'Housewifely Prayers' and Manly Visions: Gender, Faith, and Family in Two Victoria Churches, 1945-1960

by

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ABSTRACT

The decade and a half following World War II is commonly thought of as a time of traditional gender roles and shared "family values." Despite the stereotype that postwar churches were bastions of conformity, the meanings of gender and family were considerably complex in the local congregations of Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church and First United Church, Victoria, British Columbia. Official church discourses both reflected and helped to reproduce dominant ideals of femininity, masculinity, married heterosexuality, and nuclear family life. Although these ideals significantly shaped the nature of church life in these two congregations, they cannot be taken as clear windows into the experiences and values of church members. In private prayer, church services, church groups, and at home, the men and women in these congregations both accepted and challenged, aspired to and were marginalized by, dominant and Christian ideals of gender and family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract....ii
Table of Contents....iii
Acknowledgements....iv

INTRODUCTION....1

CHAPTER ONE: `A Tender Heart for the Things of God': Church Involvement and Spirituality....25

CHAPTER TWO: Workers and Warriors: Gender, Church Associations, and Power....62

CHAPTER THREE: `Boy Meets Girl': Young People, Church Groups, and Heterosexuality....89

CHAPTER FOUR: `God Setteth the Solitary in Families': Religion and Domesticity....121

CONCLUSION....155

BIBLIOGRAPHY....163

APPENDIX: Interview Questions....174

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INTRODUCTION

In English Canada, the decade and a half following World War II is often recalled as a lost era of cultural conformity and conservatism. These years have been particularly held up as a time of shared, traditional values with respect to gender roles and family forms. We imagine that the postwar years were a time when homemaking mothers, breadwinning fathers, and happy children lived together in comfortable suburban homes. Gender historians have begun to critically examine this common image of the postwar years. Recent gender studies have shown that ideal nuclear family life, and the clear gender roles upon which this ideal was based, bore little resemblance to the lives of many Canadians. By highlighting the multiple experiences and identities of postwar individuals, such as unwed mothers, sexual "deviants", immigrant women, and wage-earning wives, gender historians are beginning to give us a more textured picture of the "baby boom" years.[1]

Recent gender histories have shown how norms of gender and family were both reproduced and challenged within various postwar arenas, such as the workplace, the mass media, and the political realm. Surprisingly, gender historians have yet to examine the role which the church and religion played in shaping the dominant culture of the postwar period. My thesis addresses this historiographic absence, and examines the

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[1] See, for example, many of the articles in Joy Parr ed., A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Mona Gleason, "Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-60", The Canadian Historical Review 78, 3 (September 1997), pp. 442-477; Mary Louise Adams, The Trouble With Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle Class, 1945-60", Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 3 (Fall 1994), pp.5-25. For American studies, see Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1988) and Joanne Meyerowitz ed., Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

meanings of gender and family in Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church and First United Church in Victoria, British Columbia. By considering the interplay between religious, gender, and family discourses and practices within the context of two local congregations, my work contributes a new perspective to the emerging gender studies of the postwar years, and to the larger historiography of religion in English Canada.

Although church membership and activity increased in the years following World War II, we know very little about what going to Sunday services or joining a church organization meant to postwar men and women. In what ways did dominant gender and family ideals shape church life in these years? Did church leaders reproduce or challenge such ideals? Did church members share with one another, and with the leaders of their church, similar values with respect to appropriate gender roles? How did the experiences of church members differ within and between local congregations? My work goes beyond the church to explore the relationship between religion and gender in the domestic realm. What did these churches expect of family life, and did church members accept or resist such expectations? Canadian historians have paid little attention to religious experiences within the family, or to the meanings of personal belief. How did postwar men and women worship by themselves and with their families, during church services and at home? Were official definitions of spirituality, and the ways in which ordinary church members understood and practiced their religious faith, significantly shaped by gender? My thesis tries to answer these questions and seeks to deepen our understanding of the nature of religious, gender, and family identities in postwar English Canada.

As a social and gender study of church life in British Columbia, my thesis makes a new contribution to the historiography of both Pentecostalism and the United Church in Canada. For the most part, historians of the United Church of Canada have focused on issues surrounding church union in 1925. In addition, the United Church has commissioned a number of histories which survey the development of this denomination in particular regions of Canada.[2] While most studies of the United Church do not account for the category of gender, there are a few articles which address women's roles in this denomination. These works have centered largely on the debates surrounding the ordination of women, and on women's participation in church work.[3]

The few studies of women's roles in the United Church show that women had limited access to positions of church leadership, and were channeled into aspects of church work which did not contradict feminine ideals, such as teaching Sunday school. These works provide insights into the patriarchal nature of United Church authority, but they tell us little about how ordinary women responded to gender expectations. A narrow focus on church leadership and ordination obscures the more representative experiences of church members. Informed by the methods of women's history, these works shed light

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[2] See, for example, F.E. Runnalls, It's God's Country: A Review of the United Church and its Founding Partners, the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches in British Columbia (Archives Committee of the British Columbia Conference, United Church of Canada, 1974).

[3] On the issue of women's ordination in the United Church of Canada see, for example, Mary E. Hallett, "Nellie McClung and the Fight for Ordination of Women in the United Church of Canada", Atlantis 4, 2 (Spring 1979), pp.2-16 and Valerie J. Korinek, "No Women Need Apply: The Ordination of Women in the United Church, 1918-1965", Canadian Historical Review 74, 4 (December 1993), pp.473-509. On women's roles in church work see Lucille Marr, "Hierarchy, Gender, and the Goals of the Religious Educators in the Canadian Presbyterian, Methodist, and United Churches, 1919-1939", Studies in Religion 20, 1 (1991), pp.65-74; Shelagh Parsons, "Women and Power in the United Church of Canada", in Shirley Davy ed. Women, Work and Worship in the United Church of Canada (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1983), pp.170-189; and Nancy Hall, "The Professionalization of Women Workers in the Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada", in Mary Kinnear, ed., First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History (Regina: University of Regina, 1987), pp.120-133.

on the feminized nature of church work, but they do not explain how masculine ideals shaped men's church involvement. In their recent study of Protestant churches and social welfare in Canada, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau argue that in the first decades of the twentieth century, United Church officials tried to masculinize the church and ministry by emphasizing social service over individual conversion.[4] Christie and Gauvreau suggest that in their efforts to draw men into the life of the church, United Church leaders drew on masculine ideals and redefined church work as scientific, socially relevant, and aggressive. Their study points to the significance of masculinity in shaping United Church discourses, but it tells us less about the impact of such discourses on men's church involvement. My work takes a new direction by examining a later, and much neglected, time period, and by exploring how ordinary men responded to official efforts to masculinize the church.

The historiography of the United Church of Canada is barely under way. Canadian Pentecostalism has likewise drawn little attention from social historians of religion. Most historical studies of Pentecostalism in Canada have been undertaken by members of the denomination, and tend to be largely promotional in nature.[5] American and European historians have been more apt to explore Pentecostalism, although most such studies emerged in the 1970s.[6] These early works outline the origins and

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[4] Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996). See, in particular, chapter three and chapter seven.

[5] See, for example, Thomas William Miller, Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), Erna Peters, The Contribution to Education by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Homewood: Erna Peters, 1971), Paul Hawkes, "Pentecostalism in Canada: A History with Implications for the Future", D.Min. Dissertation, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1982, and Donald Klan, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Church Growth in BC from Origins until 1953", MCS Thesis, Regent College, 1979.

development of the Pentecostal movement through the eyes of its leaders, and tell us little about the experiences of rank and file believers. More recent studies of Canadian and American Pentecostalism have focused on the changing relationship between this religion and the dominant culture. Articles by Canadian historian Ronald Kydd show that as it has grown from a sect into a denomination, Pentecostalism has increasingly accommodated to the values of the secular world.[7] Similarly, sociologist Margaret Poloma and historian Edith Blumhofer have explored the gradual institutionalization and routinization of charisma in American Pentecostalism.[8]

Gender has not figured as a category of analysis in Canadian histories of Pentecostalism. The few American studies which do address issues of gender, have focused on the experiences of Pentecostal women ministers.[9] These works deepen our understanding of the freedoms and constraints faced by women ministers, and provide insights into the relationship between gender and power in Pentecostal churches. They do not, however, explain the appeal of Pentecostalism to large numbers of women at the

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[6] See, for example, Vinson Synan, The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Co., 1971), Robert Mapes Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), and Walter Hollenweger, The Pentecostals (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972).

[7] Ronald A.N. Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse", in George A. Rawlyk ed. Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp.289-300, "Pentecostals, Charismatics, and the Canadian Denominations", Eglise et Theologie 13 (1982), pp.211-231, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Society", Canadian Society of Church History Papers (1972-73), pp.1-15.

[8] Edith L. Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture (Urbana, Illinois, 1993) and Margaret Poloma, The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

[9] American folklorist Elaine Lawless has published a number of works on Pentecostal women preachers. See, for example, Elaine J. Lawless, Handmaidens of the Lord: Pentecostal Women Preachers and Traditional Religions (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988). See also Edith L. Blumhofer, Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Co., 1993) and Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches", Review of Religious Research 22, 1 (September 1980), pp.2-17.

level of the congregation. For gender studies of Pentecostalism which depart from the focus on "exceptional" women preachers, historians would do well to look to the literature of sociology and anthropology. There are some insightful articles in these disciplines which explore the appeal of Pentecostal, fundamentalist, and charismatic religions to women.[10] These studies show that women were drawn to the promise of spiritual equality, and close-knit sense of community, offered by religions which were, on the surface, overtly patriarchal. By shifting their perspective from the pulpit to the pew, these anthropological and sociological works highlight the importance of taking seriously women's own spiritual self understanding, and provide useful models for historians of religion.

My thesis contributes not only to the history of Pentecostalism, but to the history of evangelicalism more generally. Although there are few studies of Canadian Pentecostalism, the broader context of evangelicalism has drawn scholarly attention in recent years.[11] Apart from some recent studies, Canadian historians of evangelicalism have been surprisingly reluctant to account for gender.[12] American scholars have been

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[10] For anthropological works, see, for example, Salvatore Cucchiari, "Between shame and sanctification: patriarchy and its transformation in Sicilian Pentecostalism", American Ethnologist 17:4 (November 1990), pp.687-707 and Lesley Gill, "'Like a veil to cover them': Women and the Pentecostal Movement in La Paz", American Ethnologist 17: 4 (November 1990), pp.708-721. For sociological studies see, for example, Susan Rose, "Women Warriors: The Negotiation of Gender in a Charismatic Community", Sociological Analysis 48 (1987), pp.245-258 and Brenda Brasher, "My Beloved is All Radiant: Two Case Studies of Congregational-Based Christian Fundamentalist Enclaves and the Religious Experiences they Cultivate Among Women", Review of Religious Research 38: 3 (March 1997), pp.231-246.

[11] See, for example, the collection of articles in George A. Rawlyk ed. Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997) and George A. Rawlyk and Mark Noll eds. Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994). For an American study see, for example, George Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991).

[12] For Canadian histories of evangelicalism which do account for gender, see, for example, Christie and Gauvreau; Marguerite Van Die, "'A Woman's Awakening': Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada", in Wendy Mitchinson et.al. eds. Canadian Women: A Reader (Toronto:

more likely to approach the history of evangelicalism with a lens of gender. In both Canada and the United States, historians of evangelicalism have focused overwhelmingly on the nineteenth century.[13] By using a gender analysis, and examining the second half of the twentieth century, my work addresses a relatively unexplored area of Canadian evangelical history.

Many historical studies of religion in Canada have focused on Ontario, while others have not considered the important category of region.[14] Perhaps because it has been the most secular of Canadian provinces, British Columbia has drawn little attention from religious historians. The subject of religion is given, at best, cursory mention in most survey histories of this province.[15] In large part, when scholars have explored British Columbia's religious history, they have done so in terms of Christian missionary work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Histories of missions in British Columbia have taken the form of biographies of prominent missionaries, analyses of missionary theory and practice, and studies of women's mission work.[16] Women's

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Harcourt Brace and Co., 1996), pp.49-67; and George A. Rawlyk, The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

[13] See, for example, Betty Deberg, Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990) and Nancy Hardesty, Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984). For an exception see John G. Stackhouse Jr., Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Although Stackhouse does not account significantly for the category of gender, he does explore the nature of evangelicalism in the second half of the twentieth century.

[14] For a notable exception, see George A. Rawlyk's study of the Maritime Baptists, Champions of Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

[15] See, for example, George Woodcock, British Columbia: A History of the Province (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990). Apart from a few pages on missionaries, religion is absent from Woodcock's work. A notable exception is Jean Barman, The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). Barman's study contains frequent references to the importance of religion in British Columbia's history.

[16] See, for example, David Mulhall, Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986) and Clarence Bolt, Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet too Large (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992).

historians of religion in British Columbia have argued that mission work was a "step towards independence" for women.[17] They have focused on how through mission work, women gained administrative skills, assumed positions of leadership, and forged bonds of friendship with other women.[18]

Robert Burkinshaw's recent study of the development of conservative Protestantism in British Columbia is the only monograph to date devoted entirely to the religious history of this province.[19] In this work, Burkinshaw seeks to explain the growth of conservative Protestantism, from the small evangelistic campaigns of French E. Oliver in 1917 through to its position as the religion of the "worshipping majority" of British Columbians in 1981. Burkinshaw argues that the conservative Protestant commitment to strictness of doctrine and flexibility of church practice facilitated its growth in this province. The unwavering clarity of conservative Protestant doctrine, he contends, attracted worshippers who were disillusioned with modernism and industrialism, and alienated by the relativism of mainstream churches.

By extending his analysis into the second half of the twentieth century, and by

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[17] Wendy Mitchinson was the first to articulate this argument in "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence", Atlantis 2:2 (Spring 1977), pp.57-75. As evidenced in the works on British Columbia, Mitchinson's article was very influential in shaping the direction of women's religious history in Canada.

[18] Margaret Whitehead, "Women Were Made for Such Things: Women Missionaries in British Columbia, 1850s-1940s", Atlantis 14:1 (Fall 1988), pp.141-150; Marilyn Fardig Whitely, "Women Learning to Work for Women: The Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, B.C.", Canadian Society of Church History Papers, 1988, pp.87-96; and Karen Van Dieren, "The Response of the WMS to the Immigration of Asian Women, 1888-1942", in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro eds. Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), pp.79-98.

[19] Robert K. Burkinshaw, Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). For a brief introduction to British Columbia's religious communities, see Charles Anderson et.al. eds. Circle of Voices: A History of the Religious Communities of British Columbia (Lantzville: Oolichan Books, 1983). See also, Bob Stewart, "That's the BC Spirit! Religion and Secularity in Lotusland", Canadian Society of Church History Papers (1983), pp.22-35.

focusing on British Columbia, Burkinshaw breaks new ground in the religious history of English Canada. Burkinshaw's study can be situated within the field of institutional religious history. He focuses on the strategies of conservative Protestant leaders, from rapid church planting to flexible worship styles, which he claims successfully met the needs of the "rapidly growing and far-flung populace" in British Columba.[20] By showing how church leaders adapted their institutional practices to fit the population and terrain of this province, Burkinshaw draws attention to a unique and neglected aspect of British Columbia's religious history. At the same time, we continue to know little about the religious experiences of ordinary believers in British Columbia, or about how such experiences were shaped by various categories of identity such as race, class, and gender.

My work departs from the methods of institutional and intellectual history, which have informed much of the scholarship on religion in Canada. In part, my thesis compares an evangelical and mainline congregation with respect to official church discourses on gender and the family, and the lived experiences of church members. To date, comparative studies of evangelical and mainline religions have been limited largely to the field of sociology.[21] At the same time, my study goes beyond a comparison of two churches which were rather different in terms of religious doctrine and practice. My thesis explores the complexities within, as well as between, these congregations. A common religious faith brought individuals together at Sunday services, but factors such as gender, age, and marital status shaped the experiences and identities of church

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[20] Burkinshaw, p.16.

[21] Sociologist Reginald Bibby addresses the issue of conservative church growth, and mainline decline, in many of his works. See, for example, Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada (Toronto: Irwin Publishing Co., 1987).

members in multiple ways.

The emerging gender studies of the postwar years have disturbed the common perception of this era as a time when conservative "family values" were shared by all. By analyzing gender and family discourses and practices within the context of local church congregations, my work contributes a new perspective to this project. We might suppose that churches, more than other postwar institutions, were spaces of uniform, traditional values with respect to gender roles and family life. My thesis suggests that we cannot take for granted that we know all there is to know about what went on inside local churches in the 1940s and 1950s. One recent American study aptly demonstrates the complex nature of local church communities. With a lens of race, class, and gender, historian Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham ably examines the women's movement in the black Baptist church at the turn of the century.[22] She shows that the black Baptist church was neither an exclusive product of ministerial authority, nor a place of singular values and beliefs. She deftly illustrates the interplay of race, class, and gender identities within the church, categories which could at times unite individuals toward a common goal, and at other times signify their difference.

Higginbotham's conception of the church as a "social space of unifying and conflicting discourses" provides a useful model for my research on postwar church life.[23] I argue that the congregations of First United and Glad Tidings did not merely embody the values and concerns of church leaders, but rather were dynamic spaces of the complex meanings of family and gender in postwar Canada. Church officials did,

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[22] Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[23] Ibid., p.2.

indeed, often reproduce singular ideals of appropriate gender roles and family forms. My study suggests that many church members accepted and aspired to such ideals, which is not surprising given that they were central to what it meant to be normal in the postwar years. In the larger culture of these years, belonging to a nuclear family, and engaging in the heterosexual and gender roles that made up this institution, conferred a measure of acceptance which made it difficult for men and women to imagine alternative ways of being. At the same time, my study shows that dominant and church ideals cannot be taken as clear windows into the lives of church members. The members of these churches did, at times, subtly and overtly challenge gender and family norms. From wage-earning mothers to rebellious teenagers, intermarried couples to single women, the individuals who made up the congregations of First United and Glad Tidings church resist easy patterns and singular categories of analysis.

My thesis is informed by recent methodologies in gender history. Women's historians have undertaken the important project of uncovering women's past experiences, which were largely hidden in early historiography. In recent years, gender historians have argued that an exclusive focus on women neglects the fact that gender identities are constructed relationally. As such, women's experiences and the meanings of femininity cannot be fully understood without also looking at men's experiences and the meanings of masculinity.[24] The recent turn away from a singular focus on women, to an understanding of gender as a relational category, has elicited criticism from some women's historians. In particular, the new methodologies are seen as detracting from the

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[24] Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice", in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld eds. Gender and History in Canada (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996), p.16.

feminist project of highlighting the very real oppressions faced by women. Gender theorists have aptly argued that if in our attempts to recover women's past we do not also historicize men and masculinity, these categories will continue to seem unchanging, normal, and natural.[25]

Important works on religion as a liberating or repressive force in women's lives, and on the feminized nature of Christianity, have emerged from the field of women's history.[26] Gender historians have been surprisingly neglectful of the church and religion. One recent Canadian study shows how a gender approach to religion can yield richly textured results. In her research on religion and leisure in late nineteenth century small town Ontario, historian Lynne Marks shows how various categories such as class, gender, and age intersected to shape individual and group identities and experiences.[27] Marks' work departs from the methods of women's history by examining not only what drew many women into the churches, but what kept some men away. She argues that while many young men preferred the rough leisure of taverns over the feminized church, the masculine ideal of respectable breadwinner drew a number of married men to Sunday services. The importance of examining the construction of both femininity and masculinity became clear in my own research on church associations and church work. In both churches, the formation of new men's groups in the postwar years had to do in part with concerns about the feminized nature of church involvement. In their

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[25] Ibid., p.17.

[26] See, for example, Ruth Compton Brouwer, New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). For an influential American study, see Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Knopf., 1977).

[27] Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

efforts to masculinize church work and church associations, church leaders used military metaphors and drew on the manly ideals of strength and rationality.

Gender figures as a central category of analysis in my thesis. I do not suppose, however, that human behaviour and experience can be understood solely through a lens of gender. Gender historians have aptly argued that multiple categories of identity such as race, class, and gender, are lived "simultaneously", and that privileging a singular category obscures the "messiness" of human experience.[28] Early women's history approaches have been criticized for privileging gender, particularly in their focus on "women's culture." My own research suggests that a common gender identity did bring women together in church groups, where women shared in the responsibilities of Christian womanhood and forged close friendships with one another. At the same time, conflicts within such groups suggest that a shared sense of femininity did not outweigh important differences between women. In the postwar years, church-based associations had only a limited appeal to young, single working women, which indicates that gender identities were cross cut by the categories of age and marital status.

Women's historians of religion in Canada have paid little attention to the question of class. There are some recent studies which deftly use a lens of both class and gender to explore the nature of religious behaviours.[29] In her work, Marks shows how individual choices to join a church, participate in a fraternal order, or go to the local tavern were influenced as much by class as by gender. Race has figured even less than class in

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[28] Marks, p.16; Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.245.

[29] For a Canadian study of religion which integrates class and gender, see Marks. For an American study, see Teresa Anne Murphy, Ten Hours' Labor: Religion, Reform and Gender in Early New England (Ithaca N.Y., 1992).

Canadian religious historiography. The importance of race to the production of gender, class, and religious identities is clearly shown in Higginbotham's American study of the Black Baptist church. Although it focuses largely on gender, my work recognizes that constructions of gender and family norms had much to do with class and race. We can learn a great deal about the class and race meanings embedded in religious discourses by interrogating the silences and unquestioned assumptions in postwar church literature. Absent from such literature were references to individuals who had neither the time, nor the means, to join church associations, participate in church camps, or engage in regular, daily worship with their families. Instead we encounter images of successful businessmen, contented stay at home mothers, and comfortable, suburban homes. Such images were informed not only by middle class notions of respectability, but by the category of race, as the Christian individuals and families pictured in church publications were overwhelmingly white. In Pentecostal and United Church missionary literature, "godly" mothers and ideal Christian families were defined in opposition to "heathen" practices, both at home and abroad. Racist attitudes were not only directed at "heathen", or non-Christian peoples, but at African, Asian, and Native Canadians who conformed to the dominant religious culture. Indeed, the deeply entrenched racism of postwar British Columbia and Canada ensured that whiteness was key to the meanings of religious respectability in this period.[30]

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[30] On the relationship between race and religious respectability in late nineteenth century Ontario see Marks, p.13. For an analysis of racism in the B.C. context, see Barman, pp.304-315; Patricia Roy, A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicans and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989); and C. Peter Ward, White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia 2nd. ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

This thesis began largely as a study of gender and church life. As my research progressed, I soon realized that the relationship between religion and gender in the postwar years could not be understood without also looking to the family. Recent approaches in gender history have bridged the categories of public and private, and have moved beyond the focus on separate spheres so prevalent in early women's histories.[31] Canadian works by Lynne Marks and Joy Parr show that individuals made sense of themselves and their worlds in multiple, complex ways, and that as historians we cannot neatly separate the home from the workplace, the tavern from the church.

There are a number of valuable historical studies on religion and the family, but these works have not extended their analyses into the twentieth century.[32] Gender historians have shown how nuclear family life and married heterosexuality came to be central markers of normalcy in the dominant culture of the postwar years.[33] My work examines how domestic and family ideals were shaped and challenged at the level of church life. I argue that through both institutional and discursive practices, Glad Tidings and First United church reproduced dominant norms of family life, based on clear gender roles and married heterosexuality. Through sermons on parenthood, articles on family worship, and the formation of couples' clubs, church leaders attempted to define the nature of domestic life. Did images of spiritually united families, worshipping together in church and at home, reflect the lived experiences of church members? How did

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[31] Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice", p.22.

[32] For a Canadian gender history of religion which addresses the family, see Marks. For American studies see Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) and Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[33] See, for example, Gleason and Adams.

church members, as mothers and fathers, husbands and wives, make sense of Christian gender expectations within the family? Did postwar churches make room for those on the margins of dominant domestic ideals, such as single, divorced, and homosexual individuals? In addressing these questions, my thesis tries to show the interplay between religious and family identities in postwar Canada.

New methodologies in gender history have been partly informed by poststructuralism. The poststructuralist turn to discourse has been criticized for obscuring the lived experiences and agency of historical actors. In recent years, the emergence of gender histories which deftly integrate the discursive with the material illustrate that discourse analysis need not detract from our efforts to understand the reality of human experience.[34] Gender and poststructuralist theorists have aptly argued that an exclusive focus on the category of experience is limiting, without an accompanying analysis of the systems of meanings, or discourses, through which experiences are made comprehensible.[35] Discourses do not "make" experiences, writes Joy Parr, but it is through "webs of connected meanings" - the meanings of race, religion, and gender, to name a few - that "experiences come to life."[36] My own work pays a great deal of attention to the lived experiences of church members, but it also seeks to contextualize those experiences within the larger discourses of the time. For instance, an awareness of the dominant meanings of motherhood, in the church and larger culture, can

[34] See, for example, Marks; and Parr, Gender of Breadwinners. For an American study see Murphy.

[35] Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice", p.15. See also Joan Wallach Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience", in James Chandler et.al. eds., Questions of Evidence: Proof, Practice, and Persuasion across the Disciplines (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1994), pp.363-87.

[36] Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice", pp.15-16.

aid in our understanding of the experiences and self understanding of mothers who worked outside of the home in the postwar years. My thesis shows that many mothers who engaged in paid work felt guilty for neglecting their children, which suggests the far reaching effects of discourses on ideal motherhood in the postwar period.

In researching the meanings of gender and family in these churches, I used a wide range of sources. Historians of Canadian Pentecostalism have had to be creative in their search for research materials, as record keeping has not been a priority in Pentecostal churches in Canada.[37] Glad Tidings church is no exception, and appears to contain few records dated earlier than the 1970s. In addition to the sparse records contained at this church, then, I explored a variety of published and unpublished materials at the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), District of British Columbia archives in Cloverdale. Newsletters, minutes of meetings, constitutions, and personal recollections from the district archives shed much light on the concerns, doctrine, and practices of Pentecostal churches in British Columbia. Moreover, these materials often referred to events and programs occuring at Glad Tidings church in the postwar years. In addition to sources from the district archives, my thesis draws on a range of materials published by the larger PAOC organization in Toronto. I examined PAOC newspapers, books, and yearbooks to get a sense of official Pentecostal discourses on gender and the family.

In contrast to Glad Tidings, First United church maintains a wide range of archival records on the postwar years. At this church I examined minutes of church associations, personal written accounts, church bulletins, annual reports, and

[37] See Burkinshaw, p.118.

correspondence. These records helped me to better understand how the meanings of gender and family shaped church life at First United. I also made use of a number of works published by various Toronto-based organizations of the United Church of Canada, such as the Board of Christian Education, the Board of Evangelism and Social Service, and the Board of Information and Stewardship. Many of the handbooks and pamphlets published by these organizations were located at the archives in First United, and were intended for the use of individuals and groups within the local church.

Church records and denominational publications can be usefully plumbed for insights into official ideals of gender and family. Taken alone, however, these sources go only so far in explaining how such ideals were shaped and resisted at the level of the local congregation. In an effort to move beyond an exclusive focus on church discourses to an understanding of the experiences and identities of ordinary church members, my thesis engages in the methods of oral history. I conducted a total of nineteen oral history interviews with individuals who were members of Glad Tidings and First United church between 1945 and 1960. Six of the interviews with First United members, and eight of the interviews with Glad Tidings members, involved myself and a single narrator. Because some individuals requested the presence of their spouses, I interviewed three married couples from First United and one from Glad Tidings. In addition, I conducted an interview with two sisters who were members of Glad Tidings, as they wished to participate in the interviewing process together.

The narrators in this project were located with the help of the church secretaries and pastors of Glad Tidings and First United. They explained the nature of my study to

potential interviewees, and provided me with a list of individuals who were willing to participate. After beginning the interviews, I was introduced to a few more participants by some of the narrators themselves. To take part in this study, individuals had to have been members of the church at some point between 1945 and 1960, and have reached at least sixteen years of age by 1945. Of the twenty-four people that I interviewed, twenty-two were married during, or just prior to, the postwar period. The two sisters from Glad Tidings were the only individuals in my sample who remained single during these years. I interviewed a total of six men and six women from First United, and nine women and three men from Glad Tidings. Perhaps because of the feminized nature of Pentecostalism, women in Glad Tidings were more willing than men to come forward to discuss their church experiences. Or more simply, as women have generally outnumbered men in Pentecostal churches, it is likely that Glad Tidings' membership rolls contained more women than men of the required age group. Of the twelve First United people in my sample, five were born and raised in Victoria, two in other parts of British Columbia, and five in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or Alberta. As children, all twelve attended a United Church with their parents. Of the twelve Glad Tidings interviewees, one spent their childhood in Victoria, five in other areas of the province, four on the prairies and two in England. Of the twelve, six were introduced to Pentecostalism as children, and six were raised in other religious traditions and became Pentecostal as adolescents or young adults.

Oral narratives have been judged by some as sources of unreliable, and highly subjective, historical evidence. In her detailed study of oral history techniques, Valerie

Raleigh Yow addresses what are perceived to be the main problems with oral interviews. A central concern has to do with the selectivity of narrators, as it is generally the articulate who agree to participate in oral history projects.[38] This fact alone means that my interview sample cannot be taken as a cross section of these congregations. As well, because the narrators in this study are members of these churches today, we are left without the perspective of individuals who may have left these churches. In recent years, the nature of power relations in oral interviews has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. According to Yow, what was once seen as an exchange between "authoritative scholar" and "passive yielder of data" is now understood as a collaborative effort between interviewer and narrator.[39] While unequal power is still inherent to the interview, we now recognize that both questioner and narrator shape the process and have "knowledge of the situation as well as defecits in understanding."[40] With this in mind, I approached the interviews with a set of questions on various subjects such as church associations, family, and spirituality. Such questions were made fairly open-ended in an effort to invite the narrators to reflect and expand on those experiences of meaning and importance in their lives.

