

THE CLERGY IN ENGLISH-
CANADIAN FICTION

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IN
ENGLISH-CANADIAN
FICTION

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ABSTRACT

The stress in the study of the clergy in Canadian fiction is on the clergyman's position in both the Church and society. The early novels, those written before 1920, are divided into two categories according to their common traits. The novels in the first category, the "evangelical romance," which is discussed in the first chapter, are found to have a surprisingly large number of common traits. Of these evangelical romances those of Ralph Connor were immensely popular when they were first written and until well on into the 1930's. Various factors in the novels account for the popularity. Although many of these features are no longer popular, Connor's novels are still valuable for what they reveal of life in the early Canadian West and especially of the importance and nature of its religious life and its clergymen. Of the seven evangelical romances studied, Ernest Seton's The Preacher of Cedar Mountain is judged to be the best by modern standards.

In the second chapter, seven "ecclesiastical" novels are discussed. These novels have a number of features which clearly distinguish them from the evangelical romances. The seven are subdivided into two major groups. The first four novels discussed, The Lone Furrow, Committed To His Charge,

Sunshine Sketches, and Arcadian Adventures, are all fairly objective in point of view and critical of laity and clergy. The Ministers in the remaining three ecclesiastical novels are more like those in the evangelical novels, as are the laymen.

The majority of clergymen and laymen in modern Canadian fiction, which is discussed in chapter three, follow in the tradition of the first four ecclesiastical novels. The clergymen are discussed in two groups: six "prêtres manqués" and three successful hypocrites. Ministers like those in the evangelical romances seem to have vanished from Canadian fiction, as do the devout churchmen of the second group of ecclesiastical novels. "The peculiar nature of most of the clergymen in modern Canadian fiction reflects a decline in the importance of the church in society in general.

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Introduction

Religion has been one of the most important forces in Canadian society, and this importance is naturally reflected in Canadian literature. This study surveys various novels written from 1880 to 1967 in which clergymen are major characters. The early novels, those written before 1920, are treated differently than the later ones. Since most of these early novels are little known and have received little or no critical comment, both their content and their style is discussed in some detail. However, with the later novels, which are in the mainstream of Canadian literature and are readily available, only the clergy and the laity are discussed.

The early novels are divided into two categories according to their characteristics and particularly according to the type of clergyman presented. Seven novels of the first category, the "evangelical romance", are discussed in the first chapter. Examples of the common traits are given from each novel, and then the style of each is discussed individually. In the second chapter, seven novels of the second category, the "ecclesiastical" novel, are studied. These seven are subdivided into two major groups. Four of the novels tend to be fairly objective, and are critical of both

clergy and laity. They are discussed together first. The other three novels, in contrast, are fairly laudatory of both clergy and laity. Two of these three are discussed together because they deal with powerful Presbyterian Churches in small Southern Ontario towns. The seventh ecclesiastical novel is discussed separately because it is unique in its setting in Roman Catholic Quebec. Although the stylistic features of the lesser known of these early novels are discussed, the major concern is with what they tell the reader of the early Canadian environment. As Frye suggests, they are studied "as a part of Canadian life rather than as a part of an autonomous world of literature."¹ Any critical evaluation is only an "incidental by-product"² of the study.

A selection of novels written after 1920 in which clergymen are major characters are discussed in the last chapter. The clergymen are divided into two main groups: six "pretres manques", who are weak, sensitive, and self-effacing; and three successful hypocrites. A tenth clergyman, Father Beaubien of MacLennan's Two Solitudes is discussed separately because he does not fit into either of the two groups. At the end of the chapter the laity is briefly discussed. Throughout this chapter an attempt to show the continuity of the literature is made by pointing out the similarities and differences between the clergymen in these later novels and those in the earlier ones.

1. Frye, "Conclusion" to Carl F. Klinck (ed.)
Literary History of Canada, p.822.

2. Ibid., p.821.

Chapter One

Evangelical Romances, 1880 - 1920.

In the period 1880-1920 religion was one of the most prevalent subjects in Canadian fiction. This prevalence was due to two facts: many of the writers were clergymen, since they were among the few who could find leisure for writing; and religious fiction had a receptive public, a public which Roper describes as "predominately rural or small-town, middle-class and church-going, and largely fundamentalist in training".¹ One of the most popular forms of this religious fiction was the "evangelical romance" (to use Logan's term²), the characteristic features of which Roper lists as follows:

The evangelical purpose, the old hymns, the plea for temperance, the repetition of the "prodigal son" story. Related to adventure and frontier fiction, set in the outdoors and packed with physical activity, many of them illustrate the personal influence of one strong man, often the oversized muscular Christian, on the fallen and the stragglers.³

To this list of common features I would add the following: concern for man's physical as well as spiritual needs, the idealization of women, anti-intellectualism, and sentimentality, particularly in conversions, love affairs and death bed scenes. The evangelical romance was especially popular at this time, because "the late Victorian age...particularly welcomed fiction which featured Christianity in action and fostered the basic non-sectarian Christian virtues".⁴

These evangelical romances can be clearly distinguished from another popular form, which I will term the "ecclesiastical" novel. This latter form is more concerned with the Church as an institution than with the influence of the individual minister. These ecclesiastical novels will be discussed in the next chapter.

The evangelical romances to be discussed are Ralph Connor's Black Rock: A Tale of the Selkirks (1898), The Sky Pilot: A Tale of the Foothills (1899), and The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land (1919), Ernest Thompson Seton's The Preacher of Cedar Mountain (1917), Norman Duncan's The Measure of a Man: A Tale of the Big Woods (1911), William Withrow's Neville Trueman, The Pioneer Preacher: A Tale of the War of 1812 (1880), and Hiram Alfred Cody's If Any Man Sin (1915). The last named book, as will be shown, also has characteristics of the ecclesiastical novel, but because of its frontier setting and dramatic action it is placed in this chapter. The features common to all these novels will be discussed first, with specific examples from each, and then the peculiar features of content and/or style in each individual novel.

In all of these novels the minister is a dominant personality, wielding great influence and commanding respect in the community. In two of the novels he is physically as well as socially powerful. Jim Hartigan, "the preacher of Cedar Mountain", is described as follows: " Six feet four, broad

and straight, supple and easy, with the head of a Greek god in a crown of golden curls, and a dash of wild hilarity in his bright eyes that suggested a Viking, a royal pirate".⁵

He uses his physical strength in his ministry: on one occasion he beats up five men to prevent them from drinking; on another he thrashes two men who are mistreating a horse; and on another he gains the respect and support of Michael Shay, a Chicago gangster by beating him in a fist-fight. Seton says of the first occasion: "Here for the first time he had put his great physical strength to the service of the new life. It was a consecration, so to speak, of his bodily powers".⁶

John Fairmeadow, the minister in Duncan's The Measure of a Man is also physically powerful:

Big, bubbling, rosy John Fairmeadow, with the square jaw, the frank, admonitory tongue, the tender and persuasive heart, the competent, not unwilling fists....A clean man: a big, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, long-legged body, with a soul to match it, a glowing heart and a purpose lifted high. ⁷

Like Hartigan, he uses his "not unwilling fists" and great strength in his ministry, as for example, when he beats up a bartender in order that "Billy the Beast" may escape the tavern and return to his ailing mother, or when he must threaten to fight the boss of a lumber camp before he can preach in the camp, or when he dumps a heckler into a barrel of water, or when he pulls a heavy logger from a swamp.

In the other novels, although the preachers are not physical giants like Hartigan and Fairmeadow, they do possess phy-

sical or manual skills. Thus, although the physical appearance of Arthur Moore, "the Sky Pilot," is not at all prepossessing, he turns out to be a great pitcher and runner in baseball: "Before the innings were half over he was recognized as the best all-round man on the field."⁸ His athletic prowess helps him in his ministry in that it gains him the respect of the men on the ball-teams. Similarly, besides possessing "a clean-cut strong face well set on his shoulders, and altogether an upstanding, manly bearing",⁹ Rev. Craig of Black Rock is an accomplished singer and violin-player, and a neat house-keeper. Barry Dunbar of The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land and the deposed clergyman Martin Rutland of If Any Man Sin are also skilled violinists. Moreover, Rutland builds his own house and dug-out canoe, and successfully mines gold. Dick Russell, the young medical missionary of the same novel, in addition to being a skilled doctor, does most of the work in the building of the hospital. Jonas Evans, the Methodist "local-preacher" of Withrow's book, is noted for his skill as a gunner. Jim Hartigan, besides possessing great physical strength as noted above, is also an excellent horseman, the best in his region. In the wild frontier country in which these evangelical romances are set, such physical accomplishments are indispensable to a minister.

A corollary of the love of the physical in the books

is the anti-intellectual bias evinced by most of the clergymen. In the frontier setting the preacher had no time for theological complexities: he had too many souls to win and too much evil to overcome. The frontier was under constant development, and "naturally there was less time for some of the subtleties, even religious subtleties of more settled communities".¹⁰ This anti-intellectualism is best exemplified in Hartigan and Fairmeadow. Charmed by the former's exuberant personality, a group of Methodist deacons decide to support him in seminary. The seminary life with its study and discipline soon become loathsome to the adventure-loving Jim, however, and he longs for the out-of-doors, for horses and for sports. After only a year's attendance, he is appointed to help Dr. Jebb, the minister at Cedar Mountain, for a year. When the year is up, Jim refuses to return to what to him is hell, and he claims that his sermons are much better than the learned Dr. Jebb's anyway, and that attendance has doubled since his arrival. His fiancée, Belle, does eventually persuade him to return, but her arguments are hardly intellectual or even spiritual: "She would paint a bright picture of their future together when his rare gifts as an orator should bring him fame, and secure a position in the highest ranks of the Church".¹¹

John Fairmeadow, like Jim Hartigan, is a lay preacher on a year's probation from seminary. His anti-intellectual

attitude to seminary is similar to Jim's:

I have an arrangement with the Church. If I'm very, very good, and if I read up on systematic theology, and church history and that sort of thing in my spare hours, and if I can pass a satisfactory examination, they will ordain me, in good time; and then I'll be a real minister. You see, I had no time to go to a theological seminary. I- I- wanted to get to work. I had to get to work. A year in the seminary was quite enough-for a man like me. 12

When he does try the examination, he fails because he is not really interested in the theological questions, but is concerned about saving "Billy the Beast" from a drunken spree. The two examiners are impressed with John's personality, but they consider him too "rough" a "diamond" to be ordained. ¹³ He later persuades the "Superior Body" to ordain him without an examination, because of his definite conversion and call to the ministry. Both Duncan and Seton seem to sympathize with the anti-intellectualism of their major characters.

To a lesser extent, the "Sky Pilot" shows a similarly anti-intellectual attitude when he sanctions the silencing of an agnostic by physical violence: he is forcefully ejected from the church and shaken up until he believes in God. As McCourt comments, "unfortunately the reader is left with the impression that Ralph Connor, too, considers the clenched fist the best of all possible replies to the doubter." ¹⁴ The Pilot shows a similarly dishonest approach when he is unable to answer the questions of his congregation: "[He] would turn

[their] minds to the verities that stood sure and clear".¹⁵

In contrast the the anti-intellectualism of these Ministers is the deposed clergyman, Martin Rutland, of If Any Man Sin. One of his major regrets at leaving civilization behind is the lack of books. His intellectualism is probably explained by Cody's denomination. Anglicans have traditionally been more intellectual and academic than their more evangelical brothers.

But there is a much more significant contrast to anti-intellectualism in William Withrow's account of the role of the travelling preacher:

The early Methodist preachers...diffused much useful information, and their visits dispelled the mental stagnation which is almost sure to settle upon an isolated community. The whole household gathering around the evening fire, hung with eager attention upon their lips, as, from their well stored minds, they brought forth things new and old. Many an inquisitive boy or girl experienced a mental awakening or quickening by contact with their superior intelligence, and many a toil-worn man and woman renewed the brighter memories of earlier years, as the preacher brought them glimpses of the outer world, or read from some well-worn volume carried in his saddle-bags, pages of some much-prized English classic. 16

This passage is quoted at length because it helps to account for the great importance of the clergyman in the early frontier community. Not only was he "an arbiter of culture", as Roper¹⁷ points out, but he was in many cases the only source of culture and learning. The intellectual activity of Withrow's ministers can, I think, be easily accounted for. The people

with whom he is dealing are the pioneer farmers of Southern Ontario, men who lived settled domestic lives. Such men have time and necessity for learning. On the other hand, the miners, ~~and~~ cowboys and loggers of the other novels have no families and live an itinerant life. Thus they have no time or interest in "book-learning". The respective interests of the two groups would naturally be reflected in the men who minister to them.

Another common characteristic of the ministers described in these novels is their evangelical concern for lost souls. They seek to win the lost to Christ, not only directly ~~by~~ through preaching and "witnessing", but also through friendship and concern for physical needs. The latter concern often takes the form of helping to combat the evils of liquor, which, in many of the novels, is the major problem encountered by the ministers. It is so prevailing a concern that it will be discussed in detail later.

The Rev. Craig of Black Rock was himself "saved" at a mission service, and is eager that the loggers and miners may "accept Christ" too. But unlike some evangelical preachers, he is opposed to mere emotionalism: he wishes the men to understand clearly what they are getting into. After he has eloquently explained the parable of the "Prodigal Son", he invited all to return to God and to join the church. When he thinks that too many have responded too easily, he explains the discipleship, and thus reduces the number from fifty to thirty-

eight. Those who do join must give up swearing as well as drinking.

The Rev. Moore, the "Sky Pilot", shows a similar zeal for lost souls in his preaching. He is skilled at adapting the Biblical stories to the foot-hills setting his listeners know. For example Saint Paul becomes "a sort of hero, and the boys were all ready to back him against any odds".¹⁸ His description of Christ is particularly effective:

The great figure of the Gospels lived, moved before our eyes. We saw him bend to touch the blind, we heard Him speak. His marvellous teaching, we felt the throbbing excitement of the crowds that pressed against Him. 19

But the Pilot is equally as concerned that the men's bodies be saved from evil, and he preaches that all are responsible for others in this regard. This is a new doctrine for the West, "an uncomfortable doctrine to practice, interfering seriously with personal liberty".²⁰ He wins the men not only by his preaching but also by his friendliness, particularly to the cowboys:

To the rest of the community The Pilot was preacher; to them he was comrade and friend....No man in that country had ever shown concern for them, nor had it occurred to them that any man could, till The Pilot came....[He] astonished them by giving them respect, admiration, and open-hearted affection. 21

He also is the only one who can comfort Gwen when she becomes paralyzed.

The Rev. Barry Dunbar of The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land doesn't learn the value of love and friendship until late in the novel. At first he acts as a sort of "moral policeman"²² to the men, striving to prevent their swearing and poaching. Perhaps because of this, his sermons, unlike those of Craig or Moore, are extremely boring. But after his father's death in battle, Dunbar realizes he has been misdirected in his approach. He must not "sit in God's place in judgment upon his fellow sinners, but...show them God, their Father."²³ To do so, according to the Senior Chaplain, he must have three basic traits: "unity" with his fellow clergymen, "spirituality",²⁴ and "humanity". Then with God's help he can win souls and earn a heavenly crown.

Neville Trueman of Withrow's novel is also concerned for lost souls, of both Indians ("he sought the wondering children of the forest for their soul's salvation")²⁵ and white men. He capitalizes on the ^{imminence} ~~immense~~ of danger and death in the war to win souls to Christ at the "protracted meetings" of a revival, for "under these chastening influences many hearts were peculiarly open to the reception of divine truth."²⁶ Trueman also prays fervently for particular souls, and his prayers are consistently answered. But, like Craig and Moore, he is also concerned for the physical needs of his "congregation". Thus at the fierce battle of Lundy's Lane, he cares for the wounded and dying, and brings messages to those waiting back home. On

another occasion he intercedes for the people of Niagara with the American commander, Colonel McClure, and advises him to regard a higher Authority than that of Washington.

