TRADITION AND MEMORY IN PROTESTANT ONTARIO

Anglican and Methodist Clerical Discourses During Queen Victoria's Golden (1887) and Diamond (1897) Jubilee Celebrations

by Garry D. Peters

B.A., University of Guelph, 1970
M.L.S., University of Western Ontario, 1977

Thesis
Submitted to the Department of History
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts
Wilfrid Laurier University
2000

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the religious-patriotic discourse on Queen Victoria, the monarchy, and the British empire produced by the Anglican and Methodist clergy in Ontario during the celebrations for the sovereign's Golden Jubilee in 1887 and the Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Loyalty to the queen and the monarchy was shaped by the interplay between the received theological, ecclesiastical, and historical traditions of each church, its collective memories, and by the contexts which influenced the commemorations. The discursive representations of the queen, constitutional monarchy, and imperialism, embedded within the sermons and patriotic literature of the two churches, differentiated into separate patterns of affirmation, in the process, appropriating sub-cultural, or vernacular, pasts which justified the contemporary identities of the churches and their world in late Victorian Ontario.

The Church of England in Canada, drawing upon an organic, unitive vision, which integrated Church, state, and society under the monarchy, maintained a conservative, at times defensive, but reasonably stable message in its pronouncements of loyalty over the decade between 1887 and 1897. In the person of Queen Victoria, the Methodists consecrated the Wesleyan theological heritage through a discourse of substitutionary piety. However, the Methodist narratives of imperial and social progress during the queen's reign began to invoke the nascent language of the social gospel, a different type of pietistic discourse which altered the categories of traditional Wesleyan theology. Thus the Methodist loyalty sermons and articles reveal a bifurcation in the structures of collective identity. The representations of the queen anchored the past in the present, but the discourse of imperial and social progress indicates a gradual deconsecration of the Wesleyan heritage, implying a concomitant destabilization of identity in the Methodist Church in late nineteenth-century Ontario.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research and writing of this thesis would have been impossible without the generous assistance of many librarians and archivists in Ontario. Special thanks are extended to Diane Peters, Karen Scott, and Amy Menary of Wilfrid Laurier University Library, who assisted me with archival, reference, and interlibrary loan services at various stages of the research. Among others who directed me towards sources which I would otherwise have overlooked were Susan Hoffman at the Kitchener Public Library, Hugh Hill at Emmanuel Bible College Library in Kitchener, Lutzen Riedstra and Carolynn Bart-Riedstra, Archivists of the Stratford-Perth Archives, and Mary Evans at the Oxford County Archives in Woodstock. In addition, I appreciate the time taken by several clergymen and church secretaries who sent me additional information on some of their clerical forebears of the late Victorian era.

I am also grateful for the invaluable assistance provided by the staff at the United Church of Canada Central Archives, and also for their insights and comments on the Victorian clergy. Special thanks to Mary-Anne Nicholls, Archivist of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, Carol Radford-Grant, Archivist of the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, Patrick Cummins of the Corporate Records and Archives of Toronto, Donna Hanson at the St. Thomas Public Library, and also to the staff at the Archives of Ontario and the National Archives and National Library of Canada.

Many thanks to Dr. Cynthia Comacchio, Dr. Barry Gough, and Dr. Peter Erb of Wilfrid Laurier University for taking time from their busy schedules to read the final draft of the thesis and for their interesting perspectives and insights on the topic. Finally, the thesis would have been impossible without the patient and invaluable assistance of my supervisor, Dr. Suzanne Zeller who guided me through the painstaking stages of organization and writing, and whose advice and constructive criticism kept me on the right path to the completion of the project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In his book *Enduring Witness: The History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1976), John Moir comments that "the closing decades of Queen Victoria's long reign were ... marked in Canada by an unprecedented mixture of piety and patriotism."[1] Moir's observation suggests that the languages of religious faith and loyalty were interchangeable within the social milieu. As this thesis will confirm, a distinguishing feature in a Loyalist province such as Ontario one hundred years ago was the tacit concordat between the Protestant pulpit and the fundamental symbols of the political culture. Coupling sacred and secular discourses which attributed the triumphs of the Victorian age to the superiority of the British constitution, commentators easily conjoined the empire's grandeur to Queen Victoria, the emblem of the pure, honoured life, and the living icon of public and domestic virtue. In Ontario, this steadfast fidelity to the monarch had long been nurtured in the annual observances of the queen's birthday on the twenty-fourth of May. A rite of spring with roots in the military origins of Upper Canada, it began to take shape in its modern form as a popular civic celebration with a half-holiday in Toronto in 1848.[2] Loyalty to the queen received its supreme expressions during the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of 1887 and 1897, respectively. Queen Victoria died on 22 January 1901, but affection for the sovereign was cemented in English Canada's public memory when the Dominion parliament, shortly before 24 May of the same year, proclaimed Victoria Day a national holiday.[3]

Outline of the Topic and the Argument

This thesis is a study of the religious-patriotic discourse on Queen Victoria produced by the Anglican and Methodist clergy in Ontario during the jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897. It argues that loyalty to the monarch and the crown was a construction of identity shaped by the interplay between two forces. On the one side were the collective memories, the received theological, ecclesiastical, and historical understandings of each church, and on

the other, were the contexts which influenced the commemorations. The loyalty sermons and the patriotic *belle-lettres* published in the Ontario-based religious press of the Church of England and the Methodist Church of Canada welded the historically determined self-definition and aims of each church to the sentiments demanded by these occasions. The ritual affirmations of the sovereign and the crown subtly validated the polity, theology, and pastoral ministry of each group, justifying its niche in contemporary society. The royal celebrations served as sites upon which were evoked both extrinsic memory (Aristotle's idea of *anamnesis*), and intrinsic memory (Aristotle's concept of *mneme*).[4] The themes of the queen's domestic virtues, her sterling character as a constitutional ruler, and the growth of the empire migrated across religious borders. However, closer scrutiny reveals nuances, differential patterns of affirmation which tended to resonate in harmony with the ideology of the events. The royal commemorations thus kindled sub-cultural, or in John Bodnar's terminology, vernacular, pasts, and a study of these events brings into sharper focus the microstructures of Ontario's identity a century ago.[5]

The implications of the study suggest some common ground with Mark Looker's analysis of the religious press in England during the queen's jubilees. According to Looker, "Victoria's Jubilees intensified ... myth making, wherein every faction could worship the idealized projection of its own image." He adds that "[t]he Queen's image could readily and usefully be co-opted" by Catholics, Jews, Anglicans and the dissenting bodies who promoted their own "religious, social, and political claims."[6] Unlike the situation in England, where the established Church of England had to contend with Queen Victoria's opposition to the Anglo-Catholic clergy, and where class divisions were deeper, the Anglicans and Methodists in Ontario cultivated and reinforced their self-perceptions through languages which idealized the sovereign, the empire and British civilization.[7]

The argument of this thesis centres on the fact that Queen Victoria and the advance of

the British empire during her long reign were the symbolic centres on which the Anglicans and the Methodists fashioned their separate identities. However, not only were the images of the sovereign devised out of disparate conceptions of divine reality, as determined by the theological traditions of each church, but the contexts, especially the intellectual revolutions of the time, had very different effects upon their unique narratives of loyalty. The Anglican panegyric was conservative, but resilient, its traditions and conceptions of the British past assuring a reasonable degree of stability in the structure and aims of the Church's loyal pronouncements over the decade between 1887 and 1897. The organic, unitive vision, which integrated Church, state, and society under the crown, was powerful. The Methodist response was more complex. Separated from the Church of England for over one hundred years, and privileging a theology which focused on the spiritual well-being of the individual, and less on the corporate community of the faithful, the Methodists had less attachment to the institution of the crown, and a weakened vision of the grand organic perspective characteristic of the Anglicans. In the person of Queen Victoria, the rhetoric consecrated the Wesleyan theological heritage through a discourse of substitutionary piety. However, the celebratory narratives on the progress of the empire and the social advances of the queen's reign, especially evident by 1897, began to invoke a very different language of piety, a gospel of social progress and reform, which transfigured the categories of traditional Wesleyan theology, and led to a gradual deconsecration of the Methodist inheritance, a destabilization of identity. Thus the shape of Methodist loyalty was vulnerable to the intellectual changes of the time, of which one important component eventually led to the rise of the social gospel movement.

The research recovered many sermons and articles generated by the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic clergy in Ontario. For several reasons the thesis was restricted to an examination of the sources from the Church of England and the Methodist Church. The physical limitations of the study unfortunately precluded an adequate treatment

of the four major religious groups. In the late nineteenth century, the Catholics in Ontario were ethnically diverse. Any reasonable analysis of Catholic attitudes towards Queen Victoria, the crown, and the dominant British culture would require a separate study examining the Irish, the French, the descendants of Scots Highlanders in eastern Ontario, Germans in Waterloo, and Italians in Toronto, to name only some groups with widely disparate loyalties. By the late Victorian era, the Presbyterians were strongly evangelical, proud of their Scottish roots and the queen's attachment to the Church of Scotland. The Presbyterian sources reveal a strong support for the institution of democratic constitutional monarchy. However, the Anglicans and the Methodists in Ontario were selected for this study primarily because they were representative of two remarkably different types of Protestantism. Despite the dissimilarities, there was an irony in the fact that the Methodists had emerged as a sectarian evangelical movement within the English Church in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In both churches, there had been contact and separation, and, especially with reference to Upper Canada, incidents of conflict and resolution. Unlike the colonial Presbyterians, whose loyalty had not been questioned either by the early Upper Canadian authorities or by the Anglican hierarchy, the Methodists, as many Canadian historians have shown, had sometimes been perceived as potential subversives, inherently threatening to British rule in Upper Canada. Thus Anglican and Methodist narratives of loyalty in the late Victorian era reflected contrasting memories and theological traditions. A comparative analysis of these two churches offered the opportunity to reveal the distinctive effects of context, tradition, and memory in the construction of monarchical loyalty during the period in question.

The Terminology of the Study

The terms "loyalty," "jubilee," and "discourse" are frequently used in this thesis, and each requires a measure of explication. The word "loyalty" refers to the aural and visual forms of public affirmation for the monarchy, Queen Victoria, and British civilization in the

late nineteenth century. Although the language of loyalty often pointed to England, it possessed a broader, extra-territorial connotation which incorporated the imperial community of the Anglo-Saxon diaspora throughout the world, at times its sentiments widened to include the Americans. Loyalty to the British connection was primarily a reverent celebration of history and culture, an attachment to an ill-defined idea that cannot be equated to a mere identification with a place, meaning either Britain or Canada. Of course, Ontario was one of the two provinces founded as a result of the refugee migration of the United Empire Loyalists, and the memory and mythology of the founders amplified the rhetoric heard on the occasion of the queen's birthdays and during the jubilees. The word "loyalism," while it is little used in this study, refers to the principles governing the popular manifestations of loyalty that shaped the discourse of commemoration. Although it will be reiterated in the concluding chapter of the thesis, loyalism is best understood as an unstated presupposition of personal and collective obligation to the existence of the Canadian state, and to British civilization and its ordering symbols. The Protestant churches were of paramount importance in the cultivation of assent to this world culture whose supreme representative was Queen Victoria.

The meanings attached to the word "jubilee" have been explored in their historical context in England by Malcolm Chase. Throughout the nineteenth century, the term became associated with patriotic and other commemorative events, in the process losing the political and radical implications of its biblical origins recorded in Leviticus 25. Chase observes that "in early Christian teaching," jubilee "was confused by the conflation of the Latin 'jubilo' (I rejoice) with the Hebrew 'jobel' (literally a ram's-horn trumpet)." "Simple celebration ... became ... the keynote of jubilee." Although the message of Leviticus was seized upon from time to time by various writers, including Bunyan, Milton, James Harrington, and some radicals, it was largely stripped of any concept of social reform. Interestingly however, Chase adds that "consistencies with the [Levitical] notions of jubilee ... can be identified

within Methodism from its earliest years." The ideas of "spiritual renewal, religious liberty and the Second Coming" were often linked to the restoration associated with the Jewish festival. The jubilee of King George III in 1809 undermined the radical political usage of the term. The celebration served as an "ostentatious display of counter-revolutionary nationalism," and was a factor in the state appropriation of patriotism. From 1809 onward, notes Chase, the term was a contested site, but the "loyalist concept of jubilee was ... very much in the ascendant." By the late Victorian era, the word "jubilee' was almost always associated with anniversaries which functioned "as occasions for a collective affirmation of faith and purpose."[8] Thus, as Walter Arnstein has suggested, the Golden Jubilee was an expression favoured by the queen "because in part she visualized the occasion as the golden wedding anniversary that fate had denied her." Similarly, the Diamond Jubilee met with her approval because, suggests Arnstein, "it served as a substitute for that truly momentous wedding anniversary that she and Albert might have celebrated had he not died young."[9]

If the term "jubilee" had different, sometimes contested, meanings, throughout the nineteenth century, it was partly because its usage was defined by the political, social, and even religious natures of language which tended to fracture along the boundaries of class, gender, and church affiliation. In this study, the word "discourse," in its widest sense, refers to the representations of meaning embedded within the Anglican and Methodist narratives of loyalty. As John Tosh observes, the "conceptual premises" can be different, and "there are usually a number of alternative and interlocking discourses jostling for ascendancy - expressing, for example, reverence for the state, class solidarity, or democratic rights." A close analysis of the loyalist rhetoric of the Church of England and the Methodist Church of Canada in late nineteenth-century Ontario reveals that there were varying discursive patterns reflecting disparate understandings of gender roles, social equality, and democracy. It is recognized that, in a particular setting, "discourse" often can be understood as a conflation of the aural

and the visual. However, it is the archive of sermons and articles recovered from newspapers and the church organs which forms the basis of the discourse under examination in this thesis.[10]

Intellectual and Social Contexts of the Ontario Jubilee Celebrations

There were two types of contextual influences which affected the monarchical panegyric of the Christian churches during the latter half of the Victoria era. One, a product of British and European intellectual ferment, had a longstanding and subjective impact upon the communities of organized Christianity. The transformations in thought undermined many of the traditional certainties of the churches, but the new ideas had to be addressed and even internalized in order for theologians to formulate adequate responses. Secondly, there was the external, immediate, and objective environment consisting of the political, economic, and social realities of commemoration. These subjective and objective contexts interacted with history and memory to shape the royalist discourse of the Protestant churches.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, an intellectual reformation shook the scriptural and dogmatic foundations of Western Christianity, but perhaps the greatest impact was felt by the Protestant evangelical churches which had established the basis of their faith and life upon the real presence of a supernatural God acting providentially in history, and whose revelation to humanity was evident in an inerrant Bible. In Upper Canada, as recent historians of religion have shown, a crisis of authority arose when the churches were forced to respond to the extravagant end-of-the-world prognostications of the premillennialist sects. The developing response took the form of postmillennialism, a form of Christian eschatology which stressed the gradual, progressive unfolding of Christ's kingdom.[11] After 1859, Darwin's theory of evolution finally vanquished the lingering literal interpretation of origins in the Book of Genesis. German research, translated into English, demonstrated the power of new critical methods to raise serious questions about the assumed veracity, or historicity, of

many other biblical texts. The accompanying liberal theology introduced revolutionary ideas on the understanding and approach to Christian doctrine, including salvation and the nature of God.[12] Out of these intellectual transformations, and in the context of a changing industrial society in North America, there arose a movement of Christian social criticism which shifted the traditional evangelical categories of salvation from the individual to society. In the place of a supernatural God, active in the salvation and Christian perfection of the sinner, there emerged an immanent God of progress, a new gospel of social salvation, which, in its English Canadian guise, crusaded for the Christian regeneration of society, as Ramsay Cook has so ably demonstrated. From the 1880s, the message of social reform began to spread among vociferous and often radical spokesmen in Ontario, and its language slowly began to inform the mission of the Methodist Church. Whispers of the new theology began to cross over into the loyalty discourse of the Methodist pastorate during the commemoration for the queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887, and was even more evident during the Diamond Jubilee in 1897.[13]

On Sunday, 19 June 1887, the people of the province began celebrating the fiftieth anniversary marking the accession to the throne of their empress-queen. As Jeffrey Lant has shown, the Golden Jubilee celebration was intended to enhance the popular image of the monarchy in Britain.[14] The event was one of those milestones of British pomp and spectacle that was not neglected in Ontario, especially within the Anglo-Protestant population, but public enthusiasm was sometimes dampened by apathy, when not marred by internal tensions in Canada and the province. For example, in April 1887, Toronto's reputation for true-blue loyalty suffered a defeat at the polls when ratepayers roundly defeated a bylaw which would have allocated $10,000 towards a jubilee celebration.[15] Ten years later, reflecting on the event, an editorial writer in Toronto's *Evening Telegram* recalled that "there was gladness throughout the British empire and in Canada the rejoicings were sincere, but it was a dynastic and English significance which attached to the jubilee festivities in London."[16] Triggered by

uncertainty concerning the future of Confederation, issues of loyalty, central to the discourse of early Upper Canada, "re-emerged as a contentious issue in the late 1880s," states David Mills. The Riel affair "heightened the conflict between English and French Canadians," and there was "pessimism associated with the disappointing results of the National Policy."[17] The perennial concern with annexation to the United States was amplified by calls for trade reciprocity and outright commercial union with the powerful American neighbour. On the eve of the Golden Jubilee, unquestioning allegiance to the sovereign was by no means universal across all sectors of Canada's pluralist population. In Ontario, the Irish, divided between Catholics and Protestants, exhibited a "pugnacity," stated W. L. Morton, "which counted no cost and overlooked no point of dispute."[18] In many communities the commemorations were low-key and, perhaps in an effort to fortify a sense of national unity, the public gatherings and civic speeches were often postponed until the Dominion holiday on 1 July.

Expressions of loyalty in Ontario in 1887 and 1897 were shaped by other events which created turbulence throughout the Dominion. Quebec's new premier, Honoré Mercier, elected early in 1887, called upon Pope Leo XIII to arbitrate a dispute over the estates confiscated from the Jesuits at the time of the Conquest. The subsequent passage of the *Jesuits' Estates Act* in July 1888 generated much heated discussion in English Canada, and helped to aggravate the Manitoba schools dispute of the early 1890s. The Conservative government's failure to resolve the problem led to the Liberal victory under Wilfrid Laurier in 1896.[19]

Canadian anxieties began to mount in 1895 when the American government, under the guiding hand of its belligerent secretary of state, Richard Olney (1835-1917), took a truculent stance towards Great Britain over a dispute regarding the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana.[20] Rising American economic and imperial power was comparable with that of Germany which, in 1896, states Modris Eksteins, "openly adopted what came to be called

Weltpolitik, a "world policy ... accompanied ... by the inauguration of a naval building program and an obstreperous pursuit of additional colonies," an expansionism which "naturally aroused concern abroad about Germany's long-range intentions."[21] Such challenges to British supremacy throughout the last decade of the nineteenth century probably contributed to the rise of British imperialism in Ontario. Carl Berger notes that branches of the Imperial Federation League had been established in Canada after its formation in England in 1884. Both it and its successor, the British Empire League, formed in 1896, had a powerful impact on the popularization and spread of imperialism in English Canada.[22] The Loyalist tradition, given a fresh mandate by the formation of the United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario, also in 1896, put more wind into the sails of the imperialist mission.[23]

After Laurier's election victory of 1896, a mood of optimism took hold across the country. The following year, during the week commencing 20 June 1897, the people of Ontario, together with millions of their fellow citizens throughout Canada and Britain's other colonial dependencies, began celebrating Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. As spring unfolded that year, the Union Jack sprouted across the architectural landscape, and imperial patriotism came into full bloom in English Canada's newspapers, magazines and the religious press. Wilfrid Laurier, knighted by the queen in London and leading the parade of colonial premiers through Britain's metropolis on 22 June, symbolized the hopes for national and imperial unity. Described by the London *Times* as "the first pan-Britannic festival," the commemoration was an invitation to the colonies to participate with the mother country in a great pageant of empire, the supreme occasion to honour Queen Victoria, the aging but beloved sovereign and symbol of the realm.[24]

To understand the dynamics of loyalty to the queen in Anglican and Methodist thought in the late nineteenth century, it is necessary to penetrate more closely into the cultural texture of late Victorian Ontario. In the first case, imperialism was inextricably linked to the

recovery of the Loyalist tradition and its concern with the original unity and tragic disruption of the great English-speaking, trans-Atlantic nations. Descendants of early Upper Canadians, commonly found in the Anglican and Methodist memberships, often possessed emotional, filiopietistic memories of the refugees who fled in the aftermath of the American Revolution, and they sympathized with the élitist efforts to link the Loyalist mythology to imperialism.[25] The soldiers and their families who remained obedient to England's authority in the Thirteen Colonies were symbols of unity for the empire. The image of the maternal queen rested on a tradition of historic respect for one of her ancestors, George III, the father of his people, the paternal monarch who represented the sovereignty of Britain and the first empire. Queen Victoria was the mother of the young Dominion, a burgeoning nation whose very existence justified the original Tory cause during the Revolution.

An underlying assumption of the late Victorian era, common to Britons and a great many of their brethren in the United States, was the belief that the Anglo-Saxon "race" was especially gifted in the arts of governance and progress, and had a responsibility to bring the benefits of Western civilization and political liberty to the less developed people of the world. The public presentation of the benevolent *Herrenvolk* had been brewing in the writings of the social Darwinists,[26] but it gathered steam in the works of many imperialists, among them, Charles Dilke (1843-1911) whose widely read book *Greater Britain* (1868) was a popular exposition of the theory of Anglo-Saxon supremacy.[27] The idea was central to the thought of such men as Cecil Rhodes and the colonial secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, who held the office from 1895 to 1902 in Salisbury's government.[28] As Carl Berger has shown, English Canadians were introduced to these notions of Anglo-Saxon preeminence through the writings of John George Bourinot, George Parkin and George Grant, among others. Bourinot subscribed to the contemporary theories of some political philosophers in England and America who argued that the Anglo-Saxon gift for establishing stable systems of political

liberty could be traced to the ancient Teutonic tribes of northern Europe.[29] Whether it was deemed to be a product of nature or nurture, the superiority of the British was a commonplace in the discourse of imperialism. As this thesis will show, many clergymen in Ontario, especially in the Church of England, were convinced that the mission of empire was inextricably linked to the great commission. It was hard for God not to be an Englishman, particularly when some clerics were delighted to adopt Him as the Father of the new chosen people, the British nation.

Another factor must also be considered in order to understand the close association between the churches and political allegiance during the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. The style and content of patriotic sermons naturally tended to reflect the perspectives of the worshippers, and especially the guest groups who were so often invited on occasions honouring the queen. The processions of local or visiting regiments, veterans, and fraternal societies were integral to the discourse of loyalty in Ontario, both before and long after Confederation. The local Presbyterian, Methodist, and less commonly, the Baptist or Congregational church was sometimes the destination for the spring Sunday parade on or about 24 May, but perhaps the most common terminus was the sanctuary of the parish church or cathedral of the Church of England. The magnificently uniformed volunteers, and increasingly by the 1880s, the Sons of England, looking splendidly masculine in their silk toppers and decorated frock coats, were as much the visible, as were the sermons the audible, signs of allegiance. The aural and the visual co-existed in synergy. The language and signs of obedience, crucial to Anglican theories of social and political obligation, exuded maleness.

Of course, the role of a female monarch had to be addressed. The queen's tender feminine qualities were ubiquitous in the sermons, and their function was not merely cosmetic even if the domestic ideology transformed royal virtue into spectacle. The middle-class queen, who sanctified the palace by her feminine attributes, was a symbol of woman's proper

and subordinate sphere for the British subject. Victoria and the royal family were the supreme representations of an organic view of society and state. A sovereign who was the epitome of true womanhood proved the worth of Christian monarchy, and all was well with the world. Nevertheless, the images of the feminine in the royal household were controlled by the prior affirmation of the nation's historic polity, and shaped by cultural stereotypes which privileged the aural and visual discourse of masculinity.

That the traditional Sunday church parade in Ontario found especial favour with the Anglicans is not surprising in light of an observation by Grant, who has noted that "the careful allocation of roles in parades and processions in relation to office or position in society ... suggested the persistence of Simcoe's vision of a neatly ordered society long after its apparent rejection."[30] The militia tradition in Ontario, itself partly a product of patriotic memory, encouraged military preparedness and fostered a martial spirit, including a good deal of masculine strut and display, a militarist phenomenon already examined by Carl Berger.[31] Of course, if by militarism is meant the rise of powerful military classes as occurred in central Europe and Japan, then the term has no application in the Canadian context. British precedent and North American geostrategic considerations favoured the cultural and political response of volunteer soldiering, and that reality discouraged the formation of either a large standing army or a military caste in Canada. The close relationship between Anglicanism and the militia regiments a century ago seems to be succinctly captured in a quote from the conservative Austrian statesman, Prince von Metternich, taken from Alfred Vagts' significant study on modern militarism. The church, Metternich said, "labors through the word from the pulpit for the moral truth," the other [the army] on the battlefield by their deeds for right and justice. Church and army are serving order through the power of discipline and through hierarchical arrangement."[32]

Aside from uniforms, silk hats and sashes, there was a visual iconography—pictures,

commemorative plate, and silverware bearing reliefs of the queen or the royal family, and the coinage with the sovereign's profile—all of it reinforcing the presence of the monarchy in Canadian life. However, it is vital to realize that loyalty was largely shaped by speech and the written word. Protestantism has traditionally been a hearing religion, a faith communicated through scripture, prayer, and the homiletic arts. Language can communicate a consciousness of the past, a sense of heritage, in a way that marshall parades, visual icons, monuments, or even museums cannot accomplish through the eye alone. Late nineteenth-century Protestant Ontario was a hearing, or listening, culture, and its religious language of piety was easily able to import collective Christian identities into self-affirming discourses of political piety praising Queen Victoria. The aural constructs, the sermons and essays of Anglican reverence towards the symbol of communal and national descent, and the Methodist discourse of reverent piety have been selected for study in this thesis.

Origins and Nature of the Monarchical Discourse

The religious and secular celebrations for Queen Victoria's jubilees in Ontario generated a substantial deposit of patriotic ephemera. Much of this encomia was modelled on that of British monarchists who had successfully pioneered the reconstruction of the queen's image through the medium of a fanciful literature of moral exhortation.[33] The glorification of Queen Victoria began to emerge following her accession in 1837. The phenomenon can be more accurately understood as a process through which the sovereign became the symbolic reification of the cultural and ideological virtues of the era. Aside from the promise of moral worth which seemed to be evident in the young queen, political and social changes were factors in the restoration of British royalty following the reigns of her two unpopular uncles, George IV (1762-1830) and his brother, William IV (1765-1837). The gradual shift to parliamentary supremacy had been underway since 1689. The transformation gathered momentum by the third decade of the nineteenth century and it took a significant leap forward

with the Reform Bill of 1832. Queen Victoria, a strong-willed woman, continued to exercise considerable political influence behind the scenes, but the crown was largely divested of genuine potency in the arena of national governance. Increasingly, the monarchy assumed a ceremonial role, royal spectacle becoming the visible representation of state power. The growing sense of national importance and unity wrought by commercial and imperial expansion also contributed to the British public's changing perceptions of the crown. The great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 symbolized the new industrial Britain and the march of scientific and commercial progress. The involvement of Prince Albert in the planning and execution of this highly successful venture greatly enhanced the prestige of the royal family.[34]

By mid-century, the monarch had come to be understood, in the words of Jeffrey Lant, as an "impartial, olympian arbiter, calm, judicious, fair" and "who always had the best interest of the people at heart." By the time of the Golden Jubilee in 1887, myth and reality concerning Victoria had travelled some distance along separate paths. Commenting on the "extravagant claims" of the domesticated propaganda, which Queen Victoria once aptly described as "twaddle," Lant observes that "each aspect of the Queen's life was purged of its individual character and made into a standard to be followed."[35] Maternal and domestic imagery was woven into a gendered discourse praising the queen's model life and home. The sweet and innocent child who became the nation's romantic centrepiece as the youthful queen, stepped into her proper sphere as the devoted and submissive wife, the loving Christian mother, the grieving widow, and the caring sovereign who loved the poorest and weakest of her subjects even as she attended to the affairs of state in her role as constitutional ruler.

These motifs reappear in the Ontario sources with tedious regularity. Often peppered with scriptural verses or quotes from Tennyson, and replete with monotonous paeans to progress, the rhapsodic narratives on Victoria's moral and Christian perfection have received

little attention from historians. However, the jubilees, and the annual rituals surrounding the celebrations for the queen's birthday, on or about 24 May, cannot be viewed simply as fleeting festivals of the contemporary political order and its sovereign. They were celebrations of remembrance. To remember, notes Nico H. Frijda, is to be mindful of a particular past, to integrate memories and bring a sense of coherence to one's identity.[36] The commemorative morality texts on Queen Victoria and the monarchy constitute distinct reservoirs of communal identity appertaining to different groups in the province.

Within the framework of these observations, it is as vital to understand what the Anglicans, the Methodists and other religious and secular groups were not doing, as it is to understand their overt intentions. The ephemeral homage literature surviving from the commemorations of the jubilees in Ontario are overlapping varieties of Christian pietistic discourse. Religious identities were affirmed through ritual languages of devotion to a chaste, immaculate Queen Victoria—almost, one might be tempted to suggest—Protestantism's answer to Roman Catholicism's blessed Virgin Mary. However, the analogy is misleading, partly because it obfuscates by a simplistic likeness that which requires a greater precision of thought. The cultural, more specifically the Protestant, veneration of the queen, referring to the cultivation of deep respect and reverence, introduced elements of *divinization*, but not *deification*. In common use, these two words are most often treated synonymously, and indeed, the definitions in the second edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) are essentially identical, with no distinctive nuances of meaning.[37] In any context, natural language is more complex. Divinization can also possess a different connotation, the much more limiting attribution of a divine character or nature to a person (or perhaps an object), but which denies the act or process of outright deification, meaning the creation or transformation of someone or something into a deity or a god.[38] In the case of Queen Victoria, the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity were seen as manifestations of the divine presence

in her life, and the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance were inferred within the morality narratives of the Protestant commentators. This aura of Christian virtue and moral purity surrounding the queen, especially in the case of the Anglicans, probably reinforced the rarified halo of sacredness associated with any vestigial memories of the divine origin of kingship and of the English monarchy in particular.

To raise this issue might seem to be an instance of splitting hairs, but it avoids the danger of assuming that Britons and Ontarians revered their monarch in the same way, for example, as the Russians, or at least some of them, gazed in awe at their Czar, or as the Japanese turned to emperor worship during the first half of the twentieth century. In the former case, there were similarities to be sure, but the transfer of political power to an elected Commons, coinciding with the devolution of both royal and ecclesiastical power in England, simply precluded the formation of anything even remotely resembling a caesaropapist configuration of loyalty within the wider population. In contrast to the Eastern Orthodox experience, political power in Western Christendom was a site constantly contested between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*.

In Japan, the nativists and Mito scholars, during the later Tokugawa period (1603-1868) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, began forging links between traditional filial piety and loyalty to the emperor. This synthesis, resulting in the political ideology of *kokutai*, was based on the theory of the patriarchal state, "all of whose people [were] related to one another and to the emperor," as the substance of a complex idea has been expressed by Robert Smith.[39] The cultivation of ancestral filial obligation was intensified after the Meiji restoration (1868). In effect, the state sponsored an all-pervading nativist loyalty to the emperor whose divine origins were integral to the formation of an extreme nationalism in Japan. In England and the disparate parts of the empire, Queen Victoria was transformed into a figure of affection and reverence, but credibility had its limits. Christianity and the political

cultures of the English-speaking world prohibited the formation of anything resembling the Japanese experience.

Neverthless, it is reasonable to ask an obvious question. To what degree did English Canadians suspend their critical faculties and actually believe the content of the hyperbole which they heard or read of their sovereign? In fact, it is probably near impossible to gain any detailed understanding of the attitudes and beliefs of the ordinary man and woman. The people of Ontario flocked to the special jubilee services, especially in 1897, and at the queen's death in 1901 the churches were literally filled to overflowing in many centres, "packed to the doors," as a correspondent observed in Stratford.[40] For the most part, the populace assented to the gaudy eloquence of the royal praise, partly because, at its core, there was a modicum of truth. Despite Queen Victoria's foibles and faults, her obstinacy and contradictions, and her sometimes unforgiving pettiness, she was seen as impeccably honest, incorruptible, and unyielding in her adherence to the moral code of the age. It was possible for Protestant clerics in Ontario, as elsewhere, to exaggerate the queen's virtues, conveniently ignore her peccadillos, and then soar to the pinnacles of oratory on the wings of vacuous fables, but they did not have to tell outright lies, and their audiences knew it.

The Monarchy in Britain from George III to Queen Victoria

The historical development of provincial loyalty to the monarchy cannot be understood apart from the developing role of the institution of royalty in Britain over the same period. Loyalty to a person or a state is not a fixed phenomenon which can be succinctly described with a dictionary definition. It is neither static in its meanings nor uniform in its expressions within a given community over time. Public attitudes towards the throne in Britain were shaped by the reigning sovereign and the shifting role of the crown. In Upper Canada and Ontario, there were a great many features in common with royal sentiment in the mother country, but there were also important differences which reflected the impact of local

events and conditions. Before Ontario's proverbial affections for Queen Victoria can be gauged from the existing literature, it is necessary to examine the research of historians who have traced the relationship between the crown and the cultivation of allegiance in Great Britain, a phenomenon that began in the latter half of the eighteenth century with King George III (1738-1820).

Linda Colley, leaning towards a more traditional approach to historiography, has studied the cultural and political formation of the British nation from the eighteenth century to the accession of Queen Victoria. She argues that the "apotheosis" of George III, beginning at his accession in 1760, and accelerating after the mid-1780s, was integral to the "state nationalization of nationalism," whose "chief beneficiary ... was the king." "Since Britain was great," suggests Colley, "her rulers must also be seen to be so." The rise of royal ceremonial, the institution of new orders of chivalry, and the sponsorship of national artistic and architectural endeavours were included among the transformations which "identif[ied] the monarchy with national achievement and visible splendour." King George's project for the revival of the monarchy, intended to appeal to tradition and past glories, "was part of the conservative reaction to the American, and still more the French Revolution."[41]

Social changes also had their impact on the nature of commemoration in Britain. By the 1790s, lodges, friendly societies, and volunteer regiments, animating the masculine quest for hierarchy, order and colourful ceremony, posed a significant presence in local processions and special services commemorating royal events.[42] The growth of the new industrial bourgeoisie, the spread of Methodism, and the rising influence of the Evangelicals within the Church of England were instrumental in stimulating a reformation in manners and morals throughout society.[43] Reflecting a new emphasis on respectability, local celebrations of loyalty shifted from the customary popular feasts with their "riotous excesses" towards activities fostering civic pride. Nationalist discourse also became suffused with the language

of the church. Thus the expression "national *anthem*," coined sometime after the turn of the nineteenth century, followed the fortunes of "God Save the King" which gained ascendancy over "Rule Britannia" to become the recognized state hymn by 1820. Colley also draws attention to the "propaganda sermon," a vehicle of "clerical extravagance" which "accentuated the conflation of royal and patriotic with religious terminology." Amplifying the king's virtues and his role as caring husband and father, the religious hyperbole of the pulpit crossed into the secular press where the monarchical morality text evolved. The "apotheosis" of George III thus followed the contours of Britain's political, religious, and social topography between 1760 and 1820.[44]

The representation of the monarchy was subject to the destabilizing effects wrought by the personality, the behaviour, and the perceived moral character of the incumbent monarch. George III descended into incompetence during the last decade of his life.[45] His son, George IV, a profligate whose dissolute behaviour was public knowledge, reigned from 1820 until his death in 1830. In his biography of Queen Victoria, Giles St. Aubyn notes that during the regency period, he was called "the first bounder in Europe, vain as a peacock, false to his friends and remorseless to those who had offended him." George IV was succeeded by his brother, William IV (1765-1837). Although more attentive to the affairs of state, William was often "ill-tempered and partisan," and perceived by many as a buffoon.[46]

The monarchy was at a low ebb when Victoria succeeded to the throne in 1837. "[T]he whole country delighted in welcoming their new Queen, whose innocence compared so favourably with the sordid lives of her uncles," comments St. Aubyn.[47] Queen Victoria restored a sense of dignity and propriety to the office of constitutional monarchy, but as her reign progressed, she increasingly came to assume the role of a social monarch, the exemplary head of British society, including the emigrant colonies scattered throughout the empire. At the heart of the Victorian worldview lay the images of a sentimentalized nuclear family.[48]

The queen and the royal family stood as the ideals of social order. A comment on the domestic function of the monarchy by Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), the nineteenth-century expositor on the British constitution, is important in understanding British and Canadian responses to Queen Victoria.

> We have come to regard the Crown as the head of our *morality*. The virtues of Queen Victoria and the virtues of George III have sunk deep into the popular heart. We have come to believe that it is natural to have a virtuous sovereign, and that the domestic virtues are as likely to be found on thrones as they are eminent when there.[49]

The virtues of middle-class respectability conveyed by the images of Queen Victoria and her family have attracted the attention of historians who have been influenced by the tradition of Marxist historiography and social control theory which gained prominence in Britain, especially from the 1960s. Thus, in his study of the Golden Jubilee in 1887, Thomas Richards depicts Victoria as the "semiotic lodestone" of her "commodification" during the event. "All the pomp and circumstance of the Empire could do nothing to conceal the fact that the Queen was a domesticated monarch whose public image resided not in the trappings of the upper class but in the middle-class ethos of frugality, self-denial, hard work, and civic responsibility."[50] The symbols of ancient, patrician sovereignty were partly absorbed by the entrepreneurial spirit as exemplified by the trade in royal souvenirs. Among the hundreds of tacky items calculated to subvert the lofty intentions of the jubilee organizers, notes Arnstein, were "teapots in the shape of the Queen's head with the lid shaped like a crown, and automatic musical jubilee bustles that played 'God Save the Queen' whenever the wearer sat down."[51] Such "manufactured signs of dominance" may have robbed the royal spectacle of some of its solemn dignity, but paradoxically, consumerism may have played a role in galvanizing the royal charisma which triumphed over the disillusionment with a reclusive queen who was now emerging from a long and lugubrious state of mourning.[52]

David Cannadine argues that the construction of loyalty to the monarchical state

through royal ceremonial must be understood contextually. In a 1981 paper, Cannadine and Elizabeth Hammerton compared the social control model with functionalism in the light of historical evidence from the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in Cambridge, England.[53] Originating with Émile Durkheim, the functionalist school holds that commemoration is a form of communal representation through which ritual and ceremonial occasions symbolically recreate the religious beliefs of the society. The Diamond Jubilee would be an instance of a society's need to reaffirm "at regular intervals the collective sentiments and collective ideas which make its unity and personality." Most of Durkheim's observations pertain to aboriginal societies and might appear to be irrelevant to modern nations composed of competing sub-cultures and marked by class conflict.[54]

In striking contrast to the consensual model, Hammerton and Cannadine point to social control theories, for example, that of Steven Lukes, who maintains that political celebration is well-organized propaganda designed to secure allegiance to the symbolic representations of the state.[55] Consensus is constructed and illusory, and conflict is unavoidable. Thus the Diamond Jubilee met with opposition from the Irish who expressed their hostility in riots and anti-ritual parades in Dublin, and with the well-articulated objections of Keir Hardie, the Scottish and Independent Labour Party leader.[56] However, Hammerton and Cannadine concede that with respect to the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in Cambridge, "the consensus and conflictual theories stubbornly and paradoxically remain complementary rather than mutually exclusive, with each partially supported but neither entirely proven." The local commemorations reflected a genuine affection for the queen and the monarchical system, but their performance also required the necessary "mobilization of bias" and the resolution of conflict among various groups. Stressing the necessity for contextual analysis, the authors insist that a full understanding of ceremonial and political rituals must be examined over time in order to "display the links and connexions" between various, and sometimes competing,

groups in society.[57]

In a subsequent article, Cannadine suggested that the meanings conveyed through royal ritual have been conditioned by political, social, and technological changes in Britain and elsewhere.[58] State ceremonial necessarily carries different meanings to succeeding generations. The past, seen and heard through the performances of national ritual, is re-conceptualized as the invention of tradition, and celebrations such as the Victorian jubilees are seen as the instrumentalities of ideological hegemony—the theatre of the ruling classes. From this perspective, the symbolic structures of ceremony and monarchical discourse become secondary to the immediate motives and decisions of the state and the governing élites.

More recently, feminist and postmodernist critics have added their own insights to the corpus of historical research on the cultural construction of royal imagery during the reign of Queen Victoria. Writing on the opening years of Victoria's reign, Dorothy Thompson remarks that "[Victoria's] youth and gender were probably ... important symbols of hope for her subjects, and helped to reconcile many to traditional monarchical loyalties which, it should be remembered, included a strong folk memory—perhaps more a mythology—of good times for England under previous women rulers, from Boadicea through Good Queen Bess to Queen Anne."[59]

The myth of the female ruler may have concealed what Thompson identifies as an "odd contradiction." During the period "in which the doctrine of separate spheres of activity for men and women was most actively developed and propounded, the highest public office in the land was held by a woman." The exploitation of the queen's femininity and maternity served to depoliticize the crown. By magnifying the aura of virtue and maternal devotion surrounding Victoria, statesmen, journalists, clergymen and others diminished the monarchy's perceived political power and reinforced Bagehot's description of it as the dignified component of the constitution.[60]

Thompson's study implicitly links gender to biology, as something inextricably bound to maleness or, in this case, femaleness. Other feminist critics on the Victorian monarchy have cut the umbilical cord between biology and gender.[61] Construing the latter as socially constructed, they assert that patriarchal hegemony cannot be understood apart from the interrelationships among gender, sexuality, class and politics. A recent and significant contribution has been made by Margaret Homans. She suggests that both popular and officially commissioned royal family portraiture, which represented the queen and her family as thoroughly "middle-class, domestic, and patriotic," simultaneously limited both female and monarchical political power, while expanding the sovereign's "symbolic power and ideological influence."[62] It is well to recall that the functions of the monarchy, the dignified part of the British constitution, as Bagehot understood it, was theatre, and to deliver a solid performance meant that the actor had to be, not to seem to be. Homans' analysis of Bagehot's idea of royalty as a disguise, or a concealment, focuses on the latter's concern about his representation of the monarchy as misrepresentation.[63] Homans is referring to Bagehot's unease with the fiction of power made manifest in royal spectacle. Published works on Victoria amplified the illusion by endowing the queen's passive, feminine virtues, and her domestic role as wife, widow and mother with potency in the arena of public discourse. Divesting the sovereign of any meaningful political control created a power vacuum in the institution of the crown. Into the void rushed virtue's might, in this case with a "countenance angelical," to borrow an expression from Coventry Patmore's poem *The Angel in the House* (1854-63), an ode to woman's superior virtues.[64]

Feminist studies on the symbolism and imagery of the queen suggest that the female sovereign crystallized popular acceptance of the organic conception of the state and society. If ceremony and royalist propaganda were tools constructed in the interests of the nineteenth-century ruling classes, they had to exhibit a rational purpose in the order of things. Thus the

"patriotic mystique" surrounding the royal family, argues Simon Schama, required that "the institution should be seen to be the family of families, at once dynastic and domestic, remote and accessible, magic and mundane."[65] Schama's remark is in phase with the primary vector of feminist studies. Both point towards a *mentalité* suggestive of organicism, a *Weltanschauung* which can be discerned in the development of Western civilization, including mediaeval Christendom. Daniel Elazar notes that "the organic model views civil society as the product of a kind of organic evolution from families, clans, tribes, and villages in which larger political institutions, constitutional relationships, and power alignments emerge in response to past precedents and changing circumstances, usually with a minimum of constitutional choice." An organic community is predominantly past-oriented, leans towards tradition and is deeply conscious of its cultural inheritance, sees the polis as rooted in nature, and commonly finds self-affirmation in discursive modes favouring familial and hierarchical arrangements in the political and social orders. With reference to nineteenth-century England, Elazar argues that "a purely organic understanding of the English people and polity" triumphed over the eighteenth-century synthesis of organic and federal, or covenantal, ideas, the latter having been formulated in Puritan thought during the seventeenth century.[66]

The Monarchy in Upper Canada-Ontario from George III to Queen Victoria

The critical reflections on British royalty and the development of its images and ceremonial forms from the time of George III provide a necessary *tableau vivant* against which one can observe both the commonalities as well as the unique differences peculiar to the manifestations of loyalty to the sovereign in Upper Canada and late Victorian Ontario. Canadian historians have largely neglected to address directly the matter of monarchy in colonial and national life. However, there is a body of literature, most of it written from traditional political and cultural perspectives, which casts some light on the nature and formation of loyalty in Upper Canada. Historians such as S. F. Wise, David Mills and Jane

Errington have shown in some depth how the cultivation of loyalty in Upper Canada, which included the rituals of royalist homage, became the ornamental insignia of allegiance to a conservative provincial oligarchy. Fostering a cult of loyalty to England and her sovereigns was pursued as a necessary passion by the Upper Canadian élite who were quite conscious of their vulnerability in a land-locked colony which had been populated by American settlers in the early years of its existence. Tracing its origins to Loyalist refugees, the oligarchic, Tory political culture of early Upper Canada aimed, in the words of S. F. Wise, "to build a hierarchical social, religious, and political order in the province."[67] David Mills has argued that the Family Compact's narrow concept of loyalty evolved by mid-century "from an exclusive to an assimilative character" appropriate to "a developing middle-class political system." Although moderate Tories and Reformers eventually achieved an "ideological consensus" in which loyalty "became a broad, accommodating concept," at its centre lay the prime symbol of order—the crown, represented by the reigning monarch.[68]

Jane Errington claims that Upper Canadian perceptions of King George III appear to have been coloured by political and class differences. For the early colony's *hoi polloi* allegiance to the monarch was problematic, with "many residents" possibly being "if not antagonistic ... at least apathetic to the pro-British stance of their leaders." On the other hand, the colonial ruling class viewed the sovereign as the cynosure of the British state, but the king held different connotations for the indigenous leadership, on the one hand, and for the British governing officials on the other.[69] The stylized discourse, in letters or sermons for example, was often penned by prominent Loyalists such as Richard Cartwright,[70] or by British immigrants such as John Strachan. These men attached great symbolic significance to King George, and imagined him as their father figure and protector during and after the tumult of the American and French Revolutions. In contrast, the British administrators knew and understood the king as "a very real person," and their conceptions of the monarch were

nurtured in the social and political realities of Britain. Although the panegyric persisted through the regency period and beyond, its meaning tended to shift with the passage of time. Following the death of the supreme magistrate in 1820, Errington comments that "King George IV was not, and never would be, able to evoke the kind of personal commitment which the loyalists had given his father.... George IV could only be a symbol of the empire, a rallying cry for loyalism and for the continuance of Upper Canada as a British colony." Errington's analysis is too brief to draw any firm conclusions, but her analysis suggests that the indigenous Upper Canadian leadership conflated the monarchy with the person of a highly idealized, and thereby idolized, reigning sovereign, an observation which parallels Colley's assessment of the British transformations in the image of King George III.[71]

There remains a lacuna in the historiography of British North American perceptions of the monarchy. Little is known about Upper Canadian attitudes towards George IV (1820-1830) and William IV (1830-1837), two unpopular kings who brought the monarchy into disrepute.[72] Any sound understanding of loyalty to the crown in Upper Canada and Ontario must begin by recovering a perspective on the annual rituals pertaining to the birthday of the reigning sovereign. The yearly commemoration is an important key to understanding the formation of Ontario's perennial affection for England's monarch. With the exception of Errington's observations for early Upper Canada, and brief examinations by Alan Greer and Cecilia Morgan of the gendered languages, diffused throught the polemics of the Lower and Upper Canadian rebels in 1837, the chronology must depend on primary sources, most from the late nineteenth century.