Another central concern about oral history has to do with what Yow calls "retrospective evidence."[41] When there is a considerable length of time between the subject under discussion, and the actual interview, narrators may slant their account of

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[38] Valerie Raleigh Yow, Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists (London: Sage Publications, 1994), p.17.

[39] Ibid., p.2.

[40] Ibid. For a discussion of the interactive nature of the oral interview, see also many of the articles in Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai eds. Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History (New York: Routledge, 1991).

[41] Yow, p.18.

events and experiences to make them seem more interesting. This is an apt critique, but as Yow points out, similar problems are inherent in a variety of other primary sources such as diary writings, newspapers, and correspondence. If we approach oral interviews as we would any document, comparing them with other contemporary accounts and examining them for implicit biases and internal contradictions, they emerge as invaluable historical materials.

Oral narratives are particularly useful for those of us interested in individuals and groups who remain largely hidden in traditional historical sources, such as women and workers. Even the minutes of church associations cannot tell us why some women joined church groups, or why others stayed away. For social historians of religion, who have turned their attention from the pulpit to the pew, oral history is an important tool for getting at the nature of personal belief. In Canada, women's historians have focused on the constraints and freedoms faced by women in religious institutions. Such histories rarely account in any significant way for women's spirituality.[42] By using the methods of oral history to explore aspects of personal belief, my work generates new insights about the spiritual appeal of particular denominations, the interplay between religious and gender identities, and the nature of private prayer.

Before beginning my analysis of the complex lives of church members, the two churches at the center of this study require some introduction. Glad Tidings and First

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[42] Ruth Compton Brouwer criticizes Canadian historians of women and religion for not addressing aspects of personal belief in "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English Canadian Women's History", Journal of Canadian Studies 27 (Fall 1992), pp.47-61. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese makes a similar criticism of American women's religious history in "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: New Questions and Old Models in the Religious History of American Women", Journal of the American Academy of Religion 53 (1985), pp.465-471. For a notable Canadian exception, see Van Die.

United are located in downtown Victoria, separated only by a city block. Beginning as a Presbyterian church in 1862, First United joined the union of Congregationalist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in 1925. Glad Tidings, formerly known as "The Full Gospel Tabernacle", was the first Pentecostal church in Victoria. Developing out of the evangelistic campaigns of Dr. Charles Prices in 1923, Glad Tidings moved to its present location in 1938. Glad Tidings has continued to have the largest membership of all Pentecostal churches in Victoria. It is also part of the largest Pentecostal denomination in Canada, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Unfortunately, membership records from these churches are absent or incomplete, and as such it is difficult to make definitive statements about the individuals who made up these congregations. Evidence from oral narratives and denominational literature suggests that as downtown churches, Glad Tidings and First United drew members from all areas of Victoria. Such evidence also suggests that these congregations were overwhelmingly white, and that there was a large population of unchurched individuals living around these churches.

Although we must be cautious not to oversimplify the differences between the Pentecostal and United Church, particularly at the level of the pew, a brief outline of the official doctrine and practice of these two religious traditions is in order. The United Church of Canada can be characterized as a "mainline" denomination. Broadly defined, mainline churches make up the "liberal, ecumenically inclined and socially concerned wing of Christianity."[43] The United Church has tended to emphasize social activism

[43] Richard G. Hutcheson Jr., Mainline Churches and the Evangelicals: A Challenging Crisis? (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), p.39.

rather than clear, doctrinal foundations, and has generally accommodated to, rather than defended against, secular culture. Despite charges of relativism, the United Church of the postwar years embraced a socially relevant and tolerant Christianity, and made "no claim to a unique and absolute truth."[44]

By contrast, Pentecostal churches have upheld scriptural truths and insisted on separation from secular society. Historian George Rawlyk refers to Canadian evangelicalism as a constantly changing, "complex kaleidoscope" which resists easy definitions.[45] Despite problems of definition, scholars generally agree that "evangelicalism" is a religious tradition based on "an authoritative Bible (biblicism), a personal experience of conversion from sin (conversionism), the importance of Christ's sacrificial death for sin (crucicentrism)" and "a life of personal holiness and fervent evangelism at home and abroad (activism)."[46] These factors have characterized Pentecostalism from its origins in the early twentieth century, situating it firmly within the evangelical tradition in Canada.

As a requirement for full membership in Pentecostal churches, individual conversion was of particular importance. Pentecostals, like other evangelicals, viewed conversion as a life-changing experience during which an individual was awakened to their sins, and accepted Christ as their personal saviour.[47] Pentecostals departed from other evangelicals in their belief that following conversion, believers were susceptible to

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[44] Roger O'Toole et.al., "The United Church in Crisis: A Sociological Perspective on the Dilemmas of a Mainstream Denomination", Studies in Religion 20:2 (Spring, 1991), p.153. See also Hutcheson, p.37.

[45] Rawlyk, "Introduction", Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, p.xiv.

[46] Burkinshaw, p.251. See also Rawlyk, "Introduction", Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience, p.xiv and Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse", p.295.

[47] Burkinshaw, p.9; Marks, pp.24-25.

the "gifts of the Spirit", such as speaking in tongues. Because of their emphasis on supernatural events and emotional worship practices, early Pentecostals came to be seen as a "peculiar people" both within and beyond the evangelical community. By the postwar years this reputation had diminished, as Pentecostals increasingly turned away from supernatural and "strange" behaviours, and became evident in the "respectable" ranks of public office and higher education. Although Pentecostalism was gradually accommodating to the larger culture, postwar believers continued to be urged to separate themselves from the world. Like many other evangelicals, Pentecostals felt that participating in "worldly" pursuits such as sports, movies, and keeping up with fashion trends created unneccessary, sinful temptations. According to historian Ronald Kydd, Pentecostals insisted on separation from secular society because of "scriptural injunctions, the entirely corrupt state of the world, and the loss of respect and influence if compromise with the world takes place."[48]

Were these postwar congregations hopeless bastions of conformity, where members and ministers alike upheld traditional ideals of gender and family? Or were they spaces of multiple experiences and identities, where church members not only affirmed but challenged gender and family norms? In the hopes of answering these questions, the following chapters explore how church members negotiated Christian gender and family expectations in church associations, during Sunday services, in private worship, and at home.

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[48] Kydd, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Society", p.3.

CHAPTER 1: `A Tender Heart for the Things of God': Church Involvement and Spirituality

In the immediate postwar years and into the 1950s, there was a marked increase in church building and membership in Canada.[1] Yet, there are few historical studies of church involvement in these years. What factors shaped individual decisions to attend church in the years following the war, and were such factors similar in mainline and evangelical religious communities? In addition to exploring the nature of church going in the postwar years, this chapter considers the meanings of spirituality in the lives of church members. In what ways did spirituality influence church involvement, and did this differ significantly in the two churches under consideration? How did the members of these congregations perceive and engage in private prayer and public worship? How did gender shape official definitions of Christian belief and practice, and the spiritual lives of ordinary men and women? This chapter tries to answer these questions within the context of Glad Tidings and First United Church.

Who were the individuals that joined these churches, and what drew them to Sunday services? Certainly, spiritual concerns figured largely in individual decisions to join a church and attend services. At the same time, church going had to do with more than just religious commitment. People also joined a church, and went to Sunday services, to socialize with friends, belong to a wider community, and continue a family tradition. Postwar church involvement was also shaped by dominant discourses which

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[1] Between 1941 and 1961, there was a fourfold increase in Pentecostalism in BC, and between 1945 and 1966, the United Church of Canada built 1500 new churches. See Burkinshaw, p.169 and John G. Stackhouse, "The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945", in George A. Rawlyk ed. The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990 (Burlington: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990), p.200. Stackhouse argues that in the 1940s and 1950s, Canadian Protestant churches underwent their largest rate of growth in the twentieth century.

made church going both normal and respectable. While these factors likely all played some part in drawing people to church services, assessing the relative importance of such factors is a complicated task. Although it does not draw definitive conclusions, this chapter seeks to deepen our understanding of what church going meant to individuals within different religious communities, and within the larger postwar Canadian culture.

Historian Lynne Marks argues that dominant meanings of respectability significantly shaped the nature of church involvement in late nineteenth century small town Ontario. She suggests that church attendance was central to what it meant to be respectable, and therefore accepted, within the wider culture of late nineteenth century Canada.[2] Did notions of respectability play as important a role in defining the dominant culture of the postwar years? I would argue that while the concept of "respectability" was less prevalent in Canadian culture by the 1950s, this continued to be a culture which emphasized the importance of adhering to particular norms and values. Moreover, I would argue that as in the nineteenth century, church involvement was an important key to social acceptance in postwar Canadian society.

Historians have characterized the dominant culture of postwar Canada as one which placed great emphasis on conformity and consensus. After turbulent decades of depression and war, Canadians were told that they would find predictability in traditional values and institutions.[3] Church involvement was central to this search for stability, and to the meanings of normalcy in the postwar years. As John Stackhouse argues, the dramatic increase in church attendance "represented an understandable post-war desire to

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[2] Marks, p.23.
[3] Parr, "Introduction", A Diversity of Women, p.5; Adams, p.3; and Gleason, p.443.

'get things back to normal'."[4] Postwar church involvement, then, had to do with more than just religious commitment. It also had to do with the fact that belonging to a church was a significant marker of normalcy in the larger culture of this period.

Did the notion that church involvement was a normal and respectable postwar activity shape individual decisions to join Glad Tidings and First United? Although Pentecostalism was gaining acceptance within Canadian society, it continued to remain somewhat on the margins of respectable Christianity in the 1940s and 1950s. By contrast, mainline churches were more readily identified with the dominant values of the secular world.[5] This, I would argue, meant that membership in First United conferred a greater measure of social acceptance and respectability than did involvement in an evangelical church such as Glad Tidings.

Evidence from church records suggests that United Church officials were uneasy, rather than reassured, by the postwar growth in church membership. They worried that rather than indicating a rise in "true piety", postwar church attendance was simply "another manifestation of that tendency to conform which is characteristic of the twentieth century."[6] Sermons with titles such as "A Christian or a Church Member?" reflected the anxiety among First United leaders over the nature of postwar church involvement.[7] Church members, officials argued, were becoming "too complacent as church-goers", and showing "too much interest in religious observances and not enough

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[4] Stackhouse, "The Protestant Experience", p.200.

[5] See Hans Mol, Faith and Fragility: Religion and Identity in Canada (Burlington: Trinity Press, 1985), p.240, for a discussion of the relationship between the United Church of Canada and the dominant culture.

[6] Marjorie Oliver and Ron Kenyon ed., Signals for the Sixties (Toronto: UCC Board of Information and Stewardship, 1961), p.3.

[7] First United Church, Bulletin, February 1960.

genuine Christianity."[8] United Church leaders were clearly concerned that church going had less to do with "true piety", than with the emphasis on conformity in the wider culture of the postwar years.

The oral recollections of church members suggest that the normalcy and respectability of church involvement did significantly shape individual decisions to join First United, and attend Sunday services. While most narrators cited the fact that they had been raised in a United Church as their main reason for joining First United, the notion that church going was a normal and accepted postwar activity was also key.[9] Joining a church, claimed First United member Anne Watson, was "your way of establishing yourself in your community."[10] Anne's comment clearly articulates the link between church involvement and social belonging. When asked about his reasons for joining First United, Anne's husband George replied: "we were raised in a tradition where people went to church, you know. On Sunday you went to church and that was just what you did."[11] Similarly, First United member William Brown commented: "Getting involved in churches was the thing to do in the 50s."[12] When asked about his motivation for church going, Henry Campbell claimed that he "just didn't really think otherwise", while Barbara Griffith declared that "just as much as you had your three meals a day, church attendance was a part of life."[13]

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[8] Signals for the Sixties, pp.2-3.

[9] Every interviewee in my sample was raised in a United Church, and many were born into the congregation of First United.

[10] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[11] Ibid.

[12] Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

[13] Interview with Barbara Griffith; Interview with Henry Campbell; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

The notion that church going was the "thing to do" in the postwar years was an important factor in shaping church involvement at First United, but it was not the only one. What was the nature of public worship and spirituality in the United Church of this period, and how did this influence church involvement at First United? I would argue that by the 1950s, the United Church, like many other mainline denominations, had turned away from an emphasis on doctrinal truths and individual conversion in favor of a broad, tolerant, and socially relevant Christianity.[14] This shift has been outlined by historians Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, who argue that in the first decades of the twentieth century, Methodist and Presbyterian church leaders increasingly emphasized the importance of social service over individual conversion. They contend that despite the efforts of United Church officials to foster a resurgence of "personal evangelism" in the 1930s, by the postwar years this had been superceded by an emphasis on social Christianity.[15]

Historian David Plaxton cautions against the tendency to downplay the evangelical impulse of the United Church. He argues that the United Church maintained a "healthy tension" between evangelicalism and social service, a fact reflected in movements such as the "Crusade for Christ and His Kingdom" and in national agencies such as the Board of Evangelism and Social Service.[16] Certainly, the social Christianity of the United Church involved not only the cleansing of society, but the saving of souls. At the same time, it is clear that the individual conversion experience was not central to

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[14] Hutcheson, p.37. See also O'Toole et.al., p.156.

[15] Christie and Gauvreau, p.250.

[16] David Plaxton, "'We Will Evangelize with a Whole Gospel or None': Evangelicalism and the United Church of Canada", in George A. Rawlyk ed. Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp.118-119.

postwar United Church discourses. There is little mention of individual conversion in United Church literature of this period. Instead, such literature encouraged lay members to resist becoming "Comfortable Christians", and to engage in the "practical Christianity" of social service.[17]

To the postwar observer, Canadian society seemed to be undergoing rapid and unsettling changes evidenced in the growth of consumerism, increase in immigration, steady influx of women in the paid workforce, and the apparent rise in poverty, crime, and divorce rates. Larger discourses which pointed to the rapid moral and social decay of the postwar world gave impetus to the focus on "practical Christianity" in the United Church.[18] At the same time, the emphasis on social service also had to do with postwar meanings of normalcy and respectability.[19] United Church officials objected to public and emotional individual conversion experiences, as such displays did not conform to what it meant to be a respectable Christian.

The 1945 Annual Report of the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service pointed out that the two central challenges to the church were secularism, and an "evangelism of a narrow, individualistic, excessively emotional type with an outmoded, obscurantist theology."[20] The United Church's disdain for public and "excessively emotional" spiritual displays, did elicit some criticism from within. In 1954, one United Church leader complained about the "respectable evangelism" of his denomination:

> The effort made to bring people to definite decision for Christ, where such effort is made, is an often diplomatic appeal which lacks very little punch. People must not be asked to make a spectacle of themselves! We must respect their

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[17] Signals for the Sixties, p.3; First United Church, Bulletin, January 1959.
[18] Stackhouse, "The Canadian Protestant Experience", pp.200-201.
[19] Christie and Gauvreau, p.250.
[20] The UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.1.

> respectability. We must not invade the sacred precincts of their personalities. We must not push or intimidate them into making a decision to call God their Father and Christ their Saviour. Ours is a respectable evangelism for respectable people.[21]

The United Church of the postwar years emphasized the rational and respectable expression of Christianity through social service, rather than the "spectacle" of emotional, individual conversion.

Evidence from oral narratives suggests that the conversion experience was not significant to the religious lives of First United members. This is aptly reflected in the following interaction between Anne and Gordon Watson:

> Gordon: "Actually, none of us ever saw the light, as you might say (laughs), or what's the word they use nowadays?"
> Anne: "Saved? Converted?"
> Gordon: "There's another word too. Born again! Born again! We never got around to being born again, because we were raised in the church and in the traditions of the church".[22]

References to conversion experiences are absent from the oral recollections of First United members. This suggests that official United Church discourses, which placed little emphasis on individual conversion, shaped the spiritual self understanding of ordinary church members.

Scholars have suggested that since the postwar years, evangelical churches have been more successful than mainline churches in attracting and keeping members. The appeal of evangelical churches has been attributed to their firm commitment to biblical inerrancy, focus on the individual's relationship with God, and overt rejection of the modern world. By contrast, it is argued, mainline churches have become increasingly

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[21] The UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1954, p.37.
[22] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

identified with secular values, and have turned away from the focus on personal religious experiences and clear, scriptural truths.[23] Mainline church growth in the postwar years has been referred to as "shallow" and "superficial." Such growth, it is argued, had more to do with the general resurgence of conservative values than with an actual revival of religious commitment among Canadians.[24]

Was postwar church involvement in First United merely a product of a larger culture which stressed conformity to dominant norms, or did spiritual interests play a part? In this period, attendance at First United prayer and bible meetings was "discouragingly poor."[25] Of my interview sample, two narrators claimed that prayer was not significant to them in the 1940s and 1950s, and many commented that they were not "bible readers."[26] When asked what prayer meant to him, First United member Thomas Marshall stated bluntly that "private worship is a very private thing."[27] Other First United narrators similarly defined prayer as an important but personal matter. When questioned about his private devotions, Gordon Watson claimed that he was not one to "make a show" of his religious beliefs.[28] Gordon's response is telling, and suggests the far reaching effects of larger discourses of respectable Christianity. It may be that such discourses, which defined public professions of faith as "spectacles", made First United members unwilling to openly discuss their spiritual experiences.

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[23] Mol, p.239. See also Christie and Gauvreau, p.250.

[24] See, for example, Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1965), p.73; and Stackhouse, p.49.

[25] First United Women's Association, Oak Bay Group, Minutes, April 1945.

[26] Interview with Henry Campbell; Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens; Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[27] Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

[28] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

Although First United narrators were reluctant to describe their personal religious experiences in great detail, many declared that private prayer and public worship services were a "stabilizing" and "meaningful" part of their postwar lives.[29] It seems, then, that although spiritual concerns did not figure largely in individual decisions to join First United, they did play a part in keeping them there. I would suggest that for many, the broad and socially relevant Christianity of the United Church counted among its premier attractions. Many First United members recalled engaging in social service work through church and community organizations in the years following the war. In their oral narratives, collecting food and clothing for the poor, helping refugees and war veterans, and aiding single mothers and the unemployed were described as fulfilling Christian experiences.[30] First United members expressed pride in belonging to a church which engaged in social activism, because "Christ mixed with anyone and everyone."[31] In addition, while the United Church has been charged with "doctrinal looseness", many First United members claimed that they were "proud" to belong to such a "broad minded" and "open" church.[32]

What was the relationship between Pentecostalism and the dominant culture in the postwar years, and how did this relationship shape the nature of spirituality and church involvement at Glad Tidings? Pentecostalism was clearly on the margins of

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[29] Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Barbara Griffith; Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

[30] Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

[31] Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU).

[32] Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945", in George A. Rawlyk ed. The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990 (Burlington: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990), p.154. Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

socially respectable religion when it first emerged in Canada in the 1920s. In its early years, Pentecostalism gained a reputation for unconventional and emotionally charged meetings, and its adherents were defined as strange "holy rollers." Mainline, Holiness, and fundamentalist leaders alike objected to the Pentecostal emphasis on tongues-speaking as evidence of the infilling of the Holy Spirit.[33] Some scholars have suggested that by the 1950s, Canadian Pentecostalism had "come of age." In these years, it is argued, Pentecostalism completed the transition from a sect to a denomination, and the tension between its values and those of the larger culture diminished.[34]

Early Pentecostal leaders argued that denominational centralism and institutionalization had made the mainline churches spiritually stagnant, and insisted that theirs was a voluntary movement based not on human leadership, but on the free reign of the Holy Spirit.[35] As Pentecostalism grew, it became increasingly difficult for church officials to deny the need for some level of organization.[36] By the postwar years, they worried that the rise of institutional structures had made Pentecostalism a "stale, mechanical operation."[37] With alarm, they pointed to the apparent decline of spiritual vitality within Pentecostalism, and longingly recalled the "strangely emotional meetings" of earlier years.[38] They worried that Pentecostal churches were increasingly

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[33] See, for example, Mol, p.148; Miller, p.104; and Burkinshaw, p.36.

[34] Miller, p.248. For American studies which address the issue of the institutionalization of Pentecostalism, see Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, and Poloma, The Assemblies of God.

[35] Gordon F. Atter, The Pentecostal Movement: Who We Are and What We Believe (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1957), p.8; and P.S. Jones, Autobiography, pp.67-71.

[36] Gloria G. Kulbeck, What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (Toronto: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958), p.35.

[37] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #5, 1961, p.1; #2, 1958, p.1; PAOC, District of BC, Constitution, 1943, p.43. Pentecostal Testimony, November 15, 1947, p.5.

[38] Kulbeck, p.6; Pentecostal Testimony, January 1, 1947, p.4; February 15, 1945, p.4; September 15, 1945, p.6; February 1, 1947, p.3 and p.18; PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #8, 1955, p.6; #5, 1961, p.1.

accommodating to the secular world, and urged believers to rejoice in, rather than fear, the "stigma of being different from the world."[39]

Historian Ronald Kydd aptly notes that while useful to an understanding of Canadian Pentecostalism, the processes of institutionalization and accommodation to the secular world have played out differently within local religious communities and congregations.[40] Because of this diversity, it is difficult to make sweeping generalizations about the relationship between Pentecostalism and the dominant culture in the postwar years. It does seem, however, that those worship practices which situated early Pentecostalism on the margins of respectable Christianity had diminished by the 1950s. While urged to recapture the spiritual fervor of early Pentecostalism, church members were also warned of the dangers of "unqualified extremes" in worship.[41]

"Peculiar" practices such as tongues-speaking, emotional testimonies, spontaneous shouts of praise, and public healings were not characteristic of postwar worship services at Glad Tidings. Church members commented that tongues-speaking was a rare occurrence and that people did not "dance in the aisles" at Glad Tidings. They recalled that theirs was not an "over-emotional", "noisy", or "extreme" church, and that its worship services were similar to those in Presbyterian churches.[42] In fact, the appeal of Glad Tidings had much to do with the fact that its services were more sedate than some of the more charismatic Pentecostal churches. Marilyn Williams claimed that she liked Glad Tidings because it was "not charismatic to the point where everybody hoots

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[39] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #3, 1958, p.2; #2, 1956, p.1; #5, 1959, p.1; #2, 1958, p.1.
[40] Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse", p.300.
[41] Pentecostal Testimony, June 15, 1949, p.2.
[42] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

and hollers."[43] Glad Tidings member Harold Jensen remarked that during postwar services, people would "say 'praise the Lord' and that the odd time, but nothing that would offend anybody or anything." Harold, and his wife Ruth, liked the fact that Glad Tidings was not given to emotional "extremes", and claimed that they would have left the church had people "laid on the floor" during worship services.[44] The relative absence of unconventional forms of worship at postwar Glad Tidings services reflects the larger process of Pentecostalism's accommodation to secular values.[45]

That church members objected to "extreme" and "offensive" religious practices suggests that by the postwar years, the meanings of respectable Christianity had shaped the nature of worship at the level of the local congregation of Glad Tidings. At the same time, the emphasis in Pentecostalism on the individual's relationship with God and on the free reign of the Holy Spirit continued to distinguish it from mainline Christianity. "The healthiest thing in Pentecost", one church official argued, "is that we never know what is going to happen next."[46] Although worship services at Glad Tidings generally contained prayers, a sermon, and hymns, such practices were not outlined in a church bulletin. Pentecostal church leaders insisted that ordering church services would only restrict the spontaneous workings of the Holy Spirit. The oral narratives of church members suggest that the appeal of Glad Tidings had to do, in part, with the "freedom" and "liberty" of Pentecostal worship. Many criticized the "formal", "structured", and "ritualistic" services of mainline churches, pointing out that at Glad Tidings, "if

[43] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[44] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[45] For a similar analysis of American Pentecostalism, see Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p.12.
[46] Pentecostal Testimony, July 15, 1945, p.9.

somebody had something to say, they were allowed to get up and say it."[47] Doris MacDonald declared that although tongues-speaking and testimonies were not central to postwar services, the Holy Spirit still occasionally moved on the congregation: "every once in a while you could feel a wave of the Spirit like coming over the people, and all of a sudden you'd just see people spontaneously raising their hands, and you could hear quiet little murmurs of people saying praise the Lord, glory, hallelujiah. It was sort of like a soft, caressing breeze coming down."[48]

In her study of the American Assemblies of God, sociologist Margaret Poloma argues that despite the increasing acceptance of Pentecostalism within the larger culture, Pentecostals were still a "peculiar people" in 1960. According to Poloma, Pentecostal believers were more likely than mainline church members to be orthodox in belief, to engage in private devotions, to maintain like-minded friends, and to undergo a conversion experience.[49] I would similarly argue that despite the moderation of many of the seemingly strange religious practices in Pentecostalism, important differences remained between the nature of spirituality in Glad Tidings and First United. While individual conversion was not emphasized in the United Church, it was central to acceptance within the Pentecostal "fellowship of believers." Pentecostals, like other evangelicals, defined conversion as an experience through which individuals came to an awareness of their sinful condition, and accepted Christ as their personal saviour.[50]

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[47] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[48] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[49] Poloma, The Assemblies of God, p.142, p.144, p.153, p.160.

[50] Burkinshaw, p.9; Marks, p.24; Van Die, p.56; and Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, 1923-83 (Victoria: Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church), p.5.

What distinguished Pentecostals from other evangelicals was their belief in tongues speaking as evidence of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.[51] In Pentecostalism, the supernatural gifts of the Spirit, such as faith healing and speaking in tongues, were available to all "true believers."

The Pentecostal focus on individual conversion and the power of the Holy Spirit significantly shaped the nature of spirituality and church involvement at Glad Tidings. Glad Tidings members described their experience of being "born again" in ways which conformed to familiar, evangelical conversion narratives. For most, salvation occurred during their adolescent years.[52] The experience of conversion was described as "dramatic" and "life-changing", and accompanied by a rejection of "worldly" habits such as smoking and drinking.[53] While some members were raised in Glad Tidings, others were introduced to Pentecostalism at revivals. As a young orphan woman in England, Ruth Jensen was attracted by the enthusiastic singing and charismatic preaching of a Pentecostal revival:

> I went down there one night, I think it was a Saturday night, I went down there and it was all young people, and there was singing, and I liked singing, I liked songs, I liked music. So that really caught my eye, and I really enjoyed that. I'd go down to that mission and that was my life. Did you know they had a meeting there every night of the week if you wanted to go? It was this young preacher when I went down there, in fact I nearly fell in love with him![54]

When asked about her reasons for joining a Pentecostal Church, Mary Smith replied: "I

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[51] Burkinshaw, p.100.

[52] In her study of evangelical spirituality in nineteenth century Canada, Van Die suggests that "conversion frequently was experienced during late adolescence, during a time when new responsibilities and changed patterns of life were about to replace the old and familiar". See Van Die, p.55.

[53] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Evelyn Booth (GT).

[54] Interview with Ruth and Harold Jensen (GT).

had lost my mother when I was 15, so I felt very, I guess abandoned, really."[55] Although she experimented with a number of religions, Mary finally decided on Pentecostalism because she liked its "message", and enjoyed the music.

The experiences of Mary and Ruth suggest that Pentecostalism may have held particular appeal to those who were without family. Indeed, while family background figured largely in individual decisions to join First United church, many Glad Tidings members described their experience of becoming Pentecostal as a solitary one, which sometimes occasioned strong objections from family and friends.[56] Such objections suggest that in the postwar years, Pentecostalism continued to be neither fully understood by nor accepted within the larger culture. The emphasis in Pentecostalism on supernatural gifts, such as tongues-speaking and faith healing, distinguished it from mainstream, respectable Christianity. By the postwar years, such practices had considerably declined within the realm of public worship, but a strong belief in the power of the Holy Spirit continued to impact upon the spiritual lives of ordinary Pentecostal believers. In addition to recalling their experiences as subjects of or witnesses to spiritual healings, many Glad Tidings members described their spirit baptism in great detail.[57] While for some, the infilling of the Holy Spirit involved speaking in tongues, for others this experience was evidenced in uncontrollable laughter, or in an enhanced understanding of the Word of God. Despite these differences, a belief that the Holy

[55] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).

[56] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Lillian Olson (GT).

[57] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

Spirit had a hand in even the most mundane activities of their daily lives is a common thread running through the narratives of Glad Tidings members.

In Pentecostal religious discourses, the Christian faith was best expressed not through social service, but through one's personal relationship with God. Through their history, Pentecostals often bemoaned the negative impact of the "social gospel", arguing that social service work diverted attention from the only real solution to the world's problems - the Holy Spirit.[58] Glad Tidings member Marilyn Williams objected to the focus on "good works" in the United Church:

> Now this is where I kind of disagree with the United Church. It seemed to me they were always having meetings about world situations, and they never really got down to the Bible. I mean, what they did in helping was good, but my feeling was, well what did Jesus say? What would he want us to do? I mean, if the Bible isn't absolutely true, then I don't want anything to do with it.[59]

Marilyn's decision to remain in Glad Tidings church had much to do with the emphasis on personal spirituality over social service in Pentecostalism. As a young man, Edward Maxwell left the United Church to join Glad Tidings. He complained that "in the modern churches it didn't really matter what you believed, you know."[60] It seems, then, that the promise of certain scriptural truths contributed to the appeal of Pentecostalism.

When asked about their personal devotions, Glad Tidings members were quick to describe the meanings and purpose of daily prayer in their lives. They commented that regular prayer made life "easier to handle" and convinced them that they were "not

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[58] Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, p.98; Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, pp.200-201, and Miller, p.186, p.319, and p.359. Miller argues that by 1960, the PAOC was beginning to recognize its social responsibility and to engage in humanitarian works.