When Jim Hartigan, "the preacher of Cedar Mountain," is, like Rev. Craig of Black Rock, converted at a revival meeting, he immediately vows to become a preacher. It is interesting to notice that although the hero is converted at a revival, Seton is well aware of the deliberate sensationalism and emotionalism of the evangelist who brings about his conversion:

Full of scripture texts charged with holy fire, abounding in lurid thoughts of burning lakes, of endless torment; gifted with the fluency that sometimes passes for logic and makes for conviction, he dwelt on the horrors and the might-have-beens. He shouted out his creeds of holiness, he rumbled in his chest and made graphic mouthings. He played on all the emotions until he found the most responsive, and then hammered hard on these. 27

Following the advice of Belle, his fiancée, Hartigan preaches on the kindness of people, and the superiority of love to piety, rather than declaiming against sin as he originally intended. As with Craig and Moore, Hartigan's personality and friendliness are most effective in winning souls. In addition, more than any of the other ministers in these novels, he realizes the necessity of meeting physical needs before any interest in spiritual matters can be aroused. He tells his mission board concerning the iron-workers of Chicago: "These people don't want preach-

ing, they want fair play. This is not a religious question, it is an economic question. But the religious questions ²⁸ are economic questions". He helps to meet the physical needs of these people by getting the board of his mission, the Evangelical Alliance, to sponsor the building of a recreation hall, including rooms for athletics, reading, and discussion. In having his hero work in such a club, Seton is expressing his own personal experience. In 1902 he founded a similar youth organization, the Woodcraft League, and a few years later ²⁹ instituted the Boy Scouts Organization. Later he established the Seton Institute at Sante Fe where he spent most of his later life.

Unlike most of the other Ministers, John Fairmeadow of The Measure of A Man avoids mass preaching almost entirely in his soul-winning. He rejects a suggestion that he instigate a revival, and prefers rather to win souls by witnessing to men individually and by gaining their friendship. His friendliness soon wins him the respect and attention of many of the loggers. "Gingerbread Jenkins" is converted not by preaching but after Fairmeadow rescues him from a swamp, and "Billy the Beast" is "born again" when the preacher's warning prevents him from drinking. Through his affection for all the lumberjacks he becomes "established, and accepted institution in a ³⁰ hundred square miles of forest." Like Hartigan, he is greatly concerned for the physical needs of the loggers, and at the

end of the novel, he founds, not a church, but a recreational club like that founded by Hartigan.

Like both Hartigan and Fairmeadow, Dick Russell of Cody's If Any Man Sin felt a definite call to preach. But his concern is not the strictly "evangelical" zeal for the lost soul; rather his object in coming to the Quaska valley is "carrying on his Great Master's work, lengthening the cords and strengthening the stakes of the Church".³¹ In his recognition of the value of the Church, Cody is like the writers of what I have termed the "ecclesiastical" ^{novels} romances, but with the novel's frontier setting and abundant physical action it belongs with the "evangelical" novels, and is thus included in this chapter. Russell shows his realization of the importance of meeting physical needs, not only in the fact that he is a doctor as well as a preacher, but also in that the "church" he builds is more like the clubs established by Hartigan, Fairmeadow and Craig: a building which is open daily for games, talk, smoking and reading.

Although he is no longer a clergyman when the novel opens, Martin Rutland of If Any Man Sin shows the friendliness and concern for physical needs common to the clergymen of these novels. Thus when he learns of the inevitable deprivation and starvation that the unsuccessful miners face, he buys supplies to save for their use. During the winter he visits all of these miners, supplying them with food, and comforting them with his violin-playing

and hymn-singing. On one occasion he braves a fierce storm to save the life of an obnoxious, ungrateful miner, and gives him his only coat, nearly dying himself as a result of his sacrifice.

Thus in all of these novels, evangelical zeal for souls is accompanied by a recognition of the necessity of catering to physical needs. The setting up of recreational facilities, and the supplying of medical care and food demonstrate that in this period the role of the preacher in the frontier areas of Canada extended far beyond a purely religious role. Such social functions were performed in urban areas by clubs and organized charities, and thus did not require the Church's attention. Moreover, the common trait of friendliness in these men shows that they were not merely "doing a job" as are many modern clergymen.

Another trait found in a number of these evangelical clergymen is, surprisingly enough, tolerance. The frontier setting with its scarcity of preachers demanded tolerance. The Rev. Craig of Black Rock respects the Roman Catholic priest, Father Goulet, and is glad to exchange offices with him. On one occasion, to comfort a mother, Craig baptizes a dying baby with holy water and the sign of the cross. The narrator notes the significance of this incident as he comments, "I don't suppose it was orthodox, and it rendered chaotic some of my religious notions, but I thought more of Craig that moment than ever before."³² Barry Dunbar of The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land is

advised by his superior that one of the essential traits of a chaplain is "unity" with his fellow clergymen,³³ since in war-time there are no denominations but all are simply Christians. Neville Trueman shows a similar tolerance and broad-mindedness when he says of Calvinism that "It is not my religious philosophy; but I can honor its affect in others. It made heroic men of the Ironsides, the Puritans and the Covenanters".³⁴ Jim Hartigan comes to achieve tolerance gradually. On the train journey to Cedar Mountain he has his prejudices against Jesuits shaken when he finds a Jesuit priest to be tolerant, kindly and well-informed. Later, when he is running his club in Chicago, Jim's tolerance matures as he acquires Catholic friends and learns that others have legitimate rights, such as abstinence from pork. From a wise Hindu he learns the value of tolerance and that "the kindest way is the only way that is safe".³⁵ Finally, John Fairmeadow learns to be tolerant of Catholics, for often a Roman Catholic priest is the only clergyman available to comfort a dying Protestant logger.

Although most of the evangelical writers show this religious tolerance in their novels. Connor, Seton, and Cody all give evidence of mild racial prejudice. In Black Rock Connor calls Negroes "niggers" and seems to treat them merely as sources of entertainment.³⁶ In his novel Seton has Hartigan agree to exclude Negroes and Chinamen from his workers club in Chicago.

In If Any Man Sin Cody shows the most blatant prejudice of the three. He treats the Indian children as naturally inferior to Nance, Rutland's adopted daughter, and comments that if she could not have a white girl to play with, she preferred playing alone rather than with the Indian children. Later Nance says to Martin of the Indians who have been very kind and hospitable to them for years:

And only think what would have become of me if you had not been there! I might have lived the rest of my life among the Indians just like one of them. It makes me shudder when I think about it. How much I owe to you. 37

This racial prejudice in evangelical writers can be easily accounted for. Since they regard Christianity as the only true religion, the bearer of Christianity, i.e. the white man, is superior to all other races. This religious sentiment has its social correlative in the concept of the "White Man's Burden" to poorer peoples.

In six of these seven evangelical romances, liquor is the most prevalent, if not the only, evil. Much of the effort to win the souls of men and meet their physical needs takes the form of redeeming them from the influence of liquor. The plea in most cases is not just for temperance, as Roper suggests, but for total abstinence. To the modern "enlightened" reader the constant attack on liquor in these novels may seem to be a Puritanical obsession. But in the frontier country where there were few forms of recreation drinking was a very real and

predominant problem.

The Rev. Craig considers drinking the work of the devil when he sees its results: it degrades most men, and brings the weaker ones, such as Billy Breen, to their deaths. For those such as Nixon who have been heavy drinkers, one drink is enough to make them lose all control. Thus Craig, with the help of Mrs Mavor, gets his supporters to pledge themselves to a League of total abstinence rather than just temperance. Realizing that the men drink because they have no other form of entertainment, Craig provides as diversions a Punch and Judy show and then the recreational facilities of the League. When Billy Breen and Nixon, members of the League, are tricked into drinking, the League opposes drinking more actively by spilling out all the liquor in the local taverns.

In The Sky Pilot liquor is not the major concern it was in Black Rock. In fact, the author's attitude towards drinking in the former is at times fairly tolerant in that drinking here does not totally destroy a man's character. Although the "Noble Seven" are heavy drinkers, the narrator says of them: "Never have I fallen in with men braver, truer, or of a warmer heart.... Not a man of them ever failed to be true to his standard of honor in the duties of comradeship and brotherhood".³⁹ However, the evil effects of liquor are obvious in Bruce, a weak member of the Seven. After a drinking bout he becomes ferocious, wounds ~~under~~ himself, suffers delirium, threatens to kill anyone who

dares enter his cabin, and eventually dies from the poison of the liquor in his system. After Bruce's death, Moore reproves the Seven for their complicity in his drinking, and many of them swear to give up liquor.

In Neville Trueman, The Pioneer Preacher Withrow assures the reader that his story takes place "long before the days of temperance societies-even the preacher thinking it no harm to take his mug of the sweet amber-coloured draught"⁴⁰. But despite this observation, Jonas Evans, the Methodist "local-preacher", exhorts his fellow soldiers to beware of the "drink-fiends" who "kill more of the King's troops than all his other foes together!"⁴¹ Thus Withrow is inconsistent in his treatment of liquor, and his own attitude to it cannot be determined.

In The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, as in Black Rock, liquor is one of the major evils which the preacher must combat. Since Jim Hartigan had been a heavy drinker in his youth before his conversion, he is well aware of the evil power of liquor. Thus when he comes to Cedar Mountain, he campaigns actively against liquor, using his fists if necessary to back his advice, ~~vice~~ as for example when he prevents a drunken orgy by beating up singlehanded five men and spilling out their liquor. He is later deceived into taking one drink, and, like Nixon of Black Rock, once he starts he cannot stop. This drinking bout not only sinks him into profound dejection but also causes "a shocking disfigurement of the onetime handsome face."⁴² Like Craig, Hartigan realizes that the men must have a diversion

to keep them from drinking, and it is for this purpose that he establishes the recreational club for workers in Chicago.

In Duncan's The Measure of a Man drinking is not only the major sin, but almost the only one. Like Hartigan, Fairmeadow has had a background of heavy drinking and knows with what he is dealing. For seven years, while he lived in the Bowery, all he wanted was another drink. Begging his money by reciting poetry and singing, he bought liquor even when he could not afford a place to sleep. Duncan describes his life at this time quite vividly:

John Fairmeadow's world had been a fantastic and ghastly confusion of... vices .
The world was without love: it was besotted.
Faces vanished: ragged forms shuffled out of sight for the last time. Nobody cared, nobody remembered: there was no love. 43

Fairmeadow sees the evils of liquor all around him in the lumber camp at Swamp's End. For example, liquor prevents Billy the Beast from leaving to visit his sick mother, it robs Gingerbread Jenkins of his money and his youth, it causes Donald to turn against his father, Pale Peter, because he is a saloon-keeper, and, in Fairmeadow's opinion, it brings ultimately eternal damnation. Billy the Beast is prevented from drinking when his arm becomes paralyzed and he is unable to lift his drink after the preacher's stern warning. As a result of the miracle, a visible change comes over Billy and he is instantly "born again". Fairmeadow, like Craig and Hartigan, realizes the need of a diversion from liquor, and he uses the tavern

which Pale Peter donates after his son's death to set up a recreational club.

Finally, in Cody's If Any Man Sin, liquor is again a serious problem to the missionary Dick Russell. But the reason for his concern is slightly different from that in the other novels. He is less worried about the evil effects on the men themselves than for what they may do to any women nearby: "What regard would drink-inflamed men have for the purity and the honour of the beautiful women across the river, he asked himself over and over again"⁴⁴. He feels it is his duty to stem the tide of evil which liquor brings, and, like Craig, Hartigan, and Fairmeadow, actively opposes the influence of liquor by creating a diversion: a "bang-up service" with singing and violin-playing.⁴⁵ Later he sets up a club like those in Black Rock, The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, and The Measure of a Man to provide a more permanent diversion.

Another common feature of these evangelical romances, as suggested at the beginning of the chapter, is the presentation of women as models of piety and virtue. What McCourt says of such women in Connor's novels is probably also true of those in the other novels:

They carry a kind of conviction because their creator never doubts their reality. To him Mrs. Mavor of Black Rock [and] Lady Charlotte Ashley of The Sky Pilot...are living persons because they are idealizations of his own mother. 46

In Connor's novels there are no "bad" women, and in the novels

of Duncan and Cody the only bad women are completely bad, i.e. they are prostitutes. Only Seton, and to a limited extent Connor in Gwen of The Sky Pilot, present more realistic women who have both good and bad qualities. Moreover, Connor, Duncan, and Cody are all very sentimental in their presentation of women

Mrs. Mavor in Black Rock moves the hardened miners to tears when she sings. The following section is typical of the religious sentimentality with which she is presented:

The grimy faces of the miners, for they never get quite white, were furrowed with the tear-courses. Shaw, by this time, had his face too lifted high, his eyes gazing far above the singer's head, and I knew by the rapture in his face that he was seeing, as she saw, the thronging stately halls and the white-robed conquerors....And Nixon, too--he had his vision; but what he saw was the face of the singer, with the shining eyes, and by the look of him, that was vision enough. 47

She comforts the adoring miners so much with her singing that her room becomes for them "the anteroom to heaven".⁴⁸ She is also a powerful force for good. For example, because of her influence, the miners agree unanimously to support total abstinence rather than temperance. She willingly puts "honour, faith,⁴⁹ and duty" ahead of love when she leaves Craig, although I agree⁵⁰ with Gordon that it is difficult to see how this is a triumph, for Connor presents no reason why Craig cannot marry her and still continue his work.

In The Sky Pilot, however, such sentimental description of women is largely absent, though the cowboys do have great respect for women. For example, as soon as a woman enters the room, they all instantly stand and remove their hats. All have a peculiar admiration for Lady Charlotte Ashley, for "there was a reserve and a grand air in her bearing that put people in awe of her".⁵¹ Although Lady Charlotte is like Mrs. Mavor in her admiration for the "Pilot" and her genuine sympathy for the paralyzed Gwen, unlike Mrs. Mavor she is not perfect. She has had a serious break with her folks back home, and needs the Pilot's help to mend it. Also, in Gwen, Connor presents a more realistic picture of woman. She is at first selfish and headstrong, and only after long discussions with the Pilot does she come to patiently accept her paralysis.

The sentimentality in Duncan's presentation of Pattie Batch in The Measure of A Man is equal to if not greater than that in Connor's presentation of Mrs. Mavor. When we first meet Pattie she is a seventeen-year old orphan grieving for her father who has just drowned. Later she becomes obsessed with a desire to care for a baby. She first goes hunting for a pair of storks, and when this fails, she mentally adopts one of the neighbour's babies and makes clothes for it. Then providentially a baby is left on Fairmeadow's doorstep (on Christmas Eve of course) and he presents it to Pattie. After a few years,

she realizes the baby's need of a father, and hopes for a husband. She rejects Fairmeadow's offer, because, showing true Christian humility, she feels she is not good enough for him. However, she finally agrees to marry him when he tells her of his past life as an alcoholic, and, according to the last line of the novel, "the little stars winked happily at the sight of it all".⁵²

Beryl Heathcote in Cody's If Any Man Sin is very like Mrs. Mavor of Black Rock. She is pious and virtuous, and her singing, like Mrs. Mavor's, inspires deep religious emotions in all her listeners. As she cares for the miners as a nurse, they all have great respect for her and instinctively distinguish between her and the prostitutes of the camp. She is loyal in her love to Rutland, and defends him from criticism after he is deposed. Showing true Christian charity, she forgives him for leaving her years earlier, and reminds him of Christ's mercy as she quotes the verse of Scripture from which the title of the book is taken: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He⁵³ is the propitiation for our sins." Martin thinks so highly of her that thoughts of her lead him to teach the Indians hymns although he hates the Church. He paints such a glowing picture of Beryl to his adopted daughter Nance, that Nance seeks to model ~~del~~ herself on her. As in The Measure of A Man, the two lovers are united at the end, and "their lives, like two turbulent

streams long parted, were at last united, to flow on as one,
 54
 strong and deep".

Nance, Rutland's adopted daughter, is a cross between Gwen of The Sky Pilot and Pattie of The Measure of A Man. She shows that she has courage equal to Gwen's when she forces two desperadoes at the point of a gun to remove their claim stakes from her father's land. Like Pattie, Nance is quite naive and romantic, as she shows when she falls in love with a young stranger whom she has known for only an hour, Dick Russell. Rutland is deterred from driving Russell away when he sees the joy the latter brings to the eyes of the romantic Nance. Finally, at the end of the novel, Nance and Dick are united in marriage, as are all the other couples in these evangelical romances.

