"BUILDING THE CITY OF GOD":
THE FOUNDING OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT OF CANADA

And did those feet in ancient time
   Walk upon earthly mountains green?
And was the Holy Lamb of God
   Within our pleasant pastures seen?
And did the Countenance Divine
   Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded there
   Among those dark Satanic mills?
Bring me my bow of burning gold!
   Bring me my arrows of desire!
Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
   Bring me my chariot of fire!
I will not cease from mental fight,
Till we have built Jerusalem
   Within our broad and bounteous land.

William Blake (alt'd)

"BUILDING THE CITY OF GOD":
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by
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Abstract

The late nineteenth century in Canada saw the rise of a number of religious organizations on university and college campuses, the most important being the Student YMCA and the Student YWCA. These organizations were characterized by a stress on piety, evangelism, service and foreign missions.

In the period before the First World War the Student YMCA's and YWCA's expanded, increased their organization, and nationalized. The students met together and developed a greater unity through summer conferences, and they came under the influence of the social gospel.

Between 1914 and 1918 they were deeply affected by the wartime conditions, and the women students especially developed a new sense of independence and a greater social vision. Both men and women experienced a deeper personal faith while growing suspicious of theology and institutional religion.

Religious young people who came of age during or just after the Great War believed the wartime rhetoric and expected the conflict and the reconstruction period afterward to initiate the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Led by the veterans, rebellious and in turmoil, who returned to university in 1919, these optimistic youth wanted to begin the building of the City of God.

At the same time, somewhat paradoxically, the war had shaken the foundations of the faith of many of these students, and it left a legacy of bitterness towards the Church and institutional religion, which, combined with the influence of modern science, turned many from orthodox Christianity. Desiring a new spirituality, they envisioned a great movement behind Jesus the leader and teacher.

The result was a liberal revolt against the institutions which had nurtured religion on Canadian campuses for fifty years. The student leaders of the emerging SCM associated the YMCA and YWCA with soul-deadening organization, with evangelical Protestantism, with the Church and business, and they rejected them all. The postwar drive for democracy and national unity issued in a new student-run organization, the Student Christian Movement of Canada, which they believed would be a flexible vehicle for the establishment of the City of God. But within a few years the veterans and that first postwar generation of students had graduated, and the keenness of the vision had dulled. Nevertheless, an organization had been founded which would inspire successive generations over the next half century and make a major contribution to the course of the political, social and religious life of twentieth century Canada.

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In the course of an undertaking of this size the writer incurs a large number of debts, both great and small. I will not even attempt to name but a few. Dr. Richard Allen not only suggested a study of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, but kindly supervised and patiently edited my attempts to explain the complex web of events despite his many other engagements. Jennifer Watts and the Student Christian Movement of Canada allowed me access to their extensive archives, and helped in many other ways to make my research easier and more pleasant. The Creative Initiative Foundation in Palo Alto, California showed their interest in my work by funding a visit to their offices to examine the personal papers of Dr. Henry Burton Sharman. Their kindness and hospitality are remembered with deepest affection, and the influence of that visit is clear not only in my thesis but in my life. My mother, Mrs. Janice Dorrance Kirkey, gave of herself unstintingly in the preparation of the final draft, as did my brothers and my father. My wife, Diane Vigneault Kirkey, undauntedly typed countless drafts, and suffered patiently throughout the course of this study, supporting, encouraging and giving wise counsel. To her I owe more than I can ever express.

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Introduction

It has been the bane of studies placed in the nineteen twenties that the decade has such clearly delineated boundaries: November 11, 1918 to October 29, 1929. This has frequently led to tendencies to assume that the almost eleven years bracketed by those dates cohere, and can be described in a word, a phrase, or a sentence or two. Studies of youth and studies of religion, both of which are relevant to an examination of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, have been guilty of this.

Over thirty years ago, perhaps under the influence of that now moldy stereotype of the lost or rebellious generation, Arthur Lower described religion in Canada in the 1920's and 1930's:

> During the generation between the two wars, Canadians, like Americans, seemed to be determined to kick their institutions to pieces. They made fun of their politicians; they jeered at their preachers and the faithful who followed them, and mocked their parents' decorious youth. In a hundred ways they attempted to cast off the puritanism in which they and their forbears had been steeped.[1]

Recent American scholarship, reacting to that same stereotype, has spoken of the conservatism of the 1920's. Roderick Nash has characterized the decade as being dominated by The Nervous Generation, when most people, including youth and intellectuals, "clung tightly to the familiar moorings of traditional custom and value."[2] And Paula Fass' excellent study of college youth in the 'twenties, The Damned and the Beautiful, states that

youth were apathetic and as conservative as their parents except regarding a few cultural issues.[3]

Neither of these interpretations is completely adequate. The decade was a period which experienced a major shift in the ideological infrastructure of English Canada. Just over fifteen years ago W.L. Morton denied that the disillusionment which smothered Great Britain and the United States in the 1920's had any impact on Canada, and noted that optimism and a faith in progress were still influential elements in Protestant Christianity. He saw the decade as characterized by a struggle between the "nostalgic" and the "propulsive", with the propulsive or progressive naturally succeeding.[4] Although the terms are not as precise as one would like, he had grasped an element of the flux of the 1920's.

Both Richard Allen in Canada, and Paul Carter in the United States, in the course of their reflections on the social gospel in the two countries, have recognized a religious watershed which can be roughly placed about mid-decade: perhaps 1924 or 1925.[5] Paula Fass recognizes the same dividing line in her discussions of religion on college campuses.[6] The division is borne out by this study.

The Churches in Canada in the 1920's, John Grant notes in a chapter entitled "The Failure of Consensus", were assaulted by a number of conflicting forces, including sectarianism, fundamentalism, anti-clericalism, liberalism and secularism.

> Although the loudest protests against the conventional churches came from the right, there was also much dissatisfaction on the part of Canadians who thought that the churches were not liberal enough. This group was usually less articulate, but probably represented more accurately the direction in which Canada as a whole was moving. Its

> point of view was expressed most explicitly by the Student Christian Movement of Canada....[7]

Richard Allen, in an article on Wesley College students in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, remarked that

> students and youth movements ... have been largely ignored by historians. This lack of attention is unfortunate for, though student or youth movements may simply be aspects of wider social movements, they are - as contemporary history shows - particulary important as sensitive resonators of new and exciting ideas.[8]

While the situation is changing, Canadian college students as a distinct group have been completely ignored, save only for passing references in the often abysmal histories of the colleges and universities of Canada.

The Student Christian Movement of Canada, formed from the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's in 1921, was, with its predecessors, perhaps the most significant organization on Canadian campuses into the 1930's. It alone of all campus organizations has been examined in any detail. The 1942 "court history", Twenty-one Years A-Building,[9] reflects the renewed piety of the movement in the late 1930's and the early 1940's. It numbers only forty-eight pages, including the two appendices. Margaret Beattie's 1972 Ph.D. thesis at the University of Alberta, "Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," has had the historical sections edited and published by the SCM itself as A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement in Canada, 1921-1974.[10] Neither of these works is analytical, and the latter pays little attention to the primary focus of the movement in its first few decades, which was religious.

The SCM was proud of its membership with other similar movements in the World Student Christian Federation. There is a more substantial litera-

ture on the history of the Federation. But despite the fact that there were similar attempts, though none so radical, to reorganize student religion on university campuses in Australia and the United States after the First World War, little attempt at comparative history has yet been made. As the Canadian events preceded those in Australia and the United States, the author has given scant attention to correlating them.

With their rapidly changing leadership and the idealism of youth, student societies and movements can be excellent bell-wethers of the direction in which society will go. Students are often sensitive and quick to respond to intellectual currents. The rise of the SCM, in revolt against the conservative YMCA, presaged the dominance of the mainline Protestant Churches of Canada by theological liberals. It was in the 1920's that "modern" religious faith, a modernity and a consensus now passing, was formed. Ecumenism and pacifism were both issues in the SCM before the Church at large, and the social gospel lost the vitality of its first phase in the movement before it did in the Church.

The movement is not just important as a bell-wether. The spirit of the postwar period assaulted the faith of many of those who came of age during or just after the Great War, and the liberal Student Christian Movement of Canada served as a vehicle to bring many of the students into adulthood and modern culture with a faith still intact, if altered.

This thesis is thus both a study of the formation of an organization, one which absorbed the most vital religious institutions on Canadian

college and university campuses, and an attempt to explain the very complex web of often conflicting religious, intellectual and social currents playing on the Protestant students of the immediate postwar period.

In that postwar period, which is one which perhaps needs to be separately characterized as "Reconstruction" or "Readjustment" since it truly belongs neither to a study of the First World War nor to one of the 1920's, Canadian colleges and universities were in a ferment. A postwar boom resulted in hugh influxes of students, many of them independent-minded veterans. The stress on democracy and freedom during the war made this a generation of students less likely to tolerate the authoritarian structures of university life. But the same war-time rhetoric had also led them to believe that, now that the war was over, they could begin to remake the world, often phrased in religious terms as bringing in the Kingdom of God or building the City of God.

This optimistic desire to rebuild, coupled with a spread of the influence of liberal theology during and after the war, led the students to reject the YMCA and YWCA, which had run religious programmes on Canadian campuses for fifty years, in favour of their own organization, a broad, loose movement to study Jesus and discover the principles for building the City of God. This organization would go on to become one of the most influential extra-church religious organizations of this century: the Student Christian Movement of Canada.

Notes

1 Arthur R.M. Lower, "Religion and Religious Institutions," Canada, ed. George W. Brown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 481. I am indebted to John W. Grant, who cites this passage in his The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 131.

2 Roderick Nash, The Nervous Generation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), p.2.

3 Paula Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), chap. 8, passim.

4 W.L. Morton, "The 1920s," The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. J.M.S. Careless & R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 226-231.

5 Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 320 and Paul Carter, regarding the American "Religious Depression", in The Twenties in America, 2nd edn. (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing, 1975), pp. 54-55.

6 Fass, p. 335.

7 Grant, p. 130.

8 Richard Allen, "Children of Prophecy," Red River Valley Historian, Summer 1974, p. 15.

9 Ernest A. Dale, Twenty-one Years A-Building: A Short Account of the Student Christian Movement of Canada 1920-1941 (Toronto: Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1942).

10 A Brief History of the Student Christian Movement in Canada, 1921-1974 (Toronto: Student Christian Movement, 1975).

Chapter 1: Student Christian Movements in Canada, 1870-1914[1]

The Student Christian Movement of Canada always traced its history back a half century before its founding in 1921. In the midst of the ferment among the students of Canadian colleges and universities after the Great War, many came to question all institutional religion, including the Student Young Men's and Student Young Women's Christian Associations which had nurtured and supported college students for almost five decades. In the months before the conference in Guelph, Ontario, which formed the Student Christian Movement from the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's, many students and their leaders paused to reflect on their past. In their national magazine, The Canadian Student, Charles Bishop, National Secretary of the YMCA, realized that

> The review of history becomes of accentuated value at a time when movements arise to change its current. The very fact that changes are contemplated, makes the history of that which is to be changed of increased interest and importance. Such is the significance at this time of the history of the Christian Associations in the Colleges and Universities of Canada, which have grown up as Student Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations.[2]

Bishop went on to contend that since their earliest days the Student Christian Associations had been moving towards greater organization and greater national unity, and he rejoiced as he saw the final "consummation of a new Movement ... It will be its mission to determine the form which the

Christian activities of the students of Canada will take in the new era upon which we have entered."[3]

The last third of the nineteenth century witnessed a phenomenal growth, development and diversification of post-secondary education. This period saw the rise of publicly supported institutions and the advance of technical, scientific, and professional education, followed slowly by the spread of co-education. With this growth and development came tougher entrance requirements and, to a certain extent, stricter social standards, which resulted in older and somewhat more mature students. The civilizing of the rowdy undergraduate was also begun in this period with the rise of collegiate athletics, and subsequently by the spread of clubs and fraternities and a broad range of student societies.[4]

Two other broad movements in the last third of the nineteenth century, the two closely linked, served as an impetus to the formation of college and university student religious groups. Protestant middle-class reformers in this period sought to control the direction of social change and alleviate some of the miseries arising from industrialization and urbanization. They formed international lay organizations willing to put aside minor theological differences in order to more effectively defend or extend their faith, institutions, and values. Two of these organizations were the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, which were active with young people from their founding in the mid-nineteenth century. At the same time, and partially related to the movement of Protestant reform, was an increased adult interest in organizing the leisure activities of youth. Young

people were perceived as especially vulnerable, and adolescence came to be seen as the ideal time for evangelization and conversion.[4] Church leaders also saw the vigour and innocence of youth as an essential in the preservation of Christian ideals at home and evangelization abroad. They organized and encouraged Epworth Leagues, Christian Endeavour, Presbyterian and Baptist Young People's groups in the churches, and Student YMCA'S and Student YWCA'S on college and university campuses.[5]

I

Religious organizations have always been indigenous to the campuses of North America's colleges and universities. Even from the earliest times, within a few years of the foundation of an institution of higher learning, a Society of Religious or Missionary Inquiry, usually student run, would be established. Before 1870 there is clear evidence of student societies for missionary study and activity at the Toronto Theological Seminary, Free Church College in Halifax, and Knox College in Toronto.[6]

Four or five student religious movements would eventually converge to form the Student Christian Movement of Canada in 1921. The first of these to gain a foothold in Canada was the Student Young Men's Christian Association, the earliest chapters of which probably differed little from the Societies of Religious Inquiry that they absorbed or replaced.

Early Student YMCA's in Canada began without any formal connection to the Student Associations in the United States, which predated them by almost fifteen years, or to the city associations in Canada. The first Stu-

dent Association grew out of a small prayer meeting organized by students at University College, Toronto, in 1871. Two years later, the group formally organized as the University College YMCA with the object of "the promotion of the spiritual interest of the students of this College." Five other associations formed in the next six or seven years proved to be ephemeral. It was not until a Student Secretary from the International Committee of the YMCA in New York, in association with the University College Association, called the first Student YMCA Convention in Canada at Queen's College, Kingston, in 1879, that the organization got on any firm footing. Delegates from University College, Victoria University, Cobourg, Albert College, Belleville, and Queen's College attended the convention held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Provincial Committee of the YMCA. This conference marked the beginning of stability: most Student YMCA's organized thereafter continued without interruption.[7]

Through the activity of the International Student Secretaries, faculty members involved in the city YMCA's, or the students themselves, YMCA's soon consolidated themselves on Canadian university campuses. Ten years later there were thirteen active groups at most major colleges and universities from Dalhousie to Manitoba College. The number of local units continued to grow until the First World War, eventually taking in almost every college or university with a programme of two or more years, and keeping pace with the expansion in the west. Growth was not just in the number of units, either, as some Student Associations enrolled over fifty percent of the student body, and at a few of the colleges, including Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph, membership was soon compulsory for all students.[8]

Along with the growing numbers who joined the Student YMCA's came a greater organization and professionalization. By 1886 the associations at the University of Toronto colleges had grown so large that they were able to raise the money for a building of their own on a site provided by the university, only the third or fourth College Association with a building in North America. The same year the University of Toronto shared with Yale the distinction of having the first paid student secretary to adminster the building and to provide full-time leadership for the growing diversity of activities. In 1893 the McGill Association retained a student secretary as well, and two years later was able to rent quarters in a building just off campus. In 1894, the Ontario and Quebec Provincial Committee hired a part-time student Secretary to supervise and help the College Associations, and the next year they added a Toronto Secretary for all the colleges and universities in and around Toronto. In the years following, the associations at Dalhousie and the University of Manitoba also retained student secretaries.[9]

The earliest Student YMCA's in the United States developed in isolation, and it was not until 1870 that they joined the International Committee of the YMCA, thereby adopting the Y's Protestant evangelical church membership basis. In 1877 the Intercollegiate Department was formed and the first secretary was appointed, uniting in one body the Student Associations of the continent.[10]

Through the Student Committee, Canadian Student Associations maintained closer ties with Student Associations south of the border than with city associations in Canada, although they did attend the Ontario and Quebec Provincial Conventions. The city associations believed that the Student De-

partment gave them contact with and influence over the future leaders of the country, added prestige to the YMCA, and that it hopefully was a training ground for leadership for secretaries for the city associations as well, but there was in reality little attention or support given to the student work. The city YMCA'S four-fold programme of physical, mental (or educational), social and religious activities was inappropriate for colleges where the physical, educational and to some extent social aspects of life were already cared for, leaving the students free to emphasize evangelism and personal piety.[11]

A second student religious movement to be established in Canada was the Student Young Women's Christian Association. The growth of the Student YWCA followed a pattern similar to that of the Student YMCA in Canada, but it began later and was hampered by the slow growth of co-education and the small numbers of women students. The first Canadian Student YWCA was formed in 1886 at Albert College, and the following year University College and the Women's Medical College in Toronto were organized, as were nurses in training at several hospitals in the Maritimes and Ontario, and students at a few academies and high schools as well. Growth was steady until just after the turn of the century, although the YWCA drew in a more diverse group of educational institutions than the YMCA, including normal schools and business colleges, each with their own unique problems.[12]

The earliest Student YWCA's were autonomous, and strongly influenced by the numerically superior Student YMCA's. At Albert College, the women continued to attend many of the YMCA meetings,[13] and cooperative events at other co-educational colleges were not unknown. Through these con-

tacts, the YWCA students came to regard themselves primarily as members of a Christian student movement, and only secondarily as part of a broader women's organization.[14]

The sense of distance between the Student YWCA's and the city associations was further augmented by an organizational schism. Many of the city associations were affiliated with the International Committee of the Women's Christian Association, which maintained a broad membership basis. But the Student YWCA's, influenced by the Student YMCA's, maintained the importance of Protestant evangelical church membership as the criterion for YWCA membership. Most of them joined the National YWCA formed by Student YWCA's in the United States in 1886. Needless to say, neither organization could give much time to supervision of the fledgling student work in Canada.[15]

By the turn of the century, Student YMCA's and YWCA's were well established at all large centres of population and all large colleges. Mention has already been made of the first Student YMCA Conference in Kingston in 1879. Eleven years later the first Maritime Student Conference was convened at Acadia University with representatives from the YMCA's at Dalhousie, Mount Allison University, and Prince of Wales College, Charlottetown, also present. Both the Ontario and Quebec Conference, usually held in conjunction with the Provincial Convention, and the Maritime Student Conference, continued annually for many years.[16]

Perhaps the most significant intercollegiate conference of all was the Northfield Conference, first held in 1886 under the leadership of the

famous evangelist, Dwight L. Moody. The conference, held annually at Northfield, Massachusetts, quickly became the major international meeting of the Student YMCA. Students from all over North America gathered for a month to carefully discuss the various phases of student work, study the Bible, and listen to addresses by the religious leaders and missionaries of the day. Canadian universities and colleges were represented there from the beginning.[17]

An annual international Student YWCA conference was later held at Northfield as well. It was eventually moved to Silver Bay, New York. In the west, annual conferences of the Student YM and YWCA's were also held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, although none of these achieved the significance of the Northfield Conferences.[18]

All of these conferences played a decisive role in the life of the student movement. Supervision by provincial and national secretaries was woefully inadequate, necessitating the development of indigenous leadership. This was done by sending promising leaders to the conferences each year. There they learned Bible study and evangelism techniques, leadership methods, and were exposed to the best in religious thinking, as well as participating in discussions of world missions and social problems. It was here, in the slow and careful discussions and studies, that the nature of the student movements was hammered out. The conferences proved an effective device for maintaining continuity and uniformity within a movement which experienced a high rate of turn over of membership, and whose local units often functioned in isolation.[19]

During the 1870's, 1880's and into the 1890's, both the Student YMCA's and the Student YWCA's were characterized by an emphasis on evangelism and personal piety. The earliest Student Associations were often just prayer circles to reinforce and sustain Christians on campus, but the Associations, especially the YMCA's, soon expanded their range of activities. Most Associations continued to encourage daily personal devotions, however, and almost all held weekly meetings for prayer and the discussion of such devotional subjects as, "The Model Student", "A Young Man's Self Watch", "Brotherly Love", "Wholeheartedness for Christ", and "Purity".[20] These weekly meetings were often addressed by faculty members or local clergy, who sometimes provided additional leadership and continuity for the Associations.[21]

Evangelism was a special emphasis of the Student YMCA's in the nineteenth century. Evangelists often visited college campuses under the auspices of the YMCA, sometimes with revivals resulting, and the travelling secretaries of the International Student Committee often fulfilled the same function. Some Associations held weekly evangelistic meetings, and most strongly encouraged systematic personal evangelism. On many public university campuses the YMCA, or the YMCA and YWCA together, provided regular religious services, and almost all celebrated the annual Day of Prayer for Students: an opportunity for evangelism and fund raising both on campus and off.[22]

By the 1890's prayer meetings and evangelistic services gradually gave first place to Bible studies, although neither were ever completely superseded, especially at the Baptist colleges. The first studies were evan-

gelistic or devotional, but they slowly changed to a more ethical emphasis, often tending toward theological liberalism. Nathanael Burwash observed this shift at Victoria College, Toronto:

> The marvelous quickening of interest in the study of the Bible ... among the college students of the whole Christian world, in the twenty years from 1890-1910, was due in large measure to the spirit of honest, fearless investigation manifested everywhere in the historical and critical methods of Bible study....[23]

These studies were often student led, and summer conferences invariably made training in Bible study methods part of their programme. In 1887, the University of Toronto reported 220 members enrolled in eleven Bible study courses and one Greek New Testament course.[24]

Arising originally from evangelistic concerns were a variety of service projects on campus and in the community. Of special concern were freshmen as potential members. Freshmen were often written before they came to college by the YMCA and provided with lists of respectable lodging houses and with a student handbook, an innovation probably of YMCA origin. YMCA or YWCA students would meet trains, guide and advise new students, and hold freshmen receptions early in the term. Throughout the year there would be additional receptions or socials, and some Associations organized to the extent that every member was assigned a new student to befriend, and, if possible, convert. On some campuses, the YM and YWCA's even supervised college athletics. The Associations at the University of Toronto, with their own building, provided a reading room on campus, and when the McGill YMCA's Strathcona Hall was erected in 1905 they were able to provide meeting rooms, a gymnasium, and a large dormitory.[25]

Community service activities were not yet touched with much feeling for social reform, and were largely evangelistic or benevolent in intent. Services were held in jails and rescue missions. Members organized regular visits to hospitals, almshouses and orphanages. YWCA groups engaged in such benevolent work as sewing for the poor, and some students taught night school in the slums or English to immigrants. The YMCA at Toronto Medical College even organized a Temperance League.[26]

Through the broad range of activities which the Associations began to engage in, they slowly broke out of their "evangelical ghettoes" to a broader concept of Christian life. Members were exhorted to a "symmetrical" or "full-orbed" manhood or womanhood which included academic excellence, social ability and athletic prowess as well as evangelical fervour. In 1888, every medal and prize won at McGill was taken by a YMCA member. The Queen's University Journal in 1903 advised the new women students to attend the YWCA meetings every Friday, "for all the best girls go to the Y.W...."[27] By the turn of the century, the YMCA's and YWCA's were no longer enclaves for the pious, but broad groups with considerable influence and prestige on campus.[28]

One aspect of the early stress on evangelism that was to have a continued and influential place within the life of the Student Associations was a strong missionary interest and concern for international affairs. This was part of a growing interest in foreign missions among most Protestant denominations in the latter half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Almost every Student Association held regular meetings weekly or monthly to

study the life, religion and missionary needs of individual countries, to review missionary biographies, and to listen to missionaries on furlough. A serious effort was made to encourage students to pledge themselves as volunteers for service as foreign missionaries.

Not only were there missions studies, but each association regularly contributed funds for the support of missionaries. In 1877, one of the members of the YMCA at Royal Medical College, Kingston, became the first medical missionary from Canada, and two years later the University College, Toronto, YMCA was able to finance the sending of one of their graduates to Korea. The following year the Medical Colleges of Toronto banded together to send a Dr. Hardie and his wife to Korea. At denominational colleges, the YMCA's and YWCA's generally supported missionaries through their own Church mission boards.[29]

So strong was the students' interest in foreign missions that it was a travelling student secretary who created the International Committee of the YMCA's Foreign Department, and became its first secretary. The students remained the main source of financial support for the Foreign Departments of the YMCA and YWCA, as well as the greatest single source of recruits.[30]

This interest in missions was not confined to the Student YMCA's and YWCA's on campus. Many campuses boasted independent Missions Societies or Missionary Bands. In 1884 the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance was formed, with chapters in a number of the colleges in Ontario, "to encourage among students in general and theological students in particular

an active interest in and so far as possible consecration to mission work, both home and foreign."[31]

At the first Northfield Conference, in 1886, was born a strong move among students to volunteer for foreign missions, and in 1888 the YMCA leadership formed the co-educational Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM) to draw in the scattered volunteer bands and missionary societies and tie them to the YMCA and YWCA. A committee of representatives from the Student YMCA's, the Student YWCA's, the American Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance and the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance was formed with YMCA Student Secretary John R. Mott as chairman to govern the new movement. From Moody and other conservative, and often millenarian, speakers at the early Northfield conferences, the SVM derived a Biblical sense of crisis which was to characterize it for years. By nature the SVM attracted the more evangelical students, and as the YMCA and YWCA slowly altered their programme in later years, a growing rift appeared between the SVM and its parent organizations.[32]

In Canada, the newly formed movement slowly absorbed the chapters of the Canadian Intercollegiate Missionary Alliance, as well as some independent bands and societies, and on some university campuses the SVM operated as a committee of the Student YMCA. The SVM Quadrennial Conferences, held in the American Mid-West from 1891, quickly assumed the role of a convention for all student religious movements in North America.[33]

Two more manifestations of the missionary spirit of the period deserve mention for their significance later. In the spring of 1892 all the YMCA's on the University of Toronto campus united to form the Canadian

Colleges' Mission, "to foster the missionary spirit in Canadian colleges" and "to propagate the gospel of Christ in Korea and other nations."[34] Within the next few years, the Canadian Colleges' Mission organized chapters at McGill University, and at almost every post-secondary institution in Ontario, and hired its first travelling secretary. The mission assumed the support of Dr. and Mrs. Hardie in Korea, and later supported missionaries in India as well. Before the First World War the Canadian Colleges' Mission gradually confined itself to encouraging missionary interest and giving among secondary and collegiate students, but not before many years of vibrant life.[35]

Another manifestation of the international and interdenominational spirit of the Student YMCA of North America was the formation of the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in Sweden, in 1895, largely at the instigation of Student Secretary and SVM Chairman John R. Mott. The WSCF united the Student YMCA's of North America with the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain, and comparable smaller movements in Sweden, Norway and Germany. The WSCF had no executive power, but served as a clearinghouse for information regarding needs, techniques, and mutual interests. John Mott served the WSCF as General Secretary for its first twenty-five years. A few years after its foundation, the WSCF opened its doors to women, and appointed its first woman secretary. Canadian students valued their connection with the WSCF as it gave them a sense of being part of a world-wide movement, but it often focused their attention on global evangelism to the detriment of local and national problems.[36]

II

By the turn of the century a shift in emphasis and in spirit could be detected in many of the local units of the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's on Canadian campuses. This may be partly attributable to a new sense of nationalism: a throwing off of a colonial mentality and a growing confidence in Canada's future, perhaps arising out of the feelings generated by the Boer War. As early as 1890, the Student YMCA's of Quebec and Ontario were calling for a travelling student secretary to serve Canada.[37] And the city associations began to review their relationship with the International Committee in the light of a number of perceived inadequacies and injustices during and after the Boer War.[38]

An evident manifestation of the same nascent nationalism was the formation of the independent Dominion Council of the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada between 1893 and 1895. At the time, there was a trend towards the establishment of central coordinating bodies among a number of Canadian reform organizations, and a growing recognition that the American influence might not always be beneficial for Canada. In the case of the YWCA, their establishment of a separate Canadian organization well ahead of the YMCA is undoubtedly due, at least partially, to the problems caused by the split in the YWCA in the United States.[39]

The Student YWCA's were intimately involved in the formation of the Dominion Council, and may have had a part in its adoption of Protestant evan-

gelical church membership as the membership criterion for the Canadian YWCA. At the inaugural meeting were representatives from Alma College, the University of Toronto, and the Toronto Women's Medical College, and one of the first elected officers was a student. Students from the University of Toronto and McGill attended the founding convention in 1895.[40]

The YWCA of Canada was reorganized in 1901, creating City and Student Departments. The Student Department was without student representtation, however, being administered by a National Student Secretary and a committee of alumnae appointed by the Dominion Council. When the Student YWCA's agreed to join with their American sisters for the sake of representation on the Executive Committee of the WSCF a few years later, there was serious discussion of whether this compromised them as British subjects, evidence that the imperial connection was beginning to replace the continental one in their minds.[41]