[59] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

[60] Interview with Edward Maxwell (GT).

alone."[61] Some scholars have suggested that mainline church members have been less likely than evangelicals to pray and read the bible regularly.[62] While individual spirituality is unquanitifiable, it does seem that bible reading figured more centrally in the religious lives of Glad Tidings members. Undoubtedly, the fact that Pentecostal doctrine emphasized scriptural truths made private, regular bible reading important to many Glad Tidings men and women.[63]

To this point, we have explored aspects of spirituality, and some of the factors which shaped postwar church involvement. Family background, social service opportunities, and the notion that going to church was the "thing to do" played a significant part in individual decisions to join First United Church. The Pentecostal emphasis on the Holy Spirit and individual conversion meant that spiritual concerns were more central to church involvement at Glad Tidings. Of course, we cannot reduce involvement at either church to purely social or spiritual dimensions. Spiritual interests, family background, and ideals of respectability likely had some impact on decisions to join both churches. Individuals also became involved in these churches to find a sense of community, and to socialize with friends. Some church members commented that because there were few leisure opportunities in Victoria at the time, the church became their "social life."[64] This was cause for concern among Pentecostal and United Church

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[61] Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[62] Mol, p.178.

[63] Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Doris Macdonald; Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[64] Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU). Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

officials, who worried that postwar congregations were becoming "cosy, social clubs."[65]

Scholars have argued that evangelical churches provided more of a sense of community and belonging than mainline churches.[66] Certainly, official Pentecostal discourses in the postwar years emphasized the importance of the "fellowship of believers." A Pentecostal church, they argued, was to be a "spiritual home" for a "community of saints" rather than a mere institution.[67] Historian Susan Juster argues that when the Baptist church in New England developed from a sect to a denomination in the second half of the eighteenth century, "what had once been a true community of saints became transformed into a society of churchgoers."[68] Doug Murphy admitted that when he returned from overseas following the war and re-entered Glad Tidings, he felt like he was "coming into a brand new church." Because of the growth in church membership, he claimed, people were not as "warm and outgoing as they had been before the war", and there was not "as much chance for fellowship."[69] This suggests that at least for some church members, the postwar congregation of Glad Tidings was not the close-knit, "fellowship of believers" it once was.

For others, a sense of belonging and community were central to the appeal of Glad Tidings. Mary Smith described her experience upon moving to Victoria:

> Well, like moving here from another city, you know, it can be very lonely. It's a place to belong and for us, coming from Winnipeg, to Glad Tidings we had a lot of people that we knew through the church and that's quite neat, that's really

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[65] Signals for the Sixties, p.3; Pentecostal Testimony, May 15, 1945, p.12.

[66] Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited , p.235; and Van Die, p.60.

[67] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #3, 1954, p.1; #2, 1961, p.1; Pentecostal Testimony, January 15, 1949, p.7.

[68] Susan Juster, Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), p.2.

[69] Interview with Doug Murphy (GT).

wonderful. And helps you to make the transition easier.[70]

Similarly, when she moved to Victoria from England, Maureen Graham found a community in Glad Tidings: "the first six months I was here, I never had Sunday in my own home! We were invited out to somebody's home every Sunday."[71] First United individuals certainly formed close friendships with other church members, particularly within church based associations. Most, however, also had many friends with no church connection. Glad Tidings narrators were much more apt to comment that the majority of their friends were within the church. The doctrinal insistence on separation from the world made association with like-minded friends central in Glad Tidings, and may have contributed to a stronger sense of community.

The nature of spirituality and church involvement in these local congregations cannot be understood without also looking at gender. The category of gender shaped the ways in which church officials and members defined spirituality. The gender meanings embedded in United Church discourses help to explain the emphasis on social service in this denomination. Christie and Gauvreau suggest that the increasing focus on social Christianity in Methodist and Presbyterian churches was occasioned, in part, "by a largely male rejection of public professions of faith, which came to be viewed as unmanly because they placed an overemphasis on emotional display."[72] I would argue that in the postwar period, United Church leaders disapproved of religious "spectacles" and public conversion experiences, in part, because of the feminized meanings of emotionalism in the larger culture. Church members were told that emotion has a place

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[70] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).
[71] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[72] Christie and Gauvreau, p.96.

in religion, but only when "controlled by reason and conscience."[73] United Church officials rejected the "anemic pietism" and "narrow individualist evangelism" of some conservative evangelical churches, as such practices encouraged irrational, emotional, and ultimately "unmanly" behaviour.[74]

In 1959, a United Church leader argued that the church would not be revitalized through "pietistic preaching", but rather "through a fearless facing of the great social issues of our times."[75] Church members were urged to face these "great social issues" by becoming involved in community service, and by bringing Christianity into "industry, business, politics, and the professions."[76] The United Church emphasis on social service and on the relevance of Christianity to the wider, secular world, "highlighted the manly pursuit of public influence and community leadership."[77] By engaging in the "virile and practical" work of social service, United Church men could affirm their religious commitment in ways which did not contradict their manhood.[78] Clearly, United Church discourses on spirituality were not free of gender meanings. Such discourses both implicitly and explicitly degraded feminized, emotional forms of worship, and fashioned Christianity as "virile", "practical", and consistent with masculine norms.

In the postwar years, as in other historical contexts, what it meant to be a respectable Christian had much to do with gender. Early Pentecostalism was popularly characterized as "wickedly feminine." This reflected, in part, the large numbers of

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[73] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.1.
[74] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1957, p.45.
[75] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1959, p.55.
[76] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1955, p.41.
[77] Christie and Gauvreau, p.96.
[78] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.26; 1955, p.41. First United Church, Bulletin, October 28, 1951.

women worshippers and preachers in early Pentecostalism.[79] However, Pentecostalism was also constructed as a particularly feminine religion because of its reputation for emotional extravagance and irrationalism. As Pentecostalism became more accepted within the wider culture, its reputation for strange and extreme religious practices diminished. Nevertheless, the experiences of conversion and the spirit baptism remained central to Pentecostalism in the postwar years. Such experiences, which required submission to God and some level of emotion, challenged the manly qualities of strength and rationality.

In their studies of Sicily and Latin America, anthropologists Salvatore Cucchiari and Lesley Gill argue that while Pentecostal doctrine insisted on female subservience, it also dictated "rigid behavioural norms" for men.[80] Pentecostal men, they argue, were required to cultivate some traditionally "feminine" qualities such as submission to God and emotional religious fervor. As such, Pentecostal spirituality encouraged a gentler, more emotional and "domesticated" masculinity."[81] This is an apt analysis, but it does not account for the complex interplay between dominant and Pentecostal discourses. I would argue that in the postwar years, there was a negotiation between dominant ideals of masculinity, and the meanings of Pentecostal manhood. Concerned about the feminized nature of their religion, church officials tried to redefine Pentecostal spirituality in ways which conformed to contemporary masculine norms.

Pentecostal church leaders used various rhetorical strategies to turn the emotional experiences of conversion and the infilling of the Holy Spirit into forms of masculine

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[79] See, for example, Cucchiarri, p.703.
[80] Gill, p.717; and Cucchiarri, p.688.
[81] Gill, p.717; and Cucchiari, p.693.

expression. To make individual conversion a manly experience, church leaders pointed to men who were at once spiritually emotional, and physically strong. A 1955 PAOC District of BC Circular letter contained the following comment: "The husband of one of our Sunday School teachers came forward for Salvation. This will sure make a happy home! It was wonderful to see the big strong men weeping and crying out to God for forgiveness."[82] In church literature, the spirit baptism was described not as submission to God but rather the use of the "Holy Spirit for spiritual warfare."[83] Such literature referred to the experiences of "strong and spiritual" men who, through the "mighty" power of the spirit, were able to "meet and overcome temptation."[84] Through aggressive and militant language, church leaders tried to make individual conversion and spirit baptism experiences which affirmed, rather than challenged, the masculine ideal of strength.

Postwar church publications are filled with articles bemoaning the seeming decline of spiritual fervor in Pentecostalism. In many cases, such articles urged church members and ministers to recapture the emotionalism of early Pentecostal worship. At the 1958 Pentecostal World Conference in Toronto, Canadian evangelist Donald Gee argued that to "teach a presumed Pentecostal experience without emotional manifestation is to emaciate the doctrine beyond all recognition as being according to the Scriptures."[85] Likewise, Pentecostal evangelist Gordon Atter asserted that "if there is anything to religion at all it must be emotional - otherwise it is a cold, dead, formal thing, having no

[82] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #2, 1955, p.5.
[83] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #8, 1955, p.6.
[84] Pentecostal Testimony, January 1, 1945, p.9; May 15, 1945, p.2.
[85] Gee, Donald ed., Pentecostal World Conference Messages: Preached at the 5th Triennial Pentecostal World Conference (Toronto: Testimony Press, 1958), p.43.

appeal to the human heart."[86] These appeals were underlined by an uneasiness over what was perceived to be a "fear of emotionalism", both within and outside of the church. Church officials responded to this fear, which had much to do with the feminized meanings of Pentecostal worship, by redefining emotionalism as a respectable, rational, and manly experience.

In the following passage, Gordon Atter replies to the common objection to emotional forms of worship:

> Man is emotional. He was created with ability to experience intense feelings, such as love, joy, grief, etc. Some people have their emotions more easily stirred than others. Emotionalism is considered perfectly in order in the natural realm. Every day that we live our emotional life is stirred to a greater or lesser degree. In our work and in our play, we are emotional. The sport world depends on stirring people's emotions for its very existence.[87]

By defining emotionalism as natural and orderly, and drawing parallels with the sport world, Atter tries to counter the feminized meanings of Pentecostal worship. Pentecostal leaders also drew on scriptural evidence, with particular references to Jesus, in their efforts to construct emotional worship practices as strong and acceptable. All spiritual experiences, Atter argued, "must move on a man's emotional life. *Loud Praying* is exemplified by Jesus, see Hebrews 5:7, where it declares He prayed with `strong crying and tears'."[88] A 1949 article in the Pentecostal Testimony referred to the problem that while many "Christian businessmen" liked Pentecostal doctrine, they objected to worship practices which were "too emotional."[89] In response, the author highlighted scriptural passages which describe Jesus as spiritually emotional: "I'd like you to go with me and

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[86] Atter, p.23.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Pentecostal Testimony, June 1, 1949, p.3.

watch Him. I'd like you to see Him look down over a city and weep and cry, 'O Jerusalem, thou that stonest the prophets, how oft would I have gathered you as a hen gathers her chicks but ye would not'."[90] The many biblical references to emotion-filled religious experiences, argued the author, meant that believers should embrace rather than fear emotionalism in worship. In their attempts to masculinize the meanings of Pentecostal spirituality, church officials drew parallels with the life of Jesus, linked physical strength with spiritual fervor, and emphasized the natural and orderly characteristics of emotionalism.

How did the gendered meanings of spirituality shape the religious lives of men and women at First United and Glad Tidings? The United Church objected to emotional extremes in worship, placed little emphasis on individual conversion, and encouraged its members to engage in social Christianity. While not exempt from dominant discourses which defined the church and religion as feminine, United Church doctrine did not pose a significant challenge to masculine ideals. By contrast, Pentecostal religious practices contradicted the world's definition of manhood. I would argue that although church officials tried to reconcile these contradictions, Pentecostal spirituality remained largely feminized in the postwar years. In their oral recollections, Glad Tidings members commented that women "prayed more than men", were more "emotional" in worship, were more likely to attend prayer meetings, and were "a little more sensitive to the calling of the Lord than men."[91] Edward Maxwell claimed that women are "softer

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT). The preponderance of women at prayer meetings throughout the PAOC is noted in Miller, p.317.

hearted, and the spirit of the Lord can work on them more than it can on men."[92] Glad Tidings members suggested that as the primary breadwinners, men had less time than women to spend on spiritual matters. Men, some argued, were "easily attracted by the things of the world" and "had their minds on business, making money, and politics." [93] Church members expressed essentialized notions of women's natural affinity for religion, which suggest that official efforts to dislodge the feminized meanings of Pentecostal spirituality had little effect at the level of the local congregation of Glad Tidings.

In the postwar years, Pentecostal leaders dictated a rigid gender hierarchy within church and home. Why did a religion which insisted on masculine authority have such a large appeal to women? Certainly, the emphasis in Pentecostalism on the individual's relationship with God figured largely in its attraction to women. Pentecostal religious discourses were complex, and somewhat ambivalent, with respect to the roles of women. While male authority was firmly entrenched within both church and home, Pentecostal doctrine advocated the spiritual equality of all believers. While Glad Tidings men and women generally agreed that male leadership was divinely ordained, many also pointed out that all Pentecostal believers were "equal before God."[94] Pentecostal church members were told that their relationship with God was primary, and not to "set their heart" upon their families.[95] Glad Tidings member Doris Macdonald commented that her relationship with God outweighed the significance of her relationship with her husband:

> None of us is perfect, so don't look for perfection in your partner. And don't look for happiness in your partner. Because happiness comes from the Lord, and how

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[92] Interview with Edward Maxwell (GT).

[93] Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[94] Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[95] Zelma Argue, A Vision and a Vow (Springfield: The Gospel Publishing House, 1940), p.39.

> you feel about Him, being fulfilled as a person. You don't get that fulfillment from the other person, it's what your relationship is with your maker, that's where your best self-image comes from.[96]

Although she acknowledged her husband as the head of the home, Doris understood herself first and foremost as a "daughter of God."

We have seen how private devotions, and a belief in the power of the Holy Spirit to direct human experience, were central to the religious lives of Glad Tidings members. I would argue that there were important differences between the religious identities of Pentecostal men and women. The link between femininity and domesticity meant that women's spirituality often centered around their experiences as wives and mothers. The next chapter considers how as "prayer warriors", Glad Tidings women negotiated a space for themselves within the patriarchal church hierarchy. At the level of the household, Pentecostal women drew strength from their faith to cope with domestic responsibilities and family relationships. Glad Tidings member June Peterson reflected on the importance of Holy Spirit in her life: "I believe it helped me over the years to deal with my husband and to deal with the kids and just to live a powerful Christian life."[97] Other Glad Tidings women similarly asserted that the "Lord helped" them take care of their children, husbands, and homes. Maureen Graham defined private prayer as "a time when you could pour out your heart to God without somebody else listening. There are things in life that you can't even tell your partner. Things are not always easy, money's tight when you're first married and have mortgages, etcetera. It's not easy, but you can pray about those things and know that God alone hears."[98] Domestic responsibilities shaped,

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[96] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[97] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[98] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

and sometimes limited, the nature of women's personal devotions. Doris MacDonald admitted that she often "prayed on the run" because much of her time was consumed with domestic chores:

> when it came to praying, I couldn't seem to get all my praying done. So I had a lot of ironing, because there was no drip-dry in those days, so I can remember different times that while I was ironing, I hardly needed a steam iron because I used to be weeping while I was praying. I think a lot of my life I've had a very tender heart for the things of God.[99]

Similarly, Glad Tidings member Mary Smith recalled praying "on the run" as a young mother, because she could not find a "specific time to sit down."[100]

In her study of women's spirituality in nineteenth century Canada, Marguerite Van Die argues that for evangelical women, "religious faith had been a means of reconciling the gap between the world that 'ought to be' and the contradictions and ambiguities of the world that was."[101] Indeed, some Glad Tidings women drew on spiritual meanings to make sense of difficult life experiences. Doris MacDonald recalled that despite her desire as a young women to enter the business world, she became a stay-at-home mother. When asked why she chose full time motherhood over the public world of work, Doris replied: "It's much easier to be selfish and have your own goals, than it is to be submissive to what the Word of God is saying to you, and come to a place where you surrender your will and say 'this is what I'm meant to do at this time, and with your help Lord I'm going to do the best job in all the world'."[102] A belief in the importance of submitting to God's will helped Doris to reconcile the contradictions between her desire

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[99] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[100] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).
[101] Van Die, p.64.
[102] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

to be a businesswoman, and the reality of her experience as a full time mother. Glad Tidings member June Peterson commented that her husband, although a regular church-goer, objected to the Pentecostal emphasis on the Holy Spirit and tongues speaking. Scriptural passages reassured June that despite his objections, her husband was nevertheless a Christian: "it [the bible] says the wife sanctifies the husband and the husband sanctifies the wife, just by living together and making love together and doing your thing. And I think if you have wisdom from God, and love each other, they come along. I think that's the way it was with my husband."[103]

Some scholars have suggested that despite the inherently conservative view of women's roles and nature in most evangelical religions, evangelical spirituality could sometimes "soften gender differences", and bring men and women together.[104] There is some evidence to suggest that shared prayer between husbands and wives was more common in Glad Tidings homes. First United member Barbara Griffith remarked: "I don't think my husband and I ever did much praying together, because he didn't want...that wasn't his type of life. He didn't want to share that kind of thing. He was personal."[105] That First United members did not recall praying with their spouses reflects, in part, the privatized nature of spirituality and disdain for public religious displays in the United Church.

Sociologist Susan Rose contends that within evangelical families, prayer could function as "a sacred forum in which to discuss virtually all issues without placing direct

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[103] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[104] Hannah Lane, "Wife, Mother, Sister, Friend: Methodist Women in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, 1861-1881", in Jane Guildford and Suzanne Morton eds. Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the Nineteenth Century Maritimes (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), p.115. See also Gill and Cucchiarri.

[105] Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

blame on the other party."[106] Indeed, some Glad Tidings members, such as Mary Smith, negotiated marital conflicts through the "sacred forum" of mutual prayer:

> before we were married we made a commitment to each other that we would not go to bed angry at one another. And if we had problems we would pray about them together. Now that sounds really great. It is great. But it's not always easy to do in daily living. But we always...we've always been able to do that, we've always prayed together. It's pretty hard if you're upset with somebody, to pray with them and still be upset. It's a wonderful way to resolve problems, because if people are honest before God, they know if they've been wrong.[107]

Mary understood mutual praying as a way to discuss marital problems. It may be that within the presumably neutral forum of prayer, and before God's impartial witness, Pentecostal women could speak freely and contest masculine authority within the home. Doris MacDonald asserted that the Pentecostal faith made her marriage relationship more "compassionate" and "forgiving": "Don't let the sun go down upon your wrath, don't go to bed angry at the other one.[108] While it insisted that male leadership was divinely ordained, Pentecostal doctrine contained ambiguities and contradictions with respect to gender. Glad Tidings women subtly challenged the prescriptive gender hierarchy by emphasizing their relationship with God, drawing on notions of spiritual equality, and expressing themselves through prayer.

How did the category of gender shape the nature of church involvement in Glad Tidings and First United? A lack of statistical evidence makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about the individuals who made up these local postwar congregations. At the same time, an analysis of church records and oral narratives can shed some light on official and lay perceptions of who attended these churches, and who

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[106] Rose, p.256.
[107] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).
[108] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

stayed away. Lynne Marks attributes the limited appeal of Protestant churches to single young men, in part, to the feminized meanings of Christianity in late nineteenth century Ontario.[109] We know less about the gendered meanings of religion in the twentieth century. Historian Lucille Marr suggests that in the interwar years, the absence of young men on church membership rolls was perceived as a particular problem within the United Church of Canada.[110] Nevertheless, in postwar United Church literature there is little mention of the "young man problem." While First United leaders were concerned about bringing "young people back into the church", they rarely made the distinction of gender.[111]

Pentecostal literature of the 1940s and 1950s contains occasional references to the problem of bringing young men into the church. An article in a 1947 issue of the Pentecostal Testimony expressed concerns that the Sunday school held little attraction for young people: "The young men and women of the church will not easily be led to attend the Sunday school until it has the dignity and prestige that an adult department will give it. The 'young man' problem, so often under discussion, will be solved by the presence in the school of fathers and mothers."[112] In addition, through these years the PAOC newspaper often advertised a book entitled "How to Win Boys."[113] Nevertheless, I would argue that the "young man problem" was not central to official church discourses in the postwar years. This may have to do with the fact that discussions of domestic and family relationships took primacy in the pages of postwar church literature. Perhaps the

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[109] Marks, p.32.
[110] Marr, p.69 and p.74.
[111] First United Women's Association, Oak Bay Group, Minutes, February 1958.
[112] Pentecostal Testimony, December 1, 1947, p.12.
[113] See, for example, Pentecostal Testimony, September 15, 1945, p.2.

significance of the "problem" of family breakdown outweighed the "problem" of young men in official church rhetoric, and in the larger culture of the postwar period. It does seem that Pentecostal church officials were more worried than their United Church counterparts about young men's church involvement. Pentecostalism may have had a limited appeal to young men because, more than the United Church, its religious practices challenged the world's definition of acceptable, manly behaviour.

Although its patterns of worship were more consistent with dominant masculine ideals, the United Church was still shaped by larger postwar discourses which constructed the church and religion as feminine.[114] Church members commented that at First United, women "saved the day" with respect to church involvement, and that in the postwar years many women attended Sunday services without their husbands.[115] First United member Marion Stevens usually attended church with her mother-in-law, rather than her husband, in the postwar years. Her husband Frank commented that he did not attend church services regularly because he was busy with work or "in the garden on Sundays."[116] The feminized nature of religion may have kept some husbands away from church. For others, marital status significantly shaped their decisions to join First United, and attend Sunday services. Lynne Marks argues that the late nineteenth century masculine ideals of "respectable breadwinner" and "Christian family man" played an important part in drawing married men into the churches.[117] First United member Anne Watson commented: "I would venture to suppose that a lot of women brought a lot of the

[114] See, for example, Christie and Gauvreau, pp.96-98; and Marr, p.74.
[115] Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).
[116] Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU).
[117] Marks, p.33.

men into the church, when they got married, you know (laughs)."[118] Anne also pointed out that a number of men started attending services only after they had joined a First United Couples' Club with their wives. First United narrator Henry Campbell decided to attend church regularly only after he became a father, in order to set a good example for his child.[119] These accounts suggest that the masculine ideal of "Christian family man" played a part in drawing married men to church services at First United.

There is some evidence to suggest that in both churches, women were more likely than men to regularly attend evening services. Glad Tidings member June Peterson described the reasons why she attended evening services without her husband:

> My husband, well the morning service was more of a quieter service, so he always went to the morning service. But the Sunday night service was the clapping and stuff, and he didn't like that, but I liked it, I liked it a little livelier. So, in our earlier years, he'd want me to stay home, but he never minded me going out, and he'd put the kids to bed.[120]

In the postwar years, the evening services at Glad Tidings were more evangelical and enthusiastic than the morning services. It may be that some men, like June's husband, preferred the more ordered and sedate worship of morning services because they posed less of a challenge to the meanings of manhood. First United members Anne Watson and Diane Brown attended morning services with their husbands, but evening services alone. According to Anne, the evening services held particular appeal to mothers:

> I miss the evening service, and I know a lot of people did. I used to say that for mothers of families, the evening service was a break for them. I mean, Sunday morning you rushed around and got the kids ready for Sunday school, and then you'd run home and get supper - lunch and dinner. And the evening service, I guess a lot of times it was the women that went to the evening service because it was time to relax![121]

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[118] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).
[119] Interview with Henry Campbell (FU).
[120] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

Anne's comment suggests that women may have attended the evening service for a reprive from domestic responsibilities, rather than for spiritual reasons.

In the absence of quantitative records, it is difficult to get at the impact of class on postwar church involvement. My research interviews included questions about the class make-up of Glad Tidings and First United. Qualitative materials, such as oral narratives and church publications, can help us to get a sense of the class-based appeal of these congregations. Christie and Gauvreau argue by the 1950s, the United Church of Canada was largely a middle class institution, having lost much of its membership to the more populist, evangelical churches.[122] In 1949, one United Church official expressed concerns about the relationship between the church and labour, and worried that the church was becoming "a mere devotional society...for the more privileged classes."[123] It does seem that in the postwar years, First United had limited appeal to the working classes. In their oral narratives, church members overwhelmingly described First United as a middle or upper-middle class church. Frank Stevens remarked:

> I think there might've been an attitude that, you know, the poor people were not allowed to associate...they probably felt that we were more of a middle and upper class congregation. The church would always welcome them, but in those years we didn't see too many of them around. I don't think that those in need, the poor, they didn't really feel at home in attending First United.[124]

Likewise, Barbara Griffith commented that "the people who were attracted to First were not from the poorer neighbourhoods", while Henry Campbell claimed that at First United "there was some rich people, and a lot of well to do people, and not many poor

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[121] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).
[122] Christie and Gauvreau, p.250.
[123] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1949, p.26.
[124] Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU).

people."[125] The United Church's emphasis on social Christianity, and the congruence between its values and those of the larger culture, contributed to its middle class appeal. United Church organizations provided opportunities for social and community leadership, both within and outside of the church. Such "respectable" opportunities were shaped by middle class notions of social reform and community building, and based on the assumption that church members had sufficient leisure time to engage in social service.[126]

Scholars have noted that early Pentecostalism in Canada and the United States was made up largely of the "socially and economically disinherited."[127] Undoubtedly, the Pentecostal insistence on spiritual equality contributed to its appeal to the working classes. Pentecostal believers were told that the gifts of the spirit were available to all, regardless of worldly rank. "Our position in life may be the most ordinary", remarked one Pentecostal leader, "our circumstances even embarassing, our ability below average, and yet we may walk with God."[128] Most scholars agree that by the 1950s, Pentecostalism could no longer be characterized as a religion of the disinherited, as many believers were drawn from the ranks of the middle class.[129] At the same time, Pentecostal churches in BC continued to maintain large numbers of working class

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[125] Interview with Barbara Griffith; Interview with Henry Campbell (FU).

[126] See Marks, p.24, for a discussion of how notions of respectability shaped the class appeal of Protestant churches in late nineteenth century Ontario.

[127] See, for example, Christie and Gauvreau, p.59; and Mol, p.148. For American studies see Anderson, Vision of the Disinherited, p.114; Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, p.9; and George Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.96.

[128] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #4, 1955, p.1.

[129] Miller, p.269 and Mol, p.148. For a similar argument about American Pentecostalism, see Synan, p.200.

members in the postwar period.[130]

Glad Tidings members gave varied responses to questions about the class make-up of their congregation in the 1940s and 1950s. While some defined it as a middle class church, others declared that the membership of Glad Tidings ranged from the poor to the very wealthy. Some narrators claimed that they were poor in the postwar years, which suggests that Glad Tidings may have drawn more members from the working classes than First United.[131] Certainly, as many have argued, the working class appeal of Pentecostalism had to do partly with ideals of spiritual equality. I would argue that it also had to do with the fact that Pentecostal churches often fostered a close-knit sense of community. According to Maureen Graham, many Glad Tidings members were quite "badly off" in the years following the war. Maureen suggested that the church functioned as a support network in times of financial hardship: "everybody helped one another. If you had kids clothes that your kids grew out of, you swapped over with somebody else. You helped one another because things were tight. So many were jobless."[132] The evidence, while limited, seems to suggest that Glad Tidings held a wider appeal to the working classes than First United.

It is difficult to draw a clear picture of the race and ethnic make-up of these congregations. Scholars have argued that while early Pentecostal revivals brought together worshippers of various origins, this racial and ethnic diversity soon waned as Pentecostalism became increasingly institutionalized.[133] By the 1950s, the PAOC was

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[130] Burkinshaw, p.170.

[131] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[132] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

composed largely of white members, the majority of whom were of British origins. Non-British immigrants to Canada formed a number of separate Pentecostal conferences, such as Italian, French, and Slavic, which were associated with but independent from the larger PAOC.[134] Like most mainline denominations, the United Church of Canada did not have a wide race and ethnic appeal in the postwar period. Burkinshaw argues that mainline churches in BC were "British-oriented" in these years, and had little success attracting non-British, non-white members.[135] In their recollections, members of both churches pointed out that the congregations of Glad Tidings and First United were largely made up of white, anglo-saxon people in the postwar period. Although the evidence is limited, it does suggest that being both white and of British origins were key to involvement in these congregations. In these years, church and dominant discourses constructed anglo-saxon culture as superior and made whiteness central to the meanings of religious respectability. These factors account, in part, for the limited appeal of these churches to non-British immigrants, and to African, Native, and Asian Canadians.

Clearly, we cannot make easy assumptions about what it meant to join a church or attend Sunday services in the postwar years. The categories of gender, class, and race, and a combination of spiritual and social factors, shaped the nature of postwar church involvement in these local congregations. Larger discourses of gender and respectability impacted upon official definitions of spirituality, and the ways in which ordinary church members perceived and engaged in private and public worship. For postwar individuals,

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[133] S.M. Burgess and G.B. McGee, eds., Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), p.3; and Burkinshaw, p.170.

[134] Miller, p.201; Kulbeck, p.336; and Burkinshaw, p.170.

[135] Burkinshaw, p.177.

getting involved in the church was not limited to attending Sunday services. To learn more about the meanings of postwar church involvement, and about relations of gender and power at the level of the local congregation, we must turn to an analysis of church work and church-based associations.

CHAPTER 2: Workers and Warriors: Gender, Church Associations, and Power

As membership in Canadian Protestant churches increased following the war, so too did opportunities in church work.[1] Church work encompassed a range of activities, such as lay ministering, teaching Sunday school, and acting on church committees. Individuals could also engage in church work through church based associations. In these years, women's associations expanded and new men's groups were formed in Glad Tidings and First United. This chapter explores the experiences of men and women in church associations, and the gendered nature of the ordained ministry and leadership of these two churches. In so doing, it sheds further light on the meanings of postwar church involvement, and on the ways in which power relations were negotiated at the level of the congregation.

In the postwar years, the position of ordained minister was occupied solely by men in Glad Tidings and First United church. While the United Church of Canada officially granted ordination to women in 1936, this was largely a "paper victory" which did little to disrupt the entrenched patriarchy of church government.[2] There are few overt references to the issue of women ministers in First United records through the 1940s and 50s. Such records did, nevertheless, subtly reinforce the intrinsic maleness of the ministry. While the United Church issued calls for male ministers in these years, it encouraged women to become involved in Christian education, deaconness work, and the music programs of their local churches.[3] Women's church work, remarked one First

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[1] Stackhouse, "The Protestant Experience", p.201.
[2] Korinek, p.508.
[3] First United Women's Association, Letters, 1960-61.

United leader, nicely "complemented that of the minister of the Word and sacraments."[4] First United member Anne Watson commented that in the 1950s, "if you had a woman going into the ministry, it was quite a thing. It wasn't unusual, but it wasn't that usual, you know."[5] Despite formal access to ordination, United Church women were discouraged from pursuing a career in ministry. By defining women's church work as "complementary", United Church discourses reaffirmed that the ministry was for men.