In The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, Seton gives the most realistic and least sentimental picture of women in all of these novels. Belle Boyd is wise, understanding, devoted to her lover Jim, and less other-worldly than most of Connor's heroines. For example, her ambition for Jim is not that he may win many souls, but that " his rare gifts as an orator should bring him fame, and secure a position in the highest
 55
 ranks of the Church". She gives Jim wise advice on his sermons, helps him plan his life and discipline himself, and is invaluable to him in running his worker's club. With her influence Jim soon realizes that his belief in the mental inferiority of woman is false, a notion which in college he had

had "bolstered up with scripture texts and the alleged Christian doctrine...of St. Paul, who was believed to have had a painful history in such matters."⁵⁶ Belle shows herself as a true woman when she does all in her power to keep him from the clutches of the aggressive Lou-Jane Hooper.

As the above account of the presentation of women in the evangelical romances shows, these romances are characterized by varying degrees of sentimentality. The sentimentality is prevalent not only when these writers deal with women but also when they describe death-bed scenes and religious experiences, particularly conversions. McCourt makes a valid point here. For Connor (and the other evangelical writers) the accounts of dramatic conversions and other religious experiences are not mere sentimentalizing. In his own experience as a missionary Connor had often personally observed such conversions.⁵⁷ However, in the death-bed scenes Connor's sentimentality has no real didactic purpose, but merely plays on the emotions, and it is thus inexcusable in these cases. The evangelical writers were not writing as conscious literary artists, but rather to move their readers to pray for missions, and even perhaps to be converted. With such a deliberate intent to proselytize, the appeal to the emotions is understandable and excusable. Examination of a few examples from each of the novels will suffice to show the nature of such appeals.

In Black Rock religious sentimentatлизм is particularly

ubiquitous. One good example is the effect of Mrs. Mavor's singing on the miners, as seen in the passage quoted above. Another example is the scene in which the miners worship devoutly in a stable, without the guidance of a minister. The narrator affirms that he is unable to forget the scene: Sandy reading the Bible, old man Nelson on his knees in prayer, and the rest of the men seeking salvation, "a little group of rough, almost savage-looking men, with faces wondering and reverent, lit by the misty light of the stable-lantern".⁵⁸ In The Sky Pilot, the death of Bruce is described with an inexcusable wallowing in emotion as the Pilot reads to the dying man and his friends his pious old mother's last letter. At other times the sentiment expressed by Connor seems quite ludicrous to the modern reader. For example Graeme has "the same bright, trustful, earnest look" on his face when he looks at Mrs. Mavor as he had when he looked at the "noble old pile" of Varsity College.⁵⁹ In treating friendship Connor is also often very sentimental. For example, the Pilot stands with his arms around his friend Bill's neck and calls him a "dear old humbug".⁶⁰ Similarly, in The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land Barry has an excessively fond relationship with his father.⁶¹

Norman Duncan's The Measure of A Man is even more sentimental than the novels of Connor, particularly in its treatment of women, as shown above, and of conversions. For example, after a tough logger "Plain Tom Hitch" is converted, he reads the Bible daily and becomes a lover of flowers. He describes

his feelings about God thus:

I like God. I'm glad I got to know Him. He's a poor reputation for sociability, t'is true, especially among the young; but I'm in a position to say that once you get really well acquainted with Him there's no end t'the sociability He's able for. He's good company. He's grand company. I enjoy his conversation. I'm glad I know Him. I'm glad I got Him for a friend....I'm almighty fond O' God. 62

Similarly after "Billy the Beast" is dramatically converted when his arm becomes temporarily paralyzed and he is unable to lift a drink, he cries joyfully:

I'm saved, boys. Yes, I am boys. Why, boys I'm- I'm -I'm saved. That's what the matter with me. I've been - I've been - born again. I'm clean. This is what I've wanted t' be. ...I'm clean, I tell ye-I'm clean. 63

Moreover, like the miners of Black Rock, Duncan's loggers love to pray and sing hymns, even while they are working. Finally, the sentimental conclusion to the novel is worth quoting again: 64
"The little stars winked happily at the sight of it all."

The other three novels contain less sentimentality than those of Connor and Duncan, but some is present. If Any Man Sin has a sentimental ending quite similar to that of The Measure of A Man, and the description of Beryl's effect on Rutland and the other men is as sentimental as Connor's description of Mrs. Mavor's influence. Neville Trueman, The Pioneer Preacher is, like the other novels, sentimental in its treatment of a love affair, and it contains a death-bed scene like the one in The Sky Pilot. Hartigan's conversion in The Preacher

of Cedar Mountain is as sentimental as any in Duncan or Connor: "Smitten within and without, utter humiliation, self-accusation ~~ion~~ and abasement filled his soul. Jim sank to the ground...⁶⁵ and wept in an agony of remorse." Moreover his emotion on parting from his horse seems a bit excessive: "He covered his face with his hands, and the tears splashed through his fingers ~~ers~~ to the floor".⁶⁶

The common features of these "evangelical romances" having been surveyed, the chapter will be concluded with a discussion of the various peculiar features and points of interest of each individual, author or book.

The most obvious, and perhaps most interesting fact about Ralph Connor is the great popularity of his works at one time. To the present, they have sold well over five million copies. Archibald MacMechan writing in 1924, describes Connor's popularity at that time:

Gordon's popularity is very pronounced. A Canadian lecturing on Canadian literature in San Francisco was interrupted by a burst of cheering at the mere mention of Ralph Connor's name. A Dalhousie professor kept a record of what his freshman had read before entering college for several years, and found that practically every one was acquainted with Gordon's work. ⁶⁷

A number of reasons can be given for this popularity. Firstly, the religious and ethical content of the novels appealed to most readers. As Mac Mechan comments in the same book, "Gordon's success in his native country is explained by

the fact that Canada is the last refuge of the Puritan spirit."⁶⁸
 Another major reason for the popularity of Connor's first two books is their Western frontier setting. There was great interest in the West at the turn of the century: as the last frontier, many considered it a land of opportunity, a land where if necessary one could begin again. It was readily accessible and invited settlement.⁶⁹ Another reason was the abundance of dramatic action and adventure in the novels. This is not surprising, for it is in describing scenes of action (such as the spilling of the liquor by the Abstinence League in Black Rock) that Connor is at his best. McCourt suggests Connor's patriotism as another reason for his popularity:

His novels do express a serene confidence in the ability of the Briton- and particularly the north Briton- to bear the White Man's Burden in the new land of the West and to extend his control over the lesser breeds without the law in a manner beneficial to both ruler and ruled.⁷⁰

Such confidence would of course be very pleasing to readers in Eastern Canada and Britain. Pacey suggests another rather dubious reason for Connor's popularity, i.e., that his readers got some mild form of vicarious satisfaction: "Readers could comfort themselves in virtue while at the same time getting glimpses of vice."⁷¹ Anyone who read Connor for such satisfaction would, I think, be really stretching the text.

Given these reasons for Connor's popularity in the first two decades of this century, it is easy to see why he is now

so little read. The evangelical religion which he presents is no longer in vogue with the vast majority of readers. The West is no longer the land of opportunity it was when he wrote. Those who seek action and adventure can find much better elsewhere. British nationalism is no longer popular as Canada becomes aware of her own identity. Finally, to the critic, Connor's novels have no literary value. Even early critics acknowledged this. Lorne Pierce, writing in 1928 said somewhat sarcastically of Connor:

One of our most popular writers, his prolific pen has kept pace with the demand for his stories; and, being one of our citizens most in demand by church and state, he has not found the leisure necessary to perfect his many literary undertakings. 72

Why then read and study Connor's novels? Because, as
73
even early writers recognized, they have great historical value. His first two novels tell us much of the Western frontier, and of the importance and nature of its religious life and its clergymen. As a specific case, as McCourt comments, "the description of frontier funeral mores in The Sky Pilot
74
is one of the best things in our Western literature" (as long as by "our" he means "Canadian") and the interest is not wholly historical. Some of the scenes of action are still attractive to the modern reader, as is "a certain vein of humor, which reveals itself in imitation of French-Canadian and Scottish
75
dialects, and tolerant amusement at religious vagaries."

This humour, as Watt remarks, is "not an occasional ornament, ...[but] is an aspect of his essential...charity."⁷⁶

I included Connor's The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land in this study mainly because, as Roper comments, "it is the epitome of a prevalent Anglo-Saxon Canadian view of the War-idealistic, Protestant evangelical, and British tribal- and probably more prevalent among non-combatants and officers than any Other Ranks."⁷⁷ War for Barry Dunbar, a Protestant chaplain, is a "sacred cause", a "war of souls",⁷⁸ and in serving their country in war, the soldiers are "offering upon the altar of the world's freedom their bodies as a living sacrifice unto God, holy and acceptable."⁷⁹

An interesting contrast to this attitude to war is presented by Withrow in Neville Trueman, The Pioneer Preacher. Although this novel is concerned with the War of 1812, the author throughout the book attacks war for its futility and cruelty and the transience of its glory: "The paths of glory lead but to the grave."⁸⁰ He praises the much greater glory of peace, and prays "give peace in our time, O Lord, and hasten the day when the nations shall learn war no more!"⁸¹ The chaplain, Neville Trueman, feels it is his duty to pray for victory and help those who fight, but he, like the author himself, is greatly disturbed by the war: "The young preacher communed with his own heart on the unnatural conflict between his own kinsmen after the flesh and the compatriots of his spiritual adoption-and was still."⁸² It is reassuring to see that Connor's

unrealistic attitude to war was not shared by all the evangelical writers.

Although Withrow's work is interesting for its discussion of the role of the travelling preacher and for its view of war, it has no merit as a novel. Many large sections of the book consist of undigested historical reportage, in which no attempt is made to integrate the story of the major characters. Withrow frequently asserts the historicity of what he writes by claiming to have received his information from eye-witnesses. He also explains many points in footnotes throughout the text. But since the major concern is with content rather than style, lack of literary merit does not prevent this book from being of value to this study.

Norman Duncan's The Measure of a Man has few features of peculiar interest. It is more sentimental than any of the other novels under discussion, and, as Pacey comments, "the sentimentality is ...oppressive, the rhetoric...bombastic, the melodrama...obtrusive." ⁸³ The tone of the book, where it is not bombastic, is unique for its lightheartedness, although the lightheartedness does tend to be overly sentimental. The plot depends more on individual episodes than on a unified structure. For example, one section deals with the story of Gingerbread Jenkins, and another with Pattie Batch and her baby. However, this book is valuable to this study not for its literary merit but for what it tells of the evangelical preacher and his role in the frontier areas.

Hiram Cody in his If Any Man Sin concentrates on the inner struggle of his major character rather than on his external conflict with evil, as in all the other evangelical novels except Seton's. But Martin Rutland's problem is quite different from Jim Hartigan's. When we first meet him he has been deposed from his position by his bishop for some unnamed sin. I feel that, although disclosure of the nature of his initial sin is not absolutely necessary, it would have made his deposition more credible. The book traces Rutland's attempts to escape the influence of the Church. This concern with the Church is characteristic of the ecclesiastical novels, but, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, the frontier setting and abundant action make it fit more accurately here. To escape the Church, Rutland journeys further and further north until at last ^{he} finds an area where the Indians have not been Christianized. He is filled with scorn for the Church which has rejected him:

He had seen much sham, hypocrisy, and even downright sin in the fold. He could tell of strife, and division which often existed: of the incessant struggle for high positions, of the jealousy and envy which were so common. 84

But despite his contempt, Rutland occasionally wishes he were back in the ministry. Finally, through his own good deeds and the influence of his former fiancée, Beryl Heathcote, his faith is restored. We can be thankful that in having Rutland regain his faith Cody shows more humanity than a contemporary

reviewer who objected to this ending because "as many authors forget, some sins show such radical weakness or depravity of the very fibre of which character is fashioned that no fine
85
new stuff is left, even after repentance."

In style, If Any Man Sin is not as successful as The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, but in my opinion it is superior to any of the other five novels, for the following reasons. It is less sentimental in its development of the major character, but not in its presentation of women. The plot, though not as unified as that of The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, is more tightly knit than those of the other novels. It does lose some of its unity when the emphasis shifts from Rutland to a new character, Dick Russell, one third of the way through. The description of setting is conventional, as, as Roper points out, are the other feature of style:

The conventionality is increased by his unnatural diction, by frequent rhetorical questions, and the repetition of stock adjectives and epithets. 86

But the conventionality, like the sentimentality of Ralph Connor is partly excusable: "Cody and his readers...were not concerned with originality in these matters. His strength lay in story-telling drive, and the appeal of his simple strong-
87
hearted, evangelical heroes."

Ernest Seton's The Preacher of Cedar Mountain is in my opinion the best of the seven novels studied in this chapter, and thus discussion of it has been kept till the end. The

reasons for my preference for this book are both thematic and stylistic. Unlike the other evangelical novels, except Cody's, this book concentrates on the inner struggle of the preacher.

A contemporary reviewer recognized this feature:

The struggle with intemperance and gambling which he [Hartigan] must assist in other men are [sic] as nothing beside the fight that he must wage with himself....The actual conflict in the young preacher's work take place, not in the effort to change the lives of those about him, but to control and arrange his own.⁸⁸

He must struggle to overcome his love of fighting and drinking, his obsession with horses, his loathing for books and study, and his penchant for gambling. In his preface, Seton makes clear that Hartigan's inner struggle is the major emphasis of the novel:

All of these more or less historic events are secondary to the intent of illustrating the growth of a character, whose many rare gifts were mere destructive force until curbed and harmonized into the big, strong machine that did such noble work in the West during my early days on the Plains.⁸⁹

Roper's comment that this novel presents "the conflict in a minister torn between the call of the city and the frontier ministry"⁹⁰ is misleading. The conflict he mentions occupies only, at most, the last quarter of the book. Hartigan's major conflict is rather with those forces I have listed above.

Another thematic point of interest in this novel is Hartigan's (and the author's) "deep, persistent, fundamental Craving"⁹¹ for nature. This feeling is particularly evident

in his love for the majestic Cedar Mountain, which represents to him both the beauty of nature and the presence of God. When he first climbs the mountain, Hartigan is filled with wonder and awe at the view from the top and at his encounter with an Indian boy there who is taking his "hambeday, his manhood fast and vigil; seeking for the vision that should be his guide,⁹² he was burning his altar fire beside the Spirit Rock." Jim determines that he too will seek divine guidance from the top of the mountain, and when he returns to Cedar Mountain at the end of the novel he does so. But Roper's comment that "in the end the Nature mystique proves stronger [than his duty to his congregation]⁹³ and he turns west again to God's country" is inaccurate. Hartigan does return to the mountain, but on the top of it he realizes that he must return to seminary, and dedicates himself to the ministry. As a sign of his own dedication, he dedicates his child to God on the top of the mountain at the end of the book.

In addition to the internal struggle of the major character and his peculiar feeling for nature, various stylistic features help to make this book the best of the seven. In his treatment of women, Seton is more realistic and less sentimental than any of the other writers. In his evocation of the Western setting, he is peculiarly successful. For example, at the beginning of the book he skillfully portrays the small frontier town as only a clearing in the bush, pervaded by the smell of sawdust. The book also contains many humorous scenes

of note, such as the description of the routing of an Orangeman's parade by a small group of whitewash-sling^{ing} Catholics. Finally, Seton's plot is much more unified than those of the other novels, for he concentrates throughout on the development of the major character.

Thus, in conclusion, we have seen that the evangelical romances written in Canada between 1880 and 1920 have a number of common features: a strong (either physically or socially or both) minister who has an evangelical concern to meet spiritual and physical needs and who engages in much dramatic action; religious tolerance; racial prejudice; a strong denunciation of liquor; pious, virtuous women; and sentimentality. Most of these novels do not have any literary merit, but such was not the aim of the writers. The Preacher of Cedar Mountain by Ernest Seton, with its concern for the inner struggle of one major character, the peculiar love of nature, the unified plot, the comparative lack of sentimentality, and the humour, is the best of these evangelical romances.

NOTES

1. Roper, "The Kinds of Fiction 1880-1920" in Carl F. Klinck(ed.) Literary History of Canada, pp.303-304.
2. Logan and French, Highways of Canadian Literature, p.254.
3. Roper, p.304.
4. Beharriell, "Introduction" to Ralph Connor's The Man From Glengarry, pp.vii-viii.
5. Seton, The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, p.84.
6. Ibid., p. 115.
7. Duncan, The Measure of a Man, p. 97.
8. Connor, The Sky Pilot, p. 71.
9. Connor, Black Rock, p. 7.
10. Watt, "Western Myth", Canadian Literature No 1 (summer 1959) p.33.
11. Seton, p. 301.
12. Duncan, p. 66.
13. Ibid., p. 271.
14. McCourt, The Canadian West In Fiction, Rev. ed., p. 35.
15. Connor, The Sky Pilot, p. 276.
16. Withrow, Neville Trueman, The Pioneer Preacher, fourth ed., p.30.
17. Roper, p. 303.