Meanwhile, in the larger religious world, the quest for the historical Jesus had led to the discovery of His social and ethical teachings, which would eventually form the foundation of a new social Christianity. In the Student Associations a trend in the direction of Bible study, especially focused on the life and teachings of Jesus, was evident. A number of Bible study outlines and programmes were popular among the Student Associations, many prepared specifically for college students, but the most influential was a Bible study put together by a Canadian: Henry Burton Sharman's Studies in the Life of Christ, published by the YMCA in 1896. John Mott was so impressed with Sharman's work that he appointed Sharman as the first

Bible Study Secretary of the International Committee in 1898 to prepare regular outlines for the Student Associations.[42]

Most of the studies were prepared by theological liberals, and throughout the first decade or decade and a half of the twentieth century the leadership of the YMCA and YWCA cautiously moved toward liberal Protestantism. Both organizations proved congenial homes for liberalism because of their pragmatism, their interdenominationalism, their lay character and their refusal to involve themselves in theological debate. This move manifested itself in a demand for more intellectual and social content to evangelism, and in a greater social consciousness. The local units, however, remained staunchly conservative in certain regions and among the colleges of some denominations.[43]

III

Near the end of the first decade of the twentieth century another shift in the character and ethos of the Student Associations began. The emphasis on the life and teachings of Jesus, especially as embodied in the Synoptic Gospels, began to issue forth in a new social consciousness. Bible studies which had originally sought to affirm the great truths of Christian orthodoxy now, influenced by the Socratic method of Dr. H.B. Sharman, tried to approach the Gospel accounts without presuppositions in order to discover for each student the essence of the message hidden there for him. The result was freer discussion, more questioning of tradition, and a still greater stress on the ethical teachings of Jesus. Coupled with this came the pre-

dominance of the small group Bible study, replacing a lecture format which had flourished in some colleges and universities, especially among the Student YWCA's. The new approach encouraged individual interaction and personal appropriation of the material on a deeper level.[44]

In addition to Bible and mission studies, a new group of studies on local and national social problems became increasingly popular. Off-campus activities of the Student YMCA's and YWCA's were undertaken less for the purposes of evangelism than in an attempt to Christianize society, or rather, evangelism itself came to have a broader connotation of social reform as well as individual conversion.[45]

From 1908 onward, there were staff members in the Student Department of the International YMCA specifically assigned to organizing and encouraging social service activities. In the same year, John R. Mott conducted evangelistic crusades at McGill and the University of Toronto where he urged students to express their Christian commitment in social service. Students at conferences were addressed by those experienced in social work in Canadian and U.S. cities, and in the local units they used studies prepared for them by the American YMCA and YWCA, as well as the works of Winnipeg social gospel leader and Methodist minister, J.S. Woodsworth. Those faculty members interested or active in the growing social reform movement often worked with the Student Associations as well. At Wesley College in Winnipeg, Salem Bland, Professor of Church History and a radical proponent of the social gospel, regularly addressed the YMCA, announcing that the future belonged to the Church which accepted the social teachings of Jesus; Dr. Elliott, Wesley's Professor of Philosophy, led Bible studies in "The Social

Significance of the Teachings of Jesus;" and Professor W.J. Rose, later a renowned Slavonics specialist,[46] declared the Gospel to be a statement of the solidarity of humanity.[47] From 1908, in the colleges of the prairies, and in the large public universities of central Canada, there was a marked ascendancy of the social gospel.[48]

The pre-war flood of immigrants was a special cause for concern among the students, who felt a compassion for the plight of the "New Canadians", but also perceived them as a challenge to the nature of a "Christian Canada". Students taught night-school English classes, and often worked the summers as teachers in immigrant districts in the cities or in newly settled parts of the prairies. Members of the Student YMCA's and YWCA's across the country worked in settlement houses. The University of Toronto YMCA established its own settlement house in 1910, and two years later the Student YMCA's of Winnipeg did the same. This contact with the hardships of city life in early twentieth-century Canada often opened the eyes of the college students who were still largely the sons and daughters of the wealthy and influential in this period. The students brought back to their Associations and study groups new questions about slum conditions, about the distribution of wealth, about the whole industrial system, which would have a disquieting effect on both the Student YMCA and the Student YWCA in the future.[49]

There was a new spirit of questioning of the established order in the years before the Great War. One of the results of this spirit was that the students of the YWCA's began to criticize the requirement that their mem-

bers must be members in good standing of Protestant evangelical churches. They argued that it placed needless difficulties before conscientious doubters and those troubled by only a point of doctrine or two, and lost them to the organization. Likewise, in the YMCA there were ongoing discussions of the basis of membership, but there, too, no changes resulted.[50] On the local level, however, some Student YMCA's and YWCA's chose simply to ignore the rules, and the Student YMCA at Ontario Agricultural College, for example, advertised that their membership was open to "all students of good moral character...."[51]

Meanwhile, the YMCA's of Canada were going through the same process of nationalization, if later and slower, that their sisters had gone through a decade or more ago. A Canadian Committee of the International Committee of the YMCA was formed in 1905 out of the same drive for unity that was evident in other reform agencies of the time, out of a sense of frustration over inadequate supervision by the International Committee, and as part of a growing nationalism. The following year the Student Department of the International Committee finally appointed a Student Secretary for Canada, but not before a group of Canadian supporters had been found to pay his salary. In 1909 Charles W. Bishop took over as Student Secretary.[52]

In the years after the establishment of the Canadian Committee there were considerable frustrations and confusions between it and the International Committee over finances and jurisdiction and in 1912 all YMCA work was nationalized at a convention where representatives of the Student Associations took an active part. A Canadian National Council with Charles Bishop as National General Secretary was set up for "the purpose of achieving a

unity of supervisory agencies within the Dominion of Canada ... to enter upon their fullest possibilities, and to take advantage of the rising tide of national spirit in the Dominion of Canada...."[53,54]

The Student YMCA's joined the newly formed National Council with an understanding that two of their most pressing complaints would be examined: that of the government of the movement, and the membership basis.[55] Although the second matter was never adequately dealt with, a new and more democratic constitution for the Student Associations was worked out at a Student YMCA conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, in 1914. Control of the movement shifted to the students, with the Student Committee having only a supervisory role.[56]

Although a temporary replacement for Charles Bishop as National Student Secretary was found, it was not until the next year, 1913, that a permanent Student Secretary was found in Ernest H. Clarke. After graduating from Brandon College in 1912, Clarke had been Intercollegiate Student Secretary for the YMCA's of Winnipeg for a year before taking on his new position.[57] Ernest Clarke had strong views on the course that the Student YMCA's should be following. He had a vision of a larger student led and controlled organization separate from the YMCA, a vision which he was not alone in sharing.[58] At a Canadian-American Secretaries' Conference in Estes Park, Colorado, in 1913, at which Clarke was present, leaders discussed the possibility of a break with the larger YMCA, as well as methods for realizing the aims of the students within the existing structures. And later that year, at a World's Student Christian Federation meeting at Lake Mohonk, Clarke discussed with W.M. Birks, then chairman of the Student Committee,

the need for a different name and student control for the Student Associations.[59]

In the YWCA there was a slow increase in organization in the same period. No Student YWCA was large enough to support its own secretary, but there were National Student Secretaries from 1901, and visiting YMCA and SVM Secretaries would usually address the YWCA on campus. In 1908 an Intercollegiate Secretary to serve the YWCA's of the Toronto colleges and universities was appointed, and although the post was discontinued in 1910, it was revived again in 1912. In 1913, a second National Student Secretary was added to the staff.[60]

It is interesting that within a few months of the formation of a separate Canadian YMCA, the Student YMCA's and YWCA's reaffirmed the importance of the American connection by joining in the foundation of the Council of North American Student Movements with their American counterparts and the SVM. The Council was envisioned as a clearing house for information and techniques, and it made possible the joint sponsorship of speakers and study courses. In early 1913 the Council began publication of The North American Student, a magazine which helped to unify the often isolated local units.[61]

Whether the Council of North American Student Movements proved an inadequate vehicle for the growing desire for an independent student movement, one which possibly even encompassed both sexes, or whether the foundation of the Council was an impetus, in the fall of 1913 discussions began

regarding a Council of Canadian Student Movements. In April 1914, the Student YMCA's, the Student YWCA's, the Student Volunteer Bands in Canada, the Canadian Colleges' Mission and the YMCA's and YWCA's in high schools united in the Council "for the purpose of co-operation and mutual helpfulness."[62] The nationalism nascent in the formation of the Canadian Student Council was obvious in one of its first acts. It called the first Canadian SVM Conference at Queen's University, and urged the International Executive of the Student Volunteer Movement to open a Canadian office. The SVM responded by allowing the Council to nominate the secretaries. In the early summer of 1914 J.R. Buchanan, a graduate of McGill, was appointed the first Canadian Student Volunteer Secretary, and shared an office with Ernest Clarke. Buchanan, however, enlisted in the fall of 1914 and was not replaced for several years. The Council of Canadian Student Movements arranged for cooperation between local and national associations, coordinated programmes in colleges, arranged for speakers and speaking tours, in fact, functioned as the nucleus of a national student Christian movement.[63]

Before a sense of national unity could develop, students had to meet together and establish or recognize common bonds. In Quebec and Ontario the annual conferences the students had held in conjunction with the YMCA Provincial Conventions gradually disappeared, to be eventually replaced by Presidents' Conferences. Each year executive members of the College YMCA's met for a few days before the school term began to plan the year's work and discussion topics and to consider problems of mutual interest. The

Toronto Student YWCA's followed a similar pattern in their annual Intercollegiate Worker's Conference.[64]

The distant conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts, Silver Bay, New York, and Geneva Park, Wisconsin were never able to attract more than a couple of dozen Canadian delegates to each, but from 1907 the Student YMCA began to hold an annual conference at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, which attracted large numbers of Canadian students and faculty members.[65]

The YWCA, nationalized almost two decades before the YMCA, led its larger brother in the establishment of Canadian conferences. In 1909 began an annual national summer conference of the YWCA at Elgin House, Muskoka, Ontario, which ran until 1916. The city and student associations sat separately for specialized discussions, but came together for general addresses and fellowship. These conferences stimulated intense discussion of the role of the YWCA in Canadian society, and of the national problems the organization was seeking to alleviate. In 1914, just a few years after the establishment of the Universities of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the Student YWCA's of the prairie provinces began an annual summer student conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan. There they gave time to the traditional Bible and missions study, but also to rural problems and the effects of the massive immigration.[66]

The Student YMCA's were slow to catch up to the lead of the Student YWCA's and it was not until the eve of the First World War that the men began annual student conferences. The Student YMCA's of the Maritimes revived their annual conference in the spring of 1914, and in the West, the men began conferences at Lumsden Beach in July 1914. At the first Western Stu-

dent Conference at Lumsden Beach, organized by Ernest Clarke and presided over by Charles Bishop, who had maintained an interest in the student work, the students were addressed by a number of returned missionaries, and Principal E.H. Oliver of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon,[67] who spoke on the rural problems of Western Canada. Attendance was required at "Life Work Institutes" where a variety of vocations, including those of the Christian ministry, YMCA Secretaryship, and various forms of social work, were discussed. Conferences on Bible, mission and social study, on new students and membership, on social services and extension work, on religious meetings and on finances and administration were convened. And all those who attended were encouraged to take advantage of the presence of Dr. H.B. Sharman and his "Bible Teachers Training Course."[68]

In the decade and a half before the First World War, the Student Departments of the YWCA and YMCA had been nationalized and reorganized with greater supervision. Under this greater attention, and as the Associations became accepted and respected institutions on campus, they expanded until, by the beginning of the war, there were thirty-nine branches of the YWCA in colleges, universities and normal schools encompassing half of all the women students in Canada, and an even higher percentage at universities and residential colleges.[69] The Student YMCA at the same time had expanded to forty-three chapters, with as many as five chapters on some campuses - sometimes a group in each faculty or college.[70] Although there remained considerable emphasis on evangelism, missions, and personal piety, increasingly voices were heard calling for a new social ethic, and in some colleges the

social gospel became the dominant concern. The new spirit of questioning and of independence led students to criticize the membership basis of their parent organizations, to the reorganization of the Student YMCA on a more democratic basis, and even to talk of the possibility of separating from the YMCA and YWCA. Men and women students came to recognize that they had more in common with their fellow students in Canada, and in the United States, than they did with the city associations. This recognition, and the growing nationalism of the period, issued forth in the formation of the Council of Canadian Student Movements, which in turn played a significant role in the cooperation of the Student Volunteer Movement, the Student YMCA and the Student YWCA. The coming of the war, however, retarded some aspirations while advancing other causes.

Notes

1 This chapter is largely based on four works, to whose authors I acknowledge my debt: C. Howard Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (New York: Association Press, 1951) [cited throughout the chapter as Hopkins, YMCA]; Diana L. Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1981) [cited throughout the chapter as Pedersen]; Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951) [cited throughout the chapter as Ross]; and Clarence P. Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements (New York: Association Press, 1934) [cited throughout the chapter as Shedd].

2 Charles W. Bishop, "In the Light of History," Canadian Student [cited hereafter as CS] III, 1 (Oct.1920): 9.

3 Ibid.

4 Hopkins, YMCA, pp. 272-273, 626.

5 Pedersen, pp. 4, 20, 43-44 and David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920," Histoire sociale/Social History XI (May 1978): 5-25, passim. See also Neil Semple, "'The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord': Nineteenth Century Canadian Methodism's Response to 'Childhood'," Histoire sociale/Social History XIV (May 1981): 157-175.

6 Shedd, pp. xvii, 71.

7 Ross, pp. 114-116, 494, n. 14 and Shedd, p. 162.

8 Ross, pp. 116-117.

9 Ross, pp. 118, 225; Shedd, pp. 162, 168-169; Harold C. Cross, One Hundred Years of Service With Youth (Montreal: [Montreal Y.M.C.A.,] 1951), p. 187 [cited hereafter as Cross] and Public Archives of Canada, Young Men's Christian Association National Council Papers, MG 28, I 95, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings ... of the Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Ontario and Quebec ..., 1894, p. 36; 1895, p. 12; 1896, p. 12.

10 Shedd, pp. 114-150.

11 Ross, pp.120, 215-219 and Bishop, "In the Light of History," p. 9.

12 Pedersen, p.43; Mary Quayle Innis, Unfold the Years (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1949), p. 30 [cited hereafter as Innis] and The Story of the Y.M.C.A. of Canada 1893-1933 (Toronto: National Council Y.W.C.A., 1933), pp. 34-36.

13 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the Twenty-First Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of... of Ontario and Quebec ... 1891, p. 13.

14 Pedersen, pp. 50-51.

15 Shedd, pp. 200-211.

16 Ross, p. 117.

17 Ibid., pp.116-117, 219, 495, n. 25.

18 Innis, p. 61; Shedd, p. 309; and United Church of Canada Archives, Student Christian Movement of Canada National Archives [hereafter cited as UCA/SCM], Peter Paris, "Report on SCM of Canada, Part II: Study Life of the Movement 1921-1965," (Mimeographed Report, 1965) p. 2.

19 Ross, pp.117, 216, and Shedd, p. 184.

20 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association ... of Ontario and Quebec ... 1887, p. 6.

21 Cross, pp. 152-153; Ross, pp.118, 224 and Wendy Mitchinson, "Aspects of Reform: Four Women's Organizations in Nineteenth-Century Canada" (Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1977), p. 125.

22 Cross, p. 154; Hopkins, YMCA pp. 284-285, 627; Pedersen, p. 50; Ross, p. 220; Shedd, p. 165 and C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott, 1865-1955: A Biography (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) [cited hereafter as Hopkins, Mott], pp. 54-55.

23 Nathanael Burwash, The History Of Victoria College (Toronto: Victoria College Press, 1927), p. 476.

24 Hopkins, Mott, pp. 62-63; Idem, YMCA, pp. 286, 628; Pedersen, p.45; Ross, pp. 118, 220; Shedd, pp. 116, 240-248 and especially William H. Morgan, Student Religion During Fifty Years (New York: Association Press, 1935), chap. 4.

25 Cross, pp. 187, 216; Hopkins, YMCA, p. 284; Innis, pp. 61-62; Pedersen, pp. 45-46; Ross, p. 118 and "Y.M.C.A.," Brandon College Quarterly IV, 3 (June 1903): 22.

26 Hopkins, YMCA, p. 286; Pedersen, pp. 45-46; Ross, pp.118, 220 and PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association ... of Ontario and Quebec ... 1887, p. 7.

27 October 16, 1903, cited in Hilda Neatby, Queen's University, ed. Frederick W. Gibson & Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), I: 299. Elizabeth MacCallum, in an interview with the author in Ottawa, May 18, 1982, noted that even in the period from 1913 to 1915, when she was at Queen's University, it was taken for granted that all the women students in the university would join the YWCA and pay their dues, although only half to three-quarters of them would attend any specific meeting. As late as 1918, every woman at Acadia University was a member of the YWCA [A.C. Chute and W.B. Boggs, The Religious Life of Acadia (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1934), p. 201].

28 Ross, pp. 119-120.

29 Innis, p. 61; Ross, pp. 118-119 and PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the ... Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association ... of Ontario and Quebec ... 1887, pp. 7-8; 1889, p. 12.

30 Pedersen, pp. 49-50; Ross, p. 118 and Shedd, pp. 321-326.

31 Shedd, p. 163.

32 Hopkins, Mott, pp.29, 61; Idem, YMCA, p. 304 and Shedd, pp. 260-272.

33 Hopkins, Mott, pp. 88-89, 109; Pedersen, pp. 48-49; Ross, p.226; Shedd, pp. 163, 272-275 and PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the Twentieth Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations ... of Ontario and Quebec, ... 1890, pp. 5, 49ff.

34 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Canadian College Missionary Movement File, Herbert L. Troyer, "Confidential Report on The Canadian Colleges' Mission," February 1915.

35 Ibid., and throughout the file; Pedersen p. 46 and Ross, p. 119. Indirect evidence points to the demise of the Canadian Colleges' Mission sometime between 1916 and 1919, perhaps because of opposition from the Methodist Mission Board.

36 Pedersen, p. 49 and Shedd, pp. 358-361, 372-375.

37 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Proceedings of the Twenty-First Provincial Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations ... of Ontario and Quebec ... 1891, pp. 9-10.

38 Ross, p. 260-261. Also of interest is Richard Allen's note of a connection between the imperialism generated by the Boer War and a rising social consciousness among college students in "Children of Prophecy," Red River Valley Historian, Summer 1974, p. 17.

39 Pedersen, p. 29.

40 Ibid., pp. 30-31 and Mitchinson, pp. 112-113.

41 Pedersen, pp. 35, 51 and The Story of the Y.W.C.A. in Canada, pp. 6, 14.

42 Ross, p. 174; Hopkins, Mott, p. 275; Idem, YMCA, p. 628; Idem, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940) [hereafter cited as Hopkins, Social Gospel], chap. 12 and William H. Morgan, Student Religion During Fifty Years, p. 50.

43 Hopkins, YMCA, p. 511 and Ross, pp. 173-174.

44 Burwash, in The History of Victoria College, p. 475, notes that the College Bible study which had flourished for ten or thirteen years using studies issued by the YMCA, was replaced in 1910 by small group studies whose leaders were trained by the University of Toronto YMCA and YWCA. It is in their approach to Bible study that the Canadian Students' Associations first diverged from their American counterparts. At the 1915 Northfield Conference leaders tried to encourage what they called "the Canadian System of Bible Study," that is, the in-depth study of a continuous text, rather than a topical approach (Editorial, "The New Executive and Bible Study," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 1-2).

45 Allen, "Children of Prophecy," p. 16; Innis, p. 99 and Ross, p. 221.

46 See Daniel Stone, "Introduction" to The Polish Memoirs of William John Rose, ed. Daniel Stone (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975). Dr. Rose maintained a close connection with the Student YMCA's and the SCM of Canada for many years.

47 Allen, "Children of Prophecy," pp. 16-17.

48 Ibid., pp. 16-19; Hopkins, Mott, p. 276; Idem, Social Gospel, pp. 213, 299-300; Pedersen, p. 52 and Ross, p. 222.

49 Allen, "Children of Prophecy," pp. 17-18; Cross, pp. 216, 244; Innis, p. 62; Pedersen, pp. 52-53; Ross, p. 22 and H.C.F. Wasteneys, "A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910-1958," (D.S.W. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975), pp.66-68 ff.

50 Hopkins, YMCA, pp. 512-514 and Pedersen, pp.46, 54.

51 University of Guelph Archives, Students' Handbook, Ontario Agricultural College, 1909-10, p. 9.

52 Bishop, "In the Light of History," p. 10 and Ross, pp. 218, 260-265.

53 Proceedings of the Thirty-eight International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America ... 1913 (New York: Association Press, 1913), p. 168.

54 Bishop, "In the Light of History," p. 10 and Ross, pp. 265-268.

55 In 1963, E.H. Clarke recalled that an additional qualification was that the students were to be allowed freedom in theological interpretation, but he may have been reading later concerns back into the events of fifty-one years previous (UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, High MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963").

56 Bishop, "In the Light of History," p. 10; E.H. Clarke, "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," CS X (1927): 11 and UCA/SCM, Peter Paris, "Report on the SCM in Canada, Part II: Study Life of the Movement," p. 2.

57 Born in 1882 in Alvinston, Ontario, Clarke organized the Alvinston YMCA at an early age and served as its first secretary. He went west at the age of twenty-two to help with religious work among the "grubstakers". He attended Brandon College 1906-08 and 1910-12, taking two years out to work with the Frontier College. He supervised the entire Frontier College work from Winnipeg to the coast for a short time before being hired by the YMCA at age 30. UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963."

58 While Clarke was Intercollegiate Secretary in Winnipeg, 1912-13, he worked with Dr. H.B. Sharman, who was living in Winnipeg at the time. Sharman prepared Bible Studies for the local colleges at the request of the YMCA. Sharman is said by Clarke to have felt strongly the need for a new movement, but Clarke advised caution and care. This One Thing: A Tribute to Henry Burton Sharman (Toronto: Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1959), pp. 40-41 and UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke ... 28th. May, 1963."

59 UCA/SCM, E.H. C[larke]., "Rough steno. of speech to 21st Anniversary Celebration, Aurora, Ont." (1942); Biographical Files, clipping, Aurora, February 1961, "Ernest H. Clarke retires from Milk Foundation." and James Mackinnon Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922), pp. 5-6. Smith was a student at Brandon College with Clarke, and was also active in the YMCA there. Smith attended the Lumsden Beach Conference in 1914, and at least one later conference. It is a measure of the self-consciousness of the SCM that sixteen months after it had been founded someone was already writing a history of the movement, al-

though it may not have been completed. Smith may have been writing partly to counteract allegations that Clarke "stole" the students from the YMCA.

60 Public Archives of Ontario, YWCA Papers, MU3537, File: "Y.W.C.A. Canada - history 1844-1958," [Miss Little,] "History of Canadian Young Women's Christian Associations," (c. 1914), pp. 4-5.

61 Hopkins, YMCA, p. 629 and Shedd, pp. 419-420.

62 Editorial, "The Canadian Student Council," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 1. In a confusing passage in a transcript of an inverview with Hugh MacMillan, Clarke seems to say that a joint committee composed of himself and Herbert Troyer, secretary of the Canadian Colleges' Mission, ran the Council of Canadian Student Movements (UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke ... 28th. May, 1963.").

63 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Ernest H. Clarke, "Statement Regarding the Development of the Canadian Student Volunteer Committee and its Relation to the North American Student Volunteer Committee," (1920); E.H. C[larke]., "Rough Steno. of speech to 21st Anniversary Celebration, Aurora, Ont.," (1942); MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke ... 28th. May, 1963" and E.H. Clarke. "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," CS X (1927): 13. There are some four or five similar but conflicting accounts of these events. These arise partly because there seems to have been two sections to the Council, a college section, including the Student YMCA's and YWCA's, and a secondary school section, including YMCA's and YWCA's at high schools, collegiates and academies and the Canadian Colleges' Mission (shortly to be reorganized as the Canadian College Missionary Movement), confined to secondary institutions and not very widespread. The Student Volunteer Bands had no formal regional or national organization, but members or even representatives from gatherings at summer conferences or the recent Quadrennial Convention in Kansas, New Year's 1913-14, were probably involved in the formation of the Council. With the appointment of a Canadian Student Volunteer Secretary, the SVM'ers had formal representation on the Council. Ernest Clarke several times mentions the formation of the Council in 1913, but the first document mentioned, "Statement ... ", quotes April 29, 1914 and internal evidence suggests that that document was written with minutes of the Council before him.

64 Innis, p. 62 and Ross, p. 217.

65 Ross, p. 217.

66 Bishop, "In the Light of History," p. 10; Innis, p. 68 and Pedersen, p. 37.

67 E.H. Oliver was a consistent supporter of the Student Christian Movements and a regular speaker at conferences through the 1920's. See also Gordon L. Barnhart, "E.H. Oliver: A Study in Religious, Intellectual and

Social Progressivism in Saskatchewan, 1909-1932" (M.A. thesis, University of Regina, 1977).

68 E.H. Clarke, "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," CS X (1927): 12 and UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, 1920-1934, Western Student Conference 1914.

69 Pedersen, p. 46.

70 Ross, p. 220.

Chapter 2: The Student Christian Movements During the War

Religion in English Canada mobilized its ranks for war almost as quickly as the nation itself did. Almost every Protestant Church gave itself whole-heartedly to the war effort at home, and gave its sons and ministers to service abroad. The churches helped to transform the war into a crusade, drawing religious terminology and religious fervour to the support of the cause. The war became a struggle against the Anti-Christ. Germany was seen as threatening to destroy those very institutions which held the greatest hope for bringing about the Kingdom of God. Triumph in the conflict would involve more than just defeating the enemy. A new order promised to rise like a phoenix from the ashes of the great conflagration. A purified spirit would create a new society.[1]

The interest in social reform of the pre-war period was given additional impetus by the war. Ministers and social gospel leaders sought to reform society so that it might be worthy of the great sacrifices of the men and women of Canada. A new spirit of social solidarity, a spirit of sacrifice and service, made the reorganization of society a real possibility. The sense of community, of membership in an organic unity, resulted in a new nationalism which was fed by pride in the part played by the Canadian Army in Europe.[2]

The Student YMCA's and the Student YWCA's gave themselves to the same spirit as the churches. Students were advised that the war was "an integral part of the forward moving of the Kingdom of God."[3] Charles Bishop, the YMCA National Secretary, declared to the students in 1915 that:

> The time is propitious for the awakening of a National consciousness in our Student Christian work. Canada is one, as never before in rising to her part in the defense of the Empire. Our Universities and Colleges, from coast to coast, are on in their contribution of men to the colors ... The Colleges are one in their patriotism. Is not the time ripe for them to be conscious of their oneness in the greater cause of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ?[4]

And at the 1918 Northfield Conference, Robert Speer of the SVM declared "... we are in this great struggle for what lies ahead of us, for the hope of a new human order that is to be set up among men: an order of righteous- ness and justice and brotherhood."[5] These high aspirations were hardly to be realized, but the experience of the war years, and the anticipation of establishing "the City of God on earth" in peace, issued in a complete reconstruction of Protestant student organizations after the war.

I

Perhaps no other important institution in Canada suffered so much from the war as did post-secondary education. The call for volunteers found a ready response among the young, restless, adventurous and idealistic, categories that included most students and not a few of the faculty on Canadian university and college campuses. By the end of the war 20,000 undergraduates had enlisted.[6] Students and faculty gave enthusiastic support to the war, and student populations fell over fifty percent from enlistment,

despite the increases in female enrolment. Virtually every Canadian university awarded academic credit for a full year's work to those students who enlisted in mid-term.[7] And faculty members addressed assemblies and chapels and YMCA meetings, urging students to volunteer.[8] As a result universities reported their numbers almost decimated: at Victoria College, Toronto, forty percent of those who enrolled in the fall of 1915 had enlisted by the spring of 1916;[9] at Trinity College in Toronto, there was only one male graduate in 1917;[10] at the University of Alberta, from the class of 1917, five men and seven women graduated, while fifty men enlisted;[11] and at the University of Saskatchewan in 1916, the entire student body and all of the faculty of the School of Engineering enlisted, thereby closing the school for the duration of the war.[12] From McGill and the University of Toronto literally thousands of students enlisted, making up university units, hospitals and battalions.[13]

It was not only in volunteers that the colleges and universities contributed to the war effort. Canadian Officer's Training Corps were reorganized or established, and even at McMaster University, where Baptists had traditionally opposed militarism, the C.O.T.C. was made compulsory.[14] Some universities, including the University of Toronto, shortened the academic term in order to enable students and faculty to help in agriculture and industry.[15] Many turned empty residences over to the government to serve as barracks or hospitals, sometimes even staffing the hospitals with medical and nursing students.[16] And women students helped organize branches of the Red Cross, first aid classes and other auxiliary activities on campus.[17]

There does not seem to have been any voice raised against the war or the war effort in the Student Associations until very late in 1918. The three issues of The Canadian Student magazine published by the Council of Canadian Student Movements during the war stressed the need to help and sacrifice at home,[18] reported in glowing terms on the state of religion among the soldiers at the front,[19] and referred to the important role the soldiers were playing in bringing about the Kingdom of God.[20]

Yet students and Student Associations suffered from the war. Both the leadership and the membership of the Student YMCA's were seriously depleted by enlistment. A membership which had reached 3,176 in Canada by 1910, declined slightly to 3,059 by 1915; but by the end of the war the Student YMCA registered only 1,230 members.[21] After the war E.A.Corbett, a former McGill YMCA Secretary, recalled, with a certain amount of hyperbole, that "in the first years of the war every Student Association in Canada was compelled to elect a new cabinet every few weeks."[22] Those who did remain in university found their time greatly taken up with drilling and the activities of the C.O.T.C.[23]

The decline in numbers, the high turn-over, and the time given to military training affected all aspects of university life. There was a marked decline in studiousness among students.[24] Social institutions faltered and disappeared.[25] Sports were partially suspended at some universities,[26] and everywhere clubs, societies and fraternities went into decline. The Student YMCA's, and, to a certain extent, the Student YWCA's, suffered the same fate.

