dyson Hague of Toronto's evangelical Wycliff College to emphasize social evils — these differences were a matter of degree rather than of substance. Since the aim here has been to present the overall picture of the war from the perspective of Canadian Anglican clergymen, it is left for future research to look at these types of fine distinctions and whether they hold any significance or whether the internecine theological conflict was halted in the face of the more serious German threat. William Katerberg's *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (2001) covers the period of the war but the conflict is mentioned in only a handful of sentences. Choosing to use a series of biographies of prominent figures as case studies, Katerberg is more interested in the north-south flow of people and texts across the American border than in Canadian Anglicanism as part of an imperial church.[56] A very rudimentary look at clergy lists together with *Crockford's Clerical Directory* seems to indicate a larger percentage of Canadian Anglican clergymen had British ties (birth or education in England, Ireland, Scotland, or Wales) than American ones, although more detailed demographic work would have to be done in order to make a definitive statement one way or the other. While the north-south flow of information and people was important in the seventy-year period which concerns Katerberg, during the war years it was the British connection that seemed to loom largest for Canadian Anglicans. The *Canadian Churchman* regularly reprinted sermons and articles from England's leading churchmen and local bishops urged the Canadian church to heed national calls to prayer issued in Britain. After the entry of the United States into the war in 1917, there was an emphasis on unity with the neighbouring Americans, but not at the expense of the British connection.

It is not only in Katerberg's work that the Great War receives minimal attention, but the war is largely absent in histories of Canadian Anglicanism. Unless a mortgage was paid off, a new building consecrated, or a new rector arrived, a large number of

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[56] William Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880-1950* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

parish histories are silent not only on the war years, but on the period between roughly 1908 and 1920. Philip Carrington in his *The Anglican Church in Canada* has only this to say about the actions of the church during the war: "To use the wording of the old Catechism, both clergy and laity did their duty in whatever state of life it pleased the Lord to call them to."[57] The remainder of the chapter on the war years deals with the actions of General Synod and the movements of bishops. Alan Hayes' *Anglicans in Canada* divides Anglican history into three periods: a formative period from the eighteenth century, a nation-building period beginning with Confederation, and the modern period beginning in the 1960s. The early twentieth century falls silently into the gap between Confederation and the modern period.[58] Two volumes of edited essays — *Seeds Scattered and Sown* and *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada* — are similarly concerned with these traditional periods and the other classic themes of Canadian ecclesiastical history — mission work, expansion into the newly opened West, and the relationship between Anglicans and various Native American groups.[59] Given the impact of the Great War on all aspects of Canadian life and its consistent presence in secular histories covering the same period, this absence is striking and would be puzzling if not for the consistent institutional focus of Anglican histories. With many parishioners and parish priests occupied with war service, with other demands on scarce funds, and with the flow of support from England essentially stopped, the institutional church was forced to pause its expansion work and focus simply on maintenance. It is this maintenance-only period that appears as a gap in the historiography.

In contrast to the paucity of secondary source material, there is an abundance of primary source material dealing with the war period. The majority of the citations in this dissertation are drawn from three of the four major Anglican periodicals being published

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[57] Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada, A History* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 252.

[58] Alan Hayes, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

[59] Norman Knowles, ed., *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism* (Toronto: ABC Publishing, 2008); Barry Ferguson, ed., *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1991).

between 1914 and 1918.[60] The *Canadian Churchman*, published weekly in Toronto, was arguably the most important and featured parish news from across the country, although the Eastern dioceses are featured more heavily due to the geographic proximity. The *Montreal Churchman* was the diocesan newspaper for the Diocese of Montreal and was published monthly. The *Quebec Diocesan Gazette* was the equivalent monthly from the Diocese of Quebec, although it was a smaller publication. Full runs of issues published during the war period exist for the *Canadian Churchman* and the *Montreal Churchman* — the former more widely available as a microfilm reproduction and the latter in hard-copy in the McGill library, as well as at the General Synod Archive at Church House in Toronto. General Synod holds copies of the *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, although all of the 1915 issues are missing. The fourth journal, *Church Work*, published out of Halifax first on a weekly schedule and later monthly, largely appears not to have survived, although microfilm reproductions of some issues do still exist in the General Synod Archive.[61] Some secular newspapers also covered the churches, especially when bishops or notable clergymen were addressing current events. This practice, however, seems to have been much more common in Eastern Canada than in British Columbia, Alberta, or Manitoba.[62] The *Toronto Globe*, the *Montreal Gazette,* and the *Halifax Chronicle* were used to help follow events in these urban areas.[63] Three collections of personal papers were consulted

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[60] Although it deals with an earlier period and some of the publications were defunct by 1914, Gordon Heath's compilation of denominational periodicals for the late nineteenth century is nonetheless of value. cf. Gordon Heath, "Forming Sound Public Opinion: The Late Victorian Protestant Press and Nation Building," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48.2 (Fall 2006): 138-155.

[61] It is possible that the Atlantic diocesan archives have a more complete run of *Church Work* and the Quebec Diocesan Archive may have the missing issues of the *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*. Time, distance, and the amount of material available from other sources meant that the missing issues were not pursued further.

[62] Searchable online resources exist for newspapers in these provinces and two search strategies were used. Keyword searches were done using a variety of specifically ecclesiastical titles (archdeacon, bishop, canon, chaplain) and relevant terms (church, sermon, pulpit, synod, etc.) over a broad time period and individual issues were manually searched for periods when it was thought likely sermons might be published or referenced. Generally nothing resulted from either strategy for the Western provinces. This does not necessarily mean that sermons on the war were not preached, only that they were not noted in the secular press.

[63] The *Toronto Globe* has been digitized and was therefore used most extensively because of its ease of use. The daily issues of the *Globe* were used to help identify search periods for the microfilmed editions of the other newspapers. The *Globe* issues were searched individually from July 1914 through late 1916, for July and August 1917, December 1917, and May 1918, as well as for other shorter periods in 1917 and 1918. Keyword searches were also used. Digitized editions of the *Toronto Star* were also consulted although the coverage of Anglican events was much lower in the *Star* and tended to duplicate that found in the *Globe*.

— the F.G. Scott fonds at the McCord Museum in Montreal, the H.J. Cody papers at the Provincial Archive of Ontario, and a collection of sermons by the Rev. T.B. Jeakins at the Montreal Diocesan Archives (Anglican). These archival collections — and there are no doubt others, as yet undiscovered in diocesan archives — contain a wealth of material and, for a variety of reasons, are unfortunately not employed to their full potential in the text that follows. Other full-length sermons exist in published collections and preserved on microfiche, although in many cases it was difficult to assign exact dates to these. Synod reports are also useful documents, full of information about the institutional actions, and are also perhaps underutilized here due to the rhetorical focus of this thesis. In all, upwards of a thousand full or partial sermons, articles, speeches, or reports were analyzed in the preparation of this dissertation. The specific examples selected have been chosen for their rhetorical strength and with an awareness of their geographic distribution. Reflecting the primary sources available, Eastern Canada and urban areas — particularly Toronto and Montreal — are over-represented, as are individuals like Archdeacon H.J. Cody and Bishop John Cragg Farthing of Montreal. Editorial changes at the *Canadian Churchman* beginning in 1916 mean that the amount of space allocated to parish news was reorganized and the number of sermons reported decreased. This has meant that Canadian Anglican bishops have a more dominant presence in the second half of this thesis as their sermons and speeches make up a larger percentage of the collected material following the editorial change.

The driving force behind the organization of this thesis was the passage of time and the progress of the war. Great changes occurred during the fifty-two months of war — the Canada that enthusiastically sent its sons off to fight at the outbreak of war was not the same Canada woken by church bells and fire trucks announcing the cease-fire in the early morning hours of November 11, 1918. The five chapters are therefore divided according to chronology, each covering a calendar year. Each chapter is also titled thematically according to some of the key themes and ideas present in the rhetoric from that period. The chapters are arranged as follows:

1914 — Justification and Duty

1915 — Imperialism and Prayer

1916 — Perseverance

1917 — Patriotism and Nationalism

1918 — Despair and Triumph

These topics span a range of concerns, some of which are particularly associated with the Canadian war experience (imperialism, nationalism, identity), some of which concern the process of war more directly (justification, perseverance), and others which are both theological and contextual (duty, prayer, triumph). Of course, these themes overlap their assigned time periods and one another, but they have nonetheless been used as signposts for the material in each chapter.

In 1914, across the Dominion of Canada — a territory which did not include the self-governing colony of Newfoundland in either civil or ecclesiastical governance — there were approximately 1700 Anglican clergymen serving parishes in fifteen dioceses. At least 229 ordained Anglican clergymen are known to have served away from their churches in uniform, either as chaplains or as part of the regular strength of the CEF, although the actual number may be higher. Nonetheless, simple statistics of this type, however important for showing the impact of the war on the church, do not show the other, more personal, ways that clergymen would have been affected by the war. Aside from the effects on their parishes, clergymen, as individuals, were part of one or both of the demographics who would have felt the war most strongly — either they were males of military age or their sons, if they had them, were of an age to serve overseas. Many had family ties to Britain and all were members of a denomination that was deeply and loyally British. The war was a great national effort and helped create a sense of nation — there were national setbacks and great national successes. Nor should it be forgotten that there was also great personal grief and sacrifice, and Anglicans — the parishioners and the clergymen — were certainly not exempted from this. The words of Anglican clergymen arose out of their personal experiences and the experiences of their parishioners, concerning themselves with the problems and realities of daily life during this difficult period. In general, they were intended to be heard by listeners, not merely read, and were

therefore crafted with an oral delivery in mind.[64] Sermons and articles reflected not only on the linear progression of the war, but also the cycle of the liturgical year, with its periods of penitence and rejoicing. [65] They were not intended as lasting testimonials but were explanations, exhortations, and encouragements directed at particular groups of people, rooted in particular moments, and arising out of a particular set of circumstances. All of this makes them very human records. And so the question remains: What did Canada's Anglican clergymen say about the Great War and how did their Christian belief shape their experience of it?

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[64] In general, it has been indicated in the text whether a quotation is from a sermon or a written document. Published sermons may have differed from their original oral versions, but the published versions have been treated as original. The sense of some of the sermon excerpts does become clearer when the passage is read out loud.

If a direct quotation was available, this has been preferred in all cases. In some cases, only reports of a sermon were available. It is unknown the extent to which these reports deviate from the original, and these have generally not been treated as quotations except in the rare case where textual clues indicate that an almost direct quotation is being given. The original phrasing in these reports has been maintained as closely as possible in paraphrase and is indicated in places by the use of single quotation marks when the word choice or capitalization might otherwise seem ambiguous.

[65] Major liturgical festivals have been noted in the text when relevant. Christmas and Easter have been noted as liturgical signposts in the timeline given in Appendix A.

Chapter One

Justification and Duty
August 1914 to December 1914

While on a state visit to Sarajevo, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated. The death of the Archduke and his wife on June 28, 1914, was the event that would ultimately lead to the outbreak of war, though few would have anticipated it at the time. Over the next month — one that would later be remembered for its idyllic beauty — a series of political, military, and diplomatic decisions would bring the great European powers and their empires to the brink of war. For the British, the final series of events leading to war began on August 2, when the Germans demanded free passage through Belgium for its army on the way to attack France. The Belgians, although vastly outnumbered, refused and readied their defences as the Germans pushed across the frontier. The British, pledged since 1839 to defend Belgian neutrality, officially objected, but the Germans refused to withdraw their troops. After twenty-four hours, as the invasion continued, the British ambassador in Berlin requested his passports, an action understood correctly by the German government to be a declaration of war. As a result, the British Empire, including Canada, was at war.[66]

Only days after the declaration of war, Sam Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia, issued muster orders to militia units across the country and set about raising a Canadian overseas force.[67] Before war was actually declared, there had been some question about what the nature and extent of Canada's support for a European war would be. When war had broken out on the South African veldt in 1899, the Canadian government had equipped and sent a small volunteer force to serve with the British

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[66] See Niall Fergusson, *The Pity of War* (New York: Basic Books, 1999) for a full treatment of the politics and diplomacy leading to war.

[67] Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007), 32-33. See also Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011), 57-71.

army.[68] This decision had not been without controversy at the time, especially in Quebec where it was feared a precedent would be set. In August 1914, however, there were many who felt that this had been a limited response to a small imperial war, and that this greater crisis, with Britain's honour at stake, not merely its imperial pride, required a correspondingly more significant response from Canada. Although then Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier had decided to send troops to South Africa, the precedent was not entirely clear. In 1910, Laurier had declined to contribute monetary support to the Royal Navy, as New Zealand and Australia were doing, and had instead opted to establish a new, independent, Canadian navy. Two vessels were purchased in 1910 from the Royal Navy to establish the new Canadian fleet, and it was established legislatively that an Order in Council would be required to transfer their operation to the Royal Navy at the outbreak of a war. Lacking its own foreign policy, Canada was at war when Britain went to war, but, as a self-governing Dominion, Parliament retained control over the extent of the contribution Canada would make to any war effort.[69] Despite some uncertainty about how Canada would contribute militarily and monetarily in the days leading up to the declaration of war, many Canadians were anxious to show their support for the British cause. The crowds that gathered at newspaper offices in major urban centres broke spontaneously into patriotic song when news of war was announced, and men eager to enlist began to line up outside militia headquarters hours before the doors were opened to potential recruits.[70] In rural areas, the response was more muted amidst the work of the harvest, but there too the declaration of war met with a largely positive response.[71] The

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[68] See Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) for a brief history of Canadians in South Africa.

[69] See Patrice Dutil and David MacKenzie, *Canada 1911: The Decisive Election that Shaped the Country* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011) for a discussion of both the naval debates and the South African commitment. See also, Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 22-24.

[70] For a history of an urban Canadian response to the war see I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002) and Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

[71] See John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McLelland & Stuart, 1978); R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review* 61.2 (1980): 142-143. See also a number of essays in David MacKenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

Belgian treaty was derided by the Germans as a mere 'scrap of paper', but for all those who were proud to call themselves citizens of the British Empire, that scrap of paper stood for much more than mere diplomacy. It stood for honour and duty, justice and liberty, the rights of small nations, and all that was good about British civilization.

A few weeks after the war began, John Cragg Farthing, Bishop of Montreal, looking at a world plunged into war, wrote:

> The Empire risks its all, its very existence; by going into this war, we stand to lose everything: we stood to lose our honour and to break our obligations had we kept out of it. … Horrible as war is, to break our pledged word, and to see a weak nation wronged would be more horrible. At such a time, we must remember that Righteousness, not peace, is the ideal of Christ.[72]

Bishop Farthing was not alone in attempting to make sense of a world suddenly changed by events beyond his control. He was joined in this by Canadians in general, regardless of their belief or position. The war was the Empire's war, and it was therefore Canada's war, no matter that the decision had been made in London and the battles would be fought in Belgium and France. Clerics, facing their congregations at the end of the slow summer season, were voicing answers to questions that they were not alone in asking as they attempted to justify the Empire's participation in the war. The specifics of Britain's obligation to protect Belgium were important, but the threat posed to the Empire by the Germans was foremost in people's minds.[73] This perceived threat was not only against the Empire's territory, but also against the fundamental principles for which the Empire stood.

As members of a denomination whose institutions and heritage were deeply British, it is unsurprising that the defence of the Empire figured prominently into justifications of the war offered by Canadian Anglican clerics. With the German army marching through Belgium, Britons worried that their island was in danger. Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, as members of the German and Austrian reserves travelled across the American border to catch ships back to Germany, Canadians worried about the possibility

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[72] John Cragg Farthing, "A Message on the War," *Montreal Churchman,* September 1914, 3.

[73] Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 47-48, 54, 79, 232.

of German saboteurs and set guards on important public institutions.[74] This perceived threat served as a powerful motivating factor not only for those enlisting, but also for those justifying participation in the war. As George Thorneloe, Bishop of Algoma, said at a church parade of the 51st Soo Rifles in Sault Ste. Marie on August 16:

> It is impossible to look around and see the mighty influence which this Empire, of which we are privileged to be citizens, sheds around for good and for progress without being stirred to action when the possessions of that Empire are imperilled. … Peace is the greatest blessing of man, but war is oftentimes the price of peace.[75]

The peril of the Empire seemed more than merely rhetorical as the Belgians fought desperately to slow the German conquest of their country. Little more than a week after Bishop Thorneloe addressed the church parade, British regulars in France would be forced by advancing German soldiers to retreat from Mons in their first major action of the war. The German advance would continue steadily for the next two weeks, coming to within thirty miles of Paris before finally being halted on the banks of the Marne on September 10.[76]

It wasn't only the physical territory of the Empire that was believed to be threatened, but the Empire's principles were also felt to be under attack by German militarism and philosophy. On September 20, the day the Germans began the shelling of Rheims that would ultimately destroy its magnificent cathedral, Archdeacon H.J. Cody of St. Paul's in Toronto told his congregation:

> The language of the Prussian army is pure Nietzschism – 'the will to power' – the strong man who treads down the rights of others. Nietzsche scorned the religion of sympathy. He was cynical in regard to honour and morality – it was all a scrap of paper … It is not merely the Empire that is at stake but our highest ideals are at stake. Jerusalem was only safe while it obeyed the will of God.[77]

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[74] Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 37, 70; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 31; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 119-137, 143-153. The internment of so-called 'enemy aliens' must also be mentioned as grounds of security were claimed, but the real motivations were often much murkier and had some economic basis. The majority of those interned as 'enemy aliens' were, in fact, Ukrainian rather than Austrian or German. For a fuller discussion of this, see B.S. Kordan, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada During the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

[75] George Thorneloe quoted in "First Church Parade in Sault Ste. Marie," *Toronto Globe,* 17 August 1914, 2.

[76] See Appendix A for a more detailed timeline.

[77] H.J. Cody quoted in "The Pulpit and the War," *Toronto Globe*, 21 September 1914, 6.

Although Archdeacon Cody would not have known when he spoke that the cathedral, the place where the French kings had traditionally been crowned, would be destroyed, the deliberate act of cultural destruction, like the burning of the library at Louvain on August 27, would imprint itself on people's memories as a concrete example of the difference between the British and German ideals.[78] In mid-October, as British troops dug in around Ypres and Canadian troops settled into their Aldershot camp on Salisbury Plain, Archdeacon Cody spoke at a Thanksgiving service at Toronto's Church of the Epiphany. He told his listeners:

> Never have we observed a day of thanksgiving under circumstances so awful, and yet surely here in Canada we have special reasons to give thanks. … We may thank God, and at the same time out of that thankfulness feel an increased responsibility to give added service for the Empire's life. Make no mistake about it. Whatever other great issues are involved, the issue is the life, the mission and continued world service of the British Empire. The issue is for us Canadians still, whether we are to be a great free democracy in this world-wide British Empire, or be a colony of the German Empire, ruled by German governors, governed by German ideals.[79]

On October 28, as the fighting between the German and British armies began to slow around Ypres, Archdeacon Cody declared to the Toronto Insurance Institute, "In days past the idea of empire has always been associated with despotism. It is the unique glory of the British Empire that it is indissolubly associated with and synonymous with political liberty … It is a struggle between liberalism and despotism: between industrialism and militarism …"[80] As Archdeacon Cody articulates, Canadians were citizens of the Empire — as they enjoyed its benefits, so they bore the responsibility of defending the Empire when it was under threat. Although clergymen were not the only people articulating this sentiment and putting before people the call of duty, the patriotic outpouring of support and pride engendered by the speedy recruiting of the Canadian Contingent, what would soon become known as the First Division of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF),

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[78] cf. A.J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 22, 25, 35, 45; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 59-60; Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 51-52.

[79] H.J. Cody quoted in "Britain Gains Respect for Keeping Her Word," *Toronto Globe*, 10 October 1914, 6.

[80] H.J. Cody quoted in "British Empire Ideals at Stake in This War," *Toronto Globe*, 29 October 1914, 7.

shows that people responded affirmatively to the message.

The war, however, was not merely a defensive war that Britain had not wanted. For Canadian Anglican clergy at least, it was more than that; it was a righteous war. But what was meant by calling this war a righteous war? Righteousness, which can imply a number of theologically complex ideas, can be understood most simply in this context as dealing primarily with right relations between man and God, and, as a result, between man and his fellow man. The concept is an important one in the Old and New Testaments and in later Christian theology. Perhaps most influential for Anglican clerics of the period is the use of the term in the Book of Common Prayer, the order of service in use throughout the Empire. When Bishop Farthing wrote in the early weeks of the war that "At such a time we must remember that Righteousness, not peace, is the ideal of Christ", he was echoing both the ordering and language of a series of responsorial petitions from the services of Morning and Evening Prayer. Alternating between the officiant and the congregation, these petitions have been made throughout the Anglican world since the sixteenth century, requesting, in sequence:

> O Lord, save the King,
> And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.
> Endue thy Ministers with righteousness,
> And make thy chosen people joyful.
> O Lord, save thy people.
> And bless thine inheritance.
> Give peace in our time, O Lord,
> Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God …[81]

This shared language of prayer and worship across the country and throughout the Empire provided Anglican clerics, whatever their particular theological orientation, with a common vocabulary. Consequently, a remarkable degree of consistency is manifest in Anglican sermons of the early war period. Almost without exception, and often in combination with other justifications, the war is discussed alongside the notion of righteousness.

The precise term employed in these sermons is important because historians have

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[81] From the service of Evening Prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1662).

tended to classify the early period of clerical rhetoric, which dealt with justifications of the war, as 'just war' rhetoric.[82] There are important ways that this righteous war rhetoric fits broadly into a just war tradition, as distinct from a tradition of 'holy war'. In his survey of American sermons about the Revolutionary War, M.B. Endy, Jr., outlines three major differences between a just war and holy war apparent in sermons: authorization, cause, and attitude. In a just war, the political authorities provide the authorization and they conduct the war according to their own political and ethical knowledge. For a holy war, the authorization for war comes either through a revelation or from religious authorities. A holy war is fought for religious causes; a just war is fought in defence of political or natural rights. Finally, a just war is not fought in a spirit of religiously motivated enthusiasm, but rather war is recognized as a political necessity to minimize injustice in relations between groups of people.[83] According to this framework, which takes into account the traditional features of just war theory but recognizes that the term may also be employed rhetorically, Anglicans did not treat the Great War as a holy war. On the other hand, there is some difficulty with using a just-war classification because the phrase, which would not have been unknown to Canada's Anglican clerics in 1914, is not used. The consistency with which the concept of 'righteousness' is employed in preference to 'justice' is especially significant as there was no radio service, mail could take a week to travel across the country, and the first long distance telephone call from Toronto to Vancouver was not made until the spring of 1916. For the rhetoric of a 'righteous war' to be used so consistently by Anglican clergy, a shared worldview is strongly indicated, one that was strengthened, moreover, by the common liturgical language of the Book of Common Prayer.[84]

What exactly did Anglican clerics mean when they called the Great War a

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[82] A small and by no means exclusive sample of the texts using this kind of classification are Michelle Fowler "Keeping the Faith: The Presbyterian Press in Peace and War, 1913-1919" (MA thesis: Wilfred Laurier University, 2005); Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*; Stuart MacDonald, "The War-Time Sermons of the Rev. Thomas Eakin," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1985): 58-78.

[83] M.B. Endy, Jr., "Just War, Holy War, and Millennialism in Revolutionary America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 42.1 (1985), 7-9.

[84] cf. Richard Vaudry, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 10.

righteous war? In the October 1, 1914, edition of the *Canadian Churchman*, J.P.D. Llwyd, Dean of Nova Scotia, stated:

> Three things determine the righteousness of this war:- (a) England's honour. It would have been an eternal disgrace not to keep her word to Belgium. … (b) As France's ally, England was bound to assist in preserving her from practical extinction as a nation. (c) This war goes deeper than the national aspect; it is a clash of civilizations and ideals … All that a thousand years of English struggle has won for the world is at stake: each man's personal freedom; self-government; popular rights; the sacredness of personality itself. No war has had a more righteous basis. … Our present duty is summed up in one word – Sacrifice.[85]

Archdeacon W.J. Armitage of Halifax addressed the question more generally in a continuation of the article in the next edition, asking if such a thing as a righteous war existed. In giving an affirmative answer, he did not refer to Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, or the other authors of traditional just war doctrine. Instead, he appealed to the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) setting out Anglican doctrine and to the Pauline epistles, as well as to the authors of Classical Antiquity. He concluded:

> There are righteous wars, wars which it would be absolutely wrong not to wage against tyranny, oppression, and injustice, and in defence of life, liberty and independence. … There was but one course open in England, her pledged word must be kept to the letter. … The duty of the hour is to trust God solely and implicitly. … Then there is our duty to the Empire of which we form a part. … We have been loud enough and profuse enough in our profession of loyalty. Let us show now by our actions that we mean every word we say.[86]

Canadians were not only reading this kind of rhetoric in their denominational newspapers, but were also hearing it from the pulpits. Speaking to his congregation of St. Paul's in Fort William, Ontario, the Rev. Pierce Goulding declared briefly on Sunday, September 13, "We firmly believe that the war we are now engaged in is a righteous war – that we stand for the principles of liberty – for democracy as against autocracy."[87]

In the high spirit of patriotism manifest in the early days of the war, while the first

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[85] J.P.D. Llwyd quoted in "The Canadian Church and the War," *Canadian Churchman,* 1 October 1914, 634.

[86] W.J. Armitage quoted in "The Canadian Church and the War," *Canadian Churchman,* 8 October 1914, 649.

[87] Pierce Goulding quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 24 September 1914, 622.

group of Canadian troops was being recruited and trained in Valcartier and later on Salisbury Plain, the notion of a righteous war of ideals that Britain was obligated to fight on behalf of its own honour and that of Belgian provided an appealing justification for enlistment. Young men eager for adventure and those whose family roots or birthplaces were in Britain would have needed little more motivation to enlist.[88] Much has been made, both at the time and in later histories, about the fact that the number of British-born recruits in the First Contingent was far higher than the number of Canadian-born men, but there are a number of ways to interpret this statistic. In these first weeks, recruiting officers were able to have their pick of men. Employment patterns, regional distribution, the preferences of recruiting officers, immigration patterns and the proportionally larger number of British ex-patriots with military service, when compared with Canadian-born men, all likely played a role in determining the make-up of the overseas force.[89] It must also be noted that two-thirds of the First Contingent's officers were Canadian-born.[90] Although the military campaigns and the recruiting of the various contingents of the CEF are not the primary object of this analysis, the military aspects of the war effort occupied a central position in the consciousness of Canadians.[91] Attitudes during these early days about the CEF, which was organized and equipped according to a British model, commanded by British officers, and yet was considered nonetheless an important Canadian contribution to the Empire's war effort, are also indicative of broader attitudes. As senior colony of the Empire, Canada was first and foremost part of a British imperial

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[88] See Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory,* illustrated edition (New York: Sterling, 2009), 22-25, 347; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 33-38, 67, 72-73, 79; Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, 44-49; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 24-31, 35-36.

[89] J.L. Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War*, 65; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 72-73; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons,* 4-33; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 24-31, 72-73, 348. Also important to note is that many British-born immigrants to Canada identified themselves as both British and Canadian.

[90] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962), 212-213.

[91] Stephen Badsey, "Press, Propaganda, and Public Perceptions," in *A Part of History: Aspects of the British Experience of the First World War*, ed. Michael Badsey Howard (London: Continuum, 2008), 29.

world.[92] As such, it had a responsibility to play a part in the defence of the Empire that could not be ignored.

In his study of Toronto during the Great War, Iain Miller notes that

> Against the backdrop of patriotic enthusiasm … men had a decision to make. Would they try to join the CEF? … Enough men would surely be secured, so it was not a question of the necessity to volunteer. Each man elected to serve the Empire. This public expression of patriotic enthusiasm was the result of hundreds of private decisions …[93]

In the same way, each war sermon forms only a part of the general 'backdrop of patriotic enthusiasm', but each one is the result of a decision made and sustained by an individual clergyman. Whether they made the decision on patriotic or pastoral grounds is impossible to determine, but in either case they felt the subject of the war was both appropriate and important to address in their capacity as religious leaders. At times, this led to a direct juxtaposition of Christian and patriotic ideals, as it did for the Rev. Dr. T.S. Boyle delivering the Christmas sermon at Holy Trinity in Toronto: "Christ is the Prince of Peace in the midst of a world of conflict... Christianity must be the final arbiter of nations. While this is, on the one side, an un-Christian war, it is on the other side a war to uphold the vital principles of Christianity, liberty and righteousness."[94] This, however, is the exception. Far more often, clerics made more general calls for all to recognize how their established religious responsibilities might inform their patriotism. As Charles Ingles, Archdeacon of Simcoe, wrote:

> The word of nations must be as inviolate as the word of individuals. The principle involved … is plainly set forth by the Psalmist, who says, 'He that sweareth unto his neighbour and disappointeth him not though it were to his own hindrance.' Our greatest need is to realize … we have needed this war as one of God's 'sore judgements' … Our present duty then, is to humble ourselves before Almighty God with a deep sense of our own guilt and take our share through personal sacrifice in

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[92] For the organizational structure and personalities of the CEF in its early days see among others Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 37-46, 89-91; Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher,* 126. For a discussion of how this kind of imperial thinking played out in the identities of colonial Anglicans, see R.S.M. Withycombe, "Australian Anglicans and Imperial Identity, 1900-1914," *Journal of Religious History* 25.3 (October 2001): 286-305.

[93] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 68.

[94] T.S. Boyle quoted in "Message of Peace 'mid Roll of Guns," *Toronto Globe*, 26 December 1914, 7.

> the service of the Empire in whatever capacity …[95]

Archdeacon Ingles was not just speaking rhetorically about sharing in the personal sacrifice of the Empire; his son, George Leicester Ingles, also an Anglican clergyman, had volunteered for overseas service as a chaplain and had sailed to England with the men of the First Contingent.[96] Once the Canadian contingent had landed in Plymouth in mid-October and set up a training camp at Aldershot, on Salisbury Plain, the example of Canada's own overseas force could be invoked along with the published exploits of the British forces, who were actually engaged in combat, to strengthen references to religious duty. On December 20, Canon H.P. Plumptre reminded his congregation of St. James's Cathedral, Toronto:

> We must be worthy of our soldiers and sailors. We read of the heroic courage, and their deeds of valour … Each act of heroism is a challenge to us to make ourselves worth fighting for. In these days all moral values are intensified … Everything we do relates itself to the awful struggle in which our men are engaged, and all that is noblest in our manhood and womanhood appeals to us to be worthy of their suffering and sacrifice.[97]

By the time Canon Plumptre wrote his sermon in late December the war had, to some extent, moved out of newspaper headlines and into people's homes. Although the fighting was overseas, funds were being solicited for patriotic causes and increasing numbers of men were donning khaki. With the first contingent of Canadian troops overseas and recruiting well underway for a second, as armies entrenched across Europe, and as the first war Christmas approached, the Rev. J.C. Davidson of Peterborough wrote to the editor of the *Canadian Churchman*, "Moreover let us prepare for the future: Canadian casualty lists … will before long bring sorrow … to our land. … [The flag's]

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[95] C.L. Ingles quoted in "The Canadian Church and the War," *Canadian Churchman*, 8 October 1914, 650-651.