- 18 Connor, The Sky Pilot, p.269.
19. Ibid., p.133.
20. Ibid., p.81.
21. Ibid., p.291.
22. Connor, The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land,
p.188.
23. Ibid., p.189.
24. Ibid., p.199.
25. Withrow, p.73.
26. Ibid., p.179.
27. Seton, p. 61.
28. Ibid., p.343.
29. Bodsworth, "The Backwoods Genius With
The Magic Pen", Macleans Magazine no. 72 (June 6,
1959), p.40. Bodsworth claims that Seton founded
this organization but Baden-Powell borrowed his
ideas and gave Seton no credit for them. When his
friends urged him to expose this imposture, he de-
clined, feeling that history would reveal the truth.
30. Duncan, p. 141.
31. Cody, If Any Man Sin, p.138.
32. Connor, Black Rock, p.220.
33. Connor, The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land,
p.199.
34. Withrow, p. 98.
35. Seton, p.377.
36. Connor, Black Rock, p.207.

37. Cody, p. 107.
38. Roper, p. 304.
39. Connor, The Sky Pilot, p. 32.
40. Withrow, p. 37.
41. Ibid., p.76.
42. Seton, p. 139.
43. Duncan, p. 157.
44. Cody, p. 177.
45. Ibid., p.241.
46. McCourt, p. 29.
47. Connor, Black Rock, p.68.
48. Ibid., p.87.
49. Ibid., p.260.
50. Gordon, "Ralph Connor and the New Generation", Mosaic no 3 (autumn 1970) p.14.
51. Connor, The Sky Pilot, p.232.
52. Duncan, p.354.
53. Cody, p. 304.
54. Ibid., p.306.
55. Seton, p.301.
56. Ibid., p.123.
57. McCourt, p.27
58. Connor, Black Rock, p.142

59. Connor, Black Rock, p.129

60. Connor, The Sky Pilot, p.280.

61. It is interesting to note that a contemporary reviewer did not find it such. He says of the book: "The beautiful love and comradeship between Barry and his father and the beautiful and delicate love episode between Barry and Phyllis are the charm of the book." "Review of The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land", Book Review Digest (1919).

62. Duncan, p.76.

63. Ibid., p.311.

64. Ibid., p.354.

65. Seton, pp.60-61.

66. Ibid., pp.223-224.

67. MacMechan, Head-Waters of Canadian Literature, p. 207.

68. Ibid.

69. McCourt, p.26.

70. Ibid., p.32

71. Pacey, Creative Writing in Canada, Rev. ed., p.105.

72. Pierce, An Outline of Canadian Literature, p.35.

73. MacMechan, p.208. Rhodenizer, A Handbook of Canada Literature, p.99.

74. McCourt, p.37.

75. MacMeehan, p.206.

76. Watt, p.32.

77. Roper, p.311.

- p. 110.
78. Connor, The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land,
79. Ibid., p. 174.
80. Withrow, p.95.
81. Ibid., p.89.
82. Ibid., p.52.
83. Pacey, p.108.
84. Cody. pp.64-65.
85. "Review of If Any Man Sin", New York Times Review (November 14, 1915) p.444.
86. Roper, p.334.
87. Ibid.
88. "Review of The Preacher of Cedar Mountain," New York Times Review (May 6, 1917), p.177.
89. Seton, preface.
90. Roper, p.304.
91. Seton, p.404.
92. Ibid, p.75.
93. Roper, p.334.

Chapter Two

The Ecclesiastic Novel: 1880- 1920.

The major concern of the ecclesiastical novels written in Canada between 1880 and 1920 is with the Church as an institution in the community, and with the minister or priest as the head of the institution. Seven such novels will be considered in this chapter. William A. Fraser's The Lone Furrow (1907), Robina and Kathleen Lizars' Committed To His Charge: A Canadian Chronicle (1900), Robert E. Knowles' St. Cuthbert's : A Novel (1905), Sara Jeannete Duncan's The Imperialist (1904), Francis W. Grey's The Curé of St. Philippe: A Story of French Canadian Politics (1899), and Stephen Leacock's Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town (1912) and Arcadian Adventures With the Idle Rich (1914). The last two, although included in this study, are not really novels but are "made up of independent sketches held together by a common locale and some interlocking characters." In these novels the minister is not important in his own right as in the "evangelical romances," but rather by virtue of his position as head of the church institution. The urban setting of these novels, in contrast to the frontier setting of the evangelical romances, explains this emphasis on the church. Similarly, the congregation of the church is more important in these novels than the "lost sheep" outside the fold. Thus there is little

concern with the more blatant forms of evil practiced mainly by non-churchgoers, such as drinking and swearing. Rather, in four of these novels to a great extent, and to a lesser in a fifth, the concern is with the more subtle sins of the church members, such as gossiping, criticizing the minister, hypocrisy, and materialism. The ecclesiastical novels are also quieter, more domesticated than the evangelical romances because of the urban setting.

The characteristic minister of the ecclesiastical novels is less interested in winning souls to Christ than in keeping them within the fold of the Church. Unlike the evangelical minister, he need have little concern for the physical needs of his congregation, for in an urban setting such institutions as hospitals, recreational clubs, and organized charities meet these needs. The ecclesiastical minister thus has more time to devote to his flock's spiritual needs, and since a more sophisticated urban audience requires intellectual challenge, he must spend time in study and reading, as did Withrow's travelling preachers. Finally, since in an urban setting there are often numerous churches and clergymen, the ecclesiastical ministers tend to show less religious tolerance than their evangelical counterparts, and are often strongly denominational.

In addition to the differences between the importance of the Church as an institution and the characteristics of the

of the minister in these two early forms of religious fiction, other distinctions can be made. In general, the women of the ecclesiastical novels are not as other-worldly as most of the women in the evangelical romances. In four of the seven ecclesiastical novels a distinct type of woman appears. Like Belle Boyd of Seton's novel, she is intelligent, worldly wise, kind, strong-willed and an able companion and wife. Most of the ecclesiastical novels are much less sentimental than the evangelical romances. In three of the novels, Duncan's The Imperialist, Grey's The Curé of St. Philippe, and Leacock's Sunshine Sketches politics, a subject almost entirely absent from the evangelical novels, is a major concern. Finally, in general, the ecclesiastical novels tend to be more literarily successful than the evangelical romances: the plots are more unified, the observations of society are more objective, and there is more humour.

Although the differences between the ecclesiastical novels and the evangelical romances can easily be observed, the ecclesiastical novels do not all share common traits as do the evangelical romances. Each novel of this type takes a different point of view and ^{is} ~~are~~ concerned with different problems. But there are similarities in groups of novels. ~~The~~ The first four novels to be discussed, The Lone Furrow, Committed To His Charge, Sunshine Sketches and Arcadian Ad-,

ventures, all point out the many criticisms the minister has to face from the members of his own church. Unlike these four novels, Knowles' St. Cuthbert's and Duncan's The Imperialist both praise the clergy and laity highly. The last ecclesiastical novel under consideration, Grey's The Curé of St. Philippe, belongs in a class of its own with its concern with Roman Catholic Quebec and its political and religious problems. Thus The Lone Furrow, Committed To His Charge, Sunshine Sketches, and Arcadian Adventures will be discussed as a group first, then St. Cuthbert's and The Imperialist together and finally The Curé of St. Philippe separately.

In Fraser's The Lone Furrow, the reader does not meet the Presbyterian minister of Iona, Neil Munro, directly until the last few chapters of the book. What is learned of him comes chiefly from the criticism levelled at him by the members of his congregation with "little charity and some viciousness."² When Munro disappears without trace one day these "Christians" immediately suspect him of evil intentions. Although they know that Neil's wife Jean is suffering agonies of despair at his unexplained absence, the church elders vote to give him only one month's grace. Then, even before this period has elapsed, they decide to replace him. As the narrator comments of one of the elders, "nobody but a Scot could have so interminably³ intermingled religion and uncharitableness." Although they are quick to criticize their minister these churchfolk have many

faults of their own. Most of them are lazy, and prefer the "somnolent, undisturbing discourse"⁴ of a former minister to Munro's militant evangelism. The majority do not mind preaching against sin as long as no attempt is made to enforce this preaching in their lives. Jean, Munro's wife, is greatly disturbed by this "hypocrisy that sat long-visaged under denunciation from the pulpit, turning away with the cheek of a Pharisee the shafts that an inspired man leveled at their sins and weaknesses."⁵ These church-members, as the narrator finds to his loss, are also hypocrites in business: they cheat him in the sale of turkeys, butter, or apples, and in building a wall. Even the most pious are greatly disturbed by trivial things. For example, a devout old lady prefers to travel to a distant church because Iona's has an organ, which for her is the cause of all its trouble.

Despite his attack on the laity, Fraser realized the importance of the church in a small village like Iona (probably Georgetown).⁶ He points out that there were only two important structures in the village, the church and the tavern, both of which struggled for the souls of the villagers, with the tavern usually gaining the victory. Some of the church-members, however, place an excessive importance on the church. One of these is a pious old schoolteacher, Ruth Harkness:

Here was a curious example of centralized thought. To the little woman, her mind running in somewhat narrowed grooves, it was more a structural edifice, the shrine, God's tabernacle wherein his worshippers foregathered, that appealed to her as a saving power, rather than the intense earnestness of an individual like Neil Munro. Her tones suggested that she would almost view with equanimity his immolation if it tended to a betterment of church influence. 7

For her, church attendance overcomes a multitude of sins:

"So long as a man sat in the shadow of the Church he was not a lost sheep, no matter what dearth of Godliness was in him." 8

Such a point of view contrasts sharply with the importance of the minister and personal salvation in the evangelical romance, and can be explained by the difference in setting. In a long settled Ontario village, the church institution has had time to become an established force, perhaps for someone like Miss Harkness the most important force throughout her life. But in the frontier setting of the evangelical romances, the few churches there are ^{are} very recent and the powerful force is thus rather the individual minister.

9

The laity of Slowford-on-the-Sluggard (Stratford) in Robina and Kathleen Lizars' Committed To His Charge show a meanness and inclination to criticize their minister like that of Iona's laity. Much of the criticism and opposition the Rev. Tom Huntley meets when he comes to his new charge originates from the Ladies Guild, which, as Story comments, has "grown accustomed to give rather than accept direction." 10

The ladies of the Guild criticize Huntley's first sermon as being plagiaristic, and are angry when he sends out invitations to an "At Home" at the church without consulting them. Later, after the Huntleys have visited them, the three "leading Ladies" of the Guild criticize their visiting cards and Mrs. Huntley's bonnet. After a visit to the parsonage, they criticize the Huntleys' furniture and their hospitality. Huntley finds it difficult to please these ladies. As he tells his wife, he soon realizes that he must learn to say the right thing: "They seem a busy, fussy lot, and they like plenty of talk-I can easily see that." ¹¹ An even more serious problem to the Rev. Huntley is the aristocratic old Orangeman Farmer Kippan. To Huntley's surprise, Kippan denounces the beautiful Thanksgiving decorations as forms of Papish adornment and leads a group of church members in savagely destroying the carefully arranged decorations. After the attack, Mrs. Huntley tries to persuade Tom to leave Slowford, but he objects: "'Never!'" he cried, ramming both hands deep in his pockets. 'I'd die first! Leave and be beaten by those barbarous savages--.' " ¹²

Beside their constant criticism of the minister, the congregation of Slowford, like that of Iona, has other faults. One is a propensity for gossip. Miss Dulcie Sweeting, a dominant person in the church, constantly spreads rumours about other members of the Church. Even her prayers reflect her love

of gossip: they consist of a "panoramic procession...of her own virtues and the faults of her friends."¹³ Another fault of these people is vain affectation. For example, "a late arrival at church was affected by many, and was supposed to indicate a leaning towards fashion, since it was a mark of gentility to disturb the devotion of humbler brethren."¹⁴

But to its credit, the congregation does show some improvement in the last part of the novel after the death of Mrs. Huntley. While Tom is away for a year's holiday, the church follows the guiding principle of doing all as he would like it done, and actually becomes quite progressive in church affairs. When Tom dies he is greatly mourned by his people, and they have the charity to remember only his good deeds. But the ladies of the Guild have not been much affected. At the end of the novel, they are seen busily criticizing the new curate.

It is worth pointing out again the difference between the more subtle type of evil the ministers in these two novels face and the blatant evil faced by most of the evangelical preachers. Not only is the sin the ecclesiastical minister must face more "civilized," but so are his practical problems. Instead of trying to prevent men from ruining themselves through liquor, Huntley's major problems are correct protocol in visiting cards for an "At Home," the wearing of a surplice, choir

reorganization, better organ playing, Thanksgiving decorations, and the amount of ritual proper in a service. That such problems are the central concerns of a novel indicates not only the great importance of the church and its activities (rather than just the Minister) in the settled urban areas, but also the egocentricity and triviality of "sophisticated" non-evangelical Presbyterian and Anglican writers and their reading public.

In Stephen Leacock's Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town the laity is not attacked as directly as in The Lone Furrow and Committed To His Charge, but rather by a gentle form of satire directed mainly against its "acquisitiveness and arrogant commercialism."¹⁵ According to Pacey, Leacock's satire here is the "genial" satire of an eighteenth-century values of "common sense, benevolence, moderation, good taste".¹⁶ But as Roper remarks, "there are, perhaps, two Leackocks," for in such incidents as the rejection of Rev. Drone, Leacock gives evidence that he is "an irascible, embittered, witty, satirist with many double-edged axes to grind."¹⁷ The Congregation of Mariposa's Church of England Church criticizes its minister the Rev. Drone, not because he tries to make changes in the running of the church as did the Rev. Huntley, but because he is not a successful businessman: he does not run the church as a profit-making organization. The members of the church criticize Drone's sermons only when they must find a

reason for the church's financial troubles. But the reason lies in their own selfishness. Various attempts to raise money to liquidate the church debt, such as chain letters, bazaars, special lectures, a public reading of the "Great Humorists" from Chaucer to Adam Smith, and most of all a "Whirlwind Campaign", all fail because none will give of his own money. In religious belief many are motivated solely by self-interest. For example, Glover "was a Presbyterian till they ran the picket fence of the manse two feet on his property, and...he became a free-thinker."¹⁸ The congregation is not, like the Rev. Drone, deeply hurt when the church burns¹⁹ down, but rather rejoices that a "little faith and effort" solved its financial problems. After this Dean Drone is left by his ungrateful congregation with only the Infant Class to teach. As Jones remarks, "the rejection of the Rev. Drone, insulted, dismissed, and pensioned off, is possibly the most²⁰ poignant episode in all of Leacock's work."

The attack on the laity is more detailed and more explicit in Leacock's next book Arcadian Adventure of the Idle Rich. Even more than the church-members of Sunshine Sketches, those of this book are motivated by the business principle of profit and loss in all matters. I cannot agree with Curry when he says in his introduction that "the satirical thrusts of Arcadian Adventures are directed not against people but

Against institutions" and that "the satire on the merging of the churches is not an attack on religious people but on overorganized religion".²¹ Rather in the personalities of clergymen such as the Rev. Edward Fareforth Furlong and the Rev. Uttermust Dumfarthing, and laymen such as Lucullus Fyshe, Dr. Boomer, and Edward Furlong, senior, religious people are attacked. As Facey remarks, the satire is "at the expense of go-getting clergymen, plutocratic elders and the whole paraphernalia of fashionable religion."²² Both St. Asaphs' Episcopal Church and St. Osoph's Presbyterian Church are considered by their members to be successful as long as they are financially profitable. The two churches grow as the prosperity of the city grows, and are constantly moving to better areas of the city. They cater only to the rich: "As the two churches moved, their congregations, or at least all that was best of them-such members as were sharing in the rising fortunes of the City-moved also."²³ The elders of St. Osoph's are worried when attendance there declines, not because this indicates a decline in spiritual interest, but because of the threat to their own financial investments in the church. Like the elders of Mariposa, they criticize their minister because he is not a businessman, and only in a time of financial crisis do they become concerned about his "unstable" theology.²⁴ The ideal solution to the problems of both churches

is found in a businesslike merger into one corporation of stock-holders and bond-holders. Doctrinal differences are of minor importance in this merger, and are to be decided by "a majority of the holders of common and preferred stock voting pro rata."²⁵ Leacock here skillfully satirizes the excessive interest Churches have in financial success.

