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Ottawa's Anglicans and the First World War

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Résumé de l'article

Cet article s'appuie sur des documents quotidiens tels que des notes de sacristie, des dossiers financiers et des bulletins d'information locaux pour établir que, pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, le diocèse anglican d'Ottawa a encouragé la prière d'intercession régulière pour la victoire des Alliés, a encouragé la rhétorique pro-guerre dans ses chaires et s'est servi de ses prêtres pour encourager la conscription. Ils cherchent à promouvoir une identité dans laquelle le patriotisme canadien et la loyauté envers l'Empire sont synonymes, et dans laquelle l'Empire est une force au service de la volonté de Dieu dans une guerre qui pourrait détruire la civilisation occidentale. Malgré un démarrage lent, les laïcs anglicans restent engagés dans l'effort de guerre, en particulier par le biais d'efforts bénévoles à grande échelle qui contribuent à la formation des soldats locaux. Lorsque les besoins en main-d'oeuvre se sont accrus et que la conscription est devenue une question pressante, ils ont redoublé d'efforts dans le travail de guerre et les campagnes de recrutement.

Defenders of the Faith

Ottawa's Anglican Churches and the First World War

By Heather McIntyre

In 1917, Ottawa's Christ Church Cathedral rang out with a strong call to support the pro-Conscription government and prayer for victory in the Great War. The Bishop of Ottawa praised the war dead, saying that they had died "fighting for justice, truth, humanity, and right" against a civilizational threat. This address to Ottawa's Anglicans, gathered in an annual meeting, acted as a call to arms in a war for the British Empire. This religious community combined patriotic and religious fervour in their responses to the war raging in Europe. While speeches like the 1917 address were powerful calls to arms, perhaps the less-ornate records of average congregants' actions speak more loudly. Ledgers of expenditures and minutes of routine meetings in church basements and middle-class homes across the Capital paint a powerful picture of how Ottawa's Anglicans rallied to support the cause of the war, volunteer for service at the front, send relief money to those displaced by the war, package up aid and comfort items for soliders, and get out the vote overwhelmingly in favour of Union government's conscription policy. This article examines the lived history of the Great War in a Canadian religious community.

Did the religious community of Anglicans in Ottawa have a different relationship to the war, the British Empire, and Canadian identity than the general population of the city? Additionally, are findings about the attitudes of Church of England priests towards the war consistent with the actions of their lay communities? These questions can be answered using methods from the fields of lived religion and social history of war. Earlier studies, like Melissa Davidson's reading of First World War-era sermons or Duff Crearar's account of the chaplain service, established that Anglican clergy used sweeping rhetoric to motivate laypeople and offer a theological justification for their support of the "great crusade."[1] The most notable local studies of

[1] Melissa Davidson, "Preaching the Great War: Canadian Anglicans and the war sermon, 1914-1918," MA Thesis: McGill University, 2012) and Duff W. Crearar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War,* 2nd edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

Abstract

This article uses day-to-records such as vestry notes, financial records, and local newsletters, to establish that during the First World War the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa urged regular intercessory prayer for an Allied victory, encouraged pro-war rhetoric from its pulpits, and used its priests to encourage conscription. They sought to foster an identity in which Canadian patriotism and loyalty to Empire were synonymous, and in which the Empire was a force for God's will in a war that could destroy Western civilization. Despite a slow start, lay Anglicans remained committed to the war effort, especially through large-scale volunteer efforts that contributed to local soldiers. As manpower needs became greater and conscription became a pressing issue, they increased their efforts in war work and recruitment drives.

Résumé: Cet article s'appuie sur des documents quotidiens tels que des notes de sacristie, des dossiers financiers et des bulletins d'information locaux pour établir que, pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, le diocèse anglican d'Ottawa a encouragé la prière d'intercession régulière pour la victoire des Alliés, a encouragé la rhétorique pro-guerre dans ses chaires et s'est servi de ses prêtres pour encourager la conscription. Ils cherchent à promouvoir une identité dans laquelle le patriotisme canadien et la loyauté envers l'Empire sont synonymes, et dans laquelle l'Empire est une force au service de la volonté de Dieu dans une guerre qui pourrait détruire la civilisation occidentale. Malgré un démarrage lent, les laïcs anglicans restent engagés dans l'effort de guerre, en particulier par le biais d'efforts bénévoles à grande échelle qui contribuent à la formation des soldats locaux. Lorsque les besoins en main-d'œuvre se sont accrus et que la conscription est devenue une question pressante, ils ont redoublé d'efforts dans le travail de guerre et les campagnes de recrutement.

the Great War's impact on communities are the three case studies that make up Robert Rutherdale's book "Hometown Horizons," which examines life during the Great War in three mid-size Canadian cities; likewise, Ian Miller used a local study to address Torontonians' experience of the war.[2] The local study approach has been attractive to historians because this unit of analysis allows them to understand homefront life in terms of grassroots action. Rutherdale in particular articulates the potential of local studies, writing that such studies using "routinely-generated records" from the homefront can consider how ordinary Canadians "witnessed and actively interpreted this intense period of conflict" as well as how their actions and beliefs can reveal wider patterns of imperialism, gender relations, class, and public power.[3] This study aims to use a similar lens to discover similar lived experiences, but concentrates especially on the parish-level activities of religious communities. The significance of churches as a site of soci-

[2] Robert Allen Rutherdale, Hometown Horizons : Local Responses to Canada's Great War, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004) and Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

[3] Rutherdale, "Hometown Horizons," xii-xiii.

ality and moral influence in the Canada of 1914-1918 was great, making them a particularly useful site at which to examine the ideological patterns to which Rutherdale referred. Although former studies have addressed sermonic literature, church presses, and church leaders' activism, one must still ask whether the enthusiasm of church leaders was matched by their congregants, and what kinds of events, activities, and representations average parishioners participated in or consumed.[4]

This approach is made possible by examining ecclesiastical records from churches throughout the capital region. The Ottawa Diocesan Archives contain records for the diocese's yearly synod meetings, as well as each church's vestry books. Parishes were mostly selected for the completeness of their vestry records, but were either urban churches in Ottawa proper or smaller ones in nearby rural communities like Carp, Arnprior, and Navan. The urban churches tended to have more complete vestry books with printed elements and detailed financial breakdowns, whereas rural ones tended to be fully handwritten and summarized. Although these records exist for communities across Canada, the Diocese of Ottawa makes a particularly interesting case study because many political leaders participated in Ottawa churches. This includes Robert Borden, who was active in his local church during his time as Prime Minister and appears in that church's records repeatedly, especially as a financial donor.