The war had a deeper effect, however, than decreased enrolment and a decline in social activities, one for which, perhaps, the deterioration in academic calibre is a more significant sign-post. Professors were discouraged after lecturing to empty halls with only a few women and the occasional man present. Elizabeth MacCallum, later Student YWCA president at Queen's University, recalls how shallow and irrelevant much of her education seemed during the year 1917-1918: "What relevance did Vanity Fair have to life in Canada in the middle of a horrible war?"[27] And Jean Hutchinson, who entered Dalhousie in 1916, recalls the shock and the sudden closeness of the war when, during a lecture, a member of her class was reported killed in action.[28] For the sons and daughters of professionals and businessmen, the outside world intruded into the academic enclave, forcing them to consider and reconsider much that they had previously taken for granted. Many were shocked. Some were disenchanted with their academic and social life and were impatient to be out in the real world.

The religious reactions to the war among the university and college students were complex. The Student YWCA in 1915 reported a deepening concern for spiritual values and an increased emphasis on Bible Study among their members.[29] F.B.Common, president of the McGill YMCA for the year 1915-16, in his annual report, stated that

> It is the feeling of your Board that the present war, although accompanied by incalculable suffering and misery, has not been without its advantages in raising the moral standing of our people and leading them to a more serious consideration of spiritual things and to this effect we believe, we have clearly seen illustrated in the lives of many of the students our [sic: should be "of"] our university.[30]

The war, initially at least, seems to have deepened a sense of personal faith among many students.[31] Just a few years after the war an alum-

nae of Acadia University wrote of the profound sense of "group communion" in the YWCA meetings there in the academic years from 1914 to 1916, and she continued,

> I feel that the war spirit and deep religious tone of that College generation cannot be separated. They existed together, and perhaps it is impossible to tell where one began and the other ended.[32]

But by the end of the war, what had been a quiet minority was quickly becoming a vocal majority among the students with religious interests. Students, while generally keeping their faith, began to question theology and the institutional church. As early as 1915, the Canadian Students' Council felt called upon to urge students to a closer cooperation with the church and to emphasize recruitment for the ministry.[33] Jean Hutchinson recalls that, "There was a lot of searching. Some of us felt that theology was almost sterile because it wasn't prepared for war and the things that happened."[34] This had a number of results, including a decline in the number of divinity students, a process that had begun before the war.[35]

In 1916 the matter of the membership basis for the YWCA came up again, and the Student Associations received permission to alter their constitution to include an alternate basis of membership: a personal declaration of faith in Jesus Christ and support for the goals of the Student YWCA. But the president and two-thirds of the cabinet of Student Association must still be members of evangelical Protestant churches.[36] And even this was not entirely satisfactory. The YWCA Association Outlook magazine published the following plea from a student in early 1918:

> The pledge card [for membership] has always been the obstacle which has kept me from joining the Y.W.C.A. I could not honestly sign it because I could not honestly say that I believed in Christianity. This

> is true of a great many other students. They are in revolt against orthodox religion....
> Can we not come to Christianity with an open mind, anxious to find out what is true and what is false about it? If it is worth our loyalty it will bear our analysis. If it is worth all it seems to be in other people's lives, it will vindicate itself.[37]

Every student Conference across the country in the summer of 1918 gave time for the discussion of the relationship of students to the church.[38] And Professor S.H. Hooke of Victoria College, Toronto, an important leader of the Student Associations in the Toronto area, warned that

> a profound conviction is growing up that the church, by reason of its false social position, was powerless to prevent the war, and when it did come had no message from her Lord for the time. People began to suspect that the church has one religion for peace and another for war, and how fatal that suspicion will yet prove we may have to wait until the war is over to find out.[39]

Another result of the war was a growing concern with democratic structures among the Student Associations. Among the Student YWCA's was a new awareness of their lack of representation on the Dominion Council of the YWCA. In the Young Women of Canada magazine, students objected to the lack of democracy and the lack of discussion or criticism in the Associations.[40] In a 1915 article in Canadian Manhood E.H. Clarke called for democracy in the college community,[41] and in 1916 he wrote the local Student YMCA's urging them to realize " the democratic ideal".[42]

Despite their unquestioning support for the war, the Student Associations, especially the Student YMCA's, suffered during the war: they lost leaders and members in large numbers to the armed forces, and they, like many other young people of their class, were shocked and, to a certain extent, disillusioned by the suffering of war. This led many of them to return to a deep personal faith, but as the war dragged on an increasingly

large and vocal group began to question the institutional church, and even orthodoxy itself, although probably very few actually abandoned their personal faith entirely or deliberately.

Almost as a parting shot by the fates, death was brought home to those who had stayed in Canada in the last months of 1918 with the Spanish Influenza epidemic. Almost every university in the country was closed for two months, while college dormitories became impromtu hospitals, and students overnight became nurses and orderlies.[43]

II

The war affected more than just the male students who enlisted. It had a unique and significant influence on the women students of Canadian colleges and universities, and especially on the women of the Student YWCA's. While the number of male students was steadily declining, female enrolment was increasing at a faster pace than ever before. By 1918, women made up thirty-eight percent of the student body at the University of Saskatchewan, compared to a pre-war percentage of seventeen.[44] At an Anglican college like Trinity in Toronto, women came to predominate, and in some cases they made up whole classes.[45]

With this significant proportional increase in the number of women on campus came a greater opportunity for leadership. For five school years the most aggressive and influential of the male students were preoccupied with fighting or preparing to fight in the war. This gave the women their first serious opening to exercise leadership in traditionally male-dominated

areas. It was in 1916 that the University of Alberta saw its first woman president of the Student's Council, as well as the first woman president of the prestigious Literary Society.[46] Similarly, at Queen's University the war saw the first woman president of the Alma Mater Society (which was similar to a Students' Council) and the first woman editor of the Queen's University Journal.[47]

In an article in the YWCA's Association Outlook, Isobel Thomas of the University of British Columbia YWCA recognized the responsibilities for leadership which the shortage of men and the newly acquired vote placed on the shoulders of university women. "The College Women and the Vote" advised that women must be prepared to fill the gap and take leadership since "the best class of manhood" had gone to war and would not return, or would return aged or unwilling to endure the drudgery of school. Thomas encouraged involvement in student government as preparation to lead the large body of new voters who would otherwise be easily "duped".[48]

It was not only on campus that university women came to positions of leadership and authority during the war. The serious shortage of teachers, especially in the West, encouraged many young women to spend their summers in remote parts of the prairies.[49] Some, like Elizabeth MacCallum, felt the need so deeply that they stayed a year or more before returning to school. They found themselves in isolated communities where they taught, helped with chores and with the harvest, and occasionally, as the only educated person in the community, preached as well. Not only was the experience an education in different lifestyles to these young women from shelter-

ed homes, it was also an opportunity for leadership on a significant scale in practical situations.[50]

Because of the shortage of men at theological colleges, the Presbyterian Church Board sent out women from Queen's University to cover the summer mission fields in the West during the last years of the war. This proved to be another growing experience for the students, who, their supervisors attested, performed as well or better than their male counterparts.[51]

Those who did not teach often found themselves working part-time in factories or doing volunteer work during the school year, and working full-time in factories or on farms during the extended summer breaks. Many college and university students worked the fruit harvests of the Niagara peninsula in 1917. There were eight hundred workers there that year under the auspices of the YWCA. The following summer there were some two thousand women under the YWCA in the Niagara peninsula, and the same number in the Okanagan and Fraser valleys. The YWCA began working for fair wages and proper working conditions for agricultural workers the summer of 1917 as many student and city association members came in contact with farm work for the first time. These experiences served to introduce middle-class women to the problems and conditions of labour in a whole new way.[52]

The women in Canadian colleges and universities gained a new sense of responsibility, a consciousness of an important role to play in society, during the war years. The death of Edith Cavell was a shock to many of them, but it, and the popular stories of the sacrificial contributions of the French and British women to the war effort, brought a new sense of self-worth as well.[53] This new spirit, combined with the, albeit limited,

extension of suffrage, and the experiences of leadership on campus and in the community resulted in a self-confidence and social awareness among women students that had not been there before.

The influence of and interest in the social gospel in Canadian churches was not slowed by the war at all. If fact, its power among church leadership seems to have grown.[54] But for the duration of the war the Student YMCA's and their leadership, decimated by enlistment, were in a kind of stasis. There were changes in the spirit and ideas of the movement, but concrete action was largely postponed until the war was over. While the men marked time, however, the Student YWCA women moved with their church leaders, combined with their own unique experiences, away from traditional orthodoxy and their previous narrow social vision. Both Dr H.B. Sharman and Professor S.H. Hooke of Victoria College found the men students in their critical studies of the gospels at conferences and universities superficial, while they praised the women students for their quality and thoroughness.[55] In the Committee of Voluntary Study of the Council of North American Student Movements, the Canadian Student YWCA sponsored a study text by Professor Hooke, Christ and the Kingdom of God. The committee refused to publish it because of its "sarcastic criticism of the conservative viewpoint".[56] The Canadian Student YWCA's sponsorship of the book points to a change in the woman that was yet not evident in their American counterpart, in the SVM, or in any of the YMCA's. The women had been changed by the war, and the effect would be radical change in the student movements once it was over.

III

A drop of sixty percent in the membership of the Student YMCA's during the war slowed down their activities, but Bible study methods, and attitudes toward social service continued to change during the war in the men's and women's Student Associations. In the Bible study groups the methods of Dr. Henry Burton Sharman came to dominate. Just before the war Dr. Sharman, then resident in Winnipeg, was approached by Ernest Clarke, Intercollegiate Secretary for the YMCA in the city, about teaching classes for the student Bible study leaders in the Winnipeg colleges. Sharman taught these classes until 1916, using mimeographed sets of questions on the Gospels which were also mailed weekly to local student leaders across Canada. In 1916 Sharman retired to the United States to work the questions into a comprehensive study of Jesus as revealed in the Synoptic Gospels.[57] In 1917 the YMCA's Association Press published H.B. Sharman's harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, Records in the Life of Jesus. The three gospels were arranged by topic in chronological order in parallel columns, with the Gospel of John cross-referenced to the synoptics in a special section at the end.[58] The following year Sharman's questions for use with Records in the Life of Jesus were released: Jesus in the Records.[59] These two books would be the core of the study groups of the Student Associations for the next decade and a half in Canada.

Jesus in the Records was reviewed immediately after its release in The Canadian Student:

> [I]t is, from an intellectual standpoint, most stimulating. Those who use it are compelled to do their own thinking, and if they wish to make any progress they must do some hard thinking. The group discussions, also, are certain to be intensely interesting, as the members will at once be startled to find how many different conclusions have been reached. But more that that - the study tends to make Jesus Christ very real. No attempt is made to "draw lessons" from the Life of Jesus; no one interpretation of His life or any incident in His life is attempted, in fact many different interpretations may be held by different members of the same group; but no one can follow even the first few chapters of "Jesus in the Records" without getting to know Jesus of Nazareth and to know him in a new way, in a way which makes Him vividly real. It is the testimony of those who have used this book that it produces in students an enthusiasm for Bible Study, and then an enthusiasm for Jesus, Himself.[60]

Sharman's method, and Jesus in the Records, not only allowed, but insisted that students make up their own minds. Dr. Sharman and his method demanded commitment and careful preparation, and as much as possible, approach of the documents without preconceptions. This quasi-scientific approach satisfied the students' desires for a "modern" Bible study. In an era of patronizing and paternalistic university faculties and administrations, and of church leaders often guilty of the same attitudes, these studies were received with enthusiasm. The freedom to draw different conclusions from the same material allowed theological conservatives and liberals to work together in the same organization and even in the same study groups. Jesus in the Records was as acceptable to the students of Acadia University as to those of University College, Toronto. It brought out principles for living, not rules or prescriptions.

At Dalhousie University a friend and, one might almost say, disciple of Dr. Sharman's, the physicist Dr. Howard Bronson, taught the life of Jesus using questions largely devised by Sharman to excited students throughout the war. Bronson was completely unshockable, and encouraged students to

raise any question about the gospel records or religion in general which interested them. By the end of the war, Bronson's influence was being felt among the leadership at most of the Maritime universities and colleges. Well into the 1930's Bronson regularly spoke at student conferences, led summer seminars, and taught students the "scientific approach" to Jesus and His teachings.[61]

The Student YMCA's and especially the Student YWCA's had a continued interest in social problems throughout the war. The Student YWCA's broadened their stated goals in 1914 to include the promotion of "the Christian solution of social problems and the permeation of public life with Christian ideals."[62] In the early part of the war the Student YMCA's maintained and even expanded some of their activities, with settlement work and teaching of immigrants common, and some students taking summer employment in fishing, mining, and lumber camps in order to teach language skills and religion to the men.[63] Everywhere study courses in Social Service or Biblical teachings on social issues flourished as adjuncts to or even replacements for the Bible studies. The Canadian YWCA representative on the Council of North American Student Movements, aware of the interest in social problems and the growing nationalism in the Canadian Associations, proposed, and then formed a committee to plan and produce, a study text on Canadian social problems.[64]

Many of the Student YMCA leaders, like E.A. Corbett of the McGill YMCA, saw the problems around them but put off the day of reckoning until after the war. In 1916 he wrote that

> The problems facing Canada after the war will differ in the intensity and in extension from those with which we have been confronted for some years past. The question of immigration and its relation to soc-

> ial life, unemployment and poverty, the liquor traffic, housing reform in the cities, child labour, better schools, education in prevention of disease are some of the old problems we are just beginning to grapple with, and there will be many new ones. One thing is sure, that after this war Church and State will have to reckon with the labouring man more than they have done in the past. Reform along any line would be vastly easier were it not for the organized financial interests which thrive upon the exploitation of those who cannot help themselves....[65]

The Intercession Leaflets issued by the Council of Canadian Student Movements beginning October 1917 contained a cycle of a week's prayers which always set aside a day for prayer for specific national and social problems or needs. Students prayed for the Women's Movement, for "the rights of children to nutrition and education",[66] "that all men may see in war the consequences of paganism in politics and business, and be led to offer life and possessions to bring in a Christian order", for a "Christian World Democracy",[67] for the solutions to labour and social problems in a Christian manner, and especially for peace.

IV

The coming of the war created a new interest in international affairs in Canada. This gave an added impetus to missions and missions study in the Student Associations, even if the already small Student Volunteer Bands suffered from enlistments. There were signs of changing attitudes towards missions, but interest and participation in mission studies continued to be high. Ernest Clarke stressed international brotherhood when he spoke about missions,[68] and students at missionary conferences questioned the leaders closely about the nature of the missionary quest.[69] Missions study

often consisted of comparative religion courses or studies of social, economic, political and religious affairs in other countries.[70] Student YWCA's even used the studies as opportunities to examine the status and problems of women in other countries.[71]

The Student YWCA's began support of one of their own former National secretaries in city YWCA work in Calcutta in 1915, and added support of another former National secretary working for the Hong Kong YWCA in 1917.[72] And as the war was ending the Student YMCA's had sufficiently recovered to take on the support of a secretary for the Student Christian Movement of India and Ceylon.[73] When the 1917 SVM Quadrennial Conference was cancelled because of the war, Canadian students held twelve week-end conferences across the country under the auspices of the Council of Canadian Student Movements.[74] Almost every summer conference of 1918, after that experience, recommended an intensive programme of mission study for the coming year.[75]

One of the most important and lasting of manifestations of the international spirit to arise during the war was the establishment of the Canadian Students' Friendship Fund. Concerned with the plight of prisoners of war in Europe, and especially with the many students who had been studying outside of their own country when the war began and had consequently been imprisoned, the Council of Canadian Student Movements established the fund in the last year of the war. In the short time before the war ended the already over-extended Canadian students managed to raise $9,800. Universities competed against each other to raise money, and emotions were worked up over students suffering and starving in Europe.[76]

As the war ended the work with the university students of Russia and Eastern Europe was taken up by the World Student Christian Federation, which proudly proclaimed itself the only international organization to continue throughout the war. European Student Relief, as it came to be known, would play an important role in the Student Associations for the next decade.

To compensate for the postponed Quadrennial Conference, the SVM called a conference at Northfield, Massachusetts, in January of 1918, to which forty-nine Canadian students and their leaders came. The changing spirit of missions is evident in the conference question: "Does Christ offer an adequate solution for the burning social and international questions of the day?" In reply, the Canadian delegation resolved to commit themselves to mobilizing for "Christian World Democracy", acknowledging the need for the principles which Jesus taught in North America and the world.[77]

V

Although the number of student associations held steady throughout the war, the actual number of members in the Student YMCA's dropped drastically. Even in the YWCA's, the initial impact of the war was of women forsaking the Bible studies for first aid and Red Cross classes.[78] The Student Associations in the newer western universities suffered the most. The expansion there was curtailed, and the men's Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan summer conference established in 1914 drew very small numbers, and was even cancelled for 1917.[79] By 1917, perhaps the nadir for the Student YMCA's, the

staff for the Student Department had fallen from twelve to six secretaries, only the McGill and University of Toronto secretaries being full-time.[80]

The Student Volunteer Bands in Canada, which were predominantly male and had been small in the first place, were severely hampered by the war-time enlistment. The first Canadian Student Volunteer Secretary, appointed in the summer of 1914, enlisted that fall and was not replaced until the fall of 1916. In fact, some bands cancelled all activities for a year, or even disappeared completely.[81]

In 1916 the position of Canadian Student Volunteer Secretary was revived, and Murray Brooks, a YMCA secretary in Ceylon, filled the position for a year. Brooks operated from an office in the McGill University YMCA's Strathcona Hall. Before he returned to Ceylon, Brooks participated in a Student YMCA conference at Brome Lake, Quebec where the relationship of the Student Volunteer Movement to the YM and YWCA's was discussed. Closer cooperation between the Student Associations and the SVM, and greater autonomy for the Canadian Student Volunteers were the recommendations. The following year two Student Volunteer secretaries were appointed. In the spring of 1918, at the recommendation of the Student Committee of the YMCA, the Council of Canadian Student Movements drafted an outline for a Canadian Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement that was to have YMCA and YWCA representation on its board. During the summer of 1918 the Canadian Student Volunteers endorsed the plan. But it was not until the next year that the International Executive approved, reminding the new committee that it was still

answerable to the International Executive in New York, and that it was to supervise only such work as related directly and solely to Canada. Nonetheless, the stage was set for greater cooperation between all Canadian student religious movements, and the ultimate unification of these movements became a genuine possibility.[82]

Despite the cutbacks in staff in the Student YMCA, the students continued to move away from the American Movements towards greater organization and national unity in Canada. The students of the YWCA benefited from the successful financial campaigns of the war years, and by the end of the war there were four YWCA Student secretaries nation-wide including one for the West, and one for the universities and colleges of Toronto.[83]

In a move that Ernest Clarke would later hail as the first step on the part of the students toward "a self-governing, independent Student Christian Movement separate from any senior supervising body,"[84] the students of the YMCA's of the Maritime colleges and universities came together in a three day conference in the spring of 1916 to form a Maritime Council. Formally titled the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of the Maritime Provinces, the new council established its own supervisory committees, instituted an annual spring week-end conference, and hired a full-time secretary. The new secretary occupied offices at Dalhousie University, but travelled throughout the Maritimes, creating a sense of solidarity among the sometimes small and isolated student groups there.[85]

Students continued to inaugurate new conferences and new opportunities to meet together during the war. In 1915 the Student YWCA of the new-

ly established University of British Columbia began an annual conference at Whytecliffe Beach. But 1917 was the year that things truly blossomed. The Whytecliffe Beach conference was expanded to include all the Student YWCA's of British Columbia. The Maritime Student YWCA's held their first annual summer conference jointly with the Missionary Education Movement of Canada in Wolfville, Nova Scotia in 1917, and separately in later years. And in 1917 the men of Eastern Canada finally shrugged off the thrall of the Northfield Conferences and held their own summer conference for a week at Brome Lake, Knowlton, Quebec. The following year the Student YWCA's of Quebec and Ontario held their first summer conference apart from the city associations.[86] All these conferences brought students together to discuss mutual problems as students, as Christians, and as Canadians. In small discussion groups they hammered out solutions, and in the process came to realize and to recognize their common bonds.

In the spring of 1918 a medium for the expression of this common life was found in The Canadian Student magazine. The Council of Canadian Student Movements published the first issue in March, 1918 with Ernest Clarke, the National Secretary of the Student YMCA, as editor. In his opening editorial, Clarke explained the purpose of the new magazine:

> [W]e find among the colleges those who are thinking in terms of their fellows in other colleges and who desire a National Student Christian Movement to unite the best thought of each section. We hope this Magazine may aid in some small way the development of this movement.[87]

In the same issue David Porter of the SVM, editor of The North American Student, pointed out that, "It is significant that just when Canada is coming

to a new consciousness of national unity and destiny the Student Association Movements are finding a more articulate corporate consciousness."[88]

Within months the war, and perhaps the publication of The Canadian Student, had spelt the demise of The North American Student Magazine. Thus was severed one of the final bonds between Canadian and American students.

Another manifestation of the move towards unity among the Student YMCA's, the Student YWCA's and the SVM, and a mark of the coming of age of the Canadian students during the war, was the often vocal questioning of the separation of men's and women's movements. In the summer conferences of the Student YWCA's in 1917 the relationship between the men's and women's student work was placed on the agenda because of the growing dissatisfaction with the situation as it was. At the men's conference at Brome Lake the same summer, an independent student movement with joint men's and women's study groups was discussed as well, but Ernest Clarke urged caution before action. The summer of 1918, the next year, saw the first joint men's and women's summer conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan. Thus it was the students of the new universities of the prairies, where women first won the suffrage and the church union movement began, that took this important step towards the unification of the Student YMCA's and the Student YWCA's. In the years after the war the idea of joint conferences spread quickly.[89]

Throughout the war an expanding awareness of unity among Canadian students, a subtle emphasis on democracy, a growing sense of national pride,

and perhaps a new sense of independence and self-worth among the women, for their growing impact on campus and in the larger society, and among the men for their unique contributions to the war, all combined to draw Canadian students towards the desire for a student-run, wholly Canadian student movement.

As early as the spring of 1915, not three years after the Canadian YMCA National Council had been formed, at a meeting in Montreal that included John R. Mott of the World Student Christian Federation and the SVM, and Canada's first, second, third, and present Student Secretaries, as well as E.A. Corbett, the McGill Student Secretary, and W.M. Birks, Chairman of the Student Committee of the YMCA, there was serious discussion of an independent student movement. Those present reviewed the desire of some students for a student-controlled movement of men and women taking in all the religious activities of college and university student bodies. The discussions were inconclusive, some arguing that it would not be in the best interests of religious work in the colleges, others that it was preferable if proper financial arrangements could be made. The following year, during a conference of the presidents of Canadian universities, W.M. Birks sponsored a luncheon to discuss the Student Associations. At the luncheon the creation of a national student movement was discussed, and Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto and patron of the YMCA there, advocated the British model of an independent joint men's and women's Student Christian Movement rather than the American YMCA model.[90]

By 1917 the idea had taken hold among many of the students, who discussed it at the summer conferences that year. E.A. Corbett, who temporarily replaced Ernest Clarke while he was out of the country, sent a circular letter to the local Student YMCA leaders across the country which, in part, lamented the lack of a central council or committee with executive powers to unite the Dominion.[91] Clarke visited India and Britain in 1917, and wrote to Charles Bishop, the YMCA National Secretary, from Ceylon.

> The contact with the British Student Movement and with the Indian Student Movement, which by the bye is controlled wholly by the Students, has further convinced me that students can gain much if they are able to bear the full responsibility for their own work. The question with me is how to initiate such a movement in Canada and still retain the best of the past relationship with the larger men's movement. We must truly look into this carefully ....[92]

It was Mabel Jamieson, National Student Secretary of the YWCA, in trying to explain the events in Canada to the Council of North American Student Movements in 1915, who summarized the situation:

> The consciousness of a corporate Canadian movement with its own interests and characteristics becoming more clearly defined is steadily developing. The formation of the Canadian Student Council, the demand for a Canadian student magazine and for a more steady cultivation of Canadian speakers and leaders, and a greater independence in determining policies are all indications of this. This is one of the most interesting developments in our work and promises a great deal toward the establishment of a stronger and a more effective Canadian student movement.[93]

In later years Ernest Clarke would always declare that the birth of the Student Christian Movement of Canada was delayed by the First World War.[94] But the war-time experiences were a necessary catalyst without which the Student Christian Movement might have been still-born. The organizational growth of the Student Associations, and most certainly of the Stu-

dent YMCA's, was slowed by the war and its effect on student enrolment. But the war experiences altered the women, giving them a new sense of independence and a new social vision. Men and women both experienced a deeper personal faith that counterpointed a suspicion of theology and of institutional religion. All these, a new stress on democracy, and a strong feeling of nationalism and national unity were necessary prerequisites before the students would ever consider a break with the organizations which has nurtured and shepherded them for almost fifty years.

Notes

1 One of the best discussions of a Canadian Protestant Church's reaction to the war is J.M. Bliss' "The Methodist Church and World War I," Canadian Historical Review XLIX (1968): 213-233. See also Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), chap. 3, passim., and Peter E. Rider, "An Introduction" to The Magpie, by Douglas Durkin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. vi ff.

2 See Allen, chap. 3 and Bliss, p. 233.

3 George Irving, "Giving Until It Doesn't Hurt," The Canadian Student [CS] I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 7.

4 Cited in Charles W. Bishop, "In the Light of History," CS III, 1 (Oct 1920): 10-11.

5 Robert E. Speer, "The War Aims and Foreign Missions," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 9.

6 Public Archives of Canada, Young Men's Christian Association National Council Papers, MG 28, I 95, Unsorted Papers, "Second Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada ... Ottawa, ... November 2-5, 1917," p. 24 and Editorial, "Peace and College Soldiers," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 4-5.

7 W.P. Thompson, The University of Saskatchewan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 99, but see most university histories for similar comments.

8 See for example Arthur S. Morton, Saskatchewan: The Making of a University, rev. & ed. Carlyle King (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 105.

9 C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 272.

10 Trinity 1852-1952 (Toronto: Trinity Review, 1952), p. 117.

11 Walter H. Johns, A History of The University of Alberta (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), p. 57.

12 Thompson, University of Saskatchewan, p. 99.

13 Cyrus MacMillan, McGill and Its Story 1821-1921 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 261-262 and W. Stewart Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto 1827-1927 (Toronto: University of Toronto

Press, 1927), pp. 186-187. The McGill University YMCA even supported and staffed a YMCA hut attached to the (McGill) No. 2 General Hospital in France. The hut provided a library, ran religious services and distributed clothing and Bibles to the wounded (United Church of Canada Archives, Student Christian Movement of Canada National Archives [UCA/SCM], Annual Meeting Book of the McGill YMCA/SCA, 1913-34, November 15, 1915).

The enrolment figures for the following three universities, with percentages based on 1914, show the extent of the decline, especially in 1916 and 1917, even though two of the universities were in rapidly growing areas and are thus not representative:

	Acadia		Alberta		Saskatchewan	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1913	-	-	434	99	-	-
1914	244	100	439	100	447	100
1915	220	90	-	-	506	113
1916	-	-	309	70	255	57
1917	127	52	-	-	408	91
1918	155	64	613	140	448	100
1919	334	137	-	-	795	178

[from: Ronald Stewart Longley, Acadia University 1838-1938 (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1939), pp. 117-121; Johns, History of The University of Alberta, p. 49 and Thompson, University of Saskatchewan, p. 100.]