In this book Leacock also satirizes particular church members as well as the congregation as a group. Mr. Furlong senior, the Rev. Furlong's father, epitomizes the purely selfish cupidity of church elders. He makes a great amount of money selling Bibles, hymn-books, organs, and other church supplies. As both manager of a company producing such supplies and trustee and secretary of St. Osoph's he is able to arrange many profitable transactions with himself. He advises his son that all items in the Church budget must be viewed on a businesslike debit-credit basis. These terms he defines thus: "Anything which we give out without return or reward we count as a debit; all that we take from others without giving in return we count as so much to our credit."²⁶ Thus in his opinion the Foreign Missions Account should be cancelled because it is financially unprofitable. To him financial power is the highest form of power, and he is one of the leaders in promoting the merger of the two rival churches because united they will have great financial power. Other elders are also attacked for their selfish interests; The Overend brothers, elders

of the Presbyterian Church, left the Anglican Church because it did not give them enough power. Dr. Boomer, a pillar of St. Osoph's, writes in great praise of the Rev. McTeague whom he secretly hopes is dying because he hampered the church financially with his unconcern for money. Thus the laity of prosperous urban churches are, for Leacock, characterized by selfish venality.

Unlike the powerful (either physically or socially or both) ministers of most of the evangelical romances, Neil Munro, Tom Huntley, and Dean Drone, appear ultimately as weak, sensitive, easily hurt by criticism, and self-effacing. Munro is too weak to "last out against the Philistines",²⁷ those who criticize him or are indifferent to his sermons. Unlike the evangelical ministers, he fails in his fight against the influence of the tavern on his congregation. Also unlike most of the ministers, he is physically weak, and the reader learns at the end of the book that he became addicted to opium in India when he took it to combat his weakness. At the end of the book Munro does regain the strength to face up to his congregation, but only through the aid of the narrator and Malcolm Bain.

Tom Huntley, unlike Munro, seems in the first part of Committed To His Charge to be a strong character with many traits of the evangelical ministers. Like Hartigan, Craig,

and Fairmeadow he enjoys sports (in his case tennis, hunting and fishing), sees the need for religion to meet physical needs, values friendship, is optimistic about his chances of success, determines to actively oppose his enemies, is devout (he reads the Greek New Testament and prays every night), and treats his wife with gallantry. But his concern for the poor of his parish seems insincere beside the genuine affection of Jim Hartigan for the workers of Chicago in The Preacher of Cedar Mountain. Huntley is "vexed" when he can't find any poor people in his parish because he is thus cheated out of a chance to do good.²⁸ After the death of his wife, however, Huntley's basic weakness comes to the fore. He is at first delirious. Then after his recovery he is unable to pray because "to pray was to think of her, to think of her was to lose her again in thought."²⁹ He sinks into profound melancholy, and is forced to take a year's leave of absence from his charge. After his return he marries Dulcie Sweeting, but even this fails to relieve his melancholy. He has now lost all his energy:

The Rector wore the forlorn air and uninterested manner that had distinguished him of late....He had lost all snap, and he now allowed and followed where once he had loved to scourge everyone ahead of him..³⁰

This moroseness is only made worse by Dulcie's deliberate effort to model herself on his first wife. He, like Munro, is revealed at the end of the novel to have had a hidden

sin all along. A remittance man blackmails him for a scandal of his early days, the scandal that expatriated him. He now becomes so morose that his death in a flu epidemic is a relief both to himself and the reader. The serious effect of the "lesser" "sins of the saints" on Munro and Huntley shows how much worse such sins really are than the more obvious types of evil.

Dean Drone of Leacock's Sunshine Sketches is quite similar to Neil Munro and Tom Huntley. He shares their sensitivity, ineffectiveness, and self-effacement, and is, in addition, ignorant of financial matters and the ways of the world. Unlike his money-minded parishioners, Drone has simple interests: fishing, mechanical devices, children, and Greek. With such interests, he is, as Pacey comments, more like an eighteenth-century than a twentieth-century cleric: "Dean Drone, sitting in his garden over a book of Theocritus, is more like the parson of [Goldsmith's] Auburn than the modern go-getting cleric whom Leacock was later to pillory in Arca-
³¹
dian Adventures." After thirty years, Drone's parishioners begin to criticize him, not because his sermons are poor, but because he is financially inept. But as Jones points out, this inability is Drone's salvation, because he remains
³²
 spiritual rather than materialistic like his congregation. Drone, like Munro, is very sensitive to criticism, and when he overhears someone call him a "mugwump", he spends hours

trying to ascertain the exact meaning of this term and the possible "deleterious" effects a mugwump may have on a congregation. The congregation blames Drone's sermons for the church's financial problems, and even the author makes fun of his clerical language with its mixed metaphors:

Dean Drone's figures showed that it was only a matter of time before it [the debt] would be extinguished; only a little effort was needed, a little girding up of the loins of the congregation and they could shoulder the whole debt and trample it under their feet. Let them but set their hands to the plough and they would soon guide it into the deep water. Then they might furl their sails and sit every man under his own olive tree. 33

When the Whirlwind Campaign fails, Dean Drone blames himself and in an act of self-effacement, like Munro's, he tries to write his resignation. But even this he is unable to do:

Then the Dean saw that he was beaten, and he knew that he not only couldn't manage the parish but couldn't say so in proper English, and of the two the last was the bitterer discovery. 34

After he suffers a stroke and is pensioned off by the ungrateful church, Drone feels that his head is much clearer, and "as he sits there reading beneath the plum blossoms he can hear them singing beyond, and his wife's voice." ³⁵ Thus, for Leacock, Drone, with his ignorance of worldly matters, attains a much higher vision than his worldly parishioners. The Church lacks true spirituality because of its excessive concern for financial status.

In Arcadian Adventures Leacock presents three more clergymen, each quite different from Dean Drone and from each other. Two of these, Dr. McTeague and the Rev. Edward Fareforth Furlong, are like Drone, Munro, and Huntley in that they are criticized by their congregations, but neither of them is as weak or sensitive as the latter three. Dr. McTeague, the minister of St. Osoph's, is like Drone in his unconcern for money. When his trustees reduce his salary by fifty per cent, he doesn't even notice the difference. He is wholly wrapped up in his interest in philosophy, and spends most of his time trying to reconcile the teachings of St. Paul with those of Hegel. As well as being minister of St. Osoph's, he lectures in philosophy at Plutoria University, "concocting a mixture of St. Paul with Hegel, three parts to one for his Sunday sermon, and one part to three for his Monday lecture." ³⁶ As Frye comments, McTeague's dual function demonstrates the importance of religion as a cultural force at this time, ³⁷ much as Withrow's travelling preachers were in the early nineteenth century. McTeague is regarded by his parishioners as a failure because he does not keep up with the times, and still believes and preaches as he did forty years earlier. McTeague suffers a stroke when one of his students asks him a question, and like Drone's, his mind becomes clearer as a result. He is no longer concerned with philosophical complexities, and takes a personal

interest in his parishioners. He is recalled to St. Osoph's when the Rev. Dumfarthing leaves for a more lucrative post, but gives up teaching because of the danger of being asked another question. As Leacock comments, "this of course is not a difficulty that arises in the pulpit or among the governors of the university."³⁸ Thus in McTeague, Leacock shows one danger inherent in the clergy, the danger of being too involved in theology or philosophy to be of any use as a minister to people.

In the person of the Rev. Edward Fareforth Furlong, Leacock shows the opposite extreme. Furlong is too socially involved with his parishioners to be concerned for their religious needs. His parish consists of the rich of Plutoria Avenue, and in his opinion the slums are not his concern. He enjoys dancing the tango and playing tennis, and prefers discussing the latest dance to arguing theology. The type of problem he must face in his parish work is much different from the fight for souls waged by the evangelical ministers. For example, he spends half an hour discussing with two beautiful parishioners this important question: "Should the girls-for the lawn tea for the Guild on Friday, you know-wear white dresses with light blue sashes all the same, or do you think we might allow them to wear any coloured sashes that they like?"³⁹ Furlong enjoys good eating and dines frequently with rich businessmen of his parish. He has a fashionable sense of priorities:

Mr. Furlong, realizing that a clergyman must be all things to all men and not avoid a man merely because he is a duke, had accepted the invitation to lunch, and had promised to come to dinner, even though it meant postponing the Willing Workers Tango Class of St. Osoph's until the following Friday. 40

However, to his credit, the Rev. Furlong does not understand the business principle of debit-credit in viewing the church finances, and is unable to comprehend the church as an earthly corporation. Furlong is like McTeague and Drone in his unconcern for money, but where McTeague is lost in philosophical inquiries and Drone in his own pet interests, he is deeply involved in the social life of his rich parish.

The Rev. Uttermust Dumfarthing, the third clergyman in Arcadian Adventures, is most successful in Plutoria Avenue for his concern, like that of most of his parishioners, is wholly financial. He is initially called to St. Osoph's after McTeague suffers his stroke because he is asking for the highest salary. Although the elders of St. Osoph's admit that the other applicants have the proper religious qualifications, they reject them because they are too cheap. Unlike the Rev. Furlong, Dumfarthing is well aware of the status of his church as a business. He explains:

The Church of St. Osoph...is a perpetual trust, holding property as such under a general law of the State and able as such to be made the object of suit or distraint. I speak with some assurance as I had occasion to inquire into the matter at the time when I was looking for guidance in regard to the call I had received to come here. 41

Later Dumfarthing accepts a call to another church solely because it offers him a slightly higher salary. Moreover, Dumfarthing, unlike both Furlong and McTeague, is a conscious hypocrite. With a pretense of piety, he uses his preaching merely to gain popularity and hence higher financial status. By a kind of reverse psychology, the more he admonishes his listeners in his sermons, the more they like it:

Everything he did was calculated to please. He preached sermons to the rich and told them they were mere cobwebs, and they liked it; he preached a special sermon to the poor and warned them to be mighty careful; he gave a series of weekly talks to working-men, and knocked them sideways. 42

The Rev. Gray, another minister in Fraser's The Lone Furrow, is like Dumfarthing, a hypocrite, but in a different way. He is a sanctimonious busybody, constantly trying to insinuate himself with his prospective parishioners, and attempting to get even Jean, Munro's wife, to approve his coming. The "Agnostic" adds a few details to Gray's character: he is constantly trying to shove a religion of wrath down others' throats, and although he has a "peevish, squeaky voice" ⁴³ he is a great lover of dogma and long sermons. "6 Making all allowance for the Agnostic's cynical overrating of professing Christian's uncharitableness," the narrator agrees ⁴⁴ that his summing up of Gray's had been true in the main. ⁴⁴

Two other ministers in The Lone Furrow, Dr. Maclean

and Malcolm Bain, are quite unlike any of the previous ecclesiastical ministers in that they are both pious and sincere and yet free of criticism. In this they are quite like most of the evangelical ministers. Dr. Maclean is the model minister for Fraser: benignly paternal, pious, and naive in the ways of the world, he preaches Christian toleration, unity, and sympathy. He also has a great love for children and has himself a "joyous boy's mind in his silver-haired dome."⁴⁵ He impresses all he meets with his deep Christianity, and gains the respect of even the cynical "Agnostic."

Malcolm Bain is not actually a minister, but he is very like some of the evangelical ministers, particularly John Fairmeadow of The Measure of a Man. For a contemporary reviewer, Bain was the one "really compelling element of this book,...a character simply and lovingly delineated."⁴⁶ Like Fairmeadow and Hartigan, Bain is physically powerful. He is so powerful in fact that he doesn't become a minister in case in the performance of his duties he might accidentally kill an evil-doer. He demonstrates this strength when he throws the big Archie Mackillop into a pigsty for slandering Munro. Unlike most of the evangelical ministers, however, Bain is intelligent and well-read as well as physically powerful. He has a large library and has definite views on modern literature. For example, to him there are only two kinds of books, those for God and those against Him. Most modern novels are weak and vicious, and deal mainly with sex, or, as he puts it, with "the lifting of the fig leaf."⁴⁷

Specifically, The Picture of Dorian Gray is "the most depraved thing in all literature."⁴⁸ Bain is also a perfect Christian, loyally defending Munro from all slander, and devoting himself to finding Munro, whose wife Jean he deeply loves. Such a character is unique in the ecclesiastical novels, but ministers quite like Dr. Maclean are found in Dr. Drummond and the minister of St. Cuthbert's as will be shown.

Thus in the first four ecclesiastical novels many types of clergymen are presented. Neil Munro, Tom Huntley and Dean Drone are all sensitive, and unable to cope with their parishioners' criticisms. Dr. McTeague and Edward Fareforth Furlong are too involved in other interests to be successful clergymen. Dr. Maclean and Malcolm Bain are like the evangelical ministers. The Rev. Gray and especially the Rev. Uttermust Dumfarthing are conscious hypocrites, the only precursors of what becomes a common type in later Canadian religious fiction. It is interesting to note that in the evangelical novels, clergymen such as Dumfarthing and Gray, or McTeague and Furlong are entirely absent. There is only one minister like Munro, Huntley, and Drone, Martin Rutland of If Any Man Sin, and even he appears in the one novel that is semi-ecclesiastical. Almost all of the evangelical clergymen are, like Dr. Maclean, pious and successful. There is, I think, an easy explanation for this. In the frontier setting with its obvious forms of

evil, the clergyman, as the only dominant force for good in the community, was readily idealized. But in the urban setting with many different forces combating evil, this tendency to idealize one individual was to a great extent avoided.

In four of these ecclesiastical novels, a distinct type of woman appears, a type quite different from most of the women in the evangelical romances. Exemplified in the narrator's wife, the "Memsahib" in The Lone Furrow, Mrs. Huntley in Committed To His Charge, the minister's wife in St. Cuthbert's and to some extent Advena Murchison in The Imperialist, this type of woman is worldly-wise, strong-willed, intelligent, and sympathetic. The narrator of The Lone Furrow has profound respect for the wisdom of his "Memsahib". She advises him in his novel-writing and comforts him when he is discouraged. She is also the only person who can comfort Jean when Munro disappears, and she cares for both Jean and her brother Robert when they are sick.

Mrs. Huntley advises her husband on his sermons, and points out faults in his character. For example, she checks his impulse to lord it over his congregation like a school-teacher, and advises him to show more affection for his congregation: "You are a different man out of and in your house....I always think you lock your heart behind you when you close the hall door."⁴⁹ Huntley relies heavily on his wife, and when she dies he becomes deeply remorseful, as noted above.

The wife of the narrator-minister of St. Cuthbert's appears immediately as a strong character. She has great dreams of success for her husband, but is quite able to face practical reality: thus she suggests moving to a small apartment in order that she and her husband may be able to pay their bills. According to the narrator "it was largely owing to this lionhearted courage"⁵⁰ that he endeavored to seek the pulpit of St. Cuthbert's. A committee sent from the church to interview the prospective minister's wife finds her excellent for the role. She shows a sympathy and understanding like the Memsahib's when she reproves her husband for his harsh treatment of their daughter when she wishes to marry the illegitimate son of one of the church elders.

Advena Murchison shows herself as a wise and intelligent companion for Hugh Finlay in The Imperialist. She discusses the church, education, politics, and literature with him, and he feels free to confide in her. She shows a willingness to sacrifice herself if necessary for a higher good, i.e. that Hugh may follow his conscience and marry Christie Cameron. The minister facing the domestic problems and criticisms of an urban parish needed a woman like these four ladies for a wife. But the evangelical ministers in the frontier did not face such problems, and their wives needed only to be pious and virtuous. Jim Hartigan with his inner struggle is of course an exception, and his Belle, with her wisdom and insight is quite like these four ladies.

But there are also other types of women in the first four novels. With her other-worldliness, Jean Munro of The Lone Furrow is more like most of the women in the evangelical romances. Her eyes are reminiscent of those of Mrs. Mavor of Black Rock: "Her eyes were huge depths, pools that held indefinable power, great eyes, pleading, sympathetic, un-⁵¹changeable." She married Munro out of purely spiritual love, believing that as a minister's wife she will be better able to serve God. To her, being a Christian is "a greater thing⁵² than being just the recipient of a man's love". However, unlike the women of the evangelical romances, Jean questions Christianity and the Church when her husband remains missing, and complains that the Church is unable to comfort her. She does, however, regain her faith at the end of the book when her baby is born.