Overall, the contents of Ottawa-based church records can confirm the findings of broader studies about Canadian identity and imperialism. Canadian historians have long viewed Canadian nationalism and support for the British Empire as intertwined.[5] This proved true of Ottawa's Anglican community, as they frequently articulated their contributions on the homefront as service to the Empire and service to Canada. However, it is also notable that Ottawa Anglicans showed a particular concern for their own community, prioritizing charitable efforts for soldiers from their own community and honouring local volunteers. The modes of participation recorded in parish documents include expenditures for war relief, activities that build Imperial identity like Boy Scout troops, and more. Some vestry books also include Honour Rolls or mention being short on volunteers because of war recruitment, which demonstrates how many local Anglicans went overseas and how their community understood their actions.

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[4] For example: J.M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I." *The Canadian Historical Review* 49:3 (1968), 213-33. Norman Knowles, "'O Valiant hearts who to your glory came': Protestant Responses to Alberta's Great War," in *The Frontier of Patriotism: Alberta and the First World War*, ed. Jeff Keshen and Adriana A Davies (University of Calgary Press, 2016), 276-397, and Davidson, "Preaching the Great War on church leaders' responses, as well as Michelle Fowler, "'Death is Not the Worst Thing': The Presbyterian Press in Canada, 1913-1919." *War & Society* 25:2 (July 2013), 23-28 on the religious press.

[5] For an influential example, see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 49.

Ottawa Before the Great War: Context and Demographics

The Diocese of Ottawa itself was relatively new at the time of the First World War, having been created in 1896, a consequence of Ottawa's growth in population and significance after being declared Canada's national capital.[6] Ecclesiastical boundaries do not map exactly to city or provincial boundaries, so the Diocese of Ottawa has churches from Mattawa in the North West (near Algonquin Park) to Cornwall in the South; it follows the provincial boundary and the Saint-Lawrence in the Southeast. Near Ottawa, it includes Alymer, Gatineau, and Chelsea. For the purpose of this study, no Quebec churches' records were consulted as including them introduces a different set of political factors. According to the census zones that approximate the Diocese, there were 40,524 Anglicans living within the Diocese of Ottawa in 1911, making up 16.1% of the city's population.[7] According to the "cities" table in the census, the proportion of Anglicans in the Ottawa was slightly higher, at 17.3% of the total population.[8] Additionally, this population was growing, as evidenced by the multiple churches that were building expansions and the 1921 statistics which show slightly higher proportions of Anglicans—for instance, 18.4% percent of urban Ottawans were Anglicans, which represents just over a 2% increase. This concentration of membership allowed Anglicans to organize more numerous and complex events and programs, and underscores the significance of the Church's involvement in Ottawa's war effort.

Additionally, two British military endeavours had a significant impact on Canadians: the Sudan Expedition (1885) and the South African War (1899-1902), which Gordon Heath contextualizes as part of the "New Imperialism" of the turn-of-the-century British Empire.[9] These adventures set precedents for Anglican reactions to the First World War. Richard Ruggle notes that in 1899, the Bishop of Ottawa negotiated with the government to send multiple Anglican chaplains with the small Canadian force heading to South Africa, and expressed public pride about the higher proportion of Church of England men volunteering to go there.[10] This sentiment would carry over to the Great War. During the Sudan Expedition, the denominational press across Canada, including the Anglican *Churchman*, expressed admiration for the British general Gordon and de-

[6] Frank Peake, *Anglicanism and the Ottawa Valley: Essays for the Centenary of the Diocese of Ottawa* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 2012), 41.

[7] Census and Statistics Office Canada, Fifth Census of Canada (Ottawa: 1911), 3.

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] Gordon Heath, "Canadian Protestants, the Sudan Expedition, and the New Imperialism," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2020), 5-15.

[10] Richard E. Ruggle, "Some Canadian Anglican Attitudes to War and Peace, 1890-1930," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 35 (1993), 133-42.

manded more men be sent to relieve him in Khartoum. In particular, they viewed the conflict as an opportunity for Canadians to prove their mettle in war for the Empire and provide a more enlightened government for people in the region.[11] Thus, "just war" theory and a view of the British Empire as a moralizing force in world politics were at least present in Canadian Protestant culture when the First World War began.

Calm Before the Storm, 1914-1915

At the beginning of the Great War, the Diocese of Ottawa was not immediately affected; instead, it was consumed by internal priorities. During the 1914 annual synod, the diocese was embroiled in a disagreement about whether divorced people should receive Communion, and in April 1914, the first Bishop of Ottawa retired at the age of 80.[12] Finding another bishop was thus the highest priority for church officials, despite the war starting in July 1914. Because of delays in this new prelate's transition from Bishop of British Columbia to Bishop of Ottawa, he was not in attendance for the 1915 Synod. Accordingly, the April 1915 meeting, the first to be held while the war raged, was more perfunctory and lacked a Bishop's charge or address; the only way in which the Synod addressed the war at this meeting was when some of the University of Toronto students at the Trinity College seminary, which it funded, left their studies to enlist.[13] The synod praised their bravery but was mostly worried about future enrollment and shortages of personnel for local churches. The synod also said a special prayer for the Empire at war, praying for a just peace to come soon.[14] The Diocese's delayed reaction is atypical nationally; for instance, Norman Knowles pointed out immediate recruitment efforts by ministers in Alberta throughout 1914, and archivist Trevor Powell found considerable immediate activity amongst Anglicans in Saskatchewan's Diocese of Qu'Appelle.[15] It seems Ottawa's gap in church leadership created a slightly delayed reaction; we will also see that Ottawan Anglicans largely directed their efforts towards supporting local troops, meaning that their activities ramped up as Canadians reached the front.

On the parish level, prayer was the first-line reaction amongst Ottawa congregations, then aid for people affected by the war. Vestry books from 1915 and 1916 show a flurry of fundraising for people in warzones, especially Belgium. Laypeople advanced efforts to help Bel-

[11] Heath, "Canadian Protestants and the Sudan Expedition," 8.

[12] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records, 1910-1914, 1914 Bishop's Charge.

[13] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records 1910-1914.

[14] *Ibid*.