The PAOC's sister organization in the United States, the Assemblies of God, ordained women from its beginnings.[6] By contrast, women were not allowed access to the ordained ministry in the PAOC until 1984.[7] The prominent role of women preachers in early American Pentecostalism has been well documented.[8] American studies have shown that as Pentecostalism accommodated to the larger culture, women were increasingly excluded from positions of leadership. The changing attitudes toward women ministers in American Pentecostalism reflect a common pattern in evangelicalism. Marginalized religious groups or "sects" have traditionally been open to women preachers. Scholars have shown that as such groups evolve from fringe religious communities into denominations, women are gradually pushed out of positions of power.[9] As early as the 1920s, American evangelist Frank Bartleman complained that in

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[4] First United Church, Bulletin, October 30, 1955.

[5] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[6] Hawkes, p.206.

[7] The PAOC defeated a motion to ordain women in 1974, and again in 1978. See Miller, p.318.

[8] See, for example, Poloma, The Charismatic Movement: Is there a new Pentecost? (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1982); Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith and Aimee Semple Mcpherson; Lawless, Handmaidens of the Lord and "Not So Different a Story After All: Pentecostal Women in the Pulpit", in Catherine Wessinger ed. Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations Outside the Mainstream (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), pp.434-459; and Barfoot and Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion".

[9] See, for example, Juster, p.7; Hardesty, p.159; John G. Stackhouse Jr., "Women in public ministry in 20th century Canadian and American Evangelicalism: Five Models", Studies in Religion, 17: 3 (Fall 1988), p.477; Lucille Sider Dayton and Donald W. Dayton, "Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: Feminism in

the Pentecostal movement, "effeminate men follow a female ministry too largely through a spirit of fleshly attraction to the opposite sex."[10] In American Pentecostalism, the reaction against women preachers set in within the first two decades of the movement. We know much less about attitudes toward women ministers in Canadian Pentecostalism.

Although Canadian Pentecostal women could not be ordained in the postwar period, they could obtain a Ministerial License which enabled them to work as lay preachers.[11] As lay preachers, women played an active and prominent role in the early history of the PAOC.[12] The gradual institutionalization of Canadian Pentecostalism likely contributed to the decline of women lay preachers by the postwar years. Nevertheless, the issue of "ministering women" remained a contentious one. Pentecostal church literature of the 1940s and 1950s contained frequent debates about the nature and extent of women's ministry. The notion that the Holy Spirit was free to preach through anyone, regardless of social position, lay at the heart of Pentecostal doctrine. This made it difficult for church officials to contain the movement's "prophesying daughters." Pentecostal leaders invoked a range of gendered stereotypes to discourage women from becoming lay preachers, and to justify their objections to the ordination of women.

Pentecostal believers were told that able ministry was a gift of the Holy Spirit, rather than a product of formal training. "What we have received from God in this latter rain outpouring", argued one Pentecostal leader, "did not come because we had an

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the Holiness Movement", Methodist History, 14 (January 1976), p.92; and Shirley Bentall, "The Experience of Women in Canadian Evangelicalism, Ecumenism 85 (March 1987), p.18.

[10] As cited in Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, p.174.

[11] Kulbeck, p.74; and Peters, p.57.

[12] Kulbeck, p.13; and Miller, p.103.

educated ministry, but rather men and women who were open channels through whom the Spirit of God could function."[13] Most church officials admitted that the spirit could use both men and women to preach. At the same time, scriptural references to women preachers were interpreted in a very limited manner. Church leaders asserted that men could "choose" to enter the ministry based on their "natural abilities", but that women had to rely on a definite call of the Holy Spirit.[14]

The argument that the Holy Spirit was women's sole claim to prophesy implied that, unlike men, women did not use their intellect to preach.[15] Church leaders drew on dominant notions of female irrationalism to justify the exclusion of women from formal aspects of church leadership. While women could provide channels for the Holy Spirit, they were deemed naturally inferior with respect to establishing doctrine and administration.[16] Women lay preachers in small churches in British Columbia were told to seek administrative guidance from men on church boards.[17] One church official attributed the development of cults to women's irrational nature: "The establishing of doctrine was not within the scope of the ministry God would give women. That this was Divine wisdom is more than obvious as one realizes that many of the cults of our day were originated by women. Outlining doctrinal truth is a task not committed to women."[18] PAOC leaders drew on essentialized definitions of women's nature to limit

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[13] Pentecostal Testimony, November 1, 1949, p.2; "The PAOC and the Degree Question", BC District Archives.

[14] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #7, 1960, p.11.

[15] Edith Blumhofer makes this argument about American Pentecostalism in "A Confused Legacy: Reflections on Evangelical Attitudes toward Ministering Women in the Past Century", Fides et Historia 22 (Winter-Spring 1990), p.54.

[16] Pentecostal Testimony, October 1, 1947, p.7; PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #7, 1960, p.13; and Kulbeck, p.13.

[17] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #7, 1960, p.13.

[18] Ibid.

women's right to prophesy, and to exclude them from formal ordination.

A 1947 article in the Pentecostal Testimony reflected on a young woman who felt she was called to preach: "Her husband felt no leadings in that direction, and their only child had to be neglected if she were to go. In considering the matter, one could not help but feel that the woman was ambitious for public life. She was willing to neglect the training of her son so that she could go out holding meetings."[19] This passage highlights the contradictions in Pentecostal discourses on ministering women. Women were told that they, like all believers, could be used by the Holy Spirit for ministry. At the same time, those women who felt the call of the spirit to preach were accused of neglecting their primary commitment to home and family.

Official discourses on the ministry can tell us much about the patriarchal nature of church authority in Glad Tidings and First United. However, an exclusive focus on the ministry obscures the more representative experiences of church members. To deepen our understanding of relations of gender and power within these churches, this chapter now turns to an analysis of church work at the level of the congregation. In the postwar years, officials in both churches were concerned about the preponderance of women's associations, and about the feminized nature of church work. Pentecostal and United Church officials formed new men's clubs and appropriated dominant masculine ideals in their attempts to draw men into the life of the church. While United Church leaders stressed the relevance of the church and Christianity to the public world of business, Pentecostal officials used militant, aggressive, and male-exclusive language to reclaim

[19] Pentecostal Testimony, June 1, 1947, p.2.

church work for men.[20]

On Sunday, February 24, 1957, the two evening sermons at First United church, which centred on the theme of "Recruiting Full Time Workers", were entitled: "For women workers in the Church" and "For Men: `A Tap on the Shoulder'."[21] In the postwar years, United Church officials tried various strategies to "tap men on the shoulder" and draw them into church work. At the national level, the United Church of Canada established a Board of Men in 1950 to address men's church involvement.[22] Within the local congregation of First United, new men's clubs were formed and urgent appeals were issued to laymen in sermons and literature. To counter the feminized nature of church involvement, United Church officials stressed the importance of Christianity within the sphere of business. The responsibilities of Christian laymen were outlined in a 1951 First United bulletin: "Men must bridge the gap between Church and community and make Christ felt in every area of life. Ministers cannot bring Christ into the factory, the office, the courtroom and the business life of the community. Only laymen can do that. If they don't, Christ is not going to get there."[23] In First United bulletins, appeals to "Harness United Church Man-Power" were often accompanied by images of men in business suits working in office buildings, sitting around boardroom tables, and pondering architectural models.[24] Such images implied that the Christian work was significant not only to the feminized worlds of church and home, but to the

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[20] At the turn of the century, American fundamentalist leaders used similar strategies to masculinize Christianity. See Deberg, p.76.

[21] First United Church, Bulletin, February 24, 1957.

[22] Davy, p.50.

[23] First United Church, Bulletin, October 28, 1951.

[24] First United Church, Bulletin, October 28, 1951; October 16, 1955; December 4, 1955.

public, manly world of business. These images also had a very clear class dimension, and reflected the middle class values embedded in United Church discourses on church work.

Through the postwar years, men's associations did not have a continuous existence at First United. When it was active, the Men's Fellowship reflected larger masculine ideals. Monthly Men's Fellowship meetings consisted primarily of a speaker and a dinner, prepared and served by the women's groups of the church.[25] Generally, the lecture focused on political, historical, or current affairs, such as "Britain and Europe", "Democracy", or "Canada and Nato."[26] According to James Ingram, Men's Fellowship speakers addressed "maybe national affairs or historical things like that, you know, interesting topics. Rather than church-related topics."[27]

By centering on political issues or current affairs, Men's Fellowship meetings were made relevant to secular, public life. First United men admitted that worship was not central to the Men's Fellowship, and that the meetings were more socially than spiritually oriented.[28] James Ingram reflected on the nature of the group: "it was more of a supper and then a speaker. I don't suppose it was as closely allied to church affairs as the women's groups were. As I understand it they generally had a worship service, and there wasn't anything just quite the same in the men's group."[29] Larger postwar discourses which defined the public world of business and politics as manly, and

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[25] First United Church, Bulletin, October 26, 1952.

[26] First United Church, Bulletin, October 26, 1952; September 24, 1950; September 23, 1951; May 11, 1952; December 11, 1955.

[27] Interview with James Ingram (FU).

[28] Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

[29] Interview with James Ingram (FU).

spirituality as effeminate, significantly shaped the activities of the First United Men's Fellowship.

While United Church officials highlighted the relevance of Christianity to secular pursuits such as business, Pentecostal notions of separating from the world made masculinizing church work more difficult in the PAOC. Pentecostal leaders used aggressive, militant, and male exclusive language to reclaim church work for men. The following passage from a 1949 issue of the Pentecostal Testimony aptly reflects the fears of church leaders over the growing prominence of women's missionary groups:

> Mission is the Church at war, and war making is not primarily women's work, whether in the church or in the nation...Our Women's Groups have always recognized that their part is supplementary. They labour, in addition to their ministry of intercession, to provide helpful outfits, clothing, and linens and bedding and various other articles so helpful in house keeping among home or overseas missionaries. But the primary purpose of missionaries going to another land is not to set up house. It is to evangelize - to go where the souls of lost men are...to reach them and win them by mastering their language, learning their customs, entering into the lacks and woes and wants, that they may be shapen and won to Jesus Christ.[30]

The author urged men to form "Men's Missionary Groups", rather than passively watching their wives attend church group meetings. A Pentecostal District of BC official issued the following appeal to local congregations to form men's fellowships: "Our Women and Young People have been organized for years, why not Men? Jesus chose MEN!"[31] Through gender exclusive language and military metaphors, church leaders reaffirmed both the subservient position of the growing church based women's associations, and the manliness of mission work.

[30] Pentecostal Testimony, October 15, 1949, p.10.

[31] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #6, 1959, p.5. See also, Pentecostal Testimony, January 1, 1945, p.9.

That men's church work was shaped by larger meanings of manhood is further evidenced in the creation of a "Minute Men's Corps" at the 1957 PAOC District of BC annual conference. The "Minute Men" was formed as an auxiliary aid to the Home Missions Department. The following passage describes the purpose of this organization:

> The name is borrowed from history of a time in U.S.A. when a host of citizens banded together in agreement to drop their tools on a moment's notice, grab up a gun and make a stand against the enemy, if and when he should appear. These 'Minute Men' made a strong contribution to the war effort of that time. Our 'Minute Men' agree on a moment's notice to stop everything else they are doing and pick up a $2.00 bill which is laid away for that purpose and send it to the District Office for some Home Missions need.[32]

The district office urged pastors of local churches to sign up every "wage earner" in their church as a Minute Man. The parallels between Pentecostal Minute Men and soldiers highlighted the strength and manliness of this church work. As Minute Men, Pentecostal men not only supported mission work but asserted their masculine roles as protectors and breadwinners.

In addition to the loosely organized Minute Men's Corps, the PAOC created new church based men's clubs in the 1950s. In 1955, the BC District of the PAOC established a Men's Fellowship Department, and in 1957, Glad Tidings formed a local Men's Fellowship group.[33] As in First United, Glad Tidings Men's Fellowship meetings took place monthly, and involved a guest speaker and a dinner prepared by church women.[34] In contrast to the First United men's club, however, the Glad Tidings Men's Fellowship was to be primarily a "soul-winning organization." In 1957, Glad Tidings

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[32] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #4, 1957, p.1; "The PAOC, A Brief History: 50 Years of Growth in BC and Yukon, 1927-1977", BC District Archives; and PAOC, District of BC, Annual District Conference, Minutes, 1959, p.10 and 1961, p.6.

[33] Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, p.25.

[34] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson (GT).

member Ray Whellams agreed to organize a group within his church "providing the primary objective would always be the salvation of souls - not merely a fellowship club."[35] According to Whellams, the existence of the group was "justified" by the presence of members' "unsaved friends."[36] Reports of Men's Fellowship meetings highlighted the salvation of "alcoholics", "business associates", and other unchurched men.[37] The primacy of individual conversion in Pentecostal religious discourses made "soul winning" the central objective of the Men's Fellowship at Glad Tidings.

Spiritual concerns may have figured more centrally in the Men's Fellowship at Glad Tidings, but its purpose and activities were defined in ways which conformed to dominant masculine ideals. In church literature, Men's Fellowship members were referred to as "real stalwart men" who "challenged the unsaved with a virile Christianity."[38] A 1958 Glad Tidings bulletin announced an upcoming Men's Fellowship speaker as follows: "MEN - this is your opportunity to bring a guest to hear an outstanding man of God, Mr. George Abbot, salesman and gifted speaker - 6' 6'' tall, weighs 240 lbs."[39] By emphasizing the physical as well as the spiritual strength of guest speakers, and by referring to their members as "stalwart" and "virile", Men's Fellowship executives constructed their group as a strong and manly form of church work.

While official definitions of men's church work differed in the PAOC and United

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[35] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #3, 1958, p.6; and PAOC, District of BC, Annual Report, 1953-1954.

[36] PAOC, District of BC, District Constitution, p.87. See also Interview with Edward Maxwell (GT).

[37] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter , #3, 1954, p.3; #3, 1959, p.7; #3, 1958, p.6.

[38] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #4, 1955, p.2; #5, 1958, p.3; and PAOC, District of BC, Annual Report, p.1953-54.

[39] Glad Tidings Church, Bulletin, June 1, 1958.

Church, the nature of projects undertaken by the local Men's Fellowships were very similar. In both churches, men's groups were responsible for various aspects of church maintenance such as landscaping, painting, and general repair work.[40] Maureen Graham noted that in addition to evangelizing, the Glad Tidings Men's Fellowship "concentrated on men things. A lot of the men would go up to the camp and build. And if you weren't a carpenter you could still work on some jobs, even if it was making the coffee or cleaning up the debris, and things like that."[41] As "volunteer craftsmen" and "handymen", laymen participated in an aspect of church work which did not contradict manly norms of behaviour.[42]

In both churches, Men's Fellowships were shaped by the contemporary masculine ideal of responsible fatherhood. Historian Robert Rutherdale argues that in the postwar years, men who provided leadership for groups of young boys asserted their roles as respectable, middle class breadwinners, and participated in the masculine activity of "community building."[43] Rutherdale's concept of "communal fathering" can be usefully applied to the Men's Fellowships at First United and Glad Tidings, which often involved nurturing young boys within the church. The First United men's group listened to lectures on the subjects of "Big Brotherhood" and "Boys to Man the Church."[44] The proceeds of this group's sole fundraising activity, an annual spring tea, went to support

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[40] Miller, p.256. Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU). Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[41] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[42] First United Church, Bulletin, October 16, 1955; December 20, 1960. PAOC, District of BC, Annual Report, 1953-4.

[43] Robert Rutherdale, "Fatherhood and the Social Construction of Memory: Breadwinning and Male Parenting on a Job Frontier", in Joy Parr ed. Gender and History in Canada, p.365, p.367, p.368.

[44] First United Church, Bulletin, April 7, 1946; November 24, 1946; October 28, 1951.

boys' work within the church.[45] At Glad Tidings, Men's Fellowship members were urged to "exercise a fatherly interest in and care for the boys of the church."[46] Although the Glad Tidings Men's Fellowship did not formally raise funds, its members contributed each year to help low income families send their sons to church camp.[47] The 1953-54 annual report of the BC District PAOC expressed the following hopes for the Men's Fellowship: "Boys of the Sunday School who have no spiritual fellowship at home shall find a foster spiritual father in some of the men interested to organize hikes, camping trips, and in sponsoring Boy's Camps."[48] By providing manful role models for young boys in the church, members of local Men's Fellowships affirmed their roles as breadwinners and responsible fathers.

The United and Pentecostal church based men's associations which emerged in the 1950s did not have a widespread and lasting appeal. The First United men's groups formed in 1945, 1950, and 1958 each disbanded due to lack of interest.[49] First United records of these years commented on the poor attendance at Men's Fellowship meetings, and on the "unwillingness" of members to hold executive positions.[50] Because of the scarcity of Glad Tidings church records, we know less about the strength of the Men's Fellowship in this church. In their oral narratives, some Glad Tidings members

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[45] First United Church, Annual Report, 1950, p.10; 1957; First United Church, Bulletin, April 21, 1957; Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU).

[46] PAOC District Constitution, p.87.

[47] PAOC, District of BC, Annual Report, 1953-1954. Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[48] PAOC, District of BC, Annual Report, 1953-4; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Doug Murphy (GT).

[49] First United Church, Bulletin, February 25, 1945; April 23, 1950.

[50] First United Church, Annual Report, 1957, p.13. First United Church, Women's Auxiliary, Minutes, November 1958. Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

mentioned that the Men's Fellowship persisted for only a short time, while others could not recall there ever being a men's group in their church.[51] The 45th anniversary history of Glad Tidings described the Men's Fellowship as a thing of the past, which suggests that it had disbanded by 1968.[52] At the provincial level, PAOC officials complained that many BC churches were without a Men's Fellowship in 1959. Indeed, although it was formed in 1955, the district Men's Fellowship Department still did not have sufficient delegates to hold elections in 1960.[53]

Men's decisions to participate in church based associations, and in other aspects of church work, were shaped by a range of social and spiritual factors. In church work, men assumed positions of social leadership, evidenced their roles as responsible fathers, and engaged in spiritual fellowship. And yet, despite official efforts to make it a manly pursuit, church work did not draw large numbers of men in the postwar years. What factors account for the limited appeal of Men's Fellowships and other forms of church work to men? Evidence from the oral narratives of church members suggests that as the primary breadwinners, men had little time to devote to the church.[54] Some First United narrators remarked that men were drawn to alternative leisure activities, rather than church groups, in the postwar years.[55] The increasing availability of more manly leisure

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[51] Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[52] Glad Tidings Tabernacle: 45th Anniversary, 1923-1968.

[53] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #3, 1960, p.7; PAOC, District of BC, Annual Conference, Minutes, 1959, p.9.

[54] Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens; Interview with Henry Campbell (FU).

[55] Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

pursuits such as sports and service clubs may account, in part, for the limited success of men's church-based associations.[56] When asked why the First United men's club declined, James Ingram gave a telling response: "I think a lot of men don't think it's manly."[57] Certainly, the limited appeal of men's groups in these local congregations had to do, in part, with the feminized meanings of church involvement in the wider postwar culture.

In contrast to men's groups, church based women's associations flourished in these postwar congregations. There were two women's groups at Glad Tidings, the Women's Missionary Council (WMC) for older women, and the Dorcas group for younger women.[58] Both groups centered on making handicrafts and praying for home and overseas missionaries. The purpose of these groups was similar to that of the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) of the United Church, which at First United was divided into an older and a younger auxiliary. Unlike Glad Tidings, however, First United also had a Women's Association (WA) which concentrated on raising funds for local church projects. Fourteen subgroups, defined by particular districts in Victoria, made up the First United Women's Association in these years.[59]

Postwar ideals of domesticity shaped the activities of women's church based associations in Glad Tidings and First United. First United WMS meetings and Glad Tidings WMC and Dorcas meetings often involved work bees during which quilts,

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[56] For a similar argument within the context of late nineteenth century Ontario, see Marks.
[57] Interview with James Ingram (FU).
[58] Interview with Lillian Olson (GT).
[59] First United Church, Annual Report, 1959, p.13.

clothing, and crafts were made for missionary families.[60] Likewise, First United WA groups frequently had "work days" to produce handicrafts for their chief fundraising venture, the annual bazaar. At WA meetings, guest speakers from the Victoria Home Economics School and the BC Home Service Department taught women "helpful hints and new recipes for better results in the kitchen" and new ways of "'stretching the dollar' and making meals more interesting and beneficial as well as economical."[61] At other WA meetings, members learned about "Kitchen Planning", "Christmas Cooking", "Keeping House in India", and "Spring Fashions for the Gracious Lady."[62] In both churches, women's groups often took on the responsibility of catering for church functions.[63]

Women's groups in both churches generally began their meetings with a devotional involving a prayer or bible reading. References to "housewifely prayers" at meetings indicate that domestic ideals shaped the nature of spirituality within women's groups.[64] Official discourses defined worship as a central purpose of women's associations, but the relative importance of spirituality differed both within and between groups. In 1957, a First United WA group resolved "to bring in more of the

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[60] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

[61] First United Women's Association, Doreene MacLeod Evening Group, Minutes, March 1948; September 1948.

[62] First United Women's Association, Stadacona Park Group, Minutes, May 1949; Doreene MacLeod Central Group, Minutes, February 1954; Women's Association, Evening Group, Minutes, November 1950; First United Church, Bulletin, March 3, 1946; March 15, 1959.

[63] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson (GT); First United Women's Association, Annual Report, 1951.

[64] First United Women's Association, Beacon Hill Group, Minutes, 1958; Stadacona Park Group, Minutes, May 1949; Uplands Group, Minutes, 1947; Oak Bay Group, Minutes, 1947. See also The Dominion Council of the Women's Associations of the United Church of Canada, The Committee on Devotions, Topics for Worship, 1959-61.

spiritual" to their meetings, which suggests that at times the social may have outweighed the spiritual in group activities.[65] When asked about the nature of worship at Dorcas meetings, Glad Tidings member June Peterson replied:

> Oh well, yes you'd have prayer, you'd sing a few choruses or songs, and sometimes you'd have a speaker. Um...depending who was running it, I guess I was more frivolous! (laughs) I liked to have chinwags and stuff like that, I never went in for that too much, you know, I find it a little boring (laughs). But I think people like to get together and have a chinwag, you know.[66]

As president of the Dorcas group, June preferred to focus on "chinwags" rather than prayer, which suggests that the nature and extent of worship was not uniform across different women's groups.

Women joined church based associations for spiritual growth, friendship, belonging, and to continue a family tradition. Through participation in such groups, many women acquired important organizational and leadership skills. First United member Barbara Griffith claimed that she was a "mouse" before she became involved in women's groups. By public speaking within women's associations, Barbara gained "security" and "self worth."[67] Both Doris MacDonald and Pearl Sutherland recalled "following in the footsteps" of "outstanding leaders" in their church groups.[68] First United women's associations introduced women to some level of political activism. At group meetings, women were urged to make use of their voting rights, to send letters to the Attorney General protesting the increase in beer parlors in Victoria, and to sign

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[65] First United Women's Association, Doreene MacLeod Central, Minutes, 1957.
[66] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[67] Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).
[68] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT); Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU).

petitions objecting to modifications to the Lord's Day Alliance Act.[69]

For some women, church associations functioned as female centred support networks. Pearl Sutherland, who had been involved in church groups in Saskatchewan, was welcomed by three First United WMS women upon her move to Victoria. She described this experience as one of her "warmest memories" of First United:

> I was so lonely and homesick...and I was involved in everything and now I was involved in nothing. Well anyway, when the WMS ladies came to call and I went and I joined WMS, there was a real warmth there. I didn't feel alone anymore. There was such a lovely warmth there, I was taken into the church.[70]

Women's groups helped newcomers adjust to the city, and also provided a source of comfort in times of personal tragedy. If a women's association member lost her husband, she received cards of sympathy, special prayers, and help with the funeral preparations from other members of the group.[71] According to Maureen Graham, the members of Glad Tidings women's groups assisted one another in times of hardship: "you helped one another. If we had a sick mother with kids, well I can remember many a time we got out and cleaned somebody's house, several of us would go and help with things like that. Or take something to eat for the family, you know a casserole or cookies or cakes or things like that."[72]

Were church based women's associations evidence of a women's culture, in which a common gender identity outweighed women's differences? Certainly, many women forged life-long friendships within church groups. At the same time, conflicts

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[69] Women's Association, Minutes, March-April 1948; Oak Bay Group, Minutes, February 1946; Fairfield Group, Minutes, April 1948; Uplands Group, Minutes, January 1946 and October 1947.

[70] Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU).

[71] First United Women's Association, Beacon Hill Group, Minutes, January 1958; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU); Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[72] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

within local church associations, and the limited appeal of such groups to some women, indicate that women's shared sense of femininity was cross cut by occupational, age, regional and marital identities. Glad Tidings member June Peterson recalled that although the Dorcas group was primarily for younger women, older women were also welcome. She admitted: "they used to say, we like the older ones coming, but the older ones would usually sit by themselves, and the younger women would be either doing crafts or, you know, chit-chatting about their kids."[73] It seems, then, that the common values of Christian womanhood did not transcend important differences of age within the local Dorcas group. June also described a personal conflict she had with another women in the group, which suggests that the bonds of friendship were not shared by all: "there was one gal there that was giving me a bad time - I think she really wanted to be president, and the minister didn't want her to be president because she had a very bad tongue, you know, real nasty."[74] After moving to Victoria from Saskatchewan, First United member Pearl Sutherland discovered that "BC was 10 years behind Saskatchewan in church work."[75] Pearl initially struggled with what she perceived as regional differences in the organization of women's groups.

While the purpose and activities of church-based associations presumed women's common domestic interests, such interests were not shared by all women. Glad Tidings member Marilyn Williams recalled her experience with the WMC: "I tried the older women. But, I mean, I can't thread a needle, I'm so dumb at needlework and stuff like

[73] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[74] Ibid.
[75] Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU).

that, I can't do that. And I just got so bored, making stuff, sewing."[76] Likewise, women's groups did not appeal to Glad Tidings member Lillian Olson, who claimed: "sewing, I don't even know which end of the needle goes up, could care less."[77]

Women's occupational, age, and marital identities shaped their decisions to join, or stay away from, church based associations. In the postwar years, such groups seemed to have a particular appeal to young, stay-at-home mothers. Glad Tidings member June Peterson declared that the Dorcas group was "for the young women at night time so that they could, you know, get away from their kids."[78] Doris MacDonald admitted that as a young mother of five, she looked forward to the "social action" of the Dorcas group: "probably if I was really honest, I was there more for fellowship than I was to be giving."[79] Many First United narrators pointed out that their women's group was made up almost entirely of young mothers.[80] Joanne Lewis belonged to the Gleaners group, the younger auxiliary of the WMS in First United. According to Joanne, the Gleaners were a "very, very special group of younger women growing up through those years and into their early marriage. And most of us who were then married had our youngsters and started a Baby Band". The Baby Band kept track of the births, baptisms, and birthdays of members' children, and Gleaners' women shared in the celebration of these events. Joanne commented that the Gleaners' Baby Band brought the women "together with the little kids when they were growing up. That was kind of an interesting time. It was a

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[76] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[77] Interview with Lillian Olson (GT).
[78] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[79] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[80] Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

time when a lot of folks need to feel support, when they're starting a family. Need to feel you're not peculiar after all, that what's happening to the little one is perfectly alright! (laughs)."[81] Young, stay-at-home mothers, who likely had few social outlets, found friendship and mutual support within church based women's associations. This suggests that for some women, church groups could provide subcultures based on common gender, age, and family identities.

While young, full time mothers were drawn to church associations, many other young women stayed away. Glad Tidings member Marilyn Williams remarked that as a young woman, she was "living a life of romance, and didn't have much time for women's groups", which she referred to as the "old ladies."[82] One First United group worried about the gap in their membership "between the ages of 18 to 25."[83] In 1948, the minister's wife at First United formed a separate evening WA group for young business and married women. These women, she claimed, were "too old for the 'Young People's Society' and too young for the 'Women's Auxiliary groups'."[84] Despite the effort to attract young business women, this new group remained largely composed of stay-at-home mothers.[85] In their oral narratives, some women commented that they had neither the time nor the energy to participate in women's groups, because they were working.[86]

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[81] Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU).

[82] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

[83] First United Church, Women's Missionary Society, Gleaners Group, Minutes, October 1955.

[84] First United Church, The History of the 'Uniters' Unit of First United Church.; Women's Association, Evening Group, Annual Report, 1948.

[85] Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU). First United Church, Women's Association, Minutes, June 1954.

[86] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson (GT); Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU). The limited appeal of church groups to young business women at First United reflects larger trends in United Churches across Canada. See June Callwood, "The 'In-Group' and the Rest'-a Commentary on the Local Congregation", in Why the Sea is Boiling Hot: A

Mothers who worked outside of the home felt that they should devote their spare time to their children, rather than to church work.[87] Undoubtedly, the limited appeal of church based associations to young working women, both single and married, had to do with real time restrictions. It may also be that young working women found social fulfillment, learned leadership skills, and constructed a sense of self and identity through their occupation, something which church associations did for many other women.

First United members described women's groups as the "backbone" and "lifeline" of their church. Women's associations, they claimed, were more "serious about church life" than other church groups, and "carried the load" of the congregation, both spiritually and financially.[88] The significance of women's groups to First United was widely acknowledged at the level of the congregation, but did such groups exercise any real power within the traditional authority structures of the church? Because they were under the jurisdiction of a larger, national organization, WMS groups maintained a degree of independence from local church leadership.[89] By contrast, as the "housekeepers" of the church, WA groups were directly subject to the local authority of First United.

WA groups did not always live up to their reputation as "obedient helpers". Women within these associations subtly influenced the decision-making process of

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Symposium on the Church and the World (Toronto: The Board of Evangelism and Social Service, 1965), p.23.