14 Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University, I: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 134.

15 Wallace, History of the University of Toronto, p. 193.

16 For example, Trinity College, T.A. Reed, ed., A History of the University of Trinity College, Toronto, 1852-1952 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 59.

17 Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981), pp. 180-181; Hilda Neatby, Queen's University, I: 1841-1917, ed. Frederick W. Gibson & Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978): 299; Reed, History Of Trinity College, p. 144 and O.A.C. [Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph] Year Book, 1915, p. 59.

18 Dr. James W. Robertson, "To the Students: War Service," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 13-14.

19 [E.A. Corbett,] "Religion in the Army," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 21 and Rev. Geo. C. Pidgeon, "Bible Study in the Army," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 19-20.

20 "On Books," CS I, 1: 29-30 and Dr. Robert E. Speer, "The War Aims and Foreign Missions," CS I, 3(Nov. 1918): 8-12.

21 Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. In Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), p. 220.

22 E.A. Corbett, "The Student Movement - Is It Worth While?" CS II, 1 (Oct. 1919): 9.

23 See E.H. Clarke's comments in Canadian Manhood I, 4: 76, cited in Ross, YMCA in Canada, p. 225.

24 Johnston, McMaster I: 163-164.

25 Ibid., p. 133.

26 William Ferguson Tamblyn, These Sixty Years (London: University Of Western Ontario, 1938), p. 69.

27 Elizabeth P. MacCallum, interviewed in Ottawa, May 18, 1982. On Elizabeth MacCallum, see Canadian Who's Who 1982 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 646.

28 Dr. Jean Moriarity Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982.

29 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movements File, Mabel Jamieson in "Minutes of Meeting of Council of North American Student Movements ... New York, September 16, 1915," p. 2.

30 UCA/SCM, Annual Meeting Book of the McGill YMCA/SCA 1913-34, March 10, 1916.

31 See William H. Morgan, Student Life During Fifty Years (New York: Association Press, 1935), pp. 202-203 for comments regarding the same reaction in the United States, 1917-18.

32 Muriel Roscoe, Truro, Nove Scotia, November 18, 1922, cited in A.C. Chute and W.B. Boggs, The Religious Life of Acadia (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1934), pp. 199-200.

33 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movement File, E.H. Clarke in "Minutes of Meeting of the Council of North American Student Movements ... New York, September 16, 1915," p. 3.

34 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982.

35 Johnston, McMaster, I: 163-164 and Reed, History of Trinity College, p. 146.

36 Diana L. Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1981), p. 55.

37 Elsinore Macpherson, "A Protest," The Association Outlook XVII (1918), 2: 37-38.

38 V.M. H[amill]., "Conference Conclusions," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 5.

39 S.H. Hooke, "The Student Movement and the Church," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 20.

40 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 55.

41 E.H. Clarke, Canadian Manhood II, 1: 3 cited in Ross, YMCA in Canada, p. 222.

42 UCA/SCM, E.H. Clarke, Circular letter dated June 29, 1916. It is interesting that in the same letter Clarke refers to himself as representing "the Canadian Student Christian Movement".

43 See for example, Johns, University of Alberta, pp. 58-59 and Morton, Saskatchewan, p. 109.

44 Thompson, University of Saskatchewan, pp. 99-100.

45 Trinity 1852-1952, p. 117.

46 Johns, University of Alberta, pp. 57, 489.

47 Heatby, Queen's University I: 299-303. At the infant University of British Columbia the student newspaper was founded by a woman editor: William C. Gibson, Wesbrook and his University (Vancouver: Library of The University of British Columbia, 1973), p. 159.

48 Isobel Thomas, "The College Woman and the Vote," The Association Outlook XVII (1918), 2 : 36-37.

49 See The Association Outlook XVII (1918), 6: 131 and A.G. Bedford, The University of Winnipeg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 140.

50 Elizabeth MacCallum, interviewed in Ottawa, May 18, 1982.

51 Editorial, "Women as Pastors," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 2-3; H.T., "Experience of a Woman Pastor," CS I, 4: 26-27; Rev. Peter Strong, "How Did They Succeed?" CS I, 4: 27. It is noteworthy that the editorial supported women as pastors, arguing that it was not a question to be settled by ancient authority (ie. St. Paul) but by the life within "the Church of the living God."

52 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," pp. 173-176. See also Trinity 1852-1952, p. 118 and Nathanael Burwash, The History of Victoria College (Toronto: Victoria College Press, 1927), p. 485.

53 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982.

54 Allen, Social Passion, chap. 3, passim.

55 Creative Initiative Foundation, Palo Alto, California, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, July 19, November 5, and November 22, 1918. In the last two letters Sharman attributes the difference between the sexes to the war. On November 22 he wrote, "For the most part the men are punk - only the dregs are left after the war demanded the best." Although he is undoubtedly correct that the calibre of the men was low, there seems to have also been a subtle change among the women which was not shared by the men.

56 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movements File, "Report of the Committee on Voluntary Study to the Council of North American Student Movements," November 22, 1916, p. 2 and February 5, 1917.

57 This One Thing: A Tribute to Henry Burton Sharman (Toronto: Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1959), pp.40-42 and A.C. Heise, "Manitoba Agricultural College Y.M.C.A.," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 25-27. There is a perhaps apocryphal story that Dr. Sharman, to stimulate attendance, offered a dollar for every hour which a student felt had been wasted. No one ever collected (Interview with Dr. Katharine B. Hockin in Toronto, September 14, 1982).

58 Henry Burton Sharman, Records in the Life of Jesus (New York: Association Press, 1917).

59 Henry Burton Sharman, Jesus in the Records (New York: Association Press, 1918). Without making too much of the matter, it is still worth noting that Sharman's 1896 work is Studies in the Life of Christ and his 1917 and 1918 works are Records in the Life of Jesus and Jesus in the Records respectively (emphasis is mine). In two decades we can see the shift from examining the Christ of faith, the Messiah and leader of the Church, to examining Jesus the man and ethical teacher. The shift was from a devotional approach to an ethical one. The synoptic gospels, with their historical and ethical emphasis received much more attention than the Gospel of John or the Epistles, which are more interpretive and more theological in content. Ethics would be the heart of the "new" Christianity of the postwar period.

60 W.R.T., Review of Jesus in the Records, by Henry Burton Sharman, CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 31.

61 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982 and UCA/SCM, Archive Committee Files, Hugh MacMillan, "To Sunrise Coast: A Brief Report to the Archives Committee, S.C.M. of Canada, 13th. November, 1963." Regarding Dr. Howard L. Bronson, see W.J. Archibald, "Howard Logan Bronson, 1898-1968," Proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, Fourth Series, 6 (1968): 89-94.

62 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 54.

63 E.H. Clarke in Canadian Manhood I, 4 (1915): 76 cited in Ross, YMCA in Canada, pp. 224-5.

64 UCA/SCM SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movements File, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of the North American Student Movements ...," November 22, 1916, p. 1 and May 4, 1917, p. 1.

65 E.A. Corbett in Canadian Manhood III (1916), 1: 21 cited in Ross, YMCA in Canada, p.223.

66 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p.65, "Intercession Leaflet October-December 1918," p. 10. This leaflet was composed in the summer of 1918.

67 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 65, "Intercession Leaflet with Daily Bible Readings April-September 1918," 3-4.

68 Editorial, "Missionary Institutes," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 5.

69 "Student Notes," Association Outlook XVII (1918), 1: 18-19.

70 Chute and Boggs, Religious Life of Acadia, p. 199.

71 "Y.W.C.A.," Brandon College Quill, December 1914, p. 38.

72 Mary Quayle Innis, Unfold the Years (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949), pp.95, 97.

73 "The World's Student Christian Federation," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 28.

74 Editorial, "Missionary Institutes," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 5 and "Student Notes," Association Outlook XVII (1918) I: 18.

75 V.M. H[amill]., "Conference Conclusions," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 5. The Annual Report of the Student Committee of the YWCA for the academic year 1917-18 lists the following figures for study class attendance: 1391 in Bible Study; 796 in Mission Study; and 233 in Social Study classes. [M.L. Angus, "Student Committee," Association Outlook XVII (1918), 3: 52-54.] This ratio of approximately 6: 3 1/2: 1 shows that although there were changes occuring in the Associations, Bible study and missions, if altered, still predominated by a very large majority.

76 Charles W. Bishop, The Canadian Y.M.C.A. in the Great War (Toronto: Canadian National Council Y.M.C.A., 1924), p. 244; Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 166 and Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982.

77 Winnifred F. Thomas, "North American Students Mobilizing for Christian World Democracy," Association Outlook XVII (1918), 2: 21-23 and Clarence P. Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements (New York: Association Press, 1934), p. 403. Miss Thomas' article gives a complete list of the Canadian delegation including home university and position in the movement.

78 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movements File, Mabel Jamieson in "Minutes of Meeting of Council of North American Student Movements ... New York, September 16, 1915," p. 2.

79 Ibid., and UCA/SCM, E.A. Corbett, Circular letter dated February 7, 1917.

80 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Second Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, ... Ottawa, ... November 2-5, 1917," p. 24.

81 Elizabeth MacCallum, interviewed in Ottawa, May 18, 1982. Miss MacCallum, although involved in the Queen's University YWCA, and its president for 1918-19 year, was more active in the SVB until 1917, when it suspended meetings for the year.

82 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Ernest H. Clarke, "Statement Regarding the Development of the Canadian Student Volunteer Committee and its Relation to the North American Student Volunteer Committee [early 1920]," and Charles W. Bishop, "In the Light of History," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 11. Murray Brooks would return to Canada almost ten years later to become Ernest Clarke's replacement as the General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Canada.

83 Innis, Unfold the Years, p. 98 and Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 53.

84 Ernest H. Clarke, "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," CS X, 1 (Oct. 1927): 12-13.

85 Ibid.; PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Second Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, ... Ottawa, ... November 2-5, 1917," p.24 and UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movement File, E.A. Corbett in "Minutes of Meeting of Council of North American Student Movements ... New York, February 5, 1917," p. 2.

86 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Second Convention of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, ... Ottawa, ... November 2-5, 1917,"

pp. 24-25; Velma M. Hamill, "Summer Conferences, CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 24 and Innis, Unfold the Years, pp. 101-102.

87 "Our Hope," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 2.

88 David R. Porter, "A Message from 'The North American Student'," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 7.

89 Velma M. Hamill, "Summer Conferences," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 24; UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Students File, ... New York, February 5, 1917," p.2 and MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963." Because of wartime depletion of the ranks of the Student YMCA, only five men attended the Lumsden Beach Conference of 1918, only one of whom was an undergraduate (Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, July 15, 1918). Like the original impetus behind Church Union, the first joint men's and women's conference was probably an economy measure.

90 UCA/SCM, James Mackinnon Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922), pp. 6-8.

91 UCA/SCM, E.A. Corbett, Circular letter dated February 7, 1917.

92 UCA/SCM, Ernest C[larke]. to Chas. W. Bishop, March 21, 1917.

93 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Council of North American Student Movements File, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of North American Student Movements ... New York, September 16, 1915," pp. 2-3.

94 For example, UCA/SCM, E.H. C[larke]., "rough steno. of speech to 21st Anniversary Celebration, Aurora, Ontario," (1942) p. 3 and Archives Committee Papers, "Historical Tea Party," (June 15, 1961) p. 5.

Chapter 3: The Postwar Ferment: The Founding of the Student Christian Movement of Canada 1918-1921

What of the days when the war is done,
  Dull, weary, without this strife?
God! Do you think that we have fought for fun?
  We have fought that we might have life!

Life and the freedom to tread again
  The path of a thousand goals;
To speak our thoughts of the world and God
  As they burned in our war-born souls.

Life, to build on a new-wrought plan,-
  With woman a builder too,-
And to touch with the torch of our flaming hearts
  Old tasks and make them new!

"Après La Guerre," J.G. McKay[1]

If the poetry is not profound, at least the verses of the McGill YMCA Secretary relate something of the sentiment of the veterans who returned to Canada's colleges and universities after the Great War. Some four thousand or more strong in the fall of 1919,[2] they returned to campuses in the midst of a postwar boom in post-secondary education. Many universities were unprepared for this vast increase in enrolment, and even less prepared for the changes that had come over these new students themselves.

Religious young people who had come of age during the war, in their youthful idealism and their innocence, had believed the rhetoric they had

heard for so many years. They fully expected that the war and the reconstruction period afterward would bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. Now that the war was over they could begin Building the City of God, the New Jerusalem, in Canada. The veterans on campus, angry at the suffering they had been exposed to and disenchanted with the church and organized religion, yet possessed by the same vision, gave leadership to these optimistic youth of the first postwar generation.

I

If the war profoundly affected post-secondary education in Canada, the return of peace did not spell a return to "normalcy". Many had obviously postponed college or university in order to give themselves to the war effort or to the support of families temporarily missing their traditional bread-winners. Beginning with the winter term of 1919, and then especially in the following autumn came a flood of students to the colleges and universities. Across the country universities reported record registrations in the fall of 1919, in some cases double the previous year, in every faculty except Theology. Acadia University's enrolment increased one hundred and fifteen percent, the University of Saskatchewan's seventy-seven percent, and the University of Alberta's seventy-three percent over the previous year. From an enrolment of 2799 in 1917 the University of Toronto rose to 5237 in 1919. Every university matched its prewar enrolment, and many enrolled two or three times that figure.[3]

Now that the war was over, many of the usual extra-curricular activities resumed. The first few years after the war saw the reorganization, revival and foundation of numerous clubs and societies on campus, as well as the revival of college traditions which had frequently lapsed.[4] Included in this expansion was the establishment of a number of new local units of the Student YWCA.[5]

The massive expansion and the new heterogeneity of college populations, and the increased diversity of school activities, made the social control and supervision of the past increasingly difficult for university faculties and administrations. Community morality and standards were often replaced by undisciplined individualism and self-expression. Students complained of alienation and loneliness on campus,[6] and the diversity of ages among the students broke down class cohesion. The result was a certain amount of social dislocation among students.

Although the federal government made no provision for the education of veterans as they would after the Second World War, many university alumni associations and veterans' associations set up scholarships and loans for ex-servicemen, and the University of Saskatchewan even waived all tuition for veterans for eight years. Some universities established make-up courses or allowed mid-term registration.[8] The Khaki University, set up by the YMCA and adopted by the Canadian Army, allowed soldiers to commence or resume studies and gain university credits while still in France or England.[9] These all helped to funnel many veterans back to universities.

The veterans did not keep to themselves as a separate group despite their experience and maturity. They integrated into university life with reasonable ease, perhaps because of the large numbers of them in the first few years.[10] The determination and self-confidence of the veteran students, along with their maturity, gave them a prestige as leaders on campus, and their influence was far out of proportion for their numbers. One example will suffice: in September of 1919 at Brandon College veterans were presidents of the Student Association, the College YMCA, the Athletic Society, the Ministerial Association, the Literary Society and the Student Volunteer Band.[11]

It is not an easy matter to typify this postwar generation. Traditional historiography has spoken of disillusionment, and recent historians have largely discussed the intense desire to simply return to normality. Neither of these images do justice to the complex of emotions and currents of thought after the war. There was a strong feeling of restlessness among the veterans, and a ferment in Canadian colleges and universities in those first few years. The veterans had survived intolerable conditions; many returned with physical and emotional wounds and scars. They were older, more experienced, often more mature and self-assertive.[12] They faced the difficult personal readjustments necessary to civilian life and peace. And they entered universities with rules, structures and traditions geared to an innocent freshman of seventeen, not an experienced young man of twenty-one or twenty-four.

Perhaps one of the more difficult adjustments for the veterans was the return to the authoritarian strictures of university life in 1919. The soldier-students came back with a strong sense of independence. They were frequently impatient with authority, and very rowdy,[13] and universities encountered large numbers of disciplinary problems in the few years after the war.[14] At Dalhousie University veteran Bob Jones organized a strike against what he claimed were unjust administrative actions.[15] And at the University of Manitoba, veterans demanded "student self-government" and established the Students' Union.[16]

Although not the dominant emotion, there was, nonetheless, frequently a strong undercurrent of disillusionment among the veterans and some of the others who came of age during and after the war. The liberal social gospel which had pervaded the Protestant Churches of Canada before the war had been partially founded on the belief in the inevitability of progress and in the goodness and perfectibility of human nature.[16] Not surprisingly, college and university students, who largely came from upper middle class homes, were shocked by the horrors and immorality of war, and some had a crisis of faith regarding many of the things which they had held dear.[17] H.R.C. Avison, McGill's Student Christian Association Secretary in the mid-nineteen twenties, recalled the years after the war: "[T]he aftermath of the war brought Hell because our faith in the good and true was swept away."[18]

Emotions among the veterans and young people of Canadian universities, however, were generally positive. There had been great expectations about the soldiers fighting for democracy, peace and freedom. After working

at the front for the YMCA, E.A. Corbett, McGill's YMCA Secretary from 1913 to 1917, wrote of the tender hearts, the enlightened minds, the serious sense of responsibility and unselfishness of the soldiers, predicting the rise of a new Christianity without dogma, only "Love and the spirit of Truth."[19] Most believed that those who struggled for the ideals of brotherhood, of international justice, of peace and good-will, would surely carry forward the same ideals in a great crusade in time of peace.[20]

The over-riding postwar feeling seems to have been optimism:[21] the war to end all wars, the war to make the world safe for democracy, was over, and the veterans, on whom such high hopes had been placed, together with those who had been too young to fight, would remake the world. The disillusioned, the angry, and the rebellious were all in evidence, but they did not make up more than a small minority in the early postwar period. Many students greeted the immediate postwar period with a vision of a new world, and saw peace-time as a great new challenge.[22]

In the dying days of the war had come a number of almost radical statements about the new world order. The Methodist General Council called for "nothing less than a complete social reconstruction," and a new ecomonic order.[23] The "Message from the Chaplains" issued at the end of the war declared that the soldiers had been involved in extending a new social order, the Kingdom of God on earth. It reported a dissatisfaction among many soldiers about the established order, and called for a moral equivalent to war to harness the new social concern of these men.[24] And the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions and Social Service, in the spring of 1919, declared that the only options open to Canadians were "revolution or radical re-

form".[25] Even the editor of The Canadian Student, the magazine of the Council of Canadian Student Movements, echoed these feelings by declaring that the policy of the magazine was "to give utterance to ... the purpose of the united student body of this Dominion to bring about the Kingdom of God in this generation."[26]

In the first year or year and a half after Armistice the watchword of the day was "Reconstruction". Throughout 1919 The Canadian Student published articles which predicted a new world order in sometimes extravagant language.[27] An editorial in the March 1919 issue entitled "Utopias" declared that the victory of utopia, of dreams, of "the impractical thing" was at hand.[28] Professor J.B. Shaw of Presbyterian College, Halifax, in "The Task Before Us", told the students that the only justification for the suffering and death of the war was if a new and better world were built. He called for a new spirit of selflessness and dedication to counteract the evils leading to war.

> Here is a challenge to live our lives on the service scale, to manifest the same spirit of sacrifice and devotion and the subordination of personal interest to the good of others as has been so grandly manifested in the war, only for higher and more constructive ends.[29]

Others reiterated that the task before the students demanded even more sacrifice than had the war. Dr. John Adam of Hartford Theological Seminary told The Canadian Student: "After the war the real problems are only beginning. We shall only have won the site for the building of the City of God."[30]

Just before the end of the war, Margaret Wrong of the University of Toronto, a former Student YWCA Secretary, told the students of Canada that

> the bloodshed and incalculable suffering of this war will be in vain - utterly and terribly in vain - and other wars will come - unless we in this generation seek fearlessly the principles of the Kingdom of God....[31]

And for some veterans, perhaps, the only justification for their own terrible deeds would be found in a postwar redemption by bringing in the Kingdom.[32]

The students and veterans at Canadian universities did not shrink from the task laid before them. Mrs. Margaret Campbell, then a student at Dalhousie University, recalls that postwar period, when "everybody was breathing the new peace in the world and the intoxicating prospect of building the Kingdom of God on earth."[33] With the Intercession Leaflets issued by the Council of Canadian Student Movements for the summer and fall of 1919, veterans prayed weekly "that as a returned soldier I may continue the battle for righteousness here ..."[34], students acknowledged their responsibility to bring in a new era[35] and penitentially confessed that "We ... have done little to further Thy kingdom on earth by the establishment of social justice."[36] The Western Student Conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, during the summer of 1920, had as its declared objective, "to bring ... students together, that in united worship, study, council and the comradeship of daily life they ... may be rekindled to a realization and acceptance of their share in the world task of its rebuilding...."[37]

In the self-confidence and perhaps even a little self-righteousness of youth, conscious that they would in a few years be leading Canada, the students of Canadian colleges and universities firmly believed that they were about to bring in the Kingdom of God. Of all the songs and hymns of the Student YMCA's and YWCA's, both movements with a long tradition of love

of music, perhaps the best loved and most fervently sung, was the adaptation of William Blake's "Jerusalem".[38]

> Bring me my bow of burning gold!
> Bring me my arrows of desire!
> Bring me my spear! O clouds, unfold!
> Bring me my chariot of fire!
> I will not cease from mental fight,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> Within our broad and bounteous land.[39]

The rhetoric for war had encouraged Canadian young men and women to suffer and sacrifice for the great cause: a new world, often described in religious terminology: the Kingdom of God on earth, the New Jerusalem, the City of God. The disappointments of the Reconstruction period were tempered or even offset by the optimism and idealism of youth: some rebelled, but they also still demanded that, however belatedly, Canadians begin to bring in the Kingdom.

After touring the colleges and universities of Canada for four months in early 1923 under the auspices of the Student Christian Movement, Dr. A. Herbert Gray of Glasgow wrote an article entitled "The Ferment of Thought in the Canadian Universities" for The Presbyterian Witness. He recorded some of the questions that were animating students of the day:

> Are there real reasons for believing in God at all?... Has not Christianity failed (a question asked with tenfold intensity since the war)? ... Was Jesus really divine...? ... Are not other religions also true, and will not the final religion of humanity be reached by a combination of the best elements of them all? Is Christianity practicable in the modern world? Will not the real application of Christian principles involve an entirely new social and industrial order? ... How can the love of God be reconciled with the enormous amount of suffering in the world?[40]

He explained that the students wanted a modern Christianity with freedom of action, one that utilized the best of Biblical scholarship without conflicting with the discoveries of science.

> Many students ... have let their old beliefs go with great regret. They are trying desperately to find pure truth. They have a high sense of the requirements of intellectual honor. And though they want to believe, they are not going to do so blindly. They want a religion, but it must be a religion which a man can hold openly in full view of all that modern science and scholarship have established.[41]

Many in those years after the Great War saw Christianity as "bankrupt and obsolete", as a University of Toronto YMCA pamphlet put it. Dr. Jean Hutchinson, Student YWCA president at Dalhousie University after the war, recalls that "It was a time of poverty in religion."[42] Notwithstanding the rapturous accounts of religion in the trenches relayed to those at home, many soldiers were deeply shocked by the war and their experiences in the trenches. Many found their faith shattered, or undercut by doubts, or they experienced a dullness about those matters of faith which had so stirred them before they enlisted. The Church and Christianity had failed them, they thought.[43]

A survey of religious beliefs among the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force in France undertaken by the YMCA revealed that although the men almost unanimously professed a religious belief, it was generally so vague as to be almost meaningless. The soldiers were often ignorant of the most basic of religious matters, but that did not deter them from being deeply critical of the Church and the Christianity it preached. They affirmed instead a creedless humanitarianism.[45]

The students who had served overseas had experienced perhaps the ultimate in regimentation, bureaucracy and institutionalism that life has to

offer. The reaction to this, combined with a disillusionment with western civilization and its representative institutions, may explain the stern anti-authoritarian feeling among many young men of the postwar years. Youthful idealism and impatience only fed the dislike of form, tradition and organization.[46]

One institution which felt the full brunt of these feelings was the Church. Many students felt a deep dissatisfaction with the organized churches, and bitterness, anger and complete rejection were not uncommon reactions.[47] For some the war represented a practical failure of Christianity; for others, the shabby propagandizing role of the churches during the war made them highly suspect.[48]

In the November 1918 issue of The Canadian Student, Professor S.H. Hooke of Victoria College, in an article entitled "The Student Movement and the Church," listed the complaints against the Church. He noted the Church's acquiescence to a social system which allowed vast disparities between rich and poor and which exploited the working man. He complained that the Church had never confronted or even dealt with the war and its horrors and injustices. He continued that the Church had not come to terms with intellectual and scientific advances of the day. And finally, he argued that the organization of the Church had no relation to the real life of the Church.[49] He concluded:

> [T]he business of the Student Movement is to capture that "divine discontent" which university life breeds, that spirit of enquiry and criticism, and focussing it upon the vast problems of the church's life today, infuse it with the personal interest and enthusiasm arising always from a vision of the Kingdom of God.[50]

Many of these themes would be picked up again and again by students at conferences and in the pages of The Canadian Student after the war and into the 1920's. An editorial in The Canadian Student in December 1918 advised the students that it was their business to question the foundations of every institution of the day, including the Church.[51] A letter to the editor in the same issue condemned the Church for the "Traditionalism, dogma, and shadowy remnants of paganism [which] she has allowed to stifle practical and vital spirituality."[52] The Church, the writer insisted, had opted for tradition instead of truth. Nonetheless, the students must lead the Church, and it would surely follow.[53] It was not only men who were disenchanted with the Church , either. Nina Millen of University College wrote in The Canadian Student that the Church was behind the times and out of touch with its members. She called on the Church to face the decadence of its power, and she, too, saw a special role for the students in providing leadership and insight: "The church needs the searching light of truth turned upon the gnawing doubts, the petty hypocrisies, the smooth explanations which are sapping its vitality from underneath."[54] An anonymous letter from a veteran to The Canadian Student shortly after Armistice argued that the war had revealed that even the Church stood in need of reconstruction both in its methods and its theology.[55]

J. Davidson Ketchum, who had been interned for the entire war in a German prison camp, returned to Trinity College, Toronto, and quickly grew disaffected with the Church. He recognized a profound religious generation gap. After hearing a leading Anglican clergyman expound on prayer at the

Central Students' Conference, September 1921, he recorded in his diary that it had been

> So obviously sincere & deeply felt, but so utterly inadequate ... It just shows the great chasm that has cut us off from even the best of the last generation. We've got to go forward under our own steam.[56]

A. Herbert Gray had recorded that students had reluctantly surrendered their old beliefs, but they still sought a religion that embodied the truth.[57] This search for the "Truth", often capitalized, and for the fundamental principles of religion, would be of overriding importance to religious university and college students for many years.

At the end of 1918, E.A. Corbett, in his rhetorical style, wrote from the front:

> There are thousands of men coming home next year who have learned to do their own thinking and come to their own conclusions. They have faced death and worse things than death and were not very much afraid. They have looked deep into life and have seen its glory and realized some of its terrors. The only philosophy of life that will touch their hearts at all must be one that deals with things that are fundamental. They have learned to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, and in that respect have advanced beyond a great many clergymen and loyal churchmen. But for that very reason they will respond to the clean challenge of the Jesus of history who in every word He uttered dealt with the bedrock questions of human experience, who, like our men, faced the worst that life could bring to Him and yet revealed Himself Victor over both life and death.[58]

The anti-institutional and anti-authoritarian attitudes of this postwar generation demanded, first and foremost, that the students have the freedom and autonomy to pursue the truth and all sources of religion without hinderance. J.G. McKay, McGill YMCA Secretary from August 1919, stated that "The Movement must ever keep itself free from creeds that fix its thought, limit its freedom, and thereby defeat its purpose."[59]

Students declared that they had embarked on an exploration of religion, that they were committed to the uncompromising "discipline of the search for the truth."[60] This search would demand an "intensive application of the mind to the problems of religion and life."[61] And this search further demanded deep intellectual integrity, and a corresponding commitment to live out the truths discovered.

Although "the truth" frequently went unidentified, students seemed to seek and to demand simple, practicable principles rather than tradition or receive truth, rules or organization. A student in the University of Toronto Faculty of Education wrote in The Canadian Student that "It is because the Church is afraid squarely to face the Truth, to put principles first and expediency last that it has lost its grip of the greatest body of idealists that our materialistic century can produce."[62]

A Brandon College student recorded an emphasis there on "a real experience of God, giving a secondary place to the words or forms in which it shall be expressed."[63] But even more important to many than an experiential faith were the practical principles for living revealed by and in the person of Jesus.