[15] Knowles, "'O Valiant hearts who to your glory came'" and Trevor Powell, "The Church on the Home Front: The Church of England in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle and the Great War," *Saskatchewan History* 64:2 (2012), 8-21.

gians made homeless or forced to flee from invasion, and most of the Ottawa churches maintained a small-scale involvement in this charitable cause. For instance, women at Christ Church Cathedral formed a Red Cross committee in 1915 to send clothing to the Belgians.[16] Similarly, St. John the Evangelist Church on Elgin Street offered $109 for a "save the children fund" and Russian relief.[17] The Bishop of Ottawa decried the military aggression against Belgium in his 1916 annual address, and his language fits a larger pattern of outrage at abuse of Belgian civilians and the violation of Belgian sovereignty, which cast Britain and its allies in the role of rescuer for the small country of Belgium in the face of German aggression.[18]

The Red Cross provided aid to Belgium and later medical and humanitarian services to soldiers at the front, and was the most supported war relief agency amongst Ottawa's Anglican laypeople. From its inception in 1896, the Canadian Red Cross was largely run by middle-class women who volunteered for humanitarian and patriotic reasons.[19] Many parishioners of Ottawa's urban churches, like St. Matthew's in the Glebe and All Saints at Laurier and Chapel, formed their own Red Cross societies in 1915, using the women's groups already existing in their communities to address the new crisis. For instance, St. Matthew's vestry book shows that a Mrs. Clarke was the leader of their Red Cross Society, and when she stepped down in 1916, the effort was absorbed by the Women's Auxiliary; many other parishes also recorded the Women's Auxiliary as the main agent for collecting donations and supporting the Red Cross. [20] The WAs were originally created in the 1890s to fundraise for the Anglican missionary society. The WA rapidly spread to over 400 parishes across Canada, and they were soon chastised for acting more independently than as an 'auxiliary' as their efforts expanded outside missionary efforts into diverse charitable campaigns suited to local contexts and needs. They became the primary way that laywomen could get involved in their parish due to gendered restrictions on their participation elsewhere: many vestries, for example, did not allow women to attend. (As a local example, at All Saints church in Ottawa, the men of the vestry committee debated in 1918 about whether women ought to be able to attend vestry.[21]) These

[16] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.

[17] The Save the Children fund here is distinct from and predates the fund started in England by Eglantyne Jebb. Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 601 59, Saint John the Evangelist, vestry book.

[18] Historians disagree about whether reports about German war crimes were exaggerated but agree on their wide impact – see Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," 213, who attributed much of the Methodist reaction to the war to dramatizations of war in Belgium, whereas Michelle Fowler disagrees and emphasizes the reality of German war crimes in her article on the Presbyterian church: "'Death is Not the Worst Thing'," 23-28.

[19] Sarah Glassford, *Mobilizing Mercy: a History of the Canadian Red Cross* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 12.

[20] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Saint Matthew's, vestry book.

auxiliaries, then, allowed women to claim leadership roles and contribute to their parish by using skills considered typically feminine. Indeed, their activities became so characteristic of church life that some men, including soldiers and military chaplains, perceived churches as female-dominated.[22] True to this gendered way of organizing labour, women got involved in war-related charity by using their domestic skills and explaining their role in terms of "maternal" concern or caring. In the case of the Belgian relief campaigns, this meant holding luncheons and teas to raise money, or contributing knitting and other handmade clothing for the displaced. Likewise, the "save the children fund" at St. Matthew's hinged on helping children, a maternal role.[23]

A few urban churches in Ottawa were well-placed to receive the Anglican members of Parliament and other wealthy professionals who lived in the core of the capital; it has been noted that the urban middle class were the main proponents of imperialism and militia service.[24] Accordingly, All Saints, the Cathedral on Sparks street, St. Matthew's in the Glebe, and Saint John the Evangelist on Elgin street all demonstrate higher budgets and more church activities sustained by the financial resources and free time of a more comfortable population. Indeed, Saint John the Evangelist and St. Luke's on Somerset were both in the process of expanding their facilities, even during wartime.[25] Amongst these respectable parishes, All Saints in the Chapel Hill neighbourhood was both the home parish of Prime Minister, Robert Borden, and received a royal visit from Princess Patricia, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. She was the daughter of Prince Arthur, the Duke of Connaught and Governor General. Patricia lived at Rideau Hall with her father throughout the war, and according to a historical plaque still present in the building, attended St. Bartholomew's Anglican Church throughout her residency in Canada. In 1914 the Duke and the Princess attended All Saints Church for its consecration, and the next year, she returned to view a parade of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry that was held at the church. The Vestry book records the occasion as one of the most important events of the year, saying that "the Princess presented the Camp Colours" and enthusing about "the brilliant Record of the Regiment at the front. Several parishioners are enrolled in this and other regiments. We have over fifty names on our Honour Roll who have answered the call of their King and Country."[26] This kind of royal pageantry would have been very

[21] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.

[22] Crearar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 169.

[23] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Saint Matthew's, vestry book.

[24] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 24.

[25] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 601 59, Saint John the Evangelist, vestry book and Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, St. Luke's Somerset street, vestry book.

[26] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.

familiar to Canadians—Gordon Heath has noted that the denominational press and local churches frequently held celebrations for British military victories and royal anniversaries.[27] But the impact of the war on All Saints' community was unprecedented. Fifty men already overseas as of 1915 is a particularly high proportion of men going to the front, as the vestry book later records that there were about 362 families in the parish (meaning about 1 in 7 families had a family member who had already volunteered relatively early in the war).[28]

Chaplaincy

Ottawa ministers began to get involved in the Chaplain service as early as 1914, and the nature of Ottawa as a capital city combined with the high social status of some Anglican clergy afforded them special positions. The Primate of Canada appointed Bishop Roper of Ottawa as the representative for the Anglican Church of Canada to the military (perhaps because of geographical proximity to government institutions).[29] The rector of All Saints in Sandy Hill was made the chaplain for the Governor General's Foot Guards, a local unit that provided honour guards for the Governor General. Likewise, the vestry book of All Saints Westboro mentions that its rector, R.H. Steacy, served as well, as Director of the Canadian Chaplain Service, appointed by minister of militia Sam Hughes because of their friendship.[30] However, Stacey still wanted to go overseas and was refused permission by the bishop.[31] Less-well-connected clergy also wanted to offer their services to the troops: for instance, the *Carp Review* records that "the rector spent a week at Valcartier village, Quebec, and preached morning and evening... in the morning many of the soldiers walked over from the camp, three miles away, to the Holy Eucharist. At night a still larger number was present."[32] Later columns show that the rector continued to receive letters from soldiers throughout the war, which were then quoted in the local newspaper so that the whole community could receive the soldiers' news.[33]

Despite these examples, it is hard to know exactly how many Ottawa ministers left to become chaplains.[34] However, Anglicans had greater access to chaplain roles than other denominations. Duff Crerar writes in his study on Canadian

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[27] Heath, "Canadian Protestants, the Sudan Expedition," 7.

[28] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.

[29] Crerar, *Padres In No Man's Land*, 41.

[30] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Westboro, vestry book; on his relationship to Hughes, see Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 30.

[31] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.