[87] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU); Interview with Mary Smith (GT).

[88] Interview with Pearl Sutherland; Interview with Henry Campbell; Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

[89] Parsons, p.178.

church leaders, and retained a level of control over their activities.[90] Through these years, WA groups were asked to take turns preparing and serving the Men's Fellowship dinners. Two of the groups defied official expectations, and withdrew their services from this catering responsibility.[91] As members of WA groups, individual women could withdraw their services to demonstrate their independence from, or opposition to, male leadership. In October of 1954, the Women's Association held an emergency meeting to discuss the resignation of their president: "Rudeness and lack of cooperation from the Church office prompted her decision."[92] With a vote of confidence, the members at this meeting showed support for their president.

By making suggestions to church leaders or withdrawing financial support, the WA retained a measure of control over its fundraising efforts. WA groups occasionally refused to finance particular projects, even if such projects were requested by church officials.[93] In 1946, the WA objected

> to the proposed project under consideration to floor over the present Sunday school etc. priced from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. The association wish to make it known that they withdraw from any financial responsibility, but suggest that all available space we now have be put to use by making the gymnasium sound proof and making the rooms there suitable for classrooms also extending the present heating system to the same.[94]

As the primary fundraisers at First United, WA groups exercised some power by influencing decisions about local church projects. Sometimes, WA subgroups voiced

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[90] See Marilyn Fardig Whitely, "'Doing Just About What They Please': Ladies Aids in Ontario Methodism", Ontario History 82: 4 (December 1990), p.300.

[91] First United Women's Association, Doreene Macleod Evening Group, Minutes, September 1950; Women's Association, Annual Report, 1947 and 1950.

[92] First United Women's Association, Minutes, October 1954.

[93] First United Women's Association, Minutes, May 1948; Lansdowne Heights Group, Annual Report, 1957.

[94] First United Women's Association, Minutes, April 15, 1946.

their disapproval of the fundraising projects of the larger WA. In 1957, the Lansdowne Heights group had the "distinction of being the only group to protest the high cost of finishing and furnishing the new kitchen in the Fellowship Hall."[95] WA groups further asserted their financial independence by defining their fundraising efforts as completely voluntary, and separate from the male-controlled church budget. Pearl Sutherland described her reaction when she discovered that the church budget included WA funds:

> the women's groups are not supposed to be on the budget of the church. Well anyway, one of the church treasurers - here at the annual meeting I see women's groups on the budget, I forget how much they budgeted for...$1000 I think. So I said, 'we're not supposed to be on the church budget'. Oh, here the treasurer says, 'but you give it every year, so we just put you on the budget'. I said, 'there is a difference sir'. I said, 'certainly they give it every year, but that's a donation, it's a free will offering, it isn't the budget'. And we had to fight to get that off the budget too! I thought, that's going a bit too far. Anyway, we finally got it off.[96]

Pearl clearly contested the efforts of church officials to dictate the direction of WA funds. More than just "obedient helpers", First United women's groups maintained a degree of financial independence, and influenced the nature and extent of local church projects by making suggestions and withholding funds.

We must be cautious not to overestimate the power and resistance of First United women's groups. More often than not, the WA raised few objections to the funding requests of the minister.[97] Here, as in Glad Tidings, male leadership was firmly entrenched. Women may have found a measure of independence in church groups, but they were largely excluded from ministerial positions, church boards, worship and

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[95] First United Women's Association, Lansdowne Heights Group, Annual Report, 1957. See also, Beacon Hill Group, Minutes, January 1960.

[96] Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU).

[97] First United Church, Women's Association, Letters, 1960-61; Women's Association, Minutes, November 1960.

finance committees. While both churches had difficulty finding male Sunday school teachers in the postwar years, the position of Sunday school superintendent was filled solely by men.[98] Women found opportunities in church work not only as Sunday school teachers, but as deaconnesses. Deaconness work involved a range of activities, such as visiting the sick, Christian education, and occasionally, lay preaching.[99] With the increasing professionalization of the ministry, however, the role of deaconness was gradually overtaken by the male-dominated position of assistant minister. In 1956, Glad Tidings brought in its first full time assistant pastor, a role which in this church had previously been performed by deaconnesses.[100]

Clearly, in both churches men predominated in positions of spiritual and administrative leadership. At First United, church based associations allowed women some power, albeit limited, to negotiate with male authority. This was not the case for Glad Tidings women's groups, which were almost entirely subject to the directives of local church officials. The activities of the Dorcas and WMC, which largely involved praying and making handicrafts for missionaries, were dictated by officials within the local church and the District of BC office.[101] June Peterson eventually left the Dorcas because it was not free to choose its own projects: "I guess I lost interest too, because we weren't allowed to do quite like I thought we should do in our own little group. I just

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[98] Glad Tidings, Sunday School Staff Meeting, Minutes, November 2, 1959; First United Church, Bulletin, December 7, 1958; May 17, 1959. Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU); Interview with Doug Murphy (GT).

[99] Parsons, p.171; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[100] Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, p.23.

[101] PAOC District Constitution, p.83; Interview with June Peterson (GT).

liked doing what we wanted to do."[102] Unlike First United, Glad Tidings depended on systematic tithing rather than fundraising to finance the church. Pentecostal officials and members criticized the seeming importance of fundraisers to "modern churches."[103] Fundraisers, argued Maureen Graham, often involved "bingos" or "some form of gambling."[104] The absence of fundraising in Glad Tidings meant that unlike First United women's associations, the Dorcas and WMC exercised no financial power.

Glad Tidings women were told that their church groups were necessary but secondary to the work of men in the mission field.[105] According to Mary Smith, Glad Tidings women's groups have yet to receive adequate recognition:

> I think what the women did in the groups was necessary, and I think their caring and their attitude of caring was very important and I think they've done a lot of things that someday will be recognized. But I don't think in the church in general, it was all that important. I'm not sure. It seemed to be more like a token. They didn't really have a great deal of recognition at that time.[106]

Similarly, Marilyn Williams suggested that although Glad Tidings women's groups are beginning to gain recognition, "there's still some of the old school who feel that a woman's place is bear the children and shut up." Marilyn aptly characterized the gendered nature of church authority in the postwar years: "the men were the ministerial staff, they were the Deacon Board, they were the ushers, they literally ran things. And the women had their own little groups, but they were...how do you say?...They kind of knew their place."[107] Apart from Mary and Marilyn, most Glad Tidings members

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[102] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[103] Atter, p.18.
[104] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[105] Pentecostal World Conference Messages, p.xxi; PAOC District Constitution, p.83.
[106] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).
[107] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

accepted as natural male authority within the church. Lillian Olson declared that masculine leadership was "meant to be", and Elma Johnson asserted that "a woman always should be subject to a man, not just do her own thing."[108]

The doctrine of male authority and female submission was firmly entrenched and widely accepted within Glad Tidings. Were there any spaces within this patriarchal church hierarchy where women could express themselves independent of male control? Based on some fragmentary but suggestive evidence from oral narratives, I would argue that as "prayer warriors", some women did exercise a certain amount of influence within this congregation.[109] In the postwar years, there were three or four prayer warriors at Glad Tidings, and according to Lillian Olson, these positions were filled exclusively by women.[110] Mary Smith described the role of these prayer warriors:

> These were the women that just spent a lot of time in prayer. And if you had a need they were very, very supportive and very loving and the kind of people you could always count on, you know, to help you and pray for you. And they were always there, like you kind of felt them.[111]

Mary suggested that these "wonderful prayer warriors" received more recognition, and played a greater role, than women's groups at Glad Tidings. Unfortunately, evidence on the experiences of these women, and how they were perceived by the church leadership, is limited. It does seem probable that unlike women's groups, prayer warriors did not answer directly to church authority. Of course, by praying for and "nurturing" the congregation, prayer warriors conformed to feminine ideals and posed little direct

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[108] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Doris Macdonald (GT).

[109] For a discussion of women "prayer warriors" in a charismatic congregation, see Rose, p.250.

[110] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[111] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).

challenge to male power.[112] At the same time, by offering spiritual guidance and support on their own terms, these women negotiated an important, female-exclusive space within this congregation.

The nature of church work in these local congregations was shaped by larger discourses of gender. While men predominated in positions of church leadership, efforts to draw men into church based associations were relatively unsuccessful. The limited appeal of Men's Fellowships had to do, in part, with the feminized meanings of church work and the availability of alternate, manly leisure activities. In both churches, the purpose and activities of the growing women's associations reflected the link between femininity and domesticity in the wider culture. While the spiritual and social companionship of church groups proved particularly appealing to young mothers, such groups had less success attracting single and married women who worked outside of the home. First United women's groups subtly resisted church authority by maintaining some level of control over their fundraising efforts. Male leadership was more firmly entrenched and accepted at Glad Tidings. As prayer warriors, some Glad Tidings women played important, but limited, roles within the congregation. The next chapter moves beyond an analysis of men's and women's church work to explore groups for young people in these churches. An analysis of church discourses on youth, and of church groups for adolescents and young adults, will highlight the significance of the category of heterosexuality to the meanings of gender and family in these local congregations.

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[112] For a discussion of the role of the "prophetess" in Pentecostal churches, see Hollenweger, p.486. Hollenweger suggests that women assumed important roles as "prophetesses", or "sisters" of the church, by expressing themselves during periods of prayer and prophecy. Although it is uncertain whether Glad Tidings prayer warriors prophesied, there are clearly parallels between the role of prophetess and prayer warrior.

CHAPTER 3: `Boy Meets Girl': Young People, Church Groups, and Heterosexuality

In the years following the war, church-based associations were not limited to service and fellowship groups for men and women. Co-ed associations for young adults, and separate groups for adolescent boys and girls, were also significant to the congregations of Glad Tidings and First United. This chapter considers the ways in which church officials tried to define and direct the behaviour of young people, both within church groups and beyond. To understand the nature of young peoples' church associations, and the factors which shaped church approaches to youth, we must account for the category of sexuality as well as gender. This chapter argues that in addition to reinforcing masculine and feminine ideals, postwar church discourses on and groups for young people emphasized the importance of developing "normal", heterosexual identities.

Many contemporary observers defined postwar Canada as a society in moral and social crisis. Popular literature was filled with reports on the rise in divorce and delinquency rates, instances of venereal disease, married women entering the paid work force, and unwed motherhood. Such reports pointed to rapid and unsettling changes to gender, sexual, and family practices. Postwar anxieties about the breakdown in traditional gender and family forms often centered on youth.[1] Young people, it was argued, needed to be prepared to fulfill the gender and domestic roles of nuclear family life. Postwar commentators attributed the rise in juvenile delinquency to the inadequacy of family teachings, and urged parents to solicit outside assistance to guide their children

[1] See, for example, Adams and Valverde.

through the teenage years. In the 1940s and 1950s, teachers, journalists, middle class social reformers, psychologists and other "experts" instituted a variety of programs intended to educate youth in proper gender and family roles. According to Mary Louise Adams, postwar approaches to youth covered a wide range, from sexual education advice manuals and marriage preparation classes for young adults, to community sports programs for teenagers.[2] While diverse, such efforts were rooted in a common uneasiness about the seeming rise in deviant gender, sexual, and family identities.

Historians have yet to consider how larger discourses on youth and sexuality shaped Canadian churches and religion in the 1940s and 1950s. This chapter suggests that postwar concerns about the gender and sexual practices of young people were significant to the local congregations of Glad Tidings and First United. In the years after the war, both churches frequently bemoaned the seeming rise in juvenile delinquency.[3] The postwar years did not, of course, mark the beginning of church anxieties about youth. In the nineteenth century, Canadian Protestant leaders often denounced the wild and disorderly behaviour of young people, and particularly of young men.[4] In the postwar period, concerns about marriage and family breakdown meant that the sexuality of youth was of particular concern. Church officials viewed sexual deviance as an inevitable product of the war years. In 1947, a United Church leader observed that the "moral license and cynicism that follow all wars are already on us", while the BC District

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[2] Adams, p.84.

[3] PAOC, District of BC, Circular letter, #1, 1957, p.1; # 3, 1958; Pentecostal Testimony June 1, 1945, p.14; August 15, 1945, p.7; December 1, 1945, p.13; January 1, 1947, p.4; March 15, 1947, p.13; January 1, 1949, p.12; February 1, 1949, p.13. See also, First United Church, Bulletin, April 23, 1944; March 4, 1945; November 4, 1956; First United Women's Association, Oak Bay Group, Minutes, February 1946; Jubilee Group, Minutes, May 1949.

[4] See, for example, Marks, pp.81-87.

Superintendent of the PAOC complained about "the spirit of wartime abandon, with its last fling philosophy providing justification to less resolute wills to violate the conventions of society."[5] Through these years, church leaders bemoaned the rise in "sex-perverted" literature, the "over-emphasis" on sex in popular culture, the "problem" of unwed mothers, and the crisis in venereal diseases, all of which reinforced or reflected increasing promiscuity among young people.[6] Immoral sexuality was constructed as a problem particular to youth, and as a serious threat to the stability of the Christian family. The rise in promiscuity, remarked one United Church official, meant that "the home, the fundamental institution of society, is threatened by insiduous forces."[7]

Clearly, larger postwar fears of delinquency, sexual deviance, and family breakdown shaped the official concerns of the PAOC and the United Church of Canada. Such fears also influenced the nature of approaches to young people within the local congregations of Glad Tidings and First United. Through youth groups, sermons, and denominational literature, young people in these churches learned the importance of adhering to heterosexual and gender norms. Although Glad Tidings and First United shared similar concerns, their initiatives toward youth differed in important ways. The United Church was profoundly shaped by the dominant postwar emphasis on "expert"

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[5] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1947, p.i; Pentecostal Testimony, March 15, 1947, p.13.

[6] Signals for the Sixties, p.1; Toward a Christian Understanding of Sex, Love, Marriage (Toronto: The UCC Commission on Christian Marriage and Divorce), 1960, p.13. See the United Church of Canada, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945-1947 for numerous reports on the crisis in venereal diseases. See also, PAOC District of BC, Circular Letter #1, 1957, p.1; Pentecostal Testimony, March 15, 1947, p.13; May 15, 1947, p.4; December 15, 1949, p.8. For a discussion of how the threat of VD to men in the armed services shaped postwar discourses on promiscuity, see Adams, p.121 and Regina G. Kunzel, "White Neurosis, Black Pathology: Constructing Out-of-Wedlock Pregnancy in the Wartime and Postwar United States", in Joanne Meyerowitz ed. Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p.315.

[7] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.39.

guidance and formal programs to prepare youth for the gender and heterosexual roles of family life. In the years following the war, the United Church solicited the advice of professionals from various secular fields and established links to the larger community to construct effective marital and sexual education programs.[8] By contrast, Pentecostal officials shunned the "paganized social system and godless educational system" of secular society, and argued that only by shutting out worldly influences would church youth be safe from the delinquency and sexual deviance which militated against Christian family life. A 1945 article in the Pentecostal Testimony bemoaned the "corrupted morals" of the day, and urged Pentecostals to shut the doors of their homes "against every pernicious influence and person. Make sure that when they are shut that your sons and daughters are shut in with you."[9] While this rejection of secular society was not unique to the postwar period, reports on the rise of sexual deviance and delinquency gave a new sense of urgency to Pentecostal arguments against worldliness.

In the wider postwar culture, perceived challenges on the domestic front inspired a rise in films, advice manuals, books, and programs designed to teach young people proper standards of sexuality. Mary Louise Adams argues that in this period, discourses on dating and courtship were key to the normalization of heterosexuality.[10] In Glad Tidings and First United, postwar discussions of appropriate dating and courtship practices centered on concerns about promiscuity, and the importance of choosing a suitable mate. In keeping with the emphasis on sexual education in the wider culture,

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[8] On United Church of Canada initiatives on sexual education and marital preparation, see, for example, UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.17; Sex, Love, Marriage, p.vi; Signals for the Sixties, p.54.

[9] Pentecostal Testimony, June 1, 1945, p.14.

[10] Adams, p.98.

United Church officials encouraged parents and teachers to speak openly to young people about sexuality. The inhibited, "Victorian view of sex", they argued, left "a morbid interest due to curiosity not satisfied."[11] Through these years, local United Church congregations were urged to introduce new sexual education materials for youth.[12] Although United Church leaders felt that sexuality should be freely discussed, they clearly argued that sexual desire should be reserved for marriage. Sexual indulgences during dating and courtship, a United Church handbook warned, endangered "the possibility of cultivating that sexual unity which is the normal expectation in Christian marriage."[13] With proper sexual education, it was argued, the "well adjusted young person, who has had wise guidance, sets definite limits beyond which sexual play will not be permitted."[14] At First United, young people learned about the dangers of pre-marital sexual "play" in sermons and panel discussions such as "Fidelity-in and out of marriage", "Liquor and Sex", and "Boy Meets Girl."[15]

Like United Church leaders, PAOC officials told young people that pre-marital sexual activity threatened one's chance for a successful marriage relationship. Pentecostal youth were warned that "the man or woman who has been promiscuous, who has frequently and easily dated and necked and petted, will be restless and dissatisfied after marriage."[16] Young people were cautioned not to "ruin" their opportunity for a

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[11] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1956, p.67; 1959, p.57.

[12] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1945, p.17; 1946, p.87, p.119; 1947, p.90; 1952, p.90; 1953, p.54; 1957, p.88; Sex, Love, Marriage, p.18.

[13] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.8 and p.14.

[14] Ibid, p.14.

[15] First United Church, Bulletin, November 10, 1946; February 10, 1957.

[16] Pentecostal Testimony, November 1, 1949, p.8; C.M. Ward, Revivaltime Pulpit, Sermon Book #5 (Springfield: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1961), pp.51-56. C.M. Ward was pastor of Glad Tidings between 1931 and 1934.

"happy married life by anticipating the rights and privileges of the married state."[17]

Although they shared United Church views on promiscuity, the PAOC did not advocate formal sexual education programs until the 1960s.[18] Instead, they objected to the secular emphasis on sexual openness, and condemned "modern mothers" for teaching their daughters birth control.[19] Marilyn Williams remarked that in the postwar years, Glad Tidings women

> frowned very much if a girl happened to get pregnant and wasn't married, I mean, it was the end of the world. One didn't go out and have a one night stand, and things like birth control were never discussed, like they are now. Oh, good heavens. Like some of the older ones, they're still whispering (whispers) 'in a family way', you know, they couldn't say the word pregnant if it killed them (laughs).[20]

In this period, Glad Tidings members learned that sexuality was a topic to be avoided, and that the only remedy for teenage promiscuity was separation from the modern world. In 1947, the BC District Superintendent of the PAOC outlined the reasons for increasing promiscuous and delinquent behaviour among youth:

> *Modern music*, with its dirty, seductive croonings. *Modern dancing* which breaks down self control, and lowers all moral standards. *Motion picture shows*, portraying everything that could be imagined in sex and crime films. The *theatre* has become a place for the youth of this day to get a criminal and sex-perverted education.[21]

Pentecostal young people were told to avoid sexual temptation by associating with like-minded friends, and abstaining from worldly leisure activities. A 1949 article in the

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[17] Pentecostal Testimony, November 1, 1949, p.8.

[18] PAOC, District of BC, Annual Conference, Minutes, 1961, p.3. At this conference, a report was read from a "committee appointed by General Conference to prepare material for Sex Education and Marital Counselling". See also Kydd, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Society", p.10. Kydd notes that in 1970 the Pentecostal Testimony contained an article arguing that sex education should no longer be avoided.

[19] Pentecostal Testimony, January 1, 1944, p.12.

[20] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

[21] Pentecostal Testimony, March 15, 1947, p.13.

Pentecostal Testimony pointed to the deviant sexual activities of worldly youth, such as "nude bathing parties", and urged Pentecostal parents "to pray earnestly for their own boys and girls who have to attend public schools and mingle with other boys and girls given over to the unholy pursuits of life."[22]

How did young people in these churches respond to prescriptions on dating and sexuality? It is evident that for many young people, church services, gatherings, and associations offered opportunities for heterosexual flirtation. This caused one Pentecostal pastor to complain: "We have right now about seven young couples in our church and they sit back in the congregation and make eyes at each other. They are not courting in church, but their minds are on those things, and I should like to rush them through those years."[23] Although courting in church was discouraged, many young people in both congregations met their marital partners at church services.[24] First United member Gordon Watson recalled his attempts, during church services, to attract the attention of his future wife: "she was a soloist in the church, and I used to make eyes at her."[25] Another First United narrator, Thomas Marshall, recalled meeting his future wife and "destiny" at an evening church service.[26] As a young woman, Glad Tidings member Marilyn Williams saw church services as an opportunity to meet young men:

> I always went to church, because my mother insisted on it, and I had such respect for her, that I didn't want to hurt her. But my heart certainly wasn't in it in those days, but my heart certainly was in sitting across from the army boys and seeing

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[22] Pentecostal Testimony, March 15, 1949, p.13.

[23] Pentecostal Testimony, February 15, 1947, p.16.

[24] Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU). Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interiew with Maureen Graham (GT).

[25] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[26] Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

> which was the best looking in the row, and getting the idea we might meet after church, which we often did.[27]

In addition to church services, church groups provided opportunities for courtship and dating. According to Harold Jensen, "there was almost a wedding every month" between young men and women who met in the Glad Tidings young peoples' group.[28] Between 1941 and 1951, Glad Tidings was home to the British Columbia Bible Institute.[29] That it was commonly referred to as "bridal school" suggests that the bible school was also a place of heterosexual courtship.[30]

Many young people met, courted, and married other church youth, which indicates that these congregations provided some space for the expression of heterosexual desire. By looking for prospective marital partners in church, however, young people posed no real challenge to church expectations of appropriate sexual behaviour. It is difficult to determine how such expectations shaped the experiences of church youth. In their oral narratives, First United members made little mention of formal rules on dating. We cannot make any definitive conclusions about the sexual conformity or resistance of First United young people. Perhaps the emphasis on open discussions of sexuality, and the absence of formal rules on sexual behaviour, allowed young people here a limited amount of freedom with respect to dating.

To ensure conformity to high standards of holiness, the behaviour of Pentecostal youth was monitored more closely. Pentecostal girls, in particular, were warned not to be

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[27] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[28] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[29] Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, p.16.
[30] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT); Miller, p.317.

"taken out by every Tom, Dick, and Harry in the country."[31] Maureen Graham recalled that while attending the bible school "you had to have permission to date somebody."[32] While Maureen agreed with this rule, Marilyn Williams questioned it. Flipping through her bible school yearbook, Marilyn came upon a picture of a man she dated and remarked:

> if you went out with a man once, then you were stuck with him the whole year. They wouldn't let you date anybody else because they didn't want you to be promiscuous, whatever that could mean in relation to going out with a man. So, we got stuck together. Just fought like cats and dogs the whole year![33]

In their oral narratives, many Glad Tidings members recalled being discouraged as young men and women from engaging in secular leisure activities such as dancing and movie-going, as such activities created unneccessary sexual temptations. Most Glad Tidings members claimed that they conformed to such restrictions in the postwar years.[34] As a young woman, Doris Macdonald did not attend dances because "there's a certain amount of closeness of two bodies together."[35] Marilyn gave a somewhat more sarcastic description of Pentecostal thoughts on dancing: "you didn't dance, somebody might hold you too close and you'd get pregnant."[36] Mary Smith remarked that she did not attend movies or dances in the 1940s and 1950s because "if you're busy trying to conform, you make dumb decisions sometimes."[37] Edward Maxwell recalled that his wife went to the movies once as a young woman, but kept her eyes closed for the duration of the film,

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[31] Pentecostal Testimony, November 1, 1949, p.8.
[32] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[33] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[34] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[35] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[36] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[37] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).

which shows the far reaching effects of Pentecostal admonitions against worldliness.

In church discourses on dating and courtship, next to the concern about sexual promiscuity was the fear that young people would choose "inappropriate" marriage partners. Ministers may have viewed courting in church as disruptive, but they were far more worried about the problem of young people finding the "wrong" mate outside of the church. In the United Church, such concerns centered largely on marriages between Protestants and Catholics. Through the 1950s, First United displayed literature and held sermons with titles such as "If I marry a Roman Catholic", "If my daughter should want to marry a Roman Catholic", and "What I would tell my son and daughter if he or she were to marry a Roman Catholic."[38] Of course, United Church objections to Catholic-Protestant intermarriages did not originate in the postwar years, but rather were rooted in a long history of anti-Catholic sentiment in Canadian Protestant churches.[39] While United Church officials defined marriages between Protestants and Catholics as the "greatest problem" in Canada, they were also concerned about the "serious" consequences of marriages between Christians and unbelievers.[40] All but one First United member in my interview sample married individuals with United Church backgrounds. Henry Campbell married an Anglican woman, but they began attending First United together after they had their first child. Notions of spiritual compatibility in marriage clearly shaped the courtship decisions of First United young peoples.

While Pentecostal officials discouraged marriages between people of different

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[38] First United Church, Bulletin, June 9, 1946; November 24, 1957; September 20, 1959; October 11, 1959.

[39] See, for example, Marks, pp.38-39.

[40] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.20.

religions, of far greater concern were unions between Christians and unbelievers. This reflected the Pentecostal emphasis on rejecting the world and steering clear of "worldlings." The biblical warning to be not "unequally yoked together with unbelievers" was heeded by most Glad Tidings members.[41] Doris Macdonald asserted that she married a Pentecostal man "because the word of God says be not unequally yoked together. It's sort of like you've got a small horse or a sick horse, and you've got a large horse, and you're yoked with a wooden yoke. How are you going to pull this team along and accomplish anything if you're unequally yoked together?"[42] Many other Glad Tidings members similarly pointed out the importance of religious mutuality in marriage, remarking that they would have never chosen an irreligious partner who "would come home drunk" or "have no time for church."[43] June Peterson subtly resisted church expectations by marrying a man who, despite his Pentecostal background, rejected many of the central tenets of the faith.[44] June assured me that although he denied the presence of the spirit and the supernatural, her husband had nevertheless been a good Christian and faithful churchgoer. Given the Pentecostal emphasis on spiritual unity in marriage and separation from worldlings, it would have been difficult for Glad Tidings young people to consider choosing an irreligious, unchurched mate.

To this point, I have considered church discourses on dating and courtship, and some of the ways in which young people negotiated with such discourses. By exploring church-based groups for young people, we can learn more about the meanings of

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[41] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #2, 1959, p.1.

[42] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[43] Interview with Doris Macdonald; Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[44] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

sexuality and gender in these two congregations. The age of adolescence captured the attention of churches and professionals in Canada in the first decades of the twentieth century.[45] The years between childhood and young adulthood were seen as crucial to the formation of character. In the postwar years, Canadian churches and the larger culture continued to define adolescence as an important, and particularly fragile, period of development.[46] "The perilous period of the 'teens'", remarked one Pentecostal official, "is fraught with large possibilities for good and evil. No period in life demands greater care and tenderness than this one, and at no time is character more surely formed."[47] Reports of the rise in delinquency and sexual deviance, and concerns about rapid changes to gender roles and family life, fuelled the focus on adolescence in the years following the war. A United Church handbook declared that because of dramatic social shifts, such as the increase of married women in the waged work force, "many young people today do not know clearly the social rules that should be played respectively by male and female."[48] Such concerns shaped the nature of boys and girls groups in First United and Glad Tidings, where young people were both implicitly and explicitly taught gender and heterosexual norms.

In the 1940s, a mid-week program for boys aged eight to fifteen was formed in Glad Tidings.[49] The Glad Tidings Boys' Brigade, which later joined the national Pentecostal Crusaders boys' program, centered on both spiritual instruction and sports

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[45] Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-39", Canadian Historical Review, LXVI: 2 (1985), p.154.
[46] Adams, p.47.
[47] Pentecostal Testimony, June 15, 1947, p.12; August 15, 1947, p.14..
[48] Signals for the Sixties, p.51.
[49] Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, p.18. Peters, p.20.

activities.[50] In her 1958 work, PAOC historian Gloria Kulbeck commented on the creation of boys' groups in the 1940s and 1950s:

> lads who might otherwise be running the streets or becoming enemies of the law were being taught various crafts, useful skills, as well as receiving valuable spiritual training. Thus have Canadian Pentecostals striven to meet one of the major problems of post-war Canadian society: juvenile irreligion and waywardness.[51]

Larger postwar concerns about the delinquent behaviour of young men also inspired the development of boys' programs in the United Church. To combat delinquency, local United Church congregations were urged to "extend and intensify their character-building and recreation programmes" for youth.[52] At First United, a basketball group for boys from ages nine to fourteen was started in 1950.[53]

The leaders of Glad Tidings and First United hoped that mid-week church programs would keep boys occupied and away from rougher forms of leisure, particularly street activity. While rooted in common concerns, boys' groups in these churches differed in important ways. The purpose of the Glad Tidings boys' group was to provide not only "wholesome recreation", but spiritual training to "lead boys to Christ."[54] Notions of building Christian character undoubtedly shaped the boys' basketball club in First United, but spiritual activities were not included in the club's program.[55] Moreover, unlike the First United boys' group, membership in the Glad Tidings Boys' Brigade was

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[50] Glad Tidings: 60th Anniversary, p.23.
[51] Kulbeck, p.47.
[52] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1949, p.38; 1945, p.26; 1946, p.87.
[53] First United Church, Annual Report, 1950, p.14.
[54] Kulbeck, p.47.
[55] Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

limited to boys from within the church.[56] This reflects the efforts of church leaders to protect Pentecostal young people from the influences of worldly youth.