> There are two great currents apparent to-day in this world fitfully convalescing from the greatest war in its history. There are those - and they are many and clamorous - who assert that Christianity is bankrupt and obsolete. And there are those - they are fewer but quite confident - who declare that the world's only hope is the realization of the principles of Jesus.[64]

A changed religion which centred upon the principles of Jesus, and perhaps on the experience of God, not surprisingly, would care little for doctrine, creed or form. Margaret Wrong told the students assembled at Guelph in January 1921 to form the Student Christian Movement of Canada that

if there is life, organization is unnecessary.[65] And a student writing in to The Canadian Student condemned religious forms as "monstrosities", arguing that the most dangerous differences between Churches were all in the area of non-essentials.[66] For these students, doctrinal differences and even religious institutions were increasingly becoming meaningless or irrelevant.[67]

The war may not have been the cause of religious changes in Canada, but it certainly accelerated already existent trends and tendencies. Thus the growth of modernism, or theological liberalism, seems to have gained added impetus during the war.[68] The generations which came of age during and just after the Great War were perhaps the first without the previously almost universal experience of an evangelical conversion.[69]

Religious training in the Protestant churches was still predominantly conservative, despite the large numbers of clergy and prominent leaders who had shifted to liberal interpretations of scripture and religious doctrine. Young people have always had doubts and questions, but this generation came of age while a major shift in the religious consensus of Protestant Canada was going on. Especially pervasive among university students was the powerful effect of the revelations of modern science. Literary criticism, physical science and history were all perceived as challenging the inherited beliefs of this generation. Although some lapsed into atheism on one hand or a dualism which affirmed the traditional faith and modern science on the other under this assault, many shifted towards a theological liberalism of one kind or other.[70]

The clear majority of the students involved in the College YMCA's and YWCA's would have affirmed the use of "higher criticism", the "scientific criticism" of the Bible. But this would have been by no means consistent, varying widely from campus to campus and from denomination to denomination. Both Baptists and evangelical Anglicans occasionally viewed the Student YMCA's and YWCA's with suspicion for their radicalism.[71]

Some of the leaders of the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's even moved beyond theological liberalism to what Richard Allen has called "the theology of radical reform ... a modernist compound of Christanity, Bergson's creative evolution, and a touch of prometheanism which seemed to derive from Neitzsche."[72] Leaders such as J. Davidson Ketchum at Trinity College, Toronto, and Professor S.H. Hooke at Victoria College propounded a new evolutionary humanism which affirmed the teachings of Jesus, the wisdom of all religions and the importance of modern science. In later years Ketchum and others would leave Christianity behind entirely, but not before they had influenced several generations of students, prying them away from traditional orthodoxy.[73]

It was in 1917 that the Canadian Student Associations first began to issue liturgy and written prayers for the local units. This was definitely not because of any great influx of Anglicans, but perhaps because of a decline in evangelical fervour, or because of growing doubts concerning prayer, or because of a new sense of distance between God and man. Liturgy and written prayers were the answer for some whose prayers were no longer spontaneous or whose relationship with God was on shaky foundations.

God Himself was no longer the personal and omnipotent ruler of tradional orthodoxy for many. He became a life-force, a pervading spirit. Life or Truth became equivalents for God for some of those who came of age in this postwar period.[74]

The person of Jesus as a leader became far more important than God in the minds of the Protestant students after the war.

> Mr. Wells' God, "the Captain of the World Republic," who "amidst the darkness and confusions, the nightmare stupidities and hideous cruelties of the great war, fought his way to Empire," is more like the kind of God those of us who cannot dispense with a God need to-day. It is a God who is really Christ.[75]

Under the influence of such works as T.R. Glover's The Jesus of History, S.H. Hooke's Christ and the Kingdom of God, and especially of H.B. Sharman's Jesus in the Records, Jesus (rarely named "Christ"), stripped of all traditions and orthodox doctrine, came to hold a special place as example and teacher among the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's.[76]

If for some this Jesus was God made human, "the supreme revelation of God",[77] for many He was unequivocally not divine.[78] The influence of modern science and theological liberalism led many students to be profoundly suspicious of anything miraculous: the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection of Jesus, His miraculous acts, the possibility of His being the Messiah of Jewish tradition, the traditional interpretations of the fall and the nature of sin, and the Bible as the inspired Word of God were all considered especially suspect.[79]

What was generally left unassailed was the gospels as historical records of the greatest ethical teacher ever known. If building the City of God was the primary task of this generation, the method would be by imple-

menting the principles of Jesus. A living interpretation of Jesus' teachings on interpersonal and social relations became paramount. And, under the influence of science, practical application and verification were stressed. The students called for a fellowship not of believers but of "investigators and experimenters."[80] In an address to the Student Associations at Ontario Agricultural College in the autumn of 1921, Davidson Ketchum challenged those present to treat Christ's teachings as hypotheses to be proved or disproved by experiment.[81]

L.S. Albright, YMCA Maritime Student Secretary in 1920, told The Canadian Student that religion did not consist of beliefs or doctrines, which were only the dead teachings of men, but of right conduct which required a living faith and trust in God. He went on to assert that Christianity should be expressed in a few fundamental convictions and the actions which proceed from the practice of these convictions.[82] For the students of this generation, there was a genuine hope that this "practical idealism" could remake the world.[83]

The influence of the social gospel had not diminished during the war; many at home had deepened their commitment to social reform as a positive reaction to the war experience. The chaplains reported an unrest among the troops abroad which resulted in a new concern for social justice.[84] Although the study of the life and principles of Jesus sometimes led only to a new individualistic ethic, it in many cases combined with the desire to bring in the Kingdom to produce a strong emphasis on service and social justice.

Among the women of the Student YWCA's there had been a more consistent and widespread growth in interest in the social gospel during the war. The local units of the Student YMCA had always been more strongly evangelical, and during the war their numbers were decimated by enlistments and their time preoccupied with other pursuits. Among them the social gospel had not been as influential, nor did it have as consistent a following. But with the end of the war and the new emphasis on "Reconstruction" this interest expanded among both the men and the women students.

At conferences such social gospel leaders as J.S. Woodsworth, Ernest Thomas and C.W. Gordon were popular speakers. Students considered such Canadian problems as the immigrants and urban crime.[85] The study of social conditions and the social teachings of Jesus continued or expanded in the local units.[86] And the Intercession Leaflets issued by the Council of Canadian Student Movements continued to urge prayer for the poor, for the problems of labour, and "for the removal of all social injustice."[87] Prayer was also regularly offered up for the Peace Conferences, and for the League of Nations.[88] After the initial optimism of the postwar period, studies of the causes of war and the possibilities for lasting peace also flourished on campuses, often, surprisingly, led by veterans.[89]

The Chairman of the Student YWCA, in her report for 1918-19, remarked on a consistent emphasis on active service in the local units:

> [T]here seems a deeper spirit of investigation and interest in standards of living and social conditions. Response to calls for service has been as whole-hearted as last year, and many volunteers for rural schools, agricultural work and summer missions ... have been enlisted.[90]

The complex of religious attitudes after the war, including the suspicion of institutional religion, the distrust or rejection of much of traditional Christian doctrine and the influence of the social gospel, led to an ambivalence about evangelism and missions. Indeed, all persuasion and anything which might imply coercion or manipulation, even enthusiastic religion, was anathema to this generation.[91]

The war had left a legacy of distrust of the Church and doubt about the depth of the Christianity of Western society. Questions about the uniqueness of Christianity further undercut the traditional view of missions.[92] The editor of The Canadian Student, discussing "the Missionary Motive", remarked that

> In the old ... days ... [t]he object of the missionary enterprise was the salvation of the souls of the heathen ... We no longer regard the religions of all non-Christian peoples, the noble Vedanta along with the crudest fetishism, as "the beastly devices of the heathen." The impossibility of considering the soul apart from the body is better understood, and the value of education, medicine, hygiene, and all agencies which raise the standards of life, is recognized as a Christian value.[93]

The social gospel is evident in these new concerns. The desire, inspired by the social gospel, to remake Canada before going to the world with the gospel may have deflected some from the traditional missionary enterprise as well.[94]

Even the conservative Student Volunteer Movement frequently expressed its support for missions as being a concern for a broad range of international questions including an interest in war and peace studies, foreign relations and foreign affairs, and the problems of poverty and exploitation in the undeveloped nations.[95] The concern most frequently shown was for the students of Central and Eastern Europe, who were suffering and starving af-

ter the war. European Student Relief was the single most significant international interest among the student movements of Canada after the war. This may have been, to an extent, a repudiation of the war propaganda and the "Red Scare" after the war.

The influence of the social gospel and the quest for the basic ethical principles of Christianity resulted often in a disinterest in or a distrust of doctrinal statements and creeds. This, coupled with the suspicion of the institutional Church, directed many of the young people who came of age during or just after the war to a strong anti-sectarianism. This feeling was frequently manifested positively in a drive for ecumenical concord. In the wider religious world the end of the war saw the resumption of the church union movement, but the students, in their idealism, sought a Christianity which moved beyond even the amalgamation of a few Protestant denominations. They called for an interdenominational world church.[96]

Students wanted a "new fellowship", a new union among Churches. They warned that a message of peace and brotherhood was destroyed by the church's rivalries and schisms.[97] The feeling that the Church's petty squabbles undercut the cooperation necessary to bring in the Kingdom or remake the world was not uncommon.[98] And some held out the hope of a new Church for the new world order.[99]

Herbert Gray of Glasgow described this anti-sectarian feeling as "a fine intolerance".

> There is a certain fine intolerance in the Canadian student world. It is intolerance of the sectarian differences which now divide people of good-will. The typical student is determined to have done with them. To begin with, he brushes aside the things which separate Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists, and so on, from one another.

> He lives religiously in a non-denominational world. He is concerned with the things which all these people have in common. He has no time for all the old controversies which divide them. But he goes further. [H]e meets in college life Roman Catholics, Jews, Hindus and Mohammedans. He finds many of them to be congenial spirits of firm character. He learns that these new men also attach supreme value to religion as they know it. And he does not propose to allow himself to be shut off from real fellowship with these other students.[100]

In practice, although most students associated with the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's remained part of the five main Protestant Churches - Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian - many declined to take out formal membership, and some had no affiliation at all.[101] Those involved in the student movements at the time frequently have no knowledge of the denominational affiliation of the other students since that was never discussed.[102]

Beyond the postwar reactions of disillusionment and optimism, and the religious changes quickened by the Great War, were a number of other intellectual and social trends affected by the war. Increased interest in and feelings for democracy and Canadian nationalism were two such affected. New concerns, perhaps arising out of the stress on democracy and freedom, for the relationships between the sexes and for the role of women in society were also in evidence among these university and college students.

The social solidarity engendered in English Canada by the war,[103] coupled with the natural pride in the part the Canadian Army played on the fields of France led to a surge of nationalism after the war was over. The veterans especially shared this sense of a tie which bound together the whole nation, a nation to be proud of. A keen national consciousness was

clearly evident among the students of Canadian colleges and universities.[104]

This burst of national feeling was evidenced in a greater national student consciousness which paralleled a growth in a continent-wide college or youth culture.[105] Not surprising, either, was the recognition of the need for a fellowship of the students of Canadian colleges and universities among the soldier-students at the Khaki University in England.[106]

The concern for a national consciousness was frequently joined with a new stress on democracy. The veterans and the young had believed that the war was a conflict for democracy, and when the hostilities ceased they expected to reap the benefits. At the University of Western Ontario in the fall of 1919 a mass meeting of the undergraduates affirmed the principle of student self-government and established the Students' Advisory Council with a veteran as the first Prefect.[107] And the veterans who reorganized the student body at the University of Manitoba the same year were arguing the same principle.[108]

The decade after the war would be the greatest era of student organization ever. Fraternities, sororities, and societies for a multitude of purposes were organized and then unified in national structures.[109] With the independence of the veterans and the concern for democracy and individual freedom among the students, there was a new move afoot to establish organizations which were less controlled by the autocratic and paternalistic administrations and faculties.

Among the Student YMCA's and especially among the Student YWCA's this was manifested in an insistence on student leadership in all matters.

Student-run and led Bible study became the norm.[110] Old programmes provided or imposed by the parent organizations were suspect.[111]

Student leadership had become important for many of the women during the war. Both on campus and off they had far greater opportunity to exercise leadership abilities. Many came to lead the most prestigious institutions and organizations on campus. On some campuses, such as at Dalhousie University, the YWCA came to be the dominant religious organization.[112]

The end of the war and the reconstruction period saw the almost complete extension of the franchise to English-Canadian women. For many this was the end of a long battle for suffrage, but for the young women who came of age during or just after the war, this was another tool for leadership and another way for them to help build the City of God on earth.[113]

The social gospel had contributed to the increased radicalism of the women of the Student YWCA during the war without having the same depth of effect on the men. The more radical leaders of the Student Associations after the war testify regularly to the continued effect of this disparity of influence. Leaders remark on the high calibre of leadership among the women when compared to their male counterparts.[114]

The YWCA had always been different from the YMCA: it had been much quicker to sever its relationship with the American Associations, and it had always been oriented more toward social service than evangelism.[115] The members of the Student YWCA's were questioning much of the current social and economic order by the end of the war, and were eager to get on with changing the world. They found themselves in informal alliance on many Cana-

dian campuses with the soldier-students whose frustration, disillusionment and optimism was issuing in a burst of reorganization and reconstruction.

II

The end of the war saw an almost complete change-over of the leadership of the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's in Canada. During the academic year 1918-19 there had been four paid secretaries of the Student YMCA: Ernest Clarke, the National Secretary, a Maritime Student Secretary, and local secretaries at McGill and the University of Toronto. The following year Clarke continued as National Secretary, L.S. Albright served as Maritime Student Secretary, there was a Western Student Secretry, two full-time secretaries each at McGill and the University of Toronto, secretaries at the University of Alberta, in Winnipeg, and at Queen's University, and part-time secretaries at Dalhousie University and Ontario Agricultural College. Staff had exploded from four to twelve.[116]

What was especially significant about these new secretaries was that of the eleven new men, ten had served overseas as soldiers, chaplains or YMCA workers. The eleventh was a missionary on furlough from India. Five of the veterans had been wounded, and one, J.G. McKay at McGill, had received the Military Cross.[117] The veteran students seemed to have naturally risen to positions of leadership within the local units as well. Most YMCA presidents for the first few years after the war were veterans, and a number, including Erroll Amaron of McGill and N.A.M. "Larry" MacKenzie of

Dalhousie would be in the forefront of the push for a new organizational structure for the Student YMCA.[118]

In the Student YWCA's a number of new faces appeared immediately after the war. The paid secretaries included Velma Hamill, long-time Senior Student Secretary, and secretaries for the Maritimes, Western Canada, and the colleges and universities of Toronto and environs. In the fall of 1918, E. Margaret Lowe, an Anglican who delighted in shocking conservative young people and who was a strong supporter of H.B. Sharman's Bible studies, joined the staff as Western Student Secretary. The following year Ruth Spence became Toronto District Secretary, and Berta Hamilton, a frank Scot with experience in social work, was hired as Maritime Student Secretary.[119]

These new leaders, although "hired" by outside agencies - Metropolitan Boards of the YMCA, the National Executive Committee of the YMCA, the Dominion Council of the YWCA, or Advisory Boards of local University YMCA's - and not by the students themselves, were often only a few years older than the undergraduates, and they sympathized with the students' drive for democratic control of their own organizations. In 1919, on the urging of Ruth Rouse, secretary of the World Student Christian Federation, the Dominion Council of the YWCA finally allowed the addition of six elected student representatives on the National Student Committee.[120] At the Brome Lake, Quebec Conference in June 1919, students from Quebec, Ontario and the Maritimes rewrote the constitution of the Student YMCA to allow for more democracy within the organization and a National Student Committee entirely appointed by students.[121]

The "democratization" of the Student Committees of the YMCA and YWCA stilled some of the complaints about the parent bodies, but the disaffection ran deep, and the structural changes were viewed as inadequate by many in this restless postwar generation. With their strong sense of independence and pride, and a common anti-authoritarian and anti-institutional spirit, the students viewed with suspicion or outright antagonism the guidance and direction the YMCA and YWCA had traditionally given them.

The desire for freedom and a return to the fundamentals of spirituality made many students scornful of the YMCA's penchant for a multiplicity of committees, each with carefully defined function and purpose, and exacting attention to numbers and statistics. The structures built up over the past fifty years were assumed by many students to have been imposed by those outside the university and the parent YMCA was blamed. Certainly the Student YMCA's, and, to a lesser extent, the Student YWCA's, had become self-propagating institutions. The institution and its rigid methodology had become more important than the purpose for which it was created, and the students began to characterize the organizations as smug and artificial.[122]

For young people who had come to doubt many of the central tenets of orthodox Christianity, and to be highly critical of the petty denominational squabbles of the Church, the membership bases of the Student YMCA and the Student YWCA were especially irksome (See Appendix 1). The Student YMCA demanded that all active members affirm their acceptance of Jesus Christ as Saviour and God, and their approval of the objects of the YMCA: to lead students to become disciples of Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour; to lead them to join the church; to promote growth in Christian faith and char-

acter; and to enlist them in Christian service. A further stipulation required all office holders in the organization to also be members in good standing of evangelical Protestant churches. The Student YWCA offered two alternate membership basis. The first allowed membership to those "loyal" to Jesus Christ and sympathetic to the purposes of the YWCA, but insisted that two-thirds of the members of the cabinet of each local unit, including the president, be members of evangelical Protestant churches. The second membership basis offered associate membership to those in sympathy with the YWCA, and active membership to members of evangelical churches. Only active members could vote or hold office. Since individual churches or congregations might be more flexible in matters of membership, the YWCA membership basis could, in practice, be much more inclusive than that of the YMCA. The YMCA membership basis especially embodied much that this generation of students had rejected, and many, while still adherents of Protestant churches, had declined or resigned membership. Individual local units of the Student YMCA or Student YWCA occasionally chose to ignore or rewrite their membership basis, but this was in violation of the National Committees' directives. The continued existence of the membership bases was a source of considerable friction and frustration among the local units, especially of the Student YMCA.[123]

The editor of The Canadian Student recognized this ferment in March 1919, arguing, in an article entitled "Freedom", that it is the worst kind of tyranny to force belief on anyone. He went on to assert that it was not the business of the Student Movements to segregate those who adhere to a particular form of religious belief, but rather to create an environment of

freedom where students can discover real religious convictions for themselves. Later in the year he picked up the topic again. Noting that many associations were reconsidering their membership basis, he suggested that membership should be based on allegiance to a purpose, not affirmation of a creed. He called for, "not an association of dogmatists organized to make dogma prevail, but an association of seekers and doers."[124]

In terms of social and theological outlook, the leadership of the parent YMCA and YWCA moved in completely different worlds from this generation of students. These young students were quite willing to ask probing questions about the relationship between the Church and Canadian society, and poverty, war and the industrial struggle. It was inevitable that they would begin to be uncomfortable with organizations associated with businessmen and conservative church leaders.[125] The Methodist Christian Guardian quoted a Victoria College student as saying that

> the Y.M.C.A. was a creature of business men and was used by them. It was definitely allied with their way of life, their inclinations and interests. The business leaders who were also the leaders of the Y.M.C.A. sought to direct younger minds into channels which were considered safe.[126]

Feelings about the YMCA were exacerbated by the postwar changes of profiteering leveled against it. The Great War Veterans' Association of Ontario publicly declared their distrust of the organization, and many newspapers printed anti-YMCA editoritals, letters to the editor, and interviews with veterans and chaplains. Regardless of whether these charges were justified, the veteran leaders of the Student YMCA's viewed their connection with the YMCA of Canada unhappily.[127]

During the last summer of the war the men and women students of the prairie West had begun meeting together for their annual summer conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan. The following fall and winter there were further attempts made to bring together the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA'S at the local level. At Acadia University was formed an Intercollegiate Advisory Council comprised of the presidents and vice-presidents of the University YMCA and YWCA, of the Acadia Seminary YWCA, the Acadia Academy YMCA and of the Student Volunteer Band. Although the new council was purely advisory, it sought to coordinate all the activities of the various religious organizations.[128] At McGill University, the permanent Joint Committee of the YMCA and YWCA, comprised of the presidents and secretaries of each organization (the SVM operated at McGill as a committee of the YMCA), had jurisdiction over all matters which affected both bodies.[129]

A new leadership of independent veterans, a new quest for democracy and democratic control of their own organizations among the students, a questioning of the membership bases of the parent bodies, a rejection of the old programmes and methods and a suspicion or even outright repudiation of the YMCA and to a lesser extent the YWCA all pointed the students of the Canadian colleges and universities in one direction. Throughout their history, the Student YMCA's and Students YWCA's had been moving in the direction of greater autonomy, greater organization, greater national unity, and closer bonds between the two movements. After the war the stage was finally set for the last act to begin.

III

At the Brome Lake Conference in the summer of 1918 the students of the YMCA's of the colleges of Toronto invited Dr. H.B. Sharman, the Bible teacher, to help them out for a semester or two. Henry Burton Sharman was a unique figure. After trouble over his very modern theology had forced his resignation from the University of Chicago almost a decade earlier, Sharman had deliberately set out to make himself of independent means so that he could devote himself to his one love: teaching students the life of Jesus from the gospel records. Although an almost austere character, Sharman's controlled passion, his profound simplicity, and his single-minded demand for commitment and integrity from those who studied with him struck a responsive cord in many of the students of Canada, and he was a very popular teacher much in demand for conferences. Sharman's studies, Records in the Life of Jesus, a special arrangement of the gospel accounts, and Jesus in the Records, a study guide to the gospels, were already almost the only work used in the Bible studies of the Student YMCA's and YWCA's of Canada.[130]

Dr. Sharman had already declared himself in favour of a student initiated and directed religious movement on Canadian campuses, and Sharman would have been especially pleased if such a movement was dedicated solely to an understanding of Jesus and an implementation of His principles and ideals. To many church and YMCA leaders, Henry Burton Sharman was a highly suspect and controversial man, and some questioned the wisdom of allowing him free access to the students.[131]

In October 1918 H.B. Sharman arrived in Toronto to begin the Bible study classes. Sharman assumed twenty-two classes with over 325 students at the University of Toronto alone, plus classes at McMaster University, then in Toronto, and Ontario Agricultural College in Guelph. Three of his classes at the University of Toronto were for senior students and others who led another twenty classes in Jesus in the Records on campus.[132]

At the University of Toronto Sharman met and became fast friends with Samuel Hooke, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at Victoria College since 1913 and another leader among the Student Associations. Hooke was a versatile scholar who taught Modern and Canadian Constitutional History on the side, had written the popular Christ and the Kingdom of God, and was a great athlete.[133] Professor Hooke was, as one former student put it, "a storm centre at Victoria College in those days."[134] Although Hooke taught Bible studies using the Sharman method and Jesus in the Records, he was not as single-minded as his friend. He tended to stress the concerns of the social gospel and social justice, and it was not uncommon for him to lapse into a kind of mystical evolutionary humanism. H.B. Sharman, always "Dr. Sharman", S.H. Hooke, affectionately known as "Hookie", and Ernest Clarke, the National Student YMCA Secretary were perhaps the three most influential men among the Student Associations of Canada. Their coming together in Toronto after the war prepared the way for radical changes in the organization of religious movements on Canadian campuses.

Both Sharman and Clarke, as well as many of the new veteran Student Secretaries of the YMCA were present at a fateful Brome Lake Conference in

June 1919. The week preceding the conference student and secretaries gathered at McGill University to do in-depth study with Dr. Sharman on the life of Jesus. At the conference the students passed the new constitution and devised a more democratic method of appointing the National Student Committee. These resolutions led into the question of the meaning and purpose of the student movement itself. Students and secretaries discussed whether the broader object of the movement should be educational or inspirational, and whether the Associations should be institutional, departmental or distinctive organizations. In a second meeting the consensus seemed to be that the Student YMCA would eventually become a separate movement on its own, although many felt that the time had not yet arrived for such a drastic change. The conference passed a motion proposed by J.G. McKay, McGill Student Secretary, and seconded by L.S. Albright, Maritime Student Secretary, "That the transition to a distinctive Canadian Student Movement be kept before the students of the men's and women's organizations at conferences and in the colleges."[135]

At the same conference Ernest Clarke and L.S. Albright proposed a national gathering of Canadian students to discuss these and other resolutions in conjunction with the upcoming quadrennial convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in Des Moines, Iowa in December. The SVM Conventions had always been a chance for all of North America's student Christian organizations to meet in forum for discussion and fellowship. Plans were made for the Canadian delegates to meet for a day or two before or after the convention to reflect on their own unique problems and interests. The Council of

Canadian Student Movements was assigned the task of organizing these extra meetings.[136]

At a special ten day conference later in the summer for the new secretaries of the Student YMCA, more time was given to the purpose and objectives of the Canadian Student Associations. As well as studying with Dr. Sharman, the secretaries gathered with a few professors to rethink the whole student programme: organization, membership basis, student leadership, relations with the Churches, finances, social service, Bible study and missions were scrutinized.[137]

Early in the fall of 1919 a Canadian Student Volunteer Movement Committee was finally established after years of lobbying by the Council of Canadian Student Movements. This paved the way for the possibility of the nationalization and unification of all Canadian student Christian movements. Ernest Clarke, already National Student Secretary of the YMCA and Secretary of the Council of Canadian Student Movements was elected Chairman of the new Committee, and the following year he was also made General Secretary.[138]

In the fall of 1919 the arrangements were finalized for the Des Moines Convention: the Canadian delegation, expected to be some four hundred strong, would meet on Tuesday, December 30, the day before the five day Convention was to begin. In order to have the issue of the conference clearly in the minds of the delegates, a questionnaire was circulated before hand, asking, essentially, "What would you consider to be an ideal purpose of a Student Christian Association [,] irrespective of name?"[139]

The Des Moines Convention was a historic opportunity: it was the first time that student representatives from the colleges and universities of all nine provinces of Canada, both men and women, from some fifty-two institutions in all, would meet together in one place. The delegation included eleven Student YMCA Secretaries, twenty-five faculty members, and three hundred and fifty-nine students. They joined with six or seven thousand American students to examine the Christian missionary enterprise in the new era.[140]

The SVM Quadrennial Conventions had always tended to attract the more conservative and evangelical Christian students because of the very nature of the organization. The students at this convention, however, were not at all pleased with the traditional programme. The evangelical messages, the stirring calls for volunteers for various mission fields, and the sentimental appeals for funds all moved many of the students, but a large minority found the themes and speeches meaningless. Students seethed over their treatment, and accused organizers and leaders of emotional manipulation.[141]

For students, veterans, young people who had had, in many cases, the foundations of their faith shaken by the war, and this was especially true of the Canadian delegation, the real questions were basic and fundamental. S.H. Hooke explained later that:

> There is a growing sense that the failure of Western civilization culminating in the great war has finally raised the issue as to whether we know what Christianity really is at all. The question is occupying the minds of many thoughtful students, whether the type of Christianity which has failed to save Europe from the Great War and from the more terrible industrial and class war of modern times, can really represent the spirit of Christ, or can be worth spending a lifetime in carrying to foreign lands.[142]

Before volunteering as missionaries, students wanted to know if Christianity had anything to offer anyone.