The domineering, gossiping women of the Ladies Guild in Committed To His Charge have already been described. A different type of woman is presented in the romantic Dulcie Sweeting, whose vanity and propensity for gossip have already been noted. She has tried for years to get each successive minister of her church to propose to her, and when she senses that the widowed Rev. Huntley is about to do so, she is filled with romantic expectancy:

Some instinct warned Dulcie that the divine moment had come, that the chalice she had dreamed of, unreal and impalpable

as Sir Galahad's quest, was about to be put to her lips. The lines of her light little figure relaxed, and she stood with head bowed, in a transport of delighted expectancy, wanting but a lily in her hand to be an Annunciation maiden. 53

But when her husband dies, Dulcie is hardly grief-stricken: "It is to be doubted if she ever, even on her wedding morning, was as happy as on the day she found herself comfortably in her house ...clothed in her widow's weeds." 54

Margaret, the daughter of the Minister of St. Cuthbert's, combines the other-worldliness of Jean Munro with the romanticism of Dulcie Sweeting. Despite her father's objections, she remains loyal in her love for Angus Strachan, the illegitimate son of Michael Blake, an elder of St. Cuthbert's. When Angus flees from the church after denouncing his father at his ordination service, Margaret alone accompanies him, and piously ordains him herself with these words, which illustrate the combination of religious and secular devotion in her character:

Angus Strachan, I ordain you to suffer and to wait. I ordain you to God's service in the name of love and sorrow and God-and they're all the same name-and I love you so-and you are an elder now. Oh, dear Lord, take care of our love and make us true-and patient. And bless our sorrow and make it sweet and keep us near the Man of Sorrows. Amen. 55

Thus although the most common type of woman in the ecclesiastical novels is the sensible, strong-willed, sympathetic wife, this is by no means the only type.

The ecclesiastical novels, with one exception, are much freer of sentimentality than the evangelical romances. These novels in the main are not written to convert but to criticize (as in The Lone Furrow, Committed To His Charge, and Leacock's two books) or to ^{describe} analytically but sympathetically ~~describe~~ (as in The Imperialist and The Cure of St. Philippe). The one exception, Knowles' St. Cuthbert's as will be shown in detail below, is written to proselytize and, like the evangelical romances, seeks to evoke an emotional response in the reader through sentimentality. When sentimentality does appear in the other novels, it is usually in the love affairs. Even Leacock, becomes somewhat sentimental as he tells of the love affair of Peter Pupkin and Zena Pepperleigh. In The Lone Furrow, Malcolm Bain's feelings for Jean Munro are described quite sentimentally. He is a chivalrous Christian knight defending and comforting his lady, whom he loves with a deep spiritual love. Similarly, Committed To His Charge is sentimental in the account of Dulcie Sweeting's romantic expectancy, and of the weeping of the Ladies of the Guild at the death of Mrs. Huntley. But the title of the chapter in which the latter scene occurs suggests that the sentimentality is intended to be humorous: "Afternoon Tears and Tea."⁵⁶ I cannot agree with Norah Story that this book "would have been better had the unnecessary melodramatic ending [Huntley's death] been omitted." Huntley's death

is not "unnecessary", for in his constant state of apathy and melancholy death is the only escape that remains for him.

The study of The Lone Furrow and Committed To His Charge will be concluded by a discussion of the features the former has in common with many of the evangelical romances, and a brief account of the unique stylistic features of both novels. In The Lone Furrow, liquor is a major evil the Minister must overcome, as it is in most of the evangelical novels. The tavern is equal to the church in its influence in Iona, and Munro is unsuccessful in curbing this influence. To Munro, liquor is equal in its power to do evil to the Devil himself: "If the Devil were bound, chained like Prometheus to a rock, and the bottle still held its sway, God and His Word would yet have the same hard battle to save humanity from itself."⁵⁸ Liquor has ruined more homes in the village than anything else. Jean Munro would have preferred her sick brother Robert to die rather than be healed by drinking liquor. The narrator finds drinking repulsive, for "there was always some wrangling, uncouth, foul-mouthed, drink-enraged workman declaiming against his master, or the country, or the government, perhaps against his God."⁵⁹

The Lone Furrow has two other features found in certain evangelical romances. Like Connor, Seton and Cody, Fraser gives evidence of racial prejudice when he has an Irish police detective say: "Why a land like this, God's garden-saving', of course the auld sod-should be overrun with Dagoes, and Chinks, an' Poles is what beats me."⁶⁰ Like Seton, Duncan and Cody, Fraser

also shows a great love for nature in his book. The narrator often turns to nature for comfort, and prefers "earth's pan-⁶¹aceatic draughts of delight" to church attendance. He believes that very seldom does a man who loves nature harbour any form of depravity.

The plot of The Lone Furrow consists mainly of the puzzling over Munro's disappearance by his friends, and their search for him. The comment cited in the Book Review Digest that the plot "is hardly more than a vigorous state-⁶²ment of an interesting situation followed by a prolonged and rambling commentary upon that situation" is certainly more accurate than Roper's observation that the book "traces⁶³ the career of a minister and his wife in Iona." The most interesting stylistic feature of this book is the use of ridiculous metaphors. For example, the description of Bain: "His arms were like the curved sides of a parenthesis encl-⁶⁴osing the story of his physical abundance;" or this of the Agnostic: "The Agnostic was a perambulatory query....His very appearance resembled the printed query mark; large-browed head drooped forward from rounded shoulders; attenuated limbs ending in a dot at the bottom of which were⁶⁵ his feet,"

The plot of Committed To His Charge is at times weak and jerky, but some unity is maintained by focus on the Rev. Huntley. The tone at the beginning is quite light-

hearted, as it is in many places throughout the novel. The Dickensian humour in the description of old Mr. Webb the choir leader and his two daughters singing together is very effective, as is the verbal wit in the Guild's discussion of Huntley's first sermon. For example, one lady says the sermon gives hints that Huntley is "an Englishman with a ⁶⁶Past," and another is sure he plagiarized from Wordsworth's ⁶⁷"Intimations of Immortality." On the other hand, the description of the effect of diphtheria on Mrs. Huntley is both serious and realistic. For example, the lovely woman becomes ⁶⁸to Tom a "loathsome sight", a "hideous, blackened figure". The tone of this section takes the reader by surprise after the light-hearted treatment in the first part, and I can only surmise that it may have been written by a different sister. Because of its insight into human nature, its convincing portrayal of church problems, its comparatively unified plot, its humour, and its realism, I think this book has more literary merit than any of the evangelical romances, with the possible exception of The Preacher of Cedar Mountain.

The next two ecclesiastical novels, Robert E. Knowles' St. Cuthbert's and Sara Jeannette Duncan's The Imperialist are discussed together because in both novels both clergy and laity are free from criticism, and in both the Presbyterian Church is presented as the institution which dominated the life of the community. In both cases, as in

The Lone Furrow, Committed To His Charge, and Sunshine Sketches, the community is a small southern Ontario town, in Knowles' case New Jedboro (Galt)⁶⁹ and in Duncan's Elgin (Brantford).

Robert Knowles was himself the minister of the largest Presbyterian Church in Canada, Knox Church of Galt, which was known as "the Gibraltar of Scotch Presbyterian-⁷⁰ism" and it is thus not surprising that both clergy and laity are very highly praised in his novel. Moreover, as Roper suggests, he wrote with the deliberate end of proselytization.⁷¹ The church of St. Cuthbert's commands high respect in Canada. In his student days, according to the narrator, to have "preached twice before the hard heads of St. Cuthbert's"⁷² was a much higher commendation than medals or scholarships. The laity are all good judges of sermons: "Its vast area was famed for the throng of acute and reflective hearers, almost every man of whom was a sermon taster, while its officers were the acknowledged possessors of letters patent to the true ecclesiastical nobility."⁷³ The congregation has piety and courage to match its knowledge:

Reverence seemed to clothe these worshippers like a garment. They were as men who believed in God, whereby are men most ~~for~~ fear-some and yet most glorious to look upon.... They lifted up their eyes as men who would cast them down again only before God Himself. ⁷⁴

In a somewhat ridiculous metaphor, the author describes the congregation's Scottish reserve:

The congregation swayed slowly down the aisle, Scottishly cold and still, like the processional of the ice in the spring-time. They reminded me of noble bergs drifting through the Straits of Belle Isle. It was a Presbyterian flood, and every man a floe. 75

The kirk session, composed of the leaders of such a congregation, is for Knowles "la crème de la crème". The elders, strong, stalwart, pious, nurtured from childhood on Presbyterian doctrine and tradition, are for him "among the Rockies of flesh and blood." 76 These men are born Presbyterian and intensely conservative, as the description of Archie McCormack, a typical elder, shows:

No mere scotch kirkman was Archie, but a prehistoric Calvinist, a Presbyterian by the act of God and an elder from all eternity. Even his youthful thoughts and imaginations adjusted themselves to the scope of the Westminster Confession, abhorring any horizon unilluminated by the gray light which flowed in mathematical exactitude from a hypothetical heart in the Shorter Catechism. 77

To such stern Calvinists, even so mild a change as the introduction of an organ and hymns into the church service is revolutionary. That the bringing about of such a change is of the utmost importance in this novel shows once again, as did the problems faced by the Rev. Huntley, the rigidity of both the author and his readers, and the difference between the urban setting of the ecclesiastical novels and the frontier setting of the evangelical romances. This rigidity has another outstanding example in that one of the minister-nar-

rator's major problems is to win back to church attendance Donald McPhatter, who stopped attending when cards were substituted for metal tokens as communion invitations. To their credit, however, the stern Calvinists do show a Christian spirit of forgiveness and love when they immediately vote to refuse Blake's resignation though he has been denounced by his illegitimate son Angus.

Although Sara Jeannette Duncan also praises both clergy and laity in her novel The Imperialist, her praise is not excessive like Knowles'. Where Knowles is subjective and proselytizing, she is detached and analytic. Frye describes clearly the nature of the^s detachment:

Here is a genuine detachment, sympathetic but not defensive either of the group or of herself, concerned primarily to understand and to make the reader see. The social group is becoming external to the writer, but not in a way that isolates her from it. 78

Both clergy and laity are recognized as human beings with human weaknesses.

Church matters are equalled only by politics in Elgin as in Mariposa, and the church is the social and cultural, as well as religious, centre of community life:

[Church attendance] was the normal thing, the thing which formed the backbone of life, sustaining to the serious, impressive to the light, indispensable to the rest, and the thing that was more than any of these, which you can only know when you stand in the churches among the congregations. Within its prescribed limitations it was for many the intellectual exercise, for more the emotional lift, and for all the unfailing distraction of the week. The repressed magnetic

excitement in gatherings of familiar faces, fellow-beings bound by the same conventions to the same kind of behaviour, is precious in communities where the human interest is still thin and sparse. 79

Denominational feeling is very strong among the Presbyterians of Elgin as among the Anglicans of Mariposa, and people of another communion are either endured or totally ignored. This denominationalism has a domestic correlative in the concern of the congregation that the church building be kept in good condition, and an economic correlative in Drummond's belief that all members of the church, including himself, should do business with other members of the church if at all possible. The strong denominationalism of the ecclesiastical novels in contrast to the religious tolerance of the evangelical romances is easily explained. In the urban setting of these novels there is not the scarcity of preachers and churches characteristic of the frontier setting, and thus people can well afford to support their own particular church and minister.

In both St. Cuthbert's and The Imperialist, the ministers, unlike those of the first four ecclesiastical novels, are dominant figures in the church and community, as are the evangelical ministers. Rather than being weak, easily hurt by criticism, and self-effacing, both the unnamed minister-narrator of St. Cuthbert's and Dr. Drummond of The Imperialist are strong-willed, proud, paternal, and authoritative. They

do not, however, gain their authority in their own right, as do most of the ministers of the evangelical romances, but rather by virtue of their roles as heads and representatives of their respective churches.

In addition to his social and spiritual power as leader of the church, the minister of St. Cuthbert's, like Malcolm Bain of The Lone Furrow and the evangelical ministers Jim Hartigan and John Fairmeadow, possesses physical strength. He demonstrates this strength when, in the process of rescuing one of his parishioners from a tavern, he beats up a tavern-keeper and throws him down the stairs of the tavern. Like the evangelical ministers, he also realizes the value of friendship, and he wins Donald McPhatter back to the church through his friendship for him, not by argument or sermonizing. Unlike the ministers of the first four ecclesiastical novels, but like most of the evangelical ministers, he is greatly loved by his congregation. When he is called to a church in South Carolina, many of his congregation beg him to stay, and the kirk session officially extends a second call.

But unlike most of the evangelical ministers, the minister of St. Cuthbert's is a human being with ordinary human weaknesses. He feels an ambition for earthly power when he first seeks a call to St. Cuthbert's. Again he shows natural human trepidation before preaching his call sermon, and is acutely aware of the difficulty of preaching such a sermon, which must both please and yet admonish his hearers.

When he does become the minister of St. Cuthbert's, he must constantly strive to live up to the standard set by the first minister, and in the minds of his congregation he never completely succeeds. But the worst of his weaknesses is the lack of Christian charity he shows to his daughter Margaret when she declares her love for the illegitimate Angus. Thus, in his picture of the clergy, Knowles is more realistic than most of the evangelical ministers are, and than he himself is in his own portrait of the laity.

Dr. Drummond of The Imperialist, like the minister of St. Cuthbert's, occupies a position of importance corresponding to that of his church. Embodying "the resolute but⁸⁰ benign paternalism of the small town clergyman", he is "the very core and centre of these church activities, their pivot, their focus, and, in a human sense, their inspiration."⁸¹ Dr. Drummond considers himself a "beneficent despot" with a commission from God,⁸² and he is zealous for the growth of his domain, the church. Like many of the evangelical ministers, he is a powerful preacher and song-leader, and even outside⁸³ the church he is known as "a tremendous Presbyterian". Drummond's paternalism is evident in his concern for his congregation and his attitude to the younger minister Hugh Finlay: "There were moments when any young fellow had to be taken seriously."⁸⁴ Later he gives Finlay sensible advice concerning his relationship with Advena Murchison, and finally solves his

problem by marrying Finlay's former fiancée, Christie Cameron. Like the Rev. Furlong of Arcadian Adventures, Drummond is also socially important. He enjoys visiting his parishioners, and skillfully combines the pastoral aspects of his visit with its more social features. He is an excellent conversationalist, and has a fund of humorous Scottish stories, and "one or two he was very fond of at the expense of the Methodists, that were known up and down the Dominion and which nobody enjoyed more than he did himself."⁸⁵

Despite his high position in church and community, Dr. Drummond is human, and, like the minister of St. Cuthbert's, he has his faults. He is fairly intolerant of other religions: "The special Easter service...was apt to be marked by an unspairing denunciation of the pageants and practices of the Church of Rome."⁸⁶ He is perhaps too interested in personal power, as he demonstrates when he opposes the division of his parish as long as possible. He can be quite jealous of popularity, and declines to announce Finlay's turn to occupy the pulpit because of the popularity of the latter's preaching. Finally he seems a little too proud and sure of himself when he tells Finlay concerning his winning of Christie Cameron:⁸⁷ "And I'll say this for myself,...it was no hard matter."

Quite a different type of clergyman is presented by Miss Duncan in the person of Hugh Finlay. He is shy, naive, idealistic, and pious, where Drummond is dominating, worldly-

wise, and practical as well as pious. Finlay is well-educated in academic matters (for example, he and Advena discuss Browning's Sordello in detail), but very naive and idealistic in his views of women and love. He feels duty-bound to marry his Scottish fiancée, Christie Cameron, although he now loves Advena. This idealistic view of woman and duty is only one evidence of Finlay's general other-worldliness:

He was a passionate romantic, and his body had shot up into a fitting temple for such an inhabitant as his soul....His head was what people called a type, a type...of the simple motive and the noble intention, the detached point of view and the somewhat indifferent attitude to material things. 88

Like Drummond he is a good preacher, but his shyness makes him lack the grand pulpit presence which is characteristic of the Doctor. With these traits, Finlay is unlike any other particular minister in the evangelical or the ecclesiastical novels, but is a combination of many: he has the other-worldliness of Connor's ministers, Dr. Maclean of The Lone Furrow and Dr. McTeague of Arcadian Adventures, the sensitivity and shyness of Munro, the intellectualism of Withrow's travelling preachers and Bain of The Lone Furrow.