[96] The younger Ingles would die on December 31, 1914, of cerebral meningitis caught while ministering to the troops in their camp on Salisbury Plain. F.G. Scott, a fellow Anglican chaplain in the camp, wrote, "Poor young Ingles is dying of that awful meningitis. He was raving yesterday when I left. … I am so sorry for the poor Ingles family. It is only a matter of a few days now that their poor soon can live. He was so much beloved of all the people who met him here, and he caught the disease while visiting men who had it." Letter to Amy Scott, 28-31 December 1914, F.G. Scott fonds, Folder 21, Box 2, P229-A/2-21, McCord Museum Archives. See also an account of the memorial service by Bishop Sweeny of Toronto in "Impressive Service for Chaplain Ingles," *Toronto Globe,* 5 January 1915, 7.

[97] H.P. Plumptre quoted in "Christmas Spirit Revealed in Pulpits," *Toronto Globe*, 21 December 1914, 11.

central predominating symbol, the Cross, [will] stand forth as never before, signalling messages of the glory of knightly succour, Christian self-sacrifice, and hardship cheerfully borne."[98]

The notion of responsibility is an absolutely vital consideration when trying to understand how people viewed the world at the time of the Great War. Benedict Anderson states in his classic work on nationalism and identity that all communities larger than small villages are 'imagined communities' because individuals "will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. … Communities are to be distinguished … by the style in which they are imagined."[99] Although the construction of rituals and symbols plays a large part in constructing the community, equally important are the demands that individuals believe are made of them as a result of their membership.[100] These demands arise out of the sense of common purpose engendered by membership in a community. As Canadian intellectual historian S.F. Wise observes, "Only when a society has come to consciousness of itself as a community collectively distinct from all others … is it gripped by the idea of an overmastering destiny that transcends the short term divisions of politics or class or locality. The more intense the feeling … the more far-reaching and more exclusive will be the sense of common purpose."[101] The intense patriotism of the first months of the Great War helped weld Canadians together as part of the larger community of the Empire and augmented an already existing sense of national and imperial mission.

From the level of the family upward through the imagined communities of church, nation, and Empire, individuals faced a series of responsibilities, some complementary but often conflicting, to each of the groups to which they belonged. Negotiating and

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[98] J.C. Davidson, *Canadian Churchman*, letter to editor, 24 December 1914, 742.

[99] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised and expanded edition (London: Verso, 1991), 5-6.

[100] Kevin Colclough, "Imperial Nationalism: Nationalism and the Empire in Late Nineteenth Century Scotland and British Canada" (PhD thesis: University of Edinburgh, 2006), 49-50, 71-73, 76-77, 104, 183, 189-191.

[101] S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples," in *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Canada*, ed. A.B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 19.

prioritizing those responsibilities meant assigning relative value and importance to the various constituent parts of one's identity.[102] Since group membership was the major determinant of the rights one was accorded during this period, the question of responsibilities owed in turn by group members cannot be ignored.[103] The practice observed in the early months of the war of a married man requiring his wife's permission to enlist can be seen as an example of this. A man needed to be absolved of his more intimate obligations before he could take on national ones. When this qualification was waived in August 1915, national responsibilities were officially given precedence over familial ones.[104] The forms of intercession authorized by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson, and many Canadian bishops for use during the war also appealed to notions of responsibility: "guide we pray thee our Sovereign and all those to whom thou hast committed the government of our great nation and Empire … that upholding what is right and following what is true, they may obey thy holy will and fulfill thy divine purpose" and "we commend to thy fatherly goodness the men who through perils of war are serving this nation; beseeching thee to take into thine own hand both them and the cause wherein their King and country send them" are two examples.[105] Services of intercessory prayer were organized by individual parishes across the country, and although attendance quickly dropped from the high reached during the first months of the war, prayer continued to be urged as an important contribution to the war effort that could be made by the faithful remaining at home. Prayer was also recognized as important by the government; on December 8, 1914, an Order in Council was issued by the Canadian Privy Council declaring January 3, 1915, "throughout our Dominion of Canada a day of humble prayer and intercession … on behalf of the cause undertaken … and of those who are offering their lives … and for a speedy and favourable peace … [that] shall

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[102] Kevin Colclough, "Imperial Nationalism," 72-77, 189, 192-195

[103] For three major examples of this type of thinking during the war, see Amy J. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada During the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 3-7, 11-23; Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 38-52; and Kordan, *Enemy Aliens*, 15, 33, 35-45.

[104] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 30-31, 37, 44; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 80; Nicholson, *Official History,* 213.

[105] Quoted in "Prayers Authorized to be Said During the War," *Montreal Churchman*, September 1914, 10-11.

endure."[106]

The invocation of the concept of righteousness as a justification for war by Anglican clerics spoke to a view that civic and patriotic responsibilities were not incompatible with religious responsibilities. In fact, the two were actually considered linked in important ways.[107] It was important for both individuals and nations to act in accordance with Christian principles. Referring to British military and political action as a force for righteousness in this way was not an innovation of Great War-era rhetoric, but was apparent in clerical rhetoric during the Boer War[108] and was actually given particular strength in Canada during the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[109] Following the historical precedent, identifying the Great War as a righteous war, which was by far the most important justification of the war offered by Canada's Anglican clergymen, stepped beyond the merely political. When clergymen ascribed higher causes to the Empire and made it a defender of Christian values, they were invoking not only political relationships between Britain and her colonies, but also a religious relationship expressed through a national mission. That the British Empire as a whole and Canada, both as part of that Empire and as a distinct nation in its own right, possessed a strong sense of national mission is evidenced by the consistent use of the language of righteousness. This sense of mission was built on an acceptance that it was not only material factors that made a nation great, but spiritual ideals and the attempt to attain them.[110] In this context, patriotism meant much more than simply making speeches or waving flags. It was the building up and maintaining of a nation of ideas that could act

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[106] Parliamentary Order in Council quoted in "Day of Prayer Set for Britain and Allies," *Toronto Globe*, 8 December 1914, 5.

[107] Colclough, "Imperial Nationalism," 71, 183, 197.

[108] Carman Miller, "Loyalty, Patriotism, and Resistance: Canada's Response to the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902," *South African Historical Journal* 41.1 (1999): 312-323; Gordon Heath, *A War With a Silver Lining: Canadian Protestant Churches and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

[109] S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," in *God's Peculiar Peoples*, 13. In the same volume, also see S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples," 35.

[110] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 219, 221.

as a force for good in the world or, in other words, to perform God's work.[111]

Considered in this context, the duty-heavy rhetoric of the war period, not just these first months, can be considered an attempt — a clerical attempt in the context of this study — to understand and negotiate the various levels of owed responsibility, both for the speaker and for his listeners. The three different justifications offered for the war — the honourable upholding of obligations, the unfortunate necessity of fighting a righteous war against tyranny and injustice, and the urgent need to defend the Empire against threat — should all be properly understood as matters of responsibility at imperial, national, and individual levels. As the war went on, Anglican clergymen made more pointed appeals to the sense of duty of Canadians on all these levels, building on the rhetorical foundations laid in these early months and continuing to remind people why Canada had gone to war. Germany's invasion of Belgium meant that the war could be characterized as a defensive war. When the French pushed the Germans back to the banks of the Aisne and the combined force of the British and Belgians troops held the Ypres salient, the early war of movement ended and troops dug in. Although British territory was not directly threatened, at least by land, Britain's treaty obligations to Belgium, its alliance with France, and uneasiness regarding the strength of the German military meant that Britain was not viewed as an aggressor when it deployed its military force beyond the Empire. That an invasion of Britain was not threatened, however, did not mean the threat against the physical Empire vanished; on December 16, German naval cruisers bombarded Scarborough and Hartlepool and the first German air raid on England occurred mere days before Christmas.[112] Diplomatic justifications were not lost on Churchmen, whose sense of national and imperial mission layered further ideological meaning onto Britain's actions. The Empire, which acted in the world for good and to spread Christian civilization, was under a sustained intellectual attack. German militarism and autocracy threatened the ideals of democracy, liberty, and justice for which the Empire stood; to act in defence of these values was to side with righteousness. This did not mean, however,

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[111] See S.F. Wise, "God's Peculiar Peoples"; Allan Smith, "American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century English Canada," *Historical Papers* 6 (1971): 169-182.

[112] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 55-57.

that people naively believed enthusiasm would be enough to win the war.[113] In fact, it meant the opposite, that clerics sought lay a foundation that could sustain a young nation through the tests that were to come. In Toronto's St. Alban's Cathedral Bishop James Fielding Sweeny told a congregation assembled for a Watch Night service that they were looking forward to the New Year like travellers on a voyage, first looking back to the dock, and then turning to face the unknown voyage through storm and tempest, international conflict and political strife. He prayed that the nation might face whatever lay ahead faithfully, hopefully, and with love for both God and man.[114]

[113] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 33-38.

[114] "Most Historic Year of Modern Times," *Toronto Globe*, 1 January 1915, 7.

Chapter Two

Imperialism and Prayer
January 1915 to December 1915

For such a momentous year, 1914 ended quietly. In Flanders, British and German soldiers laid aside their rifles, emerging from their trenches to shake hands in no-man's-land and observe an unofficial Christmas truce.[115] The Canadian Contingent, living under sodden canvas on a water-logged Salisbury Plain, was still awaiting orders to embark for France. Accompanying the troops as a chaplain, Quebec City's Canon F.G. Scott recalled the period, writing, "The rains descended, the floods came and the storms beat upon our tents, and the tents which were old and thin allowed a fine sprinkling of moisture to fall upon our faces. The green sward was soon trampled into deep and clinging mud. … The gales of heaven swept over the plain unimpeded."[116] Separated from their loved ones for the first war Christmas, families in Canada were spared some worry so long as the Canadians remained out of the firing line. In the final stages of their training, the soldiers were anxious to escape the mud of Aldershot and take their place alongside the British, French, and Belgians holding the Western Front. While the men were eager to be given the opportunity to 'do their bit', their continued safety nonetheless remained some small consolation for the mothers and wives who had willingly sent their 'boys' overseas.[117]

Sunday, January 3, the first Sunday of the New Year, was observed on the urging of Parliament as a day of prayer and intercession for the war in churches of the major denominations across Canada. In Toronto, in conjunction with the day of prayer, Archdeacon H.J. Cody organized a campaign to help provide flour to the starving Belgian people. As he told his congregation,

While this war is the result of certain national forces and tendencies, yet behind all

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[115] See Stanley Weintraub, *Silent Night: The Story of the World War I Christmas Truce* (New York: Free Press, 2001) for a more complete treatment.

[116] F.G. Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.G. Goodchild, 1922), 30.

[117] Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking, 2007), 73-75, 77. The role of women during the war is not discussed in this thesis, although a growing amount of information is available.

> is the personal will of God, and we must view this war as a divine intervention and judgment upon the race. … I have no hesitation at all in praying directly for victory, because the value of victory depends on the cause. … We are praying as well as fighting, not simply for the continued existence of the British Empire, but for the continued dominance of all those ideals for which the free peoples of the world are contending. Our confessions of sin will be the more genuine and our prayers much more effective if we accompany them by some practical willingness to help.[118]

Inspired by their rector's call, the congregation of St. Paul's rose to the occasion and gave generously. While there is no record of the genuineness of their confessions or the effectiveness of their prayers, by the end of January they had raised some $6987, a sum which allowed them to purchase and send 2382 bags of flour to Belgium.[119] While the flour campaign was unique to Toronto, the need and power of prayer was recognized in other churches around the country. On January 3, Lennox Williams, recently elected to the See of Quebec as its sixth bishop, told a Quebec City congregation that

> Effectual fervent prayer is one of the chief needs of our Empire at this most critical time. … The continuance of this awful war with its appalling loss of life, and without any decisive victory, suggests that something is hindering that manifest intervention of God on our behalf for which we long. … We rejoice, therefore, that our rulers in Church and State are summoning the whole Empire to united prayer.[120]

On a day devoted to intercessory prayer, the linking of divine intervention to the critical situation of the Empire is entirely unsurprising, but the form that this linkage takes is nonetheless noteworthy. Both Archdeacon Cody and Bishop Williams advocate praying for the victory which has not yet come, but their confidence that the Empire and its ideological heritage would ultimately prevail does not come from simplistic claims that God is 'on their side'.

The two ideas — empire and the actions of God in history — and the duties associated with them — the duties of service and prayer — were often spoken of together.

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[118] H.J. Cody quoted in "From Din of War to Day of Prayer," *Toronto Globe*, 4 January 1915, 7.

[119] On January 3 itself, $4785.79 was collected or pledged (equivalent to 957 barrels of flour or 2117 bags). An additional $1195.86 was collected or pledged the following Sunday, along with $100 for the Red Cross. The final totals are as given above, plus an additional $367 (115 bags of flour) for school children and a remaining $258.26 for additional supplies. Diary entries, 3-24 January 1915, H.J. Cody's diary, Cody Papers, F980, Series B-1, Box MU4980, Book 1915, Archives of Ontario.

[120] Lennox Williams, *Canadian Churchman*, 7 January 1915, 9.

Speaking to his synod in early February, Bishop John Richardson of Fredericton addressed the need of reconciling the demands of both citizenship in the Empire and membership in the church. He said, "The first duty of the Church — the most superficial duty, it may be, but certainly the first — is to send her sons to fight for our heritage of liberty. … the Empire calls for men, let not the Empire call in vain. It is the call of duty." He continued, "There remains a deeper duty — a duty still more difficult — a duty of even greater moment. Not alone to give her sons … but to give herself in a more earnest effort to strengthen and sustain the Empire in its relationship to God. … This is not God's war. … Yet we may well believe that God will use this war …"[121] Speaking to the Montreal synod, the Rev. W.W. Craig told listeners that there was a close relationship between patriotism and religion. Both, he said, share the same message from God Incarnate and the same essence, self-sacrifice.[122] Canadian troops were, at this point, only just taking their place in the trenches and had not yet suffered any battle casualties when Montreal's Bishop Farthing declared in his charge, "We see how loathsome unrighteousness is in the Germans, but let us remember that it is equally so in ourselves. … Surely we shall have sacrificed and suffered in vain in this war, if we do not learn to love truth, righteousness, and honour for which we fight."[123] Also in his charge, however, Bishop Farthing offered a caution, reminding people,

> The spontaneous sacrifice for right has quickened into vigorous life the sense of Nationality and made us feel our interdependence one upon the other. … We all rejoice that the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism has been so well shown and that the people are true to the best traditions of the British Church and Race. We must not, however, mistake the awakening of patriotism for a revival of religion.[124]

By this point, only six months into the war, it is clear that the initial period of shock had passed. The flood of patriotism that had been unleashed by the war was beginning, already, to deepen into an earnest determination to do whatever was necessary to achieve

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[121] J.A. Richardson, "Diocese of Fredericton," *Canadian Churchman*, 11 February 1915, 89.

[122] "The Session of the Synod," *Montreal Churchman*, March 1915, 5.

[123] John Cragg Farthing, "Diocese of Montreal," *Canadian Churchman*, 18 February 1915, 105.

[124] John Cragg Farthing, "Annual Charge to the Synod of Montreal," *Montreal Churchman*, March 1915, 3-4, 9-10.

victory. The early need to justify Britain's, and therefore Canada's, participation in the war had already matured into this kind of reflection and reconciliation, one that was accompanied by a recognition that great difficulties still lay ahead of the Empire and the nation as part of the Empire.[125]

On Thursday, April 22, 1915, the evening edition of Toronto's *The Globe* newspaper proclaimed "British Holding Fast in Desperate Struggle".[126] By Saturday, more details were available but the picture remained far from complete. What was known was that Canadian soldiers were engaged in desperate fighting in Flanders and that the enemy was releasing poisonous gas into the Allied trenches. People were warned to expect heavy casualties.[127] On an anxious Sunday, people gathered at newspaper offices, just as they had nine months earlier, waiting to hear the latest news from Europe.[128] Speaking at Montreal's St. Matthais' Church that Sunday, as anxious families waited for the first casualty notifications to be made, Bishop Farthing repeated his question of two months earlier: "What if this suffering should be in vain? What if people turn a deaf ear to God and when the war is over go back to worldliness … and unrighteousness?"[129] With his questioning, Farthing was taking particular aim at those in Ottawa recently accused of graft and war profiteering, but, with battle raging overseas, he also had in mind the church's struggle for the life of the nation.[130] Although he could not have known the details, as Bishop Farthing spoke in Montreal, Canadian soldiers fashioned rudimentary gas masks from their handkerchiefs, rallied to fill gaps left by retreating French colonial soldiers, and succeeded in preventing the advancing German troops from

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[125] cf. R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," The *Canadian Historical Review* 61:2 (1980): 141-169 for a discussion of the relation between Canada as nation and Canada as part of the Empire during the war period.

[126] *Toronto Globe*, 22 April 1915, 1.

[127] cf. *Toronto Globe*, 24 April 1915, 1 where the banner headlines ran "Desperate Fighting Is in Progress in Flanders / Poisonous Gases Are Used by the Enemy."

[128] I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 38-40.

[129] John Cragg Farthing quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 6 May 1915, 296.

[130] Farthing's questioning as quoted above begins with the following statement, "This is a time of crisis, not only in the Empire, the physical struggle taking place in Europe, but also in the church." See *Canadian Churchman*, 6 May 1915, 296.

exploiting the confusion and breaking through the line.[131] On Monday, April 25, as Canadian troops were withdrawn from the firing line in Flanders, the cost of their 'gallant stand' was being made apparent at home with the release of the first casualty list; it contained the names of sixty-eight officers.[132] New lists were released daily thereafter and estimates of the number of dead and wounded were revised upward dramatically as the week went on. On Wednesday, April 28, the estimate was two thousand;[133] a week later, when the full list of casualties was available, the official tally was nearly six thousand men listed as dead, wounded, or missing.[134] "The terrible experience that has come to us in Canada," Archdeacon Cody told his Toronto congregation on that anxious Sunday, before there was any definite news, "bringing with it sorrow and anguish to many, has made us realize the grim fact that we are at war."[135]

Public memorials and parish services acknowledging the sacrifices of the Canadians at Ypres were swiftly organized across the country. In Calgary, the services throughout the day on Sunday, May 2 at the pro-Cathedral of the Redeemer were "of a Memorial character for those who fell."[136] Bishop James Fielding Sweeny of Toronto requested that churches throughout his diocese also hold memorial services.[137] From the pulpit of St. Paul's, Archdeacon Cody spoke movingly on May 2 to a congregation stunned by this sudden introduction to war –

> The cup of anguish and sorrow has been put to the lips of the Canadian people and we must try and drink this cup with calmness, self-control, prayerful love for our own, courage, endurance, and Christian faith in the life to come. We are made to realize the deeper unity of the whole Dominion. Private sorrow has become public property and it calls for a fresh determination to destroy the machine of scientific frightfulness. Without the shedding of blood there can be no deepening of national life and no real progress. We must learn to suffer hardship, bereavement, and

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[131] For details of the battle cf. N.M. Greenfield, *Baptism of Fire: The Second Battle of Ypres and the Forging of Canada, April 1915* (Toronto: Harper Collins Canada, 2008); Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 109-169.

[132] *Toronto Globe*, 26 April 1915, 1.

[133] *Montreal Gazette*, 28 April 1915, 1.

[134] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 39-40.

[135] H.J. Cody quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 6 May 1915, 286.

[136] "Services in the Churches," *Calgary Herald*, 1 May 1915, 6.

[137] *Canadian Churchman*, 6 May 1915, 286.

> sorrow with a deep and stern joy.[138]

In Montreal, the Church of St. John the Evangelist declared that on Monday, May 3 they would hold the first of a series of requiem celebrations for the war dead to be held the first Monday of every month.[139] Speaking at a Halifax memorial held on May 9, the Archbishop of Nova Scotia, Clarence Lamb Worrell, addressing an estimated ten thousand people, said,

> We have come together today as Canadians and therefore as citizens of the greatest empire the world has ever known, and we are proud to declare ourselves citizens of that empire, not only in time of prosperity, but of adversity as well. We have the privileges … We are ready to bear the responsibilities … We fight to rid the world of a true and grinding despotism … We fight to establish that it is right only that can give a might that is justifiable and lasting.[140]

Through their service and self-sacrifice, Canadian soldiers became something more than mere individuals. They were welded together into a brotherhood — some of its members were famously given voice as 'the Dead' by John McCrae in his celebrated poem "In Flanders Fields". In a similar fashion, the tens of thousands who gathered across Canada to commemorate the achievements and losses of the CEF were united as citizens of the British Empire, as Canadians, and as mourners. They were also united in a shared hope for the future, in the belief that progress that would be brought about by the war and its attendant sacrifices. As Archdeacon Cody expressed at a Toronto memorial for the Queen's Own Regiment on May 5, "Surely this sorrow has made the Empire more closely akin. The private sorrows of individuals become the common sorrow of the people. … The dead would say to us if they could speak: 'We did not grudge our lives if by their noble sacrifice life was made easier, nobler, and better for the world.'"[141]

In these sermons, imperialism was a civilizing force for good and for God, one that may have made onerous demands, but which would improve life for all. Imperialism

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[138] H.J. Cody quoted in "Ministers Eulogize Canada's Dead Heroes," *Toronto Globe*, 3 May 1915, 5.

[139] "Echoes of Battle in Many Churches," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 May 1915, 11.

[140] Clarence Lamb Worrell quoted in "Ten Thousand Halifax People Joined in Notable Memorial Service," *Halifax Herald*, 10 May 1915, 2.

[141] H.J. Cody quoted in "Solemn Memorial for Lost Q.O.R. Men," *Toronto Globe*, 6 May 1915, 6.

in Canada was described by Carl Berger in 1970 as a variant of Canadian nationalism, "a type of awareness of nationalism which rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, [and] the imperial mission."[142] As a political movement, imperialism in the pre-war period advocated a closer union of the Empire built on economic and military co-operation that would ultimately allow the self-governing dominions to attain more control over imperial policy.[143] This kind of imperialist thinking played itself out in the decision to send Canadian volunteers to fight in the Boer War and, with a different outcome, in the 1910 foundation of a Canadian navy;[144] but the kind of imperialism evident in Great War-era Canadian Anglican sermons is not this kind of policy-driven imperialism. The cultural and religious imperialism of these sermons was instead based on the bonds of kinship and a shared sense of mission.[145] The sacrifices made necessary by the war, both those of Canadian soldiers overseas and those of Canadians at home, were viewed from within this latter type of imperial framework and were given meaning by it. At a memorial to the dead of Ypres held in Montreal's Christ Church Cathedral, Bishop Farthing articulated this sentiment: "Today, the war-time mothers stand with their sons at the altar of sacrifice and their sorrow shall be turned to joy. The achievements of our men have brought Canada into a new and more honorable place in the Empire."[146] This sentiment was one that would be echoed at the memorial service held in Halifax by Archbishop Worrell a little more than a week later. Although Canada and the Empire might wander from their mission – the national sins of materialism, political corruption, and worldliness were held up as examples – the Empire had nonetheless chosen the honourable and righteous course when it mattered most. On St. George's Day (April 23), the Rev. Herbert Symonds, rector of Montreal's Christ Church Cathedral, had addressed a group at Toronto's St. James's Cathedral, saying, "We have had our questionings and our

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[142] Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 9.

[143] Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 3, 49.

[144] cf. Patrice Dutil and David Mackenzie, *Canada 1911: The Decisive Election that Shaped a Country* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2011), 35-70.

[145] Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 32, 219-223, 230.

[146] John Cragg Farthing quoted in "Montreal Mourned Her Heroic Dead," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 May 1915, 5.

doubts about the empire: we have not lived in a fool's paradise. But we are proud today of the justice of our course and our single desire to see fair play. We are fighting against irresponsibility of one nation in relation to another. We have nailed to our masthead the flag of public right."[147] Having enjoyed the privileges of the Empire, Canada was coming into its adulthood and was now beginning to shoulder some of the heavy burden. "We no longer feel we are going to the aid of the motherland," Archdeacon Cody declared in late May. "She the mother and we, the children, are equally touched when the Empire is threatened. The blood of our martyred lads on the soil of Flanders and France will make the soil fruitful and bring about the growth of a sane and true Imperialism."[148]

Canadian conceptions of the Empire and its cause in relation to the war remained relatively constant in the aftermath of the fighting around Ypres and St. Julien, later to be known as the Second Battle of Ypres. The justifications offered for Canada's participation in the war became, at least publicly, comfort for the sorrowing. Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden answered the message of sympathy from the New Zealand government by stating, "Only the consciousness of absolute righteousness can stay the soul in the midst of these terrible events."[149] But the picture of the enemy that the Empire was facing was changing. By releasing poisonous chlorine gas on unsuspecting and unprepared Allied troops, the Germans had blatantly disregarded the accepted laws of international warfare and broken the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 which outlawed the use of chemical warfare.[150] Although Lord Kitchener, British Secretary of State for War, announced on May 18 that the Allies would begin to use chemical warfare, the fact that the Germans had been first to do so was ideologically important.[151] There

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[147] Herbert Symonds quoted in "Englishmen Proud in Hour of Peril," *Toronto Globe*, 24 April 1915, 8.

[148] H.J. Cody quoted in "Heroes of Other Wars Honour the Brave Dead," *Toronto Globe*, 25 May 1915, 7.

[149] Robert Borden quoted in "The Outlook: Pride and Sorrow," *Canadian Churchman*, 6 May 1915, 279. That Borden uses words that would not have been out of place in Anglican war sermons is not entirely surprising. He was a parishioner of All Saints' (Sandy Hill) not far from Parliament Hill in Ottawa.

[150] cf. Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 112; Greenfield, *Baptism by Fire*, 34.

[151] cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 43-46; Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 60-62. For another perspective see T.W Savary, vicar of St. James's, Kingston, quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 27 May 1915, 333. The British didn't actually begin to use gas in the field until the Battle of Loos on September 25, 1915. Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 310.

were further examples of German brutality which solidified public opinion. On May 7, the *Lusitania* was sunk by a submarine off of the Irish coast with the loss of 1364 lives, almost all of them civilian, causing Archdeacon Cody to declare boldly that "This policy of frightfulness is designed to inspire terror, but it will only deepen the grim determination of every Briton to fight through until this hideous war-god of militarism and brute force is shattered forever."[152] On May 12, the British government released the Bryce Report, a study conducted into alleged German atrocities in France and Belgium. Although atrocity stories had been in the newspapers for several months, the report was nonetheless shocking in its detailed confirmations.[153] For an Empire and a nation that had gone into the war to honorably uphold its own treaty obligations and defend civilization, the actions of the Germans provided confirmation that the Empire was indeed justified in its decision to go to war. As Bishop Sweeny told the Toronto synod in June,

> And behold the colossal moral and spiritual disaster of it all. The destruction of noble monuments of architectural and historic fame and greatness, wrecked cities, ruined provinces, broken households, crushed and bleeding hearts that will not heal – all but faintly and feebly indicate the spiritual and moral wreckage of a nation and people … Out of the awful example of it all … springs the determination that the detestable doctrine of any State that might is right … shall never again force itself upon a peace-loving world …[154]

Rather than diminishing enthusiasm for the war-effort, the sacrifices of the Canadians at Ypres had intensified people's determination. The sacrifices of the war-wounded and war-dead, whose names were displayed daily in newspaper casualty lists, needed to be made good upon and this required a renewed national effort and commitment.[155]

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[152] H.J. Cody quoted in Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 45. The figure of 1364 was used in contemporary press reports. The revised number of 1198 deaths is now commonly accepted.

[153] Much of the detail in the report was based on its reliance on eye-witness reports. There was a great deal of skepticism about the report's claims and other atrocity stories as a result of this approach and the other, clearly false, atrocity stories. cf. Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 59-60; Trevor Wilson, "Lord Bryce's Investigation into Alleged German Atrocities in Belgium, 1914-15," *Journal of Contemporary History* 14.3 (July 1979): 369-383; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, illustrated edition (New York: Sterling, 2009), 142-144, 146, 397; Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1997), 14-15.

[154] James Fielding Sweeny quoted in "Recall of the Church Will Follow the War," *Toronto Globe*, 9 June 1915, 7.

[155] cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 43, 46-48, 70.

Recruiting sermons also picked up on the theme of determination, especially after Sam Hughes made a call on June 9 for an additional 35,000 men to augment the two divisions already serving overseas.[156] Addressing the new call for men on the centenary of the Battle of Waterloo and speaking on the text 'Here am I, send me' (Isaiah 6:8), the Rev. J.R.H. Warren challenged his listeners in Toronto at St. Matthew's, asking

> How will this appeal [of King and Country] be answered? Canada we say is loyal to the core. Now is the time for proving the truth of this statement. Surely if she realizes what is at stake in this conflict and values her heritage in the Empire, will she give fully and freely of her sons and her means to the great cause in behalf of which the Motherland has been forced to don her armour – take her full share in bearing the British flag and with it Christian civilization through to victory.[157]

More than 100,000 men had enlisted by the beginning of 1915, and, in July, Borden committed Canada to raising a force of 150,000 men.[158] Prior to this point, recruiting offices had only been open for long enough to fill each newly announced recruiting target. From this point, however, recruitment offices would be open for the duration of the war, however long that would be. Enlistment figures, buoyed by new recruiting tactics and calls to honour the sacrifices already made, remained high through the summer, only beginning noticeably to fall off in urban areas in mid-September. Several new recruiting tactics were introduced at this point, causing a boost in enlistment figures through the fall and into early 1916.[159] Although enlistment figures had begun to dip, at no time from June 1915 through the end of the year would the national monthly enlistment totals fall below ten thousand men.[160] On the strength of these figures, in October, Borden would

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[156] The Second Canadian Division had been formed in England on May 25, from troops who had gone overseas after the embarkation of the First Division for France in February. Some of these 35,000 men would be used to form the Third Division, which was announced on December 25, 1915. Others would be used for reinforcement of units already at the front or serve in the Fourth Division. cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 69, 71, 87; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 305, 347.

[157] J.R.H. Warren quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 8 July 1915, 425.

[158] Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011), 111.