[32] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, 22 July 1915.

[33] "Anglican Notes" *Carp Review*, 20 December 1917.

[34] An avenue to figure it out may be available by cross-referencing the annual Clergy Directory with military records, but the chaplains might be excluded from the directory because of their absence; this work might be more suitably done as part of specific study on chaplains.

chaplains that Anglican appointments outnumbered all other Protestant denominations, and the examples of Anglicans in key organizing roles demonstrate their influence as well.[35] Numbers made available via the Canadian Associated Press were reprinted in the *Carp Review*, stating that out of 276 chaplains overseas in April 1917, 102 of them were from the Church of England.[36] This access to influence and chaplaincies made one Methodist preacher looking for a chaplaincy observe that even though his was the most populous denomination in Canada, "the unmistakeable attitude of the Anglicans is as near that of a state church as they dare go."[37] Ottawa was also more able to provide personnel for military services than other dioceses in Canada—for instance, Western dioceses with less church infrastructure might not be able to fulfill these needs. The Bishop of Qu'Appelle wrote of his expansive Northern diocese that asking clergy to leave their congregations untended was "as wrong as to ask our doctors to leave off ministering to the sick and the wounded."[38]

Early in the war, the military conducted training at camps like Valcartier, enrolling as many volunteers as possible, and seeking out chaplains to accompany them throughout training and deployment. Camp life proved to be a major source of concern and contention for ministers of all denominations. Some chaplains became shocked at the swearing, card-playing, and sexual license that they encountered in army camps throughout Canada and England, while other chaplains idealized and admired the soldiers they worked with.[39] Although inconclusive, evidence from the local Ottawa records suggests a relatively harmonious relationship between soldiers and chaplains; Ottawa priests who volunteered as chaplains recorded largely positive impressions of the troops and training camps. This may be a denominational difference. J.M. Bliss's account of the Methodist church's reactions to the First World War argues that their chaplains in particular had strong concerns about the influence of "camp life" on pious recruits.[40] On the other hand, Anglican chaplains were more likely to become disillusioned with church authorities: eighty-five experienced chaplains petitioned the Church of England in Canada to alter service formats, leadership structures, and church culture to suit men returning from war and infuse a social gospel message into preaching.[41]

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[35] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 38.

[36] "Anglican Notes", *Carp Review*, 26 April 1917.

[37] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 39.

[38] Powell, "Diocese of Qu'Appelle," 11.

[39] See Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," 220 on chaplains' moral concerns, and Duff Crerar, "The Church in the Furnace: Canadian Anglican Chaplains Respond to the Great War." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 35:2 (1993), 75 on the admiration of many Anglican chaplains for soldiers, and on the concern about liquor and sexuality in army camps.

[40] Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I", 222.

[41] Crerar, "Church in the Furnace," 83.

However, Ottawa's more high-church clergy seem to have been nonplussed with this evangelical message, especially when it suggested merging several Canadian denominations, while still supporting their colleagues' idealized view of soliders and veterans. R.H. Steacey, rector of All Saints' Chapel Hill and leader of the chaplains' service, was replaced in that role in 1917 by Alan Shatford, the main force behind the chaplains' message; Steachey seems not to have shared Shatford's views about modernization and evangelism. Another one of the most public opponents of the chaplains' message was an Anglican columnist from Ottawa who wrote under the pen name "Spectator". He reflected a largely high-church region where many clergy and laypeople valued Anglicanism's unique ceremonial and episcopal traditions too much to adopt ideas seen as foreign to that tradition and which might countenance church union.

"The Great Crusade" and the Clergy's Rhetoric

As the war expanded in scope and Canadian men reached the front, it impinged more on the consciousness of Ottawa Anglicans. Their efforts adjusted to increased demands for manpower and the need to help their friends and family members at the front. Notably, the Synod of Ottawa went from discussing almost nothing war-related to spending half the bishop's annual address on war issues. The new bishop, John Charles Roper, arrived in 1916. Roper graduated from Oxford and then served as chaplain for Brasenose College, Oxford, before moving to Canada to work as a Professor of Divinity at Trinity College, Toronto.[42] This meant that he fit in amongst Ottawa's clergy, who were mostly drawn from Trinity College and to a lesser degree from Great Britain. Roper was, therefore, representative of the Ottawa clergy, partly because he shared their cultural and educational backgrounds and partly because bishops are supposed to set expectations for the conduct of their Dioceses' priests. As leaders, bishops offered yearly speeches at their dioceses' synod meetings. These speeches were often transcribed then read out in parishes around the diocese. In his 1916 speech, Roper encouraged priests to embrace the war effort. He opened by asking all present to pray for the men at the front, and referred to living through the war, "one of the great epochs of history," as "a privilege" which Ottawa's Anglicans must "rise to the full measure of our duty, and face bravely to the full."[43] He waxed poetic about the scale of the war, comparing it to great historical events such as the conquests of Alexander the Great. His speech emphasizes that the worship life of the church must continue at all costs, emphasizing a steady attitude even in the

[42] Wilfred Hankin Bradley, *Hold Fast to the Incarnation: The Life and Times of John Charles Roper, Second Bishop of Ottawa (*Ottawa: Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, 1990), page eight on his education and page ten on his time as a professor.

[43] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records 1914-1918.

crisis. God was portrayed as a help to the men at the front: Roper quotes a soldier in Belgium who "put himself into the hands of God," and emphasized that it was for this reason that there must always be groups of intercessors in the churches of Ottawa, making sure that God heard the prayers of those affected by the war.

In his interpretation of the war and his call for clergy to lead and encourage the population to win the war, Roper was in lockstep with his colleagues back in his native England and with the wider view of the Church of England. Historians Albert Marrin, Shannon Bontrager, and Aimee Barbeau studied sermons and speeches from throughout England, and described a theme of "crusade," in which Germany figured as an inhumane and essentially atheist empire which was aggressive towards the rest of Europe and had to be stopped to preserve true civilization.[44] This argument often hinged on (or exaggerated the effects of) the turn away from traditional theology in German universities. Such German ideas were portrayed as anti-theist influences—a common theme in Canada's denominational newspapers, which particularly criticized the German political scientist Heinrich von Treitschke for his theories about the moral supremacy of the state.[45] The destruction in Belgium and the violation of international order were also provided as moral justifications for war. For instance, the well-publicized Bishop Ingram of England, who became known as the Bishop of the Battlefields for his service at the front, stated that "I think the church can best help the nation first of all by making it realize they are engaged in a Holy War."[46]

Roper was in full agreement with his fellows across the Atlantic. A vision of the clergy as moral leadership in wartime, and an echo of the "crusade" image, is obvious in Roper's description of the eventual goal of the war:

> "The vast struggle of to-day will end in the defeat of material force and the renewing of the world in accordance with His will.... However great and organized their power, God will scatter those who delight in war, and the world, through the tragedy of conflict and of suffering, will be a better world than there had been before. God grant that through our experience to-day this generation may learn the truths that we have been in danger of forgetting—that man has need of God, that true civilization must rest upon redemption, that sin must be fought and overcome and not ignored, that man's honour is based upon humility and service, and not upon self-seeking and pride."[47]

In this passage, Roper characterizes the war

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[44] Albert Marrin, *The Last Crusade: The Church of England in the First World War (*Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1974), 130 and Aimee E. Barbeau, "Christian Empire and National Crusade: The Rhetoric of Anglican Clergy in the First World War." *Anglican and Episcopal History* 85:1 (2016), 25, and, Shannon Ty Bontrager, "The Imagined Crusade: The Church of England and the Mythology of Nationalism and Christianity during the Great War." *Church History* 71:4 (2002), 774.

[45] Fowler, "Presbyterian Press in Canada 1913-1919," 31.

[46] Marrin, "The Last Crusade," 132.

[47] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records 1914-1918.

as a necessity to maintain civilization and the British side as the inevitable victors of the war. "Civilization" based on "redemption" is identified with the British Empire, implying that it was a truly Christian civilization. In particular, Roper illustrates the Empire itself as an agent for holiness against the "inhumane" German forces.

Roper's rhetoric is also part of an overwhelming chorus of Canadian clergy who shared similar views about the war's meaning, across regions and denominations. Melissa Davidson argues that "clerics made more general calls for all to recognize how their established religious responsibilities might inform their patriotism" and notes how most sermons framed it as a war for freedom and justice.[48] As the experience of chaplains demonstrated, this might be expressed in different denominational idioms. For example, David Marshall has noted that Methodists often spoke about the war using their church's social gospel-inflected idiom, viewing the victory of the British empire as a necessary step towards a "social revival" which would further the Kingdom of God on Earth.[49] For their part, Ottawa Anglicans' focus on battling the "inhumane" German foe and preserving civilization was a common theme amongst Anglicans nationwide, as well as Presbyterian clergy, who Michelle Fowler argued levelled their arguments against the "atheistic" and "violent" leadership of Germany.[50] These commonalities suggest Protestant unity in the face of the war, but also highlight the more social-gospel inflected priorities of Methodists, the more intellectual bent of Presbyterians, and the Imperial connections of the Church of England.

In particular, the similarity in themes between Roper's addresses and those of English clergy demonstrates how Ottawa Anglicans emphasized the British Empire's importance, even treating it as a foundational assumption of their worldview. In the same speech, Roper chastises priests who use the pulpit for political purposes, saying that social matters ought to stay in the "council room and committee table" and not in the worship service. He justifies this statement by saying that "influence indirect is not for that reason less powerful" and praises the "State Prayers to God" offered at every service which ensured that "when the crisis came and an urgent call was heard for King and Country, the response from our men was immediate, without hesitation and splendid in numbers."[51] Therefore, Roper did not consider supporting the war "political" but rather as a part of the inherent duty of service owed by Christians. To him, the war was God's war, Canada's war, and the Empire's war all at once. His definition of the "political" would

[48] Melissa Davidson, "Preaching the Great War: Canadian Anglicans and the war sermon, 1914-1918," MA Thesis: McGill University, 2012.

[49] Marshall, David. "What Happened to Methodism in Canada during the First World War," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* 37 (2014), 52.

[50] Michelle Fowler, "'Death is Not the Worst Thing,'" 31.

[51] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records 1914-1918.

instead include "social evangelism" or social gospel projects which were espoused by some Anglican clergy; views which demanded changes to government policy or the economic system.[52] By his logic, political advocacy for the poor was electoral, but loyalty to the King was eternal.

Patriotic Activities in Parish Life

The bishop's focus on "fostering character" and imperial citizenship carried over to the churches under his authority. Ottawa parishes offered educational activities for children, reading materials, and patriotic events for all ages which demonstrated a close identification with the mother church and mother country of England. As an example, All Saints, Christ Church Cathedral, and St. Matthews' vestry records all show purchases of "Our Empire" magazine. In its 1914 synod, the Diocese also encouraged purchases of the magazine and support for its continued publication.[53] Copies of the magazine are unsurprisingly elusive, considering that the 1914 synod was concerned it would go bankrupt—only some copies from 1929-30, well after the war years, are available in Canada. However, this later edition gives an idea of what the magazine's overall themes and ideas were. It was published by the British Empire Service League, and stressed that it was not allied to any particular political party in Great Britain; but when discussing news, its political and economic outlook is overwhelmingly conservative, arguing that the best economic plan for the British Empire would be to encourage trade only within the Empire, relieve unemployment by sending unemployed Britons to the dominions, and discourage unionization to keep costs of products low. The magazine's other features mostly centred around the Royal Family and the British or Dominion militaries, with many features written by veterans or recounting dramatic war stories. The central theme is the British Empire as a civilizing force in the world. Canada often appears as an "eldest daughter" of Britain or a favoured Dominion. This is patriotic reading, but also reading that supported an economic and political status quo. Every urban church examined also purchased books and pamphlets from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The SPCK was an Anglican educational society based in England; which of its publications arrived in Ottawa is unknown but a couple of items in the SPCK roster were "Armageddon," a description of the war which likened it to the End of Days, and "War-Time Tracts for the Workers," a plea against unionization or labour action during the war.[54]

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[52] On what "social evangelism" meant for Anglican clergy, see Daryl Baswick, "Social Evangelism, the Canadian Churches and the Forward Movement, 1919-1920." *Ontario History* 89:4 (December 1997), 305.

[53] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book and Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Synod Records 1910-1914.

[54] Marrin, *The Last Crusade*, 137.