The study of St. Cuthbert's will be concluded with a discussion of its unique features of style and content, since it, like most of the evangelical romances, The Lone Furrow, and Committed To His Charge is little known and has received very little critical comment. As suggested above, St. Cuthbert's is more sentimental than any other ecclesiastical

novel. The sentimentality is evident not only in the excessive praise of the piety and dignity of the Presbyterian congregation and its kirk session, but also, like that of Ralph Connor, in the love affairs, death-bed scenes, and the ending of the book. Concerning the love affair of Margaret and Angus a contemporary reviewer was very perceptive: "The love story is a failure, impossibly theatrical in its details. [For example] , the heroine tells her father of her love in pages of rhapsody utterly unlike a girl's shy avowal."⁸⁹ The death-bed scene of Elsie McPhatter could be taken from any of Connor's books. As Elsie lies dying she tells the watchers of her visions of heaven. Then she imagines she talks to her long lost prodigal son, and as she tells the minister of this, her son appears at the door in the flesh. Finally, like so many evangelical romances, Knowles' book ends with the marriage of two pairs of lovers. The religious sentimentality is defensible on the grounds that Knowles is writing for popular consumption and deliberately to proselytize, but the sentimentality of the love affairs and the ending is, I think, inexcusable.

Two other features of content in St. Cuthbert's are worth noting, namely the author's treatment of drinking and his anti-union sentiments. Unlike most of the evangelical writers and Fraser, Knowles treats the problem of liquor quite humourously. Geordie Lorimer is a "pious profligate" who becomes more religious the more he drinks. The account of the

minister's rescue of Geordie from a tavern, and of Geordie subsequent misunderstanding of his presence there is quite amusing. Moreover, unlike almost all the other writers, Knowles is not in favour of teetotalling. Even pious old Calvinist elders take liquor to ease their physical ailments and to give them enjoyment. This different treatment of liquor is again a reflection of the difference between the frontier and the urban setting. In the latter, liquor is not the serious problem it is in the former.

The anti-union sentiments expressed by Knowles in this novel are one of the few examples of such social concern in the novels in this study. In Knowles' opinion, most workers have good working conditions and wages, and union agitators are only scoundrels who are too lazy to work. The union leaders eat and live well while the strikers and their families starve. Socialism is wrong because God did not intend all men to be equal but He made some rich and some poor. Such social doctrines are of course a logical result of Presbyterian conservatism and Calvinistic belief in predestination, and illustrate the influence of religious belief on social issues. To his credit, however, Knowles does recognize and attack the social evil of selfish, tyrannical employers and landlords, although he proposes no way in which workers may actively oppose such evil.

St. Cuthbert's has a number of interesting stylistic

features. Although the narrative structure is incoherent and disjointed, the point of view inconsistent, and the didacticism and apostrophes to abstractions such as death or love unintegrated, Knowles is "like Ralph Connor...quite effective in short descriptive and non-dramatic passages." ⁹⁰ One of the best aspects of this book is its humour, however, which takes a variety of forms. The Leacockian dialogue between the narrator and the beadle of his prospective church and between Blake and a Scotch undertaker is particularly effective, and it is a pity there is not more like it in the novel. The narrator's reaction to bagpipe music, though conventional, is also quite amusing. For example:

The thing emitted one or two sample sounds, not odious particularly, but infantile and grimly prophetic, like the initial squeaks of some windful babe awaking from its sleep. Then the thing seemed to feel its strength, to recognize its dark enfranchisement, and brake into such a blasphemery of sound as hath not been heard since the angels alighted where they fell. 91

Some of the author's incidental remarks are also very humorous. For example, this on the Presbyterian attitude to pleasure:

To some truly good Scotch folk the measure of enjoyableness is the measure of sin, and a thing needeth no greater fault than to be guilty of deliciousness. But the converse of this they also held as true, namely, that what maketh miserable is of God, and to be wretched is to be pious at the heart. For which reason, I have observed oftentimes, they deem that to be a truly well-spent Sabbath day which had

banished all possible happiness from their children's lives, bringing them to its close limp and cramped and sore, but catechism-full and with a good mark in the book of life for every weary hour. 92

In spite of its excessive sentimentality, ragged plot, and other faults, I think this book is worth reading, both for the vivid picture it presents of religious life in a small Presbyterian town in Southern Ontario, and for its humour.

The last ecclesiastical novel, Francis Grey's The Cure of St. Philippe, will be discussed separately because it is the only novel dealing with the unique situation of the Roman Catholic Church in French-Canadian Quebec. Traditionally, of course, the Catholic clergy has been the dominant force in Catholic communities, much more than any Protestant Church has ever been. Most of the French-Canadian people obey the Church implicitly in all aspects of life and "the priest's word, even in matters commonly classed as secular, was, in effect, their rule of life,"⁹³ although many younger parishioners "have come to draw a distinction between things sacred and things secular."⁹⁴ Irish Catholics, like the younger French-Canadians, are opposed to "clerical interference in politics [and]⁹⁵ other mundane matters." In St. Philippe, as in Elgin, the church is the social as well as centre of the community. The whole town, French and English, "Rouge" and "Bleu," Catholic and Protestant gets together for bazaars at the church. Similarly, church affairs affect all

other aspects of life. Thus the division of the parish of St. Ephrem is a socio-economic as well as religious question. In this regard, the laity is attacked by Grey, not for criticizing their minister as in The Lone Furrow and Committed To His Charge, but rather for being overly concerned for money and their own self-interests, as were the laity of Leacock's books. Thus decisions regarding the building of the new church are made, not primarily for religious reasons, but "by self-interest, which is stronger than principle or pre-⁹⁶judice."

The Church is also deeply involved in political issues in Quebec. During the election of 1896, the bishops of Quebec issued a mandement advising their parishioners "to vote for those candidates only who would promise to do justice to the⁹⁷ oppressed [Catholic] minority in Manitoba", i.e., for most of the bishops at least, the Conservative candidates. However Liberal politicians were able to use this mandement skillfully for their own purposes, as the novel shows. These same politicians later interpreted the visit of a papal legate to Quebec to be for the purpose of admonishing the bishops for their political interference, and urged all voters to vote Liberal in the approaching Provincial Elections "if only to show their gratitude to His Holy Father the Pope. Other politicians use church attendance for political expediency. For example, Charles Fisher, the Mayor of St. Philippe, diplomatically has a pew in each of the Protestant churches,

and brings up his family as Methodists "as the majority of the voters were of that persuasion."⁹⁸ He gives a quantity of samples for sale at the Cure's bazaar as "bait for Catholic votes in the approaching municipal elections,"⁹⁹ and sends his wife to mass on the eve of the federal election for the same purpose. Perhaps because of this excessive social and political involvement of the church, spirituality has declined among the laity in general, and the Bishop suggests that what Quebec needs is "a persecution, a great falling away, some chastisement, to make us value our Faith as we should".¹⁰⁰

Although the clergy in The Curé of St. Philippe are much freer from attack than the laity, Curé Lalande, like the minister of St. Cuthbert's and Dr. Drummond, is presented as a human being with human weaknesses. He is a powerful figure in both Church and community, respected by all. As head of the local church, he has "a high conception of the dignity of his office, and is fully persuaded that...the whole duty of a parishioner [is] to obey his Curé".¹⁰¹ Like many of the evangelical ministers, the minister of St. Cuthbert's, and Dr. Drummond, the Curé is strong-willed, and boldly and candidly re-proves his congregation as a father would his children. The Curé as a loyal churchman is an "enthusiastic liturgiologist" for whom "the ritual of the church is a matter deserving of the closest and most accurate attention."¹⁰² Like Dr. Drummond, and unlike many of the evangelical ministers, he is intolerant

of other religions.

Curé Lalonde has his human failings. He is willing to use such a worldly method as a bazaar to obtain money from non-Catholics for the building of a new Church, for it is his ambition "to have, if possible, a finer church than his neighbour."¹⁰³ Such ambition is for Grey quite defensible, since a priest has few ways to gratify ordinary human desires. Similarly, the Curé is quite proud of his position, which "rightly considered...merely proves that [he] was a man like the rest of us."¹⁰⁴

The characterization of Bishop Roch Perras is more idealized than that of the Curé. His authority over the Curé is equal to the Curé's authority over the people, and he is thus an extremely powerful figure. He has definite opinions on certain subjects and is not afraid to enforce them. For example, he is opposed to drinking, but is not, like the evangelical ministers a temperance enthusiast. Rather he "was firmly convinced that a faithful observance of the Baptismal Vow, with frequent and devout use of the Sacraments would prove more efficacious against the abuse of drink than all the 'Leagues' and 'Societies' in the world."¹⁰⁵ Unlike the Curé, he has no human weaknesses. He is extremely devout, and has a deep knowledge of God and his fellow-men. Thus he anticipates the result of the federal election, but believes that it must somehow be for the good of the Church. When he considers the divi-

sion of the parish of St. Ephrem, the Bishop is not influenced by self-interest or a desire for popularity, but decides in best interests of the Church. Although he doesn't dislike any of his fellowmen, he is wise enough to distrust some of them. Finally, despite his great authority, the Bishop is careful not to hurt anyone below him.

In conclusion, although it is difficult to trace common features in all the ecclesiastical novels, the differences between these novels and the evangelical romances are quite marked. The major difference is, as the name implies, the great importance of the church as an institution in these novels. The ministers of the last three ecclesiastical novels discussed are, like the evangelical ministers, important figures in the community, but they gain their importance by virtue of their positions as heads of their respective churches and not so much in their own right. In the first four ecclesiastical novels a type of minister appears who is totally absent from the evangelical novels (with the possible exception of Martin Rutland of If Any Man Sin): weak, sensitive, susceptible to criticism and self-effacing. The consciously hypocritical minister described by Fraser and Leacock is also absent from the evangelical novels, as is criticism of the laity as found in the novels of Fraser, the Lizars, Leacock, and Grey. Most of these differences, as indicated throughout the chapter, can be explained by the difference between the frontier and the urban setting. Stylistically, the ecclesia-

stical writers, with the exception of Knowles, are less sentimental and more detached than their evangelical counterparts. Finally, most of the ecclesiastical novels have more literary merit than the evangelical romances, with the possible exception of Seton's The Preacher of Cedar Mountain.

NOTES

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81. Duncan, p.61.

82. Duncan, p. 62.
83. Ibid., p. 68.
84. Ibid., p. 67.
85. Ibid., p. 39.
86. Ibid., p. 197.
87. Ibid., p. 255.
88. Ibid., p. 68.
89. Review of St. Cuthbert's", p. 726.
90. Roper, et al, "Writers of Fiction 1880-1920",
p. 330.
91. Knowles, p. 94.
92. Ibid., pp. 64-65.
93. Grey, The Curé of St. Philippe, Introduced by
Rupert Schieder, p. 37.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., p. 21.
96. Ibid., p. 42.
97. Ibid., p. 196.
98. Ibid., p. 19.
99. Ibid., p. 20.
100. Ibid., p. 158.
101. Ibid., p. 92.
102. Ibid., p. 57.
103. Ibid., p. 15.
104. Ibid., pp. 150-151.
105. Ibid., p. 62.

Chapter Three:

The Clergy in Canadian Fiction after 1920.

In English-Canadian fiction written after 1920 religion, and specifically, the clergy, are still important subjects. Indeed, as Sutherland comments, "surely there are more clergymen per book in Canadian Literature than in the literature of any other country."¹ However, clergymen like the strong, pious, successful ministers of the evangelical novels, and the devout, paternalistic Dr. Drummond of The Imperialist, Curé Lalonde of The Curé of St. Philippe, and the unnamed minister of St. Cuthbert's are almost entirely absent in modern Canadian fiction. Rather, clergymen in Canadian fiction written after 1920 are in the more critical ecclesiastical tradition of Fraser, the Lizars, and Leacock. Most of them are either successful hypocrites like the Rev. Gray of The Lone Furrow, and the Rev. Duffarthing of Arcadian Adventures, or weak, sensitive self-effacing ministers like Neil Munro of The Lone Furrow, Thomas Huntley of Committed To His Charge, and Dean Drone of Sunshine Sketches. A study of ten clergymen who are major characters in eight modern English-Canadian novels will demonstrate the preponderance and characteristics of these two types of clergymen.

A number of reasons can be suggested for the absence of the pious and successful clergyman in Canadian fiction written after 1920. The frontier setting of the evangelical novels no longer pertains, and the clergyman is thus no longer the dominant source of culture, learning and social action in society. Clergymen like the minister of St. Cuthbert's and Curé Lalonde are absent because writers on the whole write no longer to proselytize, but to analyze and criticize. The prevalence of weak, unsuccessful ministers also reflects the decline in the importance of the clergy and the Church in the modern world. The Church has been largely replaced as a social and cultural centre by clubs and universities. Even in Quebec, the clergy have lost much of their power. Most modern French-Canadians are like Francis Grey's young people, who "have come to draw that distinction between things sacred and things secular which tends, inevitably,...to eliminate the former, slowly but surely, from their daily life".²

The weak, sensitive, self-effacing clergymen of modern Canadian fiction belong to a type which Ronald Sutherland terms the "prêtre manqué" or "imperfect priest", a type which includes "both the would-be clergyman and the clergyman who for some reason cannot fit into the established ecclesiastical pattern".³ The hypocritical clergyman who suffers no guilt feelings for his unbelief (such as the Rev. Dumfarthing) does

not belong to this type. A characteristic feature of the Canadian *prêtre manqué* is that "he does not try to attack or destroy the institution to which he cannot adjust"⁴.

Rather he endures personal suffering, seeking a weakness in himself, and "more often than not he ends up finding a modus vivendi, however fragile, through some device of self-

effacing adaptation."⁵ This kind of adaptation is characteristic of Canadian Puritanism with its emphasis on human insignificance and the authority of the established church,

in contrast to the emphasis in American Puritanism on individual self-reliance.⁶ The criterion for a *prêtre manqué*

is "a state of mind marked by apprehensions which lead to retreat, self-effacing adaptation and self-punishment instead of a frontal attack upon the religious institution"⁷

The *prêtres manqués* to be studied in the chapter include Father Dowling of Morley Callaghan's Such Is My Beloved, Philip Bentley of Sinclair Ross' As For Me and My House, Padre Doorn of Colin McDougall's Execution, Felix Prosper of Sheila Watson's The Double Hook, Aimé Latendresse of Hugh MacLennan's The Return of the Sphinx, and John Hislop of W. O. Mitchell's Who Has Seen the Wind.

One of the clearest presentations of the *prêtre manqué* is found in Father Dowling of Such Is My Beloved. When his attempt to put into practice the Christian doctrine of love fails, in *prêtre manqué* fashion he reacts not by an attack

on the Church, which caused his failure, but by withdrawing into depression and then insanity. This insanity becomes the necessary adaptation for Father Dowling. He sees it as his sacrifice for the souls of two poverty-stricken prostitutes: "He thought with sudden joy that if he would offer up his insanity as a sacrifice to God, maybe God might spare the girls their souls."⁸ Early in the novel he sensed that his human love "must surely take of the nature of divine love."⁹ The theme of the book, as the epigraph from the "Song of Songs" indicates, is the strength of such love:

Many waters cannot quench love, neither
can the floods drown it: if a man would
give all the substance of his house for
love, it would utterly be contemned.

With such divine love, Dowling becomes a Christ-figure. As Ross points out in his excellent introduction, Dowling's life is symbolic of Christ's in three ways: 1) it is a "symbol of the continuing presence of Christ in the Mystical Body as it extends eternally through time"¹⁰; 2) in his love for the girls he symbolizes the love of the Bride of Christ, the Church for Christ;¹¹ 3) the sacrifice of his sanity for the girls symbolizes the death of Christ on the Cross for all mankind.¹² Thus although Father Dowling is a *prêtre manqué* in earthly terms, in the eyes of God he is a triumphant saint.