[159] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 67, 70-73, 78-83, 88; Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 51-53, 81.

[160] G.W.L Nicholson, Table 1, Appendix C, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962).

again increase Canada's commitment, bringing it up to a total of 250,000 men.[161] By the end of the year, the total number of men on strength in the CEF was 191,654.[162]

Wednesday, August 4, the first anniversary of the declaration of the war, was marked with special services of prayer and intercession. Bishops urged that fitting observance be made of the day. Bishop of Niagara, William Reid Clark, circulated a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, reminding them of the need for prayer and of their duties at this time of crisis as spiritual leaders. He wrote,

> We need, I am persuaded, the purging fires through which we are passing now, to bring us to our knees before the throne of eternal justice. … May I ask you to call upon your people to continually give themselves to penitence, prayer, and waiting upon God in the face of the crisis … It is generally agreed that the clergy can best serve their country by keeping alive the care for spiritual things, by fanning the flame of prayer and by encouraging that self-discipline and self-sacrifice by which our country and God's cause stand in so great need at this time.[163]

Looking back over a momentous twelve months, with the knowledge that the armies overseas were locked in a stalemate and understanding that further sacrifices would be required on the part of all in order to achieve victory,[164] Canada's Anglican clerics sought to remind people that more than battalions and big guns were required. L.N. Tucker, Precentor of London, Ontario's St. Paul's Cathedral, told his congregation frankly, "We have relied on our great guns, our men, and the strength of our right arm for victory instead of upon God."[165] At St. James's Cathedral, Toronto, Canon H.P. Plumptre remarked,

> A just cause is the best prayer. God is not a tribal or national God. As Lincoln said, "We must not ask, 'Is God on our side?" but, 'Are we on God's side?'" There are those with bloodstained hands who blatantly boast of an alliance with God, but the Lord shall have them in derision. The big battalions may win the day, but justice must ultimately triumph and evil shall destroy itself. … The conviction of the righteousness of our cause is still unshaken. And in defence of that cause many a

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[161] Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher*, 112.

[162] Nicholson, Table 2, Appendix C, *Official History*.

[163] William Reid Clark quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 5 August, 1915, 493-494.

[164] See discussions in Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 5-7, 38-48, 81; Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, 34-39, 48-49, 68, 73, 125-126, 153, 187-188.

[165] L.N Tucker quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 12 August 1915, 510.

> good man and true has gone down to death. … Nothing less than the reshaping of the whole fabric of society will compensate for all the blood and tears of this war.[166]

At the Church of the Holy Trinity in Toronto, Canon T.W. Powell chose to speak on a text from Isaiah 13, 'And I will punish the world for their evil… and cause the arrogance of the proud to cease.' He told his congregants that Canadians needed to turn away from the love of wealth and success that had been common before the war because peace would come to a chastened nation. "Materialism is still rife," Canon Powell said, "but all the millions of dollars are not worth the life of one of our noble boys offering themselves at the front. Our sins must be confessed and our lives amended if the nation is to be acceptable to God."[167]

As the war entered its second year, calls to prayer of this nature became more regular. The special services of intercession organized in the early days of the war had largely ceased after the initial shock passed in Canada, just as they had in England.[168] In July, Bishop Farthing observed disparagingly:

> I have been in Churches where no war prayers were offered, where the war prayers could not be found. … At the beginning of the war there were special services … The attendance at these has fallen off and in most cases the services have been discontinued. … The people are for the most part trusting to armaments … We have a nation at war, but not a nation at prayer … This nation must in its heart turn to God and put its trust alone in Him. … Faith in Him does not mean we shall neglect the means of warfare.[169]

Questions of Canada's own national guilt and the notable lack of repentance were also raised. The focus did not completely shift off of the righteousness of the Empire's cause, but the question of national righteousness grew in importance. The Rev. H.B. Ashby of Cronyn Memorial Church in London, Ontario, asked his congregation to consider the question:

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[166] H.P. Plumptre quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 12 August 1915, 509.

[167] T.W. Powell quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 5 August 1915, 493. The text was Isaiah 13:11-12a which runs in full, 'And I will punish the world for their evil and the wicked for their iniquity; and I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease. I will make man more precious than fine gold.'

[168] Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978), 297-300. See also Ken Inglis, "Introduction," in Annette Becker, *War and Faith: The Religious Imagination in France, 1914-1930*, trans. Helen McPhail (New York: Berg, 1998), ix-x.

[169] John Cragg Farthing, "The Only Giver of Victory," *Montreal Churchman*, July 1915, 3.

> Are we wholly guiltless? True, we are not guilty of crushing the weaker one, but what are the national sins? – luxury, intemperance, immorality, superstition, uncleanliness. When we call to mind the sins of our empire and ourselves, let us acknowledge our negligence and go to our knees in prayer and ask God's grace that we become more faithful. In God's own time will come the reign of righteousness and peace, but if we are to have our share of these glories, we must prepare.[170]

Canon Rees, in an article in the *Montreal Churchman* asking "Do We Deserve to Win?" asked a related question. In the article, he wrote,

> If we seriously wish to know why we are not winning this war, let us ask ourselves whether we deserve to win. … Look abroad on our national life; how chaotic it is even now! … We are most of us Christians, whose mighty lever is prayer. … I know very well that we cannot be always on our knees: but what evidence is there that the majority of us even desire to pray more earnestly than … before [the war] … ? If not, do we deserve to win? … [H]ave we a right to expect succour … when we have not asked for it as we ought?[171]

The sacrifices of the war were supposed to be deepening national life, or at least that was the hope expressed by Archdeacon Cody, Bishop Farthing, Archbishop Worrell, and others in the memorialization of the dead after the Second Battle of Ypres. Allegations of graft and war profiteering among politicians at the national and provincial levels were poorly received by a population who was making deep personal sacrifices, but there remained little evidence of a general religious revival or of a nation turning to God in humiliation and supplication. It seemed many people preferred to put their trust in battalions and big guns.[172]

While there seems to have been little disagreement among Anglicans about the importance of supporting the men at the front and living up to the duties of Empire, the 1915 meeting of the General Synod revealed that there was disagreement within the church about how war prayers should be offered. General Synod, the governing body of the Church of England in Canada, should have met in 1914, but the meeting had been delayed due to the outbreak of war. Delegates met in two houses — the bishops as the

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[170] H.B. Ashby, *Canadian Churchman*, 19 August 1915, 526.

[171] Canon Rees, "Do We Deserve to Win?" *Montreal Churchman*, September 1915, 8.

[172] cf. L.M. Montgomery, *Rilla of Ingleside* (Toronto: Random House Children's Books, 1985), 69.

Upper House and the clergy and lay delegates as the Lower House[173] — in Toronto from September 15 to September 27, 1915. The focal point of the disagreement was the second verse of the National Anthem. Following from the familiar first verse, which was not under discussion, the second verse made direct reference to the Empire's enemies and had been left out of the Canadian Anglican hymn book, the Book of Common Praise. Together, the first two verses are:

> God save our gracious King,
> Long live our noble King
> God save the King!
> Send him victorious,
> Happy and glorious,
> Long to reign over us,
> God save the King!
>
> O Lord our God arise,
> Scatter his enemies
> And make them fall;
> Confound their politics,
> Frustrate their knavish tricks,
> On Thee our hopes we fix,
> God save us all!

The anthem question first arose on September 18 in the Lower House. Some believed that the verse was a 'Hymn of Hate' and felt that its sentiments were un-Christian; others believed that the patriotic singing of the verse was justified in the present circumstances and that the language perhaps didn't go far enough. The result of the heated discussion was two motions introduced in the Lower House, one asking that the second verse be restored to the National Anthem as printed in the Book of Common Praise for general use and the other more specifically asking the bishops to authorize the use of the verse during the war.[174] Both motions were defeated, but when the bishops unanimously adopted a resolution in the Upper House authorizing the singing of the verse, the reading of this

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[173] The composition of the Lower House for the 1915 General Synod was 109 clergymen and 69 lay delegates.

[174] The motion that the General Synod authorize the printing of the verse in the *Book of Common Praise* and its use be authorized throughout the church was defeated 72 to 89. The amendment to that motion, that the bishops authorize the use of the second verse during the war, was defeated 61 to 100. Church of England in Canada, 1915, *Proceedings of the General Synod*, 7th Session, 38 .

message in the Lower House was followed by the singing of the verse.[175] The second verse of the anthem had been removed from the hymnal several years prior to the outbreak of war in 1914, and the discussion around it should neither be understood as an expression of disloyalty to the Empire nor as a rejection of intercessory prayer in relation to the war. In fact, formal proceedings were suspended at one point to allow the passing of a motion to the effect that, during the Synod's noon prayers "special intercessions with Almighty God [were] offered every day in behalf of the Empire and for the success of our Allied armies in their battle for the right and the truth."[176] Later, the Synod also passed a resolution expressing "in words what it has tried to express in deeds", which was "its enthusiastic loyalty to the King and empire and to the sacred cause for which we are at war."[177] It would seem that those who objected to the second verse of the national anthem objected to the idea of asking for God to intervene against the Empire's enemies.[178] As the Rev. W.J. Boyd of Edmonton stated, the German people were not responsible for the 'knavish tricks' of the army; "They had nothing to do with the awful atrocities and why should we ask God to confound them?" Toronto's Canon H.P. Plumptre felt the war prayers authorized at the beginning of the war were free from vindictiveness, unlike the verse in question, and should provide the example for Christian patriotism.[179]

The matter of the National Anthem is a complicated one because very little information remains regarding the arguments on either side. There is also no way of determining how the opposition was distributed between the clergy and laity, between High Churchmen and Evangelicals, or any of the other possible distinctions. Although the bishops felt that it was acceptable to use the second verse, those clergymen who did

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[175] The message to the Lower House read, in part: "That in the judgment of the Upper House, 'in the time of war and tumult' the second verse of the National Anthem (beginning 'O Lord, our God, Arise') may be sung in our churches with perfect propriety." Message 10, *General Synod*, 7th Session, 49. cf. also "The Seventh Session of the General Synod," *Canadian Churchman*, 23 September 1915, 605.

[176] *General Synod*, 7th Session, 39.

[177] Quoted in "Prayer Book Changes Approved by Synod," *Toronto Globe*, 25 September 1915, 8.

[178] cf. also Nor'wester, "Sidelights on the General Synod," *Canadian Churchman,* 23 September 1915, 603; "The National Anthem", *Canadian Churchman,* 30 September 1915, 615.

[179] W.J. Boyd and H.P. Plumptre quoted in "General Synod Spurns Empire's 'Hate' Verse," *Toronto Globe*, 17 September 1915, 7.

object to either the sentiment or the wording simply chose not to make use of the optional verse, an action that generally leaves no record at all.[180] When the message came down from the Upper House regarding the anthem, there were several delegates who remained in their seats for the singing of the verse. Archdeacon J. Paterson Smyth of Montreal's St. George's Church stood for the beginning of the verse and resumed his seat when the line 'Confound their politics' was reached.[181] On the other hand, to Archdeacon Cody, whose Toronto congregation had been using all three verses of the National Anthem since the outbreak of war, the question of using the second verse was answered by the meaning of the war; there was no reason the second verse should not be used to pray for victory and for the defeat of the enemy unless going into the war was wrong in the sight of God. [182] According to Archdeacon Cody, those who called the verse un-Christian misinterpreted the true meaning of the words.[183] Making a comparison between the Prayer in Time of War and Tumults, one of the prayers authorized for intercessory use during the war,[184] and the second verse of the National Anthem, Canon Robert Ker of St. Catharine's, Ontario wrote to *Toronto Globe*, saying

> One would naturally suppose that the flood of eloquent balderdash which was poured upon this innocent prayer [the National Anthem] was something totally new and unheard of, and if it did not cause a revolution would certainly disturb the …

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[180] A bulletin from a military service at Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, held on April 11, 1915, leaves out the second verse. An optional third verse to the Dominion of Canada is, however, included. 11 April 1915 (bulletin inserted), Service Book, Christ Church Cathedral(Montreal), Montreal Diocesan Archive (Anglican).

[181] "Temperance Favoured, With Some Dissent," *The Globe and Mail,* 20 September 1915, 7.

[182] "Anthem's Verse of 'Hate' Defended by Dr. Cody," *Toronto Globe*, 20 September 1915, 6.

[183] cf. H.J. Cody, "The History and Significance of the National Anthem," Speech delivered to the Empire Club of Canada (Toronto), 21 December 1916 for a complete explanation of his view. The full text of the speech is available in pamphlet form at the General Synod Archives or in the Cody Papers, Provincial Archive of Ontario. Also available online at http://speeches.empireclub.org/62030/data?n=1

[184] First used in the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*, the collect known as 'The Prayer in Time of War and Tumults' is appropriate for general use during times of war. It was, however, also one of the prayers specifically authorized by the bishops for intercessory use during the Great War. The text of the Prayer from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* runs in full:

> O Almighty God, King of all kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to those who truly repent; Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices; that we, being armed with thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify thee, who art the only giver of all victory; through the merits of thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord.

> respectability of a Church in which 'patriotism' was not claimed as a first requisite. … [A] Church without patriotism is about as useful as an engine without steam … Between 65 and 70 per cent of the men fighting the Empire's battle are churchmen who have learned their duty better than the ecclesiastics …[185]

The Prayer in Time of War and Tumults referenced by Canon Ker petitions for God to "Save and deliver us … from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices …" This language echoes that used in the second verse of the National Anthem. Just as the second verse had been left out of the Book of Common Praise, the Prayer in Time of War and Tumults had been omitted from the working draft of the Canadian revision of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer in the pre-war period due to objections to the language.[186] Synod, as part of its ongoing discussions regarding the revisions, and in seeming contradiction to the debate around the National Anthem, restored this prayer to the draft copy of the Prayer Book without opposition.[187] As W.J. Armitage, Archdeacon of Halifax, explained, "It was too expressive of national need to be relegated to oblivion."[188]

The change in attitudes within the Anglican church caused by the realities of the war is perhaps nowhere so apparent as in these General Synod discussions. Far from there being a wholesale jingoistic embracing of war rhetoric, there were divisions within the Anglican church about what form patriotic expression should take inside its churches. The process of praying for victory was not a simple one. On the anniversary of the war, Bishop Roper of Ottawa had suggested to his diocese that three things should guide their supplication to God: first, the spirit of thanksgiving that the Empire's just cause was making headway; secondly, the spirit of humility, faith, and trust; and only then did he list the earnest prayer for victory and, through victory, enduring peace for all nations.[189] The

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[185] Robert Ker, "Ecclesiastica Pacifists," *Toronto Globe*, letter to editor, 21 September 1915, 4.

[186] cf. W.J. Armitage, *The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1922), 226-228. "The Revision Committee, sitting in 1912, which might now be described in Shakespeare's words 'this weak piping time of peace,' thought that the Church hardly needed such a prayer, certainly not in such strong and forcible language, savouring of strenuous times now happily departed from the earth. … The prayer was therefore taken out, and that from the Form of Prayer to be used at Sea was transferred to its place.

[187] "Compromise on Creed: No Divorcees' Weddings," *Toronto Globe*, 23 September 1915, 6.

[188] Armitage, *Canadian Revision*, 228.

[189] "Special Intercession on War Anniversary," *Toronto Globe,* 5 August 1915, 5.

power of the Book of Common Prayer should also not be underestimated. The Rev. Dyson Hague, a Toronto clergyman and professor at Wycliffe College, wrote that

> the spirit of the Prayer Book is pre-eminently the spirit of a deep humility and of a great dependence upon the Mighty God. … As the tenseness of the War increases, men seem to be thinking more and more of dependence upon men and munitions … Poles apart from this … is the spirit of England's Church as reflected in the Prayer Book. … [T]he spirit of the Prayer Book is the spirit of the deep recognition of God as the *only* Arbiter of War and the *only* Giver of Victory. … Pride in British arms, and British valour, and British allies is all right in its place, but we want as Churchmen today, to implore God without ceasing …[W]e must succeed by worldly and earthly means … [but] the honour and glory of any victory must be given to Him.[190]

The Book of Common Prayer was one of the cornerstones of Anglican identity not only in Canada, but throughout the Empire.[191] It provided a shared language of worship, thanksgiving, and intercession that served to unite Anglicans, despite very real theological disagreements.[192] The unopposed restoration of the Prayer in Time of War and Tumults to the draft revision of the Prayer Book may have had something to do with public opinion following newspaper coverage of the National Anthem debates, but it is more likely that the inherent conservativism of the revision process played a more important role in the decision.[193] After all, many churches would likely have been making regular use of the Prayer since the war had begun more than a year earlier.

As 1915 drew to a close, it was clear that much fighting remained still to be done. On October 23, King George V had sent a message to his people, appealing to them to continue their efforts because the war was far from over. He said,

> At this grave moment… I appeal to you. I rejoice in my Empire's effort and I feel

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[190] Dyson Hague, "The Spirit of the Prayer Book in Time of War," *Canadian Churchman,* 11 November 1915, 714. (Emphasis original.)

[191] See Armitage, *Canadian Revision,* 86-87; Paul Friesen, "Citizenship, Worship, and Mission: Three Sources of Anglican Identity in the National Era," in *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism*, ed. Norman Knowles (Toronto: ABC Publishing, 2008), 113, 124-126, 129-134; Richard Vaudray, *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 6-10.

[192] For particular examples of disputes and the personalities involved in the Canadian revision see Armitage, *Canadian Revision*, 50-66, 89, 97ff.

[193] cf. Armitage, *Canadian Revision.*

> pride in the voluntary response from my subjects all over the world who have sacrificed … in order that another may not inherit the free Empire which their ancestors and mine have built. I ask you to make good these sacrifices. The end is not in sight. More men, and yet more, are wanted to … secure victory and an enduring peace. In ancient days the darkest moment has ever produced in men of our race the sternest resolve.[194]

The King's appeal for more men was translated by Anglican clerics into fresh calls for the mobilizing of the nation's spiritual forces. In his 1915 Christmas letter, the Bishop of New Westminster, Adam Urias de Pencier wrote, "Let us clearly apprehend that it is by mobilizing the Spiritual forces of our Country and by beseeching God in prayer that the material supply for the Nation's need will most effectually be obtained. … I call upon you by virtue of the office to which God has called me, to use this greatest of all weapons, this power of the Spirit, for the conquest of our foes, both our individual, personal sins, and our national vices and enemies."[195] Days of penitence and intercession were arranged for over the New Year's weekend, beginning with Watch Night services on December 31 and finishing on Sunday, January 2, 1916.

As the first full year of war, 1915 had been a test for Canadians in many ways, both for Canadian soldiers in the field and for Canadians at home, but there had also been successes. Domestic war production was beginning to increase after a shaky beginning. From a single factory producing 340 shells a week, more than 250 munitions companies were accepting contracts by mid-1915. Although the nascent industry would be plagued by production difficulties for another year, the foundations had been laid and in the coming year shell production would increase dramatically.[196] The two divisions of the Canadian Corps serving in France, nearly 38,000 men and several thousand horses, were shortly to be augmented by a third division, formed in Britain on December 24.[197] They had successfully staved off a major German attack at Ypres in April, had fought with the

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[194] King George V quoted in "Personal & General," *Canadian Churchman*, 28 October 1915, 28.

[195] Adam Urias de Pencier, *Canadian Churchman,* 20 January 1916, 42.

[196] David Carnegie, *The History of Munitions Supply in Canada 1914-1918* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925); Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2004), 179; Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher*, 104-108.

[197] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 305, 347. Another 51,000 officers and men were in England, a number which includes the newly formed Third Division and other formations. Nicholson, *Official History*, 224.

British at Festubert and Givenchy in May, and had conducted one of the most successful trench raids of the war at Rivière Douave, near Messines, in mid-November.[198] These actions, however, had come at a cost. The Canadian Corps suffered 15,000 casualties in 1915, of which 2600 were men killed in action, by wounds, or by disease.[199] Canadians had had their introduction to what it meant to be at war, but they were not shirking the task before them. Although clergymen expressed their disappointment that people seemed to be trusting to guns over God and disagreed about the form that intercessory prayers should take, they were no less committed to the war effort than other Canadians. As Archdeacon Cody, reflecting on the past year, told his St. Paul's congregation, "This past year has been a year of great strain and of many sorrows and disappointments, individual and national, and from that we have learned a lesson of endurance and courage. We are learning a lesson of humility and the need of resolution, and we face the future with the fullest determination to make every sacrifice."[200]

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[198] See Cook, *At the Sharp End* and Morton, *When Your Number's Up* for fuller accounts of the actions of the CEF.

[199] For casualty figures, see "Personal & General," *Canadian Churchman,* 28 October 1915, 690. The normal ratio of dead to wounded was one in four. Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 101.

[200] H.J. Cody quoted in *Canadian Churchman,* 6 January 1916, 9.

Chapter 3

Perseverance
January 1916 to December 1916

In his New Year's message to the nation on December 31, 1915, Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden declared,

> More than a twelvemonth ago our Empire consecrated all its powers … to a great purpose which concerns the liberties of the world and the destinies of all its nations. … By the greatness of the need our future efforts must be measured. … On this last day of the old year the authorized forces of Canada number 250,000, and the number enlisted is rapidly approaching that limit. From tomorrow, the first day of the new year, our authorized force will be 500,000. This announcement is made in token of Canada's unflinching resolve to crown the justice of our cause with victory and an abiding peace.[201]

Canadian newspapers printed notice of the Prime Minister's message in their first edition of 1916, some quoting the announcement in full. Although other issues related to the war would continue to hold the attention of Canadians, Borden's commitment would play a central role in shaping how people's experiences and memories of the war took shape.[202] For a nation whose pre-war population had not quite topped eight million, a military commitment of half a million men was no small matter, especially coupled with the labour demands of a rapidly expanding war materiel industry and of large-scale agricultural production.[203] Despite these other labour demands, it was the doubling of the previously announced figure for the CEF that took on additional meaning. As G.W.L. Nicholson wrote in his *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*, "The figure of 500,000 became a symbol. Instead of relating Canada's needs in manpower to the number of reinforcements actually required by her forces overseas, it

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[201] Sir Robert Borden quoted in "Authorized Canadian Force Raised from Quarter to Half-Million Men," *Toronto Globe,* 1 January 1916, 1.

[202] See, among others, Jonathon Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); Paul Fussel, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, illustrated edition (New York: Sterling, 2009); Modris Eksteins, *The Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Ltd, 1989) for discussions of the war in cultural memory.

[203] See Introduction for some statistical information about the pre-war Canadian population.

became the fashion to speak of the necessity for Canada to redeem her 'pledge' to place 500,000 men in uniform."[204]

Canada's military commitment had been growing steadily since the outbreak of war seventeen months earlier. Within hours of the beginning of the war, Britain had accepted Canada's offer to field a division — 25,000 men organized into twelve battalions. The recruitment of this division had been something of a free-for-all as the impulsive Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, disregarded the existing mobilization plans and telegraphed muster orders directly to the colonels of the various militia units across the country, instructing them to assemble at an as-yet nonexistent camp at Valcartier, near Quebec City.[205] The First Contingent, which would form the nucleus of the First Division of the CEF, spent two months at Valcartier drilling, receiving vaccinations, and filling out the paperwork that would administratively transform them from civilians into soldiers.[206] After a number of discharges for medical, personal, and disciplinary reasons, the remainder shipped out of the Quebec City harbour on October 2, 1914, somewhat over-strength at 30,617 men arranged in seventeen battalions — Hughes is reported to have burst into tears when Borden informed him that the additional men would be allowed to proceed to Britain.[207] Days later, a Second Contingent of 20,000 men for overseas service was announced, this time with recruiting left mainly in the hands of local militia units, which was closer to the original mobilization plan.[208] This Contingent was also quickly

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[204] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962), 217.

[205] Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 49-51; Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011), 57-71; Nicholson, *Official History,* 18-24, 28-29, 31. Also significant is the fact that the Canadian government was paying for the overseas force. Although Canadian volunteers had served during the Boer War, they had been paid by the British government after arriving in South Africa.

[206] Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1993), 8-13, 17. For an interesting preliminary study of those Valcartier volunteers who did not proceed overseas and insight into life at the camp, see Nic Clarke, "'You will not be going to this war': The Rejected Volunteers of the First Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *First World War Studies* 1.2 (2010): 161-183.

[207] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 14, 20, 53. For the men who were medically discharged from the First Contingent, see Clarke, "'You will not be going to this war'".

[208] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 47; Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons*, 51; Nicholson, *Official History*, 213-214.

brought up to strength, as was a Third Contingent announced in January 1915.[209] Although the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI), an elite unit made up of veteran servicemen, had joined a British division in France on December 20, 1914, the First Division remained in England until February, making the Third Contingent the last recruited before the CEF began operations in France.[210] A Fourth Contingent was announced by Sam Hughes on June 9, 1915, in the aftermath of the Second Battle of Ypres that had cost the First Division six thousand casualties, and brought to an end the practice of recruiting only to fill the quota allotted to each unit.[211] The casualties suffered by the First Division at Ypres in April, at Festubert in May, and at Givenchy in June do not seem to have deterred recruits as enlistment figures remained high through the summer of 1915 and only began to fall off in the early fall.[212] The steady increase in recorded enlistments was partially aided by changes made in July to the medical requirements, reducing the minimum required height and chest expansion measurements and therefore making more Canadians eligible to serve.[213]

Beginning in the fall of 1915, following the dip in the number of recruits in September, there had been a change in recruiting tactics. The responsibility for raising battalions was given to prominent citizens in each locale and recruiting sergeants came out onto the streets to interact directly with men not yet in uniform. Large-scale patriotic meetings were also held and men were encouraged to come forward at these meetings in response to public calls for recruits. Iain Miller characterizes the impact of this change in his history of Toronto during the Great War, writing,

> Recruiting was no longer about personal decisions made by individual men in the comfort of their own homes, according to their own consciences. It was now a public phenomenon. … Men now had to justify to themselves as well as to others

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[209] I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 69, 194.

[210] Morton, *When Your Number's Up,* 11, 30, 35-37.

[211] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 70-71.

[212] cf. Nicholson, Table 1, Appendix C, *Official History*. Provided in Appendix B is a graph showing overall recruiting trends. For a comprehensive account of the CEF in Europe during this period, see Tim Cook*, At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking, 2007), 106ff.

[213] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 79-80; Nicholson, *Official History*, 21.

> why they were not in khaki … Gone were the days of private patriotism and the privilege of serving: recruiting was now very publicly about patriotism and duty.[214]

As public figures in their communities, Anglican clergymen and bishops lent their voices and sometimes their pulpits to the recruiting effort. Adam Urias de Pencier, Bishop of New Westminster, spoke at a recruiting meeting at Toronto's City Hall while in town for the General Synod meeting in September 1915. With his own son in uniform and himself shortly to proceed to the front as a chaplain, he declared, "There are three reasons why men do not enlist — ignorance, indifference, and cowardice."[215] Not all clerics, however, were so adamant. Speaking at a patriotic meeting in St. Lambert shortly before Christmas, Montreal's Bishop John Cragg Farthing was less zealous but no less supportive of the war effort. Warning that Canadians were living in a fool's paradise if they underestimated their enemies and claiming that he would go to the front himself but for his own age, Bishop Farthing said, "I am a firm believer in the liberty of conscience and the liberties under which we have lived for so many years. Going to the front is a matter of each man's conscience and I believe that every man enlisting at present is doing so from a keen sense of duty. It is the opportunity and the privilege of every man to stand for God, Truth, and Country."[216] The change in recruiting tactics drove up enlistment figures. As Britain prepared to institute conscription to keep its armies up to strength, Canadians saw a steadily increasing number of men sign on for service with the CEF.

It is very difficult to judge the extent to which Canadian Anglican clergymen participated in recruiting efforts or their enthusiasm in doing so. Certainly they were free to participate as there were no efforts made by the bishops to prevent this type of activity. Nor was there any local outcry against the various roles played by clergymen at patriotic events, whether they were organizers, speakers, or simply in attendance. In some parishes, particularly in the West and British Columbia, reports were made that most eligible men had already enlisted as early as mid-1915, leaving little need for their

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[214] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 78-79.

[215] Adam Urias de Pencier quoted in "Men Must Fight for Themselves," *Toronto Globe,* 22 September 1915, 8.

[216] John Cragg Farthing quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 23 December 1915, 824.

clergymen to encourage them to enlist.[217] In other areas, notices make it clear that clergymen were allowing returned veterans and others involved in recruiting leagues to address their congregations or that they themselves were delivering 'recruiting sermons' from the pulpit in addition to whatever role they may have taken at patriotic meetings.[218] At Halifax's All Saints' Cathedral on February 27, 1916, during one such Sunday sermon, urging men to hesitate no longer in rallying to the flag, Archdeacon W.J. Armitage recounted,

> Not long ago I was travelling in company with a great philanthropist … Suddenly he turned to me and said something which startled me at the time. It was this: 'Where would Christ be today if he were among us in the flesh? He would be in the trenches!' Aye, my brothers — must we not believe that He, the lover of peace, yet capable of awful because righteous anger against wrong, against oppression, would be found fighting the unspeakable German, many of whose deeds of ferocity cannot be even named in this place? Deeds which, for utterly ruthless cruelty, have never been equalled in any warfare in the world's history.[219]

It is difficult, unfortunately, to make any substantive comparison of the content of patriotic sermons delivered in the course of a normal Sunday to the content of special recruiting speeches and sermons as the latter seems far less likely to be recorded or reported on. The purpose of such occasions was to secure recruits and the speakers merely served as a means to that ultimate end. The ongoing nature of recruiting activities did eventually lead to concerns that, in the words of Bishop Sweeny of Toronto, "The invasions of the day [Sunday] for recruiting purposes, the compulsion of 'military necessity', affecting as they do the Church's afternoon Sunday School activities and

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[217] For only two examples, see the notice from the Rev. W. Watson of Kindersley, Saskatchewan as one example of how the pre-war depression and the lure of enlistment affected congregations. He reports: "Our congregations are sadly depleted. All those who could, have moved away to seek work elsewhere, and nearly all our young men have volunteered, and most of them accepted and enlisted for the war." (*Canadian Churchman*, 22 April 1915, 157); and see the report from Bishop A.J. Doull of Kootenay where he states that response of men to war service has thinned congregations to the point where supporting the work of the churches in his diocese had become difficult (*Montreal Churchman*, November 1915, 6).

[218] Among others, see an account of a service at St. Martin's in Montreal where a member of the Citizens' Recruiting Association gave an address from the chancel steps on 'The War' (*Canadian Churchman*, 25 November 1915, 748). See also the "recruiting plan" for the Rural Deanery of Brant (Diocese of Huron) for September 18, 1915, where twenty-two recruiting services were planned in eleven different churches throughout the deanery (*Canadian Churchman*, 22 July 1915, 461).