Reading was not the only patriotic activity encouraged in Ottawa churches—rather, Anglicans supported several youth organizations and community activities centred around the British Empire. The foremost amongst these were the Boy Scouts, an organization that concentrated on building masculine identity and citizenship.[55] The cathedral, All Saints Chapel Street, Saint Matthew's in the Glebe, and Saint Luke's on Somerset all had active troops, and the cathedral's vestry minutes proudly mention that their Boy Scout troop did over 150 hours of "war work" during 1917.[56] Indeed, the Boy Scouts were formed in part to support Canada's place in the British Empire and to prepare young men for war. Canada's first ever Boy Scout troops were connected to Anglican parishes and schools in Calgary, and the movement was spread in part by Church of England clergy.[57] The majority of the Scouts' original Canadian leadership in 1911 were members of the militia, and their original leadership was formed by the Governor General and his military secretary.[58] Although the Scouts was less explicitly militaristic than the cadets, its founder, Lord Baden Powell, himself a noted war veteran of the South African War, argued during a tour of Canada that Scouts would produce even better soldiers than cadets groups would.[59] The organization used military images like those of knights and heroic frontier images like those of the Northwest Mounted Police.[60] Despite some contention over its militaristic language both in Britain and in Canada, the Scouts became widespread. Ottawa churches' support is therefore telling. Patricia Dirks argues that parents across Ontario chose to organize Boy Scout troops rather than the more pacific alternative boys' groups, such as the YMCA's Canadian-based Canadian Standard Efficiency Tests for Boys (CSET), because Baden-Powell's image of an explicitly British and explicitly military masculinity appealed to them.[61]

For their part, girls might join groups like the Girls' Auxiliary, a junior version of the popular Women's Auxiliary. Citizenship education for girls could also involve learning about the military. The Royal Navy was a particular point of fascination, making the subject of a

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[55] On the boy scouts' context amongst many turn-of-the-century efforts to educate urban boys, see Mark Howard Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Oxford University Press & University of Toronto Press, 2001), 119.

[56] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.

[57] Patricia Dirks, "Canada's Boys: An Imperial or a National Asset? Responses to Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Movement in Pre-War Canada," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity* ed. R.D. Francis and Phillip A. Buckner (UBC Press, 2006), 113.

[58] Dirks, "Canada's Boys,"

[59] Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, 130.

[60] On the contention in Britain over the militaristic content of scouting, see *Robert H. MacDonald, Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 178-86. On the militaristic knight imagery, see pages 186-91.

[61] Dirks, "Canada's Boys," 125.

speech for the Girls' Auxiliary at Christ Church Cathedral and a visiting lecturer at St. Luke's Hall invited by their Anglican Young People's Association.[62] These organizations are briefly discussed in vestry records, showing that young girls participated in older women's forms of war work like knitting and sewing, and took up their own collections from their allowance money to donate to the Red Cross. As Kristine Alexander contextualizes, support of the Red Cross by Girl Guides and young girls' emerged from the expectations of adult women, and from their affective bonds to father and brothers at the front.[63] It appears that Ottawa's Girls' Auxiliaries and Anglican Young People's Associations served the same goals: to send care packages to loved ones and community members at the front, to support relief efforts, and to teach girls needlecrafts and patriotism.

Other patriotic activities also promoted better war morale and provided a heroic narrative of the war for participants of all ages, notably including military parades and lectures from military officials. Veteran of the Somme and head of the chaplain service Cpt Alan Shatford visited All Saints to "praise the work of the Canadians,"[64] and the military secretary to Minister Hughes visited Christ Church Cathedral to give a speech about the war in 1917.[65] At All Saints, the Bishop of Ottawa visited a fair hosted by the Boy Scouts and the Sons of England on the feast day of Saint George, patron saint of England, a celebration for "Britons." At this celebration of Englishness, Roper spoke on how much he loved Canada, which illustrates how imperial and English patriotism and Canadian pride were interlinked. In the same vein of patriotic pageantry, Christ Church Cathedral's men at arms participated together in a military parade in 1915, showing the whole community how many of its members had joined the armed forces.[66] In April 1917, a large remembrance service for those lost in the Battle of the Somme was held at Lansdowne Park, and attendance was estimated at over 10,000 people; at the end of the parade, the 235th Battalion put its colours in the nearby Anglican Church. The parade was even attended by Sam Hughes, then the former minister of militia, famous for his vociferous praise of Canada's soldiers.[67]

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[62] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book, and Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, St. Luke's Somerset street, vestry book.

[63] Alexander, Kristine. "An Honour and a Burden: Canadian Girls and the Great War," in *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War.* Ed. Amy J. Shaw and Sarah Carlene Glassford, (UBC Press, 2012), 185-88. Notably, there's no records of Girl Guides groups attached to Ottawa parishes. This seems to be a gendered difference, as Moss reports a particular concern about the character of boys in this era and fear of male truancy: Moss, "Manliness and Militarism," 112-13.

[64] "Tells About Somme and Ypres Battles," *Ottawa Journal*, 25 January 1917, 6.

[65] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.

[66] "Britons Celebrate St. George's Day," *Ottawa Journal*, 23 April 1917.

[67] "Great Throng Honors Memory of Ypres Heroes," *Ottawa Journal*, 23 April 1917.

These examples all illustrate how deeply Imperial identity was embedded into the fabric of Anglican life—special events, fundraisers, weekly prayers for the king—almost every facet of the life of the Church referred to its unique identity as the Church of England and of the Empire. Reports about each of these special events emphasize how well-attended they were, suggesting that participants agreed with the imperial message and with the church that endorsed it.

Recruitment and Conscription

This patriotic education paid off in the numbers of men and women who volunteered to go overseas from Ottawa's parishes. Just like churches of all denominations from coast to coast, each parish proudly kept an "honour roll" listing volunteers, and some attached the list to their vestry minutes for posterity. But the pews in Ottawa looked particularly empty as the war dragged on. The priest at Christ Church Cathedral expressed his thanks to his church's soldiers for their "admirable showing" as of 1917, and by the end of the war, the honour roll counted just over 130 people, of whom eight were women who volunteered as nurses. The priest there also stated that the parish was having trouble filling key roles like Sunday School teaching and running the Boy Scout troop because adults in the church were working overtime at their war-related jobs.[68] Similarly, St. John the Evangelist on Elgin Street also had an extensive honour roll with 150 names, including ten men who died in service, "the rector's son being among the number; several have been decorated...."[69] St. Matthew's church also hung a framed list in their church of all the men serving, but did not put a copy in their book; however, it was mentioned that it was difficult to keep their Boy Scout troop running because the Scout Master had gone overseas and there was no one willing to replace him.[70] Finally, All Saints Church also listed a total of fourteen parishioners who died in the war, and had an honour roll of over 100 names in 1916, which is significant for a parish of about 350 families (an estimate offered by the rector in 1915).[71] Saint George's church, which was located on Metcalfe street and is now known as St. Peter's and St. Paul's, perhaps holds the record amongst Ottawa churches; the *Carp Review* stated that its honour roll in August 1918 counted 380 men and women including thirty-one who died in service.[72] The Anglican Notes column in the *Carp Review* kept a keen eye on the men volunteering from Carp, publishing three eulogies for different soldiers from the small town. As of April 1916, thirty men from Carp had enlisted.[73]

[68] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.
[69] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 601 59, Saint John the Evangelist, vestry book.
[70] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Saint Matthew's, vestry book.
[71] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.
[72] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, August 1, 1918.