John R. Mott, senior statesman of the World Student Christian Federation, the American YMCA and the SVM, gave the keynote in a short speech on "The World Opportunity". He contrasted the optimism of the last convention with the bitterness and confusion of this, and challenged the students to build a new world. They would be the fresh leadership to apply the principles of Jesus to industry and commerce, national and international politics.[143] Other speakers at the convention picked up on Mott's new emphasis, and there seemed to be a tacit alteration of the SVM's slogan, "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation", to "The Evangelization and Christianization of the World in this Generation", thereby recognizing that simple evangelism was not adequate.[144]

Even this broader concept of missions did not serve to pacify the delegates at the Des Moines Convention. This generation did not have the patience or the trust in the Church and the SVM leaders to sit for endless hours of speeches. They did not want to listen at all; they wanted to hear the voices of their peers and discuss problems closer to home. This was their first major opportunity to talk to other students since the war, and they wanted to know if their brothers and sisters shared their concern for the social, economic and political issues that were unsettling them. They stated unhesitatingly that the slums of Chicago and the poverty of the prairie immigrant demanded more immediate action than the needs of the already long-civilized Chinese. And this priority did not spring out of a postwar isolationism either; young people felt an abiding shame at the state

of western, so-called "Christian" civilization, and declined to impose their own problems on other cultures.[145]

The leaders frankly admitted from the platform that there was widespread criticism of the programme, but they reminded the students that Des Moines was a missionary convention, and questioned the Christian loyalty of the dissenters. The critics, in response, created small conferences and discussion groups on their own initiative which operated intermittently in the remaining time.[146]

Much of the resentment and criticism by the students was directed toward John Mott as the greatest representative of the previous generation. Mott resigned shortly after the Des Moines Convention, and the Student Volunteer Movement went through a reorganization which resulted in a much greater voice for the students.[147]

Even before the ferment of the Des Moines SVM Convention had begun, the Canadian delegates arrived to discuss the purpose of the Student Christian Associations. The Canadian delegation stood out among their American counterparts. They were older, more mature, more confident. They had been through the long testing of the war, and they were quicker to question and more concerned with what they perceived as essentials. At the first meeting more than half of the men were seen wearing the small brown emblem of those who had served overseas during the war.[148]

After an opening luncheon addressed by Charles Bishop, National Secretary of the Canadian YMCA, on that Tuesday, December 30, the students retired to a local church to hear addresses by Ernest Clarke, Margaret Lowe

and Professor S.H. Hooke. But the students had gathered to speak their minds, and they eventually turned to a discussion of the purpose of the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's. Once they were clear as to what their purpose should be, they felt that they would have a criterion for considering programmes and organization. Two main lines of thought quickly emerged. Some argued that the chief object of the Associations should be the strengthening of the spiritual lives of its members. Others, that the Associations should primarily be vehicles for the application of Christian principles to the problems of the world. Initially, the division seemed to be between the proponents of the social gospel and those of more traditional and evangelical proclivities, but the students interested in social reform and service would soon gain the support of the moderates and religious liberals by recognizing the importance of the person and teachings of Jesus in bringing in the Kingdom. This left only a vocal minority of more conservative and evangelical students. The session was concluded by the appointment of a Findings Committee, chaired by "Mac" Omond, the Queen's University Student Secretary and a former YMCA chaplain overseas, to monitor the discussions of the sessions of that evening and the next morning and to present a resolution later.[149]

No findings, however, were possible. Church and Canadian YMCA leaders present were so incensed with the direction that the discussions seemed to be going that they took over the proceedings that evening, providing their own speakers, and the next morning held a church service. Ernest Clarke was threatened with firing for his part in initiating the meeting and discussions. Out of respect for the difficult position Clarke was in the

students cooperated with the church officials. But the frustration and indignation they felt probably pushed many students toward a more radical stance regarding the formation of an independent Student Christian Movement.[150]

The students expanded the Findings Committee to include a representative from each university centre, and each university and college delegation continued the discussions for short periods in small groups. To the dismay of the American leaders who were already trying to cope with defections and dissent, the Canadian delegates absented themselves from a number of meetings in order to gather informally and talk about their common needs and interests.[151]

The consensus that emerged from these informal gatherings was, firstly, that the students themselves and no other group or organization, should be responsible for influencing their own student bodies for good. This they would do by study and by maintaining and encouraging a vigorous intellectual ideal, to which Jesus was central. From the university the students resolved to move outward in unselfish service to the whole world.[152]

On the second to last day of the convention, the Canadian delegates all gathered together and the Findings Committee issued two statements as tentative expressions of the "Ideal Purpose" of a Student Association (See Appendix 1 C). The first was simply, "To seek to know God through Jesus Christ, and having discovered Him, to make Him known to the students of this University, and through them, to the world." This purpose accented the evangelical tendencies of the Student Movements. The second purpose was much longer, calling on the Associations to unite all who accept Jesus as "the

supreme revelation of God, or who desire to understand and test the Christian faith" and standards of conduct. It further directed that the Associations work to permeate the university with Christian ideals and to encourage all students to give themselves to service. The second proposed purpose obviously made room in the Student Associations for the doubters and seekers of the postwar student generation, and was an implicit rejection of the membership bases of the YMCA and YWCA. It also accented the responsibility that students felt for personally remaking the world.[153]

Discussion continued at that afternoon session after the two purposes were presented. The Commmittee argued that no barriers for membership should be established by the Associations except against "insincerity and prejudice", two of the greatest sins to a generation which stressed freedom and integrity. Those engaged in the same quest, whether from within or outside of orthodox Christianity, had a rightful place in the movement.[154]

The next question taken up by the session was whether the present organizations were adequate for the purposes expressed. It quickly became clear that almost every college delegation was dissatisfied with the programmes and activities of the Student YMCA's and Student YWCA's. There was a general agreement that the present organizations would have to be changed or abandoned.

When the Findings Committee presented its final resolutions they met with unanimous approval of the students:

> 1. That copies of these statements of the purpose of the S[tudent].C[hristian].A[ssociation]'s be sent out by the Council of Canadian Student Movements to all Canadian S.C.A's with a request for an expression of opinion on them before April 30th, 1920.
> 2. That the various Canadian S.C. organizations be asked to consider whether the time has not now come to take steps for the organizations of a distinctive Canadian Student Movement, having regard to

(a) the fact of our growing national consciousness and the conviction which is shared by many students that the Student Y.M.C.A and Y.M.C.A are not a natural expression of the religious life of Canadian students.
(b) the fact that our Canadian S.C. Associations in practice, if not by constitution, do not accept the Y.M.C.A basis of membership.

3. That adequate opportunity for the discussion of these matters be provided in the Canadian Summer Conferences, that such discussion be carried on as far as possible by students, commissioned to express the convictions of the institutions they represent, and that, if at all practicable, a representative Conference of Canadian students be assembled at as early a date as possible.
4. That meanwhile no obstacle be placed in the way of any association desiring to take such steps as it may deem advisable to adapt itself to the situation and needs of its own institution.[156]

These resolutions reflected some of the currents of thought influencing the young people who came of age during or just after the Great War. The gathering at Des Moines, even if on American soil, was the first truly national and representative gathering of the college and university students of Canada. One of the exciting realizations that the discussions had produced was that of a new sense of national unity among these young people. Further was the recognition that their evangelical heritage, as embodied in their connection with the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, no longer had any relevance to many of the students. The students declared their intention to pursue an independent course from their parents and their past.

"Mac" Omond, when he reported the results of the meetings to The Canadian Student, editorialized:

In many hearts there is a great hope that these developments point to a new day in the religious life of Canadian Students - that they express not only an earnest concern for the things of the Spirit and their application to life, but a determination that they shall find in our Canadian Colleges a vital and natural manifestation through a movement among the students themselves, a movement that is democratic and brotherly, broad and tolerant, and at the same time warmly enthusiast-

> ic. Such a movement would be of inestimable value to the students and Colleges.[157]

Students who had been at the Des Moines meetings assumed that a Canadian Student Christian Association was "practically an accomplished fact,"[158] and the editor of The Canadian Student announced that it was finally possible to speak of a real "Canadian Student Movement".[159]

Students returned to the colleges and universities of Canada with a dynamism and enthusiasm for reorganizing their Student Associations as a preliminary to rebuilding the world. The Student Secretaries toured the country initiating and encouraging discussion of the Des Moines resolutions, especially the aims and purposes of the Student Associations, and the advisability of a break with the YMCA and YWCA. Each association held meetings, often coeducational, to give the students opportunity to express themselves and exchange opinion. Some associations assigned the resolutions to committees or study groups who spent hours wrestling with the questions before them.[160]

For some associations these discussions were not enough. At McGill University, where there was already a high degree of cooperation between the YMCA, the YWCA and the Student Volunteer Band, the students issued a statement that both associations looked forward to the inauguration of an independant and united student movement. In anticipation of this, the McGill YMCA rewrote their constitution, reorganized the SVM on campus, and passed a new basis of membership.

> It is the purpose of the members of this Association to seek a personal knowledge of God, and understanding of His will for themselves and others, and to work for the realization of the Kingdom of God in human society, accepting as a guide the teaching and example of Jesus, and

> making the student body of this University their special field of activity.[161]

The McGill students echoed the desire for an organization of seekers who would realize the Kingdom of God on earth through the principles of Jesus.

Organizationally, the students of the University of Toronto Faculty of Education went even further. They dissolved the local units of the YMCA and YWCA in early January and formed a coeducational Student Christian Union. They stated that the old organizations had not even touched the fringes of the task that should be theirs: that of bringing before all students, and informing them on, "all the broad questions of the day."[162]

Once the Des Moines resolutions reached the local units the students were swift to respond. The February and March 1920 issues of The Canadian Student contained many expressions of student opinion. Students recognized that the purposes and membership bases of the YMCA and YWCA were inadequate for the particular needs of university students, and many found that the names alone of the Y's hampered their work on campus. The YMCA and YWCA must consider the good will and support of the community, whereas, as one student noted, "It is death to a student association if this consideration hampers honest expression of opinion."[163] A few voices called for retaining a relationship with the parent bodies, perhaps for financial reasons, while changing the name, gaining more democratic control, and altering the purpose and membership bases.[164]

After the discussions of the spring of 1920 the students and their leaders looked forward to the conferences of the summer where the results of the local consultations could be shared and decisions could be made. The

Canadian Student urged that all the delegates to the Des Moines Convention and the entire next year's executive of each local unit be present, along with "those who have seen something of the vision of the possibilities of a corporate student movement towards the bringing in of what we call 'the Kingdom of God'."[165] Those at the summer conferences should come having already discussed the Des Moines recommendations in their colleges, and they should be prepared to come to definite conclusions about an independent Christian movement among Canadian Students. The brochures the Student YWCA issued for the upcoming conferences advised the students that they would be making fundamental decisions regarding the future of student religious work in Canada during the summer. But the ambivalence of the Student YMCA, with a progressive leadership and an occasionally conservative membership, was shown in that, despite the letter issued to the local units of the YMCA advising them that they should discuss a Canadian student movement during the summer conferences, the brochures issued for the conferences made no mention of discussion or decision regarding a Student Christian Movement.[166]

Hanging over the discussions in the spring of 1920 like a pall were financial problems affecting both the YMCA and the YWCA. Both organizations had undergone massive expansion during the war as people freely supported their work overseas. But postwar deflation and the failure of the 1919 financial campaign meant the necessity of cut-backs for the YMCA, and near bankruptcy for the YWCA. In January, 1920 the National Executive of the YMCA refused the Student Committee's request for an additional Student Secretary. Later in the spring, local boards of the Student YMCA began cut-backs, and

the student secretaries at Queen's University, at Ontario Agricultural College and at the University of Alberta did not have their terms renewed.[167]

The opening conference of the summer was a first in another way as well. For the first time the secretaries of the Student YMCA and the Student YWCA met together. For ten days seventeen secretaries gathered at Cobourg, Ontario to study with H.B. Sharman and to listen to addresses by S.H. Hooke and Davidson Ketchem. They spent much time in discussion of the aims of a Student Christian Movement, but they could not make any decisions for the students.[168]

There followed quickly two Student YMCA conferences, one at Cobourg and a second at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick. The Cobourg conference studied with Dr. Sharman, and was addressed by Hooke, Ketchum, and a Christian socialist, J. Stitt Wilson, from the United States. The Maritime conference included study with Howard Bronson, a friend and "disciple" of H.B. Sharman, but it stressed missionary interests more. At both conferences opinion was generally that steps should be taken toward the formation of a united movement that was more or less independent, and the majority approved the calling of a national gathering to make a final decision on the issue. The recently democratized Student YMCA Committee was felt to be an adequate vehicle in the meantime.[169]

It was at the Central Women's Conference in early June that the situation was radically altered. The students of the YWCA, more deeply imbued with the concepts of the social gospel and less concerned with evangelical values, had always had a different relationship with their parent organization. Although they had less voice in their Student Committee than their

male counterparts, there was a sense of sisterhood between the city and student associations not evident in the paternalistic YMCA. In addition, the smaller size of the YWCA had always forced the local units at the colleges and universities to pursue a more independent course with less secretarial supervision.

The women students gathered at Cobourg adopted a new membership basis without reference to the desires or interests of the YWCA:

> The Student Christian Association is an organization of students, based on the conviction that in the life and teaching of Jesus are to be found the means to a full realization of life. The Association seeks by prayer, study and other means, an understanding of Jesus, and invites into its fellowship all students who are willing to test the validity of the conviction upon which this Association is based.[170]

The influence of Henry Burton Sharman, who was present at the conference, was clear in the new membership basis. The association would simply seek to understand the life and teachings of Jesus. All other concerns would spring out of a proper focus. And any who were seeking would be welcome to join in the study and the quest.

The women went beyond a new membership basis. They resolved that, as the four-fold purpose of the YWCA was inappropriate for the university,

> And whereas the student branch exacts time, energy and money from the Dominion Council that could be provided by the students themselves, thus allowing the Council freer scope for development in other branches,-
> And whereas the acceptance of such responsibility by the students would foster a keener interest in the work, a spirit of self-reliance,-
> And whereas close cooperation between men and women students is most desirable,
> Therefore we recommend the formation of a Canadian Student Christian Movement....[171]

Recognizing the financial problems of the YWCA, and the need for student control of their own organization, as well as the widespread desire for a unit-

ed movement, the students called for the establishment of the SCM. To facilitate its formation, the women set up an Interim Committee to handle the details. The committee, chaired by Dr. Sharman, included S.H. Hooke, Margaret Wrong of the University of Toronto, and Dr. W.A. Gifford, a McGill Theology professor and a social gospel leader, as well as student representatives from the major universities of Central Canada. The women students recommended to the other conferences to be held later in the summer that they appoint further members to the committee. And finally, since the YWCA, in order to cut back on expenses, had given Berta Hamilton, Maritime Student Secretary, her notice, the students suggested that the first item of business for the Interim Committee be the raising of financial support for Miss Hamilton.[172]

The Dominion Council of the YWCA, embroiled as it was in a financial crisis which necessitated the resignation of one-third of the national staff and which threatened the seizure of their national headquarters building, gladly grasped the opportunity and turned over the entire Student Committee work, including finances and personnel, to the Interim Committee. The Interim Committee assumed the support of Margaret Lowe, Ruth Spence and Berta Hamilton, and the Dominion Council offered office space as long as they should own their building. In one quick move the Student YWCA was on its own and independent.[173]

Meanwhile, a series of special meetings of the National Executive of the YMCA resolved that as of September, they would have to eliminate the Maritime and Western Student Secretaries. This only tended to heighten the sense of urgency the student discussions were already experiencing.[174]

The Maritime Student YWCA Conference in late June also decided to support a Student Christian Movement. They confirmed the actions and resolutions of their sisters at Cobourg, and appointed Maritime representatives to the Interim Committee. The students also appointed a regional committee to help administer their area.[175]

The Western Student Conference at Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan in July was the only coeducational conference that summer after the Cobourg conference estabished the Interim Committee. The men and women present both responded enthusiastically to the actions of the Central Women's Conference. The conference had been planned so that the men and women would meet separately for study groups and sports, but the students demanded that all activities be mixed. Not only did the women endorse the recommendations of their eastern sisters and appoint members to the Interim Committee, but they also suggested, along with the men present, that the Interim Committee accept male delegates and be completely representative. In a resolution touched by the postwar nationalism and the stress on the person of Jesus, and spurred on by the latest cut-backs of the YMCA and YWCA, the students stated that, "Whereas the growth of a national student consciousness has created a bond for union sufficient to demand the initiation of a distinctive national student movement; ... We, the men and women students of Western Canada ... recommend the formation of a student Christian Movement in Canada...."[176] The basis of membership proposed by the Lumsden Beach Conference was similar to that of the Cobourg Conference, recognizing the SCM as a fellowship of students convinced that Jesus' life and teachings embody the best conception of life known.

With the complete approval of the women, and the qualified support of the men, the Student Christian Movement of Canada seemed to be almost established. The Interim Committee now supervised all the work of the Student YWCA's of Canada, and had even elected to support L.S. Albright, the Maritime Student Secretary who had been released by the YMCA. H.B. Sharman excitedly wrote his wife from Lumsden Beach that "The Canadian Student Christian Movement is now fully launched; there seems no possibility now of any going back...."[177] The milestone had been passed.

The Student Committee of the YMCA responded to the events of the summer by declaring their appreciation of the drive for "democratic expression" and "direct responsibility" in the movement, but cautioned that nothing good from the past should be discarded. The Committee greeted the efforts toward a new form of organization as logical and welcome. The Committee recommended a national gathering Christmas week, 1920 to initiate the new Student Christian Movement.[178] Despite the intention of the Des Moines delegates that the summer conferences should help initiate the new movement, there was enough doubt and indecision among the members of the Student YMCA that the Student Committee wanted to move slowly and carefully.

The Interim Committee and the Student Volunteer Committee supported the call for a national conference. The three organizations formed the Joint Committee of the Student Christian Movements of Canada, comprised of five representatives from the Interim Committee, five from the Student YMCA Committee, and two from the SVM Committee. The Interim Committee representatives included H.B. Sharman, who chaired the new committee, Berta

Hamilton, Margaret Lowe and Margaret Wrong. The Student YMCA Committee representatives included Ernest Clarke, who served as secretary of the committee, Charles Bishop, National Secretary of the YMCA, and Profesor S.H. Hooke. And the Student Volunteer Committee representation included Velma Hamill, the former Senior Student Secretary of the YWCA. The Joint Committee took over the work of the Council of Canadian Student Movements, including the publication of The Canadian Student magazine. The Joint Committee was assigned the further task of arranging the national gathering and drafting a constitution for the new movement which could be submitted to the local Student Christian Associations as soon as possible. The Committee would revise the draft in light of the comments and criticisms it recieved and present the revision to the national conference.[179]

The proposed constitution was quickly drafted and issued to the local units across the country of the Student YMCA, the former Student YWCA, the SVM, and to any new joint Student Christian Associations, as well as any other unaffiliated religious organizations of Canadian campuses. The aim and basis of the Student Christian Movement of Canada was to be a modification of the Coburg proposal:

> The Student Christian Movement of Canada is a fellowship of students based on the conviction that in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realization of life.
> The Movement seeks through study, prayer, service and other means to understand and to follow Jesus Christ and to unite in its fellowship all the students in the colleges of Canada who are willing to test the truth of the conviction upon which the Movement is founded.[180]

Membership would be through local units which chose to adopt the aim and basis and affiliate with the SCM. The Movement was to be controlled by a General Committee composed solely of students: one from each university or

college, three from the theological colleges, plus three student volunteers. The General Committee would appoint all secretaries with the advice of the relevant constituency. The SVM in Canada would be directed by a committtee under the general Committee. Students were allowed the option of forming city or regional committees. And finances were to be controlled by a Finance Committee Chairman and a Treasurer, both "senior persons".[18]

In the local units that fall, especially those of the Student YMCA and the SVM, the discussion continued with a careful examination of the proposed constitution. In some locations, notably in Toronto and Winnipeg, there were great differences of opinion. Once more the Student Secretaries fanned out across the nation, encouraging the local units to join or at least consider the SCM.[182]

After the summer conferences many of the units of the Student YWCA had renamed themselves Student Christian Associations or the Student Christian Movement, and even the Student YMCA's of the University of Toronto adopted the name, "the Student Christian Association". A few local units made even more concrete steps towards amalgamation. At Victoria College, Toronto, the men's and women's organizations revised their membership basis to that proposed by the Central Women's Conference at Cobourg, began joint meetings and elected to pool their finances.[183]

Meanwhile a minor revolt was going on in the Maritimes. Berta Hamilton and L.S. Albright, the two Maritime Secretaries, objected to the dominance of the Joint Committee by Ernest Clarke, who, they claimed, was not moving quickly enough. A conference of some of the Maritime Student Associations in October in Truro, Nova Scotia rejected the proposed constitu-

tion. Some questioned whether an intensive rather than inclusive movement might be more appropriate, but most objected to the centralization of authority and finances in the General Committee and in the executive officers largely resident in Toronto. Perhaps this rebellion stems from the history of regional autonomy. The YMCA Maritime Council had been running the Student YMCA's without interference since 1916.[184]

The Maritime Student Secretaries were not alone in their criticism of Ernest Clarke, although most questioned his role for different reasons. The National Executive of the YMCA had been unaware of the trends of thought in the Student Association, and the Des Moines resolutions had taken them completely by surprise. To their consternation they found that they were the object of vocal and sometimes bitter criticism. Although from the moment he was hired seven years previously, Ernest Clarke had always asserted his belief in the desirability and the inevitability of an independent student movement, the National Executive felt that they had been let down and perhaps even used by him. Some of the students concurred that he had shown a poor sense of loyalty in accepting the support of the Student YMCA while organizing, in the SCM, what amounted to a "coup d'état" against the YMCA. Even such long-time faculty supporters of the Student Associations as Dr. Howard Bronson of Dalhousie and President Klinck of the University of British Columbia held themselves aloof from the events of the fall of 1920 because they felt that the students were repudiating all outside help and influence, whether for good or ill.[185]

On the first of November, 1920 the Joint Committee of the Student Christian Movements of Canada issued a "Call to an Assembly of Canadian Student Representatives from all Sections of the Dominion". The long awaited national conference of Canadian students on Canadian soil would be held December 29, 1920 to January 2, 1921 in Guelph at the Ontario Agricultural College. The object of the gathering would be "to initiate a Student Christian Movement in Canada." Present at the convention should be a representative of the Student YMCA and the former Student YWCA from each college, one representative from organizations of similar character, ten student volunteer representatives from across Canada, and all student secretaries. Each institution would also be allowed a senior representatives, a graduate or faculty member, with advisory powers only.[186]

When the evening of the conference arrived over seventy-five students, graduates, faculty members, secretaries and observers had arrived in Guelph to discuss the founding of a Student Christian Movement of Canada. Present were many who had worked and hoped for a Canadian independent unified student religious movement for years. Not only were Ernest Clarke and other secretaries there - L.S. Albright, Berta Hamilton, Margaret Lowe, J.G. McKay and Ruth Spence - but such leaders as Dr. H.B. Sharman, Professor S.H. Hooke and Margaret Wrong. Student leaders with war experience, including Erroll Amaron of McGill, Larry MacKenzie of Dalhousie and Davidson Ketchum of Trinity College were also in evidence. Representatives from almost every major university and college in Canada were there at Guelph. If the repre-

sentation was heavily slanted towards the Student YMCA, it was still geographically broad.[187]

The day before the Guelph Conference convened, there was a hastily summoned special meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the YMCA. The Toronto and Winnipeg Student Associations had decided in favour of continuing with the YMCA, and they asked the National Council for help in maintaining their position. Ernest Clarke was chided for not providing the leadership expected of him in putting forward arguments in favour of a continued relationship with the YMCA. The Executive Committee had authorized the Guelph Conference for consideration of the question of a new movement, not to initiate it. The Executive Committee ended its meeting by delegating Charles Bishop, the YMCA National Secretary, to tell the Guelph convention that the National Council did not want to give up the Student YMCA, that there was a possibility of realizing the desires of the students within their parent bodies, and that the National Council would continue to maintain and supervise any Student YMCA's which chose not to join the SCM.[188]

Chastened by the National Council, criticized by those still loyal to the YMCA, and attacked by the Maritime student movement, Ernest Clarke chose to take a back seat at the Guelph Conference the next day. In his stead, H.B. Sharman and J.G. McKay, the McGill Student Secretary, took the lead. At the opening session of the Conference, the evening of Wednesday, December 29, J.G. McKay took the chair, and two students addressed those gathered on "the Spirit of the Student Christian Movement." The third speaker of the evening was Margaret Wrong, Dean of Women at University College, Toronto, and a long-time Student Association supporter. She emphasized that

no organization or constitution could create life or fellowship. Instead the vital necessity was for a strong spiritual life, actively working to do God's will.[189]

> The Student Christian Movement can only exist in so far as students are willing to join with students, colleges with colleges, in the search for the Kingdom of God, believing that only by this discovery can the need of the world be met.[190]

The following morning Erroll Amaron was elected Chairman of the National Assembly. Charles Bishop and Mrs. M.L. Angus, former Chairman of the YWCA Student Committee, gave histories of the student work under their organizations and presented the budgets for the previous year. After H.B. Sharman had reported for the Joint Committee on the criticisms of the draft constitution, the conference was turned over to the Assembly and was then thrown open to discussion. The result was a near chaos of disagreements, conflicts and questions.[191]

A few main concerns quickly emerged. The majority seemed to be in favour of a united and independent student movement, but the heavy financial burden intimidated many, and there was still a vocal minority from Toronto and Winnipeg who opposed the movement outright. Dissenters argued that the YMCA was a valuable institution already willing to fund and organize the students. The YMCA guaranteed local autonomy, and one could continue a relationship with the organization after graduation. The actions of the YWCA, however, seemed irreversible. Students wanted to be independent. Many students on campus distrusted the name and programmes of the YMCA and YWCA. And there was still the matter of the membership basis of the YMCA.[192]

In the midst of the discussion Charles Bishop was called upon to speak for the YMCA, and he delivered the message of the National Council Ex-

ecutive. He stated that the Council was willing to allow the men students more self-government, and could even make room for affiliation of the former Student YWCA with the Student YMCA. The one proviso was that the statement of the basis of membership would have to be maintained. It was not negotiable. The National Council's intransigence on the matter probably saved the Student Christian Movement of Canada. But Bishop's speech caused a minor uproar nonetheless. Some of the Student YMCA delegates from the Maritimes and Western Canada had been under the impression, because of the financial cut-backs, that the YMCA was voluntarily withdrawing from student work. Under the new circumstances many delegates saw no reason for any change.[193]

The following morning the doctrinally more conservative Student Volunteer delegates dropped their bombshell. They would not join the movement and imperil existing relationships with Church Mission Boards and their American parent body. They would, however, put the question of closer union with the Student Associations to the Student Volunteers of Canada in the next year.[194]

The result was deadlock. Many felt that that was the last straw. The Student Christian Movement was still-born. Finally Davidson Ketchum rose and gave an impassioned speech on the necessity and the power of faith. This galvanized the assembly. First one, then another rose to speak, until finally there were five or six at a time clamoring for the attention of the Chairman. In the midst of the babble the chairman, Erroll Amaron of McGill, rose and called for a vote on one simple question: "Is this Assembly in favor of a united Student Movement of some sort, not committing itself in

any regard as to the form that Movement will take?" The answer was a unanimous yes.[195]

The vote made it clear that the difficulties were organizational and not fundamental. Discussion, and on occasion vociferous argument, continued. Finally matters were brought to a head by a motion that, "In the opinion of this conference the Student Christian Movement of Canada should take the form of a federation of local Christian bodies, preserving complete local autonomy as to both organization and activities and requiring only the simplest possible national organization for district fellowship if so desired." Many of the more radical leadership perceived this as a means of perpetuating the status quo, and they put up stout opposition. But not only did it appease the sectional interests of the Maritime students, but it was for many students an affirmation of spirituality over organization. Central control, to the students themselves, meant a continuation of head-counts, institutional programmes, and religious life mediated by paid secretaries. To the discomfort of many of the senior friends and advisers the students passed the motion by a very large majority.[196]

The students followed by passing that afternoon the name, basis and aim, and membership of the proposed constitution almost unchanged (See Appendix 1 D). Rather than a fellowship based on the conviction that in the life and teaching of Jesus was the supreme revelation of God, they opted for the slightly more conservative, "The Student Christian Movement of Canada is a fellowship of students based on the conviction that in Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realization of life." The basis of membership, to accomodate the decentralization the

students preferred, was to be only in the local unit, and each member of the local unit was to be ipso facto a member of the Student Christian Movement of Canada.[197]

The evening of December 31, among the speakers arranged was Davidson Ketchum. Ketchum wove together his war experiences as an inmate of Ruhleben Prison Camp with his own quest for faith and the parables of Jesus. Decades later men would speak of that talk as the greatest they had ever heard. The walk of faith became vividly real to many with war-numbed souls. This reawakened faith confirmed that the path to follow was not the well-worn one, but the new one of independence and confident trust in God.[198]

New Year's Day, 1921, the delegates sat in a marathon session of twelve hours. Long exhausting wrangling and compromise produced a constitution by eleven o'clock in the evening. Local units would join in Regional Committees, and a General Committee of student representatives, evenly divided between men and women, would handle inter-regional and national affairs. A General Secretary would provide assistance. Finally the constitution was put to a vote, and it passed unanimously. A last minute addendum made the constitution provisional, to be reviewed in the light of experience at a later national conference. Born after a gruelling session of amendments, resolutions and counter-proposals, it was nevertheless born, and the delegates appointed representatives to the General Committee of the newly-formed Student Christian Movement of Canada before wearily retiring[199]

The following afternoon, after church, the General Committee announced the officers of the new movement. H.B. Sharman was appointed Chair-

man of the General Committee and of the Finance Committee, and Ernest Clarke was appointed General Secretary. The delegates sent resolutions of thanks to the YMCA and YWCA, expressing the "hope that our future work will continue in harmony with theirs toward a common goal - the Kingdom of God among men."[200]

A student of Trinity College, Toronto, who had been very active at Guelph, later that month shared his impressions of the conference in The Canadian Student:

> [T]he significance of the Guelph Convention may ... be explained as being a revolt against a formal type of nominal Christianity, and a consequent seeking after something which has been lacking. The search is only begun; it cannot be conducted along the old lines of suasion of various kinds which brought students - often-times unwillingly - to Bible classes and such like; it cannot be gauged in its progress or retrogression by such methods as counting heads, statistical data, and all the other abominations to which our modern organizations tend; it must be conducted quietly, in small groups, with no advertisement, by students who are determined to seek until they find that personal and inward satisfaction ... Once found, their influence will necessarily be a leavening force in the university life of the country.[202]

There was a complex combination of anger and disillusionment with an optimistic eagerness to remake the world after the Great War among the religious veterans who returned to Canadian colleges and universities, as well as among Christian young people who had come of age during or just after the war. They were very sensitive to new intellectual and social currents in society, and they had strong feelings of nationalism and a deep appreciation of the value of independence, freedom and democracy.