[219] W.J. Armitage quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 16 March 1916, 169.

evening worship, may well cause anxiety lest such should become the normal …"[220] That clergymen did play a role in recruiting is undeniable, but the detail and extent of their participation remains unclear and likely varied according to geography and individual inclination and the overall levels of involvement, especially through 1916, once recruiting meetings were no longer a novelty likely to be reported on.

The formation of the Third Division on December 24, 1915, did not immediately affect the strength of the Canadians Corps in the field as the Division was not completely assembled until April 1916.[221] Although a group of Canadians had been involved in a highly successful trench raid near Rivière Douve on November 16, 1915, their last major action had been at Givenchy in early June.[222] The arrival of the Second Division in September, however, had effectively doubled the number of 'wastage' casualties the newly constituted Canadian Corps suffered as a matter of routine when units were holding the front-line trenches. While Canadians were proud of their contributions to the defence of the Empire and its cause, the ongoing war and the daily publishing of casualty lists also weighed heavily on families at home. Nor were Canadians entirely secure in the safety of their own nation: at least 9000 troops continued to be stationed as guards at public institutions,[223] some 50,000 men were kept under arms in Canada for home defence,[224] and German saboteurs were immediately suspected when the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa — with the exception of the Parliamentary library — were reduced to ashes the night of February 3, 1916.[225] Although the fire was officially judged to be the result of an unfortunate accident, there was widespread skepticism and continued belief that the

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[220] James Fielding Sweeny, *Canadian Churchman*, 20 April 1916, 250.

[221] Nicholson, *Official History*, 133-134.

[222] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 292-294; Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 126; Nicholson, *Official History*, 122-125.

[223] Nicholson, *Official History*, 109-110; Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 26, 37, 108-109; J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The Story of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 48-49.

[224] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 59-60.

[225] The headlines of the *Toronto Globe*, on February 4 read "Fire Destroys Canada's Parliament Building / … / The Most Picturesque Public Building in North America Is a Shapeless Ruin – Several Lives Lost – Fire Believed to be Work of the Enemy."

Germans were somehow involved.[226] The incident would have underscored feelings of insecurity for a nation that was still paying militia pensions as a result of the cross-border Fenian raids of the late 1860s, only fifty years earlier and well within living memory.[227] Voluntary recruiting reached its highest point of the war in March 1917, possibly driven by this feeling of threat.[228]

March also brought the beginning of Lent, the penitential nature of the season particularly emphasized in 1916 by a National Mission held in some parishes and dioceses. The Canadian National Mission was inspired by the National Mission of Repentance and Hope organized in Britain by the Church of England, but the Canadian version was less centrally-organized and nationally coherent.[229] As an editorial in the *Montreal Churchman* explained,

> At a meeting of the House of Bishops last fall it was suggested that a Dominion-wide Mission should be held during Lent 1916 … It was realized … that the first phase of thought created by the war, was rapidly passing away and was being succeeded by a spiritual questioning and anxiety that demanded an answer. … However, when the matter came to be considered locally it was found to be impossible to hold the Mission simultaneously …[230]

The National Mission was therefore somewhat less than truly national, but whatever form

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[226] Picking up from news outlets in Ottawa the *Calgary Daily Herald* carried a front-page article on February 5 wondering "Were Extinguishers Charged With Some Inflammable Stuff?"

[227] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 12; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 48.

[228] Studies of British voluntary recruiting statistics suggest that recruiting there was highest in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Mons (September 1914), when the forced retreat of British troops suggested that British territory might be vulnerable. cf. Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 48-50; Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 32-33, 75.

The destruction of the Parliament buildings can be correlated to the March spike in recruiting, but a causal relationship cannot be established and a number of other factors are likely involved. The case for causation might be strengthened by a comparison of voluntary enlistments after the December 1917 Halifax explosion, but the introduction of the Military Service Act obscures this information and makes such a comparison impossible. Adjusting for the fact that February is a short month and following the pattern of the first recruiting curve, it can be roughly extrapolated, based on the accepted recruiting statistics (cf. Nicholson, Table A, Appendix C, *Official History*) that perhaps as many as 6500-8500 additional men enlisted during the month of March. See Appendix B.

[229] For treatments of the English National Mission of Repentance and Hope, which involved Non-conformists as well as British Anglicans, see David M. Thompson, "War, the Nation, and the Kingdom of God: The Origins of the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, 1915-16," *Studies in Church History* 20 (1983): 337-350; Gregory, *The Last Great War,* 165-173.

[230] "Special War-Time Mission," *Montreal Churchman*, April 1916, 4, 6-7.

it took, whether an organized Mission or a special Lenten call issued by a deanery or bishop, it was an extension of the earlier calls to repentance and prayer. In the Diocese of Montreal, where a formal mission was organized, Bishop Farthing declared,

> Vigorous and successful efforts are being made … to organize and concentrate our physical forces during this terrible wartime, and the feeling is growing throughout the Church that our spiritual forces also need to be organized … For we believe that God desires us to do more than respond to the call to arms. … We want … to become through this sorrow, better men and women, more fitted for the new world that shall be after the war.[231]

Lenten letters urging penitence written by several bishops of dioceses where large-scale missions do not seem to have been organized were carried by the *Canadian Churchman*. One such letter, from John Richardson, the Bishop of Fredericton, reminded people that

> The Empire is at war. The common call to mobilization has rung out. That call comes also and with pressing force to the Church of Christ. Men and munitions and money are not enough. Our share in the common obligation [is] to convince the world of the reality of spiritual things. An Empire-wide war means that every one of its citizens should be under orders. It is this note of discipline which the Lenten season strikes so strongly. Let us make it a time of new and deeper penitence, ever keeping in mind that glorious feast … for which every Lent is a preparation.[232]

With the second anniversary of the declaration of war approaching and with no end yet in sight, the issue of the war's lessons had more immediacy than justifications for national involvement. Exactly what those lessons were varied according to the speaker, but they generally included the renewal of the nation's faith in God and the rediscovery of the spirit of sacrifice. As Archdeacon Cody wrote shortly before Easter,

> If ever we needed cheer, fortitude, endurance and consolation; we need them now. A world is in arms; civilization is being threatened; our Empire and all the ideals for which it stands are in the balance … As certainly as Christ arose … so from the toil and struggle of time shall goodness, truth, purity, love, come forth victorious by the same power by which Christ rose from the dead. … We pray, as perhaps we have never prayed before, that through this awful crucible of war there may come forth a nation and a Church purified and strengthened. … This visitation of nations cannot

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[231] John Cragg Farthing quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 2 March 1916, 137.

[232] J.A. Richardson, *Canadian Churchman*, 23 March 1916, 185.

be in vain, unless we deliberately refuse its call to repentance and hope.[233]

Not uncommonly, these lessons were expressed in familiar religious terms. As the Rev. C. Cameron Waller of London's Huron College said, "The principles and ideals for which we are contending in the present strife are the principles and ideals of Christ. … Out of the battlefields … will spring to life new ideals and new aims and new estimates of things worthwhile and men will call it resurrection."[234]

In 1916, Easter fell on the anniversary of the Canadian sacrifice at Ypres. Dean Richmond Shreve of Holy Trinity Cathedral in Quebec City spoke at a memorial service organized for Easter Sunday. Looking back at the beginning of the war, he reminded people that

> there was a 'scrap of paper' which has passed into history and will remain there for all time to come. It had been solemnly agreed at the Hague Conference that asphyxiating gas should never be used … This agreement had been regarded by our enemies as another 'scrap of paper'. … The attack failed because the Canadian troops … drove the enemy back … These men had heard the call of a righteous cause, responded to it, and God gave them victory.[235]

Overseas, Canadian troops had just come through a bloody battle around St. Eloi, their first engagement of 1916. In only a few days of battle, from April 4 to April 16, the as-yet untested Second Division had suffered 1373 casualties.[236] This was in addition to the 2606 men killed or wounded between December 1, 1915, and March 31, 1916, when the Canadians Corps was doing little more than holding the line.[237] With three divisions now in the field, the opportunities for Canadians to be wounded, killed, taken prisoner, or simply to go missing were three times what they had been in the spring of 1915. The Third Division received its introduction to the war in early June, in the fighting to capture Mount Sorrel. Although the capture of Mount Sorrel was a success for Canadian soldiers,

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[233] H.J. Cody, "The Living One," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 April 1915, 245.

[234] C. Cameron Waller, "The Victory that Overcometh the World," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 April 1916, 247.

[235] Richmond Shreve quoted in "Anniversary of the Battle of Ypres," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, May 1916, 52-53.

[236] Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 324-342; Nicholson, *Official History*, 137-145.

[237] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 266; Nicholson*, Official History*, 137.

the two weeks of fighting cost nearly 8700 casualties, including the Third Division's commander, Major-General Malcolm Mercer.[238] Since Anglicans made up a significant percentage of the CEF, all these losses fell particularly heavily on Anglican parishes;[239] notices of memorial services and the dedication of memorial tablets, windows, and other objects increase in frequency after the beginning of 1916. These services, as Archdeacon Cody said at one memorial service, had "a national as well as a personal significance. It brings home to us all the reality of the grim struggle and the staggering price that has to be paid for the cause of humanity and freedom."[240] The death of Lord Kitchener, the British Secretary of State for War, on June 5 also came as a heavy blow, both to the men at the front and to those at home.[241] Canon F.G. Scott, serving as a chaplain overseas, wrote to his son, "We are all shocked at Kitchener's death, but when we remember that our real Commander in Chief is the Lord God Almighty, who putteth down one and setteth up another, we are not dismayed."[242] So too had Archdeacon Cody included a hopeful note in the memorial address quoted earlier, telling people, "Lives marked by a fullness of sacrifice have their own completeness."[243]

The second anniversary of the declaration of war came while British troops were heavily engaged in battle on the Somme and as the Germans continued to pound the French at the fortress of Verdun. Unlike the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, which had been decimated at Beaumont Hamel on July 1, the first day of the Somme offensive, Canadian troops had not been involved in the first phase of fighting. The British view of

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[238] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 365-375; Nicholson, *Official History*, 147-154.

[239] Among a large number of other examples, see John Cragg Farthing, "The Bishop's Message," *Montreal Churchman*, May 1915, 3-4; "Canada Mourns for Her Sons," *Canadian Churchman*, 15 June 1916, 375; "The Church's Challenge," *Canadian Churchman*, 22 June 1916, 391; "The Church of England in Canada's Army," *Montreal Churchman*, July 1916, 5.

[240] H.J. Cody, "The Offering of Young Canada," *Canadian Churchman,* 27 July 1916, 473, 479.

[241] For an example of memorials for Kitchener held in Canada, see the address given by Lennox Williams, Bishop of Quebec, at Holy Trinity Cathedral in Quebec City in "The Late Lord Kitchener," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette,* August/September 1916, 91-93. See also W.J. Armitage, "Earl Kitchener: An Appreciation," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 July 1916, 459, 464.

[242] Letter to Harry Scott, 8 June 1916, F.G. Scott fonds, Folder 23, Box 2, P229-A/2-21, McCord Museum Archives. Scott had recently broken his right hand falling from a horse and had to dictate the letter to a nurse otherwise he likely would have offered a longer and more detailed explanation. See his post-war memoir *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.G. Goodchild, 1922), 129 where he recalls, "The news [of Kitchener's death] came to the Army with the force of a stunning blow …"

[243] H.J. Cody, "The Offering of Young Canada," *Canadian Churchman*, 27 July 1916, 473, 479.

the sacredness of territory shaped contemporary views of the ongoing offensive, providing perspective to the staggering number of casualties. Every yard of ground that could be taken from the Germans, even at the cost of lives, was seen almost as a direct equivalent of a step toward victory.[244] This kind of thinking is immediately apparent in Archdeacon Cody's address at St. Paul's at the anniversary intercessory service, where he said, "Verily, today we have cause for thankfulness. We may be thankful that we begin to see the end, that we see the initiative passing into the hands of the allies on every frontier."[245] It can also be seen, combined with an emphasis on the lessons God was teaching through the war, in the anniversary memorial sermon of the Rev. George W. Tebbs of St. James's in Hamilton when he told his congregation,

> We are now slowly but surely approaching victory, but victory cannot be secure until certain conditions shall have been fulfilled. In the first place, it is part of God's education of the world … In the second place, God never allows tyranny to triumph in the world. … However before ultimate victory can be obtained, the nations which are to be God's instruments of judgment must be worthy instruments of justice in his hands. In the third place, we are about to enter upon this third year of the war we must do so with a hopeful spirit and have faith in God … This will cause penitence, inspire activity and give us the courage to make greater sacrifices.[246]

Although the mood was relatively optimistic regarding the ongoing offensive, which was capturing territory, a quick end to the war was not expected. It was recognized that a great deal of work still remained to be done before ultimate victory was achieved. Part of this recognition was acknowledging that Canada's war effort, based on the principle of voluntarism and too often organized on an *ad hoc* basis, needed to be re-evaluated if the

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[244] cf. Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 423, 525. Government controls of information also highly coloured reports from the battlefield resulting in Canadians receiving a particularly rosy view of what was occurring. cf. Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship in Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1997); M.J. Farrar, *News from the Front*: *War Correspondents on the Western Front 1914-18* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishers, 1998). These controls are particularly apparent in retrospect, but would not have been so apparent at the time, especially since Canadians were spared direct contact with battlefield wounded by distance. On the other hand, the film *The Battle of the Somme* was shown to huge audiences in Toronto and elsewhere in the country, giving people some idea of what was happening in France. While they may have been spared battlefield realities, neither were people completely ignorant. For a discussion of Toronto during the summer of 1917 cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief,* 49-58.

[245] H.J. Cody quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 10 August 1916, 510; cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 163-164.

[246] George W. Tebbs quoted in *Canadian Churchman,* 17 August 1916, 526.

nation was to uphold its responsibilities.[247] As time had passed and Canadian blood was spilled, the war had ceased to be only about Canada rallying to the Empire's cause and was becoming more and more about Canada contributing fully as a nation in its own right.[248] As early as January 1916, Montreal's Bishop Farthing had written, "The conviction grows on many of us that if we are defeated, Canada will become a German possession." Thinking was no longer quite as insular, and Canada was beginning to stand apart as more than merely the senior colony of the Empire. Archdeacon W.J. Armitage, speaking at St. Paul's in Halifax on August 4 described this, perhaps unanticipated, byproduct of the war: the appreciation of world geography and its great value to humanity. He explained that it was right to be proud of Great Britain's contribution to the cause of human liberty in this immortal crisis, when the powers of heaven and hell seemed to be arranged in mortal combat, but also that no more unselfish and heroic service had been rendered than that of Canada.[249]

By August 1916, although more than 325,000 men had joined the CEF, recruiting figures had been declining precipitously for several months. In July, the total fell below 10,000 for the first time since the June 1915 announcement of the Fourth Contingent and the relaxing of physical requirements.[250] And the CEF was not alone in making demands on the available manpower. The Canadian munitions industry had shipped 5,377,000 shells in 1915; it would ship 19,942,000 in 1916. By this point, more than 100,000 men were directly engaged in munitions production and others were involved in the acquisition and processing of the necessary raw materials. Acute labour shortages in the summer of 1916 led to slowdowns in production.[251] Although recruiting sergeants had unofficial instructions to refuse men employed in key industries and grant harvest leaves to recruits willing to help on local farms, it was felt that the voluntary recruiting system was drawing men disproportionally from the industrial and agricultural industries, areas

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[247] Nicholson, *Official History*, 218-220.

[248] cf. R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," The *Canadian Historical Review* 61:2 (1980): 153-164.

[249] "Anniversary Service Worthy of the Occasion," *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1916, 12.

[250] cf. Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher,* 169. See Appendix B for a graph of recruiting figures.

[251] David Carnegie, *The History of Munitions Supply in Canada 1914-1918* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), 67, 107-108, 127, 250-251.

where they could little be spared. It was the men in non-essential jobs who were needed for military service.[252] The Rev. J.F.B. Belford of Richmond, Quebec, speaking at the Quebec synod meeting in June in his capacity as a recruiting lieutenant, told his listeners that every ounce of energy needed to be expended as the issues of the war were hanging in the balance. All those who could be spared must go — those who volunteered needed no persuasion, but others needed to be urged and taught their duty.[253] The Quebec synod passed a resolution "to respectfully impress upon the Government of the Dominion the imperative need of a systematic registration" [254] and similar sentiments were expressed at other spring synods, including those of the Dioceses of Nova Scotia, Huron, and Ontario.[255] The formation of the National Service Board on August 16, 1916, by the Borden government so that "all available labour" could be "utilized to the greatest advantage" was a formal recognition that the war demanded a more effective use of manpower and resources.[256] But the loss of men was not just felt in industry or agriculture. Bishops also drew attention to the effect of the loss of men and other resources from the work of the church. The Archbishop of Algoma, George Thorneloe, told readers of the *Canadian Churchman*, "In almost every parish and mission our work has more or less languished through the loss of some of our best workers. And there is hardly a centre of Church life which is not to some extent straitened in circumstances in consequence of the unceasing demands upon the country on behalf of Patriotic and Red Cross funds." [257] The theological colleges and seminaries had largely been emptied, with many of those remaining men either discharged soldiers or those unable to pass the medical exams.[258] The Bishops of Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatchewan, Kingston, and Kootenay, the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, and the Missionary Society also expressed

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[252] cf. Nicholson, *Official History,* 219.

[253] "The Synod," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, July 1916, 83-84.

[254] "The Synod," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, July 1916, 84.

[255] cf. Clarence Lamb Worrell quoted in "After the War," *Canadian Churchman,* 22 June 1916, 393, 399-400; "Diocese of Huron," *Canadian Churchman,* 29 June 1916, 411, 416; "Diocese of Ontario," *Canadian Churchman*, 13 July 1916, 442, 449.

[256] Nicholson, *Official History*, 219-220; Bray, "Fighting as an Ally," 154-160.

[257] George Thorneloe quoted in "The Church at Home," *Canadian Churchman*, 8 June 1916, 362.

[258] cf. "Honour Roll of Our Colleges," *Canadian Churchman*, 29 June 1916, 441.

difficulties caused by a lack of workers and/or funds.[259] The Bishop of Quebec, Lennox Williams, directly addressed the issue of clergymen serving as combatants, urging them to remember that their duties were in their parishes, not in combatant roles overseas, however much they may have felt the call of patriotism.[260] At a national level, although it is difficult to be precise, by September 1916 perhaps as much as twelve to sixteen percent of *all* declared Anglicans in Canada were serving with the CEF.[261] It is impossible to judge the enormous impact this must have had on individual parishes.

The distance between Canada and the battlefield in France and the need for raw recruits to undergo several months of training meant that the large numbers of recruits enlisted in the fall of 1915 were available to line units as reinforcements in the summer of 1916.[262] Casualties had been relatively light through the summer for Canadian units, which were holding sections of the front away from the major fighting, but this changed when they were transferred to the Somme sector beginning on August 30.[263] In their first seven days in the Somme trenches, there were 769 casualties, mostly due to shellfire.[264] When the offensive was renewed on September 15, the Canadian objective was the village of Courcelette. Canadian units managed to capture the village and hold it against multiple counter-attacks. As Tim Cook wrote in the first of his two-volume history of the CEF in France, "The Canadian capture of Courcelette had been a stunning success. … Few such decisive victories — even small ones — had been achieved during the Somme

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[259] cf. *Canadian Churchman*, 3 August 1916, 495; "The Church at Home," *Canadian Churchman,* 8 June 1916, 362 and 15 June 1916, 378; "Diocese of Saskatchewan," *Canadian Churchman*, 13 July 1916, 443, 447; Edward J. Bidwell, "Address to Synod," *Canadian Churchman,* 6 July 1916, 427; "Diocese of Kootenay," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 July 1916, 460, 465; "Diocese of Rupert's Land," *Canadian Churchman,* 6 July 1916, 426, 431; "M.S.C.C. Finances," *Canadian Churchman*, 31 August 1916, 551.

[260] Lennox Williams quoted in "Diocese of Quebec," *Canadian Churchman*, 22 June 1916, 395, 401.

[261] Twelve percent was a figure given in mid-1916 — cf. "The Church of England in Canada's Army," *Montreal Churchman*, July 1916, 5 — but given a pre-war population of just over one million declared Anglicans and 165,145 Anglicans enlisted as of September 1916, this could come out to as high as sixteen percent. Assuming an even gender divide for the sake of calculating, the low-end figure of twelve percent of all Anglicans still works out to one in four male Anglicans *of any age* in uniform as of September 1916. At the high end, it works out to one in three male Anglicans. Even this number does not necessarily indicate the full effect on congregations as it is impossible to distinguish between the enlistment of 'cultural' Anglicans and 'practicing' Anglicans. In any case, the impact was considerable.

[262] Robert Craig Brown and Donald Loveridge, "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF 1914-1918," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire* 51 (1982): 63.

[263] Nicholson, *Official History*, 165.

[264] Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 425.

fighting."[265] But that success had come at the cost of more than 7200 casualties. Fighting in the sector continued, as did Canadian casualties, reaching a total of 24,029 by mid-November, when the offensive was called off due to the onset of winter.[266] With recruits stepping forward at a rate of only about six thousand a month throughout the summer and fall of 1916, it was clear to all that to sustain four divisions in the field and a fifth in England, more men would need to be put in uniform. From February 1915, when the First Division arrived in France, to the end of 1916, there had been almost 61,000 casualties suffered by the Canadian Corps, 15,000 of them deaths.[267]

The intense focus on recruiting figures hides another important statistic. Between thirty and fifty percent of all those who attempted to join the CEF were rejected for medical reasons.[268] In the intense patriotic atmosphere and amid the compelling calls for recruits that characterized major urban centres in 1916, the government began issuing badges to those who attempted to enlist but were turned away. The majority of these men were not visibly unfit for service, having bad teeth, flat feet, poor eyesight, heart murmurs, or other conditions not immediately visible to the public.[269] Sometimes sympathetic medical officers could be found who would pass men through who had been rejected for service at a different recruiting depot, including underage boys who wished to serve overseas.[270] Iain Miller, in his history of Toronto during the Great War, has estimated that as many as four out of five Toronto men attempted to enlist at least once at some point during the war.[271] The number of medical rejections helped quantify the previously hidden impact of urban poverty and other social ills, including the dangers of 'intoxicating drink'. The absence of men serving overseas and the involvement of the Canadian Patriotic Fund in the domestic lives of thousands of families also helped to

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[265] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 463.

[266] For accounts of the action of the CEF at the Somme, see Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 463-525; Nicholson, *Official History*, 165-198.

[267] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 529.

[268] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief,* 95, 146.

[269] Although he deals mainly with those sent home from Valcartier in the fall of 1914 since their records are the most comprehensive, see Clarke, "'You will not be going'" for a detailed treatment of the kinds of impairments that would disqualify a man for service.

[270] Tim Cook, "'He was determined to go': Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41.81 (2008): 41-74.

[271] Miler, *Our Glory and Our Grief,* 95, 146.

bring these societal problems to the surface.[272] The continued admonitions about the need to acknowledge Canada's national sins and to face internal enemies arise, in some small part, out of a recognized need to address these social questions. As the Rev. Derwyn Owen wrote, "We have proved ourselves splendidly ready to fight the enemy without. Have we yet the truer and deeper patriotism, which is willing to follow Christ and face the harder enemy within? Are we going to be equally stalwart against those vested interests and sins among ourselves, which do a more deadly work … because they do it noiselessly and all the time?"[273] At the 1915 General Synod, a Council for Social Service had been formed to formally address these issues. Part of the rationale was for the formation of a formal committee was that, as Canon H.P. Plumptre wrote in an article entitled "The Church and Social Reform":

> There is every prospect that after the war social problems will occupy a large place in the public mind, and great efforts will be made to improve social conditions. … As soon as these questions enter the political arena, and become the battleground of conflicting parties, it is almost impossible to touch them either in the pulpit or in Synods without seeming to be partisan. … [T]he present moment, before the war of nations gives place to the warfare of political parties … is critically opportune …[274]

After the war, the Social Gospel movement gained traction among Canadian Anglicans as it had not in the pre-war period, perhaps in large part because of the issues raised as a result of the war.[275]

For the third year, Canada was facing a war Christmas. The heavy costs of the war were being paid by many across the country. In Western Europe, the Germans still occupied most of Belgium and large parts of France. Yet, when Germany suggested a compromise peace on December 12, 1916, it was summarily rejected by the Entente nations. Although the end of the war was a tempting thought, the objectives of defending liberty and democracy and defeating German militarism had not been achieved. It was not just governments that rejected peace negotiations in December 1916, but the public,

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[272] cf. Morton, *Fight or Pay*.

[273] Derwyn Owen, "The Christian Year," *Canadian Churchman,* 17 August 1916, 519.

[274] H.P. Plumptre, "The Church and Social Reform," *Canadian Chuchman*, 31 August 1916, 55.

[275] Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 6, 18, 30ff.

with a grim determination, did so as well.[276] In his Christmas pastoral letter, William Reid Clark, the Bishop of Niagara wrote,

> It may appear to some like a mocking dream to keep the pure visions of Christmas amid the daily news of war, plunder, and crime; yet as the day dawns and thought comes back to the Great Fact which one feels has saved the world from utter ruin, one is led to rejoice. … There will be many to whom Christmas will be a day of sadness. They will be associating with it changes and separations, but I ask, has not the Babe of Bethlehem a message for those in sorrow? Is the blessed season for the light-hearted only? … More than any other season of the Christian year does this one bring home to us the One great source of comfort, the human Christ.[277]

Bishop Clark was not the only clergyman to bring this message of a hope borne of faith. Archdeacon Cody offered a similar message — "To most of us, this is a sad and strange Christmas. The paradox is still with us that we should celebrate the Feast of Peace … in the midst of the war that rages more widely and bitterly than a year ago. … Amid the anguish and the mystery, Immanuel gives hope." [278]

If 1915 was the first real test of Canada's commitment to the war, 1916 was when the various parts of the war effort began to be professionalized. The Shell Committee, formed by Sam Hughes in the early months of the war to oversee munitions production, had been among the first organizations to undergo this change, giving way to the Imperial Munitions Board and giving up autonomous control for oversight by the British Ministry of Munitions on November 29, 1915.[279] On November 9, 1916, Sir Robert Borden demanded that Hughes resign as Minister of Militia, ending the confusion caused by the Minister's impulsiveness, patronage appointments, and desire to personally control all aspects of the war effort. Hughess was replaced by Albert Kemp, a staid and competent financial manager who brought a steady hand to the Ministry.[280] The progression was less clear-cut for other area of the war effort, but the changes were clearly evident in most

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[276] W.B. Fest, "British War Aims and German Peace Feelers During the First World War (December 1916-November 1918)," *The Historical Journal*, 15.2 (1972): 289-290, 308; Esther Caukin Brunauer, "The Peace Proposals of December 1916 - January 1917," *The Journal of Modern History* 4.4 (December 1932): 555-558, 561-563, 565, 567-568; Gregory*, The Last Great War*, 149-150; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 58-60.

[277] William Reid Clark quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 21 December 1916, 818.

[278] H.J. Cody quoted in "A Christmas Sermon," *Canadian Churchman*, 21 December 1916, 811, 816.

[279] Carnegie, *Munitions Supply,* 98, 103.

[280] For a detailed look at Sir Sam Hughes, his conduct during the war, and his dismissal, see especially Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher*.

cases by the end of the year. The National Service Board, formed in August, while it took little action until early 1917, was an acknowledgement that a total war effort required a directed effort, including the registration of citizens and an allocation of labour to where it was most needed.[281] The voluntary recruitment system had largely exhausted its own resources and had partially been a victim of its own success. Enough men had been recruited during the initial phases of the war for Canada to put four divisions in the field, with another providing home defence in Britain, but the number of willing recruits was insufficient to provide reinforcements when the Corps was subjected to attritional warfare. Although many men were not in uniform, a large number were medically unfit and/or providing some other kind of war service in industry or agriculture. There were also those who, for personal or financial reasons, had made and continued to make the deliberate choice not to enlist. In the charged atmosphere of 1916, especially as the large casualty lists that were the result of the fighting on the Somme were printed, men had to be able to justify their continued refusal to enlist, both to themselves and to others.[282]

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[281] Nicholson, *Official History*, 219-220.

[282] Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 91-95; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 100-105, 146.

Chapter Four

Patriotism and Nationalism
January 1917 to December 1917

For the first twenty-nine months of the war, the Canadian effort had been driven by the spirit of voluntarism, urged on by justifications emphasizing the righteousness of the Empire's cause. More than 300,000 men had freely stepped forward to join the Canadian Expeditionary Force while pledge drives and other donations enabled the citizen-run Canadian Patriotic Fund to provide a living allowance to their families. Across the country, women gathered to roll bandages, knit socks, prepare care packages, sew bed jackets, and perform numberless additional tasks for the support of the overseas troops. When it had been rumoured in the spring of 1915 that Canadian units were under-gunned, citizens, churches, businesses, and other organizations had almost immediately begun raising money with the aim of providing the necessary machine guns. By late 1916, however, the voluntary system had begun to reach its limits. Beginning on December 29, 1916, registration cards were distributed to all male residents of Canada between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five. The cards requested information from individuals regarding their occupation, citizenship, health, and the number of dependents for whom they were responsible. The National Service Board, formed three months earlier in response to the dwindling number of volunteers presenting themselves at recruiting offices, was attempting to survey the nation's available manpower so that it could be used more efficiently. Civic and religious leaders across the country, both English and French Canadian, urged men to fill out the cards accurately and return them within the three day window. Returning the registration cards, however, remained a voluntary act and Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden repeatedly offered reassurances that national registration was not a step toward conscription.[283] On Sunday, December 31, 1916, observed in Anglican churches as a day of prayer in connection with the war, the

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[283] J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The Story of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 44-45; I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 100-101.

Rev. Eardley Wilmot told his listeners,

> No man worthy of his citizenship and who has any love for his country will neglect this plain duty [to register for National Service]. But it is fitting that … [this] should be [done together with] a day of special prayer in connection with the War, for it serves to remind us once again both of the sacredness of the appeal which our Empire is making for the unselfish service of all at this time, and also of the fact that all our efforts … are of no avail without the help of Almighty God … We claim — and I believe we are right in claiming — that we are being used by God for the vindication of righteousness and justice on the earth. It is a tremendous claim and it should make us very humble for we are not worthy …[284]

At the beginning of 1917, with the third anniversary of the war expected sooner than a peace agreement, people had begun looking to the government to provide more direction. National registration was merely one aspect of this change, and one that was widely accepted as necessary.