The ritual can be traced to the military origins of the colony in the late eighteenth century. King George III was born on 4 June 1738 (N.S.) and in early Upper Canada, as Errington has noted, the birthday of the sovereign was celebrated by the British military units who paraded in review at the forts, and by the local militias who were mustered for the

occasion. "The day was an occasion for rejoicing, at home, in church, and undoubtedly for a great many, in the local taverns," she adds. The military and civic celebrations survived the death of the king in 1820, their continuance perhaps owing something to the good fortune that the next three royal birthdays occurred on 12 August, 21 August, and 24 May (George IV, William IV, and Victoria, respectively), particularly opportune dates with respect to the seasons of British North America.[73]

The development of the queen's birthday from 1838 must be set against the political turmoil of the Canadian colonies during the previous months. When Princess Victoria was informed of her regal station in the early hours of 20 June 1837, Upper and Lower Canada were about to explode in open rebellion against their British governors. A previous generation of Canadian historians, writing from traditional political, socio-cultural, or later social control perspectives, seldom, if ever, addressed the question of monarchy and the young queen in the discourse of rebellion. In his study of the revolt in Lower Canada, Alan Greer has shown that radical attacks on the queen often deployed the language of obscenity. Republican political thought, partly following Rousseau, ennobled woman's domestic role. Any departure from the private sphere of home was considered to be a subversion of the natural order, and intrusions into the civic realm by a woman were subject to innuendos of sexual immorality.[74] Similarly, Cecilia Morgan, a feminist historian, who has examined some of the royalist ephemera from the Upper Canadian rebellion, claims that the femininity of the young Queen Victoria became a contested site in the violent struggle for the control of the colony. While the conservative press had nothing but "accolades for the young and virtuous queen," states Morgan, rebel venom sometimes stooped to scurrilous attacks on Victoria's character. W. L. Mackenzie overturned the nascent language which portrayed Victoria as the mother of her people when he pointed to the irony of a maternal love that cruelly subjugated the colonial populace. Such oppression, Morgan comments, was seen to be

"[t]he logical outcome when femininity was allied with monarchical power—neither Victoria nor her representative [i.e., Sir Francis Bond Head] could personify either true maternal caring or honest 'manly' justice." By challenging the character and virtues of the Queen, the symbol of political legitimacy, the rebel press sought to "undermine British moral authority and [Victoria's] claim to colonial dominion."[75]

As one might expect, the first queen's birthday in 1838 was very much a celebration of victory over Mackenzie's ill-fated revolt, but the feeling of triumph was tempered by fear and uncertainty posed by the actions of the Hunters' Lodges and other patriot groups on the American side of the border.[76] In May 1901, shortly before the first Victoria Day, Edward Copping, the building inspector for Toronto, was interviewed for an article in the *Toronto Star* on the history of the queen's birthday. Copping recalled the celebrations held in the town in 1838. The procession included the volunteer fire brigades who were sidetracked by a storm and took temporary refuge in a hotel where they indulged in a bit of mischief prior to rejoining the parade. Among the various festivities was a woman walking a tight rope.[77] These recollections indicate that civil celebrations, with their predilection for the carnival or the burlesque, were starting to compete with the military reviews and the more respectable processions to the churches. Of more interest is Copping's reference to the evening demonstration of loyalty expected by the populace.

> The illumination rule that night was that each window pane should reflect a separate candle light; if it didn't, anyone was at liberty to smash it with a stone. Loyalty to the Queen was measurable the next morning by the number of broken window panes in each house in Toronto.[78]

Although the report was dependent on personal memory, Copping's recollections illustrate how the celebrations for the sovereign's birthday could change in response to the context of social necessity and contemporary demands.

In 1845, the union government declared 24 May a holiday for its own officials.[79] In Toronto, up to 1848, the celebrations generally began with a morning salute from a brass

cannon, sometimes the main event of the day. During the early months of 1848, revolutions exploded across Europe. The Chartist demonstrations in London and the Young Ireland rising in Dublin, compounded by the Irish famine, threatened the peace of the realm. As W. L. Morton noted, "British North America ... was by no means immune to the revolutionary contagion, or to the influence of revolutionary ideas."[80] While destitute and sick Irish immigrants poured into Upper Canada, the old Tory hegemony collapsed with the triumph of the Reformers in the winter elections of 1847-48, an event heralding the birth of responsible government.[81] However, the symbols of the old loyalties did not give way so easily. In the spring of 1848, the Toronto city council acquiesced to a petition and numerous letters requesting a holiday with civic celebrations on 24 May. A half-holiday was declared, but one year later, following serious riots in Montreal over the Rebellion Losses Bill, a full holiday was proclaimed in Toronto. Tory street politics gave way to street theatre.[82]

The Crimean War (1854-1856) also stirred Toronto's loyal hearts, and undoubtedly those of most Upper Canadians,[83] but it also created an economic incentive for the development and expansion of the colonial railroads.[84] Perhaps hastened by the advent of train and steamer excursions, the queen's birthday, celebrated as a day of leisure, spread across the province. The processions and the military parades to the churches did not disappear. Rather, they were effectively ensconced in the religious discourse of loyalty. By mid-century the popularity of the queen's birthday had long since cut across the class lines of Upper Canada's cultural life. In 1867, a provincial statute declared 24 May a public holiday, and the spring royal fête was officially anchored in the hearts and minds of loyal Ontarians.[85] During the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century many commentators were conscious of the fact that the holiday was one of the important boundary conditions of loyalty to the monarchy. Newspaper editors were not unmindful of the fact that commemorations were partly contingent on the season, as exemplified by a writer in the Toronto *Globe* who, in a

lighthearted vein, remarked that "Her Majesty" was born "at exactly the right date," adding that "[n]o potentate of any January can ever be so affectionately regarded as our good and dear old Queen of May."[86]

The tradition of celebrating the queen's birthday in Ontario was thus a product of habit and accident, but it was shaped by political and social changes, some of which threatened the security of the relationship with Great Britain. The attachment of the populace to the motherland and the willingness to resist American annexation spiked during periods of turmoil. An evolving affection for Queen Victoria manifested itself in a distinctive type of civic commemoration, an annual ritual of leisure and Sunday piety which had evolved out of an older military tradition dating to the eighteenth century.

Although still a significant figure in the ornamental features of Ontario's urban landscape, Queen Victoria remains an enigma in terms of cultural, and even of political history. Robert Stamp, in a popular work on monarchism in Canada, concludes his chapter on Victoria and the Confederation era with the rather jejune comment that the "Governor General, and behind him the Queen ... serve[d] as symbols of unity" in a land still driven by the "divisive forces of race, religion, and region."[87] Ged Martin, the historian of Canadian constitutional history, says little more with his claim that "nineteenth century Canada ... was a society which defined itself against its American neighbors in royal terms, putting the Queen's face on its stamps and the Queen's name on its maps."[88]

In the years between the mid-1960s and the 1970s, several Canadian historians began to examine the rise and nature of imperialism in Canada, and their influential studies cast a much-needed light on loyalty in English Canada during the late Victorian era. Written from the vantage point of traditional historical narrative, the works of Norman Penlington, Carl Berger, and additional insights offered by Robert Page, Terry Cook, more recently David Mills and others, have greatly expanded the knowledge of imperialism and its ideals in the

closing years of Queen Victoria's reign. With the exception of Mills, most of these studies arrived at a time when the triumph of liberal nationalism and the introduction of the red maple leaf flag signalled the collapse of the old order and its pan-Britannic affections. Commenting on the enthusiasm surrounding the Diamond Jubilee, Norman Penlington claims that "defiance of the Olney doctrine," referring to Richard Olney, the American secretary of state who belligerently threatened Britain during the Venezuelan crisis, was "implicit in proclamations of loyalty to the Queen—a defiance that coloured and heightened much of the other enthusiasm." Added to this factor was the general "veneration for the institution of monarchy," and Canadians' "heart-felt enthusiasm" for the Queen.[89] In his study of Canadian imperialism, Carl Berger surveyed some of the tracts surviving from the celebrations of 1887 and 1897, and wrote that "[t]o read one Jubilee speech is to know the whole genre," an observation that must be qualified by the results of this present study.[90]

In a 1982 thesis on the Diamond Jubilee in Winnipeg, Thomas Dickens, arguing from social control theory, claims that the "jubilee organizers were obsessed with using the jubilee as a means of upholding ... their traditional cultural sentiments and ideas, centred in the British nation, the monarchy, and the empire." The Protestant churches, the spiritual handmaidens to the imperial enterprise, played a major role. Dickens stresses that "[i]mperialism, militarism, and Christianity, so inextricably related in philosophical objectives ... came together markedly in the participating churches." Dickens casts no light on the content of the sermons, but notes in passing that "[l]ike the Church of England, the Presbyterians were very strong advocates of the imperial idea ... [but] they were not so fanatical about its jingoistic features as their Anglican counterparts."[91]

Recently, Karen Stanworth, using the new postmodernist critique, challenges the illusory universalism of the Diamond Jubilee in Quebec City by deconstructing the images of a bilingual souvenir booklet prepared for the event. At best, Stanworth succeeds in demon-

strating that French Canada, and Quebec City in particular, were asserting their distinctive self-definitions in juxtaposition to imperial realities.[92]

On the basis of this literature review on loyalty and monarchy in Upper Canada and Victorian Ontario, it seems reasonably apparent that historical-cultural analyses of the monarchy and the place of the reigning sovereign in the hearts and minds of the provincial populace have been sorely neglected. Much of the royalist discourse drew upon the legacy of subordination to, and reverence for, constituted authority, the mystique of the Victorian family, and pride in the empire and in one's racial kith and kin. The Anglican and Methodist clergy, as Cannadine would argue, responded to the contexts of the celebratory occasions, but much is to be gained by studying the respective narratives of loyalty as affirmations of religious identity and tradition.

Although this present study draws upon the insights of the various historical traditions, including feminist and postmodernist critiques, it derives its theoretical perspective from the concept of collective memory, pioneered by Maurice Halbwachs during the first half of the twentieth century.[93] Halbwachs, following Durkheim, believed that memory is the basis of social and political order, but he was also conscious of the fact that communal pasts are not especially reliable repositories of historical reality. This study draws much of its theoretical inspiration from David Lowenthal, whose reflective survey *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) is based on the premise that the imagined past is an "artifact of the present." In the nineteenth century, history was a harbinger of the present, a repository of lessons through which the nation, communities, or sub-cultural groups could draw inspiration and guidance for the future. Lowenthal discusses several benefits attributed to shared affirmations of a real or imagined past. Among these are *validation*, *identity*, and *guidance*, all of them linked through the property of *continuity*. "The past," he says, "validates present attitudes and actions by affirming their resemblance to former ones." Thus historical precedent "legit-

imates" present existence and its structures. Communal identity is also dependent on a consciousness of history and time. Lowenthal states that "to recall and identify with our own past gives existence meaning, purpose, and value." An adopted history is also "invoked for the lessons it teaches," says Lowenthal, adding that the instructive nature of formal history "continued to suffuse European thought through the nineteenth century." The study of history was believed to be "morally elevating," teaching "manners, prudence, patriotism, statecraft, virtue, religion, wisdom."[94] A prescriptive mode of historical explanation was justified by constant reference to the present.

Communities possessing a well-defined identity are conscious of their descent. "Continuity" represents "the sense of enduring succession." Diachrony, "the endurance of the past in the present," invests memory with meaning. In late Victorian Ontario, the sense of continuity gave order and direction to the vector of progress. The historical vignettes appearing in the monarchical discourse are decidedly Whiggish, but in the case of the church literature the Whig theory of history is complemented by the traditional language of biblical providentialism. Particular pasts validated the contemporary situations and collective understandings of Anglicans and Methodists.[95]

When history and its material reminders validate the present, affirm identity, or offer guidance, the past is given structure and order. Cognitive reasoning prevails over emotion. However, the past can also act affectively, controlling or influencing feeling more than reason. Antiquarian history is romantic, and its emotive effects can be powerful. Lowenthal has observed that "antiquity's chief use is to root credentials in the past." The ancient is composed of four distinct qualities which he identifies as "precedence, remoteness, the primordial, and the primitive." "*Precedence*" (italics in original) "evinces the concern to demonstrate a heritage, a lineage, a claim that antedates others." "*Remoteness* ... enhances the mystique of the very ancient past," and "also purifies, shifting the older past from the

personal to the communal realm." "The *primordial*, focused on origins rather than on ancientness, reflects a concern with roots" and "[t]he *primitive* promises a supposed innocence and purity unspoilt by later sophistication." These seductive charms, which identify the old with the good, are particularly evident among some of the immigrant clergy in the Church of England in Ontario. Their views of the mother country were coloured by nostalgia, by images of ancient landscapes and religious sites, sometimes associated with personal memories of their youth. Both the perceived benefits and the affective attributes of the past, the first associated with cognitive reasoning, and the second with the affective qualities of romantic antiquity, are types of extrinsic or conscious memory, akin to Aristotle's idea of *anamnesis*.[96]

Royal commemoration in late Victorian Ontario released layers of historic religious thought and ecclesiastical traditions. These inchoate habits of the heart and mind had shaped the identities of the churches. In this sense, the past tended to act covertly, and is similar to the concept of intrinsic memory, or *mneme* in Aristotle's formulation. Whether memory is overt or covert, the royal celebrations point the way towards establishing connections between religious identity and the fundamental ordering symbol of the state—the crown, represented by Queen Victoria.

By examining monarchism in Ontario in terms of the interaction between cultural memory and the political, social, and intellectual contexts of the Golden and Diamond jubilees, it is hoped to avoid some of the pitfalls associated with theories of hegemony. Gertrude Himmelfarb warns that "the 'social control' thesis ... can be neither proved nor refuted, since any empirical fact can be interpreted in accord with it."[97] A grand unifying theory in history can be the beacon of either the muse or the siren, an inspiration or an enchantress. In the latter case, the historian might cling to theory for the same reason that the proverbial late-night drunkard leans on a lamppost—for support, but not for illumination. Of

course, a similar danger lies with an approach based on the idea of collective memory. However, in adopting an eclectic approach, the present work attempts to be critical without being excessively dogmatic. Finally, as an exploratory study the interpretations and conclusions should be accepted with caution.

Anglicans and Methodists in Upper Canada-Ontario: the Literature

The relevant aspects of the historical and theological foundations of the Church of England and Methodism, especially with regard to Upper Canada and Ontario, are discussed in some depth in the following chapter. There exists a large corpus of older works, principally by British and some American authors on the history of Anglicanism, and on the Wesleys and the birth and development of Methodism. The fourth edition of Stephen Neill's *Anglicanism* (1978), Moorman's corrected edition of *History of the Church in England* (1958), and the Sykes and Booty collection of papers under the title *Study of Anglicanism* (1988) were useful for the introductory historical survey of the Church of England. Many other works were consulted, including Owen Chadwick's histories of the Victorian Church and his studies of the Oxford Movement.

Many twentieth-century historians have probed into the origins and nature of Methodism in England. E. R. Taylor's *Methodism & Politics* (1935) and Maldwyn Edwards' *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century*, revised (1955), are useful introductions to the inner soul of Wesley and his movement. British Marxist historiography from the 1960s began to explore the relationships between evangelicalism and the industrial revolution. E. P. Thompson, in his *Making of the English Working Class* (1963), although unsympathetic to Wesley and his movement, explored the connections between the organizational strengths of the Methodist societies and their spread among the working-classes and artisans. Bernard Semmel's *Methodist Revolution* (1973) is an argument for the liberal, progressive nature of Methodism, which also disavowed violence as a means to social and political ends. Paul Chilcote's *John*

Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism (1991) reflects the impact of feminist and postmodernist approaches to religious history. Of more importance for this study has been Henry Rack's *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (1989), a critical study with valuable insights into Wesley and his movement.

Much of the comparative analysis of the two churches has been informed by recent works on the Anglican and evangelical Protestant cultures of Upper Canada and post-Confederation Ontario. The thesis has quoted from John Moir and John Webster Grant, Canadian church historians who have made contributions to denominational and religious history from traditional documentary perspectives. While there is a body of academic serial literature and some dissertations, there is a dearth of critical published works on the Church of England in Canada and Ontario. One exception is Curtis Fahey's *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada* (1991), important for its fresh and detailed examination of the development of the Church, of important personages such as John Strachan, and of the gains and problems associated with the rise of the Oxford Movement.

William Westfall's *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (1989), and Michael Gauvreau's *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (1991) are invaluable additions to the history of religion and culture, and the intellectual crises of Protestantism in nineteenth-century Upper Canada and late Victorian Ontario. The analysis of the monarchical narratives of the Anglicans and the Methodists reflect the intellectual roots and changes examined by these scholars. The effects of an incipient social gospel discourse, stirring within Ontario Methodism in the late Victorian era, can be better understood in the light of Ramsay Cook's *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (1985), and David Marshall's *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (1992). The arguments of these authors focus on the gradual desacralization of

Protestant Christianity as the various churches and religious spokesmen tried to cope with unsettling intellectual changes. The Methodist discourse of loyalty during the jubilees reflected the adoption of a pietistic language of social redemption, a rhetoric which was inconsistent with the traditional pieties applied in the imagery of Queen Victoria. The argument of this thesis follows that of Cook and Marshall, who observe a gradual deconsecration of the faith in the actions of the reformers. Marguerite Van Die's *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (1989), and Phyllis Airhart's *Serving the Present Age* (1992) also offer valuable insights into the transformations in the Methodist tradition. Finally, Neil Semple's *The Lord's Dominion* (1996), an encyclopedic survey of Methodist history in Canada, while not an especially critical study, has proven to be an extremely useful reference tool for this thesis.

Methodology and Organization of the Thesis

Although the research involved a review of collections at the National Archives, the Public Archives of Ontario, at church repositories in Toronto and Ottawa, and in local history centres, the most useful material is found in published literature, primarily newspapers and journals, in the latter case, both secular and sacred. In addition, considerable time was spent in reading ephemeral documents including souvenir booklets, pamphlets and books. Over seventy daily and weekly newspapers across Ontario were surveyed from the spring of 1887 until the weeks surrounding the first Victoria Day celebrated in 1901. In the case of the jubilees in 1887 and 1897, following the newspaper accounts for the period extending from February to July helped to reveal the context of the celebrations and conveyed some idea of the sense of anticipation leading up to these commemorations. By surveying the years between 1887 and 1901, changes in popular attitudes towards the Queen and the institution of monarchy could be detected and analyzed.

Although a large number of sermons (over 200) plus various articles were collected

from the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches covering the period from May 1887 to May 1901, only a very small fraction of these were examined in order to keep the thesis within manageable proportions. However, the sources are representative of a range of thought within the Anglican and Methodist churches. Published sermons are the backbone of the thesis, but their interpretation poses peculiar difficulties. The content of a sermon is dependent on many factors, not the least of which might be a special event involving guest groups assembled for the occasion. Pulpit reflections on the monarchy were not central to practical ministry which sought to encourage Christians in their faith. Within each communion could be heard a cacophony of political and theological voices, and the clergy had to balance their biases against the traditional needs of their parishes and congregations. The late nineteenth-century custom of publishing Sunday sermons in Monday's paper may have fostered a measure of self-censorship, forcing the clergy to walk the narrow path of conservative, middle-class expectations.[98] With few exceptions, sermons, whether in summary form or in full text, were generally filtered through local correspondents, who often left summaries or brief outlines, but in some cases either reported the sermon verbatim, or gave a very detailed account of its content. It is vital to realize that patriotic sermons were expressions of vernacular memory. They were intended to link the religious identity of the communicants to the wider culture and thereby engage the listeners in a process of communal- and self-affirmation.

References to Leviticus 25, the Hebrew jubilee, in the Anglican and Methodist sermons from the Golden and Diamond Jubilee commemorations are very infrequent, and were not given any elaboration in the newspapers. Of the eighteen Anglican sermons, including summaries and reports, recovered for the Golden Jubilee, only three mentioned the ancient Jewish festival of restoration, and the evidence, sparse as it is, indicates that a concept of celebratory rejoicing was read into the biblical texts with the intention of glorifying the

queen's accession and her reign. There are no hints that the Levitical texts were to be interpreted in terms of social or political justice. Of eleven Methodist sermons from 1887, only one made reference, with no elaboration, to the Hebrew celebration. During the Diamond Jubilee, the frequency of referrals to Leviticus 25 seems to have decreased. Of twenty-five Anglican sermons recovered, only one mention was made, again with apparent reference to the restoration of the monarchy under Queen Victoria. Among twenty Methodist sermons, only one pastor drew upon this theme, but the report is lacking any information. The clergy, even the Methodists, were either oblivious to, or conveniently avoided, the radical implications of the Levitical and related texts, perhaps seeing them as subversive of their intent to cultivate loyalty to the queen and the empire.

The Bible was central to the life and faith of the Christian, and biblical interpretation lay at the heart of the Victorian clergyman's approach to the Sunday sermon. Clerics would seldom cite scripture in ignorance of a critical awareness of its theological context in the canon of either the Old or the New Testament. From the creation accounts in Genesis to the Apocalypse of John, the Bible was perceived as a unified revelation of God to mankind, first to Israel and then to the new Israel, the church established under the second Adam, Jesus, the Christ. The New Testament, as Northrop Frye has described it, was viewed as "the key to the Old Testament, the explanation of what the Old Testament really means." Biblical interpretation very much depended on typology, the mode of reasoning by which certain events or prophecies in the Old Testament foreshadowed their fulfilment in the New. Thus, notes Frye, "Paul speaks in Romans 5:14 of Adam as a *typos* [a type] of Christ." In this example, Christ, representing the new creation is the *antitype* of Adam. Typology is a study in rhetoric and figures of speech, but it functions by integrating sacred time, and by cementing the intrinsic unity of scripture. Typology was easily extended beyond the Bible into doctrinal theology. Frye's comments are particularly insightful at this point. "This structure

of doctrine became ... the compulsory means of understanding the Bible; and so, as Cardinal [John Henry] Newman remarked in the nineteenth century, the function of the Bible, for the Church, came to be not to teach doctrine but to prove or illustrate it." Thus, "the doctrines of Christian theology form the antitypes of which the stories and maxims of the Bible, including those of the New Testament, are types."[99] Late Victorian sermons extended this mode of reasoning by envisioning the pan-Britannic nation as the new Israel, and the Anglo-Saxon race as God's providential gift of the second chosen people.

The clergy had access to an expanding body of historical and contemporary tools consisting of specialized dictionaries, encyclopedias, concordances, critical textual aids, and exegetical works on every book, chapter, verse and word in the holy scriptures. A range of biblical commentaries, some purely devotional, and others intended to advance scholarly understanding of the Bible and the ancient world, were augmented by homiletical commentary series whose markets were the libraries of the seminaries and theological colleges, and the private collections of the practicing clergyman. Although the *The Speaker's Commentary* (1871-1881), was an Anglican contribution, *The Pulpit Commentary* (ca. 1880-1919), *The Expositor's Bible* (1888-1905), and the *The Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary*, initiated ca. 1879, were representative of Anglican, Presbyterian and Wesleyan thought of the time. These series and others seldom strayed from either theological orthodoxy or traditional hermeneutical methodologies, including the typological mode of analysis, but their authors drew upon a wide range of British and European scholarship. The popular devotional and homiletic commentaries are reservoirs of Victorian ideology. Much more than tools with which to understand the Bible, these voluminous publications conveyed contemporary conceptions and prejudices on such matters as the nature and relations of men and women, the family, society, and the state. Anchoring the beliefs and norms of the age in the authority of the Bible, the commentaries were vehicles of intellectual and cultural transmission. Bridges

between the clergyman's study and the Sunday morning pulpit, they cannot be ignored in the interpretation of the sermon literature surviving in newspapers and other sources from the period.

In the organization of the thesis, chapter one examines the relevant historical and theological foundations of the Church of England and the Methodist Church, tracing the origins of authority and order in each tradition. Authority in the Anglican synthesis had divine origins, but its genesis and structure in the temporal sphere was located in the visible, external institutions of the state, represented by the fundamental symbols of order, the crown and the Church. The Methodists traditionally located authority in the inner spiritual life of the redeemed sinner, and all order—in the family, in society, and in the state—began in the internal disposition of the sanctified, Christian life. Chapter two compares Anglican and Methodist discourse during the queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887. The responses to the event are studied in relation to three categories of investigation—the external context and its effects on the pronouncements of the clergy in each church, an examination of the symbolic discourse of authority and order, and finally, an exploration of conceptions of power and gender as constructed in the distinctive images of Queen Victoria. Chapter three, on the Diamond Jubilee, first looks at the context, then explores the effects of the ideological, theological and symbolic parameters of authority, and the remainder of the chapter is devoted to an examination of the different visions on the nature and intent of the empire held by the two churches. The final chapter offers a summary of the study, and concludes that in late nineteenth-century Ontario, respect for Queen Victoria and the monarchy invigorated communal identities within two major churches of the time. Ontario's social and political cultures during the late Victorian era cannot be fully understood apart from the symbiotic interaction between collective memory and perceptions of the sovereign and her reign.

ENDNOTES

1.John S. Moir. *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, [1976]), 192.

2."In Toronto's Early Days," *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 May 1901, p. 9.

3."First Victoria Day in Canada Kept by Everyone, Everywhere," *Toronto World*, 25 May 1901, p. 1; "Victoria Day," *Globe* (Toronto), 24 May 1901, p. 4.

4.Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, vol. 1, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture (London: Verso, 1994), vii.

5.John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 13-18.

6.Mark S. Looker, "'God Save the Queen': Victoria's Jubilees and the Religious Press," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 21 (Fall 1988): [115], 119.

7.Giles St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 431-2.

8.Malcolm Chase, "From Millennium to Anniversary: The Concept of Jubilee in Late Eighteenth- and Ninteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 129 (November 1990): 133-46.

9.Walter Arnstein, "Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee," *American Scholar* 66 (Autumn 1999): 591-7.

10.John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1991), 88-90.

11.Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 120-4; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989; paperback ed., 1990), 164-90.

12.John Dillenberger, Claude Welch, *Protestant Christianity: Interpreted through its Development* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), 179-206.

13.Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), [3]-6.

14.Jeffrey L. Lant, "State or Semi-State," chap. in *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony and Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court* (New York: Taplinger, 1980), [150]-76.

15."Three Bylaws Carried," *Toronto World*, 15 April 1887, p. 1.

16."The Imperial Jubilee," *Evening Telegram* (Toronto), 12 June 1897, p. 4.

17.David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 137.

18.W. L. Morton, *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History From Earliest Times* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), 376, 379.

19.Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada*, 2d ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1957), 377-8.

20.Christopher Mack Agnew, "The Failure of the Imperial Idea in Canada" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1980), 50.

21.Modris Ecksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), 86.

22.Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 3, 5, 109.

23.Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3-4.

24.James Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 21-6.

25.Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 2-5, 10.

26.Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957), 209-13.

27.Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 37.

28.R. Ben Jones, *The Victorians: A Century of Achievement* (St.Albans, Eng.: Hart-Davis Educational, 1975), 197. See also Joseph Chamberlain, "The True Conception of Empire," in *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches*, ed. by Charles W. Boyd, vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 1-6.

29.Berger, *Sense of Power*, 116-9, 226-30. For a lengthier analysis see Carl Berger, "Race and Liberty: The Historical Ideas of Sir John George Bourinot," *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report* (1965): [87]-104.

30.John Webster Grant, *Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Ontario Historical Studies Series for the Government of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 235.

31.Berger, *Sense of Power*, 233-4.

32.H. von Srbik, *Metternich der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (1925), I, quoted in Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military*, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1959), 18.

33.Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant*, 169.

34.St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, 227-33.

35.Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant*, 167-8, 170.

36.Nico H. Frijda, "Commemorating," in *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, ed. by James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, Bernard Rimé (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 103-27.

37.*Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 4, 1989 ed., s.v. "deification," "divinization."

38.*Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, vol. 1, 1966 ed., s.v. "deification," "divinization."

39.Robert J. Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974), 20-5, 26.

40."Churches Packed to the Doors with Congregations of Mourners," *Evening Herald* (Stratford), 4 February 1901, p. 1.

41.Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820," *Past & Present*, 102 (February 1984): 106, 99, 100-2, 111.

42.Ibid., 118-9.

43.Catherine Hall, "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology," in *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), [75]-93. For a broader analysis of the changes with respect to private and public morality, see Maurice Quinlan, *Victorian Prelude: A History of English Manners 1700-1830* (London: Columbia University Press, 1941).

44.Colley, "Apotheosis of George III," 117, 120-1, 104.

45.Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R. I.* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), 17.

46.St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, 11, 62.

47.Ibid., 63.

48.Gertrude Himmelfarb, "Household Gods and Goddesses," chap. in *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995; Vintage Books, 1996), 53-87.

49.Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London: 1867; reprint, London: Collins; Fontana Library, 1963), 96. Also quoted in Himmelfarb, *De-Moralization of Society*, 55.

50.Thomas Richards, "The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee," *Victorian Studies* 31 (Autumn 1987): 10-13.

51.Arnstein, "Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee," 594.

52.Richards, "Image of Victoria," 28.

53.Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine, "Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897," *Historical Journal* 24:1 (1981): 111-46.

54.Émile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans by J. W. Swain (London: 1915; reprint, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 427.

55.Steven Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," chap. in *Essays in Social Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1977), [52]-73.

56.Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 393-7, 475. For Keir Hardie's objections to the Diamond Jubilee see Carolyn Stevens, "The Objections of 'Queer Hardie,' 'Lily Bell,' and the Suffragettes' Friend to Queen Victoria's Jubilee, 1897," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 21 (Fall 1988): 108-14. The text of Hardie's diatribe against the Jubilee was printed in the *Labour Leader* on June 19, 1897. For a reprint see Caroline Chapman & Paul Ruben, comps., *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees, 1887 & 1897* (New York: Viking; London: Debrett's Peerage Ltd., 1977), n.p.

57.Hammerton and Cannadine, "Conflict and Consensus," 144-5.

58.David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Canto, 1992), 101-64.

59.Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power* (London: Virago, [1990]), xix.

60.Ibid., xiv-xv, 138, 125-7.

61.See for example Randi Lee Davenport, "Imperial Mother: Victorian Motherhood and the Domestic Literature of Imperialism, 1847-1857" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1991); Virginia McKendry, "'Wife, Mother, and Queen...': Images of Queen Victoria in the Illustrated Press, 1841-1861" (M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993); Virginia McKendry, "The *Illustrated London News* and the Invention of Tradition," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 27 (Spring 1994).

62.Margaret Homans, "'To the Queen's Private Apartments': Royal Family Portraiture and the Construction of Victoria's Sovereign Obedience," *Victorian Studies* 37 (Autumn, 1993): 3.

63.Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 101-15.

64.Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1892; [1st ed., 1854-63]), [32].

65.Simon Schama, "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Summer 1986): 161.

66.Daniel J. Elazar, *Covenant and Commonwealth: From Christian Separation Through the Protestant Reformation*, vol. 2, *The Covenant Tradition in Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 40, 263-5.

67.S. F. Wise, "The Ontario Political Culture: A Study in Complexities," in *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, ed. and introd. by A. B. McKillop and Paul Romney (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 214-5.

68.Mills, *Idea of Loyalty*, 6, 134, 5, 7.

69.Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 29.

70.Mills, *Idea of Loyalty*, 15.

71.Errington, *Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada*, 26-7, 29-30, 100.

72.St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, 62.

73.Ibid., 23.

74.Alan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), [189]-202.

75.Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 89-90.

76.Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Toronto: McCLelland and Stewart, 1963), 250-1.

77."In Toronto's Early Days," *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 May 1901, p. 9.

78.Ibid.

79.Ibid.

80.Morton, *Kingdom of Canada*, 280.

81.J. M. S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), 117-19.

82."In Toronto's Early Days," *Toronto Daily Star*, p. 9.

83.*Toronto Mail*, 23 May 1889, p. 4.

84.Careless, *Union of the Canadas*, 134.

85."In Toronto's Early Days," *Toronto Daily Star*, 18 May 1901, p. 9.

86."The 24th of May," *Globe* (Toronto), 24 May 1888, p. 4.

87.Robert M. Stamp, *Kings, Queens & Canadians: A Celebration of Canada's Infatuation with the British Royal Family* (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1987), 118.

88.Ged Martin, "Queen Victoria and Canada," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 13:3 (1983): 228.

89.Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism, 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), [53].

90.Berger, *Sense of Power*, 116.

91.Thomas W. Dickens, "Winnipeg, Imperialism, and the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, 1897" (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982), 1, 220-1.

92.Karen Stanworth, "'God Save the Queen': Narrating Nationalism and Imperialism in Quebec on the Occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee" *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne—Canadian Art Review* 12:1-2 (1994): 85-99.

93.Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. from the French by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon, 1980).

94.David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvi, 40-1, 46-7.

95.Ibid., 57.

96.Ibid., 52-3, 55.

97.Himmelfarb, *De-Moralization of Society*, 160-1.

98.See also S. F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," in *God's Peculiar Peoples*," 5-6.

99.Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (Toronto: Academic Press, 1982), 79, 85.

CHAPTER I

CANADIAN ANGLICANISM AND METHODISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In a 1967 essay, the Canadian church historian, John Moir, reflecting on the relationship between the political and religious cultures of pre-Confederation Upper Canada, observed that " [t]wo religious objects found in most Upper Canadian homes were a Bible and a portrait of Queen Victoria.... [F]rom Victoria's accession a cult of loyalty and devotion to the young monarch existed that had all the fervour of a faith. Disrespect to the royal ikon was considered almost as sinful as mutilating a Holy Bible."[1] Although the boundary between the sacred and the profane may have been indistinct, the private cult of loyalty to Queen Victoria was not unconnected to the political pieties reinforced within the major religious groups. This devotion to the sovereign, carefully cultivated by the Anglican, Methodist, and other Protestant clergy, was sustained to the end of Victoria's reign and into the twentieth century. In this chapter, loyalism, meaning the historically determined principles underlying the expressions of popular loyalty to Britain and the monarchy within the Church of England and the Methodist Church in late nineteenth-century Ontario, requires a brief foray into the relevant backgrounds of these two influential Christian groups. Tracing the intellectual concepts of order in Anglicanism and Methodism to their theological and ecclesiastical sources is crucial to this discussion.

The chapter first outlines the conceptual origins of authority in the Church of England from the Elizabethan Settlement in 1559 to the late eighteenth century, and thence to society in Upper Canada and Victorian Ontario. It then does the same for Methodism, beginning with John Wesley in the late eighteenth century. The distinctions between natural and revealed law, nature and grace, and reason and revelation have been integral to Christian theology from the earliest centuries. They are important in elucidating Anglican and Methodist presuppositions with respect to authority in church, state, and society. For the

Anglicans, order was visible and external, its sacred domain centred in the Church of England, and its secular counterpart symbolized in the ancient institution of the crown. In the Wesleyan synthesis, order emerged in the spiritual condition of the redeemed sinner choosing the path of holiness. Authority and social stability were thus dependent on the power of God's revelation in the hearts of men and women.

Theology and Authority in the Origins and Development of Anglicanism

The Church of England emerged in the 1530s when ecclesiastical authority was wrenched loose from its papal moorings by Henry VIII. The English Reformation "was primarily a political rather than a religious movement and consequently tied the Church to dogmatic definitions less than anywhere else," states Paul Avis. "Anglicanism," adds Avis, "is committed historically to a distinctive approach to the question of authority."[2] Scripture and tradition, each tempered by a constant reference to reason, formed the primary foundations for the spiritual and intellectual edifice of the Church of England. Anglican loyalty in late Victorian Ontario reflected this interaction between the Word, the *ecclesia*, and a faith tempered by rationalism. This concern with reason underpinned the connection to Anglican political theology.

By the time of the Elizabethan Settlement (1559), the sovereign had become the "'supreme governor' of both Church and State," noted the English church historian, John Moorman, but spiritual authority rested with the ecclesiastical establishment.[3] In an age in which religious affiliation was inseparable from matters of allegiance, it was appropriate for a monarch, who favoured the religious reforms of her father, to insist that England and its Church reject the counter-reformation of Mary Tudor and her loyalty to the pope. By the late sixteenth century, the episcopal polity was also under attack by the Puritans who favoured the Presbyterian system of goverance. These conflicts helped to lay the intellectual foundations of the English Church's faith, polity, and its role in relation to the civil power. By the end of

the sixteenth century, the Church of England, notes Neill, had chosen a moderate course, the *via media* between Rome and Geneva.[4] Despite the tumult of the seventeenth century, the Anglican establishment and England had entered the eighteenth century committed to the principle that spiritual and political authority had to act in concert for the unitive well-being of the state.[5] This respect for order had derived much of its force from an intellectual tradition which often invoked reason, notes A. S. McGrade, "as a counterpoise to unthinking biblicism or unthinking conformity to historical precedent."[6]

Richard Hooker (ca. 1554-1600), in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-97, 1648 and 1662),[7] defended reason as necessary to a sound understanding of the Bible, but also, according to McGrade, "as competent to determine a broad range of issues not explicitly covered in Scripture."[8] Attempting to vindicate ecclesiastical authority in the face of the Puritan threat, Hooker restated Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274) who had addressed ancient questions in theology and philosophy concerning eternal, natural, human, and divine (scriptural) law.[9] Hooker argued that the propensity for social organization was subject to natural law, but had to be augmented by the positive legislation instituted by men. However, reason had its limits, and a felicitous social and political order could only be completed by those divine laws revealed in scripture and in the received traditions of the Church.[10] Nevertheless, Hooker's appeal to reason and his belief in an intelligible, and teleological, order in nature maintained their force in Anglicanism.

John Locke (1632-1704), one of the architects of empiricism, followed Hooker in defending reason. Locke influenced the thinking of William Warburton (1698-1779), Joseph Butler (1692-1732) and William Paley (1743-1805). Warburton, a "good Lockean," states Robert Ryley, wrote *The Alliance Between Church and State* (1736) in defence of the "ad hoc arrangement that had evolved since 1688 from the push and shove of Whig-Tory conflict."[11] In *The Analogy of Religion* (1736), a challenge to the deists, Butler argued from the facts of

experience to establish the plausibility of the Christian revelation and God's moral governance.[12] Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) affirmed the existence of God on the evidential basis of design in nature.[13] Although this discussion vastly oversimplifies the complex intellectual tapestry which shaped Anglican thought, nature and reason were the threads connecting Hooker to Paley. It is necessary to realize that the symmetry of natural and revealed law, and reason and revelation provided the foundations upon which Anglicans defended the religious-political order. It was essentially a moral representation of governance whose source was to be found in God.

The Anglican *Weltanschauung*, focused as it was on the external world and the institutions of the Church and monarchy, was carried to the soil of British North America after the Revolutionary War. Upper Canada, born in the Loyalist reaction to the American rebellion, drew its political apologetics from the heritage of the Church of England, from Warburton and other eighteenth-century luminaries such as the jurist Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), and Edmund Burke (1729-1797), who, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), attacked the entire revolutionary project.[14] Many of the Loyalists close to the provincial oligarchy were churchmen seared by bitter memories of the persecution of Episcopalians by Patriot mobs in the Thirteen Colonies.[15] Partly to avoid the unfortunate predicament of the Church in the former provinces, the British government inserted clauses in the Constitutional Act of 1791, which created Upper Canada, designed to enhance the maintenance and growth of a Protestant clergy, and to encourage the formation of a parsonage or rectory of the Church of England in every township.[16]

The indomitable John Strachan (1778-1867), a Scottish immigrant and the architect of colonial Anglicanism in Upper Canada built the foundations upon which the colonial Church and Tory conceptions of loyalty were constructed.[17] Strachan's views on the monarchy can be found in his *Discourse on the Character of George the Third*, published in Montreal in

1810.[18] The essay is the archetype of early nineteenth-century propaganda which exalted the monarch in the cause of loyalty. Embedding the domestic ideals of the faithful husband and loving father in the person of a very public king, Strachan transformed George III into the epitome of virtuous masculinity, his stainless record in the affairs of state being a function of his moral rectitude in private life. He accented the king's recognition of "the Supreme Being as the common Father of all," favourably comparing this acknowledgment of divine paternity with the sovereign who looked upon his subjects "as his children ... turn[ing] to him for protection."[19]

Strachan's *Discourse* carries the imprints of certain theological and political traditions that shaped the culture in which its author was raised. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1778, Strachan inherited the Presbyterianism of his mother, but through his father, a non-juror, he came under the influence, states Curtis Fahey, of the minority and "profoundly traditionalist Episcopal Church of Scotland, which did not accept the Hanoverian succession until 1788."[20] Strachan's veneration of George III may be indebted to vestigial traces of the principles of passive obedience and divine right. His *Discourse* is peculiarly Anglican in its defence of order and hierarchy, and in its corollary commitment to an alliance of church and state. "Order was an attribute of God," observes William Westfall in his commentary on Strachan's tract, and "[o]rder was also the measure of a proper and virtuous life.... Freedom and liberty grew out of social order; without order there could be no society and therefore no freedom."[21] The organic conception of state and society rested upon this fundamental presupposition of the well-regulated society and state. Reinforcing these views were the Paleyite revisions of natural theology which were already "gain[ing] a central place in the Anglican imagination." Prior to the 1820s, Strachan also "remained faithful to the temper and principles of the liberal Anglicanism of the eighteenth century," a position which Fahey succinctly describes as "a brand of churchmanship noted for its emphasis on questions of

morality rather than on obscure issues of theology."[22] The *Discourse* is a representative deposit of intrinsic memory, of that intellectual heritage of Anglicanism which sought to give a moral justification to the constituted, organic order of state and society.

Under Strachan's leadership the Upper Canadian Church proved to be a survivor. Struggling against the conditions of frontier life, fearful of the spread of Methodism, its existence potentially threatened by the American invasions of 1812-14, and its privileged status successfully challenged by political Reformers from the 1830s, the Anglican establishment faced the loss of ascendancy with "remarkable grace," notes the church historian, John Webster Grant.[23] The road to voluntarism, Westfall says, "transformed the old eighteenth-century United Church of England and Ireland into a Victorian denomination."[24]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Church was successfully adapting to a new economic and political environment, but the power of the past still shaped its discourses of loyalty, illustrated by a sermon delivered during the height of the Crimean War. On 24 May 1855, an assembly of Orangemen gathered at a grove adjoining the Richmond Hill railway station to hear a patriotic address by the Reverend J. Gilbert Armstrong, the rector of the church at Woodbridge and Tullamore, in Vaughan Township. Entitled "The Supremacy of the Sovereign," the sermon presages a pattern of thinking that appears in some Anglican sermons on Queen Victoria later in the century.[25]

Armstrong began by reminding his loyal Protestant audience that "the British constitution" was "the most excellent and auspicious of all others," because it was "the most agreeable to the example and dictates of Holy Writ."[26] For his scriptural text, he chose I Peter, 2:17, "Fear God—Honour the King," a passage that was often used by Anglican clergymen in Ontario, and one of those "very definite commands," observed John Neville Figgis, that "were not overlooked" by the seventeenth-century divines who argued in favour of passive obedience to kings who ruled by divine right.[27] Calvinistic in its emphasis on the

absolute sovereignty of God, Armstrong left no doubt in the minds of the gathered Orangemen that submission to God extended to their Britannic sovereign. Like most pulpit expositors of the time, Armstrong depended on the inerrant and inspired authority of scripture to seal the logic of his argument. To "fear God," he explained, meant "to *honour*," and "to *esteem* him as a being deserving of the highest adoration,—to *obey* him as ... the majestic Architect and supreme Governor of all things in heaven and in earth."[28] This command of obedience leads directly to St. Peter's corollary dictum, to honour the king.

> We have stated that the first duty involves the second ... that if we *fear God*, we must as a matter of course *honour the King*.... We cannot lose sight ... of the *fact* that the duty of *fearing*, (or *obeying*) *God*, involves at the same time the duty of *honouring the King, or Queen*; inasmuch as the duty of rendering submission to our earthly Sovereign is one strongly approved of and in fact *commanded and enforced by Almighty God Himself*.[29]

To demonstrate how earthly sovereignty flows from the heavenly, Armstrong turned to I Samuel, chapter 10, the narrative of Israel's change from a theocracy to a monarchy. The theocracy to which he was referring, was "the immediate government of God," and the "appointed earthly ... judges," who administered "His extraordinary Providence." First Samuel 10 offered "abundant proof" that the change to a monarchy entailed a "*high respect* ... due to Sovereignty" and a recognition by the Hebrew nation of the "*exalted estimation* in which the Kingly office was to be held." When Samuel anointed Saul "all the people shouted and said *God save the King*!"[30]

Armstrong's exposition is reminiscent of the methods employed by the old apologists for royal absolutism, but his aim was a defence of limited, constitutional monarchy, not of divine right, and he denied the alleged claim of the pope to exercise authority over all the churches and princes of Christendom. The question was which monarch required due allegiance, a Protestant queen in London, or the Bishop of Rome. His political memory was defined, not by Digges, Ferne or Filmer, but by the papist tyrants Mary Tudor and James II. In this respect, absence can be as revealing as presence. Armstrong did not attempt to argue

from a patriarchalist position, to connect the biblical accounts of family and social origins in Genesis to a theory of political obligation. Although at one point he referred to Moses' injunctions to the people of Israel to submit to "supreme authority,"[31] he never invoked Exodus 20:12, "Honour thy father and thy mother," the fifth commandment (i.e., in the Reformed and Anglican traditions), in order to derive political obedience from biblical paternalism, a common strategy of royalists in seventeenth-century England, as Gordon Schochet has indicated.[32] Nevertheless, Armstrong held that God's ordinances in the Bible commanded all Britons to submit to the Protestant successors of William and Mary, including Queen Victoria.

Armstrong believed the Bible to be the revealed word of God, the authority for faith, life, and political allegiance. By insisting on holy writ as the "only guide for ... conduct," including the "duty of loyalty," he was able to deny any other standards, meaning the traditions and claims of the Roman Church, but perhaps also the Tractarians who defended the independent spiritual authority of the Church of England, and who were adopting Catholic liturgy. Armstrong then launched into the mandatory assault on the perversions of Rome, his target being the hated doctrine of papal supremacy.[33]

> Now, my Brethern [*sic*], it requires no argument to prove to you that a religion which recognizes *no one on earth as superior to the Pope*, cannot recognize the *Queen's supremacy*; and therefore, Papists holding this religion, cannot, *if faithful*, be loyal subjects of Victoria.[34]

In the world of good and evil to which Armstrong and his Toronto District Orangemen subscribed, loyalty bore the two faces of Janus. On one side of their idol was the serene countenance of a beloved Protestant queen, a constitutional monarch who stood for liberty, truth and justice, and on the other was the face of a hated, tyrant pope who enslaved his Catholic hordes, and who threatened the peace, welfare and good government of the realm.