In contrast to the Boys' Brigade, the First United basketball club involved boys from both within the church and larger community.[57] By including boys from the surrounding downtown area, the club embodied the United Church emphasis on community outreach and social service. Mariana Valverde has shown how postwar, community-based recreation programs were rooted in middle class notions of respectability. As public discourse defined delinquency as a problem of the working classes, such programs were directed largely at regulating the behaviour of working class youth.[58] Valverde suggests that community sports activities were initiated so that rather than learning behavioural norms from their parents or peers, working class young people "could be stimulated under the supervision of middle-class men and women whose morals and gender identities were beyond reproach."[59] I would argue that the formation of the First United boys' basketball club was shaped, in part, by the larger class meanings of delinquency. A 1961 United Church handbook attributed behavioural differences among young people to class differences: "the middle and upper class with a culture based on personal achievement, planning for the future, education and improvement of the mind; and a lower class which focuses not on financial status but on toughness, endurance, physical prowess, trouble, fate and luck." The "street corner culture" of lower class youth, warned the handbook, was rapidly "penetrating" the middle and upper

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[56] Ibid..
[57] Ibid.
[58] Valverde, pp.26-27; Adams, p.75.
[59] Valverde, p.27.

classes and "bringing about a lowering of educational and moral standards."[60] To combat this "street corner culture", and "build up neighbourhood spirit, an all-important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency", local congregations were urged to extend their recreational programs to include not only respectable youth, but also unchurched, working class young people from the community.[61] By providing a wholesome leisure alternative for boys from the surrounding, downtown area, First United participated in postwar, middle class efforts to build "anti-delinquent communities."[62]

In addition to spiritual training, the Glad Tidings Boys' Brigade involved recreation such as camping, fishing, and various sports activities. In both churches, boys' groups centered on manly forms of leisure under the supervision of an exclusively masculine leadership. Within such groups, boys learned the importance of engaging in activities which were appropriate to their gender. Valverde suggests that sports and leisure programs were started not only to teach young men proper gender roles, but to curb sexual desire. "Masculine aggression and heterosexual desire", she argues, were "not to be suppressed but rather channelled into morally and socially appropriate settings supervised by representatives of the middle class."[63] In United Church discourses, the link between creating "wholesome" leisure alternatives and regulating sexuality was sometimes made explicit. The 1946 annual report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service remarked that due to the crisis in veneral disease, "church-sponsored recreation programs, both outdoor and indoor, are not only a need but are ideal from the standpoint

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[60] Signals for the Sixties, p.48.
[61] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1946, p.23 and p.103; Signals for the Sixties, p.54.
[62] See Valverde.
[63] Valverde, p.27.

of supervision and atmosphere."[64] The 1957 report made the link even more clear: "Irregular sex behaviour must be replaced by wholesome recreation; dirty and suggestive amusements by healthy ones."[65] As well as reinforcing gender norms, then, church-based boys' groups were intended to mitigate against "irregular" sexual behaviour among adolescent males.

In these years, concerns about delinquency tended to focus on the street activity and rough leisure of adolescent boys and young men. References to delinquent behaviour among girls and young women were less frequent, and more apt to center on sexual transgressions.[66] The link between female delinquency and sexuality was certainly not forged in the postwar years. In many historical contexts, women's sexual behaviour has been central to what it meant to conform to, or deviate from, dominant feminine ideals.[67] While church officials rarely referred specifically to girl delinquents, they did express concerns about the sexual practices of young women. Such concerns were perhaps most evident in reports of rising rates of teenage pregnancy and unwed motherhood, which fuelled fears about the crisis in postwar family life.[68]

Public anxieties about family breakdown reinforced the notion that young women required guidance to develop proper gender and heterosexual identities, and shaped the nature of church-based groups for girls. In Glad Tidings, the Pioneer Missionary Action

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[64] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1946, p.87.

[65] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1957, p.46.

[66] Adams, p.63. For a discussion of the "barely visible cultural rebellion" of teenage girls in postwar America, see Wini Breines, "The 'Other Fifties': Beats and Bad Girls", in Joanne Meyerowitz ed. Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

[67] See, for example, Marks, p.87.

[68] See, for example, Signals for the Sixties, p.47.

Girls was formed in the 1940s and included girls from ages nine to fifteen. The Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), a Protestant girls' organization which had a long history at First United, originated in 1917 and included girls from ages twelve to seventeen.[69] In the postwar period, a United Church handbook observed that "girls should be educated, but not merely for a career. They should be educating themselves as housewives and mothers too."[70] As well as spiritual and leadership training, CGIT girls learned how to be effective and intelligent homemakers and mothers.[71] In her 1958 work, PAOC historian Gloria Kulbeck asserted that "in the gatherings of the Pioneer Missionary Action Girls, young tomboys are learning the more feminine arts of cooking and sewing."[72] Mary Louise Adams has shown how postwar discussions of "sissies and tomboys" related to larger fears about changing gender roles, particularly within the family.[73] In the Pioneer Missionary Action Girls and the CGIT, girls learned to engage in activities which did not contradict their femininity, and which prepared them to fulfill their presumably natural roles as wives and mothers.

Of course, the emphasis on domesticity in girls' groups was not new in these years, but it did take on a renewed sense of urgency within a context when youth seemed particularly at risk of developing deviant heterosexual and gender identities. While the singular ideal of domesticity shaped girls' groups in both churches, there were important differences. As early as the 1930s, the larger CGIT program included formal instruction

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[69] Prang, p.160.
[70] Signals for the Sixties, p.45.
[71] Prang, p.182. Interview with Pearl Sutherland (FU).
[72] Kulbeck, p.42.
[73] Adams, p.95 and p.98.

in marital preparation and sexual education.[74] It is less clear whether such instruction was central to the CGIT at First United in the postwar years. It does seem likely that it played some part here, given the emphasis on sexual and marital guidance in postwar United Church discourses. In Glad Tidings, female sexual norms were to be demonstrated by example rather than through explicit instruction. Pentecostal discussions of deviant sexualities often centered on the outward appearance of women. Through the postwar years, officials bemoaned the "immodest" and "immoral" attire of "wicked worldly women", and worried that Pentecostal women were increasingly being "corrupted" by modern fashions.[75] Leaders and teachers of young girls were told that as role models, it was particularly important that they dress in a chaste and conservative manner. They were warned that the "world does not expect to see lip-stick, rouge, painted fingernails, etc. on the Christian, and the Christian consecrated to the Lord's service will avoid even the appearance of worldliness for Jesus' sake, and for the sake of others. The teacher must remember that her pupils are like plastic clay - they are quick to receive impressions."[76]

Despite their differences, church-based boys and girls' groups were rooted in the common postwar assumption that young people needed guidance to develop normal gender and heterosexual identities. As the narrators in my study were past the age of adolescence in the postwar years, it is difficult to get a sense of how teenage boys and girls responded to attempts to define their behaviour. To deepen our understanding of

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[74] Prang, p.169.

[75] Pentecostal Testimony, November 15, 1947, p.5; May 1, 1947, p.12; PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #2, 1956, pp.1-2.

[76] Pentecostal Testimony, May 1, 1947, p.12.

the ways in which young people negotiated with gender and sexual norms, this chapter now turns to an analysis of church-based associations for young adults. Such associations provide an interesting lens to explore the ways that these churches engaged dominant meanings of gender, sexuality, and the family.

Once they had outgrown boys' and girls' groups, young adults in Glad Tidings could find social and spiritual fellowship in men's and women's service associations, or in the Christ's Ambassadors group. As the central group for young adults in Glad Tidings, the Christ's Ambassadors actually included individuals from ages thirteen to forty.[77] While evidence on the Glad Tidings' Christ's Ambassadors is limited, oral narratives provide useful insights into the nature of this group. The purpose of the group was embodied in the four "c's" of Christ, Companionship, Courtship, and Careers. As noted above, many young people in Glad Tidings met their marital partners in this group.[78] The Christ's Ambassadors provided opportunities for courtship, but marriage preparation does not seem to have played a part in group activities.[79]

A central purpose of the young peoples' group at Glad Tidings was embodied in the word "companionship." Pentecostal young people were warned not to establish close friendships with worldly youth, and were told to seek out like-minded associations in church-based groups and at Christian youth rallies.[80] Although Glad Tidings members remembered being encouraged to be evangelical, and to "bring somebody to church",

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[77] Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[78] Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[79] Glad Tidings members generally remarked that marital counselling and preparation was limited to individual sessions with the minister.

[80] Miller, p.254.

they also recalled being told "not to hobnob with the worldly people" and not to have unbelievers as their "bosom friends."[81] In denominational literature, the "clean, wholesome young people" in Pentecostal churches were contrasted to the youth of an "evil and adulterous generation."[82] Many Glad Tidings members recalled that as Christ's Ambassadors, they had to "make their own fun" or have fun "the right way."[83] Harold Jensen remarked that "if you're in a group where they don't smoke and don't drink, you don't either."[84] To ensure that she wasn't "tomcatting around" at night, Marilyn Williams's father urged her to join the church youth group.[85] The reflections of another Glad Tidings member, June Peterson, suggest that membership in such groups was no guarantee that Pentecostal young people were not "tomcatting around." June recalled that on some Friday evenings, the night of the Christ's Ambassadors' meeting, she would "see some other parents' kids running around, you know, the parents would think the kids were in church and they were running around town or something."[86]

While the Christ's Ambassadors' program did not include formal instruction in courtship and marriage, there is evidence to suggest that group members informally negotiated with gender and heterosexual norms. When asked to describe a favorite memory of Glad Tidings, Harold Jensen recalled his role in a "mock wedding" which took place at a meeting of the young peoples' group:

> I was the groom, and I was fairly short, and there was one of the army boys, he was six foot and he was the bride. And John he was about - oh, I don't think

[81] Interview with Lillian Olsen; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[82] Kulbeck, p.8; Atter, p.28.
[83] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[84] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[85] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[86] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

> he was more than five foot two - he was the flower girl. And then another army boy was the bridesmaid...Oh, and the best man was a little short guy. Now you could imagine that going on! And they had us all dressed up - the women in men's clothing, and the men in women's clothing.[87]

Joy Parr has examined mock weddings in 1920s and 1930s garment factories in Paris, Ontario. According to Parr, these "parodies of domestic life" both ridiculed and affirmed masculine authority in marriage.[88] I would argue that mock weddings served a similar function in the Glad Tidings young peoples' group. In addition to mock weddings, the Christ's Ambassadors group staged fashion shows, during which men modelled women's clothing.[89] The reversal of sex roles in mock weddings and fashion shows must be understood in relation to larger Pentecostal discourses on changing gender roles within the family. In literature and sermons, young people learned the divinely ordained pattern of female subservience and male leadership in marriage. They were warned of the corrupt and unnatural state of "modern marriages", where mothers worked outside of the home and fathers were reluctant to exercise authority within the family. Mock weddings and fashion shows played upon, and subtly ridiculed, the rigid gender norms dictated by Pentecostal leaders. As in 1920s Paris factories, however, the gender parodies staged by the Christ's Ambassadors were met with by laughter.[90] Through their shared laughter, Pentecostal young people acknowledged the deviance of gender transgressions, and affirmed traditional roles in marriage.

The wide appeal of the Christ's Ambassadors in the postwar period had to do, in part, with Pentecostal notions of separating from the world. Glad Tidings young people

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[87] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[88] Parr, Gender of Breadwinners, p.30.
[89] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[90] Parr, Gender of Breadwinners, p.32.

had few acceptable leisure options beyond church-based activities. In the Christ's Ambassadors, they could engage in social and recreational activities which did not compromise their faith. This group included married and single people from ages thirteen to forty. Glad Tidings' member Mary Smith mentioned that she tried to start a couples group in the latter part of the 1950s, but it never took hold.[91] Upon first coming to Glad Tidings during the war, Harold Jensen attempted to organize a young men's group, but was told by the pastor to "keep it co-ed."[92] By breaking down barriers of age, gender, and marital status, the Glad Tidings young peoples' group reflected the notion that secular status divisions were unimportant within the Pentecostal "community of saints."

There was a Young Peoples' Union for older teenagers and young adults at First United, but it did not have a large appeal in the 1940s and 1950s. While some First United narrators could not even recall the existence of a young people's association, others lamented the absence of groups for young people in the postwar period.[93] It is likely that many First United young people were drawn to the many secular sports and leisure activities in these years, rather than to church groups. I would also suggest that the role of the young people's union was limited in First United because of the central place of couples' clubs in this congregation. In contrast to the Christ's Ambassadors, the First United young people's union included only single individuals. Young, married people in First United could find social and spiritual fellowship in couples' clubs, which

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[91] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).
[92] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).
[93] Interview with James Ingram; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with Henry Campbell; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

flourished in the postwar years. The emergence of couples' clubs represented a significant departure from the earlier focus in Protestant churches on young men's and women's groups.[94] Developing out of widespread anxieties about the nature of family life, United Church couples' clubs were shaped by, and helped to construct, the postwar "heterosexual hegemony."

At First United, couples' clubs were formed in 1948, 1950, and 1957.[95] These clubs were generally made up of about fifteen young married couples. Although they often contributed to the church through fundraising and work projects, couples' clubs were intended to be social rather than service organizations.[96] Part of a national "Couples' Club Movement" in the United Church of Canada, the groups in First United were designed to strengthen and encourage wholesome marriage relationships.[97] In 1957, club members agreed to sponsor a 'School for Brides and Grooms', a marriage course for young, engaged couples in the congregation.[98] Club members attended preparatory services, where they invited engaged couples to join one of the groups upon marriage.[99] The First United groups were often present at the meetings of newly formed couples' clubs in other Victoria churches, to offer guidance and support.[100] By nurturing young couples within their congregation and beyond, First United couples' clubs affirmed the social significance of marriage.

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[94] Sex, Love, Marriage, pp.25-26.

[95] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, 1948-1960; Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, 1950-1960; First United Church, Annual Report, 1950 and 1957.

[96] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, February 1960.

[97] UCC Board of Christian Education, Couples' Club Confidential (Toronto: The National Couples' Club Committee, 1968).

[98] First United Church, Annual Report, 1957, p.15; Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, May 1957; Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, May 1957.

[99] First United Church, Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, February 1954.

[100] First United Church, Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, June 1953 and April 1956.

The couples' club constitution stated that the groups were formed "for the purpose of appreciating to the fullest degree a home-centred Christian Fellowship". These clubs helped to entrench traditional family forms. At club meetings, *Parentalk* magazine was circulated, and the nature of parenthood was often discussed. According to First United narrator Joanne Lewis, the Friday night couples' club was made up of "young marrieds after the war, with young children."[101] Within these clubs, it was taken for granted that children were central to what it meant to be a family. The domestic emphasis of couples' clubs is reflected in the fact that, despite the availability of a new clubroom in the church, they continued to meet in the members' homes.[102] It is also reflected in discussions and devotionals on subjects such as "Music in the Home", "Religion and its place in Family Life", "The Christian Home", and "How to make your dream house come true."[103] Members reaffirmed idealized notions of domesticity, but they also discussed new factors affecting the family. Literature and lectures on subjects such as "Should T.V. be installed in every home?", "the religious and legal aspects of divorce", and "When should sex education begin in the home?", reflect the efforts of club members to make sense of changing family practices.[104]

While Pentecostal leaders insisted on clear gender roles in the home, United Church officials drew on new postwar meanings of companionate marriage, which

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[101] Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU).

[102] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, January, 1953; Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[103] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, March 1949; May 1959; First United Church, Wednesday Night Couples Club, Minutes, April 1953, February 1954.

[104] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, May 1951; March 1955; March 1956; February 1958. Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, April 1956; April 1958. Wednesday Night Couples' Club Collection, Parentalk np.nd; "Programme and Place", Couples' Club Review, 1950-1955.

emphasized gender mutuality and some overlap in domestic roles.[105] These new, dominant meanings of partnership in marriage shaped the purpose and organization of First United couples' clubs. A club handbook attributed the success of the couples' club movement to the "desire on the part of men and women to work together in the church, rather than separately... Increasingly, men and women are sharing roles in home life, in work, in recreation. Why should the church, one of whose primary functions is fellowship at the deepest personal level, be a fragmenting agent?"[106] Couples' clubs were intended to both foster and reflect new, dominant values of "genuine partnership marriage." This rhetoric of partnership is evident in the names of First United couples' clubs, such as "Two by Two" and "Fifty-Fifty." It also shaped the club programs, where activities and responsibilities were to be shared equally by wives and husbands. The couples' club constitution clearly stated that "offices [were] to be held by Couples rather than by individuals."

In partnership marriages, stated a United Church handbook, "the stereotype of 'masculine' and 'feminine' give way for a full appreciation of human potential."[107] Were couples' clubs free of gender stereotypes? Did United Church discourses on mutuality in marriage significantly alter conventional gender roles? I would argue that new definitions of marriage did little to disturb traditional gender norms within couples' clubs, and within the larger postwar culture.[108] Although officers' positions were formally held by couples, a man generally acted as president and a woman as secretary at

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[105] Adams, pp.32-34.
[106] Couples Club Handbook, (revised edition), in Couples Club Confidential, 1969, p.3.
[107] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.27.
[108] Adams, p.34.

group meetings. When asked about the roles of men and women in the club, Gordon Watson recalled that "most of the offices of the club were pretty near partnerships." While his wife Anne initially agreed, upon further consideration she admitted that "that was the starting of it, but I think that kind of wore off after awhile, I think most of the girls got the jobs to do! (laughs)."[109] Another former member of the Friday Night Couples' Club, Joanne Lewis, remembered that "we shared the roles as couples in our Couples' Club." In later reflection, she noted that "we had our worship service, which each of the couples took their turn preparing, even if some of the fellows were not quite at home doing that, they could always read the scripture or do something of that sort."[110] Joanne's comment suggests that women were more likely than men to prepare worship services, which indicates that the feminized meanings of spirituality shaped gender practices in the club. The service and social activities of the group were also dictated by gender. Women mended dolls' clothes for the nursery, provided refreshments for the meetings, and compiled cookbooks, while men constructed nativity scenes, painted nursery chairs, and gave three minute speeches on their occupations.[111]

In couples' clubs, young people negotiated with traditional and newer meanings of marriage. Members engaged in panel discussions and debates on subjects such as "Should wives accompany their husbands on fishing trips?", "Should Married Women Work?", and "Be it resolved that Husbands should Help with the Housework."[112] Such

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[109] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[110] Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU).

[111] Interview with Joanne Lewis (FU). First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, 1948-1960; Wednesday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, 1950-1960; Couples' Club Cookbook (Missouri, North American Press, nd.).

[112] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, March, 1955; April, 1959.

topics indicate that young couples struggled to make sense of the contradictory directives of mutual yet distinct gender roles in marriage. Occasionally, the couples' clubs put on a "Men's Night", at which members both affirmed and ridiculed gender norms. On Men's Night, the male club members directed the evening's program. At these meetings, which were described as "giddy" and "nonsensical", the men took off their ties, mimicked women singers, made motions to remove the "fair sex" from the comfortable chairs, and led the group in "masculine" games.[113] Gender roles within the club were often reversed on Men's Night. Men took the devotional and provided the refreshments, duties which fell largely to women at regular meetings. The Friday group secretary noted that on Men's Night, "with the aid of canopener and bake shop the fellows excelled themselves."[114] The playful antics of Men's Night did not fundamentally challenge gender norms. Club members recognized that sex reversals on Men's Night were both temporary and "nonsensical." Official United Church literature insisted that couples' clubs embody and promote true partnership marriage. The meanings of marriage were considerably more complex at the level of group activities, where members both affirmed the importance of gender mutuality, and reinforced conventional gender roles.

When asked whether or not he participated in a young peoples' group at First United, Gordon Watson frankly replied "we weren't young people, we were a young married couple."[115] For club members, marital status and age were important categories of identity, although it is clear that gender cross-cut these identities. The recollections of club members suggest that shared marital identities may have outweighed class

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[113] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, May 1958 and November 1961.
[114] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club, Minutes, November 1961.
[115] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

differences within the groups. Anne Watson recalled that in the club, "some were better off than others, and some were better educated than others, but we were all at the beginning of our married and family life."[116] These clubs were defined not only by marital status, but by age. In 1958, a First United committee on Couples' Clubs resolved that to ensure the continued success of the clubs, "couples should be in one age group."[117] Indeed, some First United members chose not to join the clubs because they felt they were too old.[118] Anne Watson, former Friday group member, recalled that when the Wednesday group was formed "they were a younger group still. New marrieds again, you see, they had things in common."[119] The 1958 annual report of the Board of Evangelism and Social service declared that "the young married couple in the community is one of the most important units in setting social patterns and establishing the culture of our time."[120] In couples' clubs and in the larger postwar culture, being a young, heterosexual, married couple conferred a measure of respectability and social belonging.

In United Church couples' clubs, sermons, marital and sexual education programs, and literature, marriage was drawn as the most important of relationships. The value attached to married heterosexuality likely made single people feel subtly abnormal. In United Church literature, discussions of single people were cloaked in family rhetoric. In considering the needs of single people, a United Church handbook observed that in "former generations the single women usually found an important and satisfying place in

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[116] Ibid.

[117] First United Church, Friday Night Couples' Club Collection, "Report on Findings on Committee on Couples Clubs", November 5, 1958.

[118] Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU).

[119] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[120] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1958, p.88.

the larger family circle. Today she must reach out to a wider community. Fulfillment of her needs for affection in a concentrated form cannot easily be met outside of marriage."[121] Single people, and particularly single women, were advised to live together in apartments to simulate the close support of family relationships.[122] The handbook urged local congregations to help single individuals, who were presumed to require "counselling and encouragement in order to acknowledge their unexpressed wish to be married."[123] Those who deviated from accepted social norms, and remained single, were suspected of repressing their latent and presumably natural desire to marry.

While being a "new married" was necessary for membership in the First United couples' clubs, differences of marital status were insignificant in the Glad Tidings young peoples' group. There were more social and spiritual spaces for single people in Glad Tidings. In Pentecostal religious discourses, the individual's relationship with God took primacy over marriage and family relationships. Indeed, early Pentecostal believers were known to abandon family and marriage obligations to dedicate their lives to Christ.[124] As spiritual ties outweighed the significance of earthly ties, Pentecostal individuals who defied convention and stayed single remained part of a spiritual family of believers.[125] Single Pentecostal women were told that "God needs 'old maids'", and that it was alright to "be an 'old maid by choice, after all it may be God's choice. Take heart! He may have great work for you to do."[126] Pentecostal women were warned that it "is not being

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[121] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.29.
[122] Ibid., p.30.
[123] Ibid, p.29.
[124] Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, p.93 and p.115.
[125] Blumhofer, Restoring the Faith, p.115; and Argue.
[126] Pentecostal Testimony, January 15, 1949, p.13.

single that is to be feared (some of God's choicest saints are unmarried" but being harnessed to the wrong partner."[127] When asked why she never married, Glad Tidings member Elma Johnson remarked: "I would never marry somebody that I didn't love."[128] For devout Pentecostal women, who were unwilling to be "yoked" to an unbeliever, marriage may have posed somewhat of a demographic challenge. According to Edward Maxwell, the postwar congregation of Glad Tidings contained "numbers of women who never married, because they kept their standards high and wouldn't lower their standards."[129]

This chapter has shown that these churches adopted somewhat different approaches to young peoples' groups, sexual education, single people, and marriage. While it is clear that the postwar "cult of marriage" had a greater effect on First United, both churches helped to reinforce heterosexual norms. As a relational category, heterosexuality cannot be understood without also examining homosexuality.[130] In their oral narratives, Glad Tidings members clearly indicated that homosexual behaviour was firmly denounced by the church.[131] Marilyn Williams remarked "they have a little saying for homosexuals, 'love the sinner, but hate the sin', but actually, we pull our ropes pretty tight around us and we don't really love the sinner."[132]

United Church approaches to homosexuality were rooted more in the secular

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[127] C.M. Ward, Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956 (Springfield: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1956), p.17.

[128] Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson (GT).

[129] Interview with Edward Maxwell (GT).

[130] Adams, p.7.

[131] Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[132] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

values of family stability, than in doctrinal concerns. United Church leaders regarded homosexuality as a learned, deviant behaviour which "tends to undermine the foundations of stable society based upon heterosexual marriage and family responsibility."[133] Church members were encouraged to adopt a sympathetic, Christian attitude toward individuals who carried "the burden of deviant sexual feelings."[134] To eradicate these "deviant" feelings, and possibly establish a "good marriage relationship", homosexuals were urged to seek counselling and support through the church.[135] At First United, the emergence of couples' clubs, family literature, parent workshops, marriage courses, and family camps entrenched heterosexual norms.[136] "Christianity", observed one First United leader, "is a family religion. It is the Christian conviction that people are happier when they can live together in families."[137] United Church discourses and practices marginalized alternative sexualities by defining nuclear family life, based on married heterosexuality, as the primary form of social organization.

The emphasis on heterosexual relationships meant that even though homosexuality was rarely discussed at any significant length in church literature, it was widely understood as deviant. Mary Louise Adams' concept of "normalization" is useful here. The process of normalization, she argues, prevents deviance, limits choices, and makes it difficult to imagine different ways of being.[138] Through a range of practices - from mock weddings to marriage courses and couples' clubs - heterosexuality was

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[133] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.15.
[134] Ibid, p.16.
[135] Ibid.
[136] First United Church, Bulletin, October 28, 1956; November 29, 1957; May 11, 1958. United Church Women Collection, Letters, 1961.
[137] First United Church, Bulletin, May 4, 1952.
[138] Adams, p.13.

constructed as both normal and natural, and made an important key to social belonging in these churches. Within this context, many church members would have found it difficult to accept and affirm alternative sexualities. Marginalized by the larger postwar culture, homosexual individuals were apt to find little acceptance within these churches. Indeed, church discourses on homosexual deviance and heterosexual norms may have discouraged homosexual individuals from taking up membership in these congregations.

How did church members negotiate gender and heterosexual relationships within the context of the family? Did they affirm or challenge dominant and church definitions of what it meant to be a godly wife, a respectable father, and an ideal family? What part did religion play in the domestic life of church members? To address these questions, the next chapter moves beyond the church to explore the nature of religious, gender, and family experiences within postwar homes.

CHAPTER 4: 'God Setteth the Solitary in Families': Religion and Domesticity

The religious lives and identities of postwar church members were produced and shaped not only within the public realm of church activities, but also within the private sphere of home. In the postwar years, discourses on church and home often overlapped and were mutually reinforcing. It is thus necessary to extend my analysis into the domestic realm, to explore how church members responded to dominant notions of Christian domesticity. Postwar church officials presented a singular, idealized version of family life based on clear gender roles and spiritual unanimity. This chapter looks at the various ways in which postwar church members made sense of their lives with respect to this domestic ideal. I argue that church discourses on Christian family life significantly shaped the experiences and values of ordinary church members. At the same time, the narrow family ideal presented by church officials did not account for the unique circumstances and needs of individual church members. Church members may have aspired to the ideal, but they often fell short of fulfilling all of its requirements. Church members appropriated, and sometimes subtly challenged, the dominant ideal of the Christian family, and the clear gender roles and behaviours which it upheld.

In postwar Canada, social commentators linked the strength of the nation to the stability of the family. Historians have argued that this era can be characterized by a general cultural orientation toward home and family life.[1] Scholars have attributed this domestic emphasis to the desire of Canadians for peace and security following decades of depression and war. Joy Parr notes that in the postwar years "domestic

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[1] See, for example, Adams; Gleason; and many of the articles in Joy Parr ed. A Diversity of Women.

metaphors...proclaimed the promise of peace."[2] In this period, more Canadians were getting married and starting families than in previous decades. The postwar "baby boom" had to do in part with the return of large numbers of soldiers from overseas, and with the relative economic prosperity of these years. But it also had to do with the fact that dominant discourses made belonging to a heterosexual, nuclear family an important marker of normalcy in the postwar world. Postwar observers valorized ideal family life, but did not reflect on the anglo-saxon, middle class, heterosexual norms and values which gave meaning to this ideal. Instead, they presumed that the affluent, suburban, dual parent household, with a breadwinning father and homemaking mother, was available to all.

Despite the postwar "baby boom", psychologists, social reformers, and other cultural observers lamented the decline of family life. They pointed to a wide range of symptoms of family breakdown, such as increasing rates of divorce, mothers working outside of the home, absent fathers, juvenile delinquency, and sexual deviance. Both Pentecostal and United Church officials drew on and helped to reinforce this family crisis rhetoric. A 1945 article in the Pentecostal Testimony contained the following warning:

> America and Canada will never crumble because of enemies from without. If our Western civilization goes down, it will be because of decay, degeneracy, and corruption within. Christianity is best tested in the home. It is there Christianity begins. Building Christian homes of character, where families together worship God, pray for the lost and read God's word, is one of the great tasks to which our lives must be dedicated.[3]

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[2] Parr, "Introduction", in Parr ed. A Diversity of Women, p.5.
[3] Pentecostal Testimony, February 1, 1945, p.1.

Similarly, United Church literature contained frequent warnings about the significance of Christian family life to the strength of the nation. A pamphlet issued by the National Evangelistic Mission of the United Church of Canada declared that the "hopes of the tomorrows depends in large measure upon what will happen to the family during the decades ahead. The battle between atheism and faith, between secularism and Christianity, will be decided in large measure by the vitality of the spiritual life of the family."[4] Pentecostal and United Church leaders attributed family decline, in part, to the neglect of religion within postwar homes. In these years, church members were told that shared domestic religious experiences would strengthen family relationships and make their homes bulwarks against secularism.

Canadian and American historians have shown the significance of domestic ideologies and family crisis rhetoric in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century. While the importance placed on home and family life was not unique, new meanings of domesticity did emerge in the postwar context. Recently, gender historians have cautioned against the tendency to oversimplify postwar culture and ideology by focusing exclusively on the domestic ideal, and the constraints which this ideal imposed.[5] Such a focus not only denies human agency, but assumes that the dominant culture was monolithic and contained singular meanings. Veronica Strong-boag has ably shown that postwar discourses on gender and family were multiple in the larger Canadian culture. She argues that while some postwar commentators bemoaned the decline of traditional

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[4] G. Ernest Thomas, The Holy Habits of the Spiritual Life (Toronto: The National Evangelistic Mission of the United Church of Canada, n.d.), p.42.