Despite the high number of casualties suffered during the summer fighting on the Somme, in Canada the outlook was more optimistic at the beginning of 1917 than it had been for much of the previous two years. The French had held the fortress of Verdun against repeated German attacks. The Somme offensive had succeeded in pushing the Germans back. The men who had enlisted in 1915 were in the line, including the millions of Britons in Kitchener's New Armies, and the munitions industries were churning out the millions of artillery shells being used by gunners to pound the German lines. "The whole world paused in genuine apprehension when the Declaration of War was made," the Rev. Captain R. MacNamara, chaplain of the 49th Battalion, wrote in the first issue of *Canadian Churchman* of the year. "Then with grim determination, we settled ourselves to the task before us … The crisis is over; the menace to all that Christian civilization holds precious has been met and averted. … It remains only to complete the task …"[285] Despite the cautious optimism, however, the difficulty of the task remaining to be completed was clearly recognized. Archdeacon H.J. Cody of Toronto told his congregation of St. Paul's on January 7 that

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[284] Eardly Wilmot, "Our Empire's Cause and the Peace Proposals," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, January 1917, 7-10.

[285] R. MacNamara, "Things as They Are," *Canadian Churchman*, 4 January 1917, 7.

> The call to National Service comes to us today with ever-increasing urgency. … 'Our bit' is not the least but the utmost we can do, for the cause. This utmost we must do **now** because (1) the reactionary and progressive forces of the world are at death-grips. The existence of our Empire, the mission of our race, and the presentation of our cherished liberties, the future of our free Dominion are now at stake. (2) The struggle is nearing the climax. … (3) Germany is mobilizing her whole civilian population for war work. … (4) Our decision to make peace only on terms of restitution, reparation, and guarantees pledges us to put every ounce of strength into the struggle. … (5) The whole Empire is ready to make the further sacrifices necessary … to ensure that the blood of our bravest should not be shed in vain.[286]

With the principles of Christian civilization at stake, there could be no question of 'peace without victory.'[287] As Montreal's Bishop John Cragg Farthing wrote in his February message, "The results of the war will determine the future happiness and welfare of our children in the British Empire."[288]

The increasing number of demands — men to serve in the CEF, continued fundraising campaigns for the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the Red Cross, an abnormally cold winter made worse by coal shortages in most of the country — were accompanied by an increasing nationalization of the war. In the first months of the war, Canadians had been urged to do their duty to defend the Empire. This had not changed. The Rev. R.J. Renison, using words that would not have been out of place during the early months of the war, declared in February 1917, "The British Empire is great, not for what she has got, but for what she has given to the world, and therefore it comes that her sons rise up in every part of the world, and so in this war we are taught imperialism."[289] After three years of war, however, while Canadians were still being urged to uphold their responsibility to defend the Empire and its civilizing mission, now they were also fighting for the freedom and future of Canada. "Are we fighting for the Motherland? Or are we

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[286] H.J. Cody, "National Thrift," *Canadian Churchman,* 25 January 1917, 53. (Emphasis original) cf. Lloyd George's declaration to Parliament in December 1916 that the Allied terms for peace negotiations were "complete restitution, full reparation, and guarantees for the future." Esther Caukin Brunauer, "The Peace Proposals of December 1916 - January 1917," *The Journal of Modern History* 4.4 (December 1932): 565.

[287] cf. President Woodrow Wilson's call of of January 22, 1917. Brunauer, "Peace Proposals," 569-570.

[288] John Cragg Farthing, "A Message from the Bishop," *Montreal Churchman*, February 1917, 12.

[289] R.J. Renison quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 15 February 1917, 106.

fighting for ourselves?" questioned John Richardson, Bishop of Fredericton, at meeting of his Synod in late February. He continued,

> That is the crucial question, for if we are, indeed, fighting for ourselves, if it is our own hearths and homes that are in danger — nay, more than that, if on the battlefields of stricken Europe, the eternal principles of youth, honour and justice are being defended against the unscrupulous attacks of moral anarchy, if the Allies are enlisted in the sacred service of humanity itself, then, I submit we have not done enough, and we shall not have done enough until the last man has been enrolled and the last dollar paid. … We know that we are fighting for ourselves, and in defence of those fundamental principles.[290]

Archdeacon Cody picked up this national theme when he addressed the Great War Veterans' Association on February 28. The returned soldiers were escorted by the 109th Regiment and the sermon was associated with a recruiting drive to raise a draft of reinforcements for the front. He declared,

> Canada, with the other overseas Dominions, is voluntarily and whole-heartedly in this struggle, even to the end, for the safety, peace, and freedom of the world. … Through the din and deaths of the battlefield, Canada became conscious that all her past was but a preparation for the high destiny on which she has entered and the world history she begins from the hour of this conflict. … Seeing more clearly than ever before the issues involved; believing that the continued existence of our Empire, the future of our Dominion, the preservation of our cherished liberties, the mission of our race are all at stake … we pray for speedy and decisive victory, and for the moral cleansing and spiritual defence of our people.[291]

The tremendous effort and sacrifice required by the war were both lifting people's minds from their local communities, where their experiences were based, and shifting the emphasis from Canada's place in the Empire to Canada's place in the world.

Not only was nationalist sentiment deepening at home, but, in Britain, Canada was stepping up to assume an increasing amount of responsibility. After some confusion and a few false starts, an official Canadian Overseas Ministry had been formed on October 31, 1916. Sir George Perly, the Canadian High Commissioner in London, was appointed as the new 'Minister of Overseas Military Forces of Canada in the United

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[290] J.A. Richardson "Canada's Share in the War," *Canadian Churchman*, 22 February 1917, 116-117.

[291] H.J. Cody, "To the 'Great War' Veterans' Association," *Canadian Churchman*, 8 March 1917, 148-149.

Kingdom' and was directly responsible for nearly all aspects of Canada's troops overseas, including selecting staff officers and negotiating with the British government. A new 'Headquarters, Overseas Military Forces of Canada' was formed in early December, with Major-General R.E.W. Turner in command, establishing clear lines of control and command from the Canadian training depots in England to the four divisions of the Canadian Corps at the front. At the end of 1916, with 7240 officers and 128,980 men in Britain and 2526 officers and 105,640 men on strength in France, this clarified command structure was an important and much needed development.[292] Changes in Britain's government also brought increased opportunities for Canada. David Lloyd George, the Welsh Wizard, had replaced Herbert Asquith as prime minister on December 7, 1916. On December 14, after forming a small War Cabinet to control the war effort, Lloyd George issued invitations to the Dominions to send representatives to a conference of war.[293] Between the invitation and the time the first meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet was convened in London on March 20, 1917, much had changed, and not for the better. On February 1, Germany had begun a campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare and, although the United States had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, on account of the German submarine campaign, the Americans were not prepared to join the war. The failure of the South American grain harvest raised real fears of a global food shortage, while in France thousands of soldiers had mutinied and refused to engage in further offensive activity around the Chemin des Dames. Also worryingly, in Russia, Tsar Nicholas II had been overthrown by a revolutionary government and forced to abdicate on March 15.[294] In Canada, the government was given little knowledge of the detailed war plans by the British, occasionally finding out about war strategy from the newspapers, but, as historian George M. Wrong wrote in 1920, at the meeting "[t]he

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[292] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962), 201-212. Much of the confusion was caused by Sir Sam Hughes and led directly to his dismissal. cf. Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011), 116-179.

[293] George M. Wrong, "Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet," *Canadian Historical Review* 1.1 (March 1920): 11-15; Elizabeth H. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1974), 164-165; Nicholson, *Official History*, 340-342.

[294] See Appendix A for a detailed timeline of events.

whole situation respecting the war was laid bare to the members of the Imperial War Cabinet,— all secret treaties and other commitments, the plans for conducting the war, the possible conditions of peace."[295] The general mood may have been more optimistic in early 1917, but the information shared at the Imperial War Cabinet meetings made it clear to the heads of the self-governing Dominions that several years of hard campaigning would be necessary to defeat Germany completely. The war was far from over.[296]

Robert Borden returned to Canada in the spring of 1917 having been second only to Lloyd George at the meetings, an honour which recognized both Canada's place as the senior Dominion and its contributions to the Empire's war effort. He also returned convinced that Canada needed to commit all its resources to achieving victory.[297] He had visited Canadian troops and hospitals and he had visited Vimy Ridge, the stronghold that the Canadian Corps had captured on April 9 at the cost of 10,602 casualties.[298] The troops needed to be supported. The war needed to be won. The time had come for conscription.[299] Despite his earlier and repeated declarations that he would not introduce compulsory military service and fears that such a move would alienate Quebec, what Borden had seen and heard on his overseas visit had changed his mind.[300] Although the United States had finally declared war on Germany on April 6, bringing untapped resources and manpower to the Entente — and entirely removing fears of a German-American invasion across the border[301] — on May 18, 1917, Borden stood before Parliament and declared,

> All citizens are liable to military service for the defence of their country, and I conceive that the battle for Canadian liberty and autonomy is being fought today on

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[295] Wrong, "Imperial War Cabinet," 16.

[296] For an argument in favour of conscription, see J.L. Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David MacKenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 62-75.

[297] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 62-63; Nicholson, *Official History*, 342-343.

[298] Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 143-144.

[299] Wrong, "Imperial War Cabinet," 16-18; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 61-63.

[300] Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 172-174; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises,* 61, 64, 68.

[301] cf. *Canadian Churchman*, 24 May 1917, 327 which states "With the Unites States in the war on the side of the Allies, Canada has little to fear from the alien-born population within her borders."

> the plains of France and Belgium. … If the cause for which we fight is what we believe it to be … I believe that the time has come when the authority of the State should be invoked to provide the reinforcements necessary to sustain the gallant men at the front …[302]

The Military Service Bill was subsequently introduced to Parliament on June 11, with the prime minister pointing out that only 11,790 men had volunteered in the past two months, while Canadian casualties over the same period had been 23,939.[303] After heated debate, the bill was passed in principle by the House of Commons on July 24, with a vote of 119 to 55.[304] It was passed by the Senate and became law on August 29.[305]

Even before Borden's speech in favour of conscription, the need for better management of national resources had begun to be presented as a question of equalizing sacrifice. On April 22, the anniversary of the Second Battle of Ypres, Bishop Farthing had reminded a military parade in Montreal that "We stand together to share the privileges and opportunities … and we must also remember that a Democracy brings … equal sacrifice. … We stand as one man in privilege and we must stand as one man in sacrifice."[306] In his charge, Edward J. Bidwell, Bishop of Ontario, told the assembled synod,

> [T]here are two causes regarding which the Government itself has appealed to the clergy for their assistance … They have asked us to do all we can to forward the appeal for National Service of every kind, and now again they have asked for our help in urging the movement for economy and greater production. … Those of us who have sent our sons or are preparing to send them as soon as they have reached the age limit … are beginning to feel somewhat sick at heart when we see that we are doing this, not only for our country and her cause, but to enable to live in ease, comfort, and safety a large number who might just as well offer themselves as our sons, but have not the spirit to do so.[307]

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[302] Robert Borden quoted in "Statements in Commons on Conscription Proposals," *Toronto Globe*, 19 May 1917, 1.

[303] Nicholson, *Official History*, 344.

[304] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 68-89.

[305] Nicholson, *Official History,* 344.

[306] John Cragg Farthing quoted in "Christ is All, And In All," *Canadian Churchman*, 10 May 1917, 296-297.

[307] Edward J. Bidwell quoted in "Charge to Synod of the Right Rev. Edward J. Bidwell," *Canadian Churchman*, 31 May 1917, 345, 355.

Immediately after Borden's announcement, Archbishop F.H. DuVernet, the Metropolitan of British Columbia, wrote to the editor of the *Canadian Churchman* that

> Two apparently rival systems are being forced upon our consideration in the present crisis — the voluntary and the compulsory. The voluntary system, from a moral and spiritual standpoint, must always be the higher of the two, but the compulsory system from a practical and national standpoint will always be the wider of the two. … If [a man] is not free to choose otherwise, he is not offering a willing sacrifice for a great cause, but, on the other hand, the number of those who will cheerfully respond to an appeal to the will is limited, and when something more than the individual is involved and the whole body of which the individual is a member comes prominently into view the necessity of having every member in the body doing his share and not leaving the burden to the willing few becomes very evident.[308]

The need to resort to conscription was regretted by Anglican clergymen, but it was a step they nonetheless supported.[309] Bishop William Reid Clark of Niagara was one of the many Anglican bishops who repeated the pleas of the government at their spring synods, but he also addressed himself to his clergymen, saying to them, "The work of the Clergy in the ordinary duties of their calling is itself National Service. The special services … [of] a Clergyman … should … have some association with his direct responsibility for promoting the moral and spiritual welfare of the nation. Opportunities will, I trust, be given to the Clergy … to do various kinds of work … which will be in keeping with their profession."[310]

Since the introduction of National Registration at the end of 1916, groups of Anglican clergymen had made both public and private statements regarding their willingness to do some form of national service, but the government, like the bishops, had recognized the special position of all clergymen and exempted all those in religious orders

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[308] F.H. DuVernet, "Voluntary v Compulsory," *Canadian Churchman*, letter to editor, 31 May 1917, 353.

[309] For a survey of the English Canadian Protestant press in relation to the matter of conscription, see Gordon Heath, "The Protestant Denominational Press and the Conscription Crisis in Canada, 1917-1918," *Historical Studies* (forthcoming). For a comparative colonial perspective, but in a nation which did not ultimately adopt conscription, see John A. Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The 'Prussian Menace,' Conscription, and National Solidarity," *The Journal of Religious History* 25.3 (October 2001): esp. 318-322.

[310] William Reid Clark quoted in "Charge to Synod," *Canadian Churchman*, 14 June 1917, 376-377.

from the Military Service Act (MSA).[311] Although their clerical collars would have visibly set them apart and although they were never under obligation to serve, at least 229 ordained Anglican clergymen served in uniform. They filled a variety of combatant and non-combatant roles, not only as military chaplains.[312] One of those who enlisted as a private, the Rev. M.H. Jackson of St. George's, Vancouver, wrote,

> I enlisted for many reasons: First, there is a feeling that we clergy talk, talk, talk, and are not willing to act, and if we are to grip men and especially those who return from the front, we must show ourselves to be men, too. Secondly, I know that the experience will be invaluable to me. I wish to see life with all the veneer rubbed off; to look at the problems which the Church has to face from the environ of the trenches. I wrestled with the problem for two years and finally concluded it was my duty to enlist.[313]

Others who faced the same choice felt their duty best served at home, were ineligible for service, or could not get leave from their bishop or congregation to enlist. Anglican clergymen also sent their sons to fight. No national figures exist, but, as only one example, in the diocese of Montreal eighteen clergymen had sent twenty-six sons overseas by May 1916.[314] There are also individual stories. Canon F.G. Scott, who had left his parish of St. Matthew's, Quebec City, in August 1914 to serve as a chaplain, had three of his five sons serve in France — one lost an eye in 1915, another was killed on the

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[311] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 84.

[312] To identify clergymen who served in uniform, two general lists have been used. One is the clergy list in the 1919 *Anglican Yearbook,* which lists clergy away from their dioceses on military duty. This has been referenced against the nominal list of chaplains listed in Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). The list of chaplains includes the names of those chaplains who died or were killed in the line of duty but not the names of those who served in other capacities. The clergy list in the *Anglican Yearbook* includes both chaplains and others, but lists only those who were expected to return to their dioceses. It is therefore extremely likely that any clergyman who did not serve as a chaplain and died or was killed in action is not contained on either list. It is also possible that the service of clergymen who enlisted early in the war and were discharged as a result of wounds before 1919 is also missed. Clergymen who returned to Britain from Canada and enlisted in the British forces (and several are known to have done this) are also likely to be excluded from this number if they were killed or if they remained in Britain following the war.

Because the focus has been on the home front, the experiences of Canadian chaplains has been excluded from this discussion. For their story, see Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land.* For a treatment of Anglican chaplains in particular, see also Duff Crerar, "The Church in the Furnace: Canadian Anglican Chaplains Respond to the Great War," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35 (1993): 75-183.

[313] M.H. Jackson quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 26 August 1917, 542.

[314] "Diocesan News," *Montreal Churchman,* May 1916, 8. There were about 150 clergymen serving in the diocese of Montreal in 1916, although not all of them would have been married or had sons of an age to serve overseas. It is therefore impossible to judge percentages based on the information available.

Somme, and a third would be gassed while serving with the artillery.[315] He fully expected his younger two sons would also serve in uniform when they were able.[316] Lennox Williams, Bishop of Quebec, also lost a "very dear and gallant son" in November 1916. Thanking those who sent messages of sympathy, he wrote,

> Some of you are suffering a similar trial, which we share with thousands of others throughout the Empire. I feel for you and pray for you. Whatever this New Year has in store for us, of joy and sacrifice, may God give us strength … and grace … and may the bright sunshine of a righteous and honourable peace soon break through the dark cloud of sorrow and suffering which now overshadows the world.[317]

Whether they were sending family members to serve overseas, volunteering their time to various patriotic causes, or subscribing to War Loans, the Red Cross, or the Canadian Patriotic Fund, Anglican clergymen were not merely making the call to national service without feeling the burden of duty and sacrifice themselves.

The news from Europe through the spring and summer of 1917 had been a mix of triumph and disappointment. Between November 1916 and March 1917, Canadians had conducted sixty trench raids, including a large-scale raid organized by the Fourth Division. Staged the night of February 28, the raid resulted in 687 casualties, many a result of men being pinned down under their own gas cloud.[318] The first major action of the year took place as part of a larger British diversionary offensive around Arras and involved all four divisions of the Canadian Corps. Their objective was Vimy Ridge.[319]

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[315] cf. F.G. Scott fonds, P220-A/2-21, McCord Museum Archives and F.G. Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.G. Goodchild, 1922). See especially 154-158 for the noted passage where Canon Scott conducts a battlefield burial for his son.

[316] In a letter on his youngest son's seventeenth birthday, Canon Scott wrote, "Then next year, if the war lasts, and Frank is stronger, you will both have to come over and fight. Every man must do his part." Letter to Arthur Scott, 24 July 1918, F.G. Scott fonds, Folder 30, Box 4, P229-A/2-21, McCord Museum Archives. The Frank mentioned in the letter is F.R. Scott, noted Canadian poet and sometime Dean of Law at McGill University.

[317] Lennox Williams, "Letter from the Bishop," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, January 1917, 1-2.

[318] Nicholson, *Official History*, 233-234; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 57-71; Tim Cook, "'A Proper Slaughter': The March 1917 Gas Raid at Vimy Ridge," *Canadian Military History* 8.2 (Spring 1999): 7-23.

[319] To situate the Vimy Ridge victory against the wider offensive and for a treatment of the action of each division, see the essays in Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, and Mike Bechthold, ed., *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007). See also Nicholson, *Official History*, 236-247, 265ff; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 93-140.

After a week of intensive artillery barrage, known to the German defenders as the Week of Suffering, the attack began early the morning of April 9, Easter Monday. Four days of hard fighting later, the Canadians held the heights not only of Vimy Ridge, but of two neighbouring hills known as Hill 145 and the Pimple. The Canadian success was total — one of the few bright spots in an otherwise unsuccessful campaign; but it came at the cost of more than 10,000 casualties.[320] Pride in the Canadian achievement was justified, and part of this pride was owing to the fact that the four divisions of the Canadian Corps fought together for the first time, but this pride was tempered by the heavy cost.[321] Nor was the Vimy assault the culmination of an offensive; fighting continued across the Allied front. With the main French offensive obviously floundering — by the end of May more than 30,000 French troops were in open mutiny and refusing to engage in further offensive activity[322] — the British were left with their right flank in the air, holding a line that recent gains had made impractical to hold. May and June were devoted to a series of operations at Arleux, Fresnoy, Souchez, and Messines Ridge designed to straighten the line and achieve a position that could more easily be held against future German attacks.[323] In mid-July, with Canadian Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie as their new corps commander,[324] the Canadians took over the trenches facing Lens and Hill 70. The main assault on Hill 70 began August 15, with the final trenches around Lens falling to the determined Canadians ten days later. Although the ten days of fighting had cost the Canadians another 9198 casualties, the Corps had had an admirable record of success in the four months of fighting since Vimy Ridge and they were widely recognized as among

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[320] For an overall account of the battle, see, among others, Nicholson, *Official History,* 247-365, 266-268; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 73-148. For reference, April 9, the first day of the battle, was the single bloodiest day in Canadian military history — worse than Beaumont Hamel (July 1, 1916), Dieppe (August 19, 1942), and D-Day (June 6, 1944) combined (Cook, *Shock Troops*, 144).

[321] For a discussion of how Vimy Ridge entered the Canadian cultural imagination, see Jonathon Vance, "Battle Verse: Poetry and Nationalism after Vimy Ridge," in Hayes, et al., *Vimy Ridge*, 265-277.

[322] See Leonard V. Smith, "War and 'Politics': The French Army Mutinies of 1917," *War in History* 2.2 (July 1995): 180-201.

[323] For a full account of Canadian actions during this period, see Cook, *Shock Troops*, 149-168; Nicholson, *Official History*, 269-284.

[324] cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 283-284; Cook, *At the Sharp End,* 257-263; and especially Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2011), 180ff.

the finest troops in the field.[325]

The losses were felt in tens of thousands of homes across Canada. Daily casualty lists might fill most of a page of the daily newspaper. "These things, so hard to endure, will bring us a rich return some day. The harvest of suffering is noble and imperishable," wrote the Rev. Derwyn Owen about July 1, 1917, the Fourth Sunday after Trinity. "On this day, when we are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Confederation of Canada, we remember that it is to their [the founders'] courage, hard work and privations we owe a debt we can never repay … And so we believe that the pains of today, and all the sufferings which this War has brought will work out the lasting benefit of our national life."[326] Dominion Day was celebrated as a national day of prayer, a day when, in the words of the Governor General's official proclamation, the people of Canada might "be enabled to make a public and solemn avowal of duty to Almighty God and need of guidance."[327] The celebration of Dominion Day was also a time to remember and acknowledge the difficulties facing the nation as the issue of conscription threatened to drive a wedge between English and French Canada. In Montreal's Christ Church Cathedral, Archdeacon J.G. Norton took the opportunity to make a plea for national unity and to remind people that

> Fifty years ago today, God united all Canadians into one nation. May it remain one Canada for our children forever. It will do so if God raises up from time to time as able and patriotic leaders as the Fathers of Confederation were fifty years ago. But beware of treacherous, evil and bribed men, corrupted by our arch-enemy, whose filthy gold and infamous methods have been traced everywhere. If such men get into power, and spread discord amongst us, as they are trying to do, and sell our Canada to the ever-greedy, vile, unscrupulous, cruel enemy, we and our children — to escape from slavery and murder — shall have to travel as outcasts over the world, but we shall never find another glorious Canada.[328]

In an open air service at Victoria Park in London, Ontario, Canon L.N. Tucker looked back at the past fifty years and wondered "Who is not proud to be called a Canadian

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[325] cf. Nicholson, *Official History,* 284-297; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 263-308.

[326] Derwyn Owen, "The Christian Year*," Canadian Churchman*, 21 June 1917, 391.

[327] Victor Cavendish, the Duke of Devonshire, quoted in "Sunday, July 1, Day of Prayer," *Canadian Churchman*, 28 June 1917, 415.

[328] J.G. Norton quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 19 July 1917, 462.

today?" He pointed out that the Fathers of Confederation have had their political labels erased — they are known simply as Canadians. In fifty years, when people gather to do honour to the hundreds of thousands who came forward and gave their lives for Canada's freedom in its hour of need, Sir Wilfred Laurier and Sir Robert Borden would not be known as Liberals or Conservatives, but simply as Canadians.[329] The commemorations continued a month later, this time marking the third anniversary of the war. As Archdeacon J.P.D. Llwyd told the congregation of All Saints' Cathedral, Halifax at their anniversary celebrations,

> This morning's celebration brings again into the the foreground the fact that we are an Empire. The family of nations to which we belong … assembles to praise God for his mercies, to humble itself under His chastisement, to mourn over its dead, to renew its resolution, and to ask His gracious help throughout the struggle which remains. … The question now at issue is: shall Truth have a standing ground among the nations or shall she not?[330]

Anniversary services, however, were not held universally and not all sermons bore upon the war, even on a day when they might be expected to do so. As one essayist in the *Canadian Churchman* noted, "On Sunday August 5th … I found myself in a small town in Western Ontario. It was … a day to be observed with solemnity, with humility, with prayer; yes — and with thanksgiving … [but] the service took cognizance of neither the fact nor of the day. The National Anthem was not sung; none of the hymns bore upon the occasion; the sermon contained not the most distant allusion to it …"[331]

When the Military Service Bill was introduced to Parliament, Sir Wilfred Laurier, as Leader of the Opposition, had proposed an amendment calling for a referendum on the issue to be held. A referendum was widely felt by the pro-conscriptionists to be an unnecessary and perhaps disastrous delay in light of the casualties being suffered by the Canadian Corps in France. The amendment was easily voted down.[332] But by the end of the summer it was apparent that Canadians would have their say through a general

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[329] L.N. Tucker quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 12 July 1917, 446.

[330] J.P.D. Llwyd quoted in "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 September 1917, 600-601, 607.

[331] C., "The Call of God Through the War," *Canadian Churchman*, 23 August 1917, 539.

[332] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 68; Nicholson, *Official History*, 345.

election. The mandate of Parliament had been extended once already, and without a further amendment to the British North America Act, an election had to be held before the end of 1917.[333] Prior to the introduction of the Military Service Bill, Prime Minister Borden had approached Laurier and the Liberals with the offer of a coalition government, hoping both to make the introduction of conscription a national measure and to avoid a war-time election. After carefully considering the rather generous offer, Laurier declined. He could not bring himself to support conscription. While the Conservative majority was sufficient to pass the Military Service Bill, an election was all but certain because nearly unanimous support was necessary to extend the government's mandate a second time. When a motion of extension failed to generate this support on July 17, despite a growing number of defections of pro-conscription Liberals to form a Union government, an election could not be avoided.[334] Two election measures were introduced and passed — the Military Voters Act enfranchised all men serving with the CEF in France, and the War-Time Elections Act played the dual role of enfranchising the female relatives of soldiers while disenfranchising both conscientious objectors and immigrants from 'enemy' territories.[335] The measures were designed to ensure support for conscription, and therefore the Union government and the record of the Borden government, but they also reflected a broader view of society. Those who were unwilling to sacrifice for the freedom and democracy of Canada were to be deprived of their voice in its governance.[336]

The immediate issue of the election was conscription, but there were also underlying questions. One was the gap between English Canada and French Canada. Aware of this, in September, Montreal's Bishop Farthing wrote,

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[333] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 67; Nicholson, *Official History*, 345.

[334] For a treatment of the formation of the Union government, cf. Arthur R. Ford, "Some Notes on the Formation of the Union Government in 1917," *Canadian Historical Review* 19.4 (December 1938): 357-364; Nicholson, *Official History*, 343-346; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises,* 67, 73.

[335] cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 345; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 71-72; Amy J. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada during the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 3, 32-33, 60-62; John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stuart, 1978), 80-81, 126-127, 143-144.

[336] cf. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience,* 6-8, 20-24, 32-34, 120, 126, 131, 162. For a brief discussion of British conscripts and the overall acceptance of the necessity for military service in Britain cf. Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 54.

> Amidst the world crisis Canada is facing a great crisis of her own, a consequence of the war. Never was there the need for wiser statesmanship in our leaders and cooler heads on our people. While this applies to all Canadians, it particularly applies here in the Province of Quebec, which will be the storm centre. … In the coming election we must seek to avoid arousing racial animosity. … Still more unfortunate is the effort to make the issue a religious one.

Having witnessed the unrest caused by the passing of the Military Service Act, Bishop Farthing was anxious to avoid creating further division between the two parts of the country. But he also made his own political feelings known when he stated, in the same message, "In such a struggle, when the freedom of all in the Dominion is at stake, it is only right that all should share equally the responsibility and the risks. … It seems to me, therefore, that we must do all in our power to further the conscription of men and wealth."[337] At the meeting of the Provincial Synod of Canada in Montreal in early October, the Archbishop of Nova Scotia, Clarence Lamb Worrell, addressed the election issue, equating those who used the war to political advantage with those who used the war to line their own pockets. All honour was due to those who cast aside their party alliances to give the nation a government that put the country first, and it was grotesquely absurd "in the face of the realities of this terrible war from which we cannot withdraw until we have won a victory for the cause of right and justice and freedom" to adhere to old party lines.[338] In late November, as the December 17 election day drew nearer, Bishop John Richardson of Fredericton, speaking at All Saints' Cathedral, Halifax, echoed this thought:

> It is lamentable that, in spite of the valour of the thousands of Canadian men who cheerfully and willingly went forth at the Empire's call … that there should be in this, their native land, any who would dare entertain the thought of failing them now — of betraying now into the hands of the enemy the cause for which such sacrifice has been made; a cause which is truly imperial and holy; a cause which should … have the whole-hearted support and warm loyalty of all the people. … The hour is one when, in the name of God, all personal and partisan considerations

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[337] John Cragg Farthing, "The Bishop's Message," *Montreal Churchman*, September 1917, 3.

[338] Clarence Lamb Worrell quoted in "Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada," *Canadian Churchman*, 11 October 1917, 651-652.

should be flung aside …[339]

In an essay published in the December 6, 1917, issue of the *Canadian Churchman*, Toronto's Archdeacon H.J. Cody offered justification for his support of the Union government based on the issues of the war. He wrote,

> I need only point to the Russian withdrawal and the Italian reverses; … to the fact that in the West, where the forces of Canada … are, we have the offensive, and that there is the decisive line; to the need for determination and endurance … to the truth that a great war can be greatly won by the morale of the whole people behind their fighting men. …
>
> Did Canada do right in entering the war? Is this OUR war? Is our future at stake in it? Are our shores being defended in France and Belgium? Are more men urgently needed? To all these questions an emphatic affirmative is the only answer. Then Canada must stay in the war, bear her share of the struggle and sacrifice, and see that the price which her sons at the front are paying is not paid in vain. And to accomplish this end there is absolutely no alternative to the Military Service Act. To ensure this the Union Government must be supported. …
>
> It must be supported, finally, if as a nation, we are definitely, determinedly, unitedly and practically to renew our consecration to the great cause, and to proclaim to our friends and foes alike the unbroken resolve of the free young Dominion to remain in the fight for freedom, justice, mercy, humanity, civilization and Christianity even unto the end.[340]

Reflecting on the high number of Anglicans in the overseas force, David Williams, the Bishop of Huron, wrote a letter to his clergy, telling them, "I believe it to be the duty of everyone at this time to do his utmost to uphold what is the only honourable course … It is unthinkable for us [as Anglicans] to withdraw now, and so desert not only the high cause which we championed … but also our own flesh and blood. … Loyalty to our brave fellow Churchmen, as well as loyalty to the British Empire and Christian civilization … leaves us no option but … Union Government."[341] The strong and public statements of support for Unionists from the bishops and prominent clergymen may not have translated into the wholehearted support of the entire Anglican church, either on election day or

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[339] J.A. Richardson quoted in "Our Bishops and the Union Government," *Canadian Churchman*, 6 December 1917, 776, 780.