In his conclusion, Armstrong reminded his followers that they were gathered together "to celebrate the Birth-day of our Protestant Queen, in *peace and quietness* ... in *quietness*,"

he again emphasized,

> [N]ot the *serfs* of despotic rule, but under the *limited* government of our amiable and beloved Victoria, who, as a "nursing mother," (in the language of Scripture,) is not *too high* exalted on the throne of royalty, to visit, and converse, and sympathise, with the poorest and most needy of her subjects; yea, and grant them every assistance which they may require.[35]

Much of the thematic content in Armstrong's sermon was recapitulated within the Church of England in Ontario in 1887 and 1897. The angst created by the presence of sturdy Catholic communities in Ontario continued to haunt the political pronouncements of the Church. Loyalty was derived from a historical understanding which was either consciously articulated or implicitly assumed. Real or constructed, it was a past that demanded an awareness of English history and an unyielding commitment to the superior system of constitutional monarchy which had its origins in the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Throughout Queen Victoria's reign, the dioceses in the province did not escape the controversies fuelled by the rise of the Oxford Movement within the English ecclesiastical establishment. Spurred by an 1833 sermon which John Keble (1792-1866) delivered on the passage of the *Irish Church Act*, the Oxford Movement developed in reaction to the growing Erastianism in church-state relations. In essence, its leaders sought a romantic return to the Church's ancient Catholic traditions. John Strachan was of the old High Church tradition, but as Westfall observes, by the 1840s he began to take a favourable view towards the Tractarian repudiation of the "old (and now corrupt) world of rationalism and Erastian practices," but he remained opposed to popery and was shocked by the defection of Newman and several other English clerics to Catholicism. While many of the senior clergy saw much of value in the Tracts, especially in the priority given to the Oxford doctrine of apostolic succession, they were wary of other innovations, especially any that carried the marks of popery. Westfall argues that in the Diocese of Toronto, the Church was highly selective in its approach to the Tractarian reforms, and "in a curious way ... tried to Protestantize the Oxford Movement."

Realizing that "any form of Romish superstition" would antagonize the Low Church party, as well as the Methodists and Presbyterians, the latter being the two main Protestant denominations in Upper Canada, Strachan acted to stem the drift towards Catholic ritual among the Tractarian clergy. Westfall concludes that "the colonial church ... would not allow the movement to threaten the Protestant character of the church in Upper Canada."[36]

D. C. Masters has shown that, following the death of Strachan in 1867, dissension between the Low and High Church parties increased,[37] even turning violent in June 1896 when several Anglican churches in Toronto, all of them partial to Anglo-Catholic ritual, were vandalized.[38] Between 1891 and 1901 the Church suffered a loss of over 18,000 members,[39] part of which, notes Grant, can be attributed to continuing conflict between the Low and High Church factions.[40] Despite the internal quarrels, the clergy remained united in their loyalty to the British connection, an argument affirmed by John Kenyon in his paper on the influence of the Oxford Movement on Upper Canadian and Ontario Anglicanism.[41] Loyalty to England and her sovereign was a child whose rites of passage were marked by 1649, 1660, 1688, the colonial rebellion of 1776, and the victories of 1812 and 1837. The unity on the fundamental symbol of the political culture held for two additional reasons. Ecclesiastical autonomy never seriously endangered the Evangelicals' conception of the Church as "a monarchy of guaranteed Protestantism," to quote John Webster Grant.[42] The old High Churchmen of Strachan's era and most of the Anglo-Catholic clergy remained as suspicious of Rome as their Low Church brethren. Both factions saw in Rome a serious threat to the maintenance of political allegiance to the crown. Christopher Headon has also observed that the "Tractarians pictured Canadian society in an essentially hierarchic and static way based upon an idealized view of England to suit their own conservatism."[43] Anglicans in Ontario between 1887 and 1901 worked through their divisions on the nature and role of the Church and its forms of worship, but they spoke with one voice in their affection for

Queen Victoria.

Faith and antiquarian sentiment were second nature to late Victorian Ontario's Anglican divines who were conscious of the Church's great historic moments, events which were once celebrated in liturgies of thanksgiving. For example, older editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, many of them still in use in Canada, contained the "Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving" for 5 November, honouring the "happy Deliverance of King James I, and the Three Estates of England, from the most traiterous and bloody-intended Massacre by Gunpowder: And also for the happy Arrival of his Majesty King William on this Day, for the Deliverance of our Church and Nation."[44] Similarly, 30 January was once remembered as the "Day of the Martyrdom of the Blessed King Charles the First," with accompanying prayers which implored "the mercy of God, that neither the Guilt of that sacred and innocent Blood, nor those other sins, by which God was provoked to deliver up both us and our King into the hands of cruel and unreasonable men, may at any time be visited upon us or our posterity."[45] By an act of the British parliament, 29 May had also been previously set aside as a holy day honouring the restoration of Charles II in 1660, and 20 June, the accession day of Queen Victoria, was celebrated with the appropriate prayer and readings.[46]

Even though most of the older rites offered in memory of the tribulations and triumphs of England's monarchs had long since fallen into disuse, many senior Anglican clerics were familiar with them. On 27 January 1901, the Reverend Canon Arundel Charles Hill of St. Thomas delivered a eulogy for the late queen, who had died on the previous Tuesday. He looked back on more than thirty years of service, his thoughts turning to the "oath of allegiance to England's Queen" on the occasion of his ordination, to the annual "devotions ... for the Sovereign and Royal Family," and he proudly recalled swearing fealty to his monarch on joining the Toronto volunteer regiment, the Queen's Own Rifles many years earlier.[47] The Church and the monarchy were the sacred and secular symbols of

order, and late Victorian expressions of Anglican loyalty to Queen Victoria cannot be grasped apart from an awareness of the power of tradition and memory.

Theology and Authority in the Origins and Development of Methodism

In the eighteenth century, the established Church of England dominated the religious life of the Hanoverian realm, but Christian pluralism was also a feature of Britain's religious landscape. Non-conformists and Catholics, although tolerated, were subject to various civil disabilities.[48] Anglicanism was far from being a bastion of Christian spiritual uniformity. Conservative in doctrine and politics, High Churchmen had little regard for the more tolerant Latitudinarian clergy, the intellectual reservoir of reason and natural theology.[49] Beginning in the 1730s, a new religious enthusiasm gained ground under the able leadership of such gifted preachers as George Whitefield (1714-1770) and John Wesley (1703-1791). These men were instrumental in inaugurating the Evangelical Revival, of which one branch, a Calvinist stream, took root and flourished within the Church of England. Methodism[50] originated with Wesley who, rejecting Calvinist predestinarianism, asserted that God's gracious salvation was freely available to all. By the later eighteenth century, Wesley's sectarian message was gaining adherents among the artisans and labourers of the early industrial towns which were experiencing population expansion, and according to Henry Rack, were "least amenable to Anglican parochial discipline and most open to Dissent and Methodism."[51] The Methodist societies gradually separated from the Church of England, in the process forming the basis of a new evangelical faith which soon spread throughout Britain, to North America, and across the empire during the nineteenth century.

John Wesley was born in Epworth, Lincolnshire in 1703. His parents, Samuel and Susanna (Annesley) had originally been Dissenters, but in their youth had joined the Church of England, where both "reacted against their inheritance by becoming High Church," notes Rack. Inheriting his parents' High Church propensities and their Tory politics, Wesley

believed that a king acting under divine ordination remained the best guarantor of religious toleration, civil liberty, and property. He remained an advocate of limited monarchy, and it is clear from his later writings that he fully accepted the Hanoverian succession.[52] In *Thoughts Upon Liberty* (1772), Wesley defended King George III against Whig radicalism, arguing that both religious and civil liberties are best protected in a political sovereignty established in accordance with God's blessing.[53] Similarly, in *Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power* (1772), Wesley rejected contractualism, the theory that the people are the source of sovereign power.

> I believe ... "there is no power but from God: The powers that be are ordained of God." (Rom. xiii. 1.) There is no subordinate power in any nation, but what is derived from the supreme power therein. So in England the King, in the United Provinces the States are the fountain of all power. And there is no supreme power, no power of the sword, of life and death, but what is derived from God, the Sovereign of all.[54]

After a careful assessment of the relevant primary and secondary sources, Rack suggests that Wesley's politics, included a strong "seventeenth-century folk-memory" that "tended to determine the way in which he would react to any crisis in which the monarchy was attacked and the spectre of popular disorder conjured up."[55] In practical terms, Wesley was an autocrat who translated his political authoritarianism into an iron-handed control over the Methodist connexion.

Although reasonable reflection was certainly important, the Methodists sanctioned the private experience of God's grace mediated through disciplined attention to scripture and prayer, and by cultivating a spiritual sense of the supernatural presence of God in the assurance of conversion and the walk of the Christian towards a life of holiness. In his 1744 essay, *An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, Wesley demoted reason in favour of revelation, attaching great importance to the self-disclosure of God acting on the heart of the spiritual seeker.

> Now, faith ... is ... "the demonstrative evidence of things unseen," the

> supernatural evidence of things invisible, not perceivable by eyes of flesh, or by any of our natural senses or faculties. Faith is that divine evidence whereby the spiritual man discerneth God, and the things of God.[56]

Extrapolating from empiricist arguments, Wesley postulated the existence of spiritual senses through which the individual could experience the presence of the Holy Spirit.[57] Bifurcating reason and revelation, Wesley's theology tended to reincarnate the ancient Augustinian distinction between nature and grace.[58] between the secular and the sacred. Wesley had no intentions of disparaging either reason or tradition, but in the development of Methodism into the nineteenth century, supernaturalism gained the upper hand, and the tendency among Methodists, certainly in Upper Canada, was to construct a faith that favoured experience over reason.

Wesley's soteriology was indebted to the Dutch theologian Jacobus (or James) Arminius (1560-1609) who rejected the Reformed doctrine of preordained divine election. Arminius argued that God's saving grace was open to all and consistent with free will.[59] Abandoning the strict determinism of Calvinism had certain consequences, one of which was that personal salvation was anchored in the decisive experience of faith, and the other, that God's grace could be resisted and rejected.[60] Since God's redeeming grace was not irresistible then the way was opened for creating a sharp distinction between the reality of sinful existence, or separation from God, and a life sanctified by the Holy Spirit. Arminianism was a form of theological contractualism. It radically democratized practical Christianity, and introduced an individualistic, egalitarian spirit into the Reformation project. It is helpful to borrow a perspective from the British labour historian, E. P. Thompson, who has observed that Wesley's patrician political views were ultimately inconsistent with his plebeian evangelicalism which democratized the experience of salvation.[61]

The Wesleyan-Arminian soteriology shifted the focus of religious experience from the communal life of the church to the individual. Coupled to the separation of the Methodist

societies from the Church of England, which disrupted the formal link to the crown and the theory of the royal supremacy, the new theology had the effect of weakening the grand organic vision of the state and society which characterized the life and faith of the Church of England.

Nevertheless, Wesley bequeathed to his followers a respect for discipline and authority which was tested but not extinguished in nineteenth-century Upper Canada. Wesley's High Tory politics were moderated within the colonial Methodist community, but his loyalty to the sovereign, notes Mills, was preserved by Egerton Ryerson,[62] who was conscious of the social complexity of the province. Contributing to Ryerson's politics was an increasing awareness of his family's Loyalist origins, a factor which tended to foster what Norman Knowles has identified as a nostalgic, filiopietistic sentiment towards the past, an evocative response to the loss of a romantic, pre-modern world that was beginning to infect Ontario's *pure laine* populace by the mid-nineteenth century.[63]

Many historians have written on Methodism from its origins in early Upper Canada to the merger of 1925, but there are several facets to the Wesleyan experience in the nineteenth-century provincial setting which are pertinent to this discussion, and open to investigation through contemporary source literature. It is informative to examine the political thought of Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), the doyen of Upper Canadian Methodism and the prime mover behind Ontario's public educational system. Ryerson's outlook was common to many nineteenth-century Methodists in Upper Canada and Ontario. Born in Norfolk County in 1803 to Joseph Ryerson, an Anglican Loyalist who had served with the Prince of Wales American Regiment during the Revolution, and Sophia Stickney,[64] Egerton Ryerson was converted in the early 1820s and ordained in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1827. Over his long career, Ryerson was identified with both sides of the Reform-Tory political spectrum, but he was loyal to the British institutions that prevailed in Canada, and he continued to

support the imperial connection.[65] Aside from Wesley, he acquired his conservatism from reading Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), and William Blackstone's *Commentaries* (1765-68). Ryerson believed that civil and religious liberties were best preserved within the mixed governing structure of constitutional monarchy.[66]

In a series of letters published in 1826 and 1828, Ryerson vigorously challenged John Strachan, who had charged the Methodists with disloyalty.[67] These public refutations brought him into the limelight, and by 1829 he was editing the *Christian Guardian*, the new voice of Methodism in the colony.[68] Ryerson's religious and political views coalesced in his historical writings. Norman Knowles has drawn attention to Ryerson's increasing interest in Loyalist history following the death of his father in 1854.[69] Together with William Canniff, George Coventry and others, he participated in the formation of the Historical Society of Upper Canada, an organization which "played a key role in the development of the Loyalist tradition," and fostered, in the words of Knowles, "a nostalgic vernacular past that lamented the loss of a simpler and purer world."[70]

The drift of Ryerson's evolving historical memory can be be found in his response to the anti-imperialist sentiments of Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), until 1866 regius professor of modern history at Oxford University. Indebted to the spokesmen of the Manchester school, Smith had published his views in the London *Daily News* in 1862-3, and in a pamphlet, *The Empire*, in 1863.[71] Ryerson had written his reply in 1863 but published it in late 1866, only months after the Fenian raids. He first attacked Smith's seeming confusion of the polity established by the Pilgrims at Plymouth with the Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony, and then disputed the Oxford don's claim that the latter was only momentarily guilty of "intolerance and persecution" which soon gave way to "perfect liberty of conscience and free allegiance to truth." Ryerson contended that Smith's "moment" was a "period of relentless proscription and persecution for *sixty years*," which was "only *restrained* by an order of the King, Charles

II, in 1661," and "finally extinguished" in 1690 by the New England Charter of William and Mary.[72] Ryerson's point was that civil and religious liberties were enforced and guaranteed by the reigning monarchs, not by the rigid theocracy imposed through the Puritan covenant.

Ryerson also attacked Smith's contention that the monarchy "binds the unenfranchised, indigent and ignorant masses of the people by a tie of personal loyalty to the constitution," and that it had no use in "the New World," where the people are "enfranchised and bound to the constitution by property and intelligence." Countering Smith's thesis that the monarchy's base was a "feudal aristocracy" and a "feudal church," he asserted that in Canada "the attachment of the people to the monarchical system of government and British connection is far stronger now than it was twenty years ago: and the people during that period have increased more than a hundred percent in population, wealth, and intelligence." The monarchy "has a broader 'base' and a deeper 'root' in the cordial affections ... of an enfranchised, a free, an intelligent people, who have learned more than ever to regard constitutional monarchy ... as the key stone of ... equal law and liberty, as the representative of a principle of government and law, which is above party." He then refuted Smith's arguments for colonial independence, maintaining that "Canada has already been 'emancipated' from all the swaddling bands of political infancy, and that she rules herself more independently of Downing street, than any one of the neighboring states does of Washington."[73]

Ryerson's main contribution to Upper Canadian history was *The Loyalists of America and Their Times* (1880), the second printing being dedicated, by permission, to Queen Victoria. Ryerson's two-volume work traced the origins of the conflict between Loyalist and Patriot to the Pilgrims and the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts in the 1600s. Ryerson's thesis was that the Loyalists were the political heirs of the tolerant religious independents who arrived on the *Mayflower* and established their colony at New Plymouth.[74] The notion of

pilgrimage was important in the evolution of his argument. The twelve years' sojourn in Leyden, Holland between 1608 and 1620 were important to the later establishment of a free colony in America characterized by democratic liberty, religious tolerance, and unswerving loyalty to the king.

> The doctrines of Arminius, and the advocacy and sufferings of his followers in the cause of religious liberty, together with the spirit of commerce, had rendered the Government of Holland the most tolerant in Europe.... The Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants were professedly congregational separatists from the Church of England; they had fled by stealth, under severe sufferings, from persecution in England to Holland, where they had resided eleven years and upwards, and where they had learned the principles of religious toleration and liberty—the fruit of Dutch Arminian advocacy and suffering.[75]

The liberties of the Plymouth colony were thus indebted to Arminian theology, but also he added, to the settlers' willingness to accept the Stuart monarchs' demands for "toleration and acknowledgment of the authority of the Crown." In stark contrast were the progenitors of the American Revolution, the immigrants of the Massachusetts Bay Colony who began to arrive in significant numbers in 1628 and 1630. According to Ryerson, the departing Puritan adventurers' profession of faith to the Church of England was soon repudiated by the leaders in America, the first acts of rebellion by a people who "assumed independence of the Government to which it owed its ... existence ... permitted no oath of allegiance to the King," and "allowed no elective franchise to any Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker, or Papist."[76]

Shortly before he died, Ryerson had written a series of essays on Methodist history in Upper Canada which was published in book form under the title *Canadian Methodism* (1882). In the first chapter, "Loyal Origin of Canadian Methodism," he argued that Methodists were inherently loyal to the king during the Revolution, and that the first converts in Canada after the war were the faithful harvest of such loyal Methodists as Philip Embury, Barbara Heck and others.[77] Ryerson's fidelity to the crown was not unrepresentative of Ontario Methodists

in general. To that degree, it would seem that the cultural wellsprings of Methodist and Anglican loyalty were strikingly similar.

The significant difference between Methodists and Anglicans arose within their theological discourse. Placing great emphasis on the moving of the Holy Spirit in their lives, the followers of Wesley tended to separate God's kingdom of nature, including human reason and action, from the realm of divine grace—the Christian sacraments, prayer, and diligent attention to scripture which guided the faithful in their walk towards entire santification. This distinction between nature and grace was carried to poetic extremes in the writings of Albert Carman (1833-1917), the superintendent of the Methodist Church of Canada from 1884 to 1914.[78] His contribution to the *Centennial of Canadian Methodism* (1891) was "The Methodist Church," noteworthy for its assertion of the living presence of God in the lives of the faithful, and in the true Christian church, and also for its repudiation of those communions claiming to receive their spiritual authority by a "mere chronological bond" to the early church.[79] In *Canadian Methodism* (1882), Egerton Ryerson asked whether the astonishing growth of Methodism in Canada could be attributed to "the growth of nature or the work of grace?" The answer, says William Westfall, is to be found in Ryerson's treatment of the supernatural character of Canadian Methodism, an effect of "that which is above the powers or laws of nature ... that which is produced by a Divine agency—the immediate power of God."[80] The ongoing interplay between the supernatural and the temporal was a recurring feature across the theological landscape of Ontario Methodism into the late nineteenth century, but by the 1890s the separation between the sacred and the profane slowly began to fade with the rise of a nascent social gospel discourse, itself indebted to an intellectual crisis created by liberal theology, Darwinian evolutionary theory, and the German higher criticism.

According to George Emery, the "term 'social gospel' ... became current about 1910,"[81] but during the late Victorian era, especially from the 1880s, an increasing number

of Christian commentators began to import the soteriological language of conversion into a new discourse of social salvation. In his study on social reform in late nineteenth-century English Canada, Ramsay Cook has drawn attention to the increasing frequency of the "word 'regeneration' ... used by reformers, not in the traditional sense of individual rebirth, but rather as a call for social salvation." For many reformers, notes Cook, a God who was "immanent in this world led to the conviction that this world would be the place of God's kingdom," the social gospel thus being "a concomitant of a theology of immanentism." The origins of the theology of divine immanence and the attendant rise of the social gospel are complex, but, as Cook and others have observed, new scientific knowledge, and in particular, Darwin's theory of evolution, undermined evangelical understandings of the creation accounts in Genesis, thus threatening the traditional assurances concerning the inspiration of scripture.[82] As Michael Gauvreau has ably demonstrated, Methodist and Presbyterian divines in Upper Canada, forced to counter the premillennialist heresy, began to enunciate a post-millennial, prophetic vision of the coming kingdom of God which "would ... be achieved ... by providence working through human agencies and institutions."[83] David Marshall suggests that liberal theology, through its emphasis on moral and social teaching, "allowed the clergy the luxury of thinking that ... [they] were preaching a more enlightened Christianity." Another aspect to theological liberalism and the decline of supernaturalism, notes Marshall, was the tendency to reinterpret divine revelation in scripture as a "record of revelation," in practice importing an idiom of evolutionism and divine immanence into biblical history.[84]

There were several reasons behind the Methodist engagement with a theology of social regeneration. Methodism had a long tradition of being involved in social philanthropy, and as Arthur Lower observed, they continued to be a strong presence in the temperance movement, and formed, along with the Presbyterians and the Baptists, the "backbone of Liberalism."[85] Emery has shown that even into the early twentieth century, Ontario Methodism was still a

more rurally based denomination than its Anglican and Presbyterian counterparts. Nevertheless, as wealthy urban congregations were established, the Church increasingly depended on middle-class support, but Methodism "had little appeal among the working class." The "alienation of working class families from churches," and the realization that industrial conditions "were contributing to this alienation," sensitized the Methodists to the problems of labour and urban poverty. Emery also argues that evolutionary theory, even if it "undermined evangelical belief" also fostered the "notion of progress ... reinforcing the optimistic view of man's nature which was implicit in Wesleyan perfectionism." The emerging social gospel perspective in Methodism "was a ... manifestation of Methodist pietism" (meaning the emphasis on devotional prayer and Bible-reading). If sin was environmental as much as a product of the fall of man, then the quest for personal holiness was more easily transformed into a "determination to purify society." Interestingly, Emery draws a comparison with the liturgical churches, observing that "pietist religious authority was almost entirely derived from the Bible," whereas "liturgicals (e.g. the Anglicans) attached great importance ... to the history, rituals, and doctrines of their particular denomination." With the Anglicans, or the Roman Catholics, he argues, "right behaviour was less important than ... right belief." In dealing with "matters of morality and religion ... public institutions and the State were to keep out of such concerns ... a worldview ... scarcely compatible with an idealistic popular crusade to bring about the kingdom of heaven on earth."[86]

"Methodism," says Phyllis Airhart, "played a prominent role in the [social gospel] movement, providing it with leadership and official support." However, she also cautions that in the late nineteenth century, Methodists in Canada, especially in Ontario, believing that personal conversion was prior to social reconstruction, did not necessarily nor automatically substitute "individual" for "social" salvation.[87] To that degree, Methodist involvement in Christianizing the social order was, at least in its late Victorian phase, an extension of its

traditional interest in social reform and amelioration. The durability of the Wesleyan tradition concerning the assurance of conversion and the quest for holiness, or Christian perfection, meant that the sacred and the profane were still some distance from completely dissolving into an amorphous social theology.

This persistence of the distinction between the temporal and the eternal was often re-symbolized by the Victorians in terms of gender and family. Westfall eloquently describes how "man was material and practical, while woman was moral and spiritual; man had power, woman had taste; man was active, woman reflective; man was rational, woman intuitive."[88] Methodists, as much if not more than any other Protestant group, were instrumental in fashioning the idiom of domesticity and separate spheres. At the same time, they had long adopted a somewhat more egalitarian attitude towards the place of women in church and society. John Wesley eventually accepted and encouraged women preachers.[89] "God's grace recognized no differences between the sexes and guaranteed the spiritual equality of women," notes Semple, while adding that "Methodism denied the social equality of women."[90]

Both the active woman and the passive, domestic wife and mother became important to Methodist ministry in Upper Canada and Ontario. Aside from their work in temperance and charitable work, Methodist women were prominent evangelists, especially in some of the smaller mid-century sects such as the Bible Christians. Semple also states that between 1885 and 1900 "at least twenty-five women led over three hundred revival services, adding that "Methodist doctrine and practice had been valuable in freeing women from many of the social and theological restrictions on active church leadership."[91] The professionalization of ministry towards the latter part of the century tended to displace women from leadership roles,[92] but women clearly remained a force in the Methodist Church. Of course, the role of the Methodist wife and mother was considered essential to the spiritual nurturing and guidance

of her children. This domestic discourse was common to Protestantism, but in Methodism it took on a special vitality in the narratives and sermons on Queen Victoria.

Some Methodist clergymen denied that the Bible supported the subjection of women to men. For example, in "The Citizenship of Women," appearing in the February 1894 issue of the *Methodist Magazine*, the Reverend Doctor Thomas Webster of Newbury, Ontario rejected the standard interpretation of Genesis 3:16 used in support of female subordination, and he argued for the full equality and participation of women in ecclesiastical and civil life, including the right to exercise the franchise.[93] Similarly, the Reverend Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902)[94], an English Methodist famous for his advocacy of the social gospel in Britain, and for his outreach ministry in London, had contributed an article to the *Independent*, "Christianity and Woman," which was reprinted in the *Methodist Magazine* for August, 1895. Price also proclaimed the full equality of women, and he denounced the misinterpretations of the Bible, including the customary treatment of Paul who was often deployed in defence of the subordination of women.[95] Although the articles of Webster and Price still smacked of paternalism, they were representative of the vector of egalitarianism which ran through Methodist thought and practice from its beginnings in eighteenth-century England. The importance of women, and their necessarily active participation in the advance of the church and society was also projected into the late nineteenth-century royalist narratives of Ontario Methodism.

In their paper on Methodist political definitions in England, Turner and Hill claim that the "outstanding feature of Methodist political beliefs is not a progressive evolution, but a remarkable continuity. The constant element ... was the attempt to define the issues of secular politics ... in moral terms."[96] The evidence presented in the following two chapters of this thesis supports this contention. The sermons and articles on the sovereign attempted to preserve the continuity of the religious and moral traditions of Wesleyan Methodism while

seeking to accommodate intellectual change. Much of the narrative content on Queen Victoria's reign incorporated progress litanies which emphasized moral and social advances over the merely scientific and material triumphs of the nineteenth century. Hints of the new liberal theology and a nascent social vision were evident in 1887 during the Golden Jubilee. Ten years later, by the time of the Diamond Jubilee, the contours of the social gospel perspective were more apparent. By 1887, the evidence suggests that Methodist images of Queen Victoria, stressing her righteousness, "right behaviour" in Emery's words, began to reflect a cautious assimilation of newer liberal ideas in social and theological thought to a traditional Wesleyan language preserving the assurance of a saving faith and Christian perfection. The discursive patterns of the emerging social gospel view were stronger in 1897, but at the same time, the queen was still being presented as the epitome of true womanhood in the older Wesleyan formula.

In his study of Protestanism in Ontario, Westfall argues that order and experience divided the cultural perspectives of the Anglicans and the Methodists.[97] This divide was still manifest in the late nineteenth century, and it was reflected in the pronouncements of loyalty to the throne and the monarch. Thus the Anglican priest's dutiful and obedient queen submitted to the external order and discipline of the Church of England and the historic institution of the crown. On the other hand, the righteous queen of the Methodist pastor was the exemplary model of God's grace, a sovereign who devoted her life to the pursuit of virtue and holiness in her person and family. The Anglican Queen Victoria was shaped by a prescriptive narrative grounded in the authority of the Church of England's history and ecclesiastical traditions. Crown and queen were the symbols of an organic conception of the well-ordered society, both pointing to the visible institutions of authority, the Church of England and the state. The Methodist Queen Victoria was defined within a more descriptive narrative of substitutionary piety. The queen was the representation of God's intention for the

sanctified Christian life. The locus of control in Methodism rested with the individual and the family adhering to God's will. For that reason, the person of the queen tended to take precedence over Methodist praises for the system of constitutional monarchy, which, although not ignored, was linked to Victoria's wisdom in the political sphere. In each of the two churches, inherited systems of belief coupled to secular memories intersected with, and confronted the intellectual, social, and political contexts of the time.

ENDNOTES

1.John Moir, "The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition," in *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), 191.

2.Paul Avis, "What is 'Anglicanism'," in *The Study of Anglicanism*, ed. by Stephen Sykes and John Booty (London: SPCK; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 406, 422.

3.Moorman, *History of the Church in England*, 199-203.

4.Stephen Neill, *Anglicanism*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 111-9.

5.William P. Haugaard, "From the Reformation to the Eighteenth Century," in *Study of Anglicanism*, 15-8.

6.A. S. McGrade, "Reason," in *Study of Anglicanism*, 106.

7.The publishing history of *The Laws* is complicated. Books I-V were published before Hooker's death in 1600. Later books, including a spurious version of Book VI, were printed in the seventeenth century. See F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 654.

8.McGrade, "Reason," in *Study of Anglicanism*, 106.

9.Thomas Aquinas, "Appendix I: The Texts of Aquinas on Law," in Anthony J. Lisska, *Aquinas's Theory of Natural Law: An Analytic Reconstruction* (Oxford,Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1996), [260]-91. The translation, from the *Summa Theologiae*, I-II, "is based upon the Leonine edition (Thomas Gilby (ed.), Blackfriars, 28 ... edited for this book ... dependent upon the insights of Father Gilby's translation and also the earlier translation by the English Dominicans under the general editorship of Father Shapcote." (Lisska, [260]).

10.Richard Hooker, "The Fyrst Booke Concerning Lawes, and their Severall Kindes in Generall," in *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Books I to IV*, vol. 1, Georges Edelen, ed., Folger Library Edition (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 55-142.

11.Robert M. Ryley, *William Warburton* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984), 19-23.

12.Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion* (London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906). In the introduction, Butler distinguished between demonstration and probable evidence.

13.William Paley, *Natural Theology* ([London, 1802]; reprint, New York: American Tract Society, n.d.).

14.S. F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in *God's Peculiar Peoples*, 169.

15.For an insight into the tribulations suffered by the Episcopal clergy in the rebelling colonies, see Wayne Normile Metz, "Political Involvement," chap. in "The Reverend Samuel Peters (1735-1826): Connecticut Anglican, Loyalist, Priest" (Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1974), 35-60.

16.Craig, *Upper Canada*, 16.

17.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 1861-1870, s.v. "Strachan, John," by G. M. Craig.

18.John Strachan, *A Discourse on the Character of King George the Third: Addressed to the Inhabitants of British America* (Montreal: Printed by Nahum Mower, 1810).

19.Ibid., 13. Also cited in Morgan, *Public Men*, 29. For an analysis of Strachan's views on the family and the contradictions inherent in his ideal, see Paul Anthony Banfield, "The Well Regulated Family: John Strachan and the Role of the Family in Early Upper Canada, 1800-1812" (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1985).

20.Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), 99. See also A. N. Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan: First Bishop of Toronto* (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1870), 1. For an historical survey of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, see Frederick Goldie, *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: From the Restoration to the Present Time*, 2d ed. (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976).

21.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 86.

22.Fahey, *In His Name*, 117, 99, 21.

23.Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 150.

24.Ibid., 115.

25.J. Gilbert Armstrong, *The Supremacy of the Sovereign: A Sermon* (Toronto: Thompson & Co., Printers, 1855).

26.Ibid., [5].

27.John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings*, introd. by G. R. Elton, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1914; reprint, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965), 18.

28.Armstrong, *Supremacy of the Sovereign*, 7.

29.Ibid., 8.

30.Ibid., 9-10. The final quote is from I Samuel 10:24.

31.Ibid., 15, 10.

32.Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1975), 74-5, 245-6.

33.Armstrong, *Supremacy of the Sovereign*, 12-3.

34.Ibid., 14.

35.Ibid., 18.

36.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 120-1.

37.D. C. Masters, "The Anglican Evangelicals in Toronto, 1870-1900," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20 (Septtember-December 1978): 52-53.

38.Christopher Fergus Headon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement Upon the Church of England in Eastern and Central Canada, 1840-1900" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1974), 244. See also *Toronto World*, 8 June 1896, p. 1.

39.*Fourth Census of Canada, Vol. I: Population* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1902), 146.

40.Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 225.

41.John Kenyon, "The Influence of the Oxford Movement Upon the Church of England in Upper Canada," *Ontario History: Papers and Records* 51 (Spring 1959):92.

42.Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 128.

43.Headon, "Influence of the Oxford Movement," 281.

44."A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving: To be used yearly upon the Fifth Day of November," in *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland* (London: Printed by George E. Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1841), n.p.

45."A Form of Prayer with Fasting: To be Used Yearly on the Thirtieth Day of January," ibid.

46."A Form of Prayer with Thanksgiving to Almighty God," ibid.

47."Grand Memorial Sermon Delivered by Rev. Canon Hill, M.A., in Trinity Church," *St. Thomas Daily Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 1.

48.Moorman, *History of the Church in England*, 270, 277-8.

49.Neill, *Anglicanism*, 178-9.

50.The term Methodist first arose as one among a number of labels applied to the Anglican Holy Club for spiritual renewal formed at Oxford in the late 1720s. Wesley attributed the word to an ancient order of physicians. See Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), xvi, 84. See also John Wesley, "A Short History of Methodism," in *The Works of*

John Wesley, vol. 8 (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1958-9), 348.

51.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 315.

52.Ibid., 45-9, 373.

53.Wesley, "Thoughts Upon Liberty," in *Works*, 11:[34]-46.

54.Wesley, "Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power," in *Works*, 11:47-8.

55.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 378.

56.Wesley, "An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," in *Works*, vol. 8, 3-4.

57.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 386-7.

58.See R.A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, with an English trans. by William M. Green and others, 7 vols., Loeb ed. (London: Heinemann, 1957-72); Thomas Aquinas, *Nature and Grace: Selections from the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas*, trans. and ed. by A. M. Fairweather, Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954).

59.James Arminius, "Disputation XI: On the Free Will of Man and Its Powers," in *The Works of James Arminius*, London Edition, vol. 2, translated by James Nichols (London: Longman, et al., 1828; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1986), 189-96.

60.Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity*, 90-3.

61.E. P. T. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture," *Journal of Social History* 7 (Summer 1974):382-405.

62.Mills, *Idea of Loyalty*, [52]-70.

63.Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 31, 39-41.

64.Irene MacCrimmon, "Samuel and Joseph Ryerse/Ryerson," in *Loyalist Families of the Grand River Branch, United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada* (Toronto: Pro Familia Publishing, 1991), 478.

65.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, 1881-1890, s.v. "Ryerson, Egerton," by R. D. Gidney.

66.Goldwin S. French, "Egerton Ryerson and the Methodist Model for Upper Canada," in *Egerton Ryerson and his Times*, N. Mcdonald and A. Chaiton, eds. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), 51.

67.Egerton Ryerson, *Letters from the Reverend Egerton Ryerson to the Hon. and Reverend Doctor Strachan, Published Originally in the Upper Canada Herald* (Kingston, U.C.: Printed at the Herald Office, 1828).

68.*DCB*, "Ryerson, Egerton."

69.Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 31.

70.Ibid., 33-4.

71.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, 1901-1910, s.v. "Smith, Goldwin," by Ramsay Cook.

72.[Egerton Ryerson], *Remarks on the Historical Mis-Statements and Fallacies of Mr. Goldwin Smith ... in the Lecture "On the Foundation of the American Colonies," and his Letters "On the Emancipation of the Colonies,"* by a Canadian (Toronto: Printed at the Leader Steam Press Establishment, 1866), 5-6.

73.Ibid., 10-1, 13.

74.Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and Their Times: From 1620 to 1816*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1880), 1:22.

75.Ibid., 3, 24-5.

76.Ibid., 20, 24-5.

77.Egerton Ryerson, *Canadian Methodism; Its Epochs and Characteristics* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), 5-13.

78.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, 1911-1920, s.v. "Carman, Albert," by Goldwin S. French.

79.Albert Carman, "The Methodist Church," in *Centennial of Canadian Methodism* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), 232-5.

80.Ryerson, *Canadian Methodism*, 1, 72; quoted in Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 9.

81.George N. Emery, "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement 1890-1914," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 (March-June, 1977): 111.

82.Cook, *Regenerators*, 4, 104, 8-10.

83.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 121.

84.David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 70.

85.Arthur R. M. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, 4th ed., rev. (Don Mills, Ont.: Longman Canada, 1964), 374.

86.Emery, "Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel, 106, 113-5.

87.Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 103-7.

88.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 7.

89.Paul Wesley Chilcote, *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism* (Metuchen, N.J.: American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press, 1991), 1, 17-25; Nancy A. Hardesty, "The Wesleyan Movement and Women's Liberation," in *Sanctification & Liberation: Liberation Theologies in Light of the Wesleyan Tradition*, ed. by Theodore Runyon (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981), 164-73.

90.Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 21.

91.Ibid., 219-20.

92.Grant, *Profusion of Spires*, 168.

93.Thomas Webster, "The Citizenship of Women," *Methodist Magazine* 37 (February 1894): 148-57.

94.Henry D. Rack, "Wesleyan Methodism 1849-1902," in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George, Gordon Rupp, general eds., 3 vols. (London: Epworth Press, 1983), 3:135-48.

95.Hugh Price Hughes, "Christianity and Woman," *Methodist Magazine* 42 (August 1895): 132-5.

96.Bryan S. Turner and Michael Hill, "Methodism and the Pietist Definition of Politics: Historical Development and Contemporary Evidence," in *Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* 8, ed. by Michael Hill (London: SCM Press, 1975), 162.

97.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 45-9.

CHAPTER II

ANGLICAN AND METHODIST RESPONSES TO THE GOLDEN JUBILEE

During Ontario's Golden Jubilee celebrations in June 1887, the discursive representations of Queen Victoria and the monarchy emanating from the pulpits and press of the Church of England and the Methodist Church were hybrids of memory, theological traditions, and responses to contemporary issues in Canada and Ontario. The forces of sacred and secular history were powerful in both churches, but the Anglicans, with a sturdy and resilient self-conception shaped by a cherished past, were able to draw upon their institutional strengths, the authority of their ecclesiastical and theological traditions to respond effectively to the social, political and religious conflicts of the time. The Methodists also were adept at yoking their evangelical heritage to a discourse of loyalty which, at its core, was a form of substitutionary piety. Nevertheless, by 1887, the historic certainties of Methodism were being challenged by Darwin's theory, the German higher criticism, and theological liberalism, developments which began to shake the foundations of John Wesley's legacy. The intellectual crisis had a much more profound impact on Methodism than on Anglicanism, and the difference between the two churches' understandings of divine and human reality began to appear in their respective narratives on Queen Victoria and her empire during the commemorations of 1887.

To be sure, the Church of England was not wholly immune to the startling implications of Darwinism and European scholarship, but the structure of Christian authority and its embodiment and representation within the Church both moderated and eased Anglican accommodation to the new ideas. The Anglican use of the past to control its discourse of loyalty to Queen Victoria and the mother country was remarkably consistent, even when it defensively launched salvos against disaffected groups in the population. On the other hand, the scientific discoveries and the innovations in the fields of biblical criticism and liberal

theology forced many Methodists into a re-examination of Wesley's sacred trust. Despite preserving the substance of the Methodist tradition in 1887, there is buried within some of the discourse hints of a God who was immanent in the spirit of human progress, intimations of a new language which would blossom into the social gospel. In their discourse of loyalty to the sovereign, the Methodists invoked their theology on the assurance of salvation and entire sanctification, but they also began to import categories of thought which were ultimately alien to Wesley's original formulation. Throughout the late nineteenth century, Ontario Anglicans remained committed to the idea of a transcendent God. The Methodists slowly began to divest themselves of their Wesleyan-Arminian roots and moved towards a God of immanence. This gap, which was beginning to take shape between the two churches in 1887, was to become even more apparent ten years later during the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

The first objective of this chapter is to provide an overview and comparison of Anglican and Methodist loyalty narratives on the sovereign, but with reference to the context of religious animosity which disturbed the peace of the province at the time. One significant aspect surrounding the commemorations for the queen's Golden Jubilee was the ongoing tension between the Irish Catholic and Protestant communities. The Anglicans, sensitive to what they saw as powerful undercurrents of disloyalty running through the fiery rhetoric of the Irish Catholic press, tended to exhibit a more alarmist and protective tone than did their Methodist colleagues. The latter, separated for over a century from their roots in the English church and still possessing a lively memory of their conflicts with Strachan and the Anglican hierarchy in early Upper Canada, probably had less of an emotional investment in the institution of the crown. The comments of some Methodist clergymen betrayed an ambivalence towards the jubilee event, and in certain instances, they were slightly more candid in their attitudes towards the sovereign, an expression of innocence that was absent in the more chauvinistic messages which rang out from the pulpits of the Church of England. The

Methodist reaction to the Golden Jubilee and the sovereign was mixed, varying from barely concealed equivocation, perhaps reflecting a latent discontent with the political status quo and the problems of Confederation, to a warm approbation of the queen and the British connection. Any doubts or uncertainty about the monarchical connection and Queen Victoria appeared to have vanished by the time of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, suggesting that Methodist attitudes in 1887 were products of apathy and political alienation rather than festering memories of the Upper Canadian experience. It remains clear that the Anglicans deployed their tradition to counter what they saw as disturbing and even dangerous challenges to the constituted order of the state. The political, social, and religious context was an Anglican concern. The rapidly emerging intellectual crisis of the era posed a growing and gnawing problem which demanded the attention of the Methodists. In both churches however, the aim was to focus the allegiance of the laity on Queen Victoria, the symbol of national unity in a country wracked by political, regional, and religious divisions.

The second objective of this chapter is to explore and interpret the variant ideas of authority as understood by the Anglicans and the Methodists in their respective portrayals of queen and throne. Chapter I offered a brief discussion of natural and revealed law, and nature and grace in historical theology. When God's two kingdoms, that of nature, including human community, and that of redemption, the divine plan of restoration through Christ, coexisted in harmony, as in the Church of England, where divine grace was mediated through a liturgy controlled by bishop and priest, then sacred and secular order tended to intersect in the external institutions of the Church and the crown. In the Wesleyan tradition, scripture reading and private prayer, pathways to God, were considered to be the vital means of grace leading to salvation and holiness. Thus order began in the restored spiritual state of the converted sinner. This chapter offers some insights into how theology, filtered through the popular renderings of loyalty towards Queen Victoria, translated into disparate perceptions of

hierarchy and authority.

As a third objective, the chapter explores the sermons and writings of Anglican and Methodist discourse on the queen in order to explore contemporary ideas of power, equality, and the role of women in society. The dutiful and obedient queen of the Church of England, the Anglican sovereign who represented God's order for pan-Britannia, was transformed in Methodist discourse into the righteous queen, the servant of the Lord, even the suffering servant who reached out to the poor, the oppressed, and the hurting masses of the empire. In Anglican thought, Queen Victoria ruled at the pinnacle of God's temporal and hierarchical realm, a symbolic vestige of an older, almost mediaeval, political theology, the organic vision which stressed the unitive nature of church, state, and society. In Methodist portraits, the sovereign was re-imaged as the queen who, in her achievements and sorrows, identified with the common man and woman, especially the latter for whom Victoria was the paradigmatic model of the great women of the era. Both groups infused the contemporary ideology of domesticity, with its figure of the virtuous mother, into their discursive representations of the sovereign, and by so doing reinforced the familial and social dimension of the organic conception of British civilization. Queen Victoria became, not simply a cultural icon, but a theological site upon which Methodists and Anglicans could construct their own unique cathedrals of identity. In each case, self-definition was affirmed through narratives of loyalty that were at once pious, political, and ideological.

Tradition and secular memory may have carried more baggage for the Anglican clergy than it did for the Methodists, but the latter were not necessarily quietist in their political thought and opinion. If the ghosts of seventeenth-century royal absolutism were hovering on the fringes of some Anglican pulpits, the Methodists, with a more democratic temper, were often prepared to initiate their defence of democracy with an overt rejection of divine right. Of course, the Church of England did not defend outmoded political theories, but its

intellectual traditions had evolved through a long process of historical compromise. On the other hand, the Methodists having broken from their Anglican roots and mindful of their conflicts with Strachan and the governing authorities in early Upper Canada, were more likely to defend the tenets of political liberalism, but within the configuration of constitutional monarchy.

Of the twenty-three Anglican and eleven Methodist sermons from May-June 1887, located in urban and rural newspapers, twelve have been selected either for brief or extended analysis. Some sermons exist only in summary form or as short reports. However, the homiletic evidence is a representative cross-section of Anglican and Methodist opinion from Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, and a few smaller communities. Added to these sources are two articles, one by Albert Carman, the general superintendent of the Methodist Church, and another by William Withrow, both appearing in the June 1887 issue of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*. Other evidence culled from reports of conferences, meetings of synods, and Catholic reaction round out the source literature used in this chapter. The Golden Jubilee, being a less exuberant celebration in Canada than the queen's Diamond Jubilee ten years later, left less documentary evidence for historical examination. Nevertheless, the selections offer rich and varied insights into perceptions of the monarchy by Anglican and Methodist divines in Ontario in 1887.