[5] See, for example, Strong-Boag and Valverde. For an American study see, in particular, Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958", in Meyerowitz ed. Not June Cleaver.

family and gender values, others championed the emergence of new gender roles and family forms.[6] Likewise, Mariana Valverde points to contradictions in postwar meanings of gender and family. She argues that "discussions of gender ideology reveal a tension between upholding a mythical prewar patriarchy and an effort to expand the wartime slogans of democracy and freedom into the realm of the family."[7] Some postwar observers suggested that the family should be modernized to adapt to changing economic and social patterns. Advocates of the "modern" family argued for greater overlap in domestic gender roles, mutuality in marriage, and increased independence of children. Pentecostal leaders viewed these "modern" trends in family life with suspicion, and prescribed rigid gender roles, male authority, and the obedience of children within the home. United Church discussions on the family were more ambiguous, and drew on both traditional gender ideologies and new meanings of gender mutuality.

A 1960 United Church of Canada handbook contained the following reflection on the changing nature of the family:

> The man, no longer the sole provider and source of authority is more a participant in home-making, and the couple undertake their responsibilities of child rearing and housekeeping jointly. The distinctive roles of husband and wife are changing, but are not yet clear and distinct. Where either husband or wife is immature, these changes and this new freedom may result in family discord and, if serious, to family breakdown.[8]

United Church leaders did not easily accept the perceived postwar shifts in domestic gender roles. Through these years, they alternately reasserted conventional gender roles within the home, and advocated flexibility in these roles. When asked whether she

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[6] Strong-boag, pp.5-25.
[7] Valverde, p.39.
[8] Sex, Love, Marriage , p.27.

recalled any church teachings about gender roles in the family, First United member Anne Watson responded: "No, I don't recall there being any difference made. You mean as in the father being the disciplinarian and the mother being the nurturer, or anything like that? No, I don't recall anything like that, no. The family unit was more the focus."[9] Other First United Church members gave similar responses. Many recalled that the church "encouraged family life" and saw the ideal family as a "cohesive unit."[10] Unlike Pentecostal members, however, they did not remember specific church teachings on the domestic roles of mothers and fathers, husbands and wives. This reflects the fact that notions of fixed gender roles in the home were more central to Pentecostal religious discourses.

Pentecostal church officials were clear in condemning what they saw as a disturbing trend in "modern" families. In a 1956 sermon, American radio evangelist and former minister of Glad Tidings C.M. Ward complained that a "wishy-washy, spineless apathy has replaced the time-honored position of head of the house."[11] Pentecostal leaders feared that shifting gender roles were weakening masculine authority within the family. Historian Margaret Lamberts Bendroth argues that in turn of the century America, evangelical leaders worried that the "new woman" was creating an increasingly "passive type of manhood."[12] This, Bendroth contends, made American evangelicals more stringently reinforce a clear gender hierarchy in marriage. I would argue that

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[9] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).

[10] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

[11] C.M. Ward, Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956 (Springfield: Assemblies of God, 1956), p.40.

[12] Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to Present (New Haven: Edwards Brothers Inc., 1993), p.6.

Pentecostal leaders responded similarly to postwar changes in gender and family.

Pentecostal leaders often outlined the divinely ordained pattern of domestic life. Church members were encouraged to consult their bibles for guidance in family relationships. A 1945 article in the Pentecostal Testimony contended that the bible "is so complete a system that nothing can be added or taken from it...It sets the husband as Lord of the household, and the wife as mistress of the table - it tells him how to rule, and her how to manage."[13] Women were told that as wives, it was they who were responsible for ensuring marital harmony. As "diplomats, not war secretaries", wives were to resist their presumably "natural" urge to nag their husbands.[14] They were to sublimate their own opinions, and "wholeheartedly" support the decisions of their husbands.[15] They were reminded to be "obedient to their own husbands, that the Word of God not be blasphemed."[16] Women were encouraged to look upon their minister's wife as an example of what it meant to be a godly wife. Ideal minister's wives did not press "unneccessary household chores" on their husbands, kept their homes "clean and tidy", and trained their children to "respectful behaviour."[17] They dressed "modestly" and did not place unneccessary financial burdens on their husbands by demanding the "latest" in fashion.

Pentecostal discourses on the roles of husbands and wives significantly shaped the domestic identities and experiences of ordinary church members. When asked about

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[13] Pentecostal Testimony, January 15, 1945, p.2.

[14] C.M. Ward, Revivaltime Pulpit: Sermon Book #3 (Springfield: Assemblies of God National Radio Department, 1959), p.163.

[15] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #9, 1958, p.7.

[16] Ibid.

[17] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #3, 1958, p.8; #9, 1958, p.7; #8, 1961, p.15. Pentecostal Testimony, February 15, 1949, p.4; September 1, 1949, p.5.

church teachings on family life, many Glad Tidings narrators were quick to respond that the "man was the head of the house."[18] Pentecostal women declared that they "liked" the man to be the head of the house, and that "men are just supposed to be the leaders."[19] As in the church, masculine authority in the home was accepted as both natural and God-ordained. It would have been difficult for Pentecostal women to overtly challenge a domestic pattern that they believed to be rooted in biblical truths.

Nevertheless, Pentecostal women did not uniformly conform to the image of the obedient housewife. Man might be the head of the home, Glad Tidings member Maureen Graham declared, but "woman was the neck that turns the head."[20] Many Glad Tidings women recalled controlling household finances and making daily decisions regarding family matters. Some suggested that although husbands were the acknowledged heads of homes, wives still got their way. June Peterson remarked that "the man should be the head of the house." She then implied that this male authority could be subtly subverted: "there's ways (laughs)...I'm teaching you things here. I think there's ways of, you know, getting what you want, how you want it to be."[21] Marilyn Williams gave a similar response: "I think if you had any, what do I say, psychology at all in your thinking, women kind of could get their own way, but they had to do it quietly."[22]

For the most part, the doctrine of masculine leadership and feminine submission

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[18] Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[19] Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[20] Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

[21] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[22] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

within Pentecostal homes was uncontested. In chapter one I argued that Pentecostal religious discourses were complex, and at times ambivalent, with respect to the roles of women. A belief in the spiritual equality of all regardless of social position, and the notion that women were somehow more susceptible to the workings of the spirit, tempered the rigid gender hierarchy in church and home. Although masculine authority within the family was unquestioned, Pentecostal women understood themselves first and foremost as "daughters of God."

Prescriptions on clear gender roles were less central to United Church discourses on domestic life. In many ways, however, United and Pentecostal officials spoke a common language of gender and the family. Certainly, neither questioned the hegemony of married heterosexuality and the nuclear family. Leaders of both churches considered spiritual unity between husbands and wives as essential to a healthy marriage relationship and stable family life. They insisted that there "can be no real partnership between sinner and saint", and that religious differences hindered the "complete union of mind, spirit and body that defines true marriage."[23] In Pentecostal literature, such directives were often aimed at women, who seemed more at risk of choosing an irreligious mate. Stories in church publications warned women that worldly husbands were apt to mistreat their wives, be sexually immoral, and obstruct the spiritual training of children.[24] In both congregations, marriages between believers and unbelievers, and between people of different faiths, were uncommon in the postwar years. Of my interview sample, most

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[23] Ward, Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956, p.88; Sex, Love, Marriage,p.20.

[24] Pentecostal Testimony, February 1, 1945, pp.12-13; Stanley Howard Frodsham, With Signs Following: The Story of the Pentecostal Revival in the Twentieth Century (Springfield: The Gospel Publishing House, 1946), p.198; Argue, p.12.

members attended church with their spouses, and considered mutual religious beliefs an important factor in their marriage relationship. Common spiritual interests, narrators pointed out, "bind your marriage together", provide a "good foundation to build on", and ensure "real fellowship" between husbands and wives.[25] This indicates that church prescriptions on spiritual compatibility in marriage shaped the values and experiences of ordinary church members.

Church discussions on the instability of intermarriages were related to larger postwar fears about the supposed rise in divorce. Postwar observers decried the breakup of marriages as a crisis, and yet instances of separation and divorce actually declined after the war.[26] Divorce threatened to disrupt a central marker of stability in the postwar world - the heterosexual, nuclear family. Church leaders lamented the "rapid" and "alarming" increase in divorce in Canada.[27] While both churches discouraged divorce, Pentecostal doctrine imposed more rigid restrictions. The 1947 "Statements of Fundamental and Essential Truths Approved by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada" resolved that divorce would be granted for no reason other than adultery.[28] In addition, Pentecostal ministers were instructed not to marry divorced individuals whose former companions were still living.[29] While divorce was allowed in the United Church, it does

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[25] Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with Mary Smith (GT). Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

[26] Gleason, p.454.

[27] Pentecostal Testimony, October 1, 1947, p.5; First United Church, Bulletin, April 1960; Thomas, Holy Habits of the Spiritual Life, p.37.

[28] Pentecostal Testimony, May 15, 1947, p.8.

[29] Ibid.

seem that it was subtly discouraged. According to a United Church handbook, divorce was an option only if it was "humanly impossible" for a couple to remain married.[30]

Evidence concerning divorce is limited in United Church records, and in the oral narratives of First United members. As such, it is difficult to determine with any certainty the nature of attitudes toward divorce, and experiences of divorced persons within this church. Evidence from Pentecostal records and interviews is much clearer. Pentecostal discourses on divorce contained an element of blame, which made divorced people feel responsible for family breakdown. In Pentecostal church literature, divorce was defined as "legalized adultery" and divorced people were accused of using "flimsy" excuses for ending their marriages. A 1949 article in the Pentecostal Testimony argued that "it doesn't take much in these wicked days for men and women to cast aside their marriage vows and defy the law of God."[31] Pentecostal leaders attributed the "crisis" in divorce to the increasing unwillingness of husbands and wives to work through marital differences. Church prescriptions against divorce certainly shaped the values and views of church members. Glad Tidings member Maureen Graham discussed her feelings on divorce:

> I don't think it's God's best way, but it seems to be quite general today. But I personally believe that if people could just realize that when you make those vows you make them once and for all, and that's it. And don't say that you don't have difficulties, I mean I've been married fifty-six years, and I can't say it's been totally without problems, because it hasn't. Two people from different backgrounds are never going to agree about everything. But you see, commitment today isn't as strong as it used to be. It used to be for better, for worse, and that's it. And if you're getting the worse now, well tough beans, but you've had the good. So there's difficult situations, it's a two way street as far as I'm personally

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[30] Sex, Love, Marriage ,p.32.
[31] Pentecostal Testimony, June 1, 1949, p.13; Pentecostal Testimony, December 15, 1949, p.13.

> concerned. I personally couldn't get divorced, but then I haven't had to face that question.[32]

Pentecostal church discourses implicitly and explicitly blamed divorced persons for too easily ending their marriages. Within this context, Maureen and other Glad Tidings members would have had difficulty considering divorce an acceptable option.

Evidence from the oral narratives of church members suggests that Glad Tidings contained few spaces for divorced persons. Marilyn Williams recalled that her sister had a "very, very difficult time" following her divorce. After her divorce, Marilyn's sister felt shunned by other Glad Tidings church members. Marilyn observed:

> if you get divorced while you're going to a Pentecostal Church, people cross the street when they see you coming, because they don't want to talk to you, you're some kind of evil person, or a great sinner. But if you're one of the church people, and your life is in that straight little line, you get caring, condolences, and casseroles.[33]

Marilyn's sister "found it almost impossible to understand the depth of awful feeling there was."[34] Harold Jensen, who was one of a large family at Glad Tidings, recalled the reaction of both the church members and leaders when his brother, who was divorced, remarried: "Oh boy, was the church ever in an uproar! Marrying a divorced man! Well, imagine how it made my family feel. There was friction about that." Harold made sure to mention that his brother "had to get divorced", because while he was overseas in the war, his wife had a child with another man.[35] Harold's brother got married in another church, but eventually came back to Glad Tidings. For divorced persons, Pentecostal churches may have seemed unwelcome, and perhaps hostile, environments in this period.

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[32] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[33] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[34] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).
[35] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).

In these years, church officials spent as much time outlining the roles of parents as they did the relationship between husbands and wives. Church concerns about parenting had to do, in part, with the increase in Canada's child population in the postwar years. They also had to do with the fact that larger postwar discourses attributed the crisis in delinquency and family breakdown, in part, to inadequate parenting. In the postwar years, as in other historical contexts, parenting was defined as a learned rather than innate behaviour which required guidance from "experts."[36] Church literature and lectures on "parent delinquency" and "problem parents" implied that there was something fundamentally wrong with postwar parenting.[37] Church members were told that as mothers and fathers, it was they who set the most important example for their children. In 1958, a First United leader declared that children are "more powerfully influenced by their parent's example than by their contacts with the church."[38] Similarly, Pentecostal officials observed that the bible "places first responsibility with parents in the Christian instruction of their children."[39] In terms of the spiritual development of children, church involvement could supplement, but it could not replace, family life.

Church discourses on parenting centred on the religious nurture and training of children. In the years following the war, the United and Pentecostal churches initiated family altar campaigns, urged parents to "spiritualize" their homes, and developed programs of worship and religious study for families. Church members were told that

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[36] Gleason, p.476.

[37] First United Church, Bulletin, February 11, 1945; May 15, 1955. Pentecostal Testimony, February 1, 1945, p.13; February 15, 1945, p.12; June 1, 1945, p.2.

[38] First United Church, Bulletin, April 20, 1958. See also Pentecostal Testimony, February 15, 1945, p.12; October 15, 1945, p.5.

[39] Pentecostal Testimony, January 1, 1945, p.12.

"religion truly begins at home" and that "families that pray together, stay together."[40] Church leaders in many different times and places have bemoaned the neglect of religion in the home, and yet postwar church officials often referred to a mythical, prewar time when spiritual training and worship was central to family life.[41] The decline of family religion, they argued, was a new and destructive result of the war years.

The recollections of church members indicate that family worship and religious education were much more central in Pentecostal homes. Apart from saying grace at the table, First United members did not recall engaging in family prayer or teaching religion to their children on a regular basis. By contrast, some Glad Tidings members had family altars and regular periods of religious instruction in their homes. If leaders in both churches insisted on the importance of family worship and the religious education of children, why were these practices more central in Pentecostal homes? Certainly this had to do, in part, with the Pentecostal rejection of worldliness. Pentecostal church members were told that their homes should be "impregnable fortresses" against wicked, worldly influences. Public schools were suspect, and secular education could be countered only by spiritual instruction within the home. The BC District PAOC superintendent warned parents that the "all too evident inadequacy of secular education serves to emphasize that your boys and girls need to be taught something more than reading, writing, and arithmetic."[42] Pentecostal officials argued that domestic religious education would prepare children to resist the worldly, modern influences of "progressive educators."[43]

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[40] Pentecostal Testimony, 1944, p.12; First United Church, Bulletin, October 21, 1954; April 26, 1959.

[41] See, for example, Marks, p.33.

[42] Pentecostal Testimony, September 1, 1949, p.7.

[43] Pentecostal Testimony, August 1, 1947, p.13.

In their oral narratives, Glad Tidings members declared that family worship and spiritual training gave their children "stiff backbones against temptation", and strengthened them against the "loose living" secular world.[44] It seems, then, that prescriptions against worldliness shaped the values of ordinary church members, and helped to make domestic spiritual training more prevalent in Pentecostal homes.

Pentecostal church officials bemoaned what they saw as a trend in modern families to promote the independence of children over the authority of parents. They defined parental authority and the obedience of children as God-ordained. Church leaders argued that the "democratic principle of majority rule does not obtain in the home", and that the "time has come, in the present day and age, when parents, not children, should be the heads and leaders of family life. If the addle-brained teachers of self-expression think that they know more than Solomon, let them revel in their ignorance."[45] Parents were to exercise their authority by forcing children to participate in family worship, in both church and home. United Church discourses were somewhat more ambivalent with respect to the nature of parental authority. While United Church parents were reminded of the importance of family religion, they were also told that the home was to be "an atmosphere of 'perfect freedom'."[46] New meanings of democracy within the family may have made United Church members less inclined to enforce the family altar and family pew. Indeed, some First United members declared that children should "find their own way" spiritually, and that they "wouldn't pressure" their children

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[44] Interview with Edward Maxwell; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Maureen Graham; Interview with June Peterson (GT).

[45] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #7, 1958, p.1; Arthur Townsend, Morning Worship in the Cariboo (Prince George: Wrigley Printing Co., 1947), p.111.

[46] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1946, p.88.

to attend church.[47]

The category of gender significantly shaped the ways in which men and women understood their parental roles. While much work has been done on the feminization of Protestantism, historians have been less apt to explore the complex meanings of Christian masculinity, particularly at the level of the household.[48] In chapter two, I argued that efforts to draw men into church work stemmed partly from fears about the increasingly feminized nature of the church and religion. Similarly, postwar church leaders tried to get fathers to take greater interest in the spiritual lives of their children. Church attempts to masculinize domestic religion were reinforced by larger discourses on fatherhood. Historian Robert Rutherdale points to emerging postwar discourses on "masculine domesticity", which urged fathers to take a more active and vital role in parenting and family life.[49]

I argued above that Pentecostal church officials were particularly concerned about what they saw as the decline of biblically ordained, masculine authority within the home. While these concerns surely reinforced Pentecostal discussions on the importance of fatherhood, both churches sought to revitalize the role of fathers in the religious and domestic life of the family. Articles, poems, and prayers in denominational literature told fathers that it was they, not mothers, who were the primary sources of strength, security, and wisdom for their children.[50] Even though "father may weigh two hundred pounds and display bulging biceps", claimed one Pentecostal church leader, "that causes

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[47] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with Henry Campbell (FU).
[48] For a notable exception, see Marks.
[49] Rutherdale, p.372.
[50] See, for example, PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #2, 1955, p.1; #5, 1961, p.9; First United Church, Bulletin, September 3, 1956; October 23, 1960.

no terror to the wee tot who is sure of unchanging affection. In fact, that great strength is in itself an assurance that all will be well, for it could be and would be directed against any foe that might arise to do injury."[51] Fathers were to provide a necessary and important masculine influence within the feminized, domestic sphere. A 1960 United Church handbook urged men to "share in home-making and family raising, adding the necessary influence of their masculinity more effectively."[52] The masculine influence of fathers was perceived to be particularly necessary for the normal upbringing of boys. Fathers were encouraged to pay attention to their sons, because "a boy loves his mother, but he follows his dad."[53]

In church discourses, the central problem with postwar fathers was their absence from the religious life of the family. Church officials urged fathers to take an active role in family worship, so as not to become "stumbling blocks" to their families.[54] Church lectures and sermons entitled "Father is a Parent Too" and "The Failure of Fathers" pointed to a common postwar fear that fathers were becoming "strangers" in their own homes.[55] Church officials worried that fathers, who presumably set the most important example for their children, were apt to skip church services and neglect the family altar. Postwar fathers, it was feared, too often claimed: "I let my wife look after the religion of our house."[56]

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[51] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #2, 1955, p.1.

[52] Sex, Love, Marriage , p.26.

[53] First United Church, Bulletin, September 3, 1956.

[54] Pentecostal Testimony, August 1, 1947, p.12.

[55] First United Church, Bulletin, October 6, 1960; October 23, 1960. C.M. Ward, Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956 (Springfield: Assemblies of God, 1956), p.37.

[56] Ward, Most Requested Radio Sermons of 1956 , p.88; Pentecostal Testimony, April 1, 1945, p.9; First United Church, Bulletin, February 18, 1951; October 23, 1960.

In the wider postwar culture, fathers received competing messages about their role in the family. While they were urged to take a more active part in domestic life, they were also told that it was their duty to provide financially for their families. Church discourses on fatherhood were significantly shaped by the masculine ideal of breadwinner. Church members were told in no uncertain terms that fathers were to be the family providers.[57] A 1960 First United bulletin contained the following prayer, especially for fathers: "Give me health, and strength and work to do to earn a living for those who depend on me, and whom I love so much; but help me to remember that love is always more important than money."[58] Postwar meanings of fatherhood were shaped by the somewhat contradictory ideals of attentive father and family breadwinner. Responsible fathers, then, were to adeptly balance their time between home and work.

In their recollections, many church members indicated that men were under great pressure in the postwar years to provide for their families.[59] Glad Tidings member Harold Jensen recalled that shortly after he was married he took a difficult and poorly paid job because "when you've got a little one, and you just got married and you haven't got hardly any money, if you get a job you're going to go for it, aren't you?"[60] Some men found it difficult to mediate the competing demands of home and work. When asked who was largely responsible for the religious training of children within her home, Glad Tidings member Doris MacDonald responded: "It was usually me, because in those

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[57] First United Church, Bulletin, September 3, 1956; PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, 1959, p.1.

[58] First United Church, Bulletin, October 23, 1960.

[59] Interview with Marilyn Williams; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT). Interview with Thomas Marshall; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).

[60] Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).

early years he had restaurants in downtown Victoria, and worked twelve to fifteen hours, so I was in charge of a lot of their spiritual growth."[61] Glad Tidings member Lillian Olson explained how her husband's long working hours led to the decline of family worship in her home:

> Yes, we did [have family worship] at dinnertime, usually. Until my husband got that garage - it's not even there now. We bought a garage, went into business, and we just couldn't afford to have anybody...(trails off). Somedays, the kids didn't even see him, unless they walked down to see him, because he'd be there first thing in the morning, last thing at night. They didn't see that much of him except on Sunday.[62]

Such stories suggest that it was not easy for men to fulfill both contemporary masculine ideals of provider and mindful father. While they were told to take more interest in the spiritual life of the family, they were also reminded that the "success of the father indicates the success of the family."[63] Powerful and persuasive discourses on the father as family provider, clearly shaped men's values and experiences. I would argue that such discourses outweighed the importance of masculine domesticity and made work much more central than domestic religion to men's postwar identities.

First United members overwhelmingly declared that the religious education of their children was a responsibility they shared with their spouse. This suggests that United Church discourses on mutuality and partnership in marriage shaped the ways in which ordinary church members made sense of their domestic religious roles. It also reflects the fact that religious training was not central in United Church homes. For First United members, the religious education of children often meant enrolling children in

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[61] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[62] Interview with Lillian Olson (GT).
[63] First United Church, Bulletin, September 3, 1956.

Sunday School. First United members Frank and Marion Stevens admitted that they "left it up to the Sunday School to do the best they could with the youngsters."[64] Many First United narrators suggested that family worship and religious education were not necessary within their homes, because by attending church they were teaching their children, through example, the importance of religion.[65]

If we take the recollections of those who did conduct regular periods of family worship and religious education as an indication, attempts to masculinize domestic religion were largely unsuccessful. Historian Colleen McDannell argues that domestic religious education in Victorian America was characterized by a paternal and maternal model. The paternal model of formal family worship consisted of a bible passage read by the father, and occurred at a scheduled time of day. The maternal model, which took place sporadically throughout the day, involved mothers informally teaching and saying prayers with their children.[66]

McDannell's analysis can be usefully applied to the pattern of domestic religion in the homes of Glad Tidings members. In Pentecostal descriptions of proper patterns of family worship, fathers were to assume the leadership role.[67] Glad Tidings narrators commented that when fathers did participate in the religious education of children, they generally did so as leaders of family worship.[68] When asked who led family worship in his home, Glad Tidings member Doug Murphy responded: "Well I guess I was the guy

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[64] Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens (FU).

[65] Interview with Barbara Griffith; Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Henry Campbell; Interview with William and Diane Brown (FU).

[66] McDannell, p.108.

[67] Pentecostal Testimony, April 1, 1945, p.12; December 1, 1947, p.12.

[68] Interview with Doug Murphy; Interview with Lillian Olson; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Elma and Elizabeth Johnson; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen (GT).

that actually did the leading, although mother (wife) was often the instigator, you know. Mothers generally get that going, but guys...guys will do the leading."[69]

In both churches, the importance of mothers to the spiritual lives of children was accepted as self evident. Church literature contained numerous poems, articles, and stories on the subject of "godly" mothers. Women were told to take pride in the fact that they sacrificed public life to stay home and "raise the preachers."[70] Despite church attempts to get fathers more involved in the spiritual lives of children, domestic religion remained largely the domain of mothers. Glad Tidings women recalled informally reading biblical stories to and praying with their children. When asked whether or not she had a family altar, Doris MacDonald answered: "Um, you wouldn't call it actually an altar because sometimes I did it in the den and sometimes I did it in the kitchen and sometimes I did it in the living room. But I made sure that I prayed with each of the five children individually before they went to sleep at night."[71] Maureen Graham and Mary Smith of Glad Tidings also recalled praying with their children often. Sometimes, busy schedules complicated the religious education of children. June Peterson described how she made time to listen to her children's prayers:

> Sometimes if I was going to my women's group or something like this, I'd say to the kids `get ready for bed', and they'd be ready for bed, and I'm in the bathroom doing my hair or something, and they'd be on the toilet seat, and I'd say `say your prayers', so they'd say their prayers on the toilet seat (laughs).[72]

Some scholars have argued that because of their role as religious educators of children,

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[69] Interview with Doug Murphy (GT).

[70] Pentecostal Testimony, October 1, 1947, p.3; May 1, 1949, p.2; Argue, p.82; First United Church, Bulletin, May 11, 1952; July 10, 1955.

[71] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[72] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

mothers gained power within the family.[73] Pentecostal mothers, often described as the "priests in the family", certainly assumed important roles as spiritual teachers in the home.[74] This spiritual leadership was tempered, however, by the common recognition that fathers were the ultimate source of authority in Pentecostal homes.

In the postwar period, church and dominant discourses told women to find their greatest fulfillment in motherhood and homemaking. The details of domestic duties which filled women's oral narratives suggest that the contemporary feminine ideal significantly shaped women's postwar identities and experiences. When asked to describe a typical Sunday in their home, many women related stories of dressing their children "properly" for church, preparing a "fancy" dinner, and rushing their children to Sunday School.[75] Doris MacDonald recalled her appreciation of new time-saving devices in the kitchen: "it was a wonderful day when we got a stove with a timer on it because you could put the roast and anything else in the oven and set the timer."[76] Many women took pride in their domestic accomplishments, and understood their role as homemaker as both important and necessary. Glad Tidings member June Peterson, who recognized her husband as the head of the home, recalled: "I think the mother is the crux in the home, or a wheel, you know, everything goes around her. It's quite often the way, anyway. She's caring about the home and the husband and the family, I think she's a very important person."[77]

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[73] McDannell, p.140.

[74] Interview with Edward Maxwell (GT).

[75] Interview with William and Diane Brown; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU). Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[76] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

[77] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

While postwar women were told to make sense of their lives with respect to a singular, domestic ideal, many women worked outside of the home in this period. Discussions of gender ideology in this period betray considerable anxiety over the increasing numbers of women entering the paid work force. The tension in United Church discourses, between upholding traditional gender roles and encouraging mutuality and overlap in these roles, is aptly reflected in competing views on working mothers. United Church officials at times applauded changing family patterns and urged married women to seek employment outside of the home. A United Church handbook observed: "Many mothers would benefit from fewer hours with their children...Many fathers would benefit from more. In both cases children would benefit."[78] And yet, even when they championed working mothers, United Church discussions were shaped by the common assumption that a woman's primary responsibility was to her home and family. A story in a United Church handbook outlined the experiences of a mother whose self worth and esteem were greatly enhanced upon her entrance into the paid work force. This story, meant to be an example, concluded by suggesting that because of her new experiences as a secretary, this mother was "better able to organize her housework."[79] As well, United Church officials told mothers that they should not work outside of the home until their youngest child was over the age of six, and that they should engage in only a "few hours" of part time work.[80]

Postwar discourses on married women's paid work were shaped by the middle class assumption that women who worked outside of the home did so because they chose

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[78] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.27.
[79] Signals for the Sixties, p.32.
[80] Sex, Love, Marriage, p.26, p.27.

to, not because they had to.[81] It was the presumption that wives and mothers were freely choosing paid employment over homemaking, which most disturbed postwar observers and church officials. Carmen Lynne, Superintendent of the BC District PAOC, worried that mothers were choosing to work outside of the home for extra, unneccessary income:

> In many instances there is very little 'home' life. Of course it must be that father works away most of the day, but so very often in search of the extra dollar for payments on expensive luxuries, mother has a job on the side. The children come home from school to find the home just an empty house and they soon seek for companionship elsewhere. Home is not the centre of life. It is a place to sleep - a place for morning cornflakes and toast. This is not home life as God intended it. The home is an institution of God and should be a fold for the lambs - a fold kept not by a hired baby-sitter, but by a shepherd mother. 'To wives and mothers God has committed the power of transforming a mere building into the satisfying warmth of home'.[82]

This passage assumes that mothers worked, not because they had to, but because they so desired. It attributes family decline to the willingness of women to sacrifice the home in the pursuit of frivolous, "expensive luxuries." It also suggests that stay-at-home mothers were essential to Christian family life "as God intended it."

United Church discourses on motherhood were more ambivalent, but still made full time motherhood central to definitions of ideal Christian homes. Church members were told that God had given mothers "the most important task in all the world, the task of making a home" and that the "Christian Home is the father's kingdom, the mother's world, and the children's paradise."[83] Although they often pointed out the importance of mothers to Christian home life, United Church leaders acknowledged that for some wives and mothers, work outside of the home was necessary. However, they shared Pentecostal

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[81] Strong Boag, p.6.

[82] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, 1959, p.1.

[83] First United Church, Bulletin, May 12, 1957; October 23, 1960.

fears that women were too easily choosing paid work over their domestic duties. A United Church handbook contained the following comment on working wives:

> In a community where families are relatively well-to-do there is not any great problem with working wives. Some wives do work (some for charitable organizations) but they are always in aposition to give up their work if their families need them at home. In other words, they command their working situation and so the problem stays under control. In a community like this, where relatively few wives work, there is no 'faddism', no attitude that working 'is the thing to do'.[84]

Postwar discussions of working mothers, in the churches and in the larger society, rarely referred to the plight of poor and working class women. Such discussions instead focused on middle class women's choice between paid work and full time homemaking. The churches defined married, middle class women's paid work as both "unneccessary" and a "fad", and told women that domestic responsibilities came first. It seems, then, that the steady increase of wives and mothers in the paid work force did little to disturb the firmly entrenched, feminine domestic ideal.