[340] H.J. Cody, "Archdeacon Cody Appeals for Union," *Canadian Churchman*, 8 December 1917, 777. (Emphasis original.)

[341] David Williams, "From a letter from the Bishop of Huron to his clergy," *Canadian Churchman*, 13 December 1917, 802.

during the campaign, but on December 18, when the civil returns were issued — the military returns would take almost three months to sort out — it was a clear Union victory.[342] In the end, the Unionists took 153 ridings, while the Liberals won 82, mostly in Quebec.[343]

Overseas, the British continued offensive activities in Flanders through the late summer and into the early fall. Although Canadians were especially interested in the actions of the Canadian Corps, who had been given a month's rest after their heavy spring casualties, there was also widespread and general interest in the overall progress of the war.[344] The fall Flanders offensive was, in some ways, a continuation of the spring Arras offensive, but it was also part of a new drive to clear the Flemish coast and prevent the Germans from using the ports as submarine bases.[345] The German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare was posing a serious problem for the British as there were worries about the supply of food and war materiel.[346] The initial British advance in Flanders was successful and captured Frezenberg and St. Julien — places Canadians would have recognized from the spring of 1915. But heavy rain forced a pause, a change in tactics from a broad offensive to the adoption of limited objectives, and a redirection in focus from an attempt to clear the ports to a drive on Passchendaele Ridge.[347] The Canadians Corps was moved into the area in early October, replacing an ANZAC formation along a

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[342] For more detailed treatments of the Union election, cf. Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 76-78; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 139, 142, 158-160; Robert Rutherdale, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 163-180, 190-191; Nicholson, *Official History*, 346-347; Thompson, *The Harvests of War*, 122-146.

[343] Voter turnout has estimated at 75%, the highest of the period — see Elections Canada, "Voter Turnout at Federal Elections and Referendums," online at http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=ele&dir=turn&document=index&lang=e
For a riding by riding breakdown of the election results, use Parliament of Canada, "History of Federal Ridings Since 1867," online at http://www.parl.gc.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/HFER.asp

[344] cf. L.M. Montgomery, *Rilla of Ingleside* (Toronto: Random House Children's Books, 1985) for a depiction of home font life and the role of the daily newspapers. Although fictional, the experiences of the Blythe family were based on the reality of life during the war. For a full discussion, see Alana Vincent, *Remembering Amalek: Religion, War, and National Identity* (Eugene: Pickwick Press, forthcoming 2012).

[345] Nicholson, *Official History*, 301, 303-304.

[346] Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 46, 58, 213-216. A large part of the impact of the submarine campaign was its psychological effect as food rationing grew tighter.

[347] Nicholson, *Official History*, 307-308. For a full treatment of the Passchendaele offensive, cf. Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Passchendaele: The Untold Story* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

line almost identical to that held by the First Division before the 1915 gas attack. There was, however, little for the surviving veteran soldiers to recognize but the place names.[348] Beginning on October 26, the Canadians staged a number of small set piece assaults intended to make limited gains and move progressively closer to the village of Passchendaele and the ridge. Although fighting was fierce, the ground water-logged and clinging, and casualties heavy, on November 7 the village was in Canadians hands. On November 10, Canadians had taken most of the ridge as well. Again, Canadian troops had been put at the vanguard of the attack and had succeeded in capturing their objectives, but at the cost of 15,654 additional casualties.[349] Although the British capture of Cambrai on December 7 and the capture of Jerusalem on December 9 allowed the Entente to end the year with symbolic victories, 1917 had been a year of heavy losses for the Canadian Corps.[350] "There are many reasons for a memorial service for our departed heroes," Archdeacon W.J. Armitage told the congregation of St. Paul's, Halifax, on December 2, 1917. "And not the least is the sense of gratitude which wells up in our hearts of glad thanksgiving for all that they were by God's good grace in this life. … It has often been noticed in the world's history that the greatest sacrifices have always been demanded for liberty. … It is so in the world war of today."[351]

The morning of Thursday, December 6, 1917 — only four days after the congregation of St. Paul's had gathered to commemorate their war dead — two ships accidentally collided in the Halifax harbour. One, a French ship, the *Mont Blanc,* was inbound from New York, where it had been loaded with a cargo of high explosives destined for the Western Front. Sparks from the collision ignited the *Mont Blanc*'s volatile cargo, and within minutes the fire was burning out of control, with the heat of the

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[348] Nicholson, *Official History*, 312-314.

[349] For a full treatment of the actions of the Canadian Corps at Passchendaele, see Nicholson, *Official History,* 320-330; Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 308-353.

[350] Nicholson, *Official History*, 328, 333. For a discussion of the significance of the capture of Jerusalem, see Sydney Gould, "The Imperial Significance of the Capture of Jerusalem," Speech delivered to the Empire Club of Canada (Toronto), 20 December 1917. Available online at http://speeches.empireclub.org/62527/data?n=1 He notes, "We must remember that though Jerusalem is the centre of our hearts' affection from any directions yet … it is not a strategic centre. … The Imperial significance of the capture of Jerusalem rests largely upon the fact that it is one of the three pedestals of the religious world."

[351] W.J. Armitage quoted in "A Tribute to Fallen Heroes," *Canadian Churchman*, 10 January 1918, 29-30.

fire sufficient to boil the water around the hull and clouds of smoke billowing high into the sky. Unaware of what the burning ship was carrying, the people of Halifax paused in their morning routine to watch the excitement, some even rushing toward the harbour for a better view of what was happening. At 9:05, the *Mont Blanc* exploded. Within seconds, nearly 2000 people had been killed, 9000 wounded, 6000 left homeless, and much of the city of Halifax damaged. Huge pieces of the *Mont Blanc* were thrown up to three kilometres from the blast site. Fires caused additional casualties and further destruction, as did a blizzard which began the next day; the overall destruction was almost unimaginable.[352] St. Mark's was the closest Anglican church to the blast site and it was among the four Anglican churches essentially destroyed by the explosion; more than 200 of its parishioners were among the dead and missing. Trinity, St. Matthias', and Emmanuel Church (Dartmouth) were also destroyed by the force of the explosion. Three other churches — St. George's, St. Paul's, and Christ Church (Dartmouth) — were badly damaged, although the parish hall of St. Paul's was nonetheless used to house refugees and distribute relief during the immediate aftermath of the disaster. All Saint's Cathedral, St. John's (Fairview), St. James's, St. Augustine's, and All Saints' (Bedford) had all their glass broken and other damage done to the buildings.[353] None of the clergymen or their families were seriously injured, and many immediately began helping with relief efforts as best they could.[354] Archbishop Worrell of Nova Scotia, Archdeacon Armitage of St. Paul's, and J.P.D. Llwyd, rector of All Saint's Cathedral and Dean of Nova Scotia, were among the city's prominent churchmen who took action. Archdeacon Armitage attended

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[352] For a more complete story of the explosion, the destruction, the aftermath, and the rebuilding, see Janet Kitz, *Shattered City: The Halifax Explosion and the Road to Recovery*, third edition (Halifax: Nimbus, 2008) and Laura MacDonald, *Curse of the Narrows: The Halifax Explosion 1917* (New York: Walker and Co., 2005).

[353] cf. "Wrecked Churches in Halifax," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 December 1917, 815; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 156; S.H Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change, based on a sociological study of the Halifax disaster* (New York: Columbia University, 1920), 74; Kitz, *Shattered City,* 69. Little has been written about the damage to the religious infrastructure or the actions of clergymen during the aftermath of the explosion. cf. Allan B. Robertson, "After the Storm: The Church and Synagogue Response," in Alan Ruffman and Colin Howell, ed., *Ground Zero: A Reassessment of the 1917 Explosion in Halifax Harbour* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1994), 219-227.

[354] cf. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change,* 74, 139. Prince was himself an Anglican clergyman, the assistant at St. Paul's. He donned a red robe and played Santa Claus for injured and orphaned children during the Christmas celebrations in the parish hall. Kitz, *Shattered City,* 117.

meetings to co-ordinate the Halifax Relief Committee in the days immediately after the explosion and conducted the first post-explosion Anglican service in the basement of St. Paul's on December 9.[355] Dean Llwyd had been saying Morning Prayer in the cathedral when the explosion occurred and throughout the next days, like most other clergymen, offered what help he could on an unofficial basis.[356] The Archbishop of Nova Scotia, Clarence Lamb Worrell, served as chairman of the relief services offered by churches of all denominations after the disaster.[357] These three, like all other Halifax clergymen, were also called upon to identify bodies, provide help to the wounded, offer prayers, and bury the dead.[358] As news of the disaster spread, other Canadian congregations offered to send aid to the stricken city, but the generosity and speed of the response from neighbouring communities and from New England was such that most immediate needs were provided for largely before these efforts could be organized.[359] The explosion in the harbour and the destruction it caused brought the devastation of war home to Canadians in a new way.[360]

In the first months of the Great War, more than three years earlier, Canadians had rallied to the idea and needs of the British Empire, proud to do their part to uphold its institutions and traditions. Although a number of prominent French Canadians, including Henri Bourassa, initially supported the decisions of the Borden government in raising, equipping, and funding an expeditionary force for overseas service, this support faded as the war continued and as the demand for more men became all-consuming.[361] Largely excluded from the English Canadian patriotic rhetoric of Empire, isolated by language

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[355] Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change,* 74 and MacDonald, *Curse of the Narrows*, 152-153, 246. Most other churches were not able to hold services until December 16, a week later, and many of these services were not held in the damaged churched buildings. Congregations remained small for months after the explosion.

[356] Robertson, "After the Storm," 222-223.

[357] Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change,* 139.

[358] Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change,* 74, 139 and Robertson, "After the Storm," 219-227.

[359] cf. MacDonald, *Curse of the Narrows* and Kitz, *Shattered City.* For a discussion of the changes in Halifax as a result of the explosion and its reconstruction, cf. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change.*

[360] cf. L.J. Donaldson, "The Disaster at Halifax, NS," *Canadian Churchman*, 7 March 1918, 150, 158.

[361] For a treatment of the evolving opinions of Henri Bourassa, see Renè Durocher, "Henri Bourassa, les èvêques et la guerre de 1914-1918," *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* 6.1 (1971): 248-271.

and short-sighted policies, and held back by familial and agricultural responsibilities, the response of French Canadian men was disappointing to many English Canadians.[362] The war had been justified as a fight for liberty, democracy, and righteousness in the abstract, but the intensity of the experience of more than three years of sacrifice had localized those ideals — now the war was being fought for something concrete, for the preservation and maintenance of the freedom and democracy of Canada. Public opinion turned against all those perceived as slackers; French Canadians were an easy target because of their distinctiveness, but they were not the only group to be targeted.[363] Although Anglican clerics in general urged moderation, especially those in the Province of Quebec, by late 1917 there were strong overtones of a crusade or holy war in the language of some clerics, especially after the fall of Jerusalem to General Allenby. On December 19, Canon Bertal Heeney of St. Luke's in Winnipeg assured his congregation that although "Britain is about to experience on her western front the supreme test of her will, strength, and endurance. Jerusalem comes to us therefore as a kind of assurance from God that He is with us still … Britons at home, Britons abroad, the goal of your empire is not only to possess the city of Jerusalem but to perpetuate her spiritual empire. To your knees … and pray — then to your trenches and fight."[364] With a food crisis looming through the spring and summer of 1917, the production of food and its economy had also become national and sacred duties. As Bishop Farthing told his diocese in May, "The nations of the Earth are faced with the possibility of a shortage of food, and it is surely our bounden duty in Canada … to put forth every effort to supply that need. … [I]t is a duty which we owe to God and to our fellow men …"[365] Intercessory prayer remained another important duty for churchmen, urged both by clergymen and, on November 7, 1917, by King George V, who decreed that Sunday, January 6, 1918, would be an Empire-wide day of prayer and

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[362] cf. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec* for an extended discussion of Quebec during the war.

[363] Those of obvious German, Austrian, or other foreign descent were subject to discrimination and sometimes violence, both at the outset of the war and later. cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 64-65, 105; Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience*, 11; Thompson, *The Harvests of War*, 81-83. Although the internment of foreign-born, mostly Ukrainian, immigrants had begun earlier, it should also be mentioned at this point. cf. B.S. Korban, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada During the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

[364] Bertal Heeney, "The Capture of Jerusalem," *Canadian Churchman*, 21 March 1918, 118.

[365] John Cragg Farthing, "The Bishop's Message," *Montreal Churchman*, May 1917, 3.

intercession.[366] Reflecting back on the previous year and looking forward to the next, which would commence with united intercession across the Empire,[367] Archdeacon Cody stood before his congregation of St. Paul's, Toronto, on the last Sunday of 1917 and told them,

> Last year has been one of strangely blended achievements and disappointments; hopes for speedy success and failure to realize these hopes to the full. We have come to the point where the spirit of the people and of the nation as a whole must show itself determined not to have a temporary peace, but to endure and persist till a worthy victory is achieved. It has always been in the darkest hours that our race has formed its most solemn resolves. The note of the new year must be one of hope as well as of determination.[368]

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[366] For the text of King George V's proclamation, see "Day of Prayer Throughout Empire," *The Toronto Globe*, 8 November 1917, 5 or "A Pastoral," *Canadian Churchman*, 3 January 1917, 5.

[367] It was significant that for Anglicans the Book of Common Prayer served to unite the Empire not only in intention, but also gave them a shared language of prayer. For views of the Book of Common Prayer and its various prayers and their interpretation, often in light of the ongoing war, see the ongoing series of articles "Prayer Book Studies" in the late 1917 and 1918 editions of the *Canadian Churchman* by Dyson Hague.

[368] H.J. Cody quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 10 January 1918, 27-28.

Chapter Five

Despair and Triumph
January 1918 to November 1918

On Sunday, January 6, 1918, the day King George V had set aside for Empire-wide prayer, the Great War had been raging for 1241 days. Since the war began on that long-ago August day, hundreds of thousands of Canadian men had left their homes and families. Many of these still might return home, even if they were physically marked by their experiences; but the list of those who never would grew daily.[369] At home, too, there was hardship and devastation — the city of Halifax was still reeling from the massive explosion only a month earlier that had destroyed some 13,500 buildings and left thousands homeless. Another winter of severe coal shortages led to rationing for all non-essential uses. Although newspapers, recognized as essential for disseminating information, were allowed to continue printing, shell factories were among the businesses temporarily closed to conserve fuel.[370] Yet Canadians across the country were still showing their support for the war. Voluntary food control measures under the direction of Food Controller William J. Hanna had been sufficient to increase exports and convince the government that the official rationing of food was not necessary.[371] Although the final election results were waiting on the military returns, the Union Government formed by Sir Robert Borden had received a clear mandate to continue the prosecution of the war. This included the continuation of the controversial Military Service Act, passed the previous summer to ensure sufficient reinforcements for the CEF. After nearly three and

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[369] Physical wounds could both be seen and readily understood by the population. The psychological trauma — noted in military medical records as 'NYDN' or 'Not yet diagnosed, nervous' — was both invisible and often incomprehensible to both physicians and people at large. Among many other sources, cf. Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008), 197-199, 241-243; Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 26-43; Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 1993), 197-198, 247-250.

[370] I.H.M. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 162.

[371] cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 162-163; Jeffrey Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), 52.

a half years of war, Canadians were tired but they remained resolute.

Canadian Anglicans joined their fellow Christians across the Empire in prayer on Epiphany Sunday (January 6), the first time such a day of intercession had been called for across the Empire since the beginning of the war. In Toronto's St. James's Cathedral, Canon H.P. Plumptre took the occasion to offer encouragement to his congregation, saying,

> Now we are passing through a critical period, the outcome of which is still unsettled, for among other things the failure of Russia has upset all our calculations. The next few months will be extremely critical in the issue of the war, and if there ever was a time when the call of our king to prayer was opportune it is now, and the best prayer is the turning away of those sins within ourselves. The great need of the hour is, are we worthy of victory?— and our first desire should be to come to God with a clean hand and a pure heart. If we can do that, then I believe victory will soon be ours.[372]

In Montreal, Bishop John Cragg Farthing drew encouragement from the call to prayer and reminded listeners that the battle for righteousness was not only being fought overseas. He explained,

> The King calls us to a day of prayer and thanksgiving. That fact shows that our King believes in God and in prayer. Thank God for that. … The Christian conception of prayer is very much more than petition. … Yet prayer as the instinct of mankind, the prayer which has been practiced by men throughout all ages … is the crying out of the soul of man to a Higher Power for some good desired or to be freed from some evil threatened. It is in this aspect that we regard prayer when we offer our petitions to God today … Prayer is not an easy thing. … On this day of prayer we must bring our wills and our lives to the service of God and His Righteousness … [W]e shall fight for Right here [in Canada] as our sons are on the battle fields of Europe.[373]

A few days later, at another intercessory service at the Church of the Redeemer in Toronto, visiting Archbishop Samuel Pritchard Matheson, Bishop of Rupert's Land and Primate of All Canada, spoke both of prayer and of his pride as a Canadian. He told parishioners,

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[372] H.P. Plumptre quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 10 January 1918, 28-29.

[373] John Cragg Farthing, "Prayer," *Canadian Churchman,* 7 February 1918, 84-85.

> If you ask me in what directions prayer power should be exerted just now, my first answer is, in regard to the world crisis which is upon us, the war. In regard to certain aspects of the war, as a Canadian, I have nothing but upheaving exultations in my heart over what Canada has done and is doing. Our boys at the front … have by their deeds of incomparable chivalry and valour stamped on the rolls of time around the name 'Canada' an imperishable glory that can never be effaced … What I want to impress … is, that we must come out into the open and acknowledge God publicly and nationally in this crisis.[374]

Using both the familiar words of the Book of Common Prayer and special prayers, Canadians offered intercessions for the nation, for those serving at the front, and for those who suffered. They prayed not only for victory, but for a righteous and timely peace, asking, "Cleanse both us and our enemies from all hatred and covetousness, and so strengthen and guide us that neither may any weakness or weariness in us bring this war to an unrighteous end, nor a righteous peace be delayed by our blindness or self-seeking."[375]

By 1918, war-weariness was becoming apparent. Canadians had been called continually to sacrifice for forty-one long months. The demands of the various patriotic funds and the Victory Loan campaign had been sustainable through the end of 1917, with funding drives easily meeting and exceeding their goals. But people were unable to sustain the repeated demands, and the first fundraising drive of 1918 for the Toronto and York Patriotic Fund required an extra day to reach its target — this was the first time since the war had begun that such a fundraising campaign in a major city had not met its target by the announced deadline.[376] The end of voluntary recruiting and the institution of conscription had turned attention away from the constant need for new recruits, but for the men who had left with the first overseas contingents the separation from their families had already lasted years. A recruiting canvas of certain areas of Toronto during the

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[374] S.P Matheson, "The Call of the Hour to Canada," *Canadian Churchman*, 17 January 1918, 36-37. See also S.P. Matheson, "The Primate's Call to the Church," *Montreal Churchman*, February 1918, 4.

[375] "Prayers for War-Time," *Canadian Churchman*, 3 January 1918, 8.

[376] In Toronto, the donations given in 1915 totaled $2,302,829. In 1917, the total was $3,258,972. In the Victory Loan campaign, each household averaged more than one donation. cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 60-62, 151-152, 163-165. See also Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004) for the full story of the various patriotic funds, especially the Canadian Patriotic Fund.

summer of 1916 had found that almost all homes had one or even all eligible men of the household already serving with the CEF.[377] With the Canadian Corps holding the line around Vimy Ridge and not anticipating major action, long-serving men and units were to be given leave in England. Following through on an election promise made by the Borden government, married Old Originals — men who had gone overseas with the First Contingent in October 1914 — were to be granted Canadian furloughs, and those soldiers whose wives had died leaving children behind were given hardship leave to return home.[378] The number of men who returned home for this furlough was small, only 395 men. The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, the first Canadian unit to see action in 1915, had sent 1000 men to the front; only 15 married men returned on furlough in March 1918.[379]

It was the introduction of the Military Service Act and its guaranteed reinforcements that allowed the authorities to grant some of the longest-serving veterans their three-month furloughs. The first action under the MSA was taken on October 13, 1917, when the government ordered all Class 1 men (single, childless men between twenty and thirty-four)[380] to present themselves for medical examination before November 10. Men presenting themselves had two options. They could return home and await further official instructions or they could volunteer and begin training immediately.[381] The response to this initial call for registration is difficult to assess, in large part because the numbers are often incomplete and sometimes contradictory. The National Registration cards issued at the end of 1916 had identified a pool of at least 475,363 military prospects, of whom thirty-six percent were engaged in essential

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[377] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 94.

[378] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 384-386.

[379] Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 165-166. Not all of the 1000 original men of the PPCLI would have been married and therefore eligible for the furlough.

[380] For the details of the classification, see J.L. Granantstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The Story of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 84.

[381] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 85 The further instructions might be the call-up or, for the many who applied for exemption from service, might be regarding their application for exemption.

occupations.[382] Of course, not all men eligible for service were medically fit, and little information is available regarding the fitness of men called up under the MSA. In the four weeks between September 15 and October 13, 1917, there were 9019 men who presented themselves to Toronto recruiting offices for medical examinations in anticipation of being called for service. Of these, only 3725 were found fit for active duty and 2157 were found either temporarily or permanently unfit for even home service.[383] Health barred some men from serving, and occupation was one of easiest grounds for exemption to prove; but there were others as well, including conscientious objection as part of a recognized pacifist religious group, a previous honourable military discharge, or if serious hardship might result from a man's absence on military service.[384] At the end of the year, it was found that, nationally, 93.7 percent of the 404,395 Class 1 men who reported had sought an exemption from service. Of the 380,510 men who sought exemption on all the various grounds, the local tribunals had granted 278,779 exemptions.[385] The large number of exemptions applied for can be read in either of two ways — either conscription had been supported as a measure "appropriate for someone else"[386] or that the voluntary system had ultimately failed because the men who remained

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[382] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises,* 46. 1.55 million cards had been returned, with only 1.34 million completely filled out. The estimate was these numbers represented only eighty percent of the male population.

[383] "9019 Examined in Four Weeks," *The Toronto Globe*, 14 October 1917, 8. Of the 9019 who presented only for medical exams, 3725 (41.3 %) were found fit for active service, 1261 (14.0 %) fit for only non-combatant service, 1876 (20.8 %) fit only for home service, and 2157 (23.9 %) were either temporarily or permanently unfit for service. This numerical breakdown does not include those men who volunteered for service during the same period and not all of these men would necessarily have been Class 1. For a comparison, of the 65,610 men aged between twenty and twenty-two who were called up nationally under the MSA before the end of the war, 11,961 (18.2 %) were rejected as medically unfit. Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises,* 47. For a comparison with the recruits of the First Overseas Contingent, see Nic Clarke, "'You will not be going to this war': The Rejected Volunteers of the First Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *First World War Studies* 1.2 (2010): 161-183.

[384] cf Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 83-84; Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 145, 150; Amy J. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada During the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 3-4, 10-11, 13, 20, 31, 63, 156. Ordained clergymen or men in religious orders were also exempted from service.

[385] Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 85-86. Another set of numbers presented from a different primary source in Granatstein and Hitsman (94) suggest that of the 401,882 men who registered under the MSA before the end of the war, 395,162 (94.4 %) had sought exemptions, with 222,284 (56.3 %) granted by local tribunals and 112,625 (28.5 %) men found unfit for duty.

[386] Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience*, 41.

at home felt that their duties at home precluded overseas service.[387] That nearly three-quarters of exemption claims were upheld by local tribunals suggests that many men could document and argue convincingly that their home duties did, in fact, outweigh their national ones.[388] The relatively low number of men who defaulted when called also suggests that, in general, men did feel a sense of national obligation and, when called upon, answered that call.[389]

Canada's Anglican clergymen added their voices to the continued national calls for self-sacrifice on the part of those who remained at home, especially in regard to the conservation of food and fuel. In a personal letter published in the *Canadian Churchman* in late January, John Cragg Farthing, Bishop of Montreal, wrote,

> There can be no doubt that the food supply for the allied armies and nations is most serious — conservation of food is just as necessary for victory as conscription of men. When we think of the tremendous sacrifices which our men at the front are making, and the hardships they are enduring for us, it is a small matter (and one not worthy the name of sacrifice) that we should restrain our appetites and abstain from certain foods needed for exportation. … I am sure that everyone whose heart is set on victory will loyally support the efforts … and voluntarily submit.[390]

For churchmen, these national calls were accompanied by reminders of their religious duty. Often the two calls were almost indistinguishable. In early March, on a visit to St. John's, Newfoundland, to help consecrate the new Bishop of Newfoundland, Bishop Lennox Williams of Quebec told the congregation of St. John the Baptist —

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[387] cf. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 90-95, 101-111; Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, 48, 54.

[388] The actual figure is 72.3 % of exemptions were upheld based on numbers reported in Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises,* 85-86. The number of upheld exemptions represents 68.9 % of all Class 1 men who reported. The number of exceptions granted varied according to the tribunal in question and when in the process an application for exemption appeared. cf. Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, 148-151; John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland & Stuart, 1978), 132-133. Unfortunately, the records of exemption tribunals were destroyed after the war which makes any look at exemption statistics difficult. See Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience,* 9.

[389] cf. Watson, *Enduring the Great War,* 48-54 and Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 101-111. The number of defaulters under the MSA at the end of the war is variously given as 24,139 and 27,631. Using the high number for defaulters and the lowest number for total men called up under the MSA, this still works out to only 6.9 % of all men called for service. cf. Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 96-97 and Martin Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War: The Canadian Government and the Suppression of the 1918 Quebec Easter Riots," *Canadian Historical Review* 89.4 (December 2008): 540.

[390] John Cragg Farthing, "The Bishop of Montreal and the Food Campaign," *Canadian Churchman*, 31 January 1918, 72.

> Nations, governments, institutions, nay the very Church of Christ itself are being tried. If out of this awful welter of slaughter, out of this confusion and strife, right ways of thinking and acting, righteousness and truth are to prevail, if the world is to be better, if the Kingdom of God is to come upon the earth … the leaders in Church and State must be strong men and true, men of vision, men of faith, men of fearless readiness to proclaim the right and true way … men great enough to serve, unselfish enough to be ready to give themselves for the good of others … men who love and fear God … ready to strive their utmost, at whatever cost, to help forward His Kingdom on earth for that alone; loyal allegiance to God, loyal obedience to His laws, wholehearted surrender to Christ, will bring … peace.[391]

With the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday, February 13, 1918, the religious duties of prayer and penitence were presented in national terms — this had been the practice during Lent and Advent since early in the war. After three and a half years of war, these calls would have been familiar, but for the many who drew comfort and strength from their religious practices, the cycle of the liturgical seasons would have helped provide meaning to a war that may have begun to seem endless.[392] The Rev. W. Ashe-Everest of Bayfield, Ontario, told his congregation,

> If we, as a nation kept a systematic Lent we would emerge at the end of the six weeks a purer, nobler, and more powerful nation. The commercial and political life … would have an opportunity to see and learn that man does not live, truly live by bread alone … At the end of Lent the nation would emerge with a finer and a greater idea of life and that would mean a greater influence in the world and abiding Peace.[393]

In his Lenten message, Edward J. Bidwell, Bishop of Ontario, noted that people had not yet realized the tremendous strain the war was putting on the spiritual powers of endurance and faith. Lent offered the opportunity to strengthen this spiritual weakness and to identify with God's purposes. Along with reassurances that out of this nightmare of sorrow, the love of God would shine forth, Bishop Bidwell wrote, "Let not our lack of

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[391] Lennox Williams, "Sister Churches of Canada and Newfoundland Unite in Consecration Service," *Canadian Churchman*, 11 April 1918, 235-236. The consecration of Bishop William Charles White on March 7, 1918, was the first time a Bishop of Newfoundland had been consecrated in Newfoundland. Usually the Bishop of Newfoundland was consecrated in England, by English bishops, but the difficulties of wartime travel and the threat of submarines resulted in the consecration being held in St. John's, with Canadian bishops making the trip to the self-governing colony.

[392] cf. Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, 21, 69, 79, 99-100, 182-183.

[393] W. Ashe-Everest, "Lent," *Canadian Churchman*, 7 March 1918, 151-152.

faith be a hindrance. Let us offer to Him that effectual fervent prayer which availeth much, and by so doing, we shall bring about that peace for which all are longing and praying."[394]

On Friday, March 22, 1918, the banner headline of *The Toronto Globe* announced in bold letters "Germany's Greatest Offensive."[395] Across a front of some fifty miles, massed German artillery had unleashed a massive six hour bombardment on British forces. German troops, augmented by divisions moved in from the Eastern front after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk brought peace with Bolshevik Russia, began their assault at daybreak, advancing three miles on the first day.[396] Saturday brought news of continued desperate fighting.[397] Sunday, March 24, with the armies overseas locked in a fierce struggle as German troops forced the British to retreat from hard-won positions, marked the beginning of Holy Week. At St. John's in Port Hope, Ontario, Bishop James Fielding Sweeny of Toronto told parishioners that the sad and terrible coincidence of this great crisis in the war with Holy Week, when the Church was day by day tracing the footprints of the Son of God along the way of sorrow, was not accidental, but was 'Divinely ordered'. The flood of anxiety and sorrow unleashed as a result of the German offensive in France would drive men and women to the foot of the Cross of Christ, where alone they could find healing, strength and comfort. Churchpeople should, with the greatest intensity and earnestness, pray for the success of the Allied armies and a righteous and abiding peace.[398] In the damaged church of St. Paul's, Halifax, Archbishop of Nova Scotia Clarence Lamb Worrell declared simply, "Let the news stiffen within us our determination. Let it stir within us the resolve that if we have not yet made our full sacrifice we will do it now."[399]

As Holy Week went on, the news grew progressively more discouraging. On March 25, the newspapers reported that Paris was being shelled by long-range German

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[394] Edward J. Bidwell quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 14 February 1918, 100.

[395] *Toronto Globe*, 22 March 1918, 1.