Context: Conflict and Reaction

Royal commemoration in late Victorian Ontario occurred within social and political contexts which shaped the content and nature of the celebrations. The Golden Jubilee in Ontario should be evaluated within the context of ongoing religious tensions and disputation between the Irish Catholic and Protestant communities during the spring of 1887. For example, Catholic animosity towards Anglicanism was evident in the pages of a London Ontario weekly, the *Catholic Record*. In a series of articles published from 2 April to 28

May, the *Record* attacked the central claims of the Church of England. First to fall before the holy sword of papal authority was the Anglican doctrine of apostolic succession and the independence of the English Church, a theory dear to the mind of the Oxford Movement.[1] Subsequently, and not without immediate significance given the approaching jubilee, the series continued with a vigorous assault on the history and practice of the royal supremacy.[2]

The June celebrations for the Golden Jubilee in Ontario also transpired against an event that had fomented ethnic and religious animosity only weeks before. The Irish Catholic temperament in the province had been nurtured on memories of the famine and the contemporary problem of tenant evictions in Ireland. In May, only days before the queen's birthday, William O'Brien, a Dublin editor and fiery nationalist, was touring Ontario and publicly condemning the evictions on the Luggacurran estates, owned by the Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927), the governor general of Canada (1883-1888).[3] O'Brien's appearances attracted large crowds, and in Toronto his attempts to address the city's Irish nationalists resulted in clashes between the Orange and the Green, a type of sectarian confrontation which was not uncommon in late nineteenth century Ontario.[4] O'Brien was mobbed and injured on 18 May, but continued on his controversial tour of the province.[5] Among the Irish Catholics, respect for the queen and the British connection was problematic. The anger directed at the queen's representative and the sovereign can be gauged by the attitudes and actions of the Catholic Archbishop of Toronto, John Joseph Lynch (1816-1888),[6] who allegedly described Lansdowne as "an exorbitant and tyrannical landlord," and "the oppressor of the poor."[7] Perhaps believing that silence would be the most deafening form of protest against the policies of the British government towards Ireland, Lynch prohibited the ringing of church bells in honour of Queen Victoria on Sunday, 19 June.[8] The O'Brien affair was one indicator of the rising crescendo of political, ethnic, and religious discord that plagued Canada in 1887.[9]

The religious tensions were manifestly troubling for some Anglican clergymen in late

May and June. On the morning of Sunday, 22 May, a month before the commemoration of the Golden Jubilee, Toronto's illustrious volunteer regiment, the Queen's Own Rifles, held a parade and service in honour of the queen on her upcoming birthday, at the exhibition grounds in the town of Napanee. The sermon was preached by the Anglican chaplain of the regiment, the Reverend George Lloyd (b. 1861). A veteran of the Riel Rebellion, Lloyd was later memorialized by the British colony which founded Lloydminster, on the Saskatchewan-Alberta border.[10] Although the newspaper report provides only a brief outline of Lloyd's sermon, it offers a tantalizing hint of the effects of contemporary events on traditional loyalties. Like most Anglican clerics of the time, Lloyd instinctively believed that obedience to the monarch received divine sanction in the inspired word of God, and in this instance, in verses selected from one of the pastoral letters traditionally attributed to Paul, the First Epistle to Timothy. The biblical writer exhorts his Christian followers to give "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and ... thanks for all men; For kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."[11] Lloyd clearly intended the text to be taken as a test of loyalty to the sovereign, and he made "a passing reference to the disloyalty of a section of the community ... and the frivolous reasons which actuate[d] the disloyalty in many instances."[12]

> He appealed to those not thoroughly loyal to throw off the uniform of a sovereign they did not and could not support heartily, and to those who were truly loyal to the noblest and grandest sovereign the British or any other nation had ever been blessed with, to evince it by singing heartily the National Anthem.[13]

Realizing that the uniformed volunteers and others in attendance would represent a cross-section of Toronto's religious communities, Lloyd wisely avoided reference to any particular group, but he would have been aware of William O'Brien and the uproar which the Irish speaker had created in Toronto and elsewhere. To meet the challenges from such rebels and the anti-British venom that spewed forth from outspoken Irish nationalists in the province,

Lloyd and other Anglican clergy felt compelled to defend the queen and their faith.

The truculent tone was repeated by Canon W. B. Curran of St. Thomas Church, Hamilton. Curran's address, delivered to the 13th Battalion band, in attendance with the Hamilton Field Battery at the service of 22 May, made an overt reference to O'Brien.

> All the peoples in the British Empire are loyal to their sovereign, except a mere handful who seek dismemberment... Criticizing those who now seek to dissolve the Empire and incite rebellion, the preacher said all loyal citizens should frown them down. It is not right for a mob to stone an individual, but a stand must be taken against those who slander our constitution. Let them be put to shame for their lies.[14]

Going on the offensive against disloyalty was secondary to Curran's message which bound the well-being of the pan-Britannic nation to the vitality of the Christian church, implying Protestantism in the wider, but Anglicanism in the more restricted, sense. For his text he chose Deuteronomy 4:7, "For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon Him for." "Deuteronomy," wrote a British cleric, the Reverend James Wolfendale in his 1887 commentary, "recapitulates" Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and "in a hortatory strain, embracing both history and legislation," seeks to "arous[e] true fidelity to the covenant, and secur[e] its lasting duration."[15] Curran probably would have subscribed to Wolfendale's homiletic lesson on Deuteronomy 4:7:

> If England disregards the Sabbath, neglects her duty and improves not her religious advantages, no science or legislation can preserve her superiority. Her glory will decay, and it may be more tolerable for rude nations, for Sodom and Gomorrah, at the day of judgment than for her.[16]

Wolfendale's comments bear the imprint of the providentialist's belief that when a person or a nation was elected by God to fulfill a divine responsibility in the world, a price would be paid for lapsing into sloth or quietism. In Victorian Ontario, the idea of God's governing providence persisted among Anglican and other Protestant clergymen. Curran was no exception to the pattern. He argued that "as they [i.e., the Israelites] forgot Jehovah so

they decreased in power and prosperity." So also, the "immensity of the Empire ... bound together by ties stronger than steel" was not unconnected to the fact that the queen, "a pure woman, a good mother, a sympathetic and wise ruler," was "above all, a God-fearing woman." A nation of the truly faithful would be divinely blessed by a sanctified leadership.[17]

In conjoining the greatness of the empire to Victoria's Christian faith and feminine purity, he was expounding a religious argument through which the queen's virtuous, female persona was symbolically linked to the righteousness of England and the imperial endeavour. In common with most of the clergy and other commentators, Curran denied Victoria any real power or even personal autonomy. In fact, the feminine imagery of the monarch, as constructed by ministers and writers of the time, "echo[ed]," to quote Margaret Homans, "the distinctive discourse of constitutional monarchy: passivity, moral power, duty, and being and appearing in lieu of originating or executing politically engaged action."[18] However, Curran did not overtly invoke the metaphor of the imperial mother. As the theses of Homans and other feminist scholars indicate, this discourse had been long under construction, especially in Britain, but in Ontario the mother of the empire, while not absent at this time, would become more audible by 1897. In Curran's brief sermon can be seen the intersection between older intellectual traditions on the divine order of church and state, and an ideology of gender derived from the evangelical revival and romanticism.

On the same Sunday morning that Lloyd was speaking to his regiment in Napanee and Curran was addressing the local volunteers in Hamilton, J. S. Lauder (1829-1900),[19] the Archdeacon of Ottawa, was holding divine service in St. George's Cathedral in Kingston. Lauder was the chaplain of the Governor-General's Foot Guards, and he accompanied the regiment to Kingston to deliver the annual patriotic sermon. Lauder's message is an interesting example of the influence of traditional Anglican thought on the relationship

between the Church of England and the state. The sermon inculcated the necessity for all Anglicans to submit obediently to the constituted authorities of nation and community. Fitting easily into the mold of the High Church tradition, Lauder was an advocate of the Oxford Movement and liturgical renewal. Although having been sometimes subjected to charges and innuendos of leaning towards Roman Catholicism, he never wavered from an unshakeable allegiance to the Church of England.[20]

The presence of a prominent regiment visibly reinforced the pulpit lesson on the necessity for obedience to the constituted authorities. Lauder's sermon, like the liturgical order of worship, possessed its own symbolism and decorum. He opened with the first sentence of Hebrews 13:17, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves." The text was calculated to first exploit an apparent meaning, to stress "the importance of duty and obedience" for "the order of society."[21] In fact, he was coyly proceeding towards an intimation that patriotism and faith, guarded by a loyal Christian church, ought to be an integral component of the authority required to maintain peace and good order within Her Majesty's realms.

To understand the flow of Lauder's thought, it is necessary to realize that the Epistle to the Hebrews focuses on the centrality of Jesus, and was intended by its author to give encouragement to early Jewish Christians who were suffering persecution, and may have been seeking refuge in a return to the law and ritualistic certainties of Judaism.[22] The letter, resembling a sermon in its hortatory structure, is concerned with "the Law in relation to Christ," stated the Reverend J. Barmby, the vicar of Pittington, in his exposition on Hebrews first published in 1886 for the *Pulpit Commentary*. As the remainder of the verse indicates, the biblical writer was referring, not to the civil governors, but rather, to the church leaders and elders: "[F]or they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you." In arguing that the verse

emphasizes "the duty of submission" to the congregational leaders, Barmby was privileging the sacred origins of a separate ministry of church leaders who deserved respect and obedience.[23] The Reverend C. Jerdan, adding a homiletic note in Barmby's work, stated that "[t]he present age is characterized not only by a healthy independence of thought, but also by an unhealthy impatience of legitimate authority—at once in the family, in the state, and in the Church."[24] It was this principle of spiritual governance which Lauder viewed as the foundation of order in the Church, the state, and society.

Lauder proceeded to construct the two pillars of duty which supported the divine and civil order of the queen's realm. "Man's first duty was to God, who created and redeemed him, and in whom he lived and moved and had his being," he proclaimed, prefacing readings on the Anglican's proper attitude towards God from that venerable, extra-biblical authority, the catechism in the *Book of Common Prayer*. "Man's next duty is to the sovereign of his count[r]y," and again he turned to the catechism.[25]

> My duty ... is ... to honour and obey the Queen, and all that are put in authority under her; to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters..."[26]

Lauder was purposely distinguishing between personal faith as obedience to God, and the Christian's duty towards the sovereign and the spiritual authorities, the traditional bulwarks of social and political stability. Lauder would have understood that the ministry of Word and sacrament was central to the spiritual authority of the Church of England, and not to be usurped by the reigning monarch, as stipulated in the thirty-seventh of those Articles confirmed at the convocation held in London in 1562.[27] At the same time, the throne was instituted by God, and integral to the preservation of order, both secular and sacred. Of course, the queen added lustre to the crown by virtue of her pure Christian life and true womanhood, a providential blessing which only confirmed that England's temporal sovereignty was pleasing to God in His divine plan for the nation. Loyalty to the monarch was

cultivated as a Christian moral duty of the first rank, and it was a sentiment anchored in the Anglican past.

The sermons of George Lloyd and W. B. Curran suggest that some churchmen were ready to circle the wagons in defence of a people and a nation which they believed to be under siege. Obviously, there was no universal consensus on loyalty to the queen and the fiftieth anniversary commemorations, but the Church of England's clerics were in no mood to surrender either to apathy or to the disaffected. In fact however, they were less interested in mobilizing unanimous consent than in reassuring Anglicans and others that the monarchy rested on a solid historical and Christian foundation, and that Queen Victoria, the symbol of political order and national unity, was indeed God's answer to any who were tempted to doubt the justice of God's mighty acts in the affairs of Britain and her empire. It is also evident, as the address of J. S. Lauder indicates, that the Church of England, despite its internal squabbles in Canada, possessed a resilient, if conservative, intellectual, political, and theological heritage which was comforting to the laity of the period. Lauder drew upon historically determined and mutually reinforcing symbols of civil and divine order, a dualism which resides in Hooker, and which the late Eric Voegelin, in the first volume of his *Order and History*, aptly described as the "*theologia civilis* and *theologia supranaturalis*," the "temporal and spiritual powers, of secular state and church."[28]

If Anglican parishioners had a heightened sense of loyalty to this ancient civil and ecclesiastical order, symbolized in part by their reverence for Queen Victoria, Methodists in contrast, sought to defend their loyalty in spite of secular memories of maltreatment at the hands of the early Upper Canadian oligarchy which had been deeply suspicious of the American itinerant rabble spreading their seditious brand of religion among the pioneer populace.[29] Even in 1887 Methodists discovered that they were not necessarily immune to what they perceived as slights on their loyalty and status as British subjects.

Towards the end of May, the Montreal conference of the Methodist Church, a large district extending to Ottawa in the north and into eastern Ontario, held its annual meeting in Kingston. On the morning of Monday, 30 May, the Reverend William Scott (1833-1913),[30] who had been delegated to draft a congratulatory address to the queen, asked to be released from this duty "because, as the general conference had forwarded an address, it was not necessary for the annual conference to do the same." Scott was granted his request, but the newspaper reports gave a more honest appraisal of what had transpired.[31]

> The superintendent then read a letter which stated addresses to the Queen from non-conformist bodies would have to be presented through the colonial secretary; and not by delegates which might be sent with them. This amendment created some surprise. The superintendent said he hoped the writer of the letter who is high in authority, was mistaken, when two clergymen remarked that the methodists were as loyal as the members of any other church, and Rev F Chisholm brought the brief debate to a close by saying that some people evidently thought non-conformists had dynamite in their clothes.[32]

Such pinpricks from the establishment carried implications of social inferiority, an innuendo that the Methodists, more egalitarian and democratic in their politics than their Anglican cousins, were naturally quick to reject. There was an undercurrent of ambivalence, and the pronouncements of the ministry naturally reflected the interaction between memory and the immediate context.

In Kingston, on 19 June, the Reverend Richard Whiting (ca. 1820-1900)[33] led a Methodist union service in honour of the queen. Only a summary report survives with no substantive information on Whiting's sermon, but there is a subtle hint of one Methodist's rejection of any lingering stigma of disloyalty inherited from earlier decades. After speaking briefly on the Hebrew jubilee, Whiting turned to the present commemoration and "humourously vindicated the right of Methodists to celebrate it not only because of their characteristic loyalty, but because of their fondness for a jubilant piety."[34]

Whiting's comment, probably a covert reference to the charges of disaffection which

Methodists often experienced in early Upper Canada, was openly addressed by the Reverend William Henry Withrow (1839-1908), an important figure in the Methodist Church of Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Withrow was the editor of a literary, social and religious monthly, the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, from 1875 until its demise in 1906.[35] In an article "Our Gracious Queen," published in the issue of June 1887, Withrow alluded to the historic loyalty of Methodists even in times when their allegiance was put to the test.

> Methodists are everywhere characterized by their conspicuous devotion to the person and crown of their rightful ruler. Without reserve they recognize their duty to fear God and honour the king. This they did in troublous times, when their loyalty was sorely tried by civil and religious disabilities, by petty persecutions and groundless aspersions. This they do with an added zest and a more enthusiastic devotion when all disabilities are removed, and when the Sovereign is one whose private virtues and personal attributes, no less than her official dignity, are calculated to call forth the truest fealty of soul.[36]

Identity is synthesized, notes David Lowenthal "in a unifying web of retrospection."[37] Lowenthal is speaking of the formation of personal memory, but his comment is relevant to Withrow's reminiscence on the recent past. Buried within the narrative is an affirmation of Egerton Ryerson's vision of a wider loyalty, and its victory over the narrower perspective and polemics of John Strachan.[38] Withrow was unable to forget that Methodist identity in Ontario had been partly shaped by earlier conflicts with the colonial leaders, and his understanding of loyalty to the queen and the crown was framed by memories of historical justification. Withrow, in common with most Methodist ministers, did not permit real or imagined injuries in the past to control his discourse on the queen. On the contrary, traditional Wesleyan charity largely overcame any lingering shadows from yesteryear.

On occasion, the utterances from Methodist pulpits displayed a candor which probably would have been considered inappropriate in an Anglican setting. A brief illustration of such innocence can be found in the remnant of a sermon delivered by the Reverend Charles O. Johnston (1853-1916)[39] at the Gore Street Methodist Church in Hamilton on Sunday, 19

June.

> The value of Great Britain's crown has been enhanced beyond calculation by having rested for fifty years upon the head of an unstained Queen.... I have heard it charged against the Queen that she is selfish. That may or may not be true; people like to judge others better than themselves, and particularly those above them. But I say, if liberality means licentiousness, then God be praised for a Queen who, if selfish, is pure, and who, through 50 years, has kept her court morally clean.[40]

Johnston's parenthetical interjection on Victoria's rumoured self-centredness might be understandable when one considers that Methodism had been isolated for a century from the experience of sacred awe and reverence for the crown long associated with the Church of England. The emphasis on morality in Johnston and most of his colleagues was inherited from Wesley and the *Rules of the United Societies*, first printed in 1743.[41] The Methodist narratives on the queen also reinforce the point made by Turner and Hill, that Wesleyan political language was essentially a moral one.[42]

Another example of Methodist comment exposes the complexity of the interactions between past and present, in this case, between personal and collective memories on the one hand, and the effects of the Irish problem on the other. The Reverend Dr. Alexander Burns (1834-1900),[43] the Prinicipal of the Wesleyan Ladies College in Hamilton, delivered the oration to the graduating class at Centenary Church in Hamilton on Sunday evening, 19 June. The 1898 edition of *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* recorded that Burns' family had emigrated from Ireland to Upper Canada in 1847. After committing to the Methodists he pursued a university education, eventually distinguishing himself in Wesleyan educational institutions in the United States. He returned to Ontario and assumed the administration of the Hamilton Ladies College in 1878. Burns was typical of the late nineteenth-century progressive clergyman in the Methodist Church. The losing Liberal candidate for Hamilton in the general election of 1887, he was a "pronounced Radical and a Home-Ruler ... was nominated as a del. to the Irish National Con. held in Dublin, 1896 ... a free trader: opposed

to an Upper House; believes in the equality of all churches; opposed to exemptions; a Henry George man as far as practicable; opposed to Separate Schs., but believes that the curriculum of the Common Schs. could and should be made acceptable to all."[44]

The major part of Burns' sermon was a celebration of the historical victories over obscurantism and tyrannies of all kinds, but especially over the anti-intellectual despotisms associated with the Christian church in earlier centuries, and over the "bondage of literalism and bibliolatry" which still plagued his own era. Following an eloquent criticism of Christianity's past, and an imaginative foray into the future where he saw the possibility of a "million million worlds immeasurably larger than ours and more densely peopled with intelligences," he turned to a vituperative attack on the evils of Western civilization and its abuse of the world's masses. "Is the oppression of the many for the pampering of the few the aim of civilization?" he asked. Burns was an egalitarian and from that perspective he turned to the sovereign and her reign.[45]

> This is the Jubilee of our good Queen Victoria.... I had hoped that in this Jubilee year the sound of rejoicing might be heard in every Province of her vast empire. I don't blame Her Majesty for the distracted and sorrowful condition of my native country.... I cannot help thinking, however, that if Her Majesty had visited poor Ireland and seen her people and shown an interest in their sorrows, her kind, queenly, Teutonic heart would have responded to their Celtic warmth of loyalty, and a sympathy would have been established between the good Queen and my countrymen that would have done more to solve the difficulties of the Irish problem than all the Viceroys and Coercion Bills that have ever been forced upon that unhappy country. As it is, I believe she is our friend, and I cannot but think that a nature so noble and good must be in sympathy with the distressed and oppressed everywhere...[46]

Although Burns made no reference to the O'Brien affair of the previous month, the incident may have been on his mind. He had an emotional investment in Ireland's distress, and his loyalty to Queen Victoria seems to have been framed by nostalgia coupled to a firm belief in equal justice for all. Burns also exploited the image of the people's monarch, the sovereign who identified with the poor and oppressed of her realm. A common feature in the royalist panegyric of late nineteenth-century Ontario Methodism, this theme is explored in greater

depth later in the chapter.

The political, social, and religious tensions in Ontario in 1887 dampened enthusiasm for the Golden Jubilee and challenged the efforts of the clerical establishment to foster national unity through their praises of Queen Victoria. Irish Catholic hostility contributed to the defensive posture of the Anglican clergy. The Methodists, with less of an historical attachment to the throne, exhibited a mixed and often ambivalent response to the event, but were quick to defend their loyalty, especially when incidental circumstances were perceived to challenge their collective self-esteem. In essence, the aural discourse of commemoration, however much it was intended to be a positive affirmation of the queen and her reign, was contaminated, if only minimally, by an Anglican fear of disaffection in the populace, and by Methodist equivocation.

The argument of Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine is relevant to the interpretation of Anglican and Methodist sources pertaining to the provincial commemorations on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee in 1887. Independently of opposing theories pitting social conflict against functionalist models of ceremonial events, context is important to the process of interpretation.[47] Sacred traditions, secular memories, personal biases and idiosyncracies came together in distinct affirmations of sovereignty and collective identity, but not without necessary responses to the social and political environment of the jubilee event in Canada and Ontario.

Church and Sovereign: The Outlines of Authority and Order

Through the commemorative jubilee discourse on Queen Victoria, this section offers a few illustrations of the symbolic construction and understanding of order as found within the Anglican and Methodist communions in 1887. The Anglicans and the Methodists derived their conceptions of authority in the state from varying understandings of theology and ecclesiastical polity. From its ancient origins, the Church of England preserved a sense that

God's grace and redeeming work were primarily effected through the Church as the body of Christ in the created human order. The Methodists were historically committed to the efficacy of the private means of experiencing God's grace through personal and family devotions, prayer and scriptural reading. They did not neglect the public ministries of the sacrament and the Word, but the necessity for conversion and a disciplined spirituality leading to a more holy life had led to the tendency to distinguish between creation and grace, and between reason and private revelation.

On the morning of Tuesday, 21 June 1887, at Christ Church in Ottawa, Archdeacon J. S. Lauder preached the sermon at a special jubilee service. In attendance were the governor general and his wife, other visiting dignitaries, and a guard of honour consisting of army and navy veterans. The quintessential example of an Anglican royalist sermon from late Victorian Ontario, Lauder's message is a reflection on the sovereign and her reign since 1837. The address illustrates how one loyal spokesman of the period conceived of the Victorian era to 1887 as a study in moral authority and obligation. Lauder used the queen's reign to validate the present, to cement Anglican identity within the scheme of the political and social order, and finally to offer guidance to Canadians for the future. In other words, the sermon lends strong support to Lowenthal's comments on the perceived benefits that are often derived from popular understandings and expositions of former times.[48] Although progress over the queen's fifty years is one of its highlights, the sermon is actually a paean to the virtues of continuity and peaceful stability. To speak metaphorically, Lauder's jubilee oration on the royal reign is much more a celebration of Parmenides than of Heraclitus.

The sermon was delivered in three main sections. The introduction offered thanks to God for the queen, and repeated much of the popular mythology and clichés commonly uttered in praise of Victoria's pure Christian life. The second theme, omitted from this analysis, paid tribute to the scientific, material and spiritual advances since 1837. The third

and concluding section addressed Canada's present and future possibilities.

"Let the people praise Thee O God, let all the people praise Thee," began the Archdeacon, reading from the sixty-seventh Psalm, and focusing on verse three (repeated in verse five).[49] The biblical passage made crystal clear that the homage being paid to Queen Victoria was completely dependent on giving thanks to God. It is most unlikely that Lauder chose Psalm 67 in isolation from contemporary biblical exegesis, which often carried the ideological baggage of the time, but couched sometimes, in the language of providentiality. In a commentary on the Psalms published ca. 1881, the Reverend William Jones, an English expositor, interpreted Psalm 67 as a "missionary prayer of the church." Verses one and two offer the hope, he suggested, "that God may be known by all men," and verses three and verse five, "that God may be worshipped by all men." Jones was being perfectly reasonable in interpreting the psalm as a hymn or prayer of hope for the saving revelation of God among all the nations and peoples of the ancient world, but he also understood it as a divine foreshadowing of the worldwide missionary endeavour of the Victorian church. "A living, active, holy Church," he wrote, "would speedily result in the conversion of the world to God."[50] Jones and other expositors perceived the great commission to be the foremost project of the Protestant Christian churches during the era of imperial expansion. Lauder was well-aware that Christianity, and Anglicanism in particular, were following the pathways of empire, and in choosing Psalm 67, he carried the psalmist's praise for the Lord's merciful blessings upon Israel, and the anticipation of God's realized governance over the nations of the world, into his own reflections on the queen and her reign.

An Anglican before all else, Lauder was not about to let the congregation forget that the crown and the mitre were twinned in the symbolism of sovereignty.

> Today the Queen goes to Westminster Abbey, that old historic shrine, hallowed by so many wonderful memories, where 50 years ago she received that crown which has rested unsullied upon her head since then. She goes there again today to offer up her thanksgiving to Almighty God for all His goodness

> and mercy to her and the people over whom ... she has so happily reigned, and certainly it is fitting that we, more especially, should hold a similar service in this city, wherein the Capital of this wide Dominion is fixed, and where the most noble representative of the sovereign resides.[51]

Lauder was deliberately validating the primacy of the Church of England in the royal succession, and thereby reinforcing the importance of the Church's role as the formal and official institution of Christianity in the British state. His nostalgic description of Westminster Abbey appealed to the ordered continuity of the Church of England's ancient heritage. As Lowenthal has argued, the architectural past, simply by its familarity and its capacity to enrich the consciousness of history, can serve as one of the signposts of endurance for the present. The Abbey, being one of the Church of England's most sacred sites, evoked the sense of mystery and awe associated with precedence, remoteness and origins, those psychological attributes of antiquity discussed by Lowenthal, and which exercised an emotional hold over so many Anglicans in Ontario, especially over those who, like Lauder, had immigrated to Upper Canada many years earlier.[52]

Lauder's thought also carried a trace of Calvinism. If the accession of Queen Victoria was pregnant with moral implications for the future of her reign, it was only because the event of 1837 was a manifestation of God's providential activity in the world. In referring to the parallel between the celebration in London and the service in Ottawa, he was not suggesting that the Church in Canada either was, or ought to have been, established in some formal association with the state. Nevertheless, the presence of the vice-regal authority in an Anglican cathedral reinforced the historic connection between the Church of England and the monarchy. In Canada, the Church of England still saw itself as the spiritual home of the crown, and this fact was crucial to its unique sense of identity. Lauder's introduction thus brought together, in synergy, the temporal and the eternal authorities over England and her empire. Intrinsic and crucial to his theological understanding however, was a sense of the unity of God's grace functioning in its redemptive capacity through the Church, and through

that component of His created order represented by the authority of the crown.

Upon this foundation Lauder proceeded to construct the familiar image of the monarch based on a ready-made mythology imported from Britain. His picture of the queen was partitioned into two sections. Lauder first repeated the standard representation of the sovereign in the privacy of domestic life. The queen is portrayed as the virtuous symbol of perfect womanhood. He then turned to a florid description of England's glories, capping it with a reference to Victoria's temporal role as a constitutional monarch. Character, in the Victorian mind, was the major determinant of success or failure in leadership, and in this case, the sovereign's agency, or role, depended on the visibility of her moral and religious influence. Lauder's Queen Victoria demonstrates the capacity for the angel in the royal household to mask rather than reveal. However, his depiction of the sovereign cannot be dismissed as mere pap. The message to be distilled out of his lyric mash is that loyalty to the queen is a moral obligation. Lauder's treatment of the monarch, while it was prescriptive and uncritical, might be understood as an expression of what A. B. McKillop has identified as moral concern, central to the intellectual quest of Anglo-Canada during the Victorian era.[53]

Beginning with a description of the empire to arouse a sense of the grandeur of the celebration, he continued, "this festal day of Jubilee ... will be kept with enthusiastic devotion, not so much because it is a people's duty, as in loving affection for her who has proved herself to be perhaps, the noblest, the purest, and the best of sovereigns that has ever sat upon the throne of England."[54] The hyperbole to which he then resorted in his praise of Queen Victoria was the norm for the period, at least among Anglican and other Protestant clerics.

> We look up to Queen Victoria with just pride, as one who has filled with unassuming grace and quite [*sic*] dignity, the highest earthly station which falls to mortals, and who has adorned and beautified it by the pure virtue of her character, and the deeply religious and moral tone which she has ever cultivated and maintained in her court and household. The Queen who begins each day with the service of the church in her private chapel, who has herself

> as a true mother always conducted the religious education of her children, who has set an example of the domestic virtues, which has had its influence for good throughout England and far beyond its boundaries, who has encouraged all that is pure and right, and has steadily refused her sanction to all that is false and corrupt—such a Queen need not fear but the hearts of her people will, on this jubilee, breathe life into the prayers which are ascending from thousands of altars this day.[55]

Lauder's grandiloquence was indebted to the effusions of the English clergy, and indirectly to the ideology of domestic life that arose in the political thought of the Enlightenment, and to the Evangelicals and Romantics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, it is more important to analyze the structure of his rhetoric. The language is permeated with allusions to permanency, stability, and order in both space and time. The queen, who occupies "the highest earthly station which falls to mortals" is metaphorically elevated to a plane lying between heaven and earth. Lauder's use of spatial language also extends from the vertical to the horizontal. The royal household is as much God's domain, as it is the sovereign's. The private chapel is heaven's permanent sanctuary within the palace walls, and even the reference to the queen's religious education of her children is suggestive of a royal Sunday school, a holy inner sanctum where the young study the word of God. Similarly, through the "influence" of the queen's domestic life, the feminine virtues are seen as extending to the far corners of the world. Returning to the vertical imagery of the faith, Lauder places the jubilee celebrations at the centre of Christian worship, but this time the sanctuaries of Her Majesty's subjects are privileged, the prayers of the loyal millions "ascending from thousands of altars this day." In essence, the cognitive structure of Lauder's thought was a visual perspective characterized by a conception of heaven and earth, of state and society that was fundamentally vertical, or hierarchical. The queen was placed at the summit of the governing order, near the boundary between heaven and earth.

Centering the queen in a symbolic space of political and religious order also implied

endurance through time, and the temporal dimension is strikingly apparent in the discourse. Whether or not Lauder's assertion of the "pure virtue" of the queen's character was an echo of Platonism, his imagery was meant to convey a sense of constancy underpinning the morally ordered life of the sovereign. Indeed, the queen's being and doing are never transient, never fickle. The "deeply religious and moral tone" is "ever cultivated and maintained in her court and household." Habits of the pure heart are ritualized in the daily cycle of chapel worship, and in "always" attending to the religious education of her children. She "steadily" eschews and rebukes falsehood and corruption. Time, more accurately, the era of the sovereign's reign, is redeemed by the triumph of steadfast virtue as personified in the life of Victoria the Good, a label that was often affectionately employed in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Lauder's apprehension of time in this passage is similar to the Greek *aion* which, in the Septuagint and the New Testament, can variously mean "age, life-span, epoch," or "eternity."[56] Of course, the Christian and moral virtues were timeless verities, but Lauder was speaking of their manifestation in the sovereign, and his perception of time in the sense of *aion* was akin to the idea of a temporal epoch, age, or life-span, in this case the Victorian era. Nevertheless, he understood time as duration, an observation that conforms to Westfall's comments on the religion of order, his metaphor for Anglicanism (and Presbyterianism) in early Upper Canada.[57] Virtue was anchored in continuity without denying that Victoria and the immense blessings of her reign were divine evidences of God's providential acts in the life of England and the empire.

A further insight into Lauder's thinking on Victoria's role can be gained by examining his understanding of the sovereign's much-vaunted "influence," referring to the queen's regal embodiment of woman's moral supremacy in the home.[58] Obviously comfortable with the discourse, Lauder assured the congregation "with what a true woman's heart she [i.e., the queen] interests herself in all that concerns the nation ... the great mother of her people ... the

brightest example of those domestic and social virtues which ... produce happiness along life's way from the cottage to the throne." Such sentiments were universal by 1887, but in turning to England and the queen's role there are points where Lauder's rhetorical flourishes suggest how easily Anglican memory could intrude into Victorian ideology.

> We should be glad ... to hear from this place a few words that may tend to make our loyalty stronger and deeper ... that loyalty, combined with religion, which has not only made England great and glorious, but the pattern of civil and religious liberty throughout the world. Her flag ... gives ... protection to every man, and ensures him the justice of a righteous nation. This day ... naturally fills our hearts with thankfulness to God, because we acknowledge, not merely the inborn loyalty which binds us to the throne, and the respect which we owe to the illustrious lady who occupies that throne, but we recognize the Queen as our temporal head, as symbolizing all lawful human authority, as entrusted with that authority by divine right...[59]

Ontario Anglicans viewed the motherland as the spiritual and political centre of the world. Loyalty was tinged with nostalgia and marked by a romantic, antiquarian affection for the British Isles. Lauder's perception of England was imbued with this sentimentalism. Perhaps betraying an unexamined acceptance of the whig theory of British historical development, he celebrated the achievements of liberty, and placed England in the precious company of those "righteous" nations which had been specially favoured by God. In these remarks, Lauder came close to transforming mere loyalty into idolatry. His admiration for Britain harbored the seeds of a cultural chauvinism which was audible in Anglican sanctuaries, especially in the late nineteenth century. In this instance, Lauder perceived England's greatness and the expansion of English freedom and justice throughout the empire as the natural blessings of a nation acting in right relationship with God. The sacred and the profane were complementary. The comments on Victoria's rule by "divine right" recall the royalist apologia of the seventeenth-century. However, Lauder was not insisting on fidelity to absolutism, but to a queen who reigned by the grace of God and His merciful acts in English history.

In his conclusion, Lauder paid homage to the immediate past by recognizing that

Queen Victoria's reign "will ever be memorable in our history, as having witnessed the confederation of the scattered provinces of British North America into one Dominion." Confederation, an auspicious event, occurring as it did during the queen's reign, heralded future greatness, and Lauder echoed a common belief when he commented that Canada was "destined in the next fifty years to become a powerful nation."

> Our country will be what we choose to make it: if we are only true to the principles of justice and honesty handed down to us, if we love and reverence the God of our fathers, and teach our children the same, if we are loyal to the governing power; if we cultivate the virtues of uprightness and purity in our national, commercial and political life—and this can only be done by education based upon a religious foundation, the absence of which is our greatest danger—if we are law abiding and respectful to all who have the rule over us.... But we want no traitors nor rebels to intrude upon our heritage or tarnish its soil by their wicked designs. Canada is free, Canada is true, Canada is loyal, and her children intend to keep her so by the help of God and their own strong arm.[60]

Once again, the distant echoes of Upper Canadian Anglicanism and the ever-present spectre of disloyalty, which weaved its tentacles through the contemporary political and social fabric, controlled Lauder's final thoughts. If the future of the Dominion was to be fulfilled, certain conditions had to be met. The continuity of the Christian faith, and the virtues of loyalty and purity he believed to be firmly dependent on the maintenance of a public and Protestant educational system. The mind of the child was the key to the future, and the perennial fear of many Anglicans (and others of Protestant persuasion) was the danger that Christianity might be marginalized and then excluded from the education and moral training of the young. In Lauder's perspective, Canadian loyalty to the queen and the empire was inseparable from the guiding hand of the church. The alarm bells set ringing by the sounds of "traitors" and "rebels," perhaps referring to the recent visit of William O'Brien and his appeals to the disaffected sectors of the population, might have been intended as a warning of what could ultimately transpire if Protestant Christianity, the glue that held together the order of state and society, was to crumble and fade away. His concluding message was crystal

clear. The future existence of Canada might be in jeopardy without the continuing maintenance of social and political order guaranteed by those Christian traditions which emerged at the time of the Reformation.

Analyzing Lauder's address allows one to see the trees, but not the forest. The structural unity of the sermon is cemented by an organic conception of the monarchical state, society, and the family. Queen Victoria was not only the formal symbol of state authority, she was also the social monarch, the centre of the royal household, and in this capacity served to idealize the family as the fundamental unit of the community and the realm.

Intent on asserting the necessity for a twinned obedience to God and the crown, many Anglican churchmen turned to the Old Testament to establish the biblical sanction for a sacred monarchy. The Reverend John Ridley (b. 1845),[61] the rector at Trinity Church in Galt, also on Sunday, 19 June, began his sermon with a reading from the tenth chapter of I Samuel which narrates the anointing of Saul as the first king of Israel. The textual focus of the address was verse twenty-four, "And Samuel said to all the people, See ye whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted, and said, God save the king." Although the newspaper report is very brief, Ridley had possibly read from verses seventeen to twenty-five, which Bernhard Anderson suggests, was part of an older, Deuteronomic tradition that remained sympathetic to the rule of the Judges.[62] This passage had a long pedigree in Anglican royalist sermons, partly because verse twenty-four was the centrepiece of Britain's (and Canada's) national anthem, but more importantly, it was perhaps the principal biblical foundation justifying the relationship between the Church of England and the symbol of state in Great Britain. Through the text Ridley recounted the period from Moses and Joshua, through the time of the judges to Samuel. "Up to that time Israel had acknowledged no king but God," Ridley proclaimed. "The existing form of government was a pure theocracy," but "at the close of Samuel's successful career ...

the people ... requested a change in the form of Government and demanded a king." The request "was ultimately granted," but the monarch "was to be anointed, crowned and accepted by the people in His name." Ridley then "brought their (i.e., the parishioners') thoughts to bear upon the rites and ceremonies attached to the coronation of Queen Victoria."

> It was the Archbishop—as head of the church—who interviewed her as did Samuel with Saul, and it was he [who] anointed her with oil, according to the old custom instituted by St. Dunstan 1000 years ago, and it was he who crowned and proclaimed her Queen of the Realm, in Westminster Abbey.[63]

Once again, the power of antiquity to display its seductive charms of precedence, remoteness and origins was clearly evident. Continuing with a description of the stately ceremony, he focused on the priority given to the "3 Bishops," who led the procession "bearing the Holy Bible and the vessels for the Holy Communion." Following the declaration by the Archbishop proclaiming the sovereign as the legitimate ruler, there was a "beating of drums, blowing of trumpets and shouts of the multitude—'God Save Queen Victoria.'" Just as God, through Samuel, gave holy sanction to Saul's kingship, so also through the Church of England, did He sanctify the rule of Queen Victoria.[64]

Ridley's sermon illustrates how biblical history was popularly interpreted for the masses in order to hallow and thereby justify the monarchy and its intimate relationship with the Church of England. Ridley would probably have been in agreement with the interpretation of I Samuel by the Very Reverend Robert Payne Smith (1818-1895), the Dean of Canterbury, published in an 1880 contribution to the *Pulpit Commentary*. Payne Smith understood one of Samuel's tasks, a reluctant one, as that of establishing the kingdom, "an external necessity for Israel's orderly development."

> [Samuel's] great aim and purpose was to found a limited, or, as we might even call it, a constitutional, monarchy.... kingly power in the hands of a layman, but acting in obedience to the written law of God ... a monarchy limited by the priest and the prophet ... a monarchy active and powerful for the maintenance at all times of order, but controlled by such checks as would prevent it from becoming a despotism.[65]

In understanding one of the Israelite priesthood's functions as that of placing a necessary check on the power of the king, Payne Smith allowed the historic intellectual traditions of Anglican (and in a sense, medieval) political theology to shape his interpretation of Samuel.

Focusing solely on I Samuel 10:24 (God save the king), Payne Smith's homiletic outline identifies three messages buried within this passage. The first is a "cheerful recognition" of the king's "dignity." Saul has been "*appointed* by Divine providence," by the "invisible and eternal ruler of the universe ... the Source of all law and order." The king represents "the supreme authority and power of 'the Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men.'" "There is in every government an element which is Divine." Secondly, there is a "fervent desire" for the welfare of the king. "The preservation of *his life* ... is of great importance to the well-being of the nation." Thirdly, the exclamation calls for "loyal devotion" to the king's government. There must be "*personal obedience* to its laws ... *strenuous opposition* to its enemies," and "*faithful endeavour* to promote its efficiency and prosperity." "So far from being contrary to each other, the Christian religion and civil government are mutually helpful, and each has its part under Divine providence, the one more and the other less directly, in bringing about the time when 'the people shall be all righteous.'"[66]

Payne Smith's commentary on the first book of Samuel was not merely Christian and Protestant, it was distinctly Anglican and Victorian in its language, mannerisms, and perspectives on political order. His analysis of chapter ten also exemplifies how the biblical commentaries served to mediate the past and the present, transmitting and amplifying the effects of what Lowenthal has called "reaffirmation and validation."[67] In this case, an aspect of sacred biblical history was enriched by a contemporary authority thus reinforcing the continuing validity of historic Anglican political theology. Irrespective of Ridley's possible acquaintance with the Dean of Canterbury's work, the 1887 jubilee sermon delivered by the

rector of Trinity Church in Galt encapsulated the Church of England's conception of Britain's monarchy as the symbol of secular authority inextricably linked to the Church of England, God's mystical body of Christ active in the governance of the nation.

Within the limited corpus of homiletic literature recovered for the period under study, the Golden Jubilee sermons of J. S. Lauder and John Ridley are the best examples indicating how Anglicans preserved their tradition of transposing divine authority into the fundamental ordering institutions of the state. The Church of England was viewed as the foundation of Christian order in the British nation, and the monarchy was the symbol of the civil power, its religious basis validated by Queen Victoria. Together, Church and crown maintained the unity of the nation while ensuring that there were necessary checks on the growth of tyranny or absolutism. The relation between God and pan-Britannia was indirect, mediated by the purely temporal sources of authority. In contrast, the Methodists, governed by their inheritance of the Wesleyan-Arminian synthesis of the spiritual sense and the free will of the person to accept salvation in Christ, located God's order in the regenerated individual. No better example could be found than in Queen Victoria, the symbol of the sanctified Christian.

The theological links between divine and royal authority in late nineteenth-century Canadian Methodism can be gauged by an article which appeared in the June 1887 issue of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*. Written by Albert Carman, "Our Queen's Jubilee" was a florid, mawkish essay in which Carman suggested that the cultivation of loyalty to the sovereign was a correlate of Christian faith. "There is a sense, by no means degrading or irreverent, in which the language of prophetic inspiration concerning the Church of Christ may be spoken in all gratitude and humility of the sublime exaltation of our Queen, our throne, and our empire among the peoples and powers of all lands: 'The nations shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.'" The imagery of light, which he invoked with the quote from Isaiah 60:3 (the revised version with its substitution of "nations" for the

King James' "Gentiles"), was his unifying symbol for the article. Embarking on a Whig interpretation of British history, Carman constantly infused the language of illumination into his thought, describing Britain as having emerged from a "deep and dark ... gulf" into "the resplendent light of the peoples." In a similar vein, he proclaimed that "[t]he glories of this reign of our noble Queen ... gather in light and glory from bright successions of illustrious events and long lines of royal splendours." "Our Queen letteth royal light, royal splendours shine," he exclaimed. "She receiveth the light and transmitteth it," he added, extolling Victoria's virtues as shining manifestations of a life illumined by the brilliance of God's glory.[68]

Carman's rhetorical flourishes led his readers towards a definition of loyalty which offers an insight into the connection between Methodist fidelity to the sovereign and the traditional Wesleyan understanding of the relationship between reason and revelation. The divine light filling the darkened soul, reveals, or discloses that which can neither be seen nor comprehended through the natural senses or human reason alone. The imagery is visual, but an inner spiritual state rather than any external place is privileged. Methodist subjectivity took precedence over Anglican objectivity. The figurative language of the narrative substitutes eternal for any temporal, meaning earthly, conception of time. Past, present, and future are collapsed into the divine instant of illumination, perhaps Carman's intimation of time as *kairos*,[69] in its meaning as the moment of decision so important in the experience of the new birth in Christ. Echoing Wesley's hypothesis attributing the reality of divine experiences to the existence of "spiritual senses,"[70] Carman did not obliterate reason, but he compelled it to submit to the individual's consciousness of God's presence.

Neither the ideas nor the language were fleeting will-o'-the wisp musings for Carman at this time. In 1889, he published a book on the Holy Spirit, *The Guiding Eye*, in which he sought to establish a reasoned defence of the doctrine concerning God's guiding presence in

the Christian believer. With reference to a passage from the Gospel of John at the beginning of chapter one in this book, Carman wrote of the "bright beam of the *full-orbed doctrine of the Holy Ghost*, shining out steadily and clearly from the central Godhead upon all pure, moral beings; and ... especially upon the human race in its upward struggle to purity and everlasting light."[71]

Carman imported this Wesleyan theology of spiritual experience into his discourse on Queen Victoria, but innocently, almost imperceptibly, he moved from an epistemological perspective to an ontological one. The distinction between reason and revelation, a question of knowing, was transformed into a distinction between nature and grace, a question of being and existence. The light of heaven shining upon the queen and making visible Victoria's pure, beautiful life, was Carman's metaphor of revelation, but the essence of divine disclosure was God's saving grace, seen in the unsullied Christian faith and sanctified virtues of the sovereign. "Loving our Queen ... we go a long way toward loving what things are true, what things are honest, what things are just, what are pure, what are lovely, and what are of good report. This respect, honour and love are loyalty," and he submitted that "true loyalty to a Sovereign ... and true worship of the Sovereign Lord of all, are in some measure alike, in some regard akin. Both are ennobling: they invigorate virtue, purify and elevate society, and bless and adorn our human kind." Finally, he brought into focus the substance of his thought.

> Loyalty ... is a sentiment, to be sure: at the top, a sentiment; but down in its foundations ... in the springs of its life and power, it is a conviction, an intelligence, the eternal obeisance of reason to the true the beautiful and the good.[72]

Carman was arguing that sentiment, bearing a vital relationship to truth and common sense, was a reasonable passion. The predicate, defining loyalty as "a conviction, an intelligence, the eternal obeisance of reason to the true the beautiful and the good," is an incisive definition which penetrates to the core of Carman's understanding of fealty to the

sovereign. In picturing loyalty as reason ever genuflecting before virtue, Carman was insinuating that the reasoning human mind, as a component of God's natural creation, must ultimately submit to the higher, redemptive kingdom of God's grace. This conception of reality, or being, located divine authority in the heart of the Christian believer. Unlike the Anglicans, who located order in the external and sacred institutions of the state, Methodists preferred to situate it within the inner sanctum of the faithful soul.

Carman's imagery depicted Methodist loyalty to the sovereign as a form of political piety. In an 1890 sermon attacking Quebec ultramontanists, and published in the *Toronto Mail* on the occasion of the queen's birthday, he expressed the corollary of this view in a rhetorical question: "What is piety but the highest and purest loyalty?"[73] "Our Queen's Jubilee," was Carman's vehicle for encouraging a uniquely Methodist sense of love and reverence for Queen Victoria, but the essay was also a study in loyalty as metaphor. Allegiance to Britain's illustrious monarch symbolized the steadfast faith of the sanctified Christian who had accepted and experienced the free and unmerited gift of God's saving grace.

Albert Carman's essay might be construed as syrupy pap, but it is Methodist pap, and there is a signal buried beneath the noise and froth. Loyalty towards Queen Victoria possessed a spiritual component. To contemplate and honour the virtuous sovereign engaged the faithful Wesleyan in a vicarious experience of Christian devotion. This substitutionary piety was a free response to the providential revelation of God's presence in the life of the monarch. For Carman, and many Ontario Methodists in the late nineteenth century, loyalty to the queen was experienced as a quasi-religious sentiment, an affection more meaningful and relevant than a merely rationalist defense of the crown and the sovereign.

On Sunday evening, 19 June 1887, the Reverend William Galbraith (1842-1908),[74] a Methodist pastor in Orillia, preached on the queen's jubilee, taking his scriptural text from I

Timothy 2:1-2, Paul's passage exhorting Timothy and all believers to pray for kings and others in authority. Although Galbraith explained the meaning of the passage, his comments were deleted from the newspaper report, but the sermon was nonetheless constructed around the scriptural base with its emphasis on the necessity of prayer for the rulers. Commenting on these verses in the early nineteenth century, Adam Clarke (1760-1832), an Irish-born Wesleyan theologian and biblical expositor[75] stressed that prayer for the ruling authorities was a primary obligation when establishing sound practices of public worship. The prayers of the assembled faithful should be directed towards the security of the state and the maintenance of peace, "and the answer to their prayers ... will be the means of their being enabled to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty."[76]

Galbraith described God as the "absolute monarch of the universe," and affirmed that "He has two Kingdoms—Nature and Grace." He elaborated on the differences between these realms before embarking on a biblical and historical survey of human governance.