Most women that I interviewed did, in some capacity and at some time, work outside of the home. Church discourses on working mothers significantly shaped how these women made sense of their paid work experience. Most women claimed that when they worked, they did so part time, and only once their youngest child had reached school age.[85] Glad Tidings member Maureen Graham admitted: "I did work, but I was never out when my son came home from school. I went after he went, and I was home before he came home."[86] Similarly, First United member Barbara Griffith explained: "I went

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[84] Signals for the Sixties, p.16.

[85] Interview with Joanne Lewis; Interview with Frank and Marion Stevens; Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson; Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU). Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Harold and Ruth Jensen; Interview with June Peterson; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

[86] Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).

into the workforce when my youngest daughter was six, and I was lucky enough to get hours that I would get home in time to get dinner."[87] In their oral narratives, women recalled their paid work experience in ways that did not conflict with the dominant feminine ideal of homemaker. First United member Anne Watson commented on the increase of working mothers in the postwar years: "I think the home still came first for women. Mostly it was part time work, of if you worked full time, you know, you worked nine to five and then there was no night working and things like that."[88] Women struggled to fit the meanings of their paid work experiences into acceptable feminine norms.

Church and dominant discourses defined middle class mothers' paid work as unneccessary. In their recollections, women justified their decision to work outside of the home as financially necessary.[89] Glad Tidings member Doris MacDonald, who entered the paid workforce when her youngest child was nine, claimed: "I could see that in my particular family, that there was not enough income to take care of seven people. And we did not live extravagantly."[90] June Peterson commented that she did not go out to work until her children were grown, even though her husband "was just an average wage-earner."[91] Women were told not to seek paid employment merely to supplement their husband's income, and afford "expensive luxuries." This directive, which made working mothers responsible for family decline, was not easily ignored.

Veronica Strong-Boag argues that in the larger postwar culture, "housekeeping

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[87] Interview with Barbara Griffith (FU).
[88] Interview with Anne and Gordon Watson (FU).
[89] Interview with Mary Smith; Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[90] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).
[91] Interview with June Peterson (GT).

men, like employed women, conjured up the threat of gender chaos."[92] Pentecostal officials were particularly concerned that married women's paid work would disturb the gender division of labour within the home. The emerging trend of mothers working outside of the home posed a challenge not only to the sanctity of women's domestic role, but to the masculine ideal of provider. Glad Tidings narrator June Peterson recalled:

> in fact, I did go out to work once my youngest child was nine, I worked at a department store cashing for awhile, and I worked at another company, and I enjoyed that, I worked there just two days a week. And my husband said 'if you want to do that, that's fine, just don't expect me to be cooking meals and doing all that'. He was level with me, and that's fine. So I'd work my butt off and get tomorrow's supper ready tonight, and go to work and tell my kids to put it in the oven. But as long as the house runs smoothly. I wanted to get out a bit, but I didn't want to upset the house, as far as the kids, I wanted it to run smoothly.[93]

Like June, other Glad Tidings women admitted that their husbands did not want them to work outside of the home.[94] In their oral narratives, First United women did not recall marital conflicts concerning their entrance into the paid workforce. This, I would argue, reflects the fact that United Church leaders encouraged a certain amount of overlap in the domestic roles of men and women.

In the postwar years, women were to draw their sense of themselves from the domestic ideal. Women's experiences and identities cannot be understood solely with respect to this ideal. Many women in both churches engaged in meaningful, paid employment outside of the home. In the wider postwar culture, contradictory discourses on working mothers at times championed women's entrance into the workforce and at others blamed them for family decline.[95] Shaped by these contradictory directives,

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[92] Strong-Boag, p.13.
[93] Interview with June Peterson (GT).
[94] Interview with Doris MacDonald; Interview with Maureen Graham (GT).
[95] See, for example, Strong-Boag.

United Church officials approved of working mothers, provided that women's waged work did not interfere with their primary commitment to the home. By defining their waged work as secondary to their family responsibilities, First United women interpreted their experiences in ways which conformed to official expectations.

Although they emphasized women's family roles, United Church leaders were considerably more accepting of working mothers than Pentecostal leaders. In this period, Pentecostal leaders remained suspicious of "modern" trends in family life, and continued to insist on a clear gender division within the home. Given the importance attached to motherhood, in both the church and larger culture, First United women likely felt somewhat abnormal and guilty for working outside of the home. Pentecostal discourses which defined women's homemaking role as God-ordained may have inspired an even greater deal of guilt in Glad Tidings mothers who engaged in waged work. In their oral narratives, Pentecostal women's understanding of their paid work fluctuated between guilt for "abandoning" their children, and pride in their accomplishments. Doris MacDonald described herself as a "natural businesswoman", who "had to learn how to be a wife and mother." Doris quit her job when she had children, but was glad that when her children grew up she was able to reenter the paid workforce and develop her "mind for business." She expressed pride in her business abilities, but also guilt that she was neglecting her children: "I'd been concerned, did they suffer emotionally or spiritually from me not being there all the time?."[96] Glad Tidings member Mary Smith gave a detailed description of her paid work experience, relating the numerous promotions she

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[96] Interview with Doris MacDonald (GT).

had received. Like Doris, however, she worried that she was not adequately fulfilling the role of mother: "I was kind of the early generation of women working. And, oh I guess I had a big guilt complex, maybe. You know, because you're trying to be a good mother, and you're trying to do your job well, but that's just me. And so, you're trying to be all things to all people." Mary pointed out that postwar society and the church did not "accept" working mothers. The pervasive, yet often unstated, condemnation of working mothers made Mary feel subtly abnormal: "It was just something you kind of knew, you could feel it. Like, you really weren't doing what was normal."[97]

As they entered the workforce in ever increasing numbers, postwar wives and mothers were urged to put home and family first. In these churches, working wives and mothers struggled to reconcile the dissonance between dominant expectations and their lived experiences. They defined their paid work as necessary, part time, and subordinate to their domestic responsibilities. That working mothers sometimes felt guilty and abnormal, reveals the immense impact which religious discourses, and the larger domestic ideal, had on the experiences and identities of postwar women.

In the postwar period, the meanings of parenthood rested on the unquestioned assumption that "families" consisted of married, heterosexual couples and their legitimate offspring. Familial discourses made being a parent a respected and desired subject position in the postwar world. In Pentecostal literature, childless couples were objects of pity and childless homes were defined as "tragedies." Church members were warned that "the divorce rate of childless couples is known to be several times

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[97] Interview with Mary Smith (GT).

greater than that of parents" and that childless homes were as "unfortunate" as those homes where children were unwanted or unloved.[98] Church officials argued that a "home without children suffers an irreparable loss", and that "God intended every home to have children in it, if children are not there, it is not a home in the true sense of the word."[99] United Church discourses more subtly made childless homes seem deviant. Certainly, references to ideal Christian homes and family togetherness which filled First United bulletins and other denominational publications, normalized the importance of children to families. Church members were told that "children's presence makes parents happier", and church couples who were unable to have children, were encouraged to adopt.[100] Both churches valorized a particular family form which marginalized childless couples. Within this context, it is not surprising that every married church member that I interviewed had children. Given the pervasiveness of postwar domestic norms, few individuals would have questioned that children were central to what it meant to be a family.

The oral narratives in this study come largely from a middle class perspective. We mustn't underestimate the restrictions which the postwar domestic ideal placed on these peoples' lives. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the class meanings of the "normal" family excluded or marginalized many individuals and groups. In the wider culture of this period, definitions of ideal home and family life rested on unquestioned assumptions of middle class affluence.[101] Middle class ideals were also

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[98] Pentecostal Testimony January 1, 1947, p.15; October 15, 1949, p.12.
[99] Pentecostal Testimony, February 15, 1945, p.8; June 15, 1949, p.12.
[100] First United Church, Bulletin, October 28, 1956; Sex, Love, Marriage, p.2.
[101] Parr, "Introduction", in Joy Parr ed. A Diversity of Women, p.4.

embedded in church discussions of domesticity. A United Church handbook considered the nature of family life in the church:

> Look around any Christian congregation in Canada tody. Worshipping together are well-dressed families. Gleaming cars are parked at the church door. An exceptionally high standard of family living is reflected within our churches. Family life, at least in the church, appears to be united and harmonious.[102]

This clearly middle class view of Christian families in church is followed by a discussion of the "other side of the picture" - Canada's "problem families." The handbook urged local congregations to address the issues of unemployment, social assistance, and inadequate housing which characterized "problem families", and to "teach them that there are such things as self-reliance, family pride, independence, and a better way of life."[103] Through these years, the United Church Board of Evangelism and Social Service often pointed out that "low-income" housing was "one of the greatest factors contributing to shattered homes and families."[104]

In both churches, ideal families were to be made up of successful fathers, stay-at home mothers, and happy children who worshipped and played together at home, in church, at family camps, and beyond. Little mention was made of those families which had neither the time, nor the means, to engage in these activities. Images of families praying together in well-furnished dining and living rooms implied that comfortable, suburban homes were the ideal arenas for Christian family life. In fact, suburban living was alien to many Canadians. One United Church leader bemoaned the "increase in the number of families which occupy apartments and tenements", as apartment living was

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[102] Signals for the Sixties, p.20.

[103] Ibid, p.23.

[104] UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, Annual Report, 1953, p.60; 1945, p.35; 1945, p.74; 1949, p.27.

deemed "disruptive" to the maintenance of healthy family relationships.[105] Clearly, church notions of home and family were not free of class stereotypes. These churches regarded family breakdown largely as a problem of the working classes, and made middle class status an essential precondition of ideal Christian family life.

Postwar constructions of family norms were shaped by the categories of race and ethnicity, as well as class. Pentecostal and United Church missionaries compared the "heathen" and "backward" family practices of non-white peoples abroad with the "true Christian homes" in Canada.[106] In 1956, a Pentecostal missionary declared that in China there are "homes without peace, marriage without sanctitiy. Their young men and women are without ideals, the little children without purity, the mothers without wisdom or self-control."[107] In the postwar period, as in the nineteenth century, missionary discourses often centred on notions of Christian womanhood. In both churches, mission workers and women's groups reported on the "pitiable" and "limited" living conditions of women in Africa, China, and India.[108] They argued that while Christian women in Canada were treated like "queens", women in these countries married at too young of an age, were responsible for the "heavy work", and had few "opportunities for advancement."[109] Through such discourses, these churches affirmed the superiority of white, Christian gender and family practices.

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[105] Thomas, The Holy Habits of the Spiritual Life, p.37. See also, UCC, Board of Evangelism and Social Servce, Annual Report, 1945, p.74.

[106] Pentecostal Testimony, January 15, 1947, p.17; PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #4, 1956, p.5; Kulbeck, p.261; and Jean Gordon Forbes, Wide Windows: The Story of the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada (Toronto: The UCC, 1951).

[107] PAOC, District of BC, Circular Letter, #4, 1956, p.5.

[108] First United Church, Women's Missionary Society, Minutes, September 1947; February 1949; July 1949. Kulbeck, p.260 and p.261. Pentecostal Testimony, April 15, 1947; March 15, 1949, p.10.

[109] First United Church, Women's Missionary Society, Minutes, october 1948. Kulbeck, p.260 and p.261. Pentecostal Testimony, April 15, 1947; March 15, 1949, p.10.

Attitudes toward the family life of immigrants further highlight the race and ethnic dimensions of postwar domestic ideals. Historian Franca Iacovetta has shown that with the postwar influx of immigrants to Canada, middle class social reformers spent much time prescribing the family practices of newcomers.[110] A lack of clear evidence makes it difficult to determine how immigrants were viewed by Canadian Pentecostals. It is clear that the home life of non-British and non-white immigrants was of some concern in the United Church. In a United Church handbook, British immigrants were not considered a "minority group" and thus were excluded from a discussion of "new Canadians."[111] In this period, United Church women's groups were urged to teach nonwhite and non-British immigrant women to adapt to "Canadian ways of shopping and home-making", while men's groups were told to help immigrant men "understand our Canadian business methods, our service clubs, church activities, and farm organizations."[112] Such practices, which were rooted in the assumption that immigrant families needed to be changed, reinforced the notion that clear gender roles were central to ideal Christian family life. In 1945, a First United WMS group resolved to recommend that a social worker "be sent into the homes of East Indians. It was felt that the mothers with their families would welcome instruction and help."[113] The notion that these mothers needed "instruction" implied that the family life of immigrants did not quite live up to dominant domestic ideals. In this period, these churches adopted a

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[110] Franca Iacovetta, "Remaking Their Lives: Women Immigrants, Survivors, and Refugees", in Joy Parr ed., A Diversity of Women, p.146.

[111] Signals for the Sixties, p.70.

[112] Ibid., p.82 and p.83.

[113] First United Church, Women's Missionary Society, Golden Link Auxiliary, Minutes, October 1945.

paternalistic approach toward non-Christian and nonwhite families, both at home and abroad. The racism of postwar Victoria and Canada meant that even when they did conform to Christian gender and family expectations, nonwhite peoples continued to be defined as "other."

When asked whether he recalled any church teachings about family life in the postwar years, First United Church member Thomas Marshall responded: "I can't remember explicit efforts being made to the distinctive nature of the family as a social organization, because it was the only organization that we grew up into at that time. The family was the key social unit. It was the basis."[114] Like Marshall, most postwar church members took for granted the social significance of the heterosexual, nuclear family. Through these years they were told, in both implicit and explicit terms, that normal Christian families consisted of dual parent households, where stay-at-home mothers, successful fathers, and obedient children worshipped happily together in church and at home. This ideal, which was rooted in narrow, white, anglo-saxon, middle class norms and values, was in many ways prescriptive rather than descriptive. It was challenged by mothers who worked outside of the home, church couples who got divorced, and fathers who took little part in domestic religious practices. At the same time, dominant social norms and church prescriptions were not easily dismissed. Church members often conformed to many of the gender and behavioural norms which made up ideal Christian family life. Many accepted the importance of spiritual mutuality in marriage, the significance of mothers to the home, and the notion that men were the primary

[114] Interview with Thomas Marshall (FU).

breadwinners. These churches spent much time defining how families could and should behave. In their daily experiences as husbands and wives, mothers and fathers, ordinary church members neither entirely resisted nor fulfilled these expectations but rather negotiated with them in complex, multiple ways.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we learned that First United and Glad Tidings church were not mere bastions of conformity, nor spaces of singular values and beliefs. Instead, in exploring these local postwar congregations, we encountered diverse religious, gender, and family practices. This thesis considered how church members understood and engaged in private and public worship, church services and church work, youth groups and couples' clubs, and domestic life. Within these various contexts, church members both accepted and challenged, aspired to and were marginalized by, dominant and Christian ideals of gender and family.

This thesis shows that to understand the complex lives of church members, we must move beyond an exclusive focus on official church records. The following comment by Glad Tidings member Marilyn Williams aptly highlights the importance of turning our perspective from the pulpit to the pew: "no matter what church you go to, whether it's Pentecostal, Anglican, Baptist, there's always somebody there telling you how to run your life. And you have to just ignore them, at least that's what I think. I ignored them good, a lot of them."[1] Certainly, this study has demonstrated that church expectations were not easily ignored. At the same time, Marilyn's telling remark reminds us not to presume that the values and beliefs of church leaders were uniformly shared by church members.

In an effort to get at the diverse experiences of church members, this thesis used the methods of oral history. Oral interviews cannot be said to simply "speak for

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[1] Interview with Marilyn Williams (GT).

themselves", as they are framed by the interests and subjectivity of the researcher.[2] At the same time, narrators actively influence both the interviewing process and the direction of research. In this project, the responses of narrators often challenged me to think in new ways about what churchgoing, faith, and family meant to postwar individuals. Oral history is particularly useful for exploring aspects of personal belief. In this study, we learned that members of both churches generally found worship services and private devotions both comforting and meaningful. The Pentecostal emphasis on the individual's relationship with God meant that conversion was more central to the spiritual lives of Glad Tidings members. That official definitions of spirituality were gendered is evident in the efforts of Pentecostal church leaders to refashion emotional, feminized forms of worship as manly. Masculine ideals also shaped the United Church focus on social service, which in this period was more central than individual conversion to First United members.

Postwar church involvement had to do with more than spirituality. Individuals also joined a church and attended Sunday services to continue a family tradition, find a sense of belonging, and to socialize. The dominant notion that church going was a normal and respectable "thing to do" in this period was also key. While the individuals who joined First United generally did so as children, many Pentecostal believers converted as young adults. The decision to become Pentecostal sometimes elicited objections from family and friends, which suggests that Pentecostalism was not yet fully a part of respectable Christianity in this period. Because the United Church largely

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[2] Yow, p.2.

affirmed dominant values, involvement in First United conferred a greater degree of respectability in the larger postwar world. The meanings of respectability were shaped by class, race and ethnicity, as well as religion. The Pentecostal doctrine of spiritual equality may have attracted more working class people to Glad Tidings than First United. With respect to race and ethnicity, it seems that these congregations had little appeal to non-white, non-British peoples. While these churches upheld different doctrines and practices, they shared in making whiteness integral to notions of religious respectability.

The nature of involvement in church-based associations was also considerably complex. When religious historians have explored women's participation in voluntary associations, they have generally focused on the nineteenth century and have rarely addressed the nature of men's church groups. In these congregations, women's church-based associations flourished while men's groups had only a limited and short-lived appeal. It seems, then, that the feminized meanings of religion played a part not only in drawing women to church associations, but in keeping men away. The categories of age and marital status were as significant as gender in shaping membership in church groups. In this period, church groups provided local subcultures for young, stay-at-home mothers, who had few other social outlets. While a common gender, marital, and age identity brought some women together in church groups, others stayed away. Church associations had difficulty attracting single and married working women, who may have had little time to devote to the church.

In many ways, the Pentecostal and United Church spoke a common language of gender and family. Both churches reflected and helped to reproduce dominant notions of

nuclear family life, the feminine ideal of domesticity, and responsible fatherhood. Based on their relationship with the dominant culture, however, these churches adopted different approaches to heterosexuality, marriage, and domestic life. In this period, the United Church drew on both traditional and newer meanings of gender and family. At times, the United Church advocated gender partnership in marriage and urged wives and husbands to share in the responsibilities of Christian family life. While First United couples' clubs were to embody gender mutuality, conventional views of gender were not easily dislodged at the level of group activities. Pentecostal officials berated "modern" marriages and families as corrupt, and insisted that masculine authority and feminine submission was divinely ordained.

Glad Tidings members generally accepted and conformed to official expectations of clear gender roles within church and home. Such expectations did, however, inspire a great deal of guilt in Pentecostal mothers who worked outside of the home. In both churches, wives and mothers who engaged in paid work were made to feel abnormal, and responsible for family decline. Women in these congregations defined their waged work as secondary to their family responsibilities, and tried to fit their experiences into acceptable, feminine norms. By drawing on Pentecostal notions of spiritual equality, and defining themselves first and foremost as "daughters of God", Glad Tidings women subtly resisted male authority. At First United, women exercised some financial control in church-based associations. Of course, we must not confuse women's limited spiritual and financial power with male leadership, which was firmly entrenched in both churches.

The experiences of church members were richly textured, and cannot be

explained by singular categories. The men and women who made up these congregations made sense of themselves not only as church members and believers, but as workers and leisure participants, political beings and members of families. The historiography of gender and family in the postwar period has centred on work, politics, and popular discourses, and has neglected the religious dimension of human identity and experience. My work shows that the church and religion significantly shaped the ways in which many postwar men and women understood and engaged in gender and family practices. Recent gender histories have illustrated that many dominant postwar institutions reinforced the masculine and feminine ideals of breadwinner and homemaker. While we might expect that churches merely reproduced these ideals, my work shows that the United Church also helped to construct new meanings of gender. United Church leaders often affirmed conventional views of gender, but they also championed mothers who worked outside of the home, urged gender mutuality in marriage, and told fathers to play a greater part in domestic life. Rather than simply reflecting dominant ideals, then, the United Church helped to shape the larger tensions and contradictions concerning gender in the postwar period.

Historians of the family have ably shown that belonging to an ideal nuclear family, based on clear gender roles and married heterosexuality, was central to what it meant to be normal and accepted in the wider postwar world. Certainly, these churches defined nuclear family life as the norm. At the same time, my work shows how religious identities could produce different, and somewhat unconventional, views of family. In this period, United Church couples' clubs, sermons, and literature highlighted the

primacy of the family. By contrast, Pentecostal doctrine insisted that one's relationship with God took precedence over family relationships. Because spiritual ties outweighed the importance of earthly ties, belonging to a family was less central to social acceptance in Glad Tidings. Those Pentecostal men and women who did resist the conventions of marriage and family remained part of a "spiritual family of believers." By using the category of religion, my work generates new insights into the ways in which postwar men and women made sense of themselves and their family relationships. In considering constructions of marriage and heterosexuality, my study also contributes to the history of sexuality. In addition, by focusing on British Columbia, this thesis has addressed a geographic region which has been largely neglected by historians of religion.

Can the conclusions drawn in this study be extended to other Pentecostal and United Churches in British Columbia? The churches under consideration were both situated downtown and had relatively deep roots in Victoria. In the 1940s and 1950s a number of Pentecostal and United Churches sprang up in suburban areas of Victoria and Vancouver. Given the concentration of young married couples with children in such areas, it may be that suburban congregations placed an even greater emphasis on marriage and family relationships than downtown churches. While this thesis considered how race and class shaped larger church discourses, we know less about the significance of these categories at the level of the congregation. How did these churches differ from those with a wider, or different, race and class appeal? We know that there were a number of working class Pentecostal congregations in Vancouver in the 1920s.[3] Was

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[3] Burkinshaw, p.119.

their working class membership maintained in the 1950s, and if so how did this affect the nature of church life? It falls to future researchers to address these questions, and further our understanding of the interplay between class, race, and religious identities in the postwar period.

Can Glad Tidings and First United be taken as representative of urban churches with similar memberships in other parts of Canada? The research in this study was not confined to materials from these local churches, but also included United Church and PAOC publications out of Toronto. It is likely, then, that many of the official church discourses on gender and family outlined in this thesis reflected broader Canadian patterns. Questions can be raised, however, about whether or not churches developed differently in BC, given the unique religious history of this province. BC has been the most secular of Canadian provinces in the twentieth century. While my study focused on church members, future researchers might turn their attention to those individuals who stayed away from the church. Scholars have generally attributed secularism in BC to the transient population and rough geography of this province.[4] It seems to me that an analysis of secularism in BC which accounts for the categories of gender and family would prove particularly fruitful.[5] In this study, we learned that churches were in many ways feminized and that religious values were often taught within the institution of the family. Perhaps the secular character of BC is partly rooted in the fact that historically, there has been a large population of single men without families in this province. It is hoped that future researchers will integrate the categories of race, class, and gender, and

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[4] See Burkinshaw and Stewart.

[5] Marks notes the lack of gender studies of secularism in Canada, p.218.

tell us more about the nature of both religious and secular identities in British Columbia.

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APPENDIX: Interview Questions

BACKGROUND

Can you tell me your first memory of ____ Church?

When did you join ____ Church? Why did you join? Any other reasons? Did you join by yourself, with friends, with members of your family?

Were you married or single in these years? Did you have any children? When were your children born? Did you meet your spouse in the church?

Can you walk me through what, for you, was a typical Sunday in the postwar years?

MEN'S CHURCH GROUPS

Were there any men's groups in your church in the 1940s and 1950s? Can you tell me about the men's groups that were available in these years?

What role did these groups play in the church? Kinds of activities? What was the purpose of these groups?

Were most of the men who participated in church groups single or married? Younger or older?

Did men's groups ever have a problem of declining membership or attendance? Why/why not?

How important were men to the life and work of the church in the postwar years?

WOMEN'S CHURCH GROUPS

Can you tell me about the women's groups that were available in your church in the 1940s and 1950s?

What role did these groups play in the church? What kinds of activities? What do you think was the purpose of these groups?

Were most of the women who participated in church groups single or married? Younger or older?

Did the women's groups ever have a problem of declining membership or attendance? Why/why not?

How important were women to the life and work of the church in the postwar period?

INVOLVEMENT IN CHURCH GROUPS

Did you participate in any of these groups? If no, why? If so, why?

Can you describe the purpose and activities of this group? How important do you think this group was to the life of the church?

Can you walk me through a typical meeting of this group?

Was the group free to choose its own program? Were there ever any conflicts within the group over the direction of the program? Were there ever any conflicts between this group, and other bodies in the church?

Can you tell me about what you learned or gained from your involvement in this group?

Can you tell me about your relationship with the other men/women in the group. Did you socialize with them outside of the church?

Were most of the men/women in your group single or married? Of similar age? Do you think that this, in any way, affected the programs of the group?

Tell me what you liked most about participating in this group? Were there other enjoyable parts? Describe your favorite memory of the group in the postwar years. Was there anything that you disliked about participating in this group? Explain.

In what ways, do you think, did men's church work differ from women's church work in the postwar years?

COUPLES

Was your spouse also a member of the church in these years? Did this influence your decision to become involved in the church?

Did you and your spouse generally agree on how often to attend church, and which church activities to participate in? Do you remember any instances when you disagreed?

Were there activities or associations in your church, which you and your spouse could participate in as a couple? Did you participate? Why/why not?

Can you describe the purpose/programmes of these activities/associations?

What did you like most about participating in this association/these activities with your spouse? Anything that you disliked?

Was it important to you, in the postwar years, to participate in church activities as a couple?

In the 1940s and 1950s, did your church have any classes or programs for engaged or newly married couples? Describe. Were there many couples who met in the church?

COUPLES' CLUBS

Can you tell me about the women and men who joined the couples' clubs? Were they younger or older? Were single people able to join?

What do you think was the purpose of couples' clubs?

How important were couples' clubs to the life and work of the church? Do you think that they were more, less, or equally important to the church as men's and women's associations? Why?

COUPLES' CLUBS-INVOLVEMENT

Can you describe the reasons why you joined? Who made the decision to join?

Can you walk me through a typical meeting of the couples' club. (Who led the business part of the meeting, who led the worship part, kinds of programs, socializing)

Tell me about the roles of men and women in this club. Did men and women have different roles in the club? How important were women to the program and work of the club? How important were men? Explain.

Were there every any conflicts in the group?

How did the couples' club recruit new members? Were there ever any problems gaining new members?

Did you associate with other couples' clubs in your church, or in other churches?

Did you, alone or with your spouse, socialize with other members of the club, outside of the church? Can you give some examples?

Can you tell me about what you learned or gained from your involvement in this group?

Describe your most interesting or favorite memory of the couples' club in these years.

SINGLE PEOPLE/YOUNG PEOPLE

Were there any groups especially for single people in your church in the 1940s and 1950s?

Were there groups for young people? Can you describe the activities and programmes of these groups?

What, do you think, was the purpose of young peoples' groups?

FAMILY-CHURCH INVOLVEMENT

Did you attend church services regularly with members of your family? If so, with which members of your family? Did all members of your family agree on how often to attend church?

Did you sit together in church? Why was/wasn't this important?

How important was church attendance as a family, to you in the postwar years?

Did your church offer any activities that the whole family could participate in? (such as family camps) Did you participate? Why/why not?

Describe these activities. How did participating in these activities affect your family life?

Who generally made the decision to participate in these activities?

What did you like most/least about participating in these activities?

In the postwar years, how important were church-based family activities to the life of the church? What do you think was the purpose of these activities?

In what ways do you think your church involvement influenced your family life?

FAMILY WORSHIP-AT HOME

In the postwar years, did you worship with your family at home? If no, why?

Walk me through a typical episode of family worship in your home (was there a pattern, how often, who led)?

Who generally initiated family worship?

Did all members of your family agree on the time, frequency, and content of family worship? Can you remember any times of disagreement?

What do you feel was the main purpose of family worship? Any other purposes?

What did you like most about family worship? Any dislikes?

In the postwar years, was family worship at home, or church-based worship more important to you? To your family life?

Did you ever worship/pray with your spouse? Can you tell me about this experience, and what it meant to you?

In the postwar years, what did your church teach about family life? Were fathers and mothers to have specific roles in the family? Can you tell me how these teachings affected your family life? Did your church say anything about divorce, married women working, single people etc.

Do you feel that your family life in the postwar years reflected the church's teachings?

Did you consider the religious training of your children to be important? If no, why? If so, who was largely responsible for the religious teaching of your children? What did this involve?

WORSHIP-IN CHURCH/ALONE

Can you describe what the worship services were like in your church in the postwar years?

What did you like most about the worship services in these years? Least?

Do you think that being a man/woman affected your experiences in worship services?

Did you pray at home, alone, in the postwar years? If not, why? If so, can you tell me what private prayer/worship meant to you in these years?

Can you describe a personal religious experience that you had in the postwar years?

CHURCH AND LARGER SOCIETY

In the postwar years, were most of your friends and family part of your church? If not- any conflict?

Can you tell me what you think were the main social issues that the church was concerned with in the postwar years?

Can you remember any times in these years when you disagreed with the values or views of the church?

Did you ever consider leaving the church?

Can you tell me about the kinds of people that belonged to your church in the postwar years? Were there many rich and poor people? Were there many people of different races/cultures?

Do you think, in a general sense, that women and men had different roles in the church in the postwar years? Explain. Were there any debates, in your church, about women's roles in the church or society?

Do you think that in these years, the views and ideals of your church were similar to those more generally in society?

CONCLUSION

Were there any activities or organizations that your church didn't have in these years, that you wished it had?

In what ways, if any, do you think that your life was affected by your involvement in the church?

When you reflect on your church involvement in these years, which experiences do you feel were most important in your life?

Can you tell me your most interesting or favorite memory of ____ Church in the postwar years?