Another notable *prêtre manqué* in modern Canadian fiction, Philip Bentley of As For Me and My House, has a pro-

blem quite different from Father Dowling's. He is a hypocrite in both practice (he attempts to hide his smoking and his arguments with his wife from the towns-folk) and theory (he does not believe what he preaches). This hypocrisy breaks Philip's communion with his wife and makes him distrust her, stifles his creativity, and renders him apathetic:

The constant sense of deceit and hypocrisy has been a virus destroying his will and sapping his energy. Lack of self-respect has meant lack of initiative to try something else--it's been a vicious circle. 13

His religion is empty and sterile like the "false-fronts" of Horizon, the small prairie town in which he ministers. In an ironic metaphor at the end of Mrs. Bentley's first journal entry, she and Philip are revealed as servants of empty social formalism:

The formal dinner of a Main Street hostess is...a kind of rite, at which we preside as priest and priestess--an offering, not for us, but through us, to the exacting small town gods Propriety and Parity. 14

Philip suffers agonies of guilt for this hypocrisy. His guilt makes him ashamed to ask for the money due him from his previous charges: "The money shamed him a little, reminded him how he earned it, for he's the kind that keeps his hypocrisy beside him the way a guilty monk would keep his scourge".¹⁵ In characteristic *prêtre manqué* fashion, Philip does not actively oppose the institution which causes his hypocrisy. Rather

he finds a modus vivendi in escaping to the seclusion of his closed study, in painting and sketching, and, temporarily, in adopting the orphan, Steve. Instead of proclaiming his own hypocrisy and denouncing that of his congregation, he decides to resign and escape to the city to run a book-store.

Padre Doorn of Execution is another example of the *prêtre manqué* in Canadian fiction. At the beginning of the novel he is a devout Christian who, like Barry Dunbar of Connor's The Sky Pilot In No Man's Land, sees the army as doing God's work. But he becomes disillusioned by the unjust execution of two friendly Italians, and adapts by becoming obsessively involved in his role of presiding at burials, so much so that he is "happy only when he has a burial service to conduct."¹⁶ This obsession leads Doorn into temporary insanity, and he begins a frantic search for a fragment of the True Cross, believing that only the physical presence of Christ as symbolized in the Cross can stop the wanton slaughter of battle. In this new obsession, he reveals the characteristic adaptation of the *prêtre manqué*. But a human feeling of pity for the dead soldiers enables him to regain his sanity, and at the execution of Rifleman Jones it is he who sees that the wisest course for him and his friend Major Adam to take is resignation. Jones' Christ-like acceptance of his fate comforts Doorn and Adam, and teaches them that "we must have the courage to affirm life in the face of its absurdity",¹⁷ the cour-

age to die as Jones did, still loving the world. Thus Doorn, like Father Dowling, is a *prêtre manqué* who finds a satisfying personal resolution to his problem.

Felix Prosper of The Double Hook is, as Grube suggests in his introduction, "the man in every community who, whether he knows it or not, is destined to be its priest and minister, wh slowly and often unwillingly becomes the focus of its spiritual life."¹⁸ But if Felix is a priest figure, he has a number of *prêtre manqué* traits. His difficulty in assuming the priestly role is reflected in a dream: "He could feel the surplice straining at his armpits like a garment which had shrunk in a storm."¹⁹ Rather than actively resisting this role however, Felix tries to escape by a characteristic *prêtre manqué* adaptation, in his case, of passivity. Thus, "his mind floating in a content of being", he does not struggle against the "cup" of Angel's "bitter going".²⁰ When Lenchen comes to him for help, he wishes she would leave him in peace. He does make one positive move in getting Angel back to care for the blinded Kip, but he soon returns to his passive sleeping and playing the fiddle. As Morriss comments, his passivity is a "voluntary ignorance embraced in order to protect the negative, self defensive peace which suffocates rather than activates the wasteland."²¹ He later delivers Lenchen's child, and breaks out of this passivity to fish for the women and children's supper. Symbolically, he takes up his priestly function of feeding his flock the Word of God. Thus,

like Padre Doorn, he is a *prêtre manqué* who finally fits into his proper role.

Unlike the other *prêtres manqués*, Aimé Latendresse, of MacLennan's The Return of the Sphinx, never actually becomes a minister. After entering a seminary and studying with the Dominicans he won a scholarship for a year's study in France. When the year was up, he did not return to the seminary. Rather after roaming through Europe he returned to Quebec and adopted the Separatist cause. The reasons for his defection from the priesthood are not given, but as Lucas notes, as one of the "zealots of the cause of separatism, he apparently saw in it a suitable replacement for

his religion."²² Although he has rejected the church, Latendresse regrets that it is no longer able to comfort him. By juxtaposition, MacLennan makes it clear that Latendresse's devotion to the revolution is his "adaptation" to meet his loss of religious comfort:

He left the church without offering himself for the sacrament and walked back through the heat to his single room and sat down before a table to resume his study of a technical²³ book on the manufacture of explosive devices.

Latendresse's background as a *prêtre manqué* is obvious to perceptive characters in the book. Alan Ainslie recognizes that he espoused the revolution only because he was a "pathetic misfit"²⁴ who could not find a place in the church.

Marielle, a French Moroccan with whom Daniel Ainslie has an affair, detects from Latendresse's sentiments on Quebec and the Second World War that he is a "spoiled priest".²⁵ As such, Latendresse still has some respect for the Church. For example, though he urges Daniel to insult the queen on his television show, in characteristic *prêtre manqué* fashion he objects strongly to Daniel's proposed attack on the Church.

The final *prêtre manqué* is the Rev. John Hislop of Who Has Seen the Wind. Like Neil Munro, Thomas Huntley, and Dean Drone, he is deeply hurt by the criticism levelled at him by his congregation, particularly by the domineering, self-righteous Mrs. Abercrombie. When she criticizes a C.G.I.T. Service which he thought especially moving, Hislop becomes disillusioned with his vocation:

How could a person be content with the husk, the dry appearances, that gave shape to a religion? What was the sense in his standing up there week after week talking to people who followed such a woman, who looked up to her, envied and admired her. 26

In characteristic *prêtre manqué* fashion he does not actively oppose Mrs. Abercrombie and the church elders as his friend Digby, the school principal, advises him to do, but feels that he is wrong and must resign. Unlike the other *prêtres manqués* who have^{been} discussed, Hislop finds no escape in a "self-

effacing adaptation."

The clergymen who are successful in modern Canadian fiction, unlike the evangelical ministers, the minister of St. Cuthbert's, Dr. Drummond, and Curé Lalonde, are almost without exception hypocrites who feel no guilt for their hypocrisy. Three such clergymen will be considered here: Bishop Foley of Such Is My Beloved, the Rev. Powelly of Who Has Seen the Wind, and Deacon Peter Block of Rudy Wiebe's Peace Shall Destroy Many.

Bishop Foley, like Leacock's Dumfarthing, possesses "an intuition that compelled him to do the expedient thing, a gift which had advanced him rapidly in the Church."²⁷ His first worry when he hears of Father Dowling's involvement with the two prostitutes is not for Dowling but for the possible effect of a scandal on a charity campaign he is about to launch. His solution is simple: he arranges for the two girls, Midge and Ronnie, to be sent out of the City, and reproves Father Dowling severely. Although the answer proposed by Dowling's Marxist friend, Stewart, is equally impersonal, his genuine concern "is an ironic judgment on the bishop's orthodox expediency"²⁸ which bows before the rich and powerful. As Hoar puts it, the Bishop's response shows that as an institution the Church "suffers from a case of hardened arteries. Rationalism predominates. That is, one must not act from the heart."²⁹ Thus, although Foley is a successful churchman, he is a hypocrite who has nothing

of the love of Christ in him.

The Rev. Powelly of Who Has Seen the Wind, the minister who replaces the prêtre manqué Hislop, preaches Christian love but throughout the second half of the novel constantly seeks revenge on "the Bens". He tries to get the Ben arrested and in so doing missappropriates Scripture for his own purposes as he quotes in reference to the Ben: "The wicked shall³⁰ no more pass through thee, he is utterly cut off." He also attempts to persuade Digby to take back his kindness in paying for a gun the Young Ben has stolen, alleging that this act will encourage the latter's delinquency. But Digby sees through Powelly's pretense of disinterestedness:

The Rev. Powelly was blinded by his distaste for the Young Ben's father....Digby's eyes rested on the back of a book slightly out from the rest on the shelf: The Heart of Darkness.³¹

Eventually he tries to get the Young Ben sent to reform school, but is denounced by the courageous young teacher Miss Thompson.

Both the Rev. Powelly and Mrs. Abercrombie, who supports him in his opposition to the Bens, are, as Jones comments, representatives of the "garrison" culture, and in their attack on the Bens, who are associated with the land "they reveal at length the essential hypocrisy and the final sterility of their attitude."³² Furthermore, "in attempting to suppress and lock up the Bens they attempt to suppress and³³ lock up the spontaneous vitality of nature", and the result

is symbolized in the explosion of the Ben's still during a Service. The representatives of the authentic culture, the land, are in modern Canadian fiction outcasts from the garrison culture. (Though this is not the case in the earlier fiction, in which representatives of the garrison culture such as Jim Hartigan of The Preacher of Cedar Mountain, the narrator of Black Rock, or the narrator of The Lone Furrow have a great love for nature and the land). One such representative of the land in Who Has Seen the Wind is Saint Sammy, who is supported by nature herself in his denunciation of another hypocrite, the Baptist deacon Bent Candy. Significantly, the same wind which destroys Candy's barn forces the Rev. Powelly and Mrs. Abercrombie to their knees in fearful prayer.

The third successful hypocrite is Deacon Peter Block, the leader of the Mennonite community in Peace Shall Destroy Many. On the surface, Block is powerful and pious. He is firm in his faith, and puts the work of the church ahead of his own work. He is the unifying force in the community, and all follow his opinion even when it is in disagreement with that of the central Mennonite conference. If any conflicts arise between members of the community, Block is the one who finds a solution. But in his early life before he left Russia, Block, in his desire to look after his son, had cheated his neighbours, used violence to protect his land, and once even

killed a man in anger. His activities as leader of the community are a form of penance for these earlier acts. But even in his later life he is a tyrant in his own home, making his wife and daughter work from morning till late evening. When he learns that his unmarried daughter is in childbirth, he harshly casts her out from his home, and when she dies he is convinced she is going to hell. When he discovers that Louis Moosomin, a half-breed, is the father of the child Block is consumed with anger and a desire for revenge, although in giving in to such feelings "he had, by every standard he ever believed, dammed his own soul eternally."³⁴ Thus Block, as much as Fowelly and Foley, is a hypocrite who does not practice what he preaches but is successful, at least in the worldly sense.

Father Beaubien of MacLennan's Two Solitudes does not fit into either of the above two categories. He, like Fowelly, Foley and Block, is successful in a worldly sense, but only as long as he can maintain an essential rural environment like that of Curé Lalonde's parish at the turn of the century. At the beginning of the book, Beaubien is content as the priest of a wealthy parish with a new church "the largest within
³⁵forty miles." His own parish, like Quebec itself needed no improvement:

Let the rest of the world murder itself
through war, cheat itself in business,
destroy its peace with new inventions and
the frantic American rush after money.

Quebec remembered God and her own soul,
and these were all she needed. 36

In order to keep things the way they are in his parish, Father Beaubien opposes industrialization: he wishes to keep the people on the land. He orders local farmers not to sell their land to the powerful seigneur Athanase Tallard, whom he knows intends to sell it in turn to English industrialists, and warns Tallard himself that if he continues with his plan for a factory in Saint Marc, he will tell the people not to vote for him. Beside his reactionary opposition to industrialization, Beaubien has other faults. Although he is prejudiced against the English, he is glad to accept the money of Captain Yardley, a retired Nova Scotian sea-captain. In an excellent article on Quebec, MacLennan described the peculiar nationalism of such clergymen:

In the rural parishes Monsieur le Curé, confidant, confessor and sometimes czar of his little flock of faithful habitants, was almost invariably nationalistic-not in the present political sense, but in the primordial one of language, religion and territorial imperative. 37

Father Beaubien is also overly suspicious of the morality of the youth of his parish and harsh in his treatment of others. For example, when he is warning Tallard not to build the factory, he recalls to his mind incidents that have no bearing on the question and are very painful to him, such as his behaviour on the night of his first wife's death. Thus although

he is not a *prêtre manqué* or an outright hypocrite, Beaubien is a long way from the pious, successful, and progressive ministers of the evangelical romances and from Dr. Drummond, *Cur   Lalonde*, and the minister of St. Cuthbert's.

The laity in modern Canadian fiction is similar to that in the ecclesiastical novels of Fraser, the Lizars and Leacock: critical of the minister, hypocritical, and self-righteous. One example of such is Mrs. Abercrombie, who has been discussed above. Mrs. Finley of As For Me and My House is, like Mrs. Abercrombie, domineering, self-righteous, and without the Christian love she professes. Like the ladies of Iona and Slowford, she constantly criticizes her minister and his wife. She objects to their adoption of the orphan Steve simply because he is a Roman Catholic.

The rich Robisons of Such Is My Beloved show a similar hypocrisy. Instead of befriending two prostitutes and helping them find jobs, as Father Dowling asks, Mrs. Robison rejects them snobbishly and self-righteously: "In that one shrewd appraising glance of a luxurious woman accustomed to security she had condemned the girls forever." ³⁸ Her resolution to the existence of prostitutes is eugenics, "the social service point of view:...once you can sterilize the unfit it is easy to breed the whores out of existence." ³⁹ Mr. Robison does have some respect for the priest and some concern for the girls, but he is more worried about his own position. He

He gives only when it means no sacrifice or concern on his part at all: " He preferred the way the older priest asked for contributions, with a splendid aplomb, a fine, gracious exchange of compliments that set them both rolling with hearty laughter." ⁴⁰ Thus the laity in modern Canadian fiction, like the clergy, is in the critical ecclesiastical tradition.

In conclusion, the decline in the importance of the Church in society is reflected in the peculiar nature of most of the clergymen in modern Canadian fiction: either weak, sensitive *prêtres manqués* like Munro, Huntley and Drone of the ecclesiastical tradition, who must find a modern vivendi in self-effacing adaptation, or successful hypocrites. The laity, where it is described, is like ^{that} in the ecclesiastical novels of Fraser, the lizards, and Leacock. However the very predominance of clergymen in modern Canadian fiction shows that, although they no longer have such an important role in society, they are still an important subject for Canadian literature.

Notes

1. Sutherland, "The Calvinist-Jansenist Pantomine", Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol.V. (May, 1970) 14.
2. Grey, The Curé of St. Philippe, introduced by Rupert Schieder, p. 37.
3. Sutherland, p. 15.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 13. In this article, Sutherland has an excellent discussion of the distinctive elements of Canadian Puritanism.
7. Ibid., p. 16
8. Callaghan, Such Is My Beloved, introduced by Malcolm Ross, p. 143.
9. Ibid., p. 16
10. Malcolm Ross, "Introduction" to Callaghan's Such Is My Beloved, p. vii.
11. Ibid., pp x-xl.
12. Ibid., p. xiii.
13. Sinclair Ross, As For Me and My House, introduced by Roy Daniells, p. 67.
14. Ibid., p. 6.
15. Ibid., p. 79.
16. McDougall, Execution, p. 55.
17. Jones, Butterfly On Rock, p. 142.
18. Grube, "Introduction" to Watson's The Double Hook, p. 6

19. Watson, The Double Hook, introduced by John Grube, p. 68.

20. Ibid., p. 38

21. Morriss, "The Elements Transcended", Canadian Literature no. 42 (autumn, 1969, p.56.

22. Lucas, Hugh MacLennan, p. 51.

23. MacLennan, The Return of the Sphinx, p. 195.

24. Ibid., p. 264.

25. Ibid., p. 149.

26. Mitchell, Who Has Seen the Wind, p. 49.

27. Callaghan, p. 98.

28. Conron, Morley Callaghan, p. 82.

29. Hoar, Morley Callaghan, p. 97.

30. Mitchell, p. 261.

31. Ibid., p. 216.

32. Jones, p. 37.

33. Ibid.

34. Wiebe, Peace Shall Destroy Many, p. 185.

35. MacLennan, Two Solitudes, p. 6.

36. Ibid., p. 8.

37. MacLennan, "Two Solitudes That Meet and Greet In Hope and Hate." Macleans vol. 84, no. 8 (August 1971), 23.

38. Callaghan, p. 92.

39. Ibid., p. 95.

40. Ibid., p. 82.

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