Overall statistics suggest that Anglicans were overrepresented in the armed forces during the First World War; perhaps because there were more English-born Canadians in the Church of England, or because of the unique imperial link forged by the shared Communion and the king as head of the Church, as well as the Church's active efforts to encourage enlistment. Numbers offered in the press (perhaps inflated) estimated that as many as 50% of the Army were Anglicans.[74] Similarly, the *Carp Review* trumpeted that out of the 354,928 soldiers at the front in November 1916, 165,145 were Anglicans, outnumbering every other denomination.[75] When the 238th Battalion was raised, the *Ottawa Journal* claimed that 68 out of its 256 men were Anglicans.[76] These numbers may or may not be accurate, but nonetheless they promoted a pride in what Anglicans were doing for their "king and country." These figures were a matter of interdenominational competition, to the point that Methodist leaders expressed concern and embarrassment over the "low" proportion of Methodist recruits and complained that inaccurate counting procedures gave the Church of England an "advantage."[77]

Indeed, the expectations surrounding recruitment were so great that there seems to have been pressure within Anglican churches on men who did not volunteer to serve. For example, the *Carp Review* recounts services especially for young men who had not gone overseas made up of patriotic songs and encouraging sermons, but counted them mostly as a failure because they were attended more by women and teenagers. It also takes many opportunities to chide the young men of Carp who had not already volunteered. Nic Clarke's nationwide calculations suggest that more young Anglican men than any other denomination were turned away from service for medical issues, and these men often reported facing day-to-day questioning and exclusion within their communities because strangers assumed they had not attempted to fight.[78]

The Bishop of Ottawa and the Synod of 1917 passed an motion in favour of Conscription, but it is harder to tell how individual parishes reacted to the election of 1917 or the passing of the Draft Act in May 1918. However, newspapers give us a few clues which can be interpreted in the overall context of a pro-conscription bishop and the many imperial links of the Diocese. In the Anglican Notes column of the *Carp Review*, a layperson offered an idea that reflected the very patriotic and imperial mood in that small

[73] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, 1 April 1916.

[74] "Anglicans have given 50 P.C. of Army," *Ottawa Citizen*, 5 June 1917, 7.

[75] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, 2 November 1916.

[76] "A Compiled List of Soldiers' Faiths", *Ottawa Journal*, 19 July 1916.

[77] Bliss, "The Methodist Church and the First World War," 218.

[78] Nic Clarke, "'You will not be going to this war': the rejected volunteers of the First Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force." *First World War Studies* 1 (October 2010), 165.

town. In the lead up to the election of 1917, he wrote that "Sir Robert Borden needs the prayers and the whole hearted support of every honest patriot at this time!"[79] Similarly, the *Ottawa Journal* published quotes from a cross-section of Ottawan clergy, one of whom—the Reverend J.M. Snowdon of St. George's Anglican Church—went so far as to express these views from his pulpit.[80] A few months later, the same paper recounted that the rector of All Saints' had added his voice to the chorus agreeing to conscription, not surprisingly as he was also a chaplain for the Governor General's Foot Guards. In an example of the "indirect persuasion" which Bishop Roper had advocated in his Synod speech, the victory of the Union government was added to the list of prayers for Anglicans (among other denominations) in Ottawa in December 1917. All these measures—peer persuasion by laypeople, public clerical declarations, and positioning conscription as good by making it part of the weekly prayers—created an unavoidable pro-Conscription atmosphere in Ottawa's Anglican churches.

The support of Anglicans continued after the conscription measure had passed,. The *Carp Review* of 23 May 1918 shows that the bishop held a special service for young men affected by the Draft Act, titled "I can do all things through Christ." He blessed the young men and gave them a pocket New Testament. The writer of the column called it a "splendid display" and said that the men there had not sought to "evade the perilous future" but had done their duty. In 1918, these clergy and their colleagues began helping to enforce the Conscription Act by allowing government access to their birth and marriage records.[81] Indeed, the pro-conscription consensus was strong enough that an Anglican who resisted was recorded as a stray individual; he was roundly mocked in the press. Some concerned but anonymous Anglicans repeatedly ran a column in the *Ottawa Journal* mocking a fellow Anglican for trying to register as a conscientious objector, trumpeting the Anglican just-war position, and dissuading anyone else from trying to make a similar claim.[82] These examples illustrate a climate where deviating from the broad support for conscription would come with social penalties, and suggest that both clergy and at least most laypeople were willing to enforce this view. This was not a given for all Anglican communities in Canada; there was a considerable debate in the *Canadian Churchman* about the appropriateness of supporting conscription, but it did not involve Ottawa priests using their own names (and Ottawa's own "Spectator" supported the cause of Conscription).[83] This suggests that Ot-

[79] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, 28 June 1917.

[80] *Ottawa Journal*, 21 May 1917.

[81] "Anglican Clergy Help Enforce Act," *Ottawa Journal*, 5 June 1918, 5.

[82] "Get Only Five Men For Army In Ottawa Before the Twelve Tribunals," *Ottawa Journal*, 13 November 1917.

[83] *Canadian Churchman*, Library and Archives Canada

tawa was a particularly fervent diocese in its pro-conscription sentiment.

Charitable Support

These high levels of support at the parish level were also directed into charitable efforts which changed as the war progressed and as new needs arose; after Canadians started arriving at the front, efforts moved away from Belgian relief and more towards soldiers, particularly men from their own communities. Ottawa volunteers began sending comfort packages and socks to men at the front, often to the men of their own parish, and sometimes to help returned veterans at the Perley Veterans' Hospital in Ottawa, many of whom would have been from the local 77th Battalion. The women of Christ Church Cathedral were particularly involved in supporting the Perley Hospital. They served "a supper or high tea to about 200 men of the 77th Battalion" in 1916, and had $12 left over from their fundraising which they donated to the Battalion in the form of Communion linen to be used by the Anglicans of the Battalion in their services.[84] They continued to spend money on supporting the 77th in every other year of the war.[85]

Similarly, various women's groups sent gifts and comfort packages to men at the front. Saint Matthew's church in the Glebe had a Women's Canadian Club that shipped clothing and Christmas boxes to the front, attempting to send them specifically to the men of the parish on duty.[86] In addition, their Red Cross Society sent away over 170 garments in 1917.[87] The Cathedral also had a Red Cross Society, which collected bedding throughout 1915 and passed on its work to their own Women's Canadian Club, and in later years also shipped "Christmas boxes."[88] All Saints Church had a Soldiers' Aid Commission, which raised money by selling buttons in 1917.[89] Another special cause was that of the Chaplains' Fund, which helped chaplains carry on their work at the front. The *Carp Review* published that town's efforts to raise money for it in 1918,[90] as did the Christ Church Cathedral vestry books for 1917, which show that the Girls' Auxiliary of the parish donated their own money for Christmas gifts to chaplains.[91] Donating was framed as a patriotic contribution and a personal obligation to community members overseas—mass campaigns for causes such as the Canadian Patriotic Fund used slogans that evoked the duty to contribute and were largely supported by the concerned families and friends of soldiers, just as local vestry books de-