[396] Nicholson, *Official History*, 362ff; Cook, *Shock Troops,* 389ff.

[397] The banner for the *Toronto Globe* for March 23, 1918 ran simply: "Terrific Fighting Continues."

[398] *Canadian Churchman*, 4 April 1918, 222. 'Divinely ordered' is as it appears in the original report.

[399] Clarence Lamb Worrell quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 4 April 1918, 225.

guns.[400] On March 26, French general Ferdinand Foch was named supreme commander of the 'Allied Armies on the Western Front' to better manage the crisis, and, south of the Somme where heavy fighting threatened to split the British and French forces, command of the British Fifth Army was transferred to the French in case the German advance succeeded in prying the allies apart.[401] On March 27, *The Globe* reported ominously that, in some places, the Germans had advanced farther than they had with their initial advance in the fall of 1914.[402] At home the news was also unsettling. On Good Friday, March 29, the government issued notice to another class of men that their call up under the MSA was immanent.[403] The same day, serious anti-conscription riots were reported in Quebec City after police had tried to apprehend suspected draft dodgers. Shots were fired, martial law had to be imposed, and militia units were called out to keep peace on the streets of Quebec and Montreal.[404]

On Easter Sunday, churches in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, and other towns and cities across Canada were full, sometimes to capacity. Although the German armies were still threatening Amiens, Archdeacon H.J. Cody spoke of the Easter message of hope from the pulpit of St. Paul's, Toronto, choosing the theme 'Victory out of Defeat'. He said the watchwords for Canada must be unity, endurance, and faith. Looking back on history, no previous Easter had brought with it such messages of hope as this. Using the example of the Napoleonic Wars, Archdeacon Cody explained that nations who lose their souls also lose their wars, and Germany now must also therefore be defeated. He drew hope from the Canadian soldiers who had stood firm against German attacks around Vimy Ridge despite superior German numbers and equipment. Hope in the present situation also lay

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[400] cf. "Paris Shelled by Guns Seventy Miles Away," *The Toronto Globe*, 25 March 1918, 1.

[401] Nicholson, *Official History*, 367-368.

[402]The banner headlines of the *Toronto Globe* on March 27, 1918 read, "British, French, Americans Check Rush / Germans Take Roye and Lihons — Bitter Fighting South of the Somme / The Enemy Beyond Battle Line of 1914-1917 at Some Points." See the front pages of the *Toronto Globe* or any other local paper for the unfolding story of the March offensive. For a secondary source treatment of the offensive, among other sources see Nicholson, *Official Story*, 362-368.

[403] cf. "Men of Category B to Be Called Up," *Toronto Globe*, 30 March 1918, 1.

[404] For a full treatment of the Quebec riots and the government reaction, see Auger, "On the Brink of Civil War"; Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1974), 227-237.

in the marvellous tenacity and endurance of the soldiers. Finally, unity was also essential, with the naming of Foch as supreme commander an important step. But Canada must also remain united. The government needed to take steps to ensure sedition was dealt with, especially in Quebec, but Canada 'should not let the crisis divide her'.[405] The editorialist for the *Montreal Churchman* also echoed the importance of the Easter message at such a time, writing,

> The dominant note of Eastertide is joy and gladness. In the sober and anxious environment of today, a note of gladness may seem discordant to some. Gethsemane and Calvary seem more in harmony with us during the prolonged death struggle in the Somme Valley. We may remember, however, that we have Our Lord's exhortation at such times, when men's hearts are failing them for fear and when distress of nations prevail, to look up and lift our heads for our redemption draweth nigh.[406]

Within days of the beginning of the offensive, the first intercessory services were organized. In Ottawa, Christ Church Cathedral was the site of a united service of intercession on the Monday of Holy Week.[407] Maundy Thursday was a day of continuous intercession at Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal.[408] More services were organized in the weeks following Easter. In Toronto, on Wednesday, April 3, the bells of St. James's Cathedral rang out at noon for fifteen minutes "call[ing] men of every denomination to that edifice for a special service of prayer for the success of the allied armies in France."[409] Archdeacon Cody addressed the service, telling petitioners,

> It is surely right and proper that at such a time as the present we should meet together for prayer for victory in our cause. Yet prayer was not a wild cry of panic. God does not need to be moved to do his duty. It is we who are called to fit ourselves for the doing of His will. There never was a time when the call to do the will of God was more important than at the present hour. … We can bring our cause

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[405] "They Triumph Who Endure," *The Toronto Globe*, 4 April 1918, 7. 'Should not let the crisis divide her' is the phrasing used in the original report.

[406] "Eastertide," *Montreal Churchman*, April 1918, 5.

[407] 28 March 1918 entry, Service Book, St. Bartholomew's (Ottawa), 601 S5 2 (1917-1925), Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives.

[408] *Canadian Churchman*, 4 April 1918, 224.

[409] "Chimes Will Call Toronto to Prayer," *The Toronto Globe*, 3 April 1918, 8.

> to the very throne of God. It is bound up with the very cause of civilization.[410]

Bishop Bidwell of Ontario issued a pastoral letter urging people that

> At this critical time, when the great cause for which we are fighting is at stake, I urge upon you all to put forth your most earnest prayers every day for the success of our arms, and defeat of the enemy. I desire that the clergy will, as far as possible, gather their people together each day for this purpose; and I pray you all to join in this hour of trial, in a great outpouring of prayer to God, that our brave men may be strengthened to resist and finally, to overcome the common foe.[411]

While Canadians prayed, the Germans captured Messine, Bailleul, Albert, Bapaume, Wytschate, and Armentières. Passchendaele Ridge and the important communications hub of Amiens were at risk.[412] On April 11, with no new reserves to send into the battle and with the Germans having erased the hard-won gains of 1916 and 1917 in a matter of weeks, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, commander of the British army on the Western front, issued an Order of the Day to all his troops — "Many amongst us now are tired. To those I would say that Victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. … With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the Freedom of mankind alike depend upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."[413] Field Marshal Haig's proclamation served to emphasize the gravity of the situation for those waiting at home. As Quebec's Bishop Lennox Williams told an intercessory service in early May at Holy Trinity Cathedral in Quebec City,

> [W]e have begun to realize the spiritual aspect of the war. There was behind Germany … an evil spirit, which was antagonistic to all that we hold dear and that we as Christians reverence. In this great struggle we have reached a crisis, and the gravity of the situation was brought home to us recently by the proclamation issued to the troops … There is but one source of strength that is perhaps neglected more than it should be, and that is whole-hearted reliance upon God. … [B]y such a

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[410] H.J. Cody quoted in "Prayer Spirit Grips Toronto," *The Toronto Globe*, 4 April 1918, 7.

[411] *Canadian Churchman,* 4 April 1918, 222-223.

[412] cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 368-374.

[413] The Order of the Day was not always well received by the men at the front, where the situation had already begun to stabilize. But it was bracing for people on the home front. cf. Cook, *Shock Troops*, 390-391; Nicholson, *Official History*, 373. Currie issued a similar order to Canadian troops, although they were not directly engaged in the fighting. cf. Cook, *Shock Troops,* 391-392.

> service as this we should intercede not only for our King and rulers, for our soldiers and sailors … but also we should pray that there may be throughout the Empire, such a spirit of unwavering and humble submission to God, that in His strength we must needs be victorious …[414]

Although the Germans continued to attack the British north of the Somme until the end of April, Passchendaele Ridge, which was captured by the Germans on April 17, was the last major ground ceded by the British before the German's northern drive ground to a halt at the end of April.[415] This did not, however, mean the end of the offensive. After a brief pause, the Germans attacked along the Chemin des Dames on May 27. The depth of the advance on the first day averaged ten miles along a front 9 miles long. Two infantry divisions — one French and one English — in the path of the advance were completely destroyed. The destruction of these divisions came on top of the heavy losses suffered during the fighting in March and April — there had been 330,000 Allied casualties during these months, and the fighting strength of the British had been reduced to forty-eight divisions from the sixty-one that had been in the field at the beginning of March 1918. On the second day of the attack on the Chemin des Dames, the Germans captured Soissons, and they had reached the banks of the Marne by June 4 at Château Thierry, although the French continued to maintain control of Rheims. The French feared for the safety of Paris and plans were made to evacuate the government should the Germans break through.[416]

The ferocity of the German attack, the speed of their advance, and the heavy toll being paid by the Allied defenders understandably worried Canadians, including Prime Minister Borden. On April 18, an Order in Council was passed prohibiting exemptions for Class 1 men, cancelling the exemptions that had already been granted to these men, and ordering all men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four to report for service. The Order in Council also stopped exemptions for all men between twenty and twenty-two and lowered the age at which a young man became eligible for call up under the

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[414] Lennox Williams quoted in "Intercession Service at the Cathedral," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, June 1918, 63-64.

[415] cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 373-374.

[416] cf. Nicholson, *Official History,* 375-376.

MSA to nineteen.[417] Farmers felt that this move was targeted directly at their sons since, during the 1917 election, Borden had made promises regarding exemptions for agricultural labour, but this decision must be viewed in the context of the German offensive and the long period period of training men required between being called up and finally seeing service in France.[418] When he cancelled the exemptions in April 1918, Borden was not only fearful that the Allies would be broken in the short term — he was planning for the reinforcements the Canadian Corps would require through 1919 and into the beginning of 1920.[419] In Europe, Canadian troops had not been in the main path of the German advance, initially holding the area around Vimy Ridge and Lens and protecting the vital communications centres and collieries to the rear. Canadian support units, however — notably the cavalry and motor machine gun brigade, along with groups of railroad troops — fought alongside British units in delaying actions, suffering 796 casualties in only a few days of fighting.[420] Three of the four Canadian divisions were removed from Corps control to support British units after the Germans almost broke through the British lines, but two were quickly returned to Currie's command when political protests were made. The Second Division, however, remained under British control until July 1. The incident served to emphasize that the Canadian Corps was not just another British formation, but a distinct fighting unit and an expression of a national effort. Although they were not directly involved in defensive fighting, by mid-April one-fifth of the British front was being held by two of the Canadian divisions remaining under Currie's control, with the third held in reserve. Stretched thin over a ten mile front, they bombarded the enemy heavily with artillery and gas, and raided aggressively. Between March 23 and May 7, when all but the Second Division were moved to the reserve, the four Canadian divisions suffered 5690 casualties, a relatively small number compared

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[417] Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, 237-239; Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 90-92.

[418] cf. Thompson, *The Harvests of War*, 81-82, 121-122, 132-133, 136-137, 148-153 and Adam Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," in D. Mackenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 230-271.

[419] cf. Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 90-94; J.L. Granatstein, "Conscription in the Great War," in Mackenzie, *Canada and the First World War,* 72-73.

[420] For the actions of these units, see Nicholson, *Official History*, 369-372 and Cook, *Shock Troops,* 392-395.

with overall Allied losses, but still a difficult burden to bear.[421]

The Canadian government not only issued a call for more men, they also called for prayer, declaring Sunday, June 30 a National Day of Prayer and Humiliation. The call was welcomed by churchmen. In a pastoral letter, the Primate, Archbishop Samuel Matheson, wrote,

> … we ought to be devoutly grateful to the Government for this public recognition of the sovereignty of God and our dependence upon Him as a Christian nation. … We have had throughout this whole struggle the unshakeable conviction that our cause is a righteous one, and, therefore, must be God's cause. We have the right, therefore, to come boldly before the throne of grace and claim not only divine co-operation, but divine intervention. … In the second place, we should come before God as a Canadian people and ask Him to show us whether there is anything in our national or personal life calculated to withhold victory from us. … In the third place, it is fitting that as a nation we meet together, and, in a corporate capacity thank God for the valour and prowess of our Canadian soldiery … and make our prayers unto Him that neither through war-weariness nor prayer-weariness we cease to support these brave fellows … Fourthly, let us come before God with a most profound earnestness just now because of the extreme criticalness of the war situation.[422]

But this day of prayer was also seen by some as a challenge to the church. In a letter to the editor of the *Canadian Churchman*, the Rev. Dyson Hague of Toronto wrote,

> By this act of the Government [the call for national prayer] the Christian Church of Canada is called upon to take up the challenge and enlist with a fresh energy the aggregate of the praying force of the professing Christianity of Canada. The Church must pray in this supreme moment of history as she has never prayed before. If this day of national humiliation is to be possessed of a newer and profounder meaning and marked by a seriousness befitting the hour, it will only be by a series of efforts on the part of ministers and Church leaders of a very personal and practical character. … [T]he Church is not only to lead the nation in prayer, but the Church is to lead the nation into prayer.[423]

Accordingly, on June 30, St. Martin's Day, intercessory services were arranged once more. The Rev. John Leigh, rector of St. John's in Port Arthur, Ontario, told his

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[421] cf. Nicholson, *Official History*, 378-385 and Cook, *Shock Troops*, 395-401.

[422] S.P. Matheson, "Day of National Prayer and Humiliation," *Canadian Churchman*, 20 June 1918, 392.

[423] Dyson Hague, "Another Challenge," *Canadian Churchman*, letter to editor, 20 June 1918, 397.

parishioners that the four subjects emphasized by Borden in his call to prayer were apt. Prayer was the right whereby men might claim Divine co-operation and intervention. Prayer was also for the purpose of introspection and humiliation, for thanksgiving for the prowess of the Empire's armies, and, finally, for the maintenance of high ideals.[424] Hearkening back to the justifications offered for fighting the war in August 1914, the Rev. T.B. Jeakins told his listeners,

> The history of the past four years have been punctuated with pain and permeated with sorrow. That lamentable period is without precedent in the history of our country. Nevertheless, we stand here today unchanged in purpose, unwearied in our devotion, and undismayed by the monstrous machinations of an unscrupulous foe. And that because we believe in the righteousness and justice of the cause for which we as a nation are contending.[425]

At St. George's in Ottawa, Canon J.M. Snowdon stated,

> The war has taught us many things. One of the most important is that a like spirit of chivalry is still alive and vigorous among men of British birth. In pre-war days our enemies were insistent that we were a decadent race, that our best days were behind us, and not a few amongst us had a trembling fear that such statements were largely true. But the war has proved that we were poor judges of the men of our time. … We who stay at home will reap the benefit of the sacrifice made by the men who today are fighting and dying for King and country. Are we going to make ourselves worthy of the sacrifice they are making?[426]

Another Empire-wide service of intercession was held on August 4, the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war. In Toronto on this Remembrance Day, Canon H.P. Plumptre told listeners in St. James's Cathedral, "What is right of the individual is also right of the nation. … Four years ago, Great Britain did a deed which brought Canada's name into the list of nations. Nothing but justice to Belgium, chivalry to France, and her own honour dictated her course. We have paid for it in sorrow and tears, but we have saved our souls and can hold up our heads."[427] The need to protect Belgium and to uphold national honour — the justifications offered for participation in the war in 1914 —

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[424] *Canadian Churchman*, 4 July 1918, 433.

[425] T.B. Jeakins, sermon, 20 June 1918, M.G. 2038, Montreal Diocesan Archives (Anglican).

[426] J.M. Snowdon quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 4 July 1918, 424-425.

[427] H.P. Plumptre quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 8 August 1918, 511.

remained important themes in clerical rhetoric, as did the question of national righteousness. The Canada that heard these calls in 1918, however, had been changed by the experience of four years of war, and this is also apparent in the rhetoric. Canada's name had been entered onto the list of nations as a sovereign nation, not merely as part of the Empire, because of its contributions to the war effort.

In the August 1 edition of the *Canadian Churchman*, Canon Allan Pearson Shatford of St. James the Apostle in Montreal, then a chaplain serving with the CEF in France, wrote confidently,

> Our men can be depended upon to do their utmost to justify the high confidence and support of our loved ones at home. I want to record my grateful appreciation of the magnificent way in which Canada has responded to our needs. Whilst I cannot speak officially of our fighting forces, I am confident that both officers and men will cordially endorse my expression of thankful acknowledgement … The Government of Canada has taken a most heroic stand on the matter of reinforcements. We feel doubly assured that the whole nation is behind us. … Never was the spirit of our comrades so bright.[428]

The summer of rest and training in reserve had helped lift the spirits and calm the nerves of Canadian soldiers, but they were soon moved back into the line. On August 8, 1918, four days after the fourth anniversary of the war, the Canadian Corps spearheaded an attack near the fortified city of Amiens. An Australian attack at Hamel on July 4 had found German defenders unexpectedly willing to retreat or surrender, raising hopes that German morale had begun to collapse.[429] Despite the territorial gains made during the spring offensive, the Germans had also suffered casualties at an alarming rate and the British naval blockade was cutting off supplies.[430] The attack on Amiens was organized in concert with two other major attacks with hopes of exploiting both the element of surprise and the weakening of German forces. The gains made on the first day of the attack were impressive, with the Canadians pushing the Germans back up to eight miles, capturing 5033 prisoners and 161 guns. Without the element of surprise, however, and

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[428] Allan Pearson Shatford quoted in *Canadian Churchman,* 1 August 1918, 497.

[429] Cook, *Shock Troops,* 408.

[430] cf. Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, 184-231, 235.

plagued by difficulties in communications, gains on the second day were more modest, only four miles. Minor operations continued until August 20, when the Corps was relieved by French troops, by which time they had liberated twenty-seven villages, captured more than 9000 prisoners, and advanced fourteen miles: the cost — 11,822 Canadian casualties, of which 3868 were suffered on the opening day of the battle.[431] The relief by the French was not for a period of rest, as was usual following a major operation, but so that the Corps could move into a new position for another attack. The new ground was among the most fortified positions on the Western front. Three defensive lines — the old Somme trenches, the Fresnes-Rouvroy Line, and the heavily fortified Drocourt-Quéant Line — formed the heart of the German defensive arrangements on the Somme known as the Hindenburg Line, the place where they had chosen to make their stand. The Allied attack on these positions began on August 26. The end of the first day saw the Canadians in the old Somme positions and preparing to assault the Fresnes-Rouvroy Line. This line was broken only after three days of desperate fighting during which the two attacking Canadian divisions suffered 5801 casualties. On September 3, the offensive resumed again, with the objective of forcing the strongest of the three lines, the Drocourt-Quéant Line. By brute force and countless acts of individual heroism, on the first day of the assault parts of the D-Q Line were overrun and several key positions captured; but other areas, including bridges over the Sensée River, remained in German hands. Operations the next day cleared many of these holdouts, often encountering only light resistance as the German troops withdrew to further defensive positions along the Canal du Nord.[432] Thousands of German prisoners were being captured across the front every day, many unwounded, a testament to the weakening German morale; but other formations, including specialist machine gun units, continued to offer stiff resistance, causing heavy casualties for the attacking troops.[433] In three days, between September 1

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[431] For the story of the Battle of Amiens, see Cook, *Shock Troops,* 409-453 and Nicholson, *Official History*, 385-426.

[432] For the story of the attack on the Hindenburg Line (Drocourt-Quéant Line), see Cook, *Shock Troops*, 454-502 and Nicholson, *Official History*, 426-440.

[433] cf. Watson, *Enduring the Great War*, 178-179, 215-229; Nicholson, *Official History*, 440; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 497, 566-567.

and September 4, another 5622 Canadians became casualties, many were battle-hardened officers and veteran soldiers the Corps could ill-afford to lose.[434]

The Germans were not only falling back before the Canadians, but across the whole front from Ypres in the north to Rheims in the south. But the advances of the Allies were nonetheless being dearly won — in less than a month of fighting, the Canadian Corps had suffered more than 23,000 casualties, a number that they would not have been able to replace except for the conscripts available because of the MSA.[435] In contrast, the Australians, who had rejected conscription in plebiscites in 1916 and again in 1917, were unable to replace their casualties and lost their fighting efficiency.[436] The number of MSA conscripts who saw action is unknown, but their availability guaranteed continued reinforcements for Canadian units.[437] It also created difficulties for some at home who wondered whether conscripts should have their names inscribed on Rolls of Honour alongside those men who had enlisted willingly. One clergyman wrote to the *Montreal Churchman* saying,

> I am very much concerned, and perhaps many of my brother Clergy are too, in regard to what course to take re[garding] the men of our parishes who are being called up under the [Military Service] Act. It is obvious their names cannot be placed on our Rolls of Honour as that particular honour is only for those who volunteered. Of course, we shall pray for them as for the others! But the difficulty is that their friends will want their names included … What are we to do?[438]

The responder, probably the editor of the *Montreal Churchman,* the Rev. A.H. Moore, took the opposite stance, answering,

> When so many heroic Canadians had volunteered it was a great disappointment to their friends that we had to somewhat dim the glory that they had brought to Canada

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[434] Cook, *Shock Troops*, 496, 501; Nicholson, *Official History*, 440.

[435] cf. Cook, *Shock Troops*, 498. The MSA has been dealt with elsewhere, but at this point, see Granatstein, "Conscription" for the argument that conscription was necessary to sustain the Canadian Corps during the fall 1918 offensives.

[436] cf. Cook, *Shock Troops*, 451, 571. For a discussion of Australian Anglican clergymen in relation to the conscription plebiscites, see J.A. Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War: The 'Prussian Menace', Conscription, and National Solidarity," *Journal of Religious History* 25.3 (October 2001): 306-323.

[437] Granatstein, "Conscription," 72-73 and Granatstein and Hitsman, *Broken Promises*, 76-97.

[438] "Draftees and Honour Rolls," *Montreal Churchman*, letter to editor, September 1918, 6.

> by resorting to compulsory service … It would have been a grand thing if we could have carried on without conscription, but we have to reckon with the limitations of human nature in such a matter. …
>
> We know of no authority in the parish competent to or capable of judging the motives of men who have not volunteered. … We do know of some men who longed to volunteer but were prevented by home ties while others who did volunteer acted from lower motives and did the easier thing. … These drafted men are going forward to fight, face hardship, suffer wounds, and die for the cause of liberty and freedom. They are leaving the same aching hearts of loved ones behind, they will doubtless sustain the prestige of Canada overseas … and volunteer and draftee will go over the top and bleed and die together.[439]

Presented by many clergymen as a means of equalizing sacrifice, this exchange makes it clear that not all of the issues surrounding conscription had been solved by the 1917 election. Issues like the question of honour rolls had to be worked out on a city-by-city and parish-by-parish basis, and, unfortunately, such deliberations are difficult to trace.

On September 27, the Canadians attacked again, this time staging a complicated assault on the German positions on the east bank of the Canal du Nord. The geography and fortifications required units to cross the dry canal bed, funnel through a narrow gap, and immediately spread out for the assault. Engineering battalions, working under fire and moving behind the main formations, hurriedly had to erect crossings to enable artillery to be dragged forward to support the attacking infantry battalions, who otherwise would be out of gun range. It was a daring and innovative plan, but there were many things which might go wrong and jeopardize not only the strategic objectives but the entire Canadian Corps itself. By the end of the first day of fighting, however, most of the objectives were in Allied hands and the German commander ordered his troops to make a general withdrawal to the far side of the Sensèe River.[440] The Canadians pressed forward toward the important communication and transportation hub of Cambrai. From September 28 until October 1, Canadian units inched their way another mile closer to

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[439] "Concerning Honour Rolls," *Montreal Churchman,* September 1918, 5.

[440] For the actions of the Canadian Corps at Canal du Nord, see Nicholson, *Official History,* 440-448 and Cook, *Shock Troops*, 509-534, 548-550. Among the wounded of this engagement was Canon F.G. Scott, Senior Protestant Chaplain of the First Division, who had been with the troops since Valcartier in August 1914. Canon Scott's memoir, *A Great War as I Saw It*, details his view of the major Canadian actions throughout the war. For the Canal du Nord action, see 307-318.

Cambrai, encountering stiff resistance and suffering heavy casualties. After a six day pause, a night attack on October 8 once again attempted to bring Cambrai under Allied control. The Germans were completely taken by surprise and were actually caught in the process of a general retirement to a recently constructed fortification — the Hermann Line — along the whole front from the Oise to the Scarpe. The advance was so rapid that a company of engineers was able to prevent the destruction of the main bridge at Pont d'Aire. The city of Cambrai had been essentially deserted, but the Germans had attempted to destroy the city by lighting fires. Canadian engineers worked quickly to extinguish the fires and save the city. On October 11, the Canadians were relieved by British units.[441]

With the German forces being pushed back across Europe and with German allies beginning to sue for separate peace, the thoughts of those at home were turning increasingly toward peace. At the 1918 General Synod in Toronto, held from September 15 to September 21, Archbishop Matheson stated,

> That the Church should stand aside as if it had nothing to do with it when the very foundations of our modern civilization are being made to tremble and quake, that the supreme council of our Church should suspend its foregathering and should simply watch, wait and not have its united voice heard and its corporate action taken, seemed to me unthinkable. … No Synod address would be complete without reference to the war. For over four years it has raged horribly. … First, I invite the representatives of our Canadian Church to thank God for the gallantry and chivalry of Canada's sons … Secondly, I would ask that we lift up our hearts to God in thanksgiving for the way in which the tide is turning in our favour, and thus trending towards the victory for which we are so ardently longing. But, my brothers, it is our solemn duty … first of all to array before our minds in the most searching and careful light the moral and spiritual lessons disclosed by the war and the defects in our manner of life revealed by the war …[442]

Although the tide was turning, the calls to prayer and repentance for national sins had not ceased. In the second week of October, as Germany asked for armistice negotiations to begin, the Rev. Dyson Hague of Toronto wrote to the editor of the *Canadian Churchman*,

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[441] For the Battle of Cambrai, see Nicholson, *Official History*, 448-454 and Cook, *Shock Troops*, 535-550.

[442] S.P. Matheson quoted in "The Day of Opportunity," *Canadian Churchman,* 12 September 1918, 584, 589-591.

saying,

> As the concentrated advance of the Allies is pointing at last to the beginning of the long-expected end … should it not drive us more earnestly to our knees? It seems as if God was challenging us … to give to the Church a newer spiritual leadership. Beyond all controversy, the need of the hour is … a profounder seriousness of repentance and prayer. As we think of the complacency of our lives in Canada today … we realize with humility and grief the inadequacy of the response of our Church. … The Church in Canada today is avowedly at a crisis. … [W]hile [the war] has brought us national glory, it has not brought a higher and deeper spiritual life.[443]

Along with the bravery and strength of the Allied armies, the fact that the government had called for national prayer was held up as one reason why the 1918 offensives were unfolding so differently than earlier attempts. The Rev. C.E. Luce of Birchcliffe, Ontario wrote, "Of course, it is always dangerous to take God's name lightly on our lips. But is it not equally dangerous to be blind to His working? … On August 4th, King George and the Parliament for the first time knelt **together** to throw our cause humbly before the Feet of God. And this great appeal to the Throne was instantly heard. … We have asked … and He has put forth His power."[444] He was not alone in making statements like this. In a pastoral letter, William Reid Clark, Bishop of Niagara, wrote, "While the Government called for more men, more munitions, more money, they hesitated to ask for prayer and look to God. However, on the 4th August last, the nation in its corporate capacity bowed for the first time … and from that moment we have been marvellously successful."[445]

As the tide turned toward peace in Europe, churchmen in Canada were faced with another difficulty. An epidemic of Spanish influenza, which had been affecting troops in Europe for months — with up to sixteen percent of British casualties in June and July caused by the virus — was sweeping through the country.[446] Large gatherings of people were prohibited in order to prevent the spread of the disease, and churches in major cities and other areas were among the organizations closed by public health officers. Many

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[443] Dyson Hague, "Surge et Excurge, Ecclesia!," *Canadian Churchman*, letter to editor 24 October 1918, 684.

[444] C.E. Luce, *Canadian Churchman*, letter to editor, 31 October 1918, 700. (Emphasis original.)

[445] William Reid Clark quoted in *Canadian Churchman*, 14 November 1918, 736.

[446] Nicholson, *Official History*, 376.

were displeased by this move as it not only prevented thanksgiving services for Allied successes, but also prevented those who would make intercessions for the war effort as well as for ailing friends and relatives. The Rev. A.J. Fidler of St. Clement's in North Toronto observed that the closing of the churches was unwise, unnecessary, and un-Christian, for people need to call upon God in the day of trouble for He will hear them. In Fidler's view, the churches should be open at all times so that people might enter and pray that the epidemic may be abated — the closures put churches on a level with saloons and theatres.[447] John Cragg Farthing, Bishop of Montreal, wrote,

> Never surely did a darker cloud of sorrow hang over the world! Millions of hearts are heavy and sad. … Many homes of our Church people have been bereaved during the past few months [as a result of the offensives]. It is the price of victory. … Not only has War been raging against human happiness, but Pestilence comes to his aid as if war could not devastate enough. … [W]e have consented to the closing of our churches for four Sundays. It has been a terrible loss and trial; it came too, just when we needed most the ministry of His Word and Sacrament … Though we cannot meet together to pray, let us all pray earnestly that our prayers may ascend to God as one, though we pray separately. Then when we can once more meet to worship, let it be a great thanksgiving, that He purified us through suffering.[448]

The virulent virus had probably been introduced to Canada from the United States in late September by soldiers on their way overseas and was spread westward by troops mobilizing for the Siberian Expeditionary Force being sent to aid the White Russians against the Bolsheviks.[449] At its peak in October, conservative estimates suggest that up to one-sixth of the population was infected — the number is likely higher because mild cases were often not reported and were merely treated by family members and neighbours at home.[450] Somewhere in the neighbourhood of fifty-thousand Canadians died as a result

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[447] *Canadian Churchman*, 31 October 1918, 704.

[448] John Cragg Farthing, "The Bishop's Message," *Montreal Churchman*, November 1918, 3.

[449] Mark Osborne Humphries, "The Horror at Home: The Canadian Military and the 'Great' Influenza Pandemic of 1918," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Society/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 16.1 (2005): 235-260. This explanation runs counter to the traditional explanation that the Spanish flu was introduced to Canada by troops returning from Europe, but appears to be supported by shipping evidence.

[450] cf. Janice P. Dickin McGinnis, "The Impact of Epidemic Influenza: Canada, 1918-1919," *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* 12.1 (1977): 120-140.

of the epidemic, approximately 0.6 percent of the total population.[451] Coming when the war seemed finally to be approaching a conclusion, the epidemic was an additional trial for Canadians. It also showed that the spirit of voluntarism was still active — when official hospitals and medical staff were overwhelmed, Red Cross groups, VAD nurses, and other women's groups originally organized for war service pitched in to help.