> His natural kingdom comprehends: all material worlds; all organic substances; all animal life, and immortal mind on earth or in heaven. His spiritual Kingdom is related to the economy of redemption. Its visible form is the Church of Christ. Its essential elements: Righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.[77]

At any other time, Galbraith would be primarily concerned with the latter (the kingdom of redemption, or grace), but God's dominion over the earth encompassed matters of the polis, including the relationship between divine and human governance. In the earliest times, God ruled "directly and personally, visibly approving the right and punishing the wrong." Through patriarchal times, God spoke through human or angelic messengers, and after the exodus, through a theocracy, "the subordinate rule of the ten Judges. Now He governs through human rulers." Galbraith vigorously emphasized that sovereignty ultimately rested with God. "Neither physical force, material wealth, nor superior education, gives any man a natural right to rule over his fellow man; the authority is delegated from Heaven." To the

degree that he attributed governance, ancient and modern, to God, Galbraith was not far removed from his colleagues in the Church of England, but he was inexorably moving towards a repudiation of tyranny as he saw it manifested in the seventeenth-century theories of divine right.[78]

Galbraith turned to the Hebrew kings, noting that they were anointed by Samuel and then by the high priests, but dynastic sovereignty remained in the hands of God, who "commanded the Hebrew Kings to keep in their possession a copy of the Divine Law, that its principles might regulate their government."

> The failure to abide by the word of God resulted in the growth of tyranny. Till within the last two centuries the doctrine of passive obedience obtained over nine-tenths of the globe. Now, it is everywhere rejected—and it is not taught in the Bible.... When unrighteous laws have been enacted the growth of intelligence and righteousness have compelled their repeal. The British constitution has grown up under Bible influence till it is the glory of the nation. The object of all government is the good of the people. The ruler is "a minister of God to thee for good." [Romans 13:4] ... It required a contest of two centuries in England to solve the problem: whether the King was for the people, or the people for the King. At last, the claims of the people prevailed.[79]

Galbraith was only being true to his tradition in attributing wise government to leaders who sought the direction of God's will as revealed in sacred scripture. The Bible, as Semple and others have noted, was the prime authority for faithful Methodists, and diligent reading of the Word was one of the two means of private grace, the other being prayer.[80] Political, social, and moral order proceeded from individuals and families living in right relationship with God. The virtues of order were witnessed in the experience of the sanctified life, and those in positions of authority would have an immense impact for good or evil, according as they accepted or rejected God's presence in their lives. Galbraith was not arguing order for order's sake, but rather that its object must be the well-being of the polity and society, and the encouragement of a sound moral life among the people. The vigorous repudiation of divine right signalled Galbraith's conviction that the sacred worth of the individual in the sight

of God was paralleled by its secular corollary, the rise of the common man in the democratic nation.

According to Galbraith, the monarchy was to be judged by the character of the reigning monarch, but the people also had their obligation to uphold and pray for valid rule and administration. He decried the violent overthrow of sovereigns and governments, and attacked "Nihilism, Communism, unprincipled party politics, and false ideas of liberty."

> It is the duty of all Christians to pray for rulers. It is essential to the highest good of those in authority. The ancient Jews and the early Christians prayed for the unrighteous rulers under whose sceptres they lived;... We should offer such prayers on account of: Their beneficial influence on ourselves; also it will make us more respectful and reverential towards our rulers. It will favourably impress the public mind towards Christianity. It will make us more candid and careful in criticising those who rule us.... The British nation has especial cause for thankfulness this Jubilee year. Since the accession of Queen Victoria it has grown marvellously in territory, in wealth, in morals, and above all, in religion; and it exerts a powerful influence over the morals of every nation where its power extends. The roar of British cannon has burst the fetters of the missionary. Our Queen's life has been always an example. We ought above all to pray for her: that her life may yet be long continued, and that, when her successor does come to the throne he may carry out the principles that have been the rule of her life and the glory of the nation.[81]

This summary returned to the lesson of I Timothy 2:1-2, the efficacy of prayer for ruler and subject. Like many Victorians, his vision of the great commission was blinkered by imperialist triumphalism, a period chauvinism which often fuelled silly and platitudinous contradictions, one being the belief that guns and the gospel were justifiable allies in the confrontation with religious and moral darkness on the frontiers of mission. In essence however, Galbraith believed that the Bible and prayer, the means through which God made manifest His divine purpose for humanity, were the bridges between the kingdoms of grace and the created human order, and if Britain, Canada, and the empire were integral and blessed domains of the latter, Queen Victoria was the supreme personification of the former.

The essay of Albert Carman and the sermon of William Galbraith are important for two reasons. First, they offer intimations of an inherent tension in the Wesleyan distinction

between nature and grace, or the sacred and the profane. The traditional prominence given to eschatology in evangelical thought was a manifestation of the inherent need to bring together God's two kingdoms of the visible creation and the eternal realm. Nature and grace were subject to the gravity of God. In Upper Canada, as Michael Gauvreau has shown, evangelical spokesmen, including Methodists, were forced to confront the subversive pessimism of premillennialist sects which undermined the message of hope intrinsic to Christian evangelical thought. The reformulation of eschatology strengthened a postmillennial prophetic vision which favoured a gradual ushering in of Christ's kingdom, a process in which Christians and their human institutions would actively participate.[82] Secondly, a faith which emphasized the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the life of the redeemed individual was already predisposed towards a God of immanence, rather than a purely supernatural deity forever existing external to His creation. By 1887, the seeds of divine immanence were being planted in the fields of a postmillennial conception of progressive revelation culminating in Christ's earthly kingdom—the kernels of a nascent social gospel which would be more in evidence by the time of the queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.

The Servant Queen: Power and the Role of Women

If the Anglicans and Methodists located their understandings of authority and order within their respective theological traditions and ecclesiastical polities, then it followed that the related ideas of power, inherent in the patriotic narratives on Queen Victoria, were also derived from certain conceptions of what constituted a just order in society and human relationships. To discern the meanings given to power and womanhood within the sources necessitates an awareness of a discursive shift, or movement, towards a language that brought together a Christian, patriotic piety and an emerging sense of social concern.

As might be expected, the Anglican churchmen tended to think of power and justice in a political or judicial sense, as something to be dispensed by the state for the benefit and

well-being of Her Majesty's obedient subjects. The episcopal structure of the Church of England was hierarchical, and scriptural authority and interpretation was mediated by the clergy who controlled the liturgy and administered the sacraments for the salvation and spiritual well-being of the laity. Theology and Bible were not uninfluenced by the higher criticism and liberal scholarship (e.g. *Lux Mundi* published in 1889),[83] but in Canada and Ontario, political and social conservatism prevailed. Anglican services in honour of the sovereign were very often visual displays of masculine power. The regiments and the men's fraternal orders were cultural discourses on structure and discipline, and the sermons, the aural complements, were lessons on the necessity of duty to God and the queen. It is not surprising that the Anglican royalist sermon, especially in 1887, seldom strayed from the acceptable religious and domestic orthodoxy on Queen Victoria. None of the eighteen Anglican sermons for the Golden Jubilee, culled from a survey of seventy-one newspapers, exhibited any critical awareness of ideas on distributive justice.

The Reverend C. H. Marsh at the evening service of 19 June, in St. James Church in Orillia, spoke about "our Queen going about among the cottagers near her home ... comforting them and encouraging them in their affliction or their toil," and in a patronizing addendum "he wished that more Canadian women followed that example set by their sovereign." "He told of the Queen's touching sympathy ... and said if more of that kindly, Christian spirit were exhibited, the vexed questions between capital and labour, between mistress and maid, would soon be solved." These remarks, actually minor interjections within a short, stereotyped Anglican homily on the usual virtues of the queen and the progress of her reign, are noteworthy only because they are suggestive of someone who, at most, may have given a little thought to social issues of the time.[84]

Similarly, the Reverend Dr. C. H. Mockridge, the rector of Christ Church Cathedral in Hamilton, may have tried to plant the seeds of racial tolerance, if not outright equality, in a

comment he made to the gathered soldiers of the 13th Battalion on Sunday afternoon, 19 June.

> It is a pleasing feature to see that well known face of the queen, surrounded by the types of all the different people who do her homage today. Men of the East with their turbaned heads, men of Africa with their swarthy skins, men of Australia with their settlers' axe, men of Canada with their sterling zeal, men of the frozen zone and the heated tropics, Christians and Mohammedans, civilized people and heathen tribes, all with one voice look up to that honored lady who has ever striven to do justice to all.[85]

Although the opening sentence is somewhat enigmatic, the content of the quote is noteworthy for its Victorian outlook on gender and race. Firstly, there was a striking omission of any reference to women, the other half of the empire. Secondly, the emphasis on the racial characteristics of the non-white peoples, as opposed to those in the British settler states, tended to focus the colonial gaze of the military audience on the visually exotic aspects of race. Strangeness was objectified, but normality was seen in terms of subjective and idealized actions, as in the case of the Australians, or virtues, in the case of the Canadians. Despite being trapped in the ideological quicksand of his time, Mockridge may have been trying to communicate the idea that all the peoples of the empire were equal in the sight of their sovereign and God. If that was his intention, then in fairness, his views would not have been far removed from those of Queen Victoria, who, although no egalitarian, nevertheless crusaded in her own way against racial discrimination, something which she found abhorrent and could not understand.[86]

If Anglican royalist discourse was largely silent on matters of justice in society, Methodist narratives, although still quite conservative, bore the outlines of a nascent social conscience. The Wesleyan construction of a sacred loyalty gravitated towards the sovereign rather than the crown, and the pious, virtuous queen acquired several representations, including the idea of the servant monarch. The traditional emphasis on spiritual feminism naturally led to a focus on Victoria's Christian virtues in her role as wife and mother, a

depiction similar to that of the Church of England and other Protestant groups. However, despite the existing social and political inequalities between the sexes, Methodists were long accustomed to the historically prominent role of women in the life of the church,[87] and some pastors were quick to recognize significant female personalities who were celebrated for their social and religious contributions during Victoria's reign. Thus the queen was sometimes presented as the paradigmatic emblem of the "Great Woman," a strategy which praised the social roles of women. It is evident in the sources that Methodist pastors and writers often appealed to the emotive side of Christian life. Rationality was not sacrificed, but faith was born in the experience of the Spirit, the fulcrum of Wesleyan thought, a fact of some importance to a church which emphasized the presence of Christ in the trials of personal existence.

Dr. William R. Parker (1831-1906)[88] offered praises to his queen before the congregation of the George Street Methodist Church in St. Thomas at the Sunday evening service of 19 June. Parker's disquisition on the queen remains only in the form of a severely truncated summary, its contents voiced in the third person as reported by the local correspondent for the Monday issue of the *St. Thomas Daily Times*. Despite the paucity of raw data, the residuum offers an intriguing insight into the connections between Methodist attitudes towards women and loyalty to Queen Victoria. Any reasonable understanding of the address hinges on exploring contemporary interpretations of Parker's chosen scriptural text, Isaiah 49:22-23: "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will lift up mine hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and their daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders. And kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." Chapter forty-nine is included in a consolatory corpus known as Second Isaiah, chapters 40-55. The prophet addresses Israel's despondency during the period of the Babylonian exile (ca. 587 to 539 B.C.), and he anticipates the restoration and

rebirth of Jerusalem and Israel through a righteous remnant. The theme of the servant of Jehovah (e.g. Isaiah 42:1-7; 49:1-12) emerges as the figure of hope for a people who, by the power of God, will be restored to their glory in Jerusalem. The texts are probably as difficult to fathom today as they were for Victorian expositors who attached varying interpretations to the images of the servant.

Most of the Protestant expositors who wrote on Isaiah adhered to the typological method. Thus George Rawlinson (1818-1902), a professor of ancient history at Oxford, believed that Christ fulfilled the meaning of the exilic prophet's utterances on the servant of Jehovah. Zion, the figurative language for Israel or its righteous remnant, was the type of the coming church. The nursing kings and queens of verse twenty-three represented the secular rulers who would bow before the Christian church, humbly submitting themselves as faithful servants of Christ.[89] William Parker borrowed this idea of servanthood, but the internal disposition of his thought requires a foray into Second Isaiah from a different perspective.

In contrast to the conservative expositors was George Adam Smith (1856-1942), one of the new theologians instrumental in introducing the biblical higher criticism.[90] In his two-volume exposition of Isaiah, Smith elaborated on the symbolic personification in the figures of the servant and Zion. Commenting on chapters 49-52, he focused on the prophet's imagery of Israel restored.

> The forms ... of these passages ... address Zion,—that is, the ideal people in the person of their mother.... This personification ... under the name of their city, and under the aspect of a woman, whose children are the individual members of the people ... is ... a personification of Israel, which is complementary to Israel's other personification under the name of the Servant. The Servant is Israel active, comforting, serving his own members and the nations; Zion, the Mother-City, is Israel passive, to be comforted, to be served by her own sons and by the kings of the peoples.[91]

Smith was pursuing an understanding of righteousness as it applied to Israel, the servant of God. This concept of servanthood was fundamental to William Parker's thought.

Although, he began with a historical survey of the kings and queens of Britain's past,

no details were provided by the correspondent. However, in turning to Queen Victoria, Parker presented an image of the monarchy brought out of a wayward past and restored to its righteous glory.

> Knowing the character of the Georges and the men of their age he thought probably the death of Queen Victoria's father in her infancy, thus leaving her early training entirely to her mother, detracted nothing from the character and moral purity of her after life. He referred to ... her engaging in private prayer immediately before ascending the throne at her coronation and also of her partaking of the Lord's supper as her first act after her crowning. He referred to the many dangers which had beset her in the walks of life, her many narrow escapes from death and the charm which had seemingly surrounded her path to the present.[92]

After a long Babylonian captivity in the hands of kings subject to the baser instincts, the leadership of the British nation was restored under the rule of the righteous woman, Queen Victoria. Indeed, the men of Victoria's infancy are associated with vice, the women with virtue, a variation on the pattern of associating masculinity with the secular and femininity with the sacred—nature and grace in its Victorian domestic guise.[93] While there is no mention of the queen's tribulations following the death of her husband, the remainder of the quote is suggestive of the steadfast servant of the Lord who had triumphed over adversity through her faith and by the grace of God. Adam Smith stated that righteousness was used in Second Isaiah in various senses, but two meanings he thought to be central to the scriptural record. First, righteousness was conceived as "the exercise of virtue," and secondly, as "the voice of history." "In the one case righteousness is the practical result of the working of the Spirit of God; in the other it is vindication, or justification, by the Providence of God."[94] Both of these meanings are commingled within Parker's portrayal of the queen. She is first presented as the virtuous queen, and then as the beneficiary of God's blessing.

Parker expanded the theme of the righteous, servant sovereign to encompass the benevolent work of women throughout the queen's reign.

> [T]he Victorian era had been Woman's era in the world's history. Woman's work of philanthropy was narrow before Victoria's reign. Since then we have

> had a Florence Nightingale ... a Harriet Beecher Stowe ... the Woman's Crusade against the liquor traffic in Ohio; the labors of the sister of the Hon. John Bright; the many noble workers in the same cause among the women of our own land, all of whom had caught the inspiration to their philanthropic spirit from England's noble Queen. In all the world's history there was no reign of any sovereign ... so marked ... in moral progress as that of our present sovereign Queen Victoria. A woman of whom it may be truly said she has been all her life a nursing mother to the church of Christ.[95]

In contradistinction to Anglican thought, power was being destabilized and separated from the theory of hierarchical governance. A righteous, virtuous power, Parker displaced it from its traditional masculine pedestal, and set it into the hands of women who wielded it in the service of Christ active among the suffering and the oppressed of the world. The Methodist heritage of spiritual feminism predisposed the ministry to praise the role of women beyond the merely domestic functions of wife and mother. As Adam Smith suggested, the servant narratives of Second Isaiah bear witness to power turned upside down in the interests of God and humankind. "His gentleness with the unprofitable and the unlovely ... is but the temper of *the everlasting God, who giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might He increaseth strength.*[96] William Parker, in conformity with the Wesleyan theology of his time, favoured this egalitarian conception of servanthood, and located its power in the spiritual and moral work of women. In this construction, Queen Victoria was easily transformed into God's servant, the sovereign who overcame the barriers of class to reach out to the groaning masses of her empire.

Closely associated with the Methodist portrayal of the servant queen was the imagery of the suffering servant. This motif found favour among some Methodist commentators. The sorrowful queen had a special appeal to William Withrow when he wrote his Golden Jubilee piece for the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*.

> But not the splendours of royal state, not the victories of arms, not even the conspicuous virtues of her life, are the chief claim upon our loving sympathies; but rather the sorrows through which her womanly heart hath passed. To these royalty affords no shield, the castle wall no bulwark. As the Roman moralist long since said, "Death knocks alike at royal palace and at the

peasant's hovel."

> With the meanest of her subjects the mistress of an empire is exposed to the shafts of bereavement and sorrow. This touch of nature makes us all akin. The undying devotion to the memory of the husband of her youth has touched the nation's heart as nothing else could have done.[97]

The Methodist discourse of loyalty to the sovereign sometimes employed poetic codes of identification in order to collapse class distinctions. In this case, the images of lamentation and death are the great levellers. Withrow's narrative, which borrowed Tennyson's memorial to Prince Albert, the "Dedication" to the *Idylls of the King*,[98] placed a mourning Queen Victoria within the mass of suffering humanity. Both Henry Rack and Neil Semple have pointed to the early Methodist concern with dying and preparation for death as opportunities for seeking and finding assurance of one's salvation.[99] Grief and consolation were seen as natural and necessary to the spiritual health of the bereaving Christian. In her private sorrow, the widow of Windsor was also the public icon of Christian devotion overcoming the tribulations of life.

Withrow was aware of the fact that the jubilee was partly intended to restore the popularity of the monarchy after the queen's long seclusion from public appearances, but he was concerned with the importance of consolation and prepared to rebuke any baser motives ready to exploit either the jubilee or the queen's lament. "Can we wonder that his [i.e. Albert's] untimely death left the world forever poorer to the sorrowing Queen; that the pageantry of State became irksome, that her heart pined for solitude and communion with the loved and lost, that for well-nigh a score of years she wore unrelieved her widow's sombre weeds."[100] Withrow then took umbrage with an idea, not uncommon by the time of the Golden Jubilee, that royal ceremony was necessary to the commercial and economic well-being of the state.

> Yet even this touching fidelity to the dead was construed into a fault by the mercenary instinct that considers a sovereign's chief duty to be to lead the fashions of the hour, to stimulate trade by royal pomp and splendours. The discharge of duties of State the nation has a right to expect, and these the

> Queen, with indefatigable zeal, has fulfilled with a devotion, a wisdom, a watchfulness, a firmness, a sympathy with her people ... that have commanded the approval of ... statesmen and the respect of foreign powers.[101]

Withrow was aware of what Thomas Richards has described as the "commodification of Victoria's image,"[102] and he was as intent on purifying the queen in her role as head of state, as he was in vindicating her as the suffering servant.

A sovereign who had suffered grievous loss could naturally identify with those in distress, and Withrow suggested that the queen's sympathy represented the adoption of a substitutionary pain on behalf of hurting humanity.

> Her personal and womanly sympathies are another conspicuous characteristic. Her autograph letters to the bereaved widows of President Lincoln and President Garfield smote chords of feeling that vibrated in the remotest hamlets of two continents. Nor are her sympathies restricted to the great. They extend ... to the stricken wives of shipwrecked mariners or fishermen, of death-doomed miners and pitmen, to the sick children in the hospitals, and in homes of want, her heart goes forth with loving sympathy, her private purse is opened in generous aid.[103]

The passage portrays a queen whose legendary sympathy was a form of vicarious suffering, a moral force placed in the service of her subjects and God. William Withrow was a moderately progressive thinker who sought to "mediate the claims of theologians, scientists, and biblical critics" in his *Methodist Magazine*.[104] In this article, there is a glimpse of one who understood that power used in the interest of the weak or the poor implied a distributive, rather than a merely judicial, or reciprocative, concept of justice. The former received more emphasis among Methodists, while the latter was intrinsic to Anglican thought. If there was any intuition of social democracy in the thought of either William Parker or W. H. Withrow, it may have received its impulse from the spirit of progressivism which was not uncommon at a time when liberal theology, Darwinism, and the higher criticism were beginning to foster the first stirrings of the social gospel movement within Ontario Methodism.[105]

The monarchical panegyric issuing from the clergy of the Anglican and Methodist churches during the Golden Jubilee in 1887 indicates that Queen Victoria became the locus of

collective identity for each group, an observation in essential agreement with Looker.[106] Conceptions of order, and the related ideas associated with power and gender, symbolized by the sovereign, were constructed upon the bedrocks of tradition. However, the foundations of theological authority in Methodism were beginning to crack, shifting as they collided with social and political challenges on the one hand, and with an intellectual crisis that was impacting on evangelicalism across North America. In both churches, the relevance of the queen had to be fashioned out of received traditions, but interpreted with reference to the context of the time. The sovereign was seen to be above partisan politics, and in a period when the continuing existence of Canada was by no means certain, the Anglicans and the Methodists, together with Presbyterians and other Protestant groups, focused the patriotic minds of their faithful flocks upon Queen Victoria, the symbol of imperial and national unity.

The Anglicans, romantic antiquarians, reverenced the religious and secular past of England, and were ready to do battle with the enemies of sovereign authority in the young Canadian state. Their primary concern was with the conservation of historic order as a defence against the threat of national disintegration. The clergy in the Church of England were much more concerned with stability than they were with social reconstruction, with reciprocative rather than with distributive, or social, justice. The cultivation of allegiance to a wise and virtuous sovereign was central to the Anglican project of portraying Queen Victoria as the symbol of national unity in a country that was in the throes of an economic downturn, and deeply divided along religious and ethnic lines.

Conscious of their sometimes trying situation in early Upper Canada, and perhaps alienated by the continuing dominance of Macdonald and the Conservatives and the apparent shortcomings of Confederation, many Methodist pastors displayed an undercurrent of ambivalence towards the queen and her jubilee in 1887. If the response was mixed, Methodist loyalty was nevertheless a morality discourse which, by drawing upon Wesleyan-Arminian

contractualist theology, transfigured the queen, remaking her in the image of the sanctified, virtuous Christian woman. Like the Anglicans, they were concerned with national unity, but looked to the queen as a symbol of democratic, constitutional order, and as the epitome of the social monarch, the servant of God reaching out to her subjects, overcoming the barriers of class, and clearing the path for women to assume active roles of Christian leadership in the regeneration of society. Inexorably moving towards a reformation in their theology, Methodist portrayals of Queen Victoria, drawing upon the traditional Wesleyan concern with social philanthropy and Christian charity, were nonetheless harbouring intimations of a new language, one which would shift the Wesleyan-Arminian soteriology from the person to society, the rudiments of a coming social gospel movement whose discursive outlines would be more audible during the Diamond Jubilee in June 1897.

ENDNOTES

1."Modern Claims of Anglicanism: Theories on the Constitution of the Church," *Catholic Record* (London, Ont.), 2 April 1887, p. 4; "Modern Claims of Anglicanism: The Authority of the Pope," *Catholic Record* (London, Ont.), 9 April 1887, p. 4.

2."Modern Claims of Anglicanism: The Queen's Supremacy," *Catholic Record* (London, Ont.), 23 April 1887, p. 4; "Modern Claims of Anglicanism: The King's Supremacy," *Catholic Record* (London, Ont.), 30 April 1887, p. 4, and 28 May 1887, p. 4.

3.*Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930*, s.v. "Petty-Fitzmaurice, Henry Charles Keith, fifth Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927."

4.Gregory S. Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class," in *A History of Ontario: Selected Readings*, edited by Michael J. Piva (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), 85-9.

5."Brave William O'Brien"; "O'Brien Mobbed," *Catholic Record* (London, Ont.), 28 May 1887, p. 2-3. For a background analysis of this event see Desmond Morton, *Mayor Howland: The Citizen's Candidate* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1973), 77-82.

6.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, 1881-1890, s.v. "Lynch, John Joseph," by Charles W. Humphries.

7."Archbishop Lynch and O'Brien," *Toronto Mail*, 28 May 1887, p. 11.

8.Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 21.

9.Morton, *Kingdom of Canada*, 373-5.

10.Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*, 2d ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 660. See also "The Regiment at Napanee," *Toronto World*, 23 May 1887, p. 1.

11.1 Timothy 2:1-2.

12."Regiment at Napanee," *Toronto World*, 23 May 1887, p. 1.

13.Ibid.

14."Church Parade: The H. F. B. and the 13th Battalion at St. Thomas'," *Evening Times* (Hamilton), 23 May 1887, p. 3.

15.James Wolfendale, *Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*, Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary on the Old Testament on an Original Plan ([London: R. D. Dickenson, 1887; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, [1892]), 2.

16.Ibid., 90.

17."Church Parade," *Evening News* (Hamilton), 23 May 1887, p. 3.

18.Homans, *Royal Representations*, xx.

19.Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 564.

20."The Anglican Church: Archdeacon Lauder on the History of the Early Institution," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 28 May 1888, p. 4. See also Anglican Archives, Diocese of Ottawa, *Biographical collection, "Lauder, John Strutt"; with reference to Bishop Charles Hamilton in his Charge to Synod, Ottawa Synod Journal, 1901.*

21."Soldiers at Worship: The G.G.F.G. and the 14th P.W.O. Rifles Attend Service," *Daily Whig* (Kingston), 23 May 1887, p. 8.

22.Robert M. Grant, *A Historical Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 216-9; F. L. Cross, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1957 ed., s.v. "Hebrews, Epistle to the."

23.J. Barmby, *Hebrews*, Pulpit Commentary ([London: Kegan Paul, 1886]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d), xviii, 396.

24.C. Jerdan, "Homiletics," in Barmby, *Hebrews*, 403.

25."Soldiers at Worship," *Daily Whig* (Kingston), 23 May 1887, p. 8.

26.Ibid.

27."Articles Agreed Upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of Both Provinces and the Whole Clergy in the Convocation Holden at London in the Year 1562," in subsequent editions of *The Book of Common Prayer*.

28.Eric Voegelin, *Israel and Revelation*, Order and History, vol. 1 (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1956), 11.

29.Craig, *Upper Canada*, 165-6.

30.United Church Archives, *William L. Scott file*.

31."Addresses to the Queen," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 30 May 1887, p. 1.

32.Ibid.

33.George H. Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada* ... 2 vols. (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881-1903), 2:299.

34."Services of the Methodists," *Kingston Daily News*, 20 June 1887, p. 4.

35.*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, 1901-1910, s.v. "Withrow, William Henry," by G. S. French.

36.William Withrow, "Our Gracious Queen," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 506.

37.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 198.

38.Mills, *Idea of Loyalty*, 57-8.

39.United Church Archives, *Charles O. Johnston file; Methodist Church, Hamilton Conference Minutes, 1917*, p. 8.

40."God Save the Queen." *Daily Spectator* (Hamilton), 20 June 1887, p. 4.

41.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 442.

42.Turner and Hill, "Methodism and the Pietist Definition of Politics," 159-80.

43.Cornish, *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada*, 2:119.

44.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 133.

45."Baccalaureate Sermon," *Evening Times* (Hamilton), 20 June 1887, p. 4.

46.Ibid.

47.Hammerton and Cannadine, "Conflict and Consensus," 144-6.

48.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 36-52.

49."God Save the Queen: Special Thanksgiving Service at Christ Church This Morning," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 21 June 1887, p. 1.

50.William Jones, "On Psalms XXXIX—LXXXVII," in W. L. Watkinson and others, *A Homiletic Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, vol. 1, Preachers's Complete Homiletic Commentary on the Old Testament ([London: R. D. Dickinson, 1881]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892), 340-1.

51."God Save the Queen," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 21 June 1887, p. 1.

52.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 39-40, 47-9, 52-62.

53.A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), [ix-x].

54."God Save the Queen," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 21 June 1887, p. 1.

55.Ibid.

56.Colin Brown, general ed., *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, trans., with additions and revisions, from the German *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Regency Reference Library, 1978), 3:827-33, s.v. "Time" by J. Guhrt.

57.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 161.

58.Homans, *Royal Representations*, xix-xxxvii.

59."God Save the Queen," *Free Press* (Ottawa), 21 June 1887, p. 1.

60.Ibid.

61.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 941.

62.Bernhard W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 122-4.

63."Jubilee Services," *Galt Reporter*, 24 June 1887, p. 4.

64.Ibid.

65.Robert Payne Smith, *I Samuel*, Pulpit Commentary ([London: Kegan Paul, 1880]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d.), vi-vii.

66.Ibid., 194-5.

67.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 40-1.

68.Albert Carman, "Our Queen's Jubilee," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 513-6.

69.Brown, *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3:833-9.

70.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 386-7.

71.A. Carman, *The Guiding Eye: The Holy Spirit's Guidance of the Believer* (Toronto: William Briggs, [1889]), [9].

72.Carman, "Our Queen's Jubilee," 517.

73.Albert Carman, "A Political Sermon: Why We Love Our Queen and Country," *Toronto Mail*, 24 May 1890, p. 2.

74.United Church Archives, *William Galbraith file*.

75.*Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, s.v. "Clarke, Adam," by David Bundy.

76.*The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ... vol. 2, Romans to Revelation ... With a Commentary and Critical Notes* ... rev. ed., by Adam Clarke (New York: George Lane & Levi Scott, 1851), 589-90.

77.*Orillia Packet*, 24 June 1887, p. 3.

78.Ibid.

79.Ibid.

80.Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 53, 62.

81.*Orillia Packet*, 24 June 1887, p. 3.

82.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 119-24.

83.Moorman, *History of the Church in England*, 392-3; Neill, *Anglicanism*, 272-3.

84.*Orillia Packet*, 24 June 1887, p. 3.

85."Christ Church Cathedral," *Evening Times* (Hamilton), 20 June 1887, p. 3.

86.St. Aubyn, *Queen Victoria*, 354; Longford, *Victoria R. I.*, 536, 554.

87.Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 21.

88.United Church Archives, *William Robert Parker file; Methodist Church Toronto Conference Minutes, 1906.*

89.George Rawlinson, *Isaiah*, vol. 2, Pulpit Commmentary ([London: Kegan, Paul, 1887]; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d.), 230, 234.

90.*Dictionary of National Biography: 1941-1950*, 1959, s.v. "Smith, Sir George Adam (1856-1942)," by W. Manson.

91.George Adam Smith, *The Book of Isaiah, vol. 2, Chapters XL-LXVI*, Expositor's Bible ([London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888-90]; reprint, New York: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d), 382.

92."The Jubilee Services in the Churches," *St. Thomas Daily Times*, 20 June 1887, p. 4.

93.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 7.

94.Smith, *Isaiah*, 2:219.

95."Jubilee Services," *St. Thomas Daily Times*, 20 June 1887, p. 4.

96.Smith, *Isaiah*, 2:293.

97.Withrow, "Our Gracious Queen," 507-8. The death quotation is from the Roman lyricist Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65-8 B.C.). See Horace, "[Carminum]: Liber I.iv," in *The Odes and Epodes*, with an English Translation by C. E. Bennett, rev. ed., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 16-17. Withrow's quote is a loose translation of "Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres—Pale Death kicks (or knocks) with impartial foot at the hovels of the poor and the towers (or palaces) of kings."

98.Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *The Poems of Tennyson*, vol. 3, 2d ed., incorporating the Trinity College Manuscripts, ed. by Christopher Ricks (Harlow, England: Longman, 1987), 263-5.

99.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 429-30; Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 60-1.

100.Withrow, "Our Gracious Queen," 509.

101.Ibid., 509-10.

102.Richards, "The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee," 13.

103.Withrow, "Our Gracious Queen," 511.

104.*DCB*, vol. 13, 1901-1910, "Withrow, William Henry."

105.Semple, *Lord's Dominion*, 349-55.

106.Looker, "God Save the Queen," [115].

CHAPTER III

ANGLICAN AND METHODIST RESPONSES TO THE DIAMOND JUBILEE

Historians have recounted the divisions that plagued Canada between the execution of Louis Riel in November 1885 and the election of 1896. Although there were anxieties over the rise of German and American power, the internal temper of the country began to change after Laurier's victory in the summer of 1896. The return of prosperity seemed to overshadow his compromise on the Manitoba schools issue, and Canadians began to take a more optimistic view of themselves and the future.[1] If Wilfrid Laurier stood for the unity of the nation, Queen Victoria represented the unity of the empire. By the 1890s, imperialism was becoming ever more voluble in the newspapers. "English Canadians," remarked Arthur Lower "pictured themselves as part of a ruling race, whose mission it was to carry 'British and Christian civilization' ... to the ends of the earth."[2] In the context of a brighter economic and political future for Canada, and with a heightened sense of involvement in the great global venture of the empire, the people of Ontario were ready to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in June 1897.

The argument of this chapter, as with the previous one, is developed around the interplay between memory and context. As was evident during the Golden Jubilee in 1887, memory and the authority of tradition were powerful in the Church of England, capable of shaping the nature and direction of the commemorative discourse and controlling the Anglican responses to the adverse context of the event. The traditionalists in the Methodist Church invoked their religious heritage effectively, but even then, Methodist evangelicalism, which had long relied on the inerrant inspiration of holy scripture, was being forced to adapt its narratives of loyalty in the light of the Darwinian revolution, higher biblical criticism, and liberal theology, developments which threatened the foundations of the Wesleyan formulation.

During the 1890s, the rise of imperialism and the social gospel movement were the

two key elements in the environment which significantly influenced Anglican and Methodist discourse during the Diamond Jubilee commemorations. In particular, the great divide separating Anglican royalist panegyric from that of the Methodists was the theology of divine immanence and the belief in the Christian regeneration of society, which was making significant inroads within Ontario Methodism, but which had much less impact on the Church of England. The Anglican clergy tended to celebrate the empire as a symbol of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and civilization, the religion and the culture being scarcely separable in the commemorative pronouncements. The Methodists envisioned the British empire in more functional terms, as the instrument of material and social progress which was unfolding according to the will of a God increasingly immanent in nature and history, working in and through the progressive spirit of men and women. This difference is not immediately self-evident, but it is important in understanding how each church, using Queen Victoria as the focus of loyalty, fashioned its sense of internal identity out of the mix of tradition and contemporary thought. In the sturdy Anglican tradition, the past controlled the contextual narratives of loyalty and imperialism. In Methodism on the other hand, the language of the social gospel was increasingly insinuating itself into the tradition, and despite the valiant efforts of Methodist pastors to sustain their heritage, especially with respect to their utterances on Queen Victoria, the context of modernity was gradually overcoming Wesley's intellectual trust. The Methodist rhetoric of maternal feminism, imported into the discourse of monarchy to create the image of the virtuous private woman and the compassionate public queen, maintained its force, but tradition and change were co-existing incongruously within the panegyric.

This chapter first explores the immediate historical context, offering insights into the changing tone of Anglican and Methodist loyalty in the years and months leading up to the Diamond Jubilee. The rise of imperialism captured the imagination of the Anglicans who

were increasingly fired by the queen's magnificent empire advancing Christ's great commission to the ends of the earth. Despite the celebratory, triumphalist language that permeated so much of the Anglican glorification of Britain, the empire, and Queen Victoria, the Church was still defensive and sensitive to any misunderstandings either of its own history, or of Ontario's loyal origins. The discourse of the Church of England in Ontario was still conservative, its narratives vindicating the past, while justifying the empire and Britain's mission. Unlike the Methodists, the Anglican traditions of ecclesiastical authority and the primacy of sacrament and liturgy served as immunizing agents against the infectious message of the social gospel. The Anglican clergy displayed an imperialist missionary fervor, but hardly a "social passion," to borrow an expression of Richard Allen.[3]

Between 1887 and 1897, the Methodists appear to have lost any lingering residuum of ambivalence towards the queen, and there is evidence from 1896 and 1897 suggesting that a few pastors, who once may have favoured full Canadian independence from Britain, had long since abandoned the nascent republican sympathies of their youth to become strong advocates of Canada's role within the British empire. While Victoria was the symbol of God's grace, a visible reminder of the continuity of Wesley's sacred trust, Methodists, concerned with moral and social progress, were increasingly turning to a theology of immanence and away from their traditional evangelicalism which emphasized divine transcendence and the assurance of salvation in the experience of conversion. As the movement for Christian social reconstruction spread within Ontario Methodism, it was paralleled by the gradual destabilization of the older separation between the sacred and the secular, a distinction which was becoming less relevant in Methodist thought. In contrast to the Golden Jubilee of 1887, many of the province's English-speaking Catholic communities, even the Irish, set aside their traditional animosities, and joined with the rest of the population to celebrate the queen's reign, albeit with their own reflections on the significance of the event.

A second objective of the chapter is to examine the symbolic and ideological parameters of Anglican and Methodist discourse. One source, a report from a meeting of the Anglican Synod of the Diocese of Toronto in June 1897, illustrates the hold of conservative and patriarchal attitudes towards women among Anglican clergymen, a phenomenon that was much less evident in Methodism, where a tradition of maternal feminism celebrated the special gifts of women. In another instance, a brief account of a sermon delivered in Ottawa, is suggestive of the potential for ancient historical ideas on the nature of civil and sacred power to shape Anglican discourse on local matters that had little or nothing to do with politics, society, or the wider world. Methodist discourse on Queen Victoria continued to be a celebration of her domestic virtues, the sovereign's life being an example for Christian women and mothers throughout the empire. It must be noted again that the Anglican clergy never wavered from the historic understanding which located political and social order in the institutions of the Church and the crown. The Methodists continued to affirm that order began in the inner regenerated soul and in the peaceful contentment of the Christian home.

The remainder of the chapter explores the connections between imperialism and the monarch, first from the Anglican perspective, and then from the viewpoint of the Methodist spokesmen. Proud of their history, the Anglicans glorified past and present by constructing a great imperial cosmology—a celebration of family, society, and the pan-Britannic nation. Queen Victoria, watching over her colonial empire, was viewed as the temporal symbol of God's providential blessings upon Anglo-Saxon civilization and its world mission. The Anglican synthesis preserved traditional understandings, including the conception of order as having an organic basis, its sources being located in the Church and the crown.

The Methodists, increasingly succumbing to the seductive charms of the social gospel message, tended to see the empire as the vehicle for the progressive Christian regeneration of society, the nation, and the world. Queen Victoria was still portrayed as the role model of

feminine domesticity, but also as the imperial mother and compassionate public woman. Nevertheless, Methodist commentators tended to revert to the older discourse of Wesleyan holiness and perfection in their morality narratives of the queen. The Methodist images of the sovereign conserved the historic basis of Wesleyan theology and identity, and by so doing offered assurance that individual regeneration was still necessary and *a priori* to any authentic achievement of social reconstruction, an observation in essential agreement with Phyllis Airhart's study of the Methodist appropriation of the social gospel.[4]

The analysis in this chapter draws upon seventeen sermons, three articles, and a few reports of other events, located in newspapers and church organs. Two sermons, one Methodist and one Anglican, were culled from newspapers covering the queen's birthday celebrations in 1891 and 1896, respectively. The remainder were selected from a total of forty-five sermons or brief summaries thereof, published and reported in different newspapers during the Diamond Jubilee. The sources are representative of Anglican and Methodist thought from various communities across the province in June 1897.

Background and Context: Conflict and Consensus

The Church of England in Ontario, as much if not more than any other Protestant denomination, was infusing British imperialism with a sense of divine mission. Queen Victoria, an Anglican sovereign, was being consistently presented as the great imperial mother. On Sunday, 24 May 1896, the Queen's Own Rifles celebrated Her Majesty's birthday at St. George's Cathedral in Kingston where they listened to a sermon by the Dean, the Very Reverend Buxton B. Smith (b. 1846).[5] The age of the queen and her astonishingly long reign over a huge empire were capturing the soul of the loyal imagination.

> There was an old English proverb which read, "The mother is the heart of the home." The English could say, "The Queen is the heart of our Empire." ... Thanks should be given to God for our Queen, whose life has been given for peace, progress and purity, and for that Empire over which she has ruled for 60 years, and of which we are a part. The word Empire stirred every British heart ... for who could doubt that the British Empire was a great power in the

> elevation of mankind.... Its sword conquests have been ... for ... that civilization which has given law and justice and opened up scientific and literary worlds.[6]

Described by Davenport as "a symbolic representation of the nation for mostly conservative Victorians ... interested in the active growth of the empire,"[7] the queen as the imperial mother began to emerge in the years following the royal marriage in 1840. In Ontario, this image became increasingly pervasive, and was especially audible during the 1890s to Victoria's death in early 1901. However, in Anglican sermons, the imperial mother sometimes gave ground to masculine preferences. Smith's "sword conquests" harmonized with the visual symbols of male power, the military and fraternal organizations which, more often than not, were present and integral to the celebrations. As his comments imply, the imperial venture had been christened in the baptismal font of a great moral imperative. The stirring reference to the empire as a vehicle for the uplifting of humanity is suggestive of one who, in his mind, was fusing Christianity with the virtues of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Just as the Church of England and the state, symbolized by the crown, were integral to the order of nation and society, it was natural to assume that Christ's great commission was inseparable from the providential advance of British civilization throughout the world.

On the eve of the general election of 1896, held on 23 June, the Church of England was still alert and sensitive to any slights against itself and its sense of reverence towards the province's loyal past. The mind of the Anglican clergy is succinctly captured in an obscure newspaper account of a brief prepared for the Synod of the Diocese of Toronto in 1896. The Synod met during the second week of June, and among the many matters brought forward for discussion was "a report of the Committee on Public School Text-Books, stating that certain defects in the *History of England for High Schools* had been brought to the attention of the Education Department and that a new edition was being prepared..."[8] The discussion, led by the Rev. J. Pitt Lewis of Grace Church, Toronto, paints a picture of a Church that was ever

watchful of errors and slights that might insult its self-understanding and its vision of a loyally correct past.

> The text-book ... was written by a ... Catholic lady and from a ... Catholic standpoint, and throughout it spoke of the Church of England as the "new" church as though it were established in Henry VIII's reign, whereas ... the English Church was fully organized with bishops, clergy and all 200 years before a Roman prelate set foot in Britain. The Church of England was fully established at the time of the Council of Arles in 325 A.D. whereas the first of the Romish clergy reached England in the year 598. Therefore in referring to the Anglican Church as the "new" church and to the Roman Catholic as the "old," the History book in question did an injustice to the former, for it deprived her of all the great work done prior to the Reformation...[9]

In pleading the case for an episcopal and priestly ministry whose divine authority antedated the modern English state by many centuries—one of the hallmarks of Anglicanism revitalized by the Oxford Movement—Lewis was proclaiming that the Church of England not only institutionalized the sacred history of the English people, but he was insisting that its historic continuity with ancient Britannic Christianity required official recognition by the Ontario Department of Education. In the view of the committee, the state had an obligation to respect and properly interpret the Church to the youth of the province.

Of course, it was also expected that the teaching of history should instil a sense of loyalty to the mother country, and to the origins of the province and Canada. The committee took umbrage with the interpretation of the American Revolution.

> Mr. Lewis held that this text-book took a biased view of the American colonies ... teaching that the ... Americans were ... right, and that England was wholly in the wrong. He objected ... to the text-book as one unfit for the youth of Canada ... and ... calculated to turn the young mind from patriotic thoughts, and from a proper view of the Anglican Church.[10]

Proud and defensive of its religious heritage and Anglo-Saxon history, the Church of England in Ontario seldom separated the sacred past from its cultural origins in England and Upper Canada.

For many Methodists, the ideals of empire necessitated embarking on a journey from providence to progress, from a theology of divine transcendence to a secular belief in

prosperity wrought by an "orderly process," as Richard Allen has described it.[11] Under the influence of such scholars as Nathanael Burwash (1839-1918), the Methodists were becoming attuned to theological innovations which attempted to accommodate the new scientific discoveries and historical criticism to traditional doctrine.[12] Prominent at Victoria College from the 1880s, Burwash had been introducing the essential features of his inductive theology which, states Gauvreau, "enabled him to combine the notions of progress and providence."[13] There is a hint of this transformation in a sermon entitled "God in the Victorian Age," delivered by the Reverend Dr. William Williams (1836-1915)[14] before a gathering of the Sons of England in the town of Lindsay on Sunday afternoon, 24 May 1891.

The rise and progress of the empire, according to the "gracious hand of God," was the theme of Williams' address which fused Christian triumphalism with imperialist hubris. The "Sons of England," he said, "were highly favoured in having their lot cast in so fair a domain, in the enjoyment of a civilization so advanced, and of rights and privileges so precious as those which belonged to them as subjects of a government which, with all its faults, was as near perfection as human institutions had ever gone." Williams first reviewed the life of the queen who, as the young Princess Victoria had been "under her mother's care," and "instructed in the Christian faith," and who in later life "was not ashamed to tell the heathen chieftain that the Bible was the secret of England's greatness ... to teach little children in the Sabbath-school of Crathie," and who turned to prayer in her later afflictions. Such a sovereign, the idealized image of a Methodist mother, was calculated to stir the hearts of all true Englishmen, not to mention any of the church members who may have been present.[15]

In one significant respect, Williams' depiction of the queen was similar to that of William Parker in his Golden Jubilee sermon preached in St. Thomas in 1887. Like Parker's portrayal, Williams' image of Queen Victoria is better understood in the light of the Scottish higher critic, George Adam Smith, whose concept of righteousness as the "exercise of virtue,"

implied a holiness that was neither other-worldly nor out of touch with common humanity. Williams' righteous sovereign took the familiar Methodist form of substitutionary piety. Queen Victoria's faith was an active and integral expression of her life, and of her concern with the Christian well-being of her subjects.[16]

Williams also saw the hand of God in Victoria's accession and in the advance of British culture and civilization.

> A gracious providence had wonderfully developed the resources, advanced the civilization, and promoted the intellectual and scientific achievements of the country during the reign of Victoria. I am quite aware that there might be much apparent progress along these lines without any great moral advance. Still, all truth, whether social, material, literary, or scientific, was of God. Truth in nature must agree with truth in art, and both with truth in revelation, for all its forms were divine.[17]

Again, there is a hint of Adam Smith's idea of righteousness in its other sense as "vindication, or justification, by the Providence of God."[18] At the same time, Williams' narrative is a striking example of how providence was being transmuted into progress, of how a transcendent, or supernatural God was being converted into an immanent God active in the secular quest for truth. The traditional Wesleyan boundary between the sacred and the profane, or nature and grace, was beginning to dissolve, a theological shift which presaged the emergence of the social gospel.

The latter half of Williams' address was infused with a language of progressivism, freighted with the unexamined presumption of Western cultural superiority common at the time. Speaking of the Great Exhibition of 1851, he observed that the "devout feeling of the royal family was expressed in the inspired inscription placed upon the arch of the principal aisle, 'The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.'"[19]

> That had since been followed by similar exhibitions in most of the leading Christian cities of the world ... familiarizing the heathen with the civilization that was built upon Gospel principals, humanizing, elevating and instructing the masses, and promoting the intelligence of mankind; vast charities, scientific, literary, social, commercial and religious conventions, embracing minds of all kinds, were inaugurated, and the race was becoming a great frater-

nity.[20]

The God who led British civilization could also chastise it. Thus the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and other imperial troubles Williams pictured in more traditional fashion, as God's punishments exacted for national wrongdoing. "The Chartist and Socialistic movements, and the chronic discontent in Ireland were teaching the lesson that class legislation must produce evil results. It paid nations, as it paid individuals, to do right."[21] Sin and redemption thus applied to the social and the political realms as much as it did to individuals, but Queen Victoria stood out as the symbol of righteousness, even when her governments and subjects misused the power to which they were entrusted. The Reverend Dr. Williams was standing on the border of two religious worlds, the providential supernaturalism of Upper Canadian Methodism and the progressive social gospel message of a dawning era which, according to Gauvreau, was a coherent "blending of doctrine, preaching, and history," assumed by many Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen towards the end of the nineteenth century.[22] In such a time of change, Queen Victoria represented the stability of tradition and virtue for all her subjects, including the Methodist congregation and the Sons of England in Her Majesty's colonial outpost of Lindsay, Ontario.