The war had hastened many of the trends already evident in Protestant Christianity, and had sufficiently shaken the foundations of the faith

of many of these young people that they were challenged and changed. The war left a legacy of bitterness toward the Church and institutional religion which made the transformation in the religion of the students of Canada easier. Under the influence of modern science students frequently doubted the miraculous, mystical and paradoxical elements of conservative Christianity. Influenced by an evolutionary humanism, many went on to question and even reject almost every tenet of orthodox credal Christianity. Desiring spirituality but rejecting the Church, they conceived of themselves as part of a movement, a great following behind Jesus as leader, teacher and example.

These students led a liberal revolt against the institutions which had nurtured religion on Canadian campuses for fifty years. Against organization, programme and structure, against evangelical Protestantism, against business and Church they rebelled. Influenced by the social gospel, they sought a flexible vehicle to lead them into a new understanding of the teachings of Jesus so that they could go forward after their studies to build the City of God on earth. In attempting this they founded one of the most influencial movements in Canadian Protestantism of the next fifty years: the Student Christian Movement of Canada.

Notes

1 John George McKay, Après La Guerre, ed. Neilson Hannay (Boston: Samuel Usher, 1925), pp. 38-39.

2 "Returned Soldier Students' Club," University of British Columbia Annual 1920, p. 93. There were four thousand members of the club nation-wide. The actual number of veterans at college or university may have been much higher.

3 A.G. Bedford, The University of Winnipeg: a history of the founding colleges (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 144; Walter H. Johns, A History of The University of Alberta (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), p. 75; Ronald Stewart Longley, Acadia University, 1838-1938 (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1939), pp. 119-121; W.P. Thompson, The University of Saskatchewan: A Personal History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 100; W. Stewart Wallace, A History of the University of Toronto 1827-1927 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 187; "Student Notes and Comment," CS II, 3 (Dec. 1919): 24 and Public Archives of Canada, Young Men's Christian Association National Council Papers, MG 28, I 95, Unsorted Papers, "Third National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada ... Toronto ...," January 20-22, 1920, p. 25.

4 Charles M. Johnston, McMaster University: I: The Toronto Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 164; Longley, Acadia University, p. 122; William Ferguson Tamblyn, These Sixty Years (London: University of Western Ontario, 1938), pp. 79-83 and Trinity 1852-1952 (Toronto: Trinity Review, 1952), pp. 124-128.

5 At the University of Western Ontario, "Student Notes and Comments," CS II, 3 (Dec. 1919): 24 and at Toronto General Hospital School of Nursing, "College Jottings: University of Toronto," CS III, 2 (Nov. 1920): 29.

6 Dorothy Schurman, in A.C. Chute and W.B. Boggs, The Religious Life of Acadia (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1934), p. 201.

7 Paula Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 47 and Editorial, "The Year's Outlook," CS II, 1 (Oct. 1919): 1-3.

8 Arthur S. Morton, Saskatchewan: The Making of a University, rev. & ed. Carlyle King (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 108; Thompson, University of Saskatchewan, pp. 101-102 and Wallace, University of Toronto, p. 187.

9 Charles W. Bishop, The Canadian Y.M.C.A. in the Great War (Toronto: Canadian National Council Y.M.C.A., 1924), chaps. 15 and 25.

10 Mrs. Mary Fry Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982.

11 C.G. Stone and F. Joan Garnett, Brandon College: A History, 1899-1967 (Brandon: Brandon University, 1969), p. 90. See also Frank E. Archibald, Salute to Sid: The Story of Dr. Sidney Gilchrist (Windsor, N.S.: Lancelot Press, 1970), pp. 28-29 and F.W. Vroom, King's College: A Chronicle 1789-1939: Collections and Recollections (Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1941), p. 146.

12 These impressions are from eye-witness accounts: Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982; Dr. Jean M. Hutchison, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; UCA/SCM, Fiftieth Anniversary Papers, Norman A.M. MacKenzie to Donald Wilson, December 15, 1970 and Archives Committee Papers, Ernest H. Clarke in "Historical Tea Party, June 15, 1961," pp. 6-7.

13 David Thomson, "McGill Between The Wars," McGill: The Story of a University, ed. Hugh MacLennan (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p. 100.

14 For example, C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 280.

15 Archibald, Salute to Sid, p. 28 and W.L. Morton, One University: A History of the University of Manitoba 1877-1952 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1957), p. 124.

16 See Fass, Damned and Beautiful, p. 43 and Henry May, The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time: 1912-1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1960), pp. 13-14, 361.

17 For example, James G. Endicott, veteran and later president of the men's branch of the Victoria University (Toronto) Student Christian Association (SCA). See Stephen Endicott, James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), chap. 2, passim. In an interview in Toronto, March 26, 1982, Endicott recalled that not only the horror of the war shocked him, but the immorality of his fellow soldiers and the superficiality of civilization.

18 Public Archives of Canada, H.R.C. Avison Papers, MG 30, D 102, Vol. 1, Sermons and Notes 1924-25, "Fellowship" (Nov. 8, 1924), p. 1.

19 E.A. Corbett, "Religion in the Army," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 21.

20 Robert E. Speer, "The War Aims and Foreign Missions," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 12.

21 Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 63 and Paul A. Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 26, 28.

22 For example, R. DeWitt Scott, "The Student Christian Movement in Canada," Presbyterian Witness, Sept. 7, 1922, p. 12.

23 Allen, Social Passion, pp. 71-75.

24 Ibid., pp. 41-42.

25 Ibid., pp. 79-80.

26 "Our Policy," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 2. There are obvious parallels in the statement with the slogan of the SVM: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation."

27 For example, Editorial, "What is Reconstruction," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 1-2; John Douglas Adam, "Reconstruction," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 11-13; R.P. Bowles, "Christianity and Reconstruction," CS I, 6 (Feb. 1919): 15-16; J.M. Shaw, "The Task Before Us," CS I, 6 (Feb. 1919): 4-6; and S.D. Dyde, "The Machinery of Fellowship," CS I, 7 (Mar. 1919): 6-9.

28 "Utopias," CS I, 7 (Mar. 1919): 3.

29 Shaw, "The Task Before Us," p. 6.

30 Adam, "Reconstruction," p. 11.

31 Margaret Wrong, "The Value of Bible Study: II," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 17.

32 Allen, Social Passion, p. 372.

33 Mrs. Margaret Campbell to the author, May 9, 1982. Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982, echoed the same sentiments.

34 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 65, "Intercession Leaflet with Daily Bible Readings April - September 1919," p. 8.

35 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 65, "Intercession Leaflet October - December 1919," p. 8.

36 Ibid., p. 3.

37 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 99, "Western Student Conference, July 10th-19th, 1920, Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan," p. 2.

38 UCA/SCM, Murray Brooks in "Minutes of a Meeting of Graduates at Strathcona Hall, Montreal, March 26th, 1931" and Archives Committee Files, Hugh MacMillan, "Half Century of the S.C.M.: A Look Forward to the Centennial" [1970].

39 See the Frontispiece. This altered version appears in literally dozens of places in the SCM Archives.

40 A. Herbert Gray, "The Ferment of Thought in the Canadian Universities," Presbyterian Witness, April 12, 1923, p. 5.

41 Ibid.

42 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982.

43 See Johnston, McMaster I: 152; Hugh Macmillan, quoted in Ernest A. Dale, Twenty-one Years A-Building (Toronto: SCM of Canada, 1942), p. 12; James Endicott in Endicott, Rebel Out of China, chap. 2, esp. p. 36, and Harold Titus in Chute & Boggs, Religious Life of Acadia, p. 207.

44 Carter, Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel, p. 90.

45 "Letters from the Front: The Right Thing," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 26-27.

46 See Scott, "Student Christian Movement," p. 12.

47 Marion O. Robinson, Give My Heart: The Dr. Marion Hilliard Story (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), p. 71; UCA/SCM, Murray Brooks to E.H. Nichols and Allan McLachlin, January 31, 1958; University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, January 17; and Dr. Katherine B. Hockin, interviewed in Toronto, February 23, 1982.

48 Paul A. Carter, The Twenties in America, 2nd edn., (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing, 1975), pp. 55-56 and Idem, Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel, p. 91.

49 S.H. Hooke, "The Student Movement and the Church," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 18-21.

50 Ibid., p. 21.

51 Editorial, "The Church and the Student," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 1-2.

52 Herman R. James to the Editor, CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 22.

53 Ibid., pp. 22-23.

54 Nina L. Millen, "The Students' Relation to the Church," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 21.

55 "Letters from the Front: The Right Thing," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 26-27.

56 University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, September 21 (emphasis his).

57 See p. 81.

58 E.A. Corbett, "The Student and the Church," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 20.

59 J.G. McKay, "Looking Ahead," CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 18.

60 S.H. Hooke, "Aims and Methods of Voluntary Study," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 15. Compare with UCA/SCM, Murray Brooks in "Minutes of a Meeting of Graduates at Strathcona Hall, Montreal, March 26th, 1931."

61 McKay, "Looking Ahead," p. 18.

62 "A Student at Faculty of Education," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 21.

63 "S.C.M. Notes," Brandon College Quill, November 1923, p. 48.

64 Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, "Investigate for Yourself" (a pamphlet published by the University of Toronto YMCA in 1920), p. 1. Note that the world's only hope is not God, the person of Jesus Christ, salvation or even Christianity, but the realization of a set of principles. The YMCA had come along way from its evangelical past.

65 Margaret Wrong, "Fellowship in the Student Christian Movement," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 7.

66 J.T. Ditchburn, "A League of Churches," CS II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 9.

67 Ibid., p. 8.

68 Allen, Social Passion, p. 253.

69 John W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 130.

70 Dr. Robert B. McClure to the author, March 5, 1983; Endicott, Rebel Out of China, p. 36 and L.S. Albright, "Beliefs or Conduct?" CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 10.

71 Dr. Robert B. McClure to the author, March 5, 1983; Harold T. Allen, interviewed in Hamilton, October 24, 1981 and Edward Trelawney

[Ernest Thomas], "The Christian Students are Moving," Christian Guardian, October 26, 1921, p. 13.

72 Allen, Social Passion, pp. 302-303.

73 Ibid., pp. 302-306.

74 Endicott, Rebel Out of China, p. 54 and [E.M. Lowe,] "The Supreme Revelation of God," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 9.

75 Editorial, "The Student & Social Service," CS I, 7 (Mar. 1919): 1.

76 See, for example, the Student YWCA Annual Report for 1918-19, in M.L. Angus, "Student Department," Association Outlook XVIII, 3 (Mar. 1919): 49.

77 [E.M. Lowe,] "The Supreme Revelation of God," pp. 8-11.

78 For example, J.G. McKay in University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, January 2, and J.D. Ketchum himself in 1923 Diary, April 17. See also Endicott, Rebel Out of China, pp. 53-55 and Monroe Scott, McClure: The China Years (1977; Markham, Ont.: Penguin Canada, 1979), p. 46.

79 Endicott, Rebel Out of China, pp. 37, 40, 53-55; Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982 and Rev. Dr. W. Harold Reid, interviewed in Stoney Creek, May 31, 1982.

80 UCA/SCM, Murray Brooks in "Minutes of Meeting of Graduates at Strathcona Hall, Montreal, March 26th, 1931."

81 University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, November 23.

82 L.S. Albright, "Beliefs or Conduct?" CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 10-12.

83 H.B. Sharman, "The Faith of Jesus," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 6.

84 Allen, Social Passion, pp. 40-42, 61 and Carter, Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel, chap. 2.

85 "Conference Committee," Association Outlook XVIII, 3 (Mar. 1919): 64-65 and UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 80, "Brome Lake Student Conference, June 18-26, 1919."

86 Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982. See also, for example, W.R.C., "University College, Toronto [YWCA]," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 24 and "College Jottings: University of Toronto," CS III, 2 (Nov. 1920): 27.

87 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 65, "Intercession Leaflet with Daily Bible Readings April - September 1919," pp. 2-5; "Intercession Leaflet October - December 1919," pp. 3-6 and "Intercession Leaflet January - March 1920," p. 9.

88 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 65, "Intercession Leaflet with Daily Bible Readings April - September 1919," p. 2, 5-6.

89 A.M. Nicholson, interviewed in Toronto, March 23, 1982.

90 M.L. Angus, "Student Department," Association Outlook XVIII, 3 (Mar. 1919): 50. See also E.A. Corbett, "The Student and the Church," CS I, 4 (Dec. 1918): 17-20, who remarks (p. 19) that the veterans will respond to the Church if "the Church has the courage to put away its mediaeval individualism and preach a Gospel of salvation through service."

91 See the comments of S.H. Hooke in "Aims and Methods of Voluntary Study," CS I, 1 (Mar. 1918): 15.

92 L.S. Albright, "The Watchword," CS II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 24-26; Endicott, Rebel Out of China, p.50; S.H. H[ooke]., "Editorial Reply," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 23 and W.A. Irwin, "The Call of the Present," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 12.

93 Editorial "The Missionary Motive," CS I, 6 (Feb. 1919): 2.

94 Editorial, "Driving Power," CS II, 2 (Nov. 1919): 2-3.

95 V.B., "What is the Student Volunteer Movement?" CS II, 3 (Dec. 1919): 22-23.

96 S.D. Dyde, "The Machinery of Fellowship," CS I, 7 (Mar. 1919): 8.

97 S.W. Dyde, "The Church and the New Fellowship," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 13-15.

98 Diana L. Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920," (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1981), p. 54.

99 Dyde, "The Machinery of Fellowship," p. 8.

100 Herbert Gray, "The Ferment of Thought in the Canadian Universities," Presbyterian Witness, April 12, 1923, p. 6.

101 Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," p. 54.

102 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982.

103 Allen, Social Passion, p. 41

104 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; Editorial, "Place Canada's [sic]," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 2-4 and UCA/SCM, Murray Brooks in "Minutes of a Meeting of Graduates at Strathcona Hall, Montreal, March 26th, 1931."

105 Fass, Damned and Beautiful, p. 206.

106 F.Y., "News of the Movement: The Maritime Summer Conference," CS IV, 1 (Oct. 1921): 30.

107 Tamblyn, These Sixty Years, p. 77.

108 Morton, One University, p. 124.

109 Fass, Damned and Beautiful, p. 206 and Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 260.

110 Murray G. Ross, The Y.M.C.A. in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), p. 223 and, for example, E.G., "University of Manitoba [YWCA]," and W.R.C., "University College, Toronto [YWCA]," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 23-24.

111 Editorial, "Religious Life in Canadian Colleges," Christian Guardian, July 19, 1922, p. 6.

112 M.L. Angus, "Student Department," Association Outlook XVIII, 3 (Mar. 1919): 49; Dr. Katharine B. Hockin, interviewed in Toronto, February 23, 1982 and Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982.

113 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982.

114 For example, Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, July 19, 1920 (remarks in connection with the 1920 Lumsden Beach Conference) and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, November 23.

115 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 38, n. 28 and Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982.

116 Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America For the Year ... 1918 to ... 1919 (New York: Association Press, 1919), pp. 282-283, 374-379; Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America For the Year ... 1919 to ... 1920 (New York: Association Press, 1920), pp. 284-285, 361-366; PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Third National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada ... [Jan. 20-22, 1920]," pp. 12, 25; "Personals," CS II, 1 (Oct. 1919): 21-22 and "Personals," CS II, 2 (Nov. 1919): 21.

117 "Personals," CS II, 1 (Oct. 1919): 21-22 and "Personals," CS II, 2 (Nov. 1919): 21.

118 Archibald, Salute to Sid, p. 29; Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982; Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982 and UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Erroll Amaron, "How I happened to get into the S.C.M." (February 8, 1965).

119 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982; Mrs. Ruby Reilly Allen, interviewed in Hamilton, October 24, 1981; "Personal and General," CS I, 2 (Oct. 1918): 22; "Personals," CS II, 1 (Oct. 1919): 21 and "Personals," CS II, 3 (Dec. 1919): 21.

120 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," pp. 53-54 and Association Outlook XIX, 1 (Jan. 1920): 22.

121 PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Third National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada ... [Jan. 20-22, 1920]," p. 25 and UCA/SCM, James Mackinnon Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922), p. 8.

122 Mrs. Mary F. Avison, interviewed in Scarborough, July 13, 1982 and Editorial, "Religious Life in Canadian Colleges," Christian Guardian, July 19, 1922, p. 6.

123 It is interesting that during the years from 1920 to 1922 there were crises over the evangelical church membership basis among the Student YMCA's in the United States as well: C. Howard Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America (New York: Association Press, 1951), p. 516 and Clarence P. Shedd, Two Centuries of Student Christian Movements (New York: Association Press, 1934), p.173.

124 Editorial, "Freedom," CS I, 7 (Mar. 1919): 3-4 and Editorial, "The Membership Base," CS II, 3 (Dec. 1919): 3-4.

125 Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 57 and Ross, Y.M.C.A. in Canada, pp. 175, 215, 231.

126 Editorial, "Religious Life in Canadian Colleges," Christian Guardian, July 19, 1922, p. 6.

127 Ross, Y.M.C.A. in Canada, pp. 291-294 and PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, Clippings 1917-18 File, Clipping from Canadian Daily Record, June 1, 1918.

128 "Acadia Intercollegiate Advisory Council," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 23.

129 "Co-operation at McGill," CS I, 5 (Jan. 1919): 23.

130 This One Thing (Toronto: S.C.M. of Canada, 1959), chap. 3-5.

131 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982.

132 D.O.A., "University of Toronto Bible Study," CS I, 3 (Nov. 1918): 25 and Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, November 19, 1918.

133 Sissons, History of Victoria University, p. 263.

134 Endicott, Rebel Out of China, p. 37.

135 UCA/SCM, "Proceedings of Meeting of Eastern Section of National Student Work Committee ... Knowlton, P.Q., June 26, 1919."

136 Ibid., and UCA/SCM, James M. Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922), p. 12.

137 This One Thing, p. 43; PAC, YMCA Papers, Unsorted Papers, "Third National Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada ... [January 20-22, 1920]," p. 26 and UCA/SCM, "Seminar for Student Secretaries Conference, Lake Couchiching, August 20-29, 1919."

138 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, "Minutes of the Canadian Student Volunteer Committee," September 24, 1919, May 2, 1920. Berta Hamilton and Margaret Lowe, Student YWCA Secretaries, were also members of the committee.

139 UCA/SCM, James M. Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922), p. 12 and MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963."

140 "Impressions of the Convention," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 23-25; Charles W. Bishop, "In the Light of History," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 11. The January 1920 issue of The Canadian Student lists the entire delegation by name, institution and position within the various associations: "Canadian Delegates: Des Moines Convention," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 27-34.

141 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; Hopkins, History of the Y.M.C.A., p. 642 and William H. Morgan, Student Religion During Fifty Years (New York: Association Press, 1935), p. 135.

142 S.H. H[ooke]., "Editorial Reply," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 23.

143 C. Howard Hopkins, John R. Mott (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), p. 567.

144 L.S. Albright, "The Watchword," CS II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 24-26 and L.S. A[lbright]., "The Student Volunteer Movement: Some Afterthoughts," Christian Guardian, February 4, 1920, pp. 9-10.

145 Hopkins, Mott, p. 568.

146 Morgan, Student Religion, pp. 135-136.

147 Ibid., pp. 153-154 and Hopkins, Mott, pp. 568-569.

148 Dr. Robert B. McClure to the author, March 5, 1983 and Yale Divinity School Library, SVM Papers, 1919 Des Moines Convention Files, newspaper clipping, "Canadian Forces Hold First Rally."

149 Yale Divinity School Library, SVM Papers, 1919 Des Moines Convention Files, newspaper clipping, "Canadian Forces Hold First Rally"; Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Committee, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963," and M.N. Omond, "The Canadian Conference," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 15.

150 UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Committee, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963," and Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982. President Klinck of the University of British Columbia, who presided over the Tuesday afternoon meeting and who was later an opponent of E.H. Clarke and the formation of the SCM, may have played a role in these events.

151 L. Earl Willmott to the author, March 7, 1983; Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982 and Omond, "The Canadian Conference," p. 15.

152 Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; Editorial, "Canadian Student Movement," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 2-3 and Omond, "The Canadian Conference," pp. 16-17.

153 Omond, "The Canadian Conference," p. 16.

154 Ibid., p. 17.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid., p. 18

157 Ibid.

158 L.E. Willmott to the author, March 7, 1983.

159 Editorial, "Canadian Student Movement," CS II, 4 (Jan. 1920): 2-3.

160 Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University Collection, YWCA Cabinet Minutebook 1919-34, March 15, 1920; UCA/SCM, Minute Book of the Board of Directors and Board Advisors of the McGill YMCA/SCA, 1913-1924, January 20, 1920 (p. 155), February 16, 1920 (p. 157), March 3, 1920 (p. 159); Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 6, 1982; James McGill

[pseudo.?], "Recent Developments," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 27-28 and Gertrude L. Rutherford, "Victoria College S.C.A.," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 28-29.

161 UCA/SCM, Minute Book of the Board of Directors and the Board of Advisors of the McGill YMCA/SCA, 1913-24, March 3, 1920, p. 159.

162 "Student Movement Opinion," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 25-26.

163 "Student Movement Opinion," CS II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 31-32.

164 "Student Movement Opinion," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 25-26; "Student Movement Opinion," CS II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 27-32 and Gertrude L. Rutherford, "Victoria College S.C.A.," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 28.

165 Editorial, "Summer Conferences," CS II, 5 (Feb. 1920): 2-3.

166 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, "Minutes of the Student Y.M.C.A. Committee," September 16, 1920 and Printed Materials Book, p. 99," [YWCA] Western Student Conference, Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, July 10th to 19th, 1920"; Printed Materials Book, p. 81, "The Annual Maritime [YMCA] Student Conference ... Mt. Allison University ... May 28th - June 14th, 1920"; Printed Materials Book, p. 89, "The Annual Central [YMCA] Student Conference ... Cobourg, Ont., May 21st - 28th, 1920" and Printed Materials Book, p. 99, "The Annual Western Canadian [YMCA] Student Conference ... Lumsden Beach, Saskatchewan, July 10th - 18th, 1920."

167 Queen's University Archives, Collection 3639, Minutes Book of the Queen's University YMCA, Meeting of the Advisory Board, April 11, 1920; PAC, YMCA Papers, Vol. 48, Minutebook of the National Executive Committee, 1919-27, January 16, 1920, p. 46; PAC, Dominion Council of the YWCA of Canada Papers, MG 28, I 198, Vol. 10, National Executive Committee Minutes Files, Minute Book of the Dominion Council Executive, April 12th, 1917 to December 22nd, 1922, Index, p. 10; Mary Quayle Innis, Unfold the Years (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1949), pp. 116-117 and Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," p. 57.

168 University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, May 12 and 15 and This One Thing, p. 43.

169 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, "Minutes of the Student Y.M.C.A Committee," September 16, 1920 and Printed Materials Book, p. 89, "The Annual Central Student Conference ... 1920"; University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, May 26 and E.H. C[larke]., "Canadian Student Movement: Present Situation," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 23-24.

170 Gertrude L. Rutherford, "Victoria College S.C.A.," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 28.

171 PAC, YWCA Papers, Vol. 10, National Executive Committee Minutes Files, Minute Book of the Dominion Council Executive, 1917-1922, June 21, 1920, p. 117.

172 Ibid., pp. 117-118.

173 Ibid., Index, pp. 10-11, June 21, 1920, p. 118 and September 14, 1920, p. 126 and Innis, Unfold the Years, p. 101.

174 PAC, YMCA Papers, Vol. 48, Minutebook of the National Executive Committee, 1919-27, June 15, 18, 25, 1920, pp. 57-61, 63-66.

175 Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, July 5, 1920 and E.H. C[larke]., "Canadian Student Movement: Present Situation," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 23.

176 UCA/SCM, "Western Student Conference Findings, July 12th to 19th, 1920," original included in James M. Smith, "A History of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," draft typescript (1922) and Grace Moody, "Impressions of the Lumsden Beach Conference, 1920," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 25-26.

177 Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to A.L. Sharman, July 19, 1920.

178 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, "Minutes of the Student Y.M.C.A. Committee," September 16, 1920, report of a sub-committee of Dr. Hallam, C.W. Bishop and E.H. Clarke.

179 E.H. C[larke]., "Canadian Student Movement: Present Situation," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 23-24 and Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to H.L. Bronson, November 4, 1920.

180 UCA/SCM, "Student Christian Movement of Canada, Proposed Constitution."

181 Ibid.

182 University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, November 12, December 16; Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University Collection, YWCA Cabinet Minutebook, 1919-34, September 29 and November 29, 1920, and YMCA Executive Minute Book, 1908-35, November 29, 1920; UCA/SCM, Minute Book of the Board of Directors and Board of Advisors of McGill YMCA/SCA, 1913-24, October 1, October 27, and December 13, 1920 and Rev. Harold T. Allen, interviewed in Hamilton, October 24, 1981.

183 Gertrude L. Rutherford, "Victoria College S.C.A.," CS III, 1 (Oct. 1920): 28-29; "College Jottings: University of Toronto," CS III, 2 (Nov. 1920): 26-27; A.B., "The Movement: University College, Toronto," CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 24-25 and "The Movement: Victoria College, Toronto," CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 25.

184 Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to H.L. Bronson, November 4, December 20 and 28, 1920 and P.C.L., "The Proposed Constitution: Dalhousie University," CS III, 3 (Dec. 1920): 28.

185 Creative Initiative Foundation, H.B. Sharman Papers, H.B. Sharman to H.L. Bronson, November 4, December 1 and 20, 1920; PAC, YMCA Papers, Vol. 47, Minutes of the Western Territorial Committee, January 5, 1921, p.2; Dr. Robert B. McClure to the author, March 5, 1983; Dr. Jean M. Hutchinson, interviewed in Toronto, May 13, 1982 and Ross, Y.M.C.A. in Canada, pp. 215-216, 226-230.

186 UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, pp. 2-3, "The Call to an Assemby of Canadian Student Representatives from all Sections of the Dominion."

187 UCA/SCM, "List of Delegates to Guelph Conference." Female representation was missing from Acadia University, King's College, Dalhousie University, Queen's University, McMaster University, Wesley College and Brandon College. There was no male representation from the University of Western Ontario.

188 PAC, YMCA Papers, Vol. 48, Minutebook of the National Executive Committee, 1919-27, December 28, 1920, pp. 83-85.

189 UCA/SCM, MacMillan Archives Correspondence, Hugh MacMillan, "Interview with E.H. Clarke, at Aurora, 28th. May, 1963"; University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, December 29; "The National Assembly: A Digest of the Secretary's Minutes," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 24 and Margaret Wrong, "Fellowship in the Student Christian Movement," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 6-8.

190 Wrong, "Fellowship," p. 7.

191 "National Assembly Digest," pp. 24-25.

192 Ibid., p. 25; Lorna Kerr, "The Significance of the Conference II," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 21; N.H. MacBeth, "Report of the Students Christian Movement Conference," O.A.C. Review XXXIII, 5 (Jan. 1921): 281-282 and Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster University Collection, YWCA Minute Book, 1912-24, February 9, 1921.

193 "National Assembly Digest," p. 25 and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, December 30.

194 "National Assembly Digest," p. 26; Dr. Robert B. McClure to the author, March 5, 1983 and Rev. Dr. W. Harold Reid, interviewed in Stoney Creek, May 31, 1982.

195 "National Assembly Digest," p. 27; J. Friend Day, "The Significance of the Conference I," CS III, 4 (Jan. 1921): 19; Kerr, "Significance

of the Conference II," p. 21 and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, December 31.

196 "National Assembly Digest," p. 27; Day, "Significance of the Conference I," pp. 19-20 and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, December 31.

197 "National Assembly Digest," p. 27 and UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 4, "Student Christian Movement of Canada Constitution."

198 "National Assembly Digest," p. 27; Kerr, "Significance of the Conference II," p. 21; Ernest Dale, Twenty-one Years A-Building (Toronto: SCM of Canada, 1942), pp. 11-12 [quoting a letter from Hugh MacMillan, who was present] and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1920 Diary, December 31.