Although the Germans had sought peace negotiations, the armies in Europe did not relax. The earlier German peace proposals had made people wary that these negotiations might be just a delaying tactic designed to allow the armies to regroup for new offensive action. Skirmishes with German troops occurred on a daily basis. On October 17, however, the usual response to the morning artillery barrage was absent and patrols found that the Germans were in retreat across the entire front. In some areas, advancing troops encountered no resistance, while in others the Germans conducted fighting retreats, blowing up bridges and stationing machine gun crews to inflict casualties and slow the Allied advance. Canadian troops found themselves liberating towns and villages that had not been damaged by the war but with populations who had been left with no food by the retreating armies and who were weary after four years of occupation. On October 18, Canadians made their single longest advance of the war, a distance of 17,000 yards that would have been unthinkable in the previous four years of trench warfare. Four days later, they had reached the banks of the Canal de l'Escaut and were planning their assault on Valenciennes. By nightfall on November 2, the city was in Canadian hands, the enemy was in retreat, and Field Marshal Haig had ordered a general advance in pursuit. Rumours of an impending armistice passed through the troops at the front, but such rumours had been in general circulation for years, although the disarray of the German forces suggested that this time there might be some truth in the rumours. Some German units were digging in and offering resistance to the Allied armies, with the small mining town of Vicq held in force. On November 9, as the Canadians approached the town of Mons, the site of the first British action of the war, German resistance

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[451] cf. Niall Johnson and Juergen Mueller, "Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918-1920 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76 (2002): 105-115. Globally, somewhere between 50 million and 100 million are thought to have died as a result of the epidemic.

stiffened and they began offering a defence of each village. Forbidden from shelling the town to prevent civilian casualties, General Currie ordered Canadian troops to make a night attack on Mons beginning at 11:00 the evening of November 10 with hopes of surprising the German defenders. By dawn, the town had been cleared, and, at 7:00 the next morning, the pipers of the 42nd Battalion played its way into the city, half an hour after Corps headquarters received news that hostilities would cease at 11:00.[452]

The service book of St. Bartholomew's Church in Ottawa contains the following notation for Monday, November 11, 1918: "On Monday morning at 3:10 am the Church bells were rung by Mr. Hughes and Sergt. Brooks to help announce the news that the Armistice had been signed; fighting on every front ceased at 11 am. There was a celebration of the Holy Communion at 8 am at which 25 were present. In the evening at 7 pm the Church was packed for a Thanksgiving Service."[453] In Toronto, while "the city was in a wild uproar, the bells of the Church of the Epiphany, in Parkdale, rang joyously for an hour, and at two o'clock a fine congregation came into the church for a service of praise and thanksgiving."[454] In Halifax, "when the noon-day gun boomed announcing the hour set by Royal Proclamation for public thanksgiving, the doxology of praise rang forth in Old St. Paul's from a chorus of two thousand tongues. None will ever forget the moment."[455] The Great War had finally come to an end. Peace had finally arrived.

Viewed in aggregate, the numbers are a little overwhelming: there had been fifty-one months or 1561 days of fighting; more than 619,000 men and women had joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force, of whom almost 60,000 were missing or dead; there had been an additional 173,000 non-fatal casualties;[456] the Canadian munitions industry, starting from one factory, had produced more than sixty-six million shells, sometimes up to a third of the "whole supply of the artillery munition [being] used by the British

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[452] For the last weeks of fighting, see Nicholson, *Official History*, 461-484 and Cook, *Shock Troops*, 535-579.

[453] 11 November 1918 entry, Service Book, St. Bartholomew's (Ottawa), 601 S5 2 (1917-1925), Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives.

[454] *Canadian Churchman*, 14 November 1918, 734.

[455] *Canadian Churchman*, 21 November 1918, 751.

[456] cf. Nicholson, Appendix B, *Official History;* Cook, *Shock Troops,* 611-620.

armies" in the intense bombardments of the last half of the war;[457] the total amount paid by the Canadian government to Britain for the maintenance of the CEF overseas totalled some $252,567,942.03, a number which does not include the amount paid out in soldiers' wages.[458] For the last three months of the war, sometimes referred to as the Hundred Days, the Canadian Corps had been involved in offensive after offensive, and while they had emerged triumphant from the most difficult situations facing them, the cost had been high — more than 45,835 casualties, twenty percent of the total number suffered by the CEF and forty-five percent of the total Corps strength on August 8, 1918.[459] The great victories of the last half of the war — Courcelette, Vimy Ridge, Drocourt-Quéant, Cambrai, Mons — are held up as nation building moments, moments when Canada came together. For those who had lived through the war, however, there were other names to be remembered as well, also places where their sons had fought and died in service of a righteous cause — St. Julien, Festubert, Givenchy, St. Eloi, Albert, Passchendaele. The words and actions of clerics had been of great importance in the lives of those Canadians who remained at home, providing them with support, comfort, and spiritual sustenance. Looking at the role played by the churches, the Rev. R.C. Blagrave of Toronto wrote not long before the war ended:

> The pulpits of the land have been the greatest incentive to recruiting; they have furnished the greatest amount of information; they have instilled the most genuine patriotism; they have exalted the national ideals; they have inspired the morale of the people; they have comforted the stricken and the bereaved as no other single force has managed to do; to say nothing of the personal influence, enlightenment, encouragement and helpfulness which thousands of priests and pastors moving around among their people have been able to exercise.[460]

Where and how Canadian Anglican clergymen addressed the war speaks not only to how they understood themselves, but also to how they understood the relationship between the

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[457] David Carnegie, *The History of Munitions Supply in Canada 1914-1918* (Toronto: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1922), 133.

[458] Nicholson, *Official History*, 361. This figure is not adjusted for to a modern equivalent but is the actual figure.

[459] Granatstein, "Conscription," 73.

[460] R.C. Blagrave, *Canadian Churchman*, "The Church and the Labour Problem," August 22, 1918, 540.

church and the nation. They spoke freely on national issues from the pulpit and publically addressed religious questions. Although exactly what clergymen said changed as the war went on, their central messages remained constant and tied to their Christian faith. On November 11, with the guns in Europe silent, Montreal's the Rev. J.A. Osborne was one of many clergymen conducting thanksgiving services. He told the congregation of St. Columba's,

> Do let us remember that God has been very good and gracious to us and to our allies. He has given us far more than either we desire or deserve… All that we deserve is only mercy for our sins, and yet God is pouring into our hands almost more than we are able to receive. Let us make no mistake about it, the victory over materialism and self-worship has been won, 'not by might and not by power,' but by that Spirit which can be evoked only by prayer, and used only by those who are faithful to the end. … If we love our God, our King, our Empire, and our Dominion, can there be any other answer save that of the beautiful prayer of our Eucharist, 'Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and our bodies.'[461]

[461] J.A. Osborne, "The Voice of the City," *Montreal Churchman*, December 1918, 10.

Conclusion

This study has investigated at the sermons and writings of Canada's Anglican clergymen in order to look at what helped to sustain Canadians throughout the Great War. With religion playing a large role in the identities of early twentieth-century Canadians, it is important to understand the role played by religious rhetoric in interpreting and giving meaning to the war. By choosing to tie the clerical rhetoric both to the major battles and to the liturgical cycle, it has been possible to trace some of these rhetorical changes, including those from justification to resolve and from imperialism to nationalism. While this chronological treatment has limited the amount of comprehensive analysis that could be undertake owing to the themes that span this period, the nature of sermons as topical documents and the method of their collection — relying largely on periodicals which permitted precise dating — allowed reactions to be traced, helping to demonstrate how one group of Canadians reacted to the war as a lived experience. Lacking a history of the Canadian home front and with a relatively small amount of secondary source literature available, it is impossible to say whether the Anglican case is unique or if it fits into a wider pattern common to all Canadians. The strong links that bound the Empire's Anglicans, links which included the Book of Common Prayer, may have played a role in differentiating how Canadian Anglicans both responded to and interpreted of the war when compared to other religious groups; but further research is required before it will be possible to do more than speculate. The reactions of congregations are also extremely difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy as such responses have generally not been documented. It is clear that a religious revival did not occur as a result of the war, but this was only one of the possible scenarios. That clergymen continued to address the war for its duration reflects the importance the war played in the lives of contemporary Canadians, but that they continued to repeat the same phrases suggests that the rhetoric resonated with their listeners.

When war began in the late summer of 1914, the Canadian government prepared a modest contribution to the Empire's war effort and Canadian Anglican clergymen began to explain why it was necessary for Britain — and therefore its Empire — to fight a

European war. Treaty obligations to defend Belgian sovereignty, an alliance with France, and fears about the growth of the German military were rhetorically transformed into questions of honour and duty, the need to defend liberty against despotism, and the philosophical differences between British civilization and the German 'will to power'. For Canada's Anglican clergymen, the war was a righteous war, one that was not only right to fight but necessary. These powerful justifications underlay all the calls to prayer, encouragements, and memorials of the four years that would separate the declaration of war from the armistice. Because of the influence that these early justifications had in the way that Canada's Anglican clergymen interpreted the unfolding war, it is important to understand that the war for them was neither a 'just war' fought for political reasons nor a 'holy war' fought because God had ordained it, but a righteous war fought in defence of Christian values and civilization understood as part of Britain's imperial mission. To ignore the consistent and sustained appeals to the righteousness of the Empire's cause risks misinterpreting later rhetorical shifts. The meaning with which the Great War had been imbued since its early days through the efforts of the clergy, in the case of this study, played an important role in sustaining morale and determination throughout the long conflict.

As the war progressed, the Canadian contribution grew, and Canadian casualties mounted, there were changes in the way that certain rhetorical terms were employed; and the justifications offered for the Empire's participation in the war provided some comfort for the sorrowing and a source of collective determination. For those who mourned or who were separated from loved ones serving overseas, it might have been a comfort to hear that their individual sorrows and sacrifices were bound up in a righteous cause; and it must not be forgotten that the words of clergymen were not merely calls to action but also attempts to comfort and console. Clergymen were aware of the problems and concerns of their congregations and their sermons clearly took this into account. Viewed in this light, the cause of civilization for which so many were giving their lives could not simply be abandoned without achieving a decisive victory, without assuring liberty and security for the world. This need to struggle overseas for the cause of civilization called

for two things — prayer for victory and the need to confront the moral problems facing Canada at home. The balance between these two calls varied depended on the time, place, and theological inclinations of the speaker, and it is impossible to judge the extent to which they were taken to heart by listeners. What is clear, however, is that this second phase of rhetoric was not merely a 'crusade' against German militarism or brutality, but a recognition of a responsibility to uphold the Empire's civilizing imperial mission and a desire to render the nation worthy of the victory purchased by the blood-sacrifice of Canada's soldiers.

The experience of the Great War changed Canada forever. It changed the lives of millions of Canadians, and it fundamentally changed the relationship between the people and their nation. It is certainly too much to say that Canada's Anglican clergymen led this change; nonetheless, these momentous changes are certainly evident in the war-era clerical rhetoric and, as influential local figures, their words did more than merely mark the shift. Although this nationalistic arc is among the most common themes in Canadian histories of the Great War, it has run throughout this dissertation not because it is commonly accepted, but because it is one of the most compelling changes that took place in the religious rhetoric of the war era presented here. The intensity of the shared experience of the war and its sacrifices brought Canadians together and, in noting the growing Canadian identity in their sermons and at memorial services, Anglican clerics helped to strengthen and shape this identity. On Armistice Day, Canadians were no less proud to be citizens of the British Empire than they had been on August 4, 1914, but they had discovered a new pride as Canadians.

Appendix A — Timeline of Major Events, 1914-1918

1914	June	**28**	Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated in Serajevo
1914	July	**23**	Austrians present ultimatum to Serbia, demanding to search for the assassins
		24	Serbia appeals for help to the Russians, refuses to allow search
		26	Serbia, Montenegro, and Austria all begin to mobilize their troops
		28	Austria declares war on Serbia
		29	Russia begins general mobilization
		30	German mobilization declared
		31	Belgian mobilization begins; French reject German demand of neutrality
1914	August	**1**	French mobilization begins; Germany declares war on Russia
		2	German troops invade Luxemburg, France, Poland; government demands passage through Belgium
		3	Germany invades Belgium; British give Germans twenty-four hours to withdraw
		4	German rejection of British demands leads to an effective state of war
		6	Sam Hughes, Canadian Minister of Militia, issues muster orders to militia units
		10	Canadian government authorizes 25,000 men to serve overseas
		17	British Expeditionary Force (BEF) lands in France
		19	Canadian Parliament authorizes the raising of an expeditionary force
		20	Pope Pius X dies in Rome
		23	Germans begin attack on Mons after capturing Liege and Brussels
		24	British army forced to retreat from Mons
		27	Germans burn Louvain
1914	September	**2**	Germans advance to within thirty miles of Paris
		3	Pope Benedict XV elected
		5	Great Britain, France, and Russia pledge not to make separate peace agreements
		10	French stop German advance at the Marne River
		12	Germans stop retreating and make stand at Aisne River
		14	Entrenching begins on the Western Front
		25	Rheims cathedral is bombarded by German artillery
1914	October	**3**	First Contingent of Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) leaves Quebec (30,617 men and 7000 horses)
		4	Germans and British engaged in Belgium as troops race to secure the coast
		9	Antwerp falls to the Germans
		12	*Harvest Thanksgiving celebrated in Canada*
		13	Ypres recaptured by British from Germans
		14	British and Belgian troops occupy Ypres; Canadians land at Plymouth, make camp at Aldershot
		29	Turkey enters the war on the German side
1914	November	**3**	German naval squadron conducts raids near Yarmouth

		5	Britain and France declare war on Turkey; Shelling of Dardanelles begins
		19	British Parliament authorizes the raising of a million man army
		23	Germans shell Ypres, damage Cathedral and Cloth Hall
		29	*First Sunday in Advent*
1914	December	**16**	German cruisers bombard Scarborough and Hartlepool
		18	Egypt proclaimed a British protectorate
		21	First German air raid on Britain
		25	Unofficial Christmas truce observed on Western Front
1915	January	**1**	British cruiser *Formidable* sunk in the English Channel by German torpedo
		3	Canada observes National Day of Prayer; Belgium's Cardinal Mercier arrested by Germans
		19	First zeppelin raid on Britain (Yarmouth and King's Lynn)
		24	Naval battle in the North Sea
1915	February	**4**	Germany declares submarine blockade of Great Britain; CEF reviewed by King George V
		15	CEF lands in France, moves to front
		18	German submarine blockade of Britain begins
		19	British and French naval unit bombards the Dardanelles
		21	German airplane bombs Colchester and other places in Essex
1915	March	**10**	Canadians engaged in fighting around Neuve Chapelle
		11	Britain announces naval blockade of Germany
		18	Three Allied battleships sunk off the Dardanelles
1915	April	**4**	*Easter Sunday*
		5	King George prohibits use of alcohol in royal households
		8	Turkey begins to deport and kill Armenians within its borders
		22	Germans attack Ypres using chlorine gas canisters; CEF engaged near St. Julien
		25	First casualty lists from Ypres published in Canadian newspapers; British land troops at Gallipoli
1915	May	**7**	Lusitania sunk by German submarine, killing 1364 people
		12	Bryce Report detailing German atrocities in France and Belgium published
		13	President Wilson protests the sinking of the Lusitania
		18	Kitchener announces Allied use of chemical warfare
		23	Italy enters the war on the Allied side; Canadians engaged in diversionary attacks at Festubert
		25	Second Canadian Division formed
		26	Fourth Overseas Contingent authorized
1915	June	**3**	British attacks gain ground at Givenchy
		9	Hughes announces intention to raise additional 35,000 Canadian soldiers
		22	Sir John French, commander of BEF, recognizes Canadian efforts at Ypres
		24	Canadian troops engaged at La Bassee
		26	Germans launch offensive against French in the Argonne
		28	Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden leaves Canada for England
1915	July	**8**	Canadian Order in Council increases CEF to 150,000 men

		14	British National Registration Bill passes through Parliament
		30	Germans move troops from Russia to Western Front
1915	August	**4**	First anniversary of war commemorated with day of prayer in Canada
		7	Heavy fighting at Gallipoli; ANZAC troops suffer heavy losses
		9	British retake Hooge trenches from Germans
1915	September	**5**	Tsar Nicholas II personally assumes command of his Russian armies
		13	Second Canadian Division arrives in France, joins First Division to form Canadian Corps
		25	Allied offensive launched by French in Champagne and British at Loos to some success
1915	October	**11**	*Harvest Thanksgiving celebrated in Canada*
		12	Edith Cavell executed for treason in Brussels by Germans
		23	King George appeals for more men saying "The end is not in sight"
		25	Total Canadian casualties to dare number 672 officers and 14,510 men
		26	New Zealand orders National Registration
		28	King George injured in fall from horse while inspecting troops in France
1915	November		Steel helmets are issued to British front line troops
		14	German attack at Artois repulsed with heavy German losses
		18	Canadian troops conduct trench raid south-west of Messines (Rivière Douve)
		25	Australian Prime Minister declares enlistment will remain voluntary
		29	Canadian munitions production increased; Imperial Munitions Board replaces Shell Committee
1915	December	**6**	First meeting of Allied Council of War in Paris
		8	Evacuation of troops from Gallipoli begin
		15	Sir Douglas Haig replaces Sir John French as the commander of the BEF
		24	Third Canadian Division formed
		28	British Cabinet decides conscription is necessary in Britain; single men called up first
1916	January	**1**	Canada increases CEF to 500,000 men
		2	Second National Day of Prayer held in Canada by Parliamentary decree
		8	Allies complete withdrawal of troops from Gallipoli
		19	War Council of Allied Ministers held in London
		23	Germans launch offensive near Neuville (Arras)
1916	February	**3**	Parliament Buildings in Ottawa destroyed by fire; German spies initially suspected
		9	British Military Service Act comes into effect; restrictions on lighting, sugar extended
		21	Germans attack French fortress of Verdun; repulsed with heavy French losses
		29	Germany begins unlimited submarine warfare
1916	March		Canadian recruiting reaches high point at 34,913 officers, men, and nurses
		27	British detonate mines and capture two lines of German trenches at St. Eloi; Paris Conference begins
1916	April	**6**	Germans regain ground lost at St. Eloi

		11	Canadian involvement in attack at St. Eloi made public; fighting continues until April 21
		14	9000 additional Canadian troops land in Britain
		19	President Wilson calls for an end to unannounced German submarine attacks
		23	*Easter Sunday*
		24	Easter Uprising in Ireland
		26	Fourth Division formed
1916	May	**31**	British and German navies engage at Jutland
1916	June	**2**	Germans attack British lines in Ypres salient; counter-attack by CEF at Mount Sorrel
		5	Earl Kitchener, British Secretary of State for War, drowned
		9	Allied War Council meets in London
		10	New Zealand passes conscription bill
		13	Canadian attacks near Ypres take remainder of ground lost June 2
1916	July	**1**	British launch an offensive at the Somme; Newfoundland troops engaged at Beaumont Hamel
1916	August	**4**	Third anniversary of war commemorated with day of prayer in Canada
		16	National Service Board formed by Canadian government
1916	September		Canadian troops enlisted to date number 354,948 (165,145 are Anglican)
		15	Canadian troops capture the village of Courcelette; Tanks used in battle for the first time
		22	Canadian casualties to date number 8644 killed; 27,212 wounded; 2005 missing
1916	October	**9**	*Harvest Thanksgiving celebrated in Canada*
1916	November	**7**	Woodrow Wilson re-elected President of the United States
		10	Canadians capture Regina Trench
		11	British offensive on the Somme front ends
		26	*First Sunday in Advent*
1916	December	**7**	David Lloyd George becomes British Prime Minister, replaces Herbert Asquith
		12	Germany suggests a compromise peace; it is rejected by the Allies
		14	Sir Robert Borden invited to Imperial War Conference in London
		31	Gregori Rasputin is killed in Russia
1917	January	**22**	President Wilson calls for ‘peace without victory’
1917	February	**1**	Germany announces total blockade of British Isles
		3	United States breaks off diplomatic relations with Germany
		24	Zimmerman telegram promising German help to Mexico is shown to United States
1917	March	**8**	Russian Revolution overthrows Tsar Nicholas II
		10	President Wilson decides to arm merchant vessels
		11	Bagdad falls to the British
		12	Duma declares itself the provisional government in Russia
		15	Tsar Nicholas II abdicates
1917	April	**2**	President Wilson asks Congress to declare war on Germany

		6	United States declares war on Germany
		8	*Easter Sunday*
		9	Canadian troops capture Vimy Ridge
		16	Canadian troops engaged at Lens and St. Quentin
		28	United States institutes conscription
1917	May	**13**	Virgin Mary appears to three children at Fatima, Portugal
		18	Sir Robert Borden reports to Parliament decision to implement conscription
		27	30,000 French troops mutiny at Misy-aux-Bois
1917	June	**5**	Total Canadian casualties to date number 99,639
		11	Military Service Bill introduced to Canadian Parliament
		19	Arthur Currie appointed commander of the Canadian Corps
		25	First contingent of American soldiers lands in France
		26	Canadians capture Coulotte during advance on Lens
		27	Second contingent of American soldiers arrive in France
1917	July	**6**	T.E. Lawrence captures Aqaba from the Turks; Anti-conscription riots in Montreal
		16	Russian troops mutiny on Austrian front
		17	British Royal Family adopt the name Windsor Motion to extend term of Canadian Parliament fails
		23	Kerensky is made Dictator of the Russian Republic
		24	Military Service Act (MSA) is passed in principle by Canadian Parliament
		25	Income tax is introduced in Canada
		31	Fighting begins in Flanders at Passchendaele
1917	August		Canadian troops number 424,456 to date
		4	Third anniversary of war commemorated with day of prayer in Canada
		27	British and Canadian troops launch an attack on Langemark
		29	Conscription becomes law in Canada
		30	Anti-conscription riots in Montreal kill 1, wound 7
		31	War-Time Elections Act passed in Canada
1917	September	**14**	Military Voters Act passed in Canada
1917	October	**8**	*Harvest Thanksgiving celebrated in Canada*
		13	Canadian government calls Class 1 men to register under conscription law
		26	Canadians capture Zonnebeke Road
		30	Canadians capture Passchendaele Ridge
1917	November	**1**	British capture Beersheba; Russians reported to be pursuing a separate peace
		2	German troops withdraw to prepared positions on the north bank of the Aisne River
		6	Canadian troops capture Passchendaele Ridge
1917	December	**2**	*First Sunday in Advent*
		6	Munitions ships collide in Halifax harbour; explosion damages buildings and kills 1630
		9	British General Allenby captures Jerusalem
		17	Canadian general election held; Union government wins majority

1918	January	**1**	Canadian government calls up 400,000 men for military service
		5	Lloyd George announces Allied peace terms
		8	Peace negotiations begin between Germany and Russia at Brest-Litovsk
		19	Bolsheviks in power in Russia; Russian Assembly dissolves
		29	Widespread strikes break out in Germany
1918	February	**1**	German military steps in to put down strikes
		25	Compulsory rationing begins in Britain
1918	March	**2**	Russia signs peace treaty with Germany
		10	Germans heavily bombard Champagne; preparations for an attack to the north apparent
		14	British and Americans seize Dutch shipping
		18	Canadian Parliament reconvenes after returns of military vote issued
		21	Germany begins attack on Western front; advance to a depth of three miles
		24	Long-range German guns shell Paris
		26	German attacks continue, seem likely to split French and British armies; Ferdinand Foch becomes supreme commander of Allied armies in West
		28	Riots break out in Quebec City, martial law is declared, troops sent in to keep peace
		30	Canadian calvary units capture, clear, and hold Moreuil Wood
		31	*Easter Sunday*
1918	April	**5**	First phase of German assaults end in Picardy
		9	Germans renew attack between Armentiéres and the La Bassée Canal
		10	Germans capture Messines Ridge, Baileul, and Wytschate
		11	Haig declares, “With our backs to the wall … each one of us must fight on to the end …”
		19	Canadian government cancels all exemptions, passes new conscription bill
		25	Germans capture Mount Kemmel on Somme front
		29	Germans mount new attack between Ypres and Riviére Douve, but Allied line holds
1918	May	**8**	Germans renew attack along Western Front
		27	Germans attack along Chemin des Dames, surprising French and British troops, make initial advances of 10 miles along a 9 mile front
		29	French forced to evacuate Soissons
		31	German troops reach the Marne River
1918	June	**1**	French defence prevents Germans from crossing the Marne
		9	Germans attack in Champagne from Montdidier to Noyon
		12	German offensive is abandoned
		27	Former Tsar Nicholas II and his family reported killed by the Bolsheviks; Canadian hospital ship *Llandovery Castle* sunk by Germans
		30	National Day of Prayer and Humiliation in Canada by government decree
1918	July	**1**	Dominion Day celebrations held by Canadian Corps in France; Borden reviews troops
1918	August	**7**	British troops land at Vladivostok to aid White Russians
		8	Canadians and Australians stage attack on Amiens
		10	Montdidier and Chaulnes captured by Allies

		27	Canadian and Scottish troops break through Hindenburg Line
		29	British capture Bapaume
		31	German troops in retreat from Ypres to Rheims
1918	September	**3**	Canadian soldiers break through D-Q Line; Germans withdraw to Canal du Nord
		11	German soldiers in Berlin refuse to return to the front
		27	Canadians attack defensive positions at Canal du Nord, breaking through
1918	October	**1**	British capture Damascus
		3	Albania cleared of Austrians, Durazzo destroyed
		6	Austrians and Germans request armistice negotiations based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points
		8	President Wilson responds to the armistice request; Canadian troops capture Cambrai
		13	Germans agree to peace discussions based on Wilson'
		14	*Harvest Thanksgiving celebrated in Canada*
		16	Lille, Ostend, Bruges, and Douai captured by the Allies
		17	Belgian coast cleared by British
		20	Church services in Toronto and Montreal forbidden because of the Spanish flu
		21	King George V declares any victory must be complete and decisive
		29	General Allenby completes the conquest of Syria
1918	November	**2**	Canadian troops capture Valenciennes; Haig orders general pursuit after retreating Germans
		11	Canadian troops capture Mons; Cease-fire takes effect at 11:00

Events were selected with an aim to providing a context for the events discussed in the body of this thesis. The events chosen were those of relevance to Canadians who lived during the Great War, and therefore may not always agree with other day-by-day almanacs. Nor are events on the Eastern Front or the Italian Front generally included.

The beginning of Advent is indicated, as this is the traditional (though largely symbolic) beginning of the Christian year. The dates of Easter and Thanksgiving are indicated as moveable feasts.

Information came from a variety of sources, most especially:

Toronto Globe
Canadian Churchman

Cook, Tim. *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916.* Toronto: Viking Canada, 2007.

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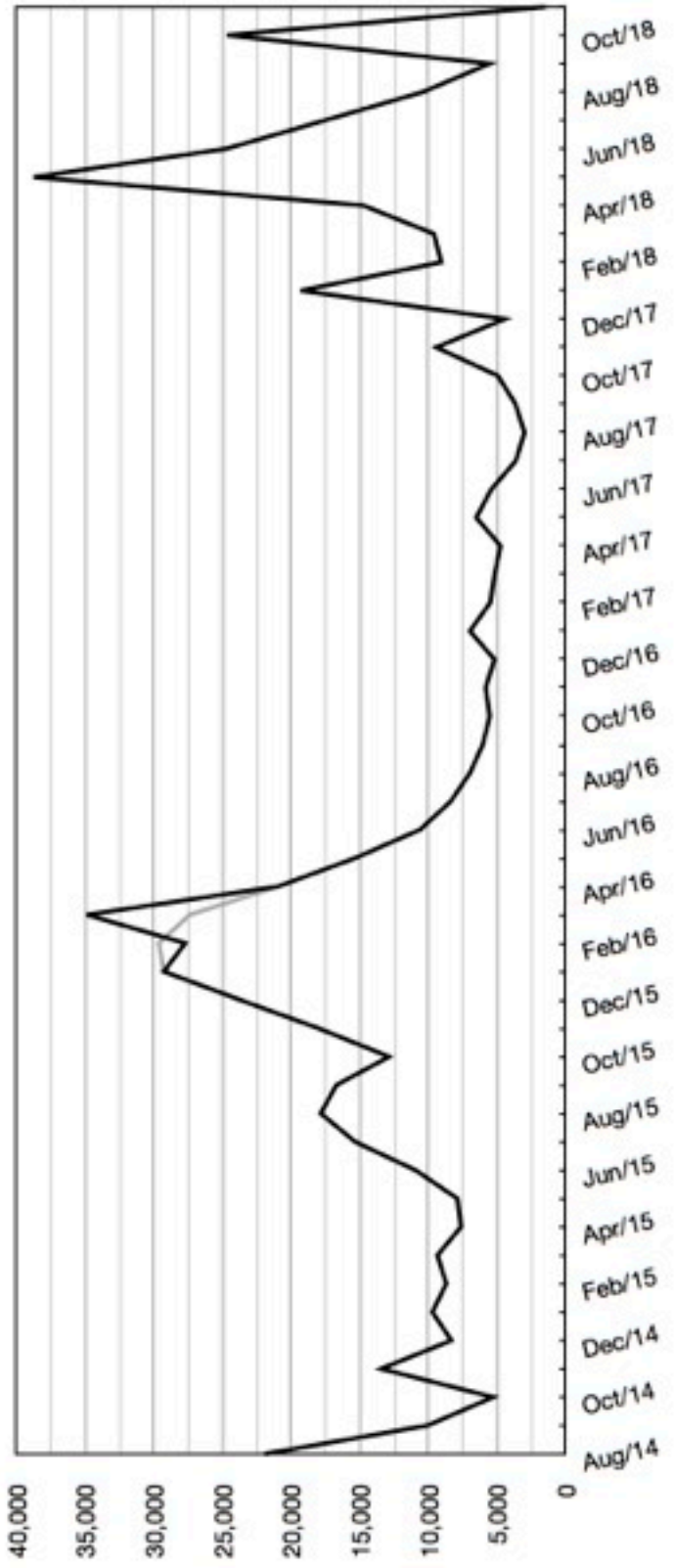
Appendix B — Graph of National Monthly Recruiting Figures, 1914-1918



The adjusted curve was arrived at by adjusting the Feb/17 enlistment figures to approximate a full month (total figure / 29 days x 31 days); the Mar/17 figure was then adjusted to approximate the fall 1915 enlistment decline. The extrapolated curve puts the Mar/17 figure 6500-8500 lower than the actual figure.

The March 1916 spike in recruiting is the only major rise in recruiting not associated with (a) the announcement of a new overseas contingent (Aug/14, Nov/14, Jan/15, June/15); (b) changes in the recruiting policy (July/15, after Oct/15); or (c) the introduction of the Military Service Act (after Oct/17). Minor increases can be observed correlated loosely with the introduction of National Registration (Jan/17) and the introduction of the Military Service Bill (June/17).

Enlistment figures from Nicholson, G.W.L. *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1962.

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