A patriotic message delivered at the end of a children's sermon by the Reverend James Allen (1843-1918)[23] at the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Toronto on Sunday morning, 24 May 1896, offers a hint of the emotional power which came to be invested in the ideal of empire. As Van Die and other historians have noted, the conversion and Christian nurturing of children were crucial to the growth of Methodism.[24] Allen's homey remarks linking motherhood to the queen, the motherland and the empire were entirely in keeping with traditional Wesleyan religious instruction as it had evolved in Ontario in the nineteenth century.

> You know that this is the birthday of our Queen, and ... [a]lthough living in a distant land, we are part of a mighty empire. I believed for a time with those

> who say "Canada first," to whose exclusive care has been committed certain affairs. I honor my mother's teachings, my mother's training, and best serve the interest of the household by attending to the duties with which I am accustomed. In the spirit and vigor of youth we would basely forget the mother who sustained us in infancy. We have faith in our own Dominion, but also in our connection with the grand old land which gave our fathers birth, and in the still greater freedom of our empire.[25]

Maternity was central to the monarchical and imperialist discourse of the secular commentators and the Protestant clergy, but the dutiful, Methodist wife and mother was inseparable from the perpetuation of the faith, and this vital connection was transported into the patriotic pronouncements of the clergy.

By the late 1890s, there were indications that the vitriolic tone of Protestant-Irish Catholic relations was beginning to moderate. According to Gregory Kealey, the ritual riots between the Orange and the Green were in decline after 1878, and they disappeared after 1892.[26] The hostility was still much in evidence, but the language was becoming more restrained. In the spring of 1897, and with the approach of the Diamond Jubilee, the Irish Catholic community momentarily suppressed, or at least attenuated, its perennial hostility towards England, and prepared to join in the general rejoicing, a response that was remarkably positive in comparison to the event of 1887.

Both the Toronto *Catholic Register* and the London-based *Catholic Record* maintained a tone of respect towards the queen, and the Catholic Church in Ontario, especially in the large urban cathedrals, celebrated the event with stately and decorous services.[27] In an interesting contrast to the situation in Toronto in 1887, Archbishop Joseph Thomas Duhamel of Ottawa, on 16 June, expressly instructed that "[a]ll the bells of the churches in the city ... will be rung at full swing the following Tuesday, 22nd June, at 8:00 o'clock in the morning during a half-hour."[28] The Reverend Father Francis Ryan of St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto was typical of many Irish clergy who praised Victoria and her era for bringing religious liberty to Catholics throughout Britain, Ireland and the empire.[29] In Chatham, an

eloquent sermon on the queen and the necessity for civil obedience delivered by Father Leopold Ostermann on 20 June at St. Joseph's Church would have warmed the heart of the most patriotic Anglican or loyal Protestant anywhere in the province.[30]

The economic, religious and social context of Canada in 1897, especially in Ontario, was conducive to the overall success of the civic and religious celebrations, a very different outcome in comparison to the more subdued and ambivalent commemorations of 1887. The British empire had captured the imagination of English Canadians, and the triumphalist discourse of Anglican imperialism was paralleled by the first tentative stirrings of a new Methodist interest in national and imperial progress, the beginnings of a social gospel movement whose aim was nothing less that the Christianization and salvation of Canadian society and ultimately the world. If the Church of England stood for tradition, order, and continuity, the Methodist Church of Canada, struggling with intellectual developments which threatened its evangelical heritage, was less certain of its stance. The symbolic content of Anglican and Methodist conceptions of society and state, their conceptions of order and change, can be studied in greater depth through the deposit of reports, sermons, and commentaries surviving from the commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria in June 1897.

The Stability of Tradition: Constructions of Ideology, Theology and Symbols of Order

The domestic and international environments had changed between 1887 and 1897, but the British crown stood for continuity, the "sense of enduring succession," as Lowenthal describes it.[31] By her long life and reign, Queen Victoria embodied the ancient and durable Christian virtues. More than a celebration of empire and Britain's triumph, the Diamond Jubilee, at its centre, was a celebration of permanence, of the past in the present. As did other religious groups, the Church of England and the Methodist Church turned to ecclesiastical and theological traditions, and the comfortable assumptions of Victorian domestic ideology

to reinforce their distinctive identities.

Contemporary ideology and vestiges of memory often percolate through the membranes of documentary trivia in interesting and unexpected ways. On Thursday morning, 10 June 1897 at a meeting of the Anglican Synod for the Diocese of Toronto, a draft of the congratulatory address to the queen prepared by a special committee was read by one of its members, Professor William Robinson Clark (1829-1912),[32] of Trinity College. A stereotypical example of Anglican allegiance, the greeting praised Her Majesty for her "constant loyalty to the principles of the constitution," her "deep, unfeigned, and affectionate interest in all classes of your people," and for her "pure and unblemished life." Noting that "as members of a Church whose history has been peculiarly identified with the ... British people," and "with the development of their constitution," they wished to assure the queen of their continued and profound devotion to her person, her family and the throne.[33]

Following the reading, the assembly burst into cheers, sang the national anthem, and saluted their sovereign with three robust hurrahs. What followed this salute to sceptre and self is just as revealing of the Anglican clergy's contemporary mindset as the formal address.

> After quiet had been restored the bishop mentioned that the Woman's Auxiliary at their recent annual meeting last month, had also adopted a loyal address to the Queen, but in their "unprotected state" were at a loss to know what to do with it. Bishop Sullivan and Prof. Clark moved that the address of the Synod should be engrossed and signed by the bishop and the hon. secretaries, and with the Woman's Auxiliary address as an appendix. This was acceded to, a wag suggesting that the ladies' address being an important communication, could fitly come in as a "postscript."[34]

Sometimes the flotsam and jetsam of source literature can marvellously capture the ironic moment in a historical setting. The Diamond Jubilee commemorated the life and reign of a great, and ostensibly powerful woman. As a loving mother and grieving widow, Queen Victoria was honoured as the epitome of true womanhood, the matriarch of Britain's and Europe's royal families, and the symbolic mother of her scattered subjects. Nevertheless, like most other aspects of Victorian life, the Diamond Jubilee commemorations were dominated by

men. Women were much involved in the festivities, but almost always in the background, as "postscripts" tacked on to the plans and decisions of their male superiors. While women watched, masculine prowess was put on display in uniform, cassock, silk hat and sash. The visual and aural representations of commemoration were largely created by men who framed its ideological content.

Some sources offer hints of how symbols from the distant past seem to have been inconspicuously intruding into the *mentalité* of late nineteenth-century Ontario Anglicanism. A brief newspaper reference to a sermon delivered in Ottawa at St. Alban's Church on Sunday, 20 June, is suggestive of the power of traditional thought forms to insinuate themselves into matters of merely local and contemporary interest. Archdeacon James John Bogert (b. 1835),[35] the rector of St. Alban's, preached from Matthew 22:20, "... Whose is this image and superscription?" The passage refers to the Pharisees' attempt to use a coin, probably the Roman denarius bearing the image of Tiberius, to trap Jesus into uttering statements injurious to the Herodian party.[36] The chapter is part of a group that treats of the nature and establishment of God's kingdom. However, it was not Bogert's intention to focus on the differences between God's realm and that of Queen Victoria. He had a more mundane topic on his mind. Among the Church of England's charitable works common at the time were widows' and orphans' funds for the relief of the surviving spouses and families of deceased clergy. Bogert was appealing to the parishioners to contribute towards the St. Alban's fund. The Diamond Jubilee was commemorated through countless special projects in response to the queen's request to "do something for humanity, especially for afflicted humanity,"[37] and Bogert's appeal may have been motivated as much by popular jubilee philanthropy as it was by Christian charity.

Bogert held up a coin, probably the large Canadian one cent piece, which at that time did not abbreviate the Latin superscription *Victoria Dei Gratia Regina Canada* surrounding

the queen's profile. Using the head of the coin to expound briefly on the significance of the jubilee, he then focused on *Dei Gratia* (by God's grace), to emphasize the necessity for Christian giving towards the special collection. The inscription "taught of duty to Victoria and to God," he exclaimed, adding that everyone should be thankful "to live in a land" and "learn such lessons and learn them from such a Queen."[38] It may not have been merely coincidental that Bogert, an Anglican cleric, drew upon the mediaeval *Dei Gratia* in use by European monarchs at least since the time of Charlemagne. The phrase, observed J. N. Figgis, was once used by kings to claim semi-divine status, to argue that they were responsible only to God for their actions.[39] Although Bogert's object lesson might seem superficial, he was using the official coin of Her Majesty's Canadian realm with its Latin motto to illustrate the sacred and temporal natures of sovereignty, and to illuminate God's grace in the acts of charity. Bogert was a product of his religious tradition, and he understood sovereign order as emerging in the external institutions of the Church and the throne. Such marginal sources can offer insights into the subtle connections between contemporary expressions of loyalty to Queen Victoria and the power of the past covertly to shape royalist narratives.

As in 1887, Methodist discourse on the queen tended to collect around an axis of what might be described as biographical remembrance. The sanctified life lay at the heart of Wesleyan belief, and Britain's sovereign was the living paragon of Christian piety. The queen's imputed spirituality was conceived as the bedrock of her wisdom in the affairs of state. In essence, Methodist clergymen still represented Queen Victoria as a didactic moral guide for her reverent Canadian subjects. The domestic ideal, resonating with the ideology of maternal feminism, was conspicuous in the Methodist pulpit ministry. Reified in the person of Her Majesty, virtuous motherhood became a powerful instrument for linking the family to Christian patriotism.

On 28 May 1897, the governor general of Canada, Lord Aberdeen, wrote to the Very

Reverend Albert Carman, the general superintendent of the Methodist Church, asking him to consider "the appropriateness of thanksgiving ... as part of the services in churches throughout Canada, on Sunday, June 20th," stating that he was "addressing a communication upon this subject to the heads of other religious bodies in Canada."[40] Carman had already anticipated the need for Methodist contributions to the occasion. In a letter to the *Christian Guardian* dated 1 May, he reminded his Canadian flock that the event was "a signal favor of divine providence."[41]

> Recognition is due from our Methodist churches, which, under the civil and religious liberty, achieved and vouchsafed, have advanced with the growth of the Dominion, contributed to its formation ... and ... which in righteousness and peace is inviting forward to the unity of the Empire, and the spread of Christian civilization in all the earth.[42]

Contrasting the present with the past, Carman observed that there was "very much to remember and recall," not the least being "Mr. Wesley, whom we revere, and who was one of Britain's benefactions to the world," and who, Carman assured his readers, "emphasized such occasions (as royal or state celebrations) for spiritual good through all his ministry."[43]

Carman's comments highlighted the boundaries for Methodist worship in honour of the queen. The powerful voices of Ontario Methodism were often older ministers who received their inspiration on the queen's reign from traditional Wesleyan perspectives. One of these men was the Reverend Dr. Edward Hartley Dewart (1828-1903) who had been the editor of the *Christian Guardian* from 1869 until 1894.[44] Although having accepted Darwinism, and supportive of Nathanael Burwash's new inductive theology which "subordinated notions of authority, doctrine, and the newer criticism to an ideal of practical Christian living,"[45] Dewart never abandoned what David Marshall has described as a "deeply conservative concern for the social and religious order."[46]

On "Thanksgiving Sunday,"[47] 20 June, at the Carlton Street Methodist Church in Toronto, Dewart preached a short sermon remarkable only for the way in which it stereo-

typically captured most of the sacred cows of Methodism. He first drew attention to the "part memory plays in our life, in bringing before us the lessons and events of the past. We sometimes ... think too much of the heroes of the past; they should be remembered more as examples of what the grace of God would do for men."[48] Of course, one emblem of such divine favour was Queen Victoria whose accession to the throne in 1837 he remembered.

> Fifty-eight years afterwards my wife and I were in Carrisbrook Castle, and there I saw Queen Victoria. I stood by her carriage, and laid my hand on it. I distinctly remember her voice, as she sat there and conversed with the Princess Battenburg. There was something in her voice that touched me, while listening to a woman that represented so much of civilization as she represents.[49]

Dewart's recollection of this incident from 1895 was not merely the reminiscence of a tourist. It was a form of episodic memory bordering on reverie which, says Lowenthal, "includes and ... highlights remembered feelings."[50] As forms of vernacular memory, the patriotic sermons of the period sometimes depended on personal identification with things, places, people, and events in the immediate past which had the capacity to evoke emotional responses in the speaker. Dewart was apparently struck by a sense of awe at seeing and hearing the queen within earshot. Although it may be construed as an early expression of the now common cult of royal celebrity, such anecdotal memory, when lifted out of the realm of privacy and placed in the domain of public utterance, wonderfully amplified the emotional experience of reverence towards Queen Victoria.

Carefully orchestrating familiar platitudes, Dewart proceeded to reinforce the image of Her Majesty as the epitome of womanly virtue.

> As a child, her sweetness of disposition always won the affection of those around her, and when the more responsible duties of wifehood and motherhood came to her she had discharged them with the same degree of fidelity and womanly tenderness and devotedness, and ... we all knew that her influence was always exerted for peace, for purity, for righteousness and for the well-being of humanity.... [J]ust before the Queen's marriage, when she was asked by the Archbishop of Canterbury if she wanted the part of the ceremony eliminated in which she would promise obedience to her husband ... she replied "I want to be married in all responsibility, like any other woman:

> and not as a Queen, but as a woman. I am prepared to promise all that any other woman would."[51]

Few Anglicans or any other Christians in Victorian Ontario would have taken issue with Dewart's assessment of the queen's character. The discourse of woman's separate domestic sphere was universally accepted, but the clergy, especially in Methodism, had come to accept the mother, in Van Die's words, "as the dominant parent in child rearing."[52] Grounded as they were in the spiritual and moral experience of the individual, Methodists had become superbly adept at sugar-coating their theological popularizations of the nurturing, maternal Christian wife. Dewart's obedient Queen Victoria was thus the projection of Methodism's conception of domestic virtue and bliss.

The secret of the queen's "beautiful life," said Dewart, "was to be found in her true religious spirit." Dewart stressed Victoria's Christian upbringing at the hands of her mother, and her attention to prayer on learning of her regal destiny. "We honor her ... because she is to us the representative of unity, of law, of liberty and of right," he added before shifting his focus from the sovereign to the era over which she reigned and had exercised so much influence. Dewart turned to the advances of British civilization since 1837, first mentioning the material developments of the era, but he was also impressed with "social reform" and the "benevolence" which "had a more practical form for the relief of the poor and needy than ever before." "The enlargement of the sphere of woman was a sign of the times, and while he had no interest in the woman's rights movement, he felt that whatever God had given woman the power to do she should be left free to do it."[53] Intrinsic to his brief comment on woman's rights was the implication which seemed to flow from the fact of female sovereignty. God had given temporal power to Queen Victoria to be exercised for the benefit of all her subjects, and a righteous Christian queen to which he and other men had to owe allegiance, was, at least potentially, a symbol of liberation for all her female subjects. Dewart was a traditionalist at heart, but his conservatism was derived from early Methodism's

concern with social philanthropy[54] and Wesley's legacy of encouraging the presence of women in active ministry.[55] For that reason, he was already inclined towards a tradition embedding a latent egalitarianism which was less evident in Anglicanism.

Dewart's message to the Carlton Street congregation incorporated many of the favourite themes of traditional Wesleyan thought as it had developed in Upper Canada and Ontario. At the core of his sermon was the Methodist concern with Christian perfection, and the importance attached to the obedient, devoted mother, both idealizations being personified in Queen Victoria. In contrast to the Anglican cleric, James John Bogert, who located the sources of order in the Church of England and the monarchy, Dewart situated order within the heart of the believing Christian, in this case Queen Victoria, another instance of the Methodist preference for a symbolic discourse of substitutionary piety. At the evening service in the same church, the Reverend Samuel Dwight Chown (1853-1933),[56] who became the general superintendent in 1910, preached a sermon on the "Worth of Womanhood."[57]

A similar orthodoxy was voiced by James Allen on the morning of 20 June, at Toronto's Metropolitan Church. He spoke of "the girl Queen, the Queenly wife and mother, the sorrowing widow," and "the aged lady," who "has always been surrounded by ... a guard stronger than armies in the passionate love and loyalty of her people.[58] In Allen's view, Christian devotion and patriotism were two sides of the same coin. Through their expositions on the life of Queen Victoria, Dewart and Allen validated Methodism's experiential theology, which insisted on devout, Christlike living, both for the person and the family. At the conclusion of such sermons, the assembled faithful could be forgiven for assuming that Queen Victoria was the perfect model of the submissive, Canadian Methodist wife and mother.

In an essay featured in the 16 June 1897 jubilee issue of the *Christian Guardian*, Mary Dickens used the example of the queen to suggest that the home ought to be no hindrance to female involvement in public life.

> It was the fashion some years since ... to believe that no woman of intellectual pursuits could have time for the humble domestic duties, and that no woman who was a shining light of domesticity must be expected to trouble herself on any other matters. Against these ideas the life of the Queen has been a living protest. Her devotion to affairs of State has been ... unvaried and unwearied. She has insisted from the first on understanding all matters connected with the welfare of her people; and—most emphatically be it spoken—she has reigned![59]

"But besides reigning over England," observed Dickens approvingly, "the Queen has 'ordered her own house,' and ordered it well and truly." Dickens' account of how the "orderly and methodical instincts of the young Queen" were applied to the task of regulating "household affairs," of bringing "order out of chaos," reveals something of the Methodist conviction that sound community began in the loving relationships of the well-ordered home. She then reviewed the sovereign's married life, glorifying her paramount virtues—devotion to her late husband and children. Dickens' sketch of the queen was a paean to maternal feminism, a reminder that home and family were not necessarily to be construed as hindrances to responsible involvement in public duties.[60] The May issue of the *Methodist Magazine* included such titles as "Sunday with Queen Victoria,"[61] "Where the Queen Worships,"[62] and "The Coronation of Queen Victoria,"[63] all of them stressing the close causal association between the queen's faith and her happy home life.

Dickens' remarks on the maternal queen are further illuminated in the context of a discussion by a Victorian biblical commentator, W. F. Adeney, who sought to interpret the virtuous woman of Proverbs 31:10-31. Adeney described "the typical woman" as a "wife and mother," who "will be judged primarily in regard to domestic duties. The true wife is the helpmeet of her husband. Her first aim will be to "do him good" (ver. 12). If she fails here, her public service is of little account." However, Adeney seized upon verse 31 to vindicate the rights of women. He insisted that women have a right to work and to the fruits of their labour. "Women who contribute to the service of society are deserving of double honour, because they have had to work under exceptional disadvantages." The interpretations asserted

that woman's natural responsibilities were to be found in matrimony and motherhood, but that women also had a Christian right to other choices in life, largely without hindrance from men or the social structures which they controlled. Adeney's comments were an amalgam of traditional with more progressive views, a common feature in Canadian Methodist discourse on women and Queen Victoria in the late nineteenth century.[64]

If the maternal, righteous queen of Methodism possessed a covert sense of liberation that was missing in the Anglican formula of the maternal, dutiful queen, it was still the case that the Christian monarch was common to men such as Albert Carman or Edward Dewart, the Methodists, and James John Bogert, the Anglican. However, the language of each was drawn from separate historical streams. Bogert traced Christian and secular order to the Church of England and a crown held in trust by a ruler who, in the present queen, was a providential blessing of God to the British nation and the world. Political order had its source in God, but it was externalized in the ancient institutions symbolized by mitre and crown. Carman and Dewart instead located order in the inner heart of the converted and sanctified Christian, and the sovereign, raised up by God for a life of holiness and service, was an object lesson for all.

The Anglican Vision of Empire: A Triumphant British Race

The Diamond Jubilee triggered memories drawn from the pertinent intellectual and symbolic traditions of the participating communities. Anglicans recapitulated all the familiar themes common to the monarchical panegyric since the 1880s. However, the rhetoric amplified nuances which had been present, but less audible, in previous years. The volume was turned up whenever the Christian mission was fused with empire, and British racial and cultural pride was given an intensified religious sanction, a phenomenon that has already been addressed by Berger and others.[65] By emphasizing her role as the model Christian ruler, the clergy augmented perceptions of the queen's faith and womanly qualities, a discursive strategy

which helped to seal the symbolic identification of the sovereign with a great empire whose millions of lost souls would find their eternal destiny in discovering the joy of Christ's salvation, and their earthly hopes realized in securing the blessings of a superior British civilization. For example, in turning to Victoria's coronation, some Anglican clerics re-emphasized the essentially Christian nature of realm and ruler.

The Reverend Edward Ashurst Welch (1860-1932), the Cambridge-educated provost and vice-chancellor of Trinity College in 1897,[66] preached the jubilee sermon on 20 June at St. Clements Church, Eglinton, deriving his message from Luke 12:48, "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required; and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." The verse is embedded in a section of the chapter which includes a miscellany of Jesus' maxims on discipleship. The stability of Britain and her empire over the course of the century, in contrast to the United States, which had suffered through a terrible conflict in the 1860s, and France, which had been plagued with several political upheavals, was traced to the institution of monarchy and to a sovereign who Welch saw as the "example of all womanly virtues, and of royal devotion to duty." For such godsends, a people should express their gratitude through their feelings and actions towards others. "And really the right way to look at it is, not to suppose that we have been specially favoured by God above all other peoples, but to recognize that we have been particularly endowed, and are therefore peculiarly responsible."[67]

What the good Lord in His infinite wisdom might withhold in His right hand, He could, in the mystery of the moment, return with the left. In an age not known for humility, it is understandable why Welch took the white man's burden so seriously. It was England's compassionate duty and divine mission, a measure of the nation's sense of *noblesse oblige*, to bring the benefits of British civilization to the poor and ignorant masses. In Queen Victoria and the empire much had been given, and therefore, much was required of the dutiful

Christian disciple, a particularly fitting symbol of the loyal British subject. Once again however, the old Anglican concern with political and social order was called forth to explain and judge the context of recent history. To quote Lowenthal, "history perpetuates collective self-awareness."[68]

Before a large gathering of army and navy veterans, and several lodges, including the Irish Protestant Benevolent Association and the Sons of England, the Reverend Herbert Gordon Miller (b. 1855), formerly principal of Huron College in London,[69] preached an afternoon service on 20 June, in St. James' Cathedral in Toronto. From the three verses of Psalm 133, which extolls the brotherhood and unity of the ancient Davidic kingdom,[70] Miller drew upon the customary interpretation, asserting that David wrote the psalm with reference to "the thousands of pilgrim worshippers at the city of Jersusalem." "There was no greater blessing to mankind than that of family and national unity," Miller continued, and then proclaimed that "in all national unity there was a consecrated and divine beauty."[71] The natural unities of family, culture, and language precede the order of law imposed by the state, and "national unity," sanctified by the analogues found in the Bible, enabled some Anglican clerics to move ever more closely towards a wider synthesis incorporating the empire, the "race," and the symbol of pan-Britannia, Queen Victoria into a sacred political cosmology—organicism on a truly imperial scale.

On Sunday afternoon, 20 June, at St. James' Church in Stratford, Queen Victoria Lodge of the Sons of England together with other fraternal societies assembled to hear a patriotic sermon by the Reverend David Williams. Born in Wales in 1859 and educated at Oxford University, graduating with an honours M.A., Williams emigrated to Canada in 1887 to take up a position as a professor at Huron College in London. Williams had a distinguished career in the Church of England in Ontario. He received the Doctorate of Divinity at Western University London, and became bishop of the diocese of Huron in 1905,[72] arch-

bishop in 1926, and in the same year, the metropolitan of the Ecclesiastical Province of Ontario, positions which he held until his death in 1931.[73]

The Diamond Jubilee pointed to something of great significance, and to comprehend its importance Williams had to place it within the context of biblical revelation, and through a typological mode of explication he developed a cosmology which enfolded the monarch, the empire, and the British race within a divine order. Williams drew his inspiration from I Kings 10:9, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice." The chapter refers to the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem to meet Solomon and learn of his wisdom. The Reverend George Barlow, an English commentator of the 1880s, stated that verses four to nine of the chapter affirmed the divine origins of Solomon's kingship, a recognition all the more significant, coming as it did from a great representative of a neighbouring heathen nation.[74] Williams attended to the keynote of the verse, "the Lord loved Israel, therefore made he thee king." It was fitting that "such a nation should have such a king," but "[w]hy" he asked, "did God love Israel?" Williams enunciated three reasons underlying the favoured status of the ancient nation on the Levant.

> Israel ... stood out ... for the ... one only true God.... From Abraham to Moses and from Moses to Christ this was the one clear line of cleavage between Israel and all other nations....
>
> Secondly Israel stood ... apart ... in that they recognized their allegiance to the one God. They regarded themselves as His servants to carry out His will in the world. They regarded tehmselves [*sic*] responsible to the one God for their private and public affairs. Theirs was the Holy Law of Sinai, the Ten Commandments with their explicit enunciation of duty to God and to man.... Thus Israel evolved a higher, purer ... and holier type of character than any other nation.
>
> Then thirdly Israel was convicted that ... they were destined by God to be the channel through which God would restore the world to Himself—that through them God would pour forth His blessings upon mankind.[75]

For these national qualities, "God loved [the Israelites] and gave them first a home and then an empire on the shores of the Mediterranean."[76]

Williams' exposition of Israel's *raison d'être* would not have been lost on the assembled guests, who undoubtedly heard two messages, one overt and the other implied. Obviously, Israel referred to a people united by the awareness of a common and faithful past. God's promises are more easily constructed upon the bedrocks of unity derived from history and a vigilant adherence to the one true faith. However, Williams was depicting Israel as the Old Testament type (perhaps more accurately a pseudo-type) of the British nation, which was now the instrument of God's special blessing throughout the world. In fact, his rhetoric relies on analogical language in the form of metonymy, the capacity for a word, a figure of speech, or a passage to represent, in Frye's definition, "the outward expression of an inner reality."[77] In this case, the words pointed from an ancient Mediterranean nation, holy in God's sight, to a modern people who now carried in their hands and through their empire God's plan for world salvation.

Williams hastened to spell it out for anyone who might have missed his point. "God loved the Anglo-Saxon race, therefore he gave them first a home in Britain, then an empire unparalleled in extent and power and prosperous beyond all records." From this basis, Williams heaped praise and triumph on Britain and its people. "Britain stands out today ... as the Christianizing nation ... a missionary nation ... like Israel of old, the British nation has the promise of the world." Soaring to ever loftier heights he described England as the "Christianizing power religiously, the civilizing power politically ... the mediatorial power, between the future and the past, between the extremest [*sic*] ends of the earth." Returning to his starting point, he capped I Kings 10:9 with the contemporary and extra-biblical antitype of the present age. "God loved Israel; therefore made He thee King. God loved the Anglo-Saxon race; therefore made He Victoria our Queen." This "sceptred wife" and "crowned mother" was the great symbol of unity for her people and the empire. "[A]s a woman, as a wife, as a mother, as a citizen no less than as a sovereign, and yet above all as a sovereign

she stands alone without a rival in history, ever one of her people and yet ever leading them onward and upward in devotion to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords."[78]

David Williams' flights of fancy, although jarring to postmodern sensibilities, stunningly capture the manner in which a religiously transcendent loyalty could direct the patriotic mind to gaze in awe at a great imperial order. In his cosmological perspective, Williams was echoing Aquinas and late mediaeval political theology, and yet in his eschatology, he was reverting to St. Augustine and the *City of God*. The present determined Williams' interpretation of the saga of Israel. His hermeneutics forced him to reify the Old Testament theology of God's sovereignty, and place it within the domain of contemporary actuality, Britain and the empire. Nevertheless, the cognitive structure of his thought was built upon a foundation of political order and obedience inherited from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Monarchy received its divine sanction under the authority of the established Church, and the image of the Christian sovereign greatly strengthened Williams' constructions of temporal and eternal reality. *Weltgeschichte* (world or universal history) and *Heilsgeschichte* (salvation history) are not easily separable and neither totally determines the other in Williams' thought. The sermon is a striking example of how the sacred past could become an "artifact of the present," to return to Lowenthal's central argument.[79]

Many Anglican clerics reverted to the queen's coronation in order to reinforce the sacred link between the Church of England and the crown, but also to add lustre to the extravagant depictions of Victoria's Christian life. The Reverend George B. Sage, educated in the 1880s at Trinity College in Toronto, the centre of High Church tradition in Ontario, had been a professor at Huron College, western Ontario's bastion of the Evangelical party, and he subsequently became the rector of London's St. George's Church.[80] In his sermon before a large assembly, including the Sons of England, at the city's Princess Rink on Sunday afternoon 20 June 1897, he reviewed the life of the queen, emphasizing the accession prayer

before the archbishop of Canterbury and the ceremonial acceptance of the Bible at the coronation, incidents which revealed the depth of Victoria's Christian faith. "For two generations our Queen has reigned in the fear of God and for the welfare of this mighty nation ... the Christian sovereign and the Christian woman."[81]

Similarly, in Galt, John Ridley traced the blessings of the empire and the nation (meaning greater Britain) to the "pure, wise, loving Christian Sovereign ... who serves and obeys the Supreme Ruler of the Universe." "This," he declared, "was the secret of England's greatness." Like Sage, he separated the private woman from the public monarch, but in both roles the queen exercised an immeasurable influence for good throughout the empire and the world. She was the "glory of consecrated womanhood," who wore "the white flower of a balmeless [*sic*] life," and he hypothesized that had the queen been "a vain, frivolous, worldly woman," then it might have remained "a question whether the Empire would have been so vast, so united," and "so prosperous." In "the glory of her Christian reign," Ridley contended that the queen "excelled in promoting Christian citizenship," and proceeded to dwell on the expansion of the Christian churches throughout the empire, stressing of course, the growth of the Anglican communion.[82]

In the special afternoon service, Ridley turned to the anointing of Saul (I Samuel 10) as he did in 1887, and held up God's ancient prerogative over the choice of kings to sanction the role of the Church of England in the queen's coronation. By elevating the moral superiority of Queen Victoria over any of her illustrious predecessors, comparing her, for example, with Elizabeth, he was able to confirm that the Church had done exceedingly well in performing its authorized function at the investiture of 1838. A social monarch who could be portrayed as the ideal Christian sovereign was of great utility in the construction of loyalty to the monarchy, the state, and the empire.[83]

In Guelph, at St. George's Church on 20 June, Archdeacon Alexander Dixon (b. ca.

1820)[84] gave a glowing account of the queen's coronation. His description of the ceremony was divided into two parts, the first privileged a reverence for antiquity, and the second, the more important, was the queen's symbolic presence before the altar and her acceptance of the sovereignty of God. Dixon first talked on the "crowning of Solomon" and the glory of his reign to provide a biblical foundation for his discussion of Queen Victoria's coronation.

> The coronation took place in Westminster Abbey, seated on the mystical stone of destiny, on which for hundreds of years monarchs of England had been crowned. There in the ... stately abbey, hallowed by countless historic associations, amid the memorials of a long line of ancestors, and the monuments of the mighty master builders who had labored in their several vocations in erecting the vast Temple of England's fame and glory. Such was the scene where the momentous ceremony was enacted, the act which inaugurated the glorious annals of history in letters of gold as the Victorian era.[85]

Such rhetoric is the poetry of an antiquarian who treasured the marks of time. Precedence, remoteness and origins, those affective attributes born in the reverence for antiquity, and noted by Lowenthal, are particularly apparent.[86] The coronation of the queen was the reenactment of an ancient rite, an instance of a ceremonial lineage legitimated by its age. Westminster Abbey, sitting on the "mystical stone of destiny" was the most sacred place among the architectural jewels of the Church of England. By its remoteness in time, the Abbey came to represent the ecclesiastical and monarchical foundations of England, the symbols of the nation. Dixon's reverence for the distant past incorporated the idea of historical beginnings. Westminster Abbey stood for the primordial and sacred genesis of the English state, origins which were ritually reincarnated at the coronation.

The second part of the sermon highlighted the sacred core of the queen's coronation.

> Yet amid all the ... magnificence ... there was one sight that moved the Christian hearts.... It was the drawing nigh in faith of the young queen to the altar of the Most High—the public ... recognition of the God of her fathers as the fountain of sovereignty and the ... dedication of ... her dignity and monarchy to the service of her Saviour.... [I]n deep and earnest sincerity she laid her crown at the footstool, declaring that the Divine gift was her best right to its possession and the Divine blessing the only pledge of her people's welfare and her own happiness in time and eternity.[87]

Dixon was intent on assuring his faithful followers of Queen Victoria's reverent submission to God and the Church of England under the imposing authority vested in the coronation ceremony. The sacred offering of the crown, the symbol of secular authority, was the prerogative of the Church and the celebration made visible and audible to all that the Christian dignity of the realm remained supreme in the hands of the Church and a devout young woman who demonstrated such faith and offered so much promise. The Diamond Jubilee and the account of the queen's coronation were meaningful to the St. George's parishioners who could vicariously experience the glories of England's past reincarnated through the pulpit and the liturgy.

The name of Victoria, the Christian and Anglican sovereign, reverberated through the sanctuaries of the Church of England across the province during the Diamond Jubilee. In Ottawa, the Reverend Henry Pollard (1830-1914)[88] of St. John's Church praised God for "Her Majesty," who "set such an example of a noble christian life."[89] In Brantford, T. A. Wright, at Grace Church proclaimed that the scarlet thread running through the life of Great Britain was Christianity, and this same thread ran through the life of the queen.[90] In Chatham, the Reverend Robert McCosh (b. 1847)[91] rejoiced in the queen's acknowledgement "of God's supremacy," and of "the glory due to His great and holy name."[92] The emphasis on Victoria's deep faith, while it hardly reflected the complexity of her religious convictions, served its purpose. A dutiful, constitutional monarch who followed the path of Christ, sanctified state, society, and empire. The theme of the reverent Christian sovereign cut across the amorphous boundaries between the High and Low Church parties. Ultimately, there was little difference in the expressions of loyalty between such clergymen as David Williams, perhaps more in tune with the evangelical tradition, and Alexander Dixon, born in Ireland in 1820, and educated in Toronto at King's College in the 1840s, and later at Trinity, a clergyman who had closer affinities to the old High Church era of Upper Canada.

Shortly before the celebrations of the Diamond Jubilee, a writer in the *Canadian Churchman*, on considering comments once made by the Bishop of Durham regarding Rome and Christianity, spoke about "the two Empires of today, that of the Empress Queen and that of the Lord Jesus Christ." "The aim of our spiritual rulers," he said, "is to make them coterminous, and much has been done to make the ideal a reality."[93] The degree to which Anglicans in Ontario accepted this sense of divine purpose was expressed yet again in an editorial in the *Churchman* one week later. After waxing poetic on the great engineering and material advances of the queen's reign, the editor turned to loftier matters.

> In the higher culture and more complete subduing to the needs and delights of men, of those regions where the faith of Christ is owned, we may see already pledges and promises of that complete restoration of the earth to all its original fertility and beauty, which our Lord's victory over sin and Satan shall one day have brought about. In this direction and towards this glorious consummation the life and reign of our gracious Queen, under heaven, have largely contributed.[94]

The substance of this eschatological message is similar to that of David Williams, an ersatz version of holy, or salvation history, an image of the coming divine restoration of the world effected through the providential instrument of Queen Victoria's empire. The passage illustrates the religious passion which infused Anglican imperialism. However, there is a major difference with Methodism in its neglect of the language and insights of the new social theology with its message of Christian commitment to the regeneration of society by altering the structures of oppression and injustice. The coming of Christ's earthly kingdom is couched in the older thought forms of hierarchy and subjugation. The visible "pledges and promises" of restoration, the signs of the millennium in the Christian "regions," suggest not the mind of the reformer steeped in the new dogma of evolutionism, but rather that of the Christian imperialist missionary for whom the benefits of Western civilization would have been the incidental, but expected, outcome of gospel evangelization.

Within the framework of a great imperial and Christian cosmology, of which the

sovereign was the temporal symbol, the Diamond Jubilee possessed eschatological significance for many Anglican commentators in Ontario. Queen Victoria, reigning in accordance with God's will, was reimagined as the modern antitype of David or Solomon. By her example, the queen was leading Anglo-Saxon civilization and the entire empire towards the realization of the coming kingdom of God.

The Methodist Vision: The Virtuous Queen—the Symbol for a Progressive Empire

Anglican loyalty derived its sustenance from a reverent respect for England's religious, cultural, and political history. The Church of England in Canada gazed in awe at Britain, the vector of loyalty to the state pointing to the ancient past, but its course for the future pointing to an eschatological vision of empire about to usher in Christ's kingdom. Methodists looked not so much to the past for inspiration *per se*, but rather they looked at it and saw God active in the moral, social, and religious regeneration of mankind. By 1897, Methodists had drifted closer to their Anglican colleagues in uttering universal support for queen and empire, but there were subtle differences in their constructions of loyalty. Whatever the expressions "British empire" and "Victorian era" may have denoted, they carried slightly different connotations for Anglicans and Methodists. The latter, as much as any religious group in Ontario, were impressed by the remarkable advances of Western and especially English-speaking civilization throughout the nineteenth century. Methodist patriotic narratives during the Diamond Jubilee were often infused with stylized progress formularies. Less strident about the empire, Methodists focused on the triumphs of science, discovery, social improvement and the achievement of democracy under constitutional monarchy. The classical Wesleyan distinction between nature and grace began to destabilize as a consequence of the growing belief that God was moving in the progressive, secular spirit of the age, and that redemption was social as much as individual. The rhetoric of the social gospel was now insinuating itself into Methodist loyalty narratives. Methodists, "the most fully indigenous or

acclimated of all the principal Upper Canadian denominations," as J. M. S. Careless once noted,[95] were also more predisposed to consider Canada's role within the empire.

On Tuesday evening, 22 June, the Reverend William Kettlewell (1846-1933)[96] preached a jubilee sermon before his congregation in Galt. Only a brief second-hand report was left in the newspaper, but Kettlewell paraded the stock virtues invariably attributed to Queen Victoria before turning to a comment on the changes in his own political convictions over the years.

> The preacher confessed that in his early years his democratic tendencies took on republican ideals of government, but such had been the comparative failure of republicanism in Europe and on the continent in exemplifying true democratic principles, and such the success of the British Empire, as a government of the people, by the people and for the people, under the reign of Victoria, that today he was an Imperialist from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet.[97]

The similarity between Kettlewell's shifting attitudes and those of James Allen in Toronto a year earlier create the impression that the ideals of imperialism were powerful and commanding for many Methodists by the late nineteenth century. If there was any waffling towards Queen Victoria and the monarchy on the part of a few Methodist clergymen during the Golden Jubilee in 1887, it had all but vanished ten years later.

In the late nineteenth century, the secular religion of progress was sanctified by the Protestant clergy. Parallel with this belief, and perhaps underlying it, was the predominant Whig theory of history as applied to the development of British political and legal institutions. The *Methodist Magazine* of May 1897 featured an essay, "The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria" by Albert Carman, who conjoined the heritage of Britain's evolving liberties to the monarch's pure and pious life. As in his article "Our Queen's Jubilee," written for the commemoration of 1887, Carman romanticized England's political and legal history, tracing the progress of the realm from ancient times to the constitutional monarchy of 1897. "That this insular British nation ... should ... advance from step to step in the problems of self-

government, till the question is solved in liberty and progress on one side, and security and stability on the other, and honour and happiness on both, is a marvellous benediction under divine providence, and an object lesson to mankind."[98]

Pivotal to his argument was the collapse of royal prerogative and "ecclesiastical aggression" with the expulsion of James II. Preferring limited monarchy, the English were "true to religion ... but they will not have a Church ruled from foreign parts, intermeddling in national affairs, and receiving its dictates and offices from alien potentates."[99] Carman may have been artfully responding to the Canadian mission of Msgr. Rafael Merry Del Val, the apostolic delegate sent by Rome in early 1897 to mediate, if possible, and to report on, the school dispute in Manitoba.[100] "A Crown with the people and for the people, and a Church from God among the people ... in them is the vitality of national regeneration," he insisted. This great inheritance passed to Queen Victoria who, in the language of Methodist evangelicalism, "was raised up of God for a great life-work."[101] Carman was conservative in his affirmation of traditional Wesleyan theology, but, as Airhart and others have noted, he was cautiously favourable to Methodist participation in social reform,[102] and his invocation of the familiar use of the term "regeneration," which Cook has identified with the emergence of the social gospel, is indicative of the growing influence of this movement within late Victorian Methodism.[103]

At this point, Carman changed from a historian into a conservative Methodist. "It is asked, Why is the British throne so stable? It is because the ... crown is so faithfully and grandly worn."

> From her girlhood she has reigned for the girls of the kingdom; a mother with sons, she has ruled for the boys. One of the united head of a family, she has seen her people, in the goodness of God, set in families; the mistress in a home, she has realized that the pure home is the strength of the State; a leader in society, she has felt that society must be incorrupt and incorruptible, and has done her best to make and keep it so.[104]

Asserting that the queen's reign demonstrated "how much the character of the sovereign has

to do with imperial expansion and national power," he ended with a sweeping flourish, subsuming empire and motherhood in the person of the queen.

> But a careful, discreet, intelligent, loving, earnest, constitutional sovereign, forever studying the welfare of the millions under her sway, ever devoting her best thoughts, and ever warmest love for their good, ever uniting in herself the strong bands of daughter, wife and mother, and these of the highest type known to the race, ever herself a glorious example of respect for law and authority, a pattern of a pure morality and a generous religion, must attract to a common centre, to the heart of the mother land the colonies of kindred sentiment and liberty, kindred race, institution and law.[105]

The imperial mother crossed denominational and cultural boundaries, but in Methodism the maternal queen, a derivative of sanctified motherhood, was the focal point of loyalty towards the sovereign. In this article, Carman managed to identify the royal mother with the historic totality of British civilization, a Methodist answer to the extravagant cosmology of the Anglican commentators. "The unbroken stream is a peculiarly English virtue," states Lowenthal in his discussion on continuity and memory. Carman's brief disquisition is an example of diachrony, "the endurance of the past in the present."[106] In this case, a popular conception of history and a vernacular religious tradition pertaining to motherhood were coupled in a reflection on the monarchy and the "community of descent" over which Queen Victoria reigned. Carman did not subordinate history to progress. The latter was but the material, spiritual and social outcome of the gradual evolution of political and religious liberties culminating in the institution of democratic, constitutional monarchy. Such genetic, "racial" theories on the origins of liberty were not uncommon among historians of the time, one of them being the Canadian constitutional expert, John George Bourinot, who, as Berger has observed, expounded such views in the late nineteenth century.[107] For Albert Carman, the queen was the icon of past glories and present virtues, a symbol of true nobility and an object lesson for all Canadian Methodists in the art of Christian living.

Many orations from the Protestant clergy were replete with progress litanies, and the observed correlation between Queen Victoria's stainless character and the great advances of

her reign was elevated into a relationship of cause and effect. As Himmelfarb as stressed, the Victorians assumed that a sound moral life was a necessary condition for successful public leadership,[108] but an unexamined premise was the notion that the progress of Anglo-Saxon civilization could be traced to the salutary effects of the queen's influence for good throughout society and the state. The queen became the personified link between providence and progress, between individual redemption and the regeneration of society preached in the message of the social gospel. It seemed obvious that a nation which remained faithful to God and loyal to His virtuous sovereign was destined to reap the rewards of happiness, peace and ever increasing prosperity. The monarchical discourse of the Methodist Church in Ontario during the Diamond Jubilee offers some of the best evidence illustrating how the model queen was reconstituted as a determinant of the triumphs of her time.

A sermon preached by Richard Strachan (d. 1920)[109] at Brookholm Methodist Church in Owen Sound on Thanksgiving Sunday, 20 June, and an address delivered by George W. Henderson (1855-1939)[110] at a Diamond Jubilee concert in Sarnia during the evening of Tuesday, 22 June are remarkably similar in structure and content. In both cases, they began with surveys of the material and social achievements of Victoria's reign before turning to the customary hagiographic expositions of their beloved queen. By analyzing Strachan's sermon and Henderson's speech, the parallel features bring into relief what is common to both. On the one hand, Methodist perspectives were increasingly influenced by the progressive movements in science and society, but on the other, the queen served as an anchor of tradition, ensuring that the older verities of Wesleyan Methodism would be preserved in the onrush of unsettling change.

Strachan took his biblical cue from Proverbs 31:31, "Give her of the fruit of her hands; and let her own works praise her in the gates." William John Deane, an Anglican expositor on Proverbs for the *Pulpit Commentary* observed that verses 10-31 were derived

from an "ode in praise of the virtuous woman."[111] In the homiletic section, W. F. Adeney chose verse 31 to address the importance of woman's domestic role, but he was at pains to stress women's rights—their right to property, to work in competition with men and keep the fruits of their labour, and to succeed to positions of power and prominence in business and public life.[112] Of course, Queen Victoria symbolized this potential for womankind, and Adeney's interpretation was probably close to what Strachan had in mind when he selected this verse. He saw in the queen a woman to whom honour was due, not only because of her adherence to the timeless domestic virtues, but also because she stood out as the exemplar of woman's service in the public arena of life. Henderson's address in Sarnia also conveyed the same ideals.

"The great expansion of the British Empire has been the least wonderful of many wonderful signs of progress," stated Strachan in his opening remarks, subordinating territorial acquisition to the material and moral advances of the queen's reign. He was awed by the "development of steam power and ... electricity," observing that these "mighty forces have brought into closest contact almost all the peoples of the earth."[113] George Henderson drew attention to the growth of the empire during Queen Victoria's long and remarkable reign, which was characterized by "unprecedented progress." He too was struck by the contraction of time and distance effected by the inventions of the Victorian age between 1837 and 1897.

> Then [referring to 1837] the stage coach was the ordinary mode of travel, now we have the electric lighted vestibuled train, equipped in princely style and dashing along at the rate of 60 miles an hour. Then the telegraph was unknown; now important news items are reported simultaneously all the world around. Now time and distance have been annihilated as messages are flashed from continent to continent and from pole to pole.[114]

Both Strachan and Henderson were fascinated by the degree to which the motive power of steam on land and sea, and telegraphy had contracted distance and time. The narratives illustrate the capacity of vernacular memory to romanticize the immediate past, and in this case, to foreshorten time and distance. Stephen Kern's analysis of the Jules Verne classic,

Around the World in Eighty Days (1873) is a particularly relevant observation on the impact of the literary imagination upon the quest for the technological mastery of speed and distance. "The book," he writes, "was a mixture of fact and fantasy, a compendium of global travel that was actually taking place, and an inspiration for others to follow."[115]

It is well to remember that Strachan and Henderson, like the hero of Verne's story, Phileas Fogg, were products of an age that identified the expansion and acquisition of global space with England's ability to move its ships, armies and merchandise farther and faster than in any previous era. Such screeds on the scientific and engineering marvels were universally common in the sacred and secular writings of the time, and they were certainly not peculiar to Methodism. However, Methodist commentators did manifest a distinctive predilection for progress narratives in their commemorative pronouncements during the Diamond Jubilee, partly because the material, social, moral, and religious advances were increasingly seen as a continuum of God's divine activity in the world. The evolution of human knowledge for the benefit of mankind was being Christianized—another indication of how the language of the social gospel was collapsing the separation between the secular and the sacred, or nature and grace, a traditional mainstay of Wesleyan-Arminian theology.