199 "National Assembly Digest" pp. 27-28; Kerr, "Significance," p. 22; UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, p. 4, "Student Christian Movement of Canada Constitution," and University of Toronto Archives, J.D. Ketchum Papers, 1921 Diary, January 1.

200 PAC, YWCA Papers, Vol. 10, Minute Book of the Executive Council of the Dominion Council YWCA, January 12, 1921, pp. 142-143.

201 "National Assembly Digest," p. 28 and UCA/SCM, National Council Minutes Files, "Minutes of the Preliminary Meetings of the Initial Members of the General Committee of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," and "Minutes of the General Committee of the Student Christian Movement of Canada [Jan. 2-3, 1921]."

202 Day, "Significance," p. 20.

Epilogue:
The First Generation
1921-1924

I

The founding of the Student Christian Movement of Canada initially made little difference in the activities of the local units of the Student YMCA's and the former Student YWCA'S. One student humourously listed some of these enterprises in a letter in The Canadian Student:

> "What is the S.C.M. doing?" Let me enumerate. It is organizing Bible study groups and religious meetings, holding endless discussions, making a try at social service, publishing handbooks, worrying about finance, handling old clothes and second hand books, compiling lodging house directories, trying to look pleasant, sending out missionaries, running errands, holding conferences, arranging socials, disturbing people's minds, abandoning the faith, singing hymns, relieving distress in Europe, encouraging lovers, poisoning the student mind, and a host of more or less worthy things.[1]

The writer continued by saying that slowly this whirlwind of activity was being left behind in the search for life and a way of life.

New senses of independence and of responsibility were the most evident results of the formation of the SCM, manifesting themselves in an increased involvement of the students. J.G. McKay's report to the principal of McGill for the academic year 1921-22 commented on this:

> One on the principal effects of the change has been a new sense of proprietorship and responsibility on the part of the students. We now

> feel that the Association is peculiarly our own and must stand or fall according to the strength or weakness of our faith and effort. There is also a growing sense of solidarity with the students of Canada and of other countries throughout the world. We feel no assurance that we have produced the BEST instrument through which the Christian spirit of the University may find expression, but we have at least one which is capable of ready adjustment to the changing needs of student life.[2]

If the response of the Student Associations was slow and subtle, the reaction of some church leaders to the formation of the SCM was not. Dr. Day, the General Secretary of the Congregational Mission Board, declared in private that the students were bound for hell.[3] And some Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican leaders were no less disapproving. But something of the spirit of the movement may be discerned from the fact that two strongly worded attacks on the SCM in the Toronto fundamentalist magazine, The Evangelical Christian, in November and December 1921, were gleefully used as the basis for the SCM's most enduring song and the unofficial hymn of the movement. After a bad day, J. Davidson Ketchum visited the Sharmans in Toronto, where he saw the second editorial, "Poisoning the Students' Minds," which slurred Ketchum and his friend and mentor S.H. Hooke. Ketchum records in his diary that he was delighted by the article, and several months later he set "Poisoning the Student Mind" to music (See Appendix 2), with each successive verse defaming a leader of the SCM.[4]

Many of the student secretaries and much of the organization of the Student YMCA and former Student YWCA continued on after Guelph. The Student YMCA secretaries at McGill, the University of Toronto and at Dalhousie University, since they were locally funded, stayed on. The Interim Committee continued its work until July 1921, supporting Maritime Secretaries Berta Hamilton and L.S. Albright, Western Secretary Margaret Lowe, and Toronto

Area Secretary Ruth Spence. When the Interim Committee finally turned over its charge to the SCM, Margaret Lowe was made Associate General Secretary of the SCM.[5]

A Maritime District Council established prior to the Guelph Convention continued to administer and support the work in the region. When Berta Hamilton and L.S. Albright left in the summer of 1921 the Council hired the part-time Dalhousie Secretary, Larry MacKenzie, as a part-time Maritime Secretary as well. The Western Area Council asked for and received Margaret Lowe as Western Secretary, and after a year's hiatus a Toronto Women's Secretary was also hired. Despite the worries over finances, almost a full complement of secretaries could be supported by the SCM.[6]

Immediately after the Guelph Conference the SCM sent out letters inviting all Student YMCA's not represented to join the new organization. Unfortunately, the offer of the National Executive of the YMCA to continue to support the Student YMCA's encouraged dissent, and the process of amalgamating the Student YMCA's and the former Student YWCA's was a slow one. During the spring and fall of 1921 many gradually adopted the SCM basis and aim, and changed their names. Even organizations previously unaffiliated, such as the Student Missionary Society and the Women's Missionary Society of King's College, and the Missionary Society of Trinity College, joined. By 1922 there were only a few hold-outs: the University of Alberta, McMaster University, Prince of Wales College and the University of New Brunswick. At the University of Toronto there was the anomalous situation of both a YMCA and an SCM affiliate on campus. Finally the summer of 1922 saw only two

groups left: the YMCA and the YWCA at McMaster, and the minority YMCA at the University of Toronto.[7]

At McMaster University both the Student YMCA and the former Student YWCA resolved to join the Student Christian Movement in the spring of 1921. Because of faculty opposition, especially from conservatives in the Theology Department, the students continued discussions without concrete action. As the controversy surrounding T.T. Shields and McMaster, and the fundamentalists and modernists of the Baptist Convention, heated up, the new Chancellor became very sensitive about the association of the students with such a liberal organization as the SCM. Finally, in exasperation, the YWCA, which was in an especially difficult position, petitioned the Faculty Association for permission to join the SCM. When this was turned down the president of the Student YWCA resigned in protest. In the end the Faculty imposed a "Christian Union" which joined the YMCA, the YWCA, and the SVB together.[8]

The University of Toronto dissenters, centred around the evangelical Anglicans at Wycliffe College, did not prove so difficult. After their bid to change the basis and aim of the movement failed at the First National Conference, held in Toronto just after Christmas, 1922, they entered prolonged negotiations which finally issued in a settlement in March 1923. The last Student YMCA had joined the SCM.[9]

The Student Volunteer Movement was an entirely different matter. The Student Volunteers at the Guelph Assembly had called for discussion of a closer union with the SCM during 1921, suggesting some form of federation. Yet the ambivalence the Student Volunteers felt was clear in their next ac-

tion. Within days the Student Volunteer Committee had removed Ernest Clarke from his positions as Chairman and General Secretary of the Committee. In the course of the next year most of the Student Volunteer Bands in Canada, despite some suspicion of the theology of the SCM, acknowledged that it would be in the best interests of the two organizations and religion on Canadian campuses in general if there was an amalgamation.[10]

The Student Volunteer Committee dragged its feet after the year was up, and in the late spring of 1922 it defined the differences between the SCM and SVM. The SCM was to be primarily responsible for missionary education in Canadian colleges, while the SVM would be responsible solely for the recruitment of foreign missionaries. While unable to see how such a separation of functions was possible, the SCM assumed the responsibilities thrust upon it.[11]

That summer the Student Volunteers reiterated their previous stance. The Central and Western Student Conferences called for the closest possible cooperation with the SCM, while the Eastern Student Conference called for a Canadian SVM as part of the SCM. Acting on the resolutions, the Student Volunteer Committee decided to form an independent Student Volunteer Movement of Canada. To forestall this move the Executive Committee of the SVM of North America urged a plebiscite of all Canadian Student Volunteers. The vote showed a substantial majority in favour of an independent Canadian movement, but opposition from Church Mission Boards and the Student Volunteers of Toronto and Winnipeg resulted in a vote for the status quo in a meeting just before the First National Conference of the SCM began December 28, 1922.[12]

The following spring saw the resignation of several student members of the Student Volunteer Committee over this issue. Throughout 1923 and early 1924 there was considerable infighting, and minor squabbles with the SCM. There followed several years of cool relations between the two organizations at the national level, and it was not until almost two decades later that the SVM was finally absorbed into the SCM. But the formation of the SCM had drawn away many of the best leaders, and the organization took over many of the activities of the missions movement, emasculating the SVM, which survived only as an anaemic shadow of its former self.[13]

The Student Christian Movement found itself in the summer conferences of 1921, an editorial in The Canadian Student said.

> In the conferences one felt himself in the presence of awakening life, life that was frank and free, intelligent, serious, emancipated from the bonds of ceremony, speaking from the heart. There was a freedom and fearlessness that may be traceable to a new sense of ownership, or partnership, in the Movement, a sense that has grown noticeably during the year.[14]

That summer a pattern that would continue for years was established: an Eastern Student Conference in June, first at Pine Hill College, Halifax, and in later years at Deep Brook, Nova Scotia; a Western Student Conference at Carlyle Lake, Saskatchewan in July; and in September, at Elgin House in the Muskoka Lakes, Ontario, the Central Student Conference and the meeting of the General Committee.

At that first Elgin House Conference Professor S.H. Hooke gave a powerful address which galvanized many of the students, catapulting them into the new idea of the movement. He spoke of the faith of Jesus, that "mad

adventure" which required total commitment to its leader. The mystical fellowship of those who followed not a worker of miracles, but a miracle Himself was realized there at Elgin House.[15] The normally reserved Dr. Sharman, who had been attending student conferences since 1886, wrote a friend that the

> Elgin House Conference ... gathering made history ... Nothing like Elgin House has ever been known to me in all my experience of Student Conferences ... Every week since has brought new evidences of marked transformations wrought there ... It marks an epoch in the history of religious work and life among students of the Central Provinces ... The progress since Guelph of the Christmas holidays is amazing beyond expectations.[16]

Immediately after Elgin House 1921, a number of recent graduates of Victoria College who had been at the conference met and formed a graduate group of the SCM. Organized to support the SCM, maintain the fellowship, and renew a vision of the Kingdom of God among those in the working world, the Graduate Committee expanded, and held summer conferences from 1922 to 1924, and operated intermittently thereafter.[17]

In the summer of 1923 was established the conference with the greatest continuity in the history of the Canadian Movement. Dr. H.B. Sharman established his Iota Sigma (for the first and last letters of Jesus in Greek) Seminars to give more depth, stability and permanence to the student religious movements of Canada, the United States and other countries. In 1923 at Bon Echo, Ontario, and then from 1925 to 1946 in Algonquin Park, Ontario, Dr. Sharman gathered students, faculty and student leaders for four or six weeks of in-depth study of Jesus and the gospel records. Those present at the first seminar included Dr. H.L. Bronson of Dalhousie, Margaret Lowe, the Western Student Secretary, Helen Nichol, the Toronto Women's Secretary,

N.A.M. MacKenzie, the Dalhousie and Maritime Student Secretaries, Jean Moriarity, former president of the Dalhousie YWCA and later McGill Women's Secretary, and Gertrude Rutherford, Associate General Secretary from 1923 to 1934.[18]

II

To enable the final unanimous passage of the new constitution at Guelph on New Year's day, 1921, an addendum had been added which called for a later conference to review the constitution and make it permanent. When the movement finally decided to hold this Legislative Assembly, they planned a national conference of all students to consider unique Canadian problems at the same time.

> The Canadian students as a group have never really faced up to their national responsibility, considering the contribution Canada, as a nation, should make to the bringing in of the Kingdom of God. Nor have we ever considered our united contribution to the industrial, rural or frontier problems of Canada both in relation to our new and our native born Canadians. This conference will help us see more clearly what sort of people we ought to be and what sort of life we should live through college days and after graduation.[19]

When the call was issued for "the First National Conference of Canadian Students" to be held December 28, 1922 to January 3, 1923 in Toronto, it was to all students, whether members of the SCM or not,

> for the purpose of seeing clearly and unitedly something of the present situation in Canada and in the world and of discovering the part that the students of Canada should play in it; in other words, we aim to face the gravest questions of our time in the light of our deepest experience of Christ, and do this together.[20]

The conference would be the greatest expression of the social gospel the SCM ever produced, and perhaps its last important one for several student generations.

The Legislative Assembly held December 27 and 28, 1922 saw the last of the conservative revolts against the SCM until the introduction of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship to Canada in 1928. After rejecting the radical Davidson Ketchum as Chairman, the Assembly compromised on a veteran, James Endicott, who was a Student Volunteer with social gospel leanings. Those who had led the objections to the formation of the SCM at Guelph, the delegates from the University of Manitoba and from Wycliffe College, were joined by a new conservative group from the University of Western Ontario and from Huron College, another Anglican college, in London. Each delegation had adjustments to make to the basis and aim: the University of Manitoba group, that the call and claim of the Church on the students' lives be added; the Western-Huron delegation, that Jesus Christ as manifested in Holy Scripture should be "accepted" by members; and the Wycliffe College delegates, that only those who had accepted Jesus Christ as Personal Saviour, who were desirous of winning other students to Christ, and who believed that all Scripture was the inspired revelation of God should be allowed to join the SCM. The Findings Committee of the Assembly rejected all three motions without putting them to a vote.[21] The constitution was made permanent with only minor organizational changes. The Wycliffe College YMCA joined the SCM a few months later. But the University of Western Ontario - Huron

College men's group remained weak for many years, most of the conservatives opting to join the SVB rather than the SCM.

In the fall of 1922 a study book had been issued by the SCM in preparation for the First National Conference of Canadian Students: Some Canadian Questions. The booklet listed statements, questions and bibliography for the use of the study groups of the SCM. Students across the country spent time reflecting on and arguing about the farmers' movements and rural problems, industry and industrial conflict, the problems of immigrants, internationalism and war, and the foreign missionary enterprise. The suggestions and statements, while not radical, were humane and deeply infused with the social gospel.[22]

When the conference finally convened on the evening of December 28, there were present some seven hundred delegates and over a thousand visitors and observers. Speakers had been arranged for each morning, but the afternoons and evenings were to be given over to the opinions and shared experiences of students alone. Students heard addresses on "the Industrial Situation in Canada"; on "the Rural Situation in Canada", by E.C. Drury, Premier of the United Farmers of Ontario government in Ontario; on English-French relations, by Senator Belcourt; on the problems of immigrants, by Principal E.H. Oliver of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon; on the problems of religion in Canadian life, by the Welsh-born pacifist and social gospel leader, Richard Roberts of Montreal; on the relations between men and women; on the problems of the Jews in Canada; on "Canada's International Responsibility", by Newton Rowell, one of Canada's delegates to the League of Nations;

and on the present situations in Africa, China and India. All of the subjects addressed by the speakers and by Some Canadian Questions would remain of interest to the SCM for decades, and the students would continue to hear experts and social gospel leaders at their conferences.[23]

Throughout the First National Conference there were addresses by Dr. A. Herbert Gray of Glasgow, who attempted to tie together all of the concerns of the conference in a series on the Kingdom of God.[24] The conference committee issued a prayer leaflet for the conference, containing prayers, confessions and resolutions appropriate for the concerns discussed or addressed each day. Each day began with the declaration, adapted from the Epistle to the Hebrews, that "We look for a City which hath foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God." After confession, the booklet listed a series of resolutions for the students each day, so "That the City of God may be built."[25] When the conference was over, the addresses were published in a book entitled Building the City of God. "The Kingdom of God" and "the City of God" would continue to be used as expressions of the desired new world order shaped around the principles of Jesus. But by the First National Conference the phrase was already beginning to lose some of its optimistic, almost apocalyptic, overtones. The eagerness to remake the world of that first postwar generation of students was being tempered, and the City of God, it was slowly conceded, would not be built in a day.

III

The first postwar generation of students entered university or college in the autumn of 1918 or 1919. By the summer of 1923 some had already graduated. Davidson Ketchum noted all the new faces at the 1923 Elgin House Conference in his diary, and remarked on a different feel to that conference; the students were less a unity and more concerned with the individual.[26]

At that same Elgin House Conference the McGill University student delegation arrived wearing black armbands. Their beloved J.G. McKay had died abruptly a month before of the wounds he had sustained as a YMCA Chaplain overseas.[27] That same summer saw the departure of Margaret Lowe, the radical Western Student Secretary, and veteran Larry MacKenzie, secretary of Dalhousie University and the Maritimes. They were replaced by Gertrude Rutherford, a recent graduate of Victoria College, who kept her position as Associate General Secretary for over a decade.[28]

Over the next few years the "familiar faces" which had helped to establish the Student Christian Movement of Canada moved on. In the spring of 1924 Professor S.H. Hooke was dismissed from Victoria College for his radical theology.[29] In the summer of 1925, Ernest Clarke resigned as General Secretary, although he did not leave until a replacement was found for him in 1927.[30] And in the late summer of 1926 Dr. H.B. Sharman, who had come to Toronto to help out the student movement for a semester in 1918, finally left the city to take up a position as a lecturer at Yenching

University, Peking.[31] By 1926, almost all those who had been instrumental in founding the Student Christian Movement of Canada had picked up other tasks, and the spirit of the movement had changed.

Perhaps the turning point can be located in the summer of 1924, when the last of those who had enrolled at university just after the Great War graduated. At the 1924 Elgin House Conference, Davidson Ketchum felt "like a perfect stranger among the new crowd of students."[32] The leadership had a hard time adjusting to an SCM membership made up largely of students who had been eight or ten years old at the outbreak of the war. The editor of The Canadian Student, in October 1924, remarked extensively on this new generation:

> The beginning of another college year should remind us that the generation now growing up is a new one in more than the usual narrow sense of the word. It is clear from conversations with members of other movements that the departure of the last of the postwar generation from the colleges has made everywhere more difference than was generally expected, and that their successors are of quite another stamp. The opinion of that sanguine and impatient crowd who entered college from the army is hardly likely to be entirely just to those who come after; it is, however, interesting enough to be worth listening to. The new generation, we hear, is singularly unmoved by anything outside its somewhat conventional range of interests; it has no burning sense of the great problems in the world and takes no responsibility for trying to settle them. It is extremely frank in stating its own opinions, but these when heard are far from reassuring to those who look for a renaissance of thought and action deep-rooted in belief. It is a little cynical, a little egoistic, not at all anxious to be disturbed. It is, finally, exceedingly young, and grows up with remarkable slowness. And the last sentence, we might add sums up and explains all the rest.
>
> The texture of the Canadian Student Movement was greatly altered in the last two years, and this should be a matter for unmixed rejoicing. No previous generation succeeded in bringing in a new heaven and a new earth, and unceasing growth and change is the ground of our hope for the future ... Granting all this, however, friends who came to some of our summer conferences this summer have still not been able to repress a slight feeling of uneasiness about the attitude of the students who composed them. There was, as we all know, an atmosphere of

> contentment and good-fellowship, an easy cheerfulness about life, which was very pleasant to live with and which we would be very sorry to see disappear. But life, unfortunately, is still a tragedy for some, while it has not yet become really simple for any; and the one thing which the older generation has a right to ask of its successors is that they be inwardly eager to answer life's deepest question. They will approach it from their own new angle and come to grips with it in their own unique way; the demand is only that they do approach it and do not try to slip around it. The greatest weakness of American civilization is its tendency to gloss over the hard and puzzling facts of life with a cheap and superficial optimism; a movement which yields to this tendency will have ceased to be a true student movement.[33]

Much has been written about the conservatism and the self-centred individualism of the youth of the nineteen-twenties.[34] While this stereotype would never be completely applicable to the SCM, the membership which dominated the organization from 1924 to 1928 came closest to that measure than any in the first decade of the movement. University observers speak of a "new spirit of dignity on the campus ...,"[35] and the editor of The Canadian Student, in December 1924, elaborated on the previous editorial by noting that "To-day we are watching the subsidence of the tide of idealism and emancipation that followed the war .... Those who know the world well, say that a wave of conservatism of thought is sweeping over the present student generation."[36]

This new generation of students felt less bitterness about the war, which had been accepted as part of the childhood environment, and less antipathy to the Church. But at the same time, social concerns and social vision waned. They were replaced by intense personal and group studies of Jesus, which preempted the place of even the social expressions of Jesus' teachings, to the detriment of social service. Social gospel leaders were still invited to student summer conferences, but the burning vision of

remaking the world, the passion for a Christian social order, for "Building the City of God on earth", was gone.

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3 Elizabeth MacCallum, interviewed in Ottawa, May 18, 1982.

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5 UCA/SCM, National Council Minutes Files, "Minutes of the General Meeting of the Student Christian Movement of Canada," September 17-23, 1921, pp. 1, 3 and Financial Statements, Statement of Revenue and Expenditure For Year Ending 31 December 1921.

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11 UCA/SCM, National Council Minutes Files, "Minutes of the ... General Committee of the Student Christian Movement ...," September 16-25, 1922, p. 3 and "The Student Volunteer Movement and Missions," CS V, 6 (Mar. 1923): 21-22.

12 UCA/SCM, SVM Papers, Canadian S.V.M. File, "Resolution Regarding the Student Volunteer Movement of Canada, Pine Hill College, Halifax, June 5, 1922" and "Resolution regarding the Student Volunteer Movement of Canada, Carlyle Lake Conference, July 5, 1922"; Dr. James G. Endicott, interviewed in Toronto, March 26, 1982; Stephen Endicott, James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 50-51 and "The Student Volunteer Movement and Missions," CS V, 6 (Mar. 1923): 20.

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31 This One Thing, pp. 39, 49-50.

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33 Editorial, CS VII (1924): 4-5.

34 See, for example, Paula Fass, The Damned and the Beautiful (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), passim.

35 Walter H. Johns, A History of The University of Alberta (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), p. 93.

36 Editorial, CS VII (1924): 68.

Appendix 1

A. Purpose and Membership of the Student YWCA of Canada

Purpose:

(a) To call the women students of Canada to the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus, and to His discipleship in every department of conduct.

(b) To promote among them regular habits of Bible Study and of Prayer.

(c) To lead them into fellowship and service of the Christian Church.

(d) To keep before them the importance and urgency of worldwide evangelisation, the Christian solution of social problems, and the permeation of public life with Christian ideals.

Object:

The object of this Association shall be to unite the women of this institution in loyalty to Jesus Christ; to help to develop and maintain in the institution a positive moral and religious atmosphere; and to help to interpret and carry out the general purpose of the Student Young Women's Christian Associations of Canada, as stated above.

Membership Basis:

Alternative A or B (one or other to be incorporated in all student Constitutions).

"A." So-called Personal Membership Basis

Section 1. - The membership of the Association shall consist of those women students who sign the membership card which reads as follows: "I wish to declare my loyalty to Jesus Christ, and to express my sympathy with the purpose of this Association by uniting with others in its work in this college."

Section 2. - The whole Cabinet shall be sympathetic with Protestant Evangelical principles, and two-thirds of its members, including the President, shall be members of Protestant Evangelical churches.

"B." So-called Church Membership Basis

Section 1. - The membership of the Association shall be of two kinds: Associate members, who are in sympathy with the purpose of the Association; and Active members, who are also members of Protestant Evangelical churches, and thereby committed to the fulfilment of the purpose of the organization.

Section 2. - Office-holding and voting power are limited to active members.

[Adapted from "Aim and Basis," Canadian Student II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 33-34.]

B. Active Membership in the Student YMCA of Canada and the United States

Students and members of the faculty who are either members of evangelical churches or who accept Jesus Christ as He is offered in the Holy Scriptures as their God and Saviour and who approve the objects of the Association which are as follows: to lead students to become disciples of Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour, to lead them to join the church, to promote growth in Christian faith and character, and to enlist them in Christian service. Only active members of Student Associations shall have the right to vote, and only active members who are members of evangelical churches shall be eligible for office.

[Adapted from "Aim and Basis," Canadian Student II, 6 (Mar. 1920): 34-35.]

C. Proposed Purpose of the Student Christian Associations, Des Moines, Iowa January 1920.

Two Statements

1. To seek to know God through Jesus Christ, and having discovered Him, to make Him known to the students of this University, and through them, to the world.

2. To serve as a bond of union and a means of maintaining and deepening their spiritual life for all students of the college/university who accept Jesus Christ as the supreme revelation of God, or who desire to understand and test the Christian faith and the Christian standards of conduct and society.

To bring the influence of this Association to bear upon the student body with a view to permeating the whole student life with Christian ideals of conduct and service.

To insist on the obligation resting on all students to consecrate themselves to lives of unselfish service in whatever vocations they may follow; to emphasize the special need of workers in the various social and missionary enterprises of the church; and to provide, as far as possible, opportunities for definite service on the part of the students themselves.

[From UCA/SCM, "Purpose of the Student Christian Association."]

D. Basis, Aim, and Membership of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1921.

Basis and Aim: The Student Christian Movement of Canada is a fellowship of students based on the conviction that in Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realization of life.

The Movement seeks through study, prayer, service and other means to understand and follow Jesus Christ and to unite in its fellowship all students in the colleges of Canada who share the above conviction, together with all students who are willing to test the truth of the conviction upon which the Movement is founded.

Membership: Any Christian Society, in any university, or any place of higher learning in Canada, whose aims are in harmony with the aims of the Movement and which shall insert in its constitution the words:

> "The ..... (name of society) in ..... (name of institution) shall be a Local Unit in the Student Christian Movement of Canada, which is a fellowship of students, based on the conviction that in Jesus Christ are found the supreme revelation of God and the means to the full realization of life."

shall become a Local Unit of the Student Christian Movement of Canada, and any member of such society shall be ipso facto a member of the Student Christian Movement of Canada.

[Adapted from UCA/SCM, Printed Materials Book, 1921-1934, p. 4, "Student Christian Movement of Canada Constitution," Clauses II and III.]

Appendix 2

"Poisoning the Student Mind"

The SCM has found its true vocation,
It is poisoning the student mind;
Its leaders, by astute manipulation,
Are all poisoning the student mind.
And you, young friends, I'm certain that you'll go
To toast your toes at furnaces below
If you give ear to leaders who, I know,
Are bent on poisoning the student mind.

Refrain:
Poisoning the student mind, Poisoning the student mind,
Bad men, bold men, villains double-dyed,
'Neath their smiling countenances hide
Spiritual arsenic, moral cyanide,
For poisoning the student, poisoning the student,
Poisoning the student mind.

Now Ernest Clarke is rapt in deep enjoyment
When he's poisoning the student mind;
His one, exclusive, only, sole employment
is in poisoning the student mind.
I've heard him to a study group suggest
That David's morals were not of the best;
This fact alone would make it manifest
That he is poisoning the student mind.

Now old Prof. Hooke may seem a harmless crittur,
But he's poisoning the student mind.
Within that pipe he brews a potion bitter,
Just for poisoning the student mind.
With views extreme his victim he'll beguile,
And tell them with a supercilious smile,
That Noah marched his stock in single file.
Oh, yes, he's poisoning the student mind.

Doc. Sherman's [sic] much the worst of all the beggars
Who are poisoning the student mind;
He heads the gang of biblical bootleggers
Who are poisoning the student mind;
By subtlest questions doubts he can instill
Of Job's interpretation of the will,
And whether Jonah's fish possessed a gill.
Oh, yes, he's poisoning the student mind.

And then Miss Wrong: of course its quite notorious
That she's poisoning the student mind;
In her own way, peculiarly uproarious,
She is poisoning the student mind.
With flashing eyes she stamps upon the floor
And tears to shreds all we've believed before,
Then thumps the desk and bounces out the door.
Oh, yes, she's poisoning the student mind.

Now, Dr. Thomas may be quite unconscious
That he's poisoning the student mind;
But still those mighty verbal avalanches
Are all poisoning the student mind.
He quotes concrete examples to his class,
And charms the girls with "Yes, my little lass,"
But all the time a deadly form of gas
Is slowly poisoning the student mind.

Now, who would think that sweet girl, Helen Nichol,
Could be poisoning the student mind;
But in the jam pot there's a sour pickle
Which is poisoning the student mind.
She gives a fine dramatic rendering
Of servant girls who cannot have their fling,
And all the while the moral of the thing
Is simply poisoning the student mind.

And then, all those who summarize discussions
Are just poisoning the student mind;
I class them all as Bolsheviki Russians
Bent on poisoning the student mind.
With serpent skill and cunning of the fox
They emphasize the heretic who mocks,
And carefully suppress the orthodox;
They're simply poisoning the student mind.

There's still one more to whom I've not alluded,
Who is poisoning the student mind:
I fear Miss Rutherford must be included,
For she's poisoning the student mind.
For chairing she's inherited a gene,
She sits on all and sundry as a queen;
Such style, such poise, such - you know what I mean;
She's simply poisoning the student mind.

There's just one thing I forgot to mention:
The student hasn't got a mind,
And so its safe to hold this big convention,
Because the student hasn't got a mind.
But if our leaders heard the awful news,
There is no doubt their senses they would loose,
So let them imagine, if they choose,
That they're poisoning the student mind.

[Adapted from Ernest A. Dale, Twenty-One Years A-Building (Toronto: Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1942), pp. 46-48.]

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List of Abbreviations

CS	The Canadian Student
PAC	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa
SCA	Student Christian Association
SCM	Student Christian Movement of Canada
SVB	Student Volunteer Band
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions
UCA/SCM	United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University, Toronto, Student Christian Movement of Canada National Archives
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association