[84] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, Saint Matthew's, vestry book.
[87] *Ibid*.
[88] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.
[89] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, All Saints' Chapel street, vestry book.
[90] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review,* 3 January 1918.
[91] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.

scribed women's groups as "doing their part" for their communities' men.[92] These efforts were concentrated in the urban churches, which fit the typical urban and middle-class profile of Imperialists but also reflects the greater capacity of larger, wealthier communities. It is striking that the records of all the larger churches mention women's groups as the central organizations for war-related charity; every Ottawa parish whose records were consulted contributed knitting and money to the Red Cross, even if they were too small to have a full Red Cross Society or Women's Auxiliary. The popularity of the Red Cross efforts and their feminized, caring image were part of a national pattern—knitting for men at the front became so popular that Red Cross regional authorities had to create standards for quality of clothing and ask women to substitute other articles for the extremely plentiful socks.[93]

Prayer and Hymnody

Throughout the crisis of the war, intercessory prayer remained a source of hope and comfort for Ottawa's Anglicans. They participated in several empire-wide days of prayer called for by the King.[94] The *Ottawa Journal* publicized several special events throughout the war for prayers, including special prayers for the forces at the front in August 1914, a service for peace at Saint Matthew's in December 1914, a weekly service of intercession for the war that rotated between local churches starting in 1915 that lasted until the end of the war, and an Ascensiontide peace prayer in 1915, among others.[95] Similarly, the Cathedral's vestry book shows that it held a United Service of Intercession for the Red Cross Society which earned $9 in donations in 1916.[96] Towards the end of the war, there were several Royal Proclamations from the king, who declared days of special prayer for Great Britain and her Dominions. These are mentioned by local papers in January and June 1918.[97] Bishop Roper publicly stated that they had three aims: firstly, to offer thanks for "the just cause's success to date," to align the individual praying with God's will for a just peace and a just world, and only lastly, under those conditions, for the victory of the allies.[98]

Clergy also encouraged daily prayers and published special prayers and hymns for use at home. For instance, the *Ottawa Journal* printed a new hymn written specifically about the Great War, that All Saints used for their special service

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[92] On the national rhetoric about donating funds as a patriotic duty or "conscription of wealth," see Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

[93] Glassford, *Mobilizing Mercy*, 110-12.

[94] Davidson, "For God, King, and Country," 110-16.

[95] *Ottawa Journal*, 25 February 1915, *Ottawa Journal*, 10 May 1915, and *Ottawa Journal*, 30 December 1914.

[96] Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Archives, 603 C11, Christ Church Cathedral, vestry book.

[97] "Anglican Notes", *Carp Review*, 3 January 1918.

[98] Davidson, "For God, King, and Country," 115-16.

on 3 January 1915.[99] Sung to the tune of "Eternal Father Strong to Save," it beseeches god to "hear us as we cry to thee / and bless our Flag on land and sea." The second verse prays for the king: "Protect our King, his Empire guard / O'er all our shores keep watch and ward / we have not served Thee as we might! - / We plead unworthy in Thy sight. / Yet, hear us, as we cry to Thee, / And hold our Homeland safe and free." The other verses go on to pray for the sailors, then the soldiers, then the rest of the nation on the homefront. The song is direct from England, demonstrating the continuing cultural ties between even the far-flung dioceses like Ottawa and the metropole. It also demonstrates the crusade view of the war as a struggle which could cleanse and improve people's faith—a theme that appeared in other sermonic literature and hymns across Canadian denominations as the casualties mounted and a less optimistic, albeit still committed, view of the war emerged.[100]

Another example of wartime prayer was shared by an Anglican in Carp in his "Anglican Notes" column of the local paper. It was recommended as a daily morning prayer, and describes service in the war as service to God: "thou hast called from our home him whom we love to fight for his country's faith and honour. May he know that Thou art by his side to cheer him in hardship and danger."[101] The use of an English prayer that refers to "our country" suggests that the writer of the column views Canada and England as united in their interests. The evening prayer expresses the anxiety of worrying about loved ones overseas at night while also echoing the language of holy war and emphasizing that the war was right. It thus reassured the anxious person at home by invoking God to keep their loved one safe and by reminding them that the risk was justified. It asks God to "keep him secure from peril and alarm in the shadow of Thy protection, and renew his strength that he may fight valorously for truth and right, counting nothing loss that he may win peace and safety for his country and the world." A third example was published in Carp in October 1916. It was meant to be sent to men on the front, and is a confession of sins and a prayer that God would save the life of the person praying or bring them to salvation after their death.[102] It also demonstrates the sense that the Empire was holy in some way, praying that God would "enable us to win victory for Britain" and to be "true to our King, country, and colours." It addresses Jesus as "the Captain of the army of God," implying that the soldier serving Britain was serving in God's army. Read together, these prayers show how deeply imperial alle-

[99] "Patriotic Hymn," *Ottawa Journal*, 4 January 1915, 6.

[100] Melissa Davidson, "The Anglican Church and the Great War," in Gordon Heath, ed. *Canadian Churches and the First World War* (Montreal: Lutterworth Press, 2014), 160.

[101] "Anglican Notes," *Carp Review*, 26 August 1915.

[102] *Carp Review,* 5 October 1916.

giance and war service was interwoven with the faith life of some Anglican laypeople in Ottawa.

In conclusion, Ottawa's Anglicans were deeply involved in the First World War in every possible way: volunteering to go to the front, supporting conscription, providing support to soldiers at the front, and praying for victory. As Canadians arrived at the front and became more involved, support focussed more on people known to those on the home front; churches supported local men who went overseas. The many examples of prayer, speeches, and declarations by clergy, special events held in parishes, and participation in charitable activities and war work depict a Diocese that considered its duty to the Empire to be part of its duty to God. Overall, the wartime actions of Ottawa's Anglicans suggest a strong link between Canadian identity and Imperial identity for Ottawa Anglicans at the time—the two were part of the same whole. Ottawa's sources showed that local Anglicans organized through their churches for much of their war-related involvement, and that their clergy portrayed duty to God, duty to the British Empire, and duty to Canada as synonyms in wartime.