Each of the ministers had much praise for the recent discoveries and innovations in medicine. Strachan mentioned "anaesthetics, antiseptic and vaccine methods of cure,"[116] and Henderson also spoke of these "remarkable discoveries."[117] The modern medical advances had greatly alleviated human suffering, always an important dimension to Wesleyan social concern. Perhaps it was not coincidence that both Strachan and Henderson used their bird's-eye views of the development of the scientific healing arts as introductions to short surveys on the social changes that had ameliorated the poverty and oppressive conditions of the working classes.

Henderson was also adopting modern ideas on criminal law. After commenting

favourably on the reduction in the number of criminal offences punishable by death, from thirteen in 1837 to only two in 1897 (high treason and wilful murder), he looked to the future and prophetically judged that "the time is coming when the death penalty will practically be abolished ... and ... the nations are coming to see that the best way of abolishing crime is to prevent it."[118] Strachan too was impressed with moral progress, particularly with the "desire to settle all international differences by arbitration."

> This shows that the spirit of Christianity is more largely permeating the moral life of the nation, and is keeping pace with this progressive age, and giving assurance that it is the power of God unto salvation for the world. All these things not only exalt our conception of this wonderful age, but of the power and wisdom of God, "For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things, to whom be glory forever."[119]

An immanent God, active in bringing about the salvation of society had replaced a supernatural God providentially intervening in the course of events. Richard Allen adds that the "decline of 'interventionism'" resulted in the "retreat from the drama of conversion.... The transactions between man and God—as between man and nature as well as between God and nature—were increasingly viewed as matters of mind and consciousness."[120] It is reasonable to suggest that salvation, long understood, especially in evangelicalism and Wesleyan thought, as the redemptive power of God's divine grace acting on the heart of the humbled sinner, was now being transmuted into a form of social redemption. When theology gave ground to sociology, the locus of control began to shift from the Creator to the created. The traditional Wesleyan-Arminian theology was mutating in response to contemporary knowledge, a transformation which had "potentially powerful secular implications," notes Marshall, "since it led to the conclusion that God worked through natural and historical means instead of miraculous ones."[121]

Strachan and Henderson then turned to Queen Victoria, the subject of the celebrations. "The attention of the British people," observed Strachan, "is focused on that great and venerable figure, around whom all these wonderful changes have occurred and the vast

movements of human activity have circled during the past sixty years."[122] By re-imaging the queen as the centre of gravity, the heavenly body around which all forms of progress had taken their natural orbits, Strachan was returning to the comforts of stability and tradition. Moreover, he was tacitly implying that by her illustrious rule, and through the influence of her pure, unstained virtues, Queen Victoria had been essential to the progress and imperial expansion which characterized her reign. Henderson captured the same thought by invoking a traditional providentialist outlook, supported by biblical proof (Proverbs 29:2):

> What has God wrought during the years of this lengthened reign. Somewhere in the Book of Proverbs we read "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice: but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn." Well then may we not rejoice, are we not proud of our Queen, of her history and ... name.[123]

Whereas Strachan used the metaphor of astronomy to link effect to cause, Henderson invoked the anchor of the Old Testament to affirm the connection between public virtue and national well-being. Both men assumed that progress and prosperity were predicated on a just order under God, but in contrast to the Anglican understanding of a static, reciprocative idea of justice, Strachan and Henderson leaned towards a concept of active, distributive justice carrying an intuition of social and economic democracy.

As part of the stock-in-trade for most Methodist pastors of the period, Strachan focused on the person rather than the crown in order to sanctify the queen's life.

> More than the wonderful achievements of her reign, greater than the vastness of her empire, brighter far than her crown, and above her rank as Queen and Empress ... there towers her womanly goodness, her domestic virtues, her model life. If it were not for these excellent qualities which adorn her character, and the consequent benefaction of her reign, the rejoicings, if any, on attaining the sixtieth year of her reign, would be less hearty and sincere. Time was when we were overawed by power, dazzled by the glitter of outward show, enraptured by the trappings of royalty, and moved to loyalty by the mere right of inheritance. Those days of abject loyalty are gone forever.... Princes ... and powers must in these democratic times stand upon their own merits...[124]

Of course, Queen Victoria filled all the expectations that Strachan, or any good Methodist,

could possibly desire in a Christian sovereign. Above all else was the "high ideal of womanly goodness which she has given to her people ... the central point of a pure and loving family life, such as every British heart reveres." For most Methodists, constitutional monarchy was synonymous with democracy, the preferred political system. The domestic virtues and the ideal family life lay at the core of social order, and the queen was therefore the symbol of the democratic state by virtue of both her person and her title. Strachan, the good Methodist that he was, stressed moral, over institutional order, and his comments suggest that he measured the worth of the monarchy largely in terms of the character of the incumbent sovereign. In common with John Ridley, the Anglican rector in Galt, Strachan realized that traditional loyalty to the crown would be vulnerable to the exposed moral failings of any reigning monarch. Fortunately, the present queen, having "enshrined herself in the hearts and reverence of all true hearted men and women," dispelled all possible concerns. "We thank God that we have such a Queen, to whom it is so easy to be loyal," added Strachan in his closing remarks.[125]

Out of the catalogue of legendary anecdotes on the life of Queen Victoria, and from the register of Christian virtues, George Henderson assembled the image of a thoroughly Methodist monarch.

> She studies the welfare of the millions under her sway constantly. She devotes her best thoughts and her warmest love for their good.... As Britons we make our boast of the Christian character of Britain's Queen.... Victoria passed the first hour of her reign on her knees praying to the God of Heaven for herself and her people. We love to think of her great heart touched by the sympathy of the Man of God as she condoles with the bereaved wife of an assassinated President or as she bends in her holy ministries at the bedside of the poorest in her realm.[126]

Henderson continued to unfold the Christian humility of his sovereign, praising her for keeping the sabbath holy, even under the pressures imposed by affairs of state.

> We think of her at Balmoral with her kindred as she approaches the sacramental board. For fifty years they have joined with the lowliest of her subjects in partaking the Lord's supper on communion days.... We see her before her

> bible class on Sabbath afternoon, unfolding to her servants the deep treasures of God. We see her enter the small thatched cottage of her humble subject and with open book she reads to the daughter of poverty and distress the wonderful message of comfort: we hear her say to the Embassy of the African Prince, as she hands him a copy of the inspired scriptures, "Tell the Prince that this is the secret of England's greatness."[127]

Here again was the servant of God who reached out to the grieving, the suffering, and the poor; a queen bowing before God in prayer, obeying the ordinances of the church and the fourth commandment, and ever devoted to reading and treasuring the revealed word of God in scripture. "And so in union with the loyal subjects of this greatest empire," concluded Henderson, "we love this day to honor the obedient daughter—the faithful wife—the noble mother—the splendid woman—the peerless Queen, and the humble and consistent child of God—Victoria, our beloved Queen."[128]

By focusing their messages upon the idea of imperial progress, Strachan and Henderson were echoing a theme that was a dominant, self-affirming feature of Victorian cultural discourse. They were also following a trail blazed by such Methodists as the Reverend Dr. William Williams, whose 1891 sermon in Lindsay was covertly bringing together the ideas of divine immanence and human progress. Given the Wesleyan tradition on the efficacy of Christian perfection, it was increasingly easier for later spokesmen, such as Strachan and Henderson, to import this theology into contemporary ideological assumptions which offered, in Berger's words, "the possibility of perfecting human nature."[129]

Confident that God was immanent in the spirit of a progressive people, Strachan and Henderson sanctified human mastery over the physical, social and spiritual environments now under the sway of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Both men steeped themselves in an unexamined language of power, perhaps the very antithesis of the essential Christian message. However, when they turned to Queen Victoria, the hub of the empire, and the centrepiece of their orations, Strachan and Henderson retreated into the safety of an earlier Methodism in order to cement the necessary connection between the pure, sanctified life of the monarch and her

positive impact on the progress of the nation and the empire. The queen was the living embodiment of Christian perfection, a model sovereign whose life and virtues reflected the humble responses of a contrite heart to the moving of God's free grace. This queen, who lowered herself to console her suffering subjects, would have found favour with John and Charles Wesley over one hundred years earlier. The queen's sanctified life not only confirmed the validity of the tradition, but, for Strachan and Henderson, also affirmed that individual salvation was prior, both in time and importance, to the success of social reconstruction.[130] Lowenthal has remarked that "[a]wareness of history ... enhances communal ... identity."[131] To Strachan and Henderson, Queen Victoria represented an anchor of historic identity for a church coping with the destabilizing influences of modernity. The virtuous imperial mother legitimated Methodism's most sacred theological traditions, and the marvellous, but potentially threatening, advances of the nineteenth century could be celebrated by appropriating them to the discourse of loyalty. A Methodist Queen Victoria stood fast against the possibility that progress might subvert Christian civilization, or perhaps even mutate into some monstrous perversion. In short, it had all unfolded as intended, because a faithful, sanctified queen ruled over a God-fearing British empire.

Across the province, on Sunday, 20 June 1897, Methodist ministers extolled the progress of the empire and Canada. Preaching from the text "What God hath wrought," probably taken from Acts 15:12 or a related verse in the same book, the Reverend Silas J. Hughes (b. 1849),[132] in Ottawa, saw the hand of God in the progress of science and industry during the Victorian era.[133] In Stratford, James Hannon, observing that "Christ aims to illumine the mind and elevate the race," then linked this divine light to "scientific, religious and moral" advances, which "gave freedom to England."[134] At Central Methodist Church in Toronto, the congregation listened attentively to an address on progress during the queen's reign given by the Minister of Education, George W. Ross, who spoke on the "larger

views as to the relation between science and religion." "There could be no danger that the inspired word could be subverted or discredited by the discoveries of science or the higher criticism," he proclaimed, adding that science "only serve[s] to make the revelations of the Bible clearer and more magnificent; the conceptions of the Almighty appear grander in the light of scripture."[135] Throughout the province, a message of immanence, of the divinization of material, moral and social improvement, was ringing from the Methodist pulpits on Jubilee Sunday.

Canadian imperialism had its boosters in the Methodist Church, among them William Withrow who wrote a classic statement on Canada's role within the empire for the 16 June 1897 issue of the *Christian Guardian*. The introduction to his essay made clear that Canadian patriotism could not be divorced from its historic ties to Britain.

> One of the best ways ... of developing a national sentiment in Canada, is by maintaining a sense of historic continuity with the motherland across the sea. Our sense of love and loyalty should not be limited by the boundaries of Canada.... It should embrace also the grand old Mother of Nations, with her forty colonies around the world.[136]

Arguing that English Canadians could rightfully share in the heroic traditions of England, Withrow then turned to the indigenous mythology of the United Empire Loyalists. Stepping back into colonial times, he claimed the early American past for Canada as much as for the United States, but he built his narrative around the biblical metaphor of the chosen people.

> It has been said that the finest wheat of England was sifted for the planting of the New England colonies. If this be true and it is true, it is also true that the best wheat of the American colonies was once more sifted to furnish the U. E. Loyalist pilgrim fathers and founders of Upper Canada.... We should profoundly revere the memory of these heroic men who went forth, like Abraham, not knowing whither they went, seeking to hew out in the wilderness new homes for themselves and their households.[137]

Historical consciousness during the nineteenth century was characterized by a belief, observes Knowles, "that origins played a critical role in establishing the character of a people and setting the future course of a nation's ... development."[138] Withrow was hardly an

original thinker, and in this case, he was drawing upon the filiopietistic genre of Loyalist writings which had been pioneered by such men as William Kirby, William Canniff, and particularly in this instance, Egerton Ryerson. The promise of the sturdy, superior and loyal pioneer stock was realized in the great nation which Canada had become. Withrow did not omit the French Canadians, whose ancestors he equally praised. Both "races" now lived together "in a common fealty beneath the protecting folds of one common ... red cross flag."[139] John Bodnar argues that prominent leaders in the United States, in their efforts to "stimulate loyalty to large political structures," have tended to reformulate and assimilate local, or vernacular, memories to the greater cause.[140] Withrow's narrative is an interesting illustration of this process. Aware that many Methodists had Loyalist roots, he harnessed this emotional investment in Ontario's vernacular mythology of the refugees from the War of Independence to an imperial sentiment having a wider nationalist appeal.

In his grand design for the cultivation of Canadian imperialism, Withrow enunciated the responsibilities of educators, civic leaders, writers, and the clergy. Crucial to his project were to be appropriate celebrations in the schools and communities for national holidays such as the queen's birthday. "'Canada first and Canada always,' should be written on our hearts," he said, implying that patriotism towards Canada was in no way inconsistent with loyalty to Britain and the sovereign. "Each school should have its Union Jack ... prominently displayed. The scholars should be told the story of its victories by land and sea, and especially that it is the symbol of law and order and liberty in every land beneath the sun."[141] Withrow's suggestions were also being advocated in other quarters during the Diamond Jubilee. In tracing the origins of "Empire Day" in the public schools, Robert Stamp has drawn attention to the efforts of Clementine Fessenden, "a prominent clubwoman in Hamilton," whose ideas for a patriotic flag day were taken up by George Ross, the Ontario Education Minister during and immediately after the Diamond Jubilee.[142]

Landscape patriotism, a familiar component in the jingoism of modern (i.e. red maple-leaf) Canadian nationalism, had it roots in the late nineteenth century. Writers, thought Withrow, could foster national sentiment by creating a literature "racy of the soil, by cultivating a deep sympathy with nature, and by painting for the people the grandeur and its beauty, and interpreting its moral significance." Withrow naturally rejected any thought of union with the United States, but expressed the hope that "Great Britain and her oldest daughter, America, and her great colonial empire throughout the world," would be "united in a great Anglo-Saxon alliance for the uplifting and betterment of all mankind." "Such an alliance," he believed, "would do much to hasten the coming of the millennium day, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our God ... when the nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and learn war no more."[143] Withrow was as capable of sanctifying nationalism as any Anglican, but his hallowing of the nation and the empire under the sovereign was a necessary condition for the Christianization of society. In one sense, Canada and the empire were manifestations of God's providential design for the Anglo-Saxon people realized over the course of history, but in another, the Christian hope for mankind was being realized in God's immanent spirit, active in the progressive, social redemption of mankind, now being effected primarily through the great empire under the sway of His faithful servant, Queen Victoria. Withrow's project for the furtherance of Canadian imperialism was one Methodist's vision of the ground of public assent upon which the Lord's Dominion would be constructed.

In sum, the Diamond Jubilee, a celebration of Queen Victoria and the British Empire, was a much more exuberant commemoration than the event of 1887. Consensus was not universal, as James Morris has suggested,[144] but the invitation to participate was accepted by segments of society, such as the Irish Catholic community, who, for the most part, had either ignored or shunned the celebrations ten years before. In essence, the Methodist clergy, like

their Anglican counterparts, held fast to an organic ideal of familial, social and political reality. Anglican and Methodist understandings of the sovereign and the British throne during the Ontario commemorations for the Diamond Jubilee in June 1897, despite a great degree of shared purpose and similar affirmations, were also uniquely appropriate to the aims and self-definitions of each group.

The Anglican sources reveal a tradition steeped in a reverence for origins. Drawing upon its historic links to the mother country and the crown, the Church of England in Ontario reaffirmed its identity by constructing vernacular accounts of its ancient relationship with the English Church and the throne. Displaying a surface confidence which was slightly less defensive than in 1887, the Anglican imperialist clergy tended to transmute an organic conception of family, society and state into a unified cosmology which revolved around Queen Victoria, the virtuous mother and symbolic centre of the empire. In a patriarchal and authoritarian understanding of the pan-Britannic culture, the Anglican clergy paraded the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization and its triumphant victories on the world stage. At the heart of the discourse was a belief that order was genetic and natural on the one hand, but on the other, a manifestation of God's sacred providence as revealed in the ancient institutions of the Church of England and the monarchy. Anglican loyalty to queen, empire and nation was ultimately a fusion of Christianity with a romantic, antiquarian nationalism.

The Methodists continued to preserve a democratic and egalitarian conception of the state and society. Some Methodist pastors may have had doubts about their queen in 1887, but there is no indication of either ambivalence or prevarication in 1897. The monarchical panegyric continued to focus on the person of the queen whose image was constructed as the Methodist ideal of the nurturing wife and mother, but also the supreme symbol of what woman, especially in her role as the Christian servant, could contribute in public life. Directing their attention to the progress of the empire, and less towards mere territorial

acquisition, Methodist clergymen appeared less strident than their Anglican counterparts. Between the Golden Jubilee of 1887 and 1897, there was a discursive shift in the language of progress. By the Diamond Jubilee, the sources indicate that the classic Wesleyan distinction between the sacred and the secular was beginning to disintegrate as an advancing wave of a theology of immanentism divinized progress, paralleling the emergence of the social gospel. Nevertheless, by preserving the language of Wesleyan holiness in their portrayals of Queen Victoria, the Methodists tried to stabilize their traditional sense of identity, and still affirm that order was to be found in the spiritual condition of the individual and the family.

ENDNOTES

1.Morton, *Kingdom of Canada*, 371.

2.Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 445-6.

3.Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971; paperback ed., 1973), [3].

4.Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 104-6.

5.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 945.

6."Militiamen at Worship," *Kingston Daily News*, 26 May 1896, p. 4.

7.Davenport, "Imperial Mother," 12.

8.*Toronto World*, 11 June 1896, p. 5.

9.Ibid.

10.Ibid.

11.Richard Allen, "Providence to Progress: The Migration of an Idea in English Canadian Thought," in *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies, Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Graduate Centre for Religious Studies, Unversity of Toronto, held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, May 23-26, 1984*, Canadian Issues 8 (Toronto: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985), 33-46.

12.Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), [3]-13.

13.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 176.

14.United Church Archives, *William Williams file; Methodist Church London Conference Minutes, 1916*, p. 100.

15.Rev. Dr. Williams, "God in the Victorian Age," *Canadian Post* (Lindsay, Ont.), 29 May 1891, p. 1; reprint, *Methodist Magazine*, May 1892, 478-83.

16.Smith, *Isaiah*, 2:219.

17.Williams, "God in the Victoria Age," *Canadian Post* (Linday, Ont.), 29 May 1891, p. 1.

18.Smith, *Isaiah*, 2:219.

19.Williams, "God in the Victorian Age," *Canadian Post* (Lindsay, Ont.), 29 May 1891, p. 1. The biblical passage is from Psalm 24:1.

20.Ibid.

21.Ibid.

22.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 185.

23.United Church Archives, *James Allen file*; Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 17.

24.Van Die, *Evangelical Mind*, 26-34.

25."At the Metropolitan," *Globe* (Toronto), 25 May 1896, p. 4.

26.Kealey, "Orange Order in Toronto," 89-90.

27."Roman Catholic Churches: Special Jubilee Services in Toronto Dioceses—Thanksgiving for Liberty of Religion During the Queen's Reign," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6; "Pulpit Tributes to the Queen," *Evening Journal* (Ottawa), 21 June 1897, p. 8.

28."The Great Jubilee Drama ... The Catholics of Canada Preparing to Do Honour to the Occasion," *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 17 June 1897, p. 1.

29."Accession Day in Toronto: Catholic Churches," *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 9.

30.Leopold Ostermann, "On Civil Power," *Chatham Daily Planet*, 26 June 1897, p. 6.

31.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 57.

32.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 236.

33."Addresses to the Queen: The Anglican Synods Express their Loyalty," *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 11 June 1897, p. 7.

34.Ibid.

35.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 115.

36.A Lukyn Williams, W. J. Deane, *Matthew*, Vol. 2, Pulpit Commentary (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d), 361.

37.George M. Grant, "The Queen's Reign," *Canadian Magazine*, June 1897, [140].

38."Jubilee Services: St. Alban's Church," *Citizen* (Ottawa), 21 June 1897, p. 7.

39.Figgis, *Divine Right of Kings*, xviii.

40.Aberdeen, Governor-General, Ottawa, to the Very Reverend Albert Carman, 28 May 1897, *Albert Carman Papers, General Correspondence*, United Church Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

41.Albert Carman, "The Diamond Jubilee: The Part of the Church in Its Observance," *Christian Guardian* 68 (May 12, 1897): 8.

42.Ibid.

43.Ibid.

44.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 266-7.

45.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 178.

46.Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 53.

47.Jubilee planners in London had received the Queen's approval to mark Sunday, June 20 as a day for "public services of Thanksgiving." See Stanley Weintraub, *Victoria: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Truman Talley Books / E. P. Dutton, 1987), 572.

48."Jubilee in Toronto: Rev. Dr. Dewart's Sermon," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

49.Ibid.

50.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 202-3.

51."Jubilee in Toronto: Rev. Dr. Dewart's Sermon," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

52.Van Die, *Evangelical Mind*, 25-6.

53."Jubilee in Toronto: Rev. Dr. Dewart's Sermon," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

54.Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 360-70.

55.Chilcote, *Wesley and Women Preachers*, 1, 17-25; Hardesty, "Wesleyan Movement and Women's Liberation," 164-73.

56.*Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3d ed. (1963), s.v. "Chown, Dwight Samuel." See also Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 231.

57."Jubilee in Toronto: Rev. Dr. Dewart's Sermon," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

58."Jubilee in Toronto: Metropolitan Church," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

59.Mary A. Dickens, "The Queen's Home Life," *Christian Guardian*, 16 June 1897, 7. The article had been reprinted from the *Montreal Gazette*.

60.Ibid.

61.Mary Spencer Warren 'Sunday With Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine*, May 1897, 406-8.

62.Arthur H. Beavan, "Where the Queen Worships," *Methodist Magazine*, May 1897, 408-10.

63.E. S. Orr, "The Coronation of Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine*, May 1897, 418-24.

64.W. F. Adeney, "Homiletics," in W. J. Deane, *Proverbs*, Pulpit Commentary ([London: Kegan Paul, 1891]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d.), 603, 605.

65.Berger, *Sense of Power*, 217-8.

66. Anglican Archives, Diocese of Toronto, *Clergy card collection, "Welch, Edward Ashurst"*; Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 1154-5.

67."Patriotic Services: Provost Welch's Sermon," *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 2.

68.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 213.

69.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 631.

70.G. Rawlinson, *Psalms*, vol. 3, Pulpit Commentary ([London: Kegan Paul, 1886]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, n.d.), 270.

71."Loyal Britishers," *Daily Mail and Empire* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 9.

72.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 1169.

73.David J. Carter and John W. Carter, eds., *The Anglican Episcopate in Canada*, vol. 3 (n.p.: Anglican Book Centre, n.d.), 108.

74.George Barlow, *A Homiletic Commentary on the Books of Kings*, Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary ([London: R. D. Dickinson, 1885]; reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, [1892]), 148.

75."In Honor of the Queen," *Stratford Evening Herald*, 21 June 1897, p. 3.

76.Ibid.

77.Frye, *Great Code*, 7-8.

78."In Honor of the Queen," *Stratford Evening Herald*, 21 June 1897, p. 3.

79.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, xvi.

80.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 990.

81."An Immense Procession: Sons of England Service," *Free Press* (London), 21 June 1897, p. 3.

82."Stirred by Patriotism: Diamond Jubilee Festivities," *Galt Reporter*, 24 June 1897, p. 2.

83.Ibid.

84.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 272.

85."St. George's Church Jubilee Service," *Guelph Daily Mercury and Advertiser*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

86.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 52-6.

87."St. George's Church Jubilee Service," *Mercury*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

88.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 908.

89."Long May She Reign," *Ottawa Daily Free Press*, 21 June 1897, p. 3.

90."S.O.E. Service: Notable Event at Grace Church in Honor of the Queen," *Courier* (Brantford), 21 June 1897, p. 4.

91.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1898 ed., 724.

92."Secret of Britain's Greatness," *Daily Planet* (Chatham), 21 June 1897, p. 5.

93."Our Letter from England," *Canadian Churchman*, 10 June 1897, 357.

94."Our Queen, Her Life and Reign," *Canadian Churchman*, 17 June 1897, 372.

95.Careless, *Union of the Canadas*, 31.

96.United Church Archives, *William Kettlewell file.*

97."Rev. Wm. Kettlewell," *Galt Reporter*, 24 June 1897, p. 2.

98.Albert Carman, "Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine*, May 1897, 396.

99.Ibid.

100.Perin, *Rome in Canada*, 63-66, 81-8.

101.Carman, "Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria," 396-7.

102.Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 77.

103.Cook, *Regenerators*, [3]-4.

104.Carman, "Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria," 397-8.

105.Ibid., 398.

106.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 57, 60.

107.Berger, "Race and Liberty," [87]-104.

108.See Himmelfarb, "Manners and Morals," chap. in *De-Moralization of Society*, [21]-52.

109.United Church Archives, *Richard Strachan file*.

110.United Church Archives, *George W. Henderson file*.

111.Deane, *Proverbs*, Pulpit Commentary, 597.

112.Adeney, "Homiletics," in Deane, *Proverbs*, Pulpit Commentary, 604-5.

113.Richard Strachan, "Diamond Jubilee Sermon," *Owen Sound Times*, 15 July 1897, p. 6.

114.George W. Henderson, "Jubilee Address," *Sarnia Observer*, 2 July 1897, p. 7.

115.Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 212.

116.Strachan, "Diamond Jubilee Sermon."

117.Henderson, "Jubilee Address."

118.Ibid.

119.Strachan, "Diamond Jubilee Sermon." The biblical quote is from Romans 11:36.

120.Allen, "Providence to Progress," 41-2.

121.Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 70.

122.Strachan, "Diamond Jubilee Sermon."

123.Henderson, "Jubilee Address."

124.Strachan, "Diamond Jubilee Sermon."

125.Ibid.

126.Henderson, "Jubilee Address."

127.Ibid.

128.Ibid.

129.Berger, *Sense of Power*, [109].

130.Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 104-6.

131.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 44.

132.Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 1912 ed., 557.

133."Eastern Methodist," *Daily Free Press* (Ottawa), 21 June 1897, p. 3.

134."In Honor of the Queen," *Stratford Evening Herald*, 21 June 1897, p. 3.

135."Jubilee in Toronto: Central Methodist Church," *Globe* (Toronto), 21 June 1897, p. 6.

136.W. H. Withrow, "The Development of National Sentiment in the Dominion of Canada," *Christian Guardian*, 16 June 1897, 370.

137.Ibid.

138.Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 30.

139.Withrow, "Development of National Sentiment," 370.

140.Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 18.

141.Withrow, "Development of National Sentiment," 371.

142.Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8 (August 1973): 32-35.

143.Withrow, "Development of National Sentiment," 371. The biblical quote is from Isaiah 2:4, repeated in Micah 4:3.

144.Morris, *Pax Britannica*, 393-4.

CONCLUSION

Queen Victoria died on 22 January 1901, and on Saturday, 2 February, the date of the state funeral in England, many communities across Ontario held "union" (i.e. joint ecumenical-civic) services of thanksgiving in honour of their late sovereign. At the memorial observance in Brantford, a large assembly of mourning citizens gathered in the drill hall to hear a number of brief eulogies delivered by prominent clergymen of the town. The titles for the several speeches were indicative of the religious tradition and identity of each speaker. Thus the Reverend G. C. Mackenzie, the Anglican Rural Dean, spoke on "The Queen Among the Nations," a brief address in praise of Victoria and her influence on the empire and the nations of the world. A. J. Martin, the minister of Zion Presbyterian Church, gave an oration entitled "The Queen on the Throne" in which he celebrated the late sovereign's respect for the Church of Scotland, and uplifted the queen as the stirling example of a constitutional ruler, faithful to the parliamentary covenant and the democratic spirit of the age. The lead address was delivered by the pastor of the Colborne Street Methodist Church, the Reverend Richard J. Treleaven, who paid homage to "The Queen in the Home," a tribute to a holy life, to a woman whose feminine virtues graced the royal household and family, and by so doing set the supreme example for all Christian wives and mothers.[1] In each case, well-formed languages of theological and ideological piety were once again transmuted into symbolic idioms of devotion and adoration, of loyalty and reverence towards the late sovereign. The resulting morality texts legitimated the monarchy by projecting all the Christian and cultural virtues of British civilization onto the now deceased person of a diminutive, plump, austere, and somewhat retiring woman who had dutifully and righteously reigned for sixty-three years.

Similar scenarios were repeated throughout Ontario and undoubtedly other parts of Canada and the empire on that date in February 1901. The Protestant clergy brought to

completion the veneration of Queen Victoria, a process which had begun many years before, and which can be seen with remarkable clarity in Ontario during the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of 1887 and 1897. In this conclusion, some inferences are drawn from the evidence presented in the second and third chapters of the thesis. Following a brief overview of general observations on the Anglican and Methodist discourse of loyalty over the period from 1887 to 1897, the chapter turns to a comparative summary of the loyalty narratives from the two churches, first for the commemorations of 1887, and then for the Diamond Jubilee. The chapter concludes with some brief comments on the impact of monarchical affections in late Victorian Ontario and into the twentieth century.

General Overview

Loyalism, referring to the principles underlying the expressions of loyalty in late nineteenth-century Ontario, was based on historically determined, but inchoate, presuppositions of individual and collective obligation to the continuing existence of a pan-Britannic civilization and its fundamental symbols of order. The Protestant churches were instrumental in cultivating a filiopietistic psychology of assent to this extra-territorial society, to its culture and constituted authorities. They were active participants in the invention of authenticity. The structures of Anglican and Methodist panegyric on the sovereign, the mother country, the British empire, and Canada, during the Golden and Diamond Jubilees, were shaped by memory, history and the context of these anniversaries which marked the long reign of Queen Victoria. The distinction between history and memory has been an operative assumption of this thesis. "We accept memory as a premise of knowledge," states David Lowenthal, but "we infer history from evidence that includes other people's memories." The former seems to be assumed, a given, while the latter is "contingent ... based on empirical sources," which can be evaluated and judged. The sermons and articles surviving from the Anglican and Methodist celebrations of loyalty to the queen, the historical artifacts of commemoration, were

based on uncritical and largely unexamined affirmations of theological, ecclesiastical, and political traditions. This discursive deposit should be understood, in its historical setting, as the appropriation of vernacular pasts which justified the contemporary identities of the churches and their political and social world in late Victorian Ontario. Within these fields of assent to the political culture of the time, the sovereign became a part of that communal knowledge which, says Lowenthal, "is invariably subjective, biased by both its narrator and by its audience."[2]

Much of this study has rested on a residue of homiletic literature. By nature, sermons are exhortation, and the hortatory element in the patriotic homily ensured that the past and the present were complementary. The didactic function in the utterances of the clergy depended on anachronism, the insinuation of present values into the past, or conversely, on teleological assumptions built into the Whig theory of history. Everything from antiquarian and romantic views of England's glorious history in the Anglican formulation, the vignettes of piety in Methodism, to contemporary ideologies on the roles of women were imposed upon Queen Victoria in order to create a hagiography that brought the Christian ruler into the homes and hearts of her faithful Ontario subjects. Thus the dutiful and obedient queen of Anglicanism stated in overt terms what was implicit in the Methodist description of the righteous queen. Both in her person and her role, the sovereign was a symbol of civic and religious obligation, a virtuous woman who happily bowed in submission to God, to the Church, and to the will of her people.

The images of Queen Victoria and the rhetorical screeds on imperialism and nationalism were defined by more than vernacular memory and received religious traditions. They were also shaped by the contexts of the Golden and Diamond Jubilees. By "context" is meant the totality of the human environment which constituted the settings of the celebratory events. However, this context can be bifurcated into two streams. In the first case, the political,

social, economic, and religious situations formed the objective and external conditions which the clergy could not ignore during both commemorations. In 1887, the context of the Golden Jubilee in Canada was not wholly conducive to celebrating the continuing colonial connection to Great Britain. In contrast, the commemorations for the sixtieth anniversary of the queen's reign occurred in much more favourable circumstances. Collective memories and traditions were conditioned by the social situations of the participants and advocates of commemoration.

There was also a second contextual current which cannot be ignored. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, there developed what might be described as a subjective and internal context of intellectual ferment, which, even though it had arisen in England and Europe, was having a major impact on Western Christendom, but especially upon the North American evangelical denominations, including the Methodist Church of Canada. This intellectual climate produced a crisis, particularly within those Protestant churches which had long asserted the primacy of an inerrant Bible as the only basis for Christian faith and life. Charles Darwin's revolutionary work on the evolution of life and human origins threatened the authenticity of the Genesis accounts. Critical German scholarship on the original texts of the Bible and the environment in which they had been recorded had begun to undermine much more of the assumed veracity of the Old Testament texts. The development of liberal theology in Europe also raised serious questions for the traditional evangelical approaches to salvation, faith, and divine revelation.[3] The Anglicans, with a strong extra-biblical basis of ecclesiastical and liturgical authority, were in a better position to accommodate the intellectual changes than were the Methodists, who were forced into a disturbing evaluation and questioning of their Wesleyan legacy.

For the Protestant populace of Ontario in the late nineteenth century, Queen Victoria represented the ideal of constitutional monarchy, a sovereign who upheld the democratic authority of parliament, and whose significance lay in her capacity to command, not simply

political, but more importantly, moral allegiance. Her power was not active and masculine, but rested upon a foundation of passive feminine virtue. She was the symbol of woman's proper sphere, and as a mother, an example for all British women. Beyond these common features, the Anglicans and the Methodists pictured the queen and the world over which she reigned from very different perspectives.

In the Anglican formulation, the sovereign represented and furthered the Lord's will in the domains of Church, state, and society. Queen Victoria was the symbolic manifold of lawfulness, of the totality of British civilization and culture, and the living manifestation of the morally pure, godly woman. This imagined symmetry of purpose, bringing together the crown and the Christian ruler, was not accidental. The Church of England fashioned its narratives of loyalty to queen and country out of a tradition which had long achieved a synthesis between the theological categories of natural, human, and revealed law co-existing in harmony. Conscious of their historic role in the development of the existing political system, Anglicans were affirming themselves in and through the culture of order symbolized by the monarchy. Anglican loyalty was derived from an older discourse whose intellectual lineage could be traced through such luminaries as Blackstone, Warburton, Jewel and Hooker, to Thomas Aquinas, and to Aristotle and Augustine. The clergy in the Church of England in Ontario celebrated the past, and showed little inclination to doubt the authenticity of their historic faith, a response that was remarkably different from that of their Methodist colleagues.

Ontario Methodism's narratives of monarchical loyalty in 1887 and 1897 are less amenable to a succinct summary. It is beneficial to quote William Westfall who has addressed the fluidity of the cultural meanings derived from the theological concepts of nature and grace. "The Victorian cosmology," he notes, "was made up of two worlds: the material and the moral, the human and the divine, or, to use the language of the age, the secular and

the sacred." These dualities were never static. Social, educational, moral and political thought drew upon two languages. One, gazing at the world of man and nature, the world seen through the visual sense, was a language of mastery and progressive action. The other, a language of the inner soul, listened to the Word and the eternal Christian message in order to fashion a framework of moral meaning appropriate to a changing world. "The Protestant culture of Ontario," says Westfall, "cobbled together ideas, beliefs, and symbols left behind by cultures that could no longer explain the world. As old concepts broke down, their shards provided the materials for building something new."[4] Ancient theological constructs of linear history, nested within a metaphysical language of divine, or transcendent, time, gradually began to be supplanted by ways of thinking essentially alien to the historic Christian traditions, but especially to those which had arisen during the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century.

By 1887, the transcendent God of early Methodism was being transformed by slow degrees into a God of immanence, active in the evolutionary progress of human society. The languages of conversion and the assurance of personal salvation, and the belief in Christian perfection, a process leading to entire sanctification, the mainstays of Methodism, were being reassembled into a new discourse of social regeneration. The theology of John Wesley, which favoured supernaturalism and tended to separate the divine and the sacred from the world of creation and human existence, began to destabilize, and then was reconstituted with different, but presumably more plausible meanings. In effect, Wesley's categories of thought were transmuted into a code for the Christianization of the social order. Methodists also had a long tradition of charity and social philanthropy, the active involvement of women in Christian leadership, and a Wesleyan-Arminian soteriology that was inherently democratic. Building on these strengths, an inchoate movement for the Christian regeneration of society began to take shape in the 1880s, and Methodist theologians and many clergy saw it as a pathway taking

them away from an untenable and antiquated theological tradition and towards a new formulation, the hope of a very different church and a revitalized Methodist faith appropriate to the demands of a consumer society and a burdgeoning industrial era.

The discursive outlines of a language which divinized social progress, an outcome of the intellectual revolutions shaping the subjective context of the royal commemorations of 1887 and 1897, were hovering on the margins of the Methodist narratives of loyalty during the queen's Golden Jubilee, but became even more evident by 1897. The transformation in the intellectual foundations of Wesleyan theology goes to the heart of this thesis. When Methodists looked at Queen Victoria, they turned to the older verities of Wesleyan thought, the structure of their discourse taking the form of a substitutionary piety. However, when they turned to the empire and to the social reality in which they lived, a God of immanence and a utopian vision of progressive social salvation was beginning to subvert that same Wesleyan heritage. Queen Victoria remained an anchor of Christian virtue and perfection, a model Methodist mother, who offered reassurance to all that individual conversion and regeneration was prior and necessary to the ultimate success of social redemption. In brief, traditional Methodist identity was being affirmed by the clergy's comforting images of the queen, a language of vicarious, or substitutionary, devotion drawn from the Wesleyan evangelical heritage. Yet ironically, when the clergy turned to the queen's empire and to Canada, that same identity was being shattered by a language of social salvation, also a form of piety, but a variant that, in the twentieth century, led to the marginalization of Wesley's original message of divine transcendence.[5]

The Golden Jubilee: A Comparison of Anglican and Methodist Loyalty

The Context

On the eve of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, Canada was struggling through a period of economic stagnation, religious discord, and regional tensions. The

Church of England in Ontario, its social and political narratives conditioned by both English and colonial history, reincarnated an Upper Canadian apologetic of loyalty,[6] and stood ready to defend the monarchy and the young Dominion against home-grown traitors and foreign aggressors. As much as any group in Ontario, the Anglican clergy realized that parliament, the bastion of crown, senate, and commons, was the reminder of Canada's fundamental difference from the constitutional, or covenantal, political system of the United States. The monarchy was not only the source of sovereignty, but also the fountainhead of moral authority for society, and Anglicans believed that obedience to the order which it symbolized was first before all virtues, of paramount importance to the survival of Canada. The philippics against sedition, uttered by such men as George Lloyd, W. B. Curran, and J. S. Lauder in Ottawa were as much responses to historical understandings as they were to the pinpricks of potential traitors and Irish rebels. For a Church which had inherited the mantle of John Strachan, with long memories of the experience of the episcopal clergy during the American Revolution, and naturally empathizing with those who celebrated the achievements of the United Empire Loyalists, the prospect of annexation was horrifying and unacceptable. After all, men such as John Hancock, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams, who gathered in Philadelphia to sign the Declaration of Independence on 4 July 1776, were the spiritual and political heirs of the men who had indulged in the hideous crime of regicide in 1649, once annually commemorated by the Church of England on 30 January.[7] Any attack on Canada, either by internal traitors or by external enemies, and especially any disturbances which might be construed as insults to the queen and her vice-regal representative, were perceived as an assault on fundamental principles dear to the Church.

If the defence of civil order was vital to Anglican monarchical discourse in 1887, it was probably of less concern to the Methodist pastorate which exhibited a hint of ambivalence, perhaps an effect of alienation from the existing political and economic policies of the

Macdonald government. It must also be remembered that Methodism had been disengaged from its Anglican roots for a century, and collectively, its adherents no longer possessed any historic, emotional investment in the crown or the theory of the royal supremacy. Nevertheless, many Methodists, among them the general superintendent, Albert Carman, had United Empire Loyalist roots and were quick to defend themselves against any imputations of disloyalty. Thus, the responses of the denomination's leadership to the queen and the jubilee reflected a composite of restrained equivocation and warm approval, as evidenced, for example, by the reaction of the Montreal Conference and the candor of Charles Johnston and Dr. Alexander Burns in Hamilton, men who were open to more honest appraisals of the queen. Memories of the Upper Canadian experience played a role in Methodist narratives. The remarks of Richard Whiting and William Withrow suggest that Methodists were able to successfully refute the earlier charges of disaffection, but also to forgive, if not forget, past injuries. In sum, if the Church of England was attempting to defend loyalty to external authority, the Methodists were trying to defend the internal authenticity of their loyalty.

Authority and Order

The surviving homiletic sources offer insights into the power of Anglican intellectual traditions. The sermons of J. S. Lauder and John Ridley in 1887 bring into the foreground the historic Anglican affirmation of the duality of rule which appeared to follow from the theory of the royal supremacy. Whether fact or fiction, the crown was still seen as the confocal centre of Church and state, and Queen Victoria was God's providential blessing on the ecclesiastical and secular kingdom. The symbolism was powerful, even if the realities of British governance had moved well beyond their creaking theoretical foundations. Conceptualizing the English Church as an unbroken line of apostolic succession to ancient times, a Church guarding the Christian realm through the royal dignity, Lauder, Ridley, and others were harboring intimations of St. Augustine's conception of the just state, especially in

his understanding of the proper role of Christian emperors.[8] Similarly, parliament, the trinity of crown, lords, and commons, was the realized manifestation of the balanced constitution consisting of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, a comforting vision to those who, trained in classical thought, and steeped in the Whig theory of England's history, believed that the liberties of the people had gradually evolved "from precedent to precedent."[9]

To what degree Lauder and Ridley were conscious of anachronism cannot be assessed, but both were aware that the past had to justify the present. In Canada, the clergy had to focus the minds of the parishioners on England. Neither the Ontario social fabric, the landscape, nor the Canadian political system could sustain the full sweep of the Anglican vision of the past. The Church of England's commemorative memorialization harvested the finest stalks culled from the soil of a linear, sacred history in order to sanctify the queen, the throne and the present. The decorated and stately sanctuaries, and the splendid uniforms of the soldiers and dignitaries created an atmosphere of tradition and order, a visual discourse of assent to the beatification of Britain's illustrious past. What was old was good.

The Methodists located authority and order in the inner spiritual lives of the converted, in those who were following the paths of holiness in their walk with God. Thus order began with God, but in practice it was democratized. Proceeding from the person, the well-regulated life was nurtured in the Christian family, and from thence was to be cultivated by the leaders in the church, commerce, and the institutions of society and the state. Queen Victoria became the projection of this synthesis. However, Methodism in 1887 was facing a crisis of confidence, and the sources reveal the ways in which tradition was beginning to undergo a metamorphosis.

Albert Carman's essay, "Our Queen's Jubilee," offers a lucid insight into the way in which a traditionalist was able to transmute and import the Wesleyan language of religious piety into a discourse of loyalty to the monarch. With Carman, natural reason functioned as

intended in Wesley's theology, by bowing in recognition of God's spiritual presence, and in acknowledgment of God's gracious work in the life of Queen Victoria. Carman's essay brings into the foreground the substance of Methodist loyalty to the sovereign as a type of symbolic political piety. In William Galbraith, nature and grace are overtly separated in order to sanctify the moral leadership of a sovereign whose life was "the glory of the nation."[10] Galbraith also illustrates how the queen was divinized in the Weslevan perspective, while at the same time, he assured his audience that sovereignty finally belonged to God. Galbraith also stressed the democratic basis of constitutional monarchy, vigorously repudiating any scriptural grounds for asserting that the crown could exercise any political authority—a hint perhaps of a Methodist with roots in the reform traditions of Upper Canada. In contrast to the Anglican defence of an external, static order vindicating the continuity of past institutions and their purposes in the present, the Methodists placed the locus of control within the individual, as exemplified by Queen Victoria. Methodist loyalty possessed an experiential, devotional quality which tended to exclude a discourse of mere rationalism in defence of the crown.

The Servant Queen

The sources collected for this study indicate that neither the Anglican images of the queen nor of the monarchy had anything to say about distributive justice. Historically attuned to hierarchical conceptions of political and ecclesiastical order, and largely untouched by the growing message of social regeneration, the Anglican clergy focused on ideas of obedience and duty, but not on the responsibilities of either the people or their governments to foster economic and social policies conducive to the well-being of the working class. The clergy were not immune to ideas of fairness, but they tended to think of justice in its judicial, or reciprocative sense. The two sermons of C. H. Marsh and C. H. Mockridge do not convey enough information to make adequate inferences. The clergy and the laity understood and

supported common ideas of equality and justice, especially when those ideas were traced to scripture, but the direction of Anglican loyalty was concerned with the structures of authority, and much less with fairness in the distribution of power.

The evidence from the Methodist sources conveys a very different picture. Drawing upon an interpretation of Isaiah 49 that had more in common with the new critical scholarship, William Parker envisioned Queen Victoria as the servant of the people who restored the monarchy to righteousness, and who stood out as the model for the redemptive and benevolent work of the great women of the era. Parker's sermon was a heroic discourse that invoked a biblical theme to bring Victoria, and by extension, womanhood, into the service of the Lord. William Withrow's image of the queen as the suffering servant suggested that power used righteously could turn the world upside down. The queen became the projection of the traditional Methodist concern with Christian charity and social philanthropy, but these passions were also being slowly revised to conform with the new interest in the social gospel. When Queen Victoria was portrayed as the living personification of the biblical servant of Jehovah, she became not only the restorer of moral, social and political stability as God intended, but the *animatrice* of material, social and religious progress throughout the empire.

The Diamond Jubilee: A Comparison of Anglican and Methodist Loyalty

The Context

By 1897, the Liberals were in power, prosperity had returned, and the perennial hostilities between French and English, and Catholic and Protestant, although still simmering, were also attenuating as Canadians gained a new confidence about their young nation. Conscious of the rise of Germany and America to the status of world powers, whose populations and industrial outputs individually dwarfed those of Great Britain, the planners of the Diamond Jubilee in England promulgated the event as a spectacle of empire, the whole symbolized by Queen Victoria who was about to celebrate sixty years on the throne.

Imperialism and nationalism were capturing the imagination of English Canadians. While some Canadian spokesmen of empire were vociferously promoting ideas of imperial federation, others were dusting off and renovating the romantic mythology associated with the United Empire Loyalists.

In contrast to the Golden Jubilee, the Anglican clerical establishment during the Diamond Jubilee seemed to be less defensive, and, at least on the surface, more confident about the present and the future. The Church of England, ever sure of its foundations and seeing the empire as a vindication of God's will for the Anglo-Saxon "race," constructed a cosmology which brought together Christianity and British culture in a symbolism of imperial destiny, mixed with overtones of classical Christian eschatology. Queen Victoria was the providential sign pointing to all that was best in British civilization. The empire and its emblems had become the main props framing the royal stage. The sermon of Buxton Smith in 1896 illustrates how the sovereign was being portrayed in her role as the imperial mother, the centre of a *Weltanschauung* that took on cosmological overtones. Unlike the sixteenth century, which sometimes fashioned its political cosmos in the language of the new astronomy, or the seventeenth, which drew upon patriarchalist thought, the nineteenth privileged the metaphors of home and kin. The queen embodied all that was best in a grand organic scheme of empire and colony, state and society, motherhood and family.

Organicism drew its contemporary force from the fact of British kinship. Anglicans, even if they were Upper Canadian *pure laine*, tended to identify with England. A nostalgic, antiquarian love for the motherland was the romantic garden in which the Church's loyalty flowered. Over this hallowed landscape of the motherland and the pan-Britannic race stood the ancient, sacred arch of the political and ecclesiastical order of which the queen was the symbolic representative. In matters of loyalty, Anglicans drew as much of their inspiration from the traditions of the Church and England's history as they did from the Bible. The

inherited predilection for hierarchical social and political structures, and the affirmation of institutions which preserved the virtues of stability and peace were the hallmarks of Anglicanism. For that reason, Anglicans in Ontario were still prepared to correct any misunderstandings concerning their Church or related matters, including Loyalist history in the province. A decision by the Diocese of Toronto in 1896, requesting a change in an Ontario history textbook on England was entirely in keeping with the political vigilance of the Church of England in Canada.

Not the political order, but the social order was beginning to generate a new passion among the Methodist clergy. The Methodists seem to have abandoned any former doubts about the imperial arrangement and Canada's role within it. Thus the comments of James Allen in Toronto in 1896, and similar remarks by William Kettlewell in 1897 suggest that the ideals of British imperialism were flowering within Ontario Methodism. However, the clergy pictured the empire as the vehicle through which God, increasingly seen as immanent in the spirit and mind of the age, would gradually regenerate the social order, bringing to fruition the progressive Christianization of society. A sermon of the Reverend William Williams preached in Lindsay in 1891 offers an insight into the transformation that was taking place in Methodist thought. Williams mixed an older conception of providence, of a supernatural God, with a celebration of progress carrying intimations of an immanent deity. His sermon was bringing together the sacred and the profane, a stage in the secularization of the Christian hope which later translated into the social gospel movement. Yet, Williams' depiction of Queen Victoria revealed the power of traditional Wesleyan discourse. The sovereign was the epitome of feminine purity, the virtuous Christian mother, and the symbol of holiness for all her subjects.

Ideology and the Symbols of Order

In contradistinction to the Methodist experience, the Church of England maintained a

conservativism in its attitudes towards politics, the social order, and the place of women in the Church and public life. A meeting of the Diocese of Toronto held in June 1897 exposes the patriarchal *Anschauung* that appeared to be characteristic of the Anglican clergy at the time. The Anglican outlook was also conditioned by artifactual anachronism. James Bogert's sermon in Ottawa, in which he referred to the coin bearing the queen's profile with the ancient Latin inscription, is suggestive of how Anglicans could use public symbols to remind the laity of the essential unity of the sacred and the secular in the crown. The past was a powerful force in the loyalty discourse of the Church of England.

Methodists increasingly bifurcated reality into the secular world of an immanent God, and the sacred domain, where the grace of a supernatural God could act upon the heart of the redeemed soul, one of whom was Queen Victoria, the model of near Christian perfection. In the former, they saw the moving of an immanent God. Looking at their changing world, Methodists began to collapse, or ignore, their traditional distinctions between nature and grace, but in turning to the sovereign, the divine presence of God, the older theology of John Wesley, of entire sanctification, predominated. There are also hints that the clergy and others continued to apply a patina of Methodism's spiritual feminism to the domestic portrayals of Queen Victoria, again in order to reinforce their belief that the public woman was not inconsistent with private grace. Thus Edward Dewart's brief comment on the right of women to exercise their gifts without hindrance was made in recognition of Queen Victoria's very public role. Similarly, Mary Dickens openly argued that the queen's domestic life in no way prevented her from being fully engaged in public duties. Of course, neither of these commentators seemed to take notice of the fact that wealthy and powerful women, including the queen, generally had a coterie of servants to attend to the domestic drudgery, but their arguments were intended to shape liberal attitudes towards the equality of the sexes, even if they were astonishingly naive. It seems clear from the evidence that there existed a great gulf

between the Anglican and Methodist clergy with respect to their theological and ideological preconceptions on women, society, and the political order, and their distinctive formulations shaped their narratives and portrayals of Queen Victoria.

Visions of Empire: A Comparison of the Anglican and Methodist Conceptions

The belief that order had its primitive source in the natural organic unities of the "race" was never far from the centre of Anglican thought. Some bonds of society were inherently sacred by virtue of nature, reason, and received religious tradition. Other links could be sacralized by divine providence, and such was the case with the Church of England's celebration of the British empire. When Herbert Gordon Miller saw the blessings of God in the natural unities of family and nation, he was falling back, innocently and unsuspectingly perhaps, on the mediaeval tradition which asserted the harmonization of natural, human, and divine law. It seemed both reasonable and faithful to then consecrate the sense of personal and collective belonging to a civilization which was clearly God's blessing to the world. Thus in joining the God-given gifts of the British to their Christian responsibilities, Edward Ashurst Welch was sanctifying Britain's imperial mission within the biblical framework of discipleship.

Such views had an immediate implication. They led to an eschatological vision of the empire as the vehicle through which God and pan-Britannia would usher in Christ's kingdom. The conversion of the world to Christianity seemed realizable, the advance of the missionary enterprise being the final stage leading to God's plan of salvation for humanity. The consecration of an organic vision of British civilization coupled to Christian eschatology assumed cosmological proportions in David Williams, whose sermon pictured Britain as the antitype of ancient Israel. Queen Victoria, by her illustrious Christian life, was showing her people the path to their divine destiny. In hindsight, it would appear that the Anglican imperial eschatology was one more example of false and foolish pride draped in the guise of

an ersatz variety of Christian hope, but at the time, the vision of St. Augustine seemed real and attainable.

The blessings of the British empire and the nation were symbolized by Queen Victoria. The Anglican clergy commonly turned to the coronation to hallow both the Christian sovereign and the sacred link between the Church and the crown. John Ridley in Galt and Alexander Dixon in Guelph reinforced loyalty to the monarch, the motherland, and the empire by invoking the Old Testament accounts of the anointing of Saul and Solomon, and then vividly portraying the ceremony of the queen's coronation as a form of re-enactment. The past could be made to come alive, its sacred rituals permitting the parishioners to vicariously participate in and ratify the historic authenticity of the state. The evidence from the Anglican sources suggests that the clergy viewed the British empire from a postmillennial perspective, but not so much in the social gospel sense of a millennium ushering in a "Golden Age" of human progress and societal regeneration, but rather in the classical Christian formulation represented by the triumph of the gospel, meaning the "good news" of redemption in Jesus, the Christ.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, most mainstream evangelical churches, including the Methodists in Ontario, had turned towards a postmillennial eschatology, which stressed a gradual extension of liberty, faith and well-being in society.[11] The postmillennial vision lay at the foundations of the social gospel which stressed progress over providence, and social over personal salvation. In fact, by the late 1890s, the social gospel message was probably harboring an amillennialist conception of the Christian hope, a purely metaphorical, or non-literalist, interpretation of Revelation 20:1-15.[12] Many Methodist spokesmen, excited by the progress of the queen's reign, but also seeking to preserve the theological inheritance bequeathed by Wesley, attempted to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between Victoria's character and the tremendous advances of her era. She was the connection between

providence and progress, between an older and a newer discourse of Christian piety.

Albert Carman's article in the *Methodist Magazine*, is a classic example of how a language of piety was being used to sanctify the queen and the Whig theory of history. Although conservative in his theology, Carman, at least in the 1890s, supported the need for social reform, and his argument that the crown and the church were both vital for "national regeneration" suggests the consecration of both tradition and progress. Carman overtly declared that Queen Victoria, the sanctified mother of the empire, was instrumental in national and imperial progress.[13]

The sermon of Richard Strachan in Owen Sound and the address of George Henderson in Sarnia tended to glorify Western mastery over the earth and its civilizations. The social and moral improvements of the age suggested to Strachan that, not merely human, but divine, power was active in the progressive spirit of the time. Yet, when Strachan and Henderson turned to the queen, they reverted to an earlier Wesleyan formulation, and Queen Victoria radiated a life of righteousness, a life dedicated to holiness, prayer, scripture reading, and ministering to the poorest of her realm. Once again, this was a Methodist queen, a servant of Jehovah, a rock of stability, and a symbol of timeless verities in a world undergoing remarkable and often disturbing transformations.

The Diamond Jubilee was a festival of the empire, and Methodists, deeply conscious of their Upper Canadian and loyal heritage, were naturally interested in Canada's role within the imperial arrangement. William Withrow's article on "The Development of National Sentiment in Canada" succinctly captured the essence of Canadian imperialist thought. Retrieving the near-sacred origin mythologies constructed around the United Empire Loyalists, he argued that the great nation which had evolved into the Dominion of Canada was inseparable from the empire and the motherland. Two religious languages were coming together in his argument. Looking to the past, he saw the providential hand of God at work

in the historical development of the great English-speaking nations, of which Canada was now a significant member, but in peering into the future, he saw the approach of the Lord's dominion, the Christianization of the social order in Canada, and ultimately throughout the empire. In essence, Withrow saw a transcendent God in history, but had intimations of an immanent God moving in the secular spirit of national and imperial progress. Eschatology was slowly being transformed into sociology. Such idealism was not lost on a future generation of Methodist clergy who, between 1914 and 1918, according to Michael Bliss, preached for the righteous cause of the empire against the "German anti-Christ." Ironically, Withrow's hope that the nations would "beat their swords into ploughshares" was turned upside down by the Methodists who worked as hard as any churchmen "at hammering their ploughshares into swords" during the Great War.[14]

Summary

The Anglican and Methodist commemorations of Queen Victoria and her empire in late nineteenth-century Ontario have left a substantial deposit of royalist morality texts which offer useful and often remarkable insights into the political and religious culture of the era. The analysis of the monarchical panegyric surviving from the Church of England in late Victorian Ontario offers some evidence of the astonishing power of the past to insinuate traditional thought forms into later contexts. The fundamental symbols of order, the Church of England and the crown, were objective and external. The throne, the sacred symbol of England's temporal rule, was the thread of continuity which gave to the Church of England in Canada a unique identity, and in a wider sense, a separate cultural identity to Protestant Ontario. The historic monarchy, beatified so to speak by Queen Victoria, authenticated the political culture, and validated the existence of the Canadian state. In the last years of Queen Victoria's reign, especially from 1887 to 1901, Anglican clergymen in Ontario would have nodded approvingly of an anonymous cleric's comment written over three centuries earlier.

In 1570, one year after the Northern Rebellion supporting Catholicism and Mary, Queen of Scots, the author of a *Homily Against Disobedience and Wylful Rebellion* wrote,

> [I]t is evident that obedience is the principal virtue of all virtues, and indeed the very root of all virtues and the cause of all felicity.... [I]n reading of the Holy Scriptures we shall find ... that kings and princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by God's ordinance, and that subjects are bound to obey them."[15]

The Methodist focus on Queen Victoria's life and reign humanized the past. The sovereign, as subject rather than object, became a model through which one could recognize and identify with the Wesleyan theology of "entire sanctification," the belief that the Christian life demanded disciplined attention to moral and spiritual growth. All authority had its source in God, but in the context of human experience, Methodists believed that order was to be found in the redeemed soul, in the harmony of the Christian family, and finally demonstrated in the lives and character of Christian leaders, not the least of whom was their beloved and virtuous sovereign, Queen Victoria. The social and intellectual contexts of *fin de siècle* Victorian Ontario undoubtedly influenced Methodist attitudes to the symbols of motherhood and domesticity. Although it is merely a hypothesis, much of the hortatory genre may have been intentionally directed towards the female communicant who, as Mariana Valverde has shown, was beginning to challenge some of the accepted moral and sexual norms of society in the 1890s.[16] The unsettling side of change had to be countered by older verities. Thus, the Methodist vision of the queen's life and her times served as a moral guide, and as a signpost of permanence in a province harboring the twin threats of crumbling religious identities and the marginalization of the church and its faith. In the final analysis, the Wesleyan-Arminian faith of Methodism was incompatible with a political culture which was more easily interpreted within the framework of a mediaeval political theology of hierarchical organicism. In the twentieth century, the transfer of divine transcendence to the margins of Methodist faith and life suggests that the traditional imagery of Christian grace and domestic harmony

attached to the incumbent sovereign may have become ever more anachronistic.

In late nineteenth-century Protestant Ontario, Queen Victoria was a symbol of Christian order for the family, society, and the state. Beneath the overt affirmations of organic consanguinity, there was a covert political message—a belief in the eventual unity of the English-speaking peoples, a future alliance of the great Anglo-Saxon nations. Despite the evidence which suggests that the Methodists tended to invert the Anglican model of hierarchical order, both groups assumed that divine order was *a priori*, and necessary, to the continuing existence of any valid community. For most people, the nuclear family was the fundamental unit of society. It conjoined not simply man and woman, but the categories of the sacred and the secular, the feminine and the masculine. Reality was ultimately religious, and functioned within a universe of complementary symbols.

The royalist discourse was an apologetic defence of a Protestant Christian order and of Canada as a constitutional monarchy within the British empire. The narratives indirectly paid tribute to the existing structures of Canadian governance, and with no expense to itself, the state profited from the allegiance cultivated by the churches. The rhetoric of loyalty to the monarch survived the death of the queen to flourish in praise of later sovereigns well into the years after World War II. English Canada's traditional allegiance to the monarchy faded with the decline of empire, the triumph of liberal nationalism, and the attendant marginalization of the visual and aural symbols of the British connection. In recent years of course, the process of disengagement has been hastened by the postmodern absurdities of life which have finally caught up with the royal family, bringing to an end the last vestiges of Victorian innocence. Ironically, Queen Elizabeth II, a diminutive, plumpish, austere, and somewhat retiring woman, the seeming epitome of Victorian duty, propriety, and rectitude, is rapidly approaching the Golden Jubilee of her reign in 2002.

Over one hundred years ago, the Protestant populace of Ontario possessed a sense of

belonging to an English-speaking civilization rooted in time and history. The past was often imaginary and self-serving, and the idealistic visions of the present were as naive and pompous as those of modern Canadian nationalists. Nevertheless, it is evident that collective identities possessed semantic signs which can be studied through the residues of ephemeral commemorative literature celebrating Queen Victoria, the monarchy, and the empire. The Golden and Diamond Jubilees serve as cultural prisms through which historians can analyze the spectral properties of late Victorian Canada's moral and political imagination.

To appreciate nineteenth-century Protestant Ontario's loyalty to the sovereign, it is necessary to listen, to hear the harmonies that resonated through the languages of the sacred and the profane. The final word, capturing the sense of religious reverence towards Queen Victoria, must be left to one of those forgotten voices, Agnes Maule Machar (1837-1927),[17] who under her familiar pseudonym "Fidelis," contributed a jubilee poem to the 24 June 1897 issue of the *Presbyterian Review*.

Sixty Years a Queen

Our Sovereign Lady,—whose fair woman's hand
  Has held—so firm and well—for three score years,
'Mid changing cloud and sunshine,—smiles and tears,
  The sceptre of our Britain's sea-girt land,
Extending far, as with a magic wand,
  Order and peace,—the freedom that endears
The ancient name that all the world reveres—
  About thy throne two generations stand,
And call thee blessed, for each peaceful year,
  Thou, "by God's grace" has reigned, with sway serene
More prized by thee, than gems of lustre clear,
  Or minute guns, or pomp of marshall sheen,
The *love* that binds to thee, thy people dear,
  And breathes their world-wide prayer,—
God Save the Queen![18]

ENDNOTES

1."Queen's Memorial Service," *Brantford Daily Expositor*, 4 February 1901, p. 6.

2.Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country*, 212-3, 216.

3.Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity*, 179-206.

4.Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 8, 10.

5.Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 3-9, 55-7.

6.Mills, *Idea of Loyalty*, 137.

7."A Form of Prayer with Fasting: To be Used Yearly on the Thirtieth Day of January," in *Book of Common Prayer* (1841 ed.), n.p.

8.Augustine, "Book V: 24-26," in *City of God*, Loeb Classical Library ed., 2: 261-77.

9.Tennyson, "You ask me, why, though ill at ease," *Poems* (Longman ed.), 1:531.

10.*Orillia Packet*, 24 June 1887, p. 3.

11.Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 121-2.

12.J. D. Douglas, general editor, *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Regency Reference Library, 1978), 659.

13.Carman, "Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria," 396-7.

14.J. M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (September 1968): 213.

15."An Homily against Disobedience and Wylful Rebellion (1570)," in *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England*, ed. by David Wooton (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1986), 94-5.

16.Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

17.*Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, (Univ. ed., 1934), s.v. "Machar, Agnes Maule (1837-1927)."

18."Sixty Years a Queen," *Presbyterian Review*, 24 June 1897, 1137.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Collections

Archives of Ontario

John Strachan Papers

National Archives of Canada

George Taylor Denison Papers
George Monro Grant Papers
George Parkin Papers

Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of Ottawa

Clergy Biographical Files

Lauder, John Strutt
Low, George Jacob
Mackay, Alfred William
Muckleston, William Jeffryes
Pollard, Henry
Snowdon, Johnston McLelland

Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of Toronto

Clergy Biographical Files

William Robinson Clark
Alexander Dixon
Edward Ashurst Welch

United Church of Canada Archives

James Allen Papers
Nathanael Burwash Papers
Albert Carman Papers
Samuel S. Nelles Papers
Egerton Ryerson Papers

Clergy Biographical Files

James Allen
William Galbraith
George W. Henderson
Charles O. Johnston
William Kettlewell
William Robert Parker
William L. Scott

Richard Strachan
Richard J. Treleaven
Thomas Grange Williams
William Williams

University of Guelph Library, Special Collections

Goodwin-Haines Collection

Newspapers

The Advocate (Drayton, 1889-1966)
The Bee (Atwood, 1890-1924?)
The British Canadian (Simcoe, 1861-1926)
Brockville Recorder (1821-1922)
The Canadian Post (Lindsay, 1854-1920)
The Chronicle-Telegraph (Waterloo, 1899-1922)
The Citizen (Ottawa, 1859-)
The Confederate and Examiner (Mount Forest, 1867-)
Cornwall Standard (1886-1932)
The Daily British Whig (Kingston, 1834-1926)
The Daily Courier (Brantford, 1870-1918)
The Daily Expositor (Brantford, 1873-)
The Daily Mail and Empire (Toronto, 1895-1936)
The Daily Mercury and Advertiser (Guelph, 1867-)
The Daily News (Berlin, 1878-1897)
The Daily News (Kingston, 1851-1908)
The Daily Planet (Chatham, 1891-1922)
The Daily Record (Berlin, 1893-1897)
The Daily Reformer (Galt, 1896-1912)
The Daily Reporter (Galt, 1896-)
The Daily Sentinel-Review (Woodstock, 1886-)
The Daily Telegraph (Berlin, 1896-1922)
Dumfries Reformer (Galt, 1849-1892)
Elora Express (1852-1972)
The Empire (Toronto, 1887-1895)
The Evening Beacon (Stratford, 1887-1923)
The Evening Herald (Stratford, 1887-1923)
The Evening Times (Hamilton, 1858-1920)
Fergus News-Record (1855-1972)
The Free Press (London, 1855-)
The Free Press (Ottawa, 1869-1917)
The Globe (Toronto, 1844-1936)
Huron Expositor (Seaforth, 1867-)
Ingersoll Chronicle (1853-1919)
The Journal (Ottawa, 1885-1980)
The Liberal (Tillsonburg, 1877-1919)
Listowel Banner (1866-)
Listowel Standard (1871-)
London Advertiser (1863-1936)

Napanee Beaver (1870-)
New Hamburg Independent (1878-)
The News-Record (Berlin, 1897-1919)
Norwich Gazette (1877-)
Orillia Packet (1870-1926)
Orillia Times (1873-1926)
Owen Sound Advertiser (1862-1923)
Owen Sound Sun (1890-1918)
Owen Sound Times (1854-1918)
Perth Courier (1834-)
The Rideau Record (Smith's Falls, 1887-1919)
St. Thomas Daily Times (1882-1918)
Sarnia Daily Observer (1895-1917)
Simcoe Reformer (1895-)
The Spectator (Hamilton, 1846?-)
The Star (Toronto, 1892-)
Stratford Times (1874-1892)
The Sun (Milverton, 18-- ?)
The Sun (Orangeville, 1861-1933)
Tavistock Gazette (1895-)
The Telegram (Toronto, 1876-1971)
The Telegraph (Berlin, weekly, 1853-1899)
Tilsonburg Observer (1863-1919). Tillsonburg was spelled Tilsonburg between 1872 and 1902.
Toronto Evening News (1881-1919)
Toronto Mail (1872-1895)
Toronto World (1880-1921)
Weekly Reformer (Galt, 1899-1912)
Weekly Intelligencer (Belleville, 1834-1924?)

Periodicals

Anglican

Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News (Toronto, 1886-?)
Canadian Churchman (Toronto, 1890-)
Dominion Churchman (Toronto, 1875-1890)
Evangelical Churchman (Toronto, 1876-1900)
Living Message (1891?-1962?)

Catholic

Catholic Record (London, 1878-1948)
Catholic Register (Toronto, 1893-1941?)

Methodist

Acta Victoriana (Toronto, 1878-1939)
Canadian Methodist Magazine (Toronto, 1874-1888)
Canadian Methodist Quarterly (Toronto, 1889-1892)

Christian Guardian (Toronto, 1829-1925)
Methodist Magazine (1889-1895)
Methodist Magazine and Review (Toronto, 1896-1906)

Presbyterian

Canadian Presbyterian (Toronto, 1877-1888)
Knox College Monthly and Presbyterian Magazine (Toronto, 1883-1896)
Presbyterian Record (Toronto, 1875-)
Presbyterian Review (Toronto, 1886-1898)
The Westminster (Toronto, 1896-1902)

Other

Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature (Toronto, 1893-1939)
Grip (Toronto, 1879?-1892?)
Queen's Quarterly (Kingston, 1893-)
Saturday Night (Toronto, 1887-)
The Week (Toronto, 1883?-1896?)

Contemporary Pamphlets

Armstrong, J. Gilbert. *The Supremacy of the Sovereign: A Sermon Preached in the Open Air at the Grove Adjoining the Richmond Hill Railway Station, on the 24th May, 1855: Being the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of the Birth-Day of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.* Toronto: N.p., 1855.

Barclay, John. *A Discourse Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto on the 24th of May, 1863: Being the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.* Toronto: N.p., 1863.

Constitution of the Sons of England Benevolent Society. Under the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Grand Lodge of Canada. Established, December 12th, 1874. Incorporated February 19th, 1875. Amended March 1890. Toronto: Bros. Thomas Moore & Co., Printers to Grand Lodge, 1890.

Cumberland, Barlow. *A Sketch of How "the Diamond Jubilee Anthem" was Sung Around the World Through the Colonies of the Empire on the 20th June, 1897: The Sixtieth Anniversary of the Accession Day of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: Being an Extract from the Annual Report of the Supreme Grand President of the Sons of England, given at St. Catharines, Canada, 8th March, 1898.* Toronto: Robinson-Arbuthnot, 1898.

Diamond Jubilee Celebration: Grand Patriotic Concert, by the Toronto Philharmonic, Massey Music Hall, Toronto, 21 June 1897. [Toronto, 1897].

Diamond Jubilee Souvenir and Official Programme: Hamilton, June 22, 1837-1897. God Save the Queen. Hamilton: Printed for the Publishers by McPherson & Drope, 1897.

Diamond Jubilee Souvenir: Official Program, June 22, 1897, London, Canada. London, Ont: London Advertising Agency, 1897.

A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving to Celebrate the Completion of the Sixtieth Year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, held in St. James' Church, Stratford, June 20th, 1897, under the auspices of Queen Victoria Lodge, No. 78 S. O. E. B. S. Stratford, Ont.: Beacon Electric Presses, [1897].

A Form of Thanksgiving and Prayer to Almighty God: Upon the Completion of Fifty Years of Her Majesty's Reign, to be used on Tuesday, the 21st Day of June, 1887. Toronto: N.p., 1887.

Herridge, W. T. *Christianity in its Relation to the State and the Church*. Ottawa: A. S. Woodburn, 1889.

Herridge, W. T. *A Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Church on the Occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee*. Ottawa: Taylor & Gilbert Printing, 1897.

Hill, Rev. Canon (Arundel Charles). *Sermon Preached to the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada and Ex-Members of the Regiment: On the Occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen's Accession, in the Pavilion, Horticultural Gardens, Toronto, Sunday Morning, June 20th, 1897.* Toronto: James & Williams, 1898.

The Jubilee Prize Poem: A Loyal Ode for 1887, the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. [Toronto]: British Association for the Diffusion of Common Sense, [1887?].

Jubilee Programme: Including a Brief Retrospect of Her Majesty's Reign and Other Interesting Information: Demonstration to be Held at Ottawa, June 30th and July 1st, 1887. Ottawa: Daily Citizen, 1887.

King, John S. *The Early History of the Sons of England Benevolent Society: Including its Origin, Principles and Progress; As well as Biographical Sketch of the Founders: With an Account of the Organization of the Grand Lodge*. Toronto: Bros. Thos. Moore & Co., Printers, 1891.

McIntosh, Rev. William. *True Patriotism; a sermon preached before the St. andrew's Society, Ottawa, Ont., on December 2nd, 1895, by the Chaplain, Rev. Wm. McIntosh*. Ottawa: C. W. Mitchell, 1896.

Massie, John. *Jubilee Poem: Humbly Dedicated to Her Most Gracious Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India*. [Peterborough, Ont.?: J. R. Stratton, 1887?].

Official Text-Book and Programme of the Queen's Jubilee Musical Festival at the Crystal Palace, Hamilton, Canada, June 21st and 22nd, 1887: Containing Programmes of the Concerts; Words of the Oratorios; Descriptions of the Oratorios; An Historical Account of the Principal Musical Performances Given in Hamilton... [Hamilton, Ont.]: Hamilton Philharmonic Society, 1887.

Pope, Joseph. *Anglican Claims in the Light of History: A paper read before the Catholic Truth Society of Ottawa, on the 12th December, 1893 ...* [Ottawa]: Catholic Truth Society of Ottawa, [1893].

Program for Queen's Diamond Jubilee. Public School Celebration on Monday. Kingston, 21 June 1897.

Queen's Diamond Jubilee Celebration: Public School Celebration on Monday, June 21st, 1897. Kingston: Kingston News, 1897.

Roe, Henry. *Sermon: Preached at St. George's Church, Lennoxville, P.Q. on June 21st, 1887, the Day Appointed for the Observance of the Queen's Jubilee*. [Sherbrooke, Que.: G. H. Bradford, 1887].

Ross, James D. *The Diamond Jubilee Rule Britannia*. N.p., 1897?

Ryerson, Egerton. *Letters from the Reverend Egerton Ryerson to the Hon. and Reverend Doctor Strachan, Published Originally in the Upper Canada Herald*. Kingston, U.C.: Printed at the Herald Office, 1828.

Ryerson, Egerton. *Remarks on the Historical Mis-Statements and Fallacies of Mr. Goldwin Smith ... in the Lecture "On the Foundation of the American Colonies," and his Letters "On the Emancipation of the Colonies," by a Canadian*. Toronto: Printed at the Leader Steam Press Establishment, 1866.

Scadding, Henry. *Some Victorian Notes: A Paper Read at Niagara Falls, June 22, 1887*. [Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1887].

Strachan, John. *A Discourse on the Character of King George the Third: Addressed to the Inhabitants of British America*. Montreal: Printed by Nahum Mower, 1810.

Toronto's Tribute to Her Majesty Queen Victoria on the Occasion of Her Diamond Jubilee, 1897. Toronto, 1897.

Books and Articles

Aristotle. *Politics*. With and English translation by H. Rackham. Loeb ed. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press; London Heinemann, 1944.

Arminius, James. "Disputation XI: On the Free Will of Man and Its Powers." In *The Works of James Arminius*. 3 vols. London edition. Translated by James Nichols, 2:189-96. London: Longman, et al., 1828. Reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1986.

Augustine. *The City of God Against the Pagans*. With an English translation by William M. Green and others. 7 vols. Loeb ed. London: Heinemann, 1957-72.

Bagehot, Walter. *The English Constitution*. London: 1867. Reprint, London: Collins; Fontana Library, 1963.

Barlow, George. *A Homiletic Commentary on the Book of Kings*. Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary on the Old Testament. [London: R. D. Dickenson, 1885]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, [1892].

Barmby, J. *Hebrews*. Pulpit Commentary. [London: Kegan Paul, 1886]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Bethune, Alexander. *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, D.D., LL.D.: First Bishop of Toronto*. Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1870.

Blackstone, William. *Blackstone's Commentaries: With notes and reference to the Constitution and Laws of the Federal Government of the United States and of the Commonwealth of Virginia, by St. George Tucker*. 5 vols. Philadelphia: William Birch Young & Abraham, 1803. Reprint, South Hackensack, N.J.: Rothman Reprints; New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969.

Bodin, Jean. *Six Books of the Commonwealth*. Abridged and translated by M. J. Tooley. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1955. Reprint, 1967.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the United Church of England and Ireland. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and Andrew Spottiswoode, 1841.

Burwash, N. "The Queen." *Acta Victoriana* 24 (February 1901): 243-5.

Butler, Joseph. *The Analogy of Religion*. London: J. M. Dent; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906.

Carman, Albert. *The Guiding Eye: The Holy Spirit's Guidance of the Believer*. Toronto: William Briggs, [1889].

Carman, Albert. "The Methodist Church." In *Centennial of Canadian Methodism*, [229]-51. Toronto: William Briggs, 1891.

Carroll, John. *Case and His Cotemporaries: Or the Canadian Itinerants' Memorial*. 5 vols. Toronto: Samuel Rose, 1867-77.

Carroll, John. *Salvation! O the Joyful Sound: The Selected Writings of John Carroll*. Edited by John Webster Grant. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Coleman, Kit. *To London for the Jubilee*. Toronto: G. Morang, 1897.

Cornish, George H. *Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada* ... 2 vols. Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881.

Cornish, George H. *Hand-Book of Canadian Methodism* ... Toronto: Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1867.

Deane, W. J. *Proverbs*. Pulpit Commentary. [London: Kegan Paul, 1891]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Dilke, Charles Wentworth. *Greater Britain*. 8th ed. London: Macmillan, 1885.

Ellis, Sarah Stickney. *The Women of England*. London: Fisher, Son, & Co., [1839].

Fraser, D. J. *Victoria, Queen and Woman*. Toronto: Hart & Riddell, 1897.

Handel, George Frideric. "Zadok the Priest." In *Coronation Anthems: Volume 1*. Kalmus Miniature Scores, 1336. Melville, N.Y. Belwin Mills, N.d.

Hooker, Richard. *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 5 vols. Edited by Georges Edelen. Folger Library Edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977.

Hopkins, J. Castell. *Queen Victoria: Her Life and Reign: A Study of British Monarchical Institutions and the Queen's Personal Career, Foreign Policy, and Imperial Influence*. Toronto and Brantford: Bradley-Garretson Co., 1896.

John of Paris. *On Royal and Papal Power*. A translation, with introduction ... by Arthur P. Monahan. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Lancefield, Richard T. *Victoria, Sixty Years a Queen: A Sketch of Her Life and Times*. Toronto: G. M. Rose & Sons, 1897.

Locke, John. *The Reasonableness of Christianity: With a Discourse of Miracles and Part of a Third Letter Concerning Toleration*. Edited, abridged, and introduced by I. T. Ramsey. London: Adam & Charles Black.1958.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*. Edited with an introduction and notes by Peter Laslett. Student ed. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ ... With a Commentary and Critical Notes by Adam Clarke. Rev. ed. New York: George Lane & Levi Scott, 1851.

Paley, William. *Natural Theology*. [London, 1802]. Reprint, New York: American Tract Society, N.d.

Payne Smith, Robert. *I Samuel*. Pulpit Commentary. [London: Kegan Paul, 1880]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Patmore, Coventry. *The Angel in the House*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1892; [1st ed., 1854-63].

Playter, George F. *The History of Methodism in Canada* ... Toronto: Anson Green, 1862.

Rawlinson, George. *Isaiah*. 2 vols. Pulpit Commentary. [London: Kegan Paul, 1887]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Rawlinson, George. *Psalms*. 3 vols. Pulpit Commentary. [London: Kegan Paul, 1886]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Ryerson, Egerton. *The Affairs of the Canadas: In a Series of Letters, by a Canadian*. London: Printed by J. King, 1837.

Ryerson, Egerton. "Canadian Loyalty." *Journal of Education: Province of Ontario* 28 (September 1875): 137-40.

Ryerson, Egerton. *Canadian Methodism; Its Epochs and Characteristics*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1882.

Ryerson, Egerton. *The Loyalists of America and Their Times: From 1620 to 1816*. 2 vols. 2d ed. Toronto: William Briggs, 1880.

Ryerson, Egerton. *The New Canadian Dominion: Dangers and Duties of the People in Regard to their Government*. Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1867.

Ryerson, Egerton. "The Protestantism of Queen Elizabeth." *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, November 1875, [385]-96.

Ryerson, Egerton. *"The Story of My Life."* Edited by J. George Hodgins. Toronto: William Briggs, 1883.

Smith, George Adam. *The Book of Isaiah*. Expositor's Bible. [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1888-90]. Reprint, New York: Hodder & Stoughton, N.d.

Strachan, John. *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions: A Selection*. Edited and with an introduction by J. L. H. Henderson. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.

Taylor, Conyngham Crawford. *The Queen's Jubilee and Toronto "Called Back" from 1887 to 1847*. Rev. ed. Toronto: Published for the Author by W. Briggs, 1887.

Tennyson, Alfred. *The Poems of Tennyson*. 3 vols. 2d ed., incorporating the Trinity College Manuscripts. Edited by Christopher Ricks. Harlow, Eng.: Longman, 1987.

Thomas Aquinas. "Appendix I: The Texts of Aquinas on Law." In Lisska, Anthony J. *Aquinas's Theory of Natural Law: An Analytic Reconstruction*. Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Thomas Aquinas. *Nature and Grace: Selections from the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas*. Translated and edited by A. M. Fairweather. Library of Christian Classics. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954.

Thomas Aquinas. *On Kingship: To the King of Cyprus*. Done into English by Gerald B. Phelan. Rev. with introduction by I. Th. Eschmann. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1949.

Thomas Aquinas. *On Law, Morality, and Politics*. Edited, with introduction, by William P. Baumgarth and Richard J. Regan. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1988.

Tyerman, Luke. *The Life and Times of John Wesley: Founder of the Methodists*. 3 vols. New York: Harper, 1872.

Wakefield, Samuel. *A Complete System of Christian Theology*. New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1869.

Watkinson, W. L., W. Forsyth, Joseph S. Exell and William Jones. *A Homiletic Commentary on the Book of Psalms*. 4 vols. Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary on the Old Testament. [London: R. D. Dickenson, 1881]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1892.

Webster, Thomas. *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada*. Hamilton: Canada Christian Advocate Office, 1870.

Wesley, John. "A Short History of Methodism," in *The Works of John Wesley*. 14 vols., 8:347-51. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872. Reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1958-9.

Wesley, John. *Wesley's Notes on the Bible*. Compiled by G. Robert Schoenhals. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987.

Wesley, John. *The Works of John Wesley*. 14 vols. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872. Reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1958-59.

Williams, A. Lukyn and W. J. Deane. *Matthew*. 2 vols. Pulpit Commentary. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, N.d.

Williams, T. G. *Methodism and Anglicanism in the Light of Scripture and History*. With and introduction by W. I. Shaw. Toronto: William Briggs, 1888.

Wolfendale, James. *Homiletical Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*. Preacher's Complete Homiletic Commentary on the Old Testament. [London: R. D. Dickenson, 1887]. Reprint, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, [1892].

Wooton, David. *Divine Right and Democracy: An Anthology of Political Writing in Stuart England*. Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1986.

Secondary Sources

Books

Airhart, Phyllis D. *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Akenson, Donald Harman. *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984.

Allen, Richard. *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971. Reprint, paperback ed., 1973.

Anderson, Bernhard W. *Understanding the Old Testament*. 2d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Berger, Carl. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Berger, Carl, ed. *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought.* Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1969.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Bowen, Desmond. *The Idea of the Victorian Church: A Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889.* Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968

Bradley, Ian. *Abide with Me: The World of Victorian Hymns.* London: SCM Press, 1997.

Briggs, Asa. *The Age of Improvement.* London: Longamans, Green, 1959.

Briggs, Asa. *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67.* Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Brown, Colin, general ed. *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology.* 3 vols. Translated, with additions and revisions, from the German *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Regenct Reference Library, 1978.

Brown, Robert Craig and Ramsay Cook. *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Butterfield, H. *The Whig Interpretation of History.* London: G. Bell, 1931. Reprint, 1951.

Careless, J. M. S. *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Carrington, Philip. *The Anglican Church in Canada.* Toronto: Collins, 1963.

Carter, David J., and John W. Carter, eds. *The Anglican Episcopate in Canada.* Vol. 3. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1977.

Chadwick, Owen, ed. *The Mind of the Oxford Movement.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960.

Chadwick, Owen. *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays.* Cambridge, Eng. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Chadwick, Owen. *The Victorian Church.* 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1966 and 1969.

Chapman, Caroline & Paul Ruben, comps. *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees, 1887 & 1897.* New York: Viking; London: Debrett's Peerage Ltd., 1977.

Chilcote, Paul Wesley. *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism.* Metuchen, N.J.: American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press, 1991.

Clark, S. D. *Church and Sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Creighton, Donald. *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada*. 2d ed. Toronto: Macmillan, 1957.

Clark, S. D. *Church and Sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Cohen, David William. *The Combing of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cook, Ramsay. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Craig, Gerald M. *Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.

Daly, James. *Sir Robert Filmer and English Political Thought*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

Davis, Susan G. *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. *Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954.

Distad, Merrill N., with Linda M. Distad. "Canada." In *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*. Edited by J. Donn Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, [61]-174. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Doob, Leonard W. *Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundation*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964.

Duffy, Dennis. *Gardens, Covenants, and Exiles: Loyalism in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Durkheim, Émile. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by J. W. Swain. Reprint, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968.

Ecksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989.

Eddy, John and Deryck Schreuder, eds. *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert their Nationalities, 1880-1914*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988.

Edwards, Maldwyn. *John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century: A Study of His Social and Political Influence*. Rev. ed. London: Epworth Press, 1955.

Elazar, Daniel J. *Covenant and Commonwealth: From Christian Separation Through the Protestant Reformation*. Vol. 2, *The Covenant Tradition in Politics*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1996.

Eldridge, C. C. *Victorian Imperialism*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1978.

Elliott-Binns, L. E. *The Development of English Theology in the Later Nineteenth Century*. Being the Burroughs Memorial Lectures for 1950. London: Longmans, Green, 1952. Reprint, Archon Books, 1971.

Errington, Jane. *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.

Ervin, Spencer. *The Political and Ecclesiastical History of the Anglican Church of Canada*. Ambler, Pa.: Trinity Press, 1967.

Faber, Richard. *The Vision and the Need: Late Victorian Imperialist Aims*. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.

Fahey, Curtis. *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991.

Fentress, James and Chris Wickham. *Social Memory*. Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell, 1992.

Fetherling, Douglas. *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Field, H. John. *Toward a Programme of Imperial Life: The British Empire at the Turn of the Century*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Figgis, John Neville. *The Divine Right of Kings*. Introduction by G. R. Elton. 2d ed. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1914. Reprint, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965.

Fishburn, Janet Forsythe. *The Fatherhood of God and the Victorian Family: The Social Gospel in America*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.

Flindall, R. P., ed. *The Church of England, 1815-1948: A Documentary History*. London: SPCK, 1972.

Flint, David. *John Strachan: Pastor and Politician*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971.

French, Goldwin. *Parsons and Politics: The Rôle of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780-1855*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962.

Frye, Northrop. *The Double Vision: Language and Meaning in Religion*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991.

Frye, Northrop. *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature*. Toronto: Academic Press, 1982.

Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Gauvreau, Michael. *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

Gill, Frederick C. The *Romantic Movement and Methodism: A Study of English Romanticism and the Evangelical Revival*. London: Epworth Press, 1937.

Goldie, Frederick. *A Short History of the Episcopal Church in Scotland: From the Restoration to the Present Time*. 2d ed. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976.

Gonzalez, Justo L. *The Story of Christianity*. Vol. 2, *The Reformation to the Present Day*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984.

Grant, John Webster. *The Church in the Canadian Era*. Updated and expanded ed. Burlington, Ont.: Welch Publishing Co., 1988.

Grant, John Webster. *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Ontario Historical Studies Series. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Grant, Robert M. *A Historical Introduction to the New Testament*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Greaves, Richard L. *Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Christian University Press, 1980.

Greer, Alan. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Grierson, Edward. *The Death of the Imperial Dream: The British Commonwealth & Empire, 1775-1969*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. Translated from the French by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper Colophon, 1980.

Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Hancock, Ralph C. *Calvin and the Foundations of Modern Politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Hayden, Ilse. *Symbol and Privilege: The Ritual Context of British Royalty*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987.

Himmelfarb, Gertrude. *The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995; Vintage Books, 1996.

Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study*. New Introduction by Philip Siegelman. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, University of Michigan Press, 1965.

Hoffman, Frances and Ryan Taylor. *Much to be Done: Private Life in Ontario from Victorian Diaries*. Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History, 1996.

Homans, Margaret. *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Höpfl, Harro. *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Hopper, Mrs. R. P. *Old-Time Primitive Methodism in Canada (1829-1884)*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1904.

Houghton, Walter E. *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Irwin-Zarecka, Iwona. *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1994.

Jay, Elisabeth. *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1986.

Jones, R. Ben. *The Victorians: A Century of Achievement*. St. Albans, Eng.: Hart-Davis Educational, 1975.

Kantorowicz, Ernst H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. With a new preface by William Chester Jordan. Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1957; 1997.

Kenyon, J. P., ed. *The Stuart Constitution, 1603-1688: Documents and Commentary*. 2d ed. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Knowles, Norman. *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Kyle, Richard G. *The Mind of John Knox*. Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado Press, 1984.

Lant, Jeffrey L. *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony and Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*. New York: Taplinger, 1980.

Lewis, Donald M. *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*. 2 vols. Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell Reference, 1995.

Longford, Elizabeth. *Victoria R. I.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Lower, Arthur R. M. *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*. 4th ed. Don Mills, Ont.: Longmans Canada, 1964.

Lukes, Steven. *Essays in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan, 1977.

MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1984.

MacKinnon, Frank. *The Crown in Canada*. Calgary, Alta.: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, McClelland and Stewart West, 1976.

McKillop, A. B. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

McNeill, John Thomas. *The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925*. Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925.

Mannion, John J. *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

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

Markus, R. A. *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Marshall, David B. *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Masters, D. C. *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

Middleton, David and Derek Edwards, eds. *Collective Remembering*. London: SAGE Publications, 1990.

Mills, David. *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

Moir, John S. *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Relation of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841-1867*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Moir, John S. *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*. Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, [1976].

Moorman, John R. H. *A History of the Church in England*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1953. Reprint with corrections, 1958.

Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Morgan, Henry James, ed. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1898.

Morgan, Henry James, ed. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*. 2d ed. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.

Morris, James. *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire*. London: Faber and Faber, 1968.

Morton, Desmond. *Mayor Howland: The Citizens' Candidate*. Toronto: Hakkert, 1973.

Morton, W. L. *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History From Earliest Times*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Neatby, H. Blair, et al. *Imperial Relations in the Age of Laurier*. Canadian Historical Readings. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Neill, Stephen. *Anglicanism*. 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Noel, S. J. R. *Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics, 1791-1896*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

O'Connor, D. J. *Aquinas and Natural Law*. London: Macmillan, 1967.

Outler, Albert C., ed. *John Wesley*. Library of Protestant Thought. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Page, Robert J. D., comp. *Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903*. Canadian History Through the Press Series. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

Penlington, Norman. *Canada and Imperialism, 1896-1899*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Perin, Roberto. *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Perkins Bull, William. *From Strachan to Owen: How the Church of England was Planted and Tended in British North America*. Toronto: The Perkins Bull Foundation; George J. McLeod Ltd., 1937.

Pierce, Lorne, ed. *The Chronicle of a Century, 1829-1929: The Record of One Hundred Years of Progress in the Publishing Concerns of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in Canada*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House; Ryerson Press, [1929].

Plumb, J. H. *The Death of the Past*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970.

Quinlan, Maurice. *Victorian Prelude: A History of English Manners 1700-1830*. London: Columbia University Press, 1941.

Rack, Henry D. *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989.

Ralston, Thomas N. *Elements of Divinity*. Rev. with introductions. Edited by T. O. Summers. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1924.

Rawlyk, G. A. *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

Raynor, Henry. *Music and Society Since 1815*. London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1976.

Rutherford, Paul. *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Ryley, Robert M. *William Warburton*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984.

Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory*. Vol. 1, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. London: Verso, 1994.

Sanderson, J. E. *The First Century of Methodism in Canada*. 2 vols. Toronto: William Briggs, 1908-10.

Sanderson, John. *'But the People's Creatures': The Philosophical Basis of the English Civil War*. Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1989.

Schochet, Gordon. J. *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1975.

Semmel, Bernard. *The Methodist Revolution*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Semple, Neil. *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Sissons, C. B. *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters*. 2 vols. With a foreword by E. W. Wallace. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1937-47.

Smith, David E. *The Invisible Crown: The First Principle of Canadian Government*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Smith, Robert J. *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974.

Snyder, Louis L., ed. *The Imperialism Reader: Documents and Readings on Modern Expansionism*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1962. Reprint, Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1973.

St. Aubyn, Giles. *Queen Victoria: A Portrait*. New York: Atheneum, 1992.

Stalker, James. *John Knox: His Ideas and Ideals*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

Stamp, Robert M. *Kings, Queens & Canadians: A Celebration of Canada's Infatuation with the British Royal Family*. Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1987.

Stewart, Gordon. *The Origins of Canadian Politics*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987.

Strachey, Lytton. *Queen Victoria*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1928.

Sutherland, Alexander. *Methodism in Canada: Its Work and its Story*. Toronto: Methodist Mission Books, 1904.

Taylor, E. R. *Methodism & Politics, 1791-1851*. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1935. Reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1975.

TeSelle, Ernest. *Augustine the Theologian*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Thompson, Dorothy. *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power*. London: Virago, 1990.

Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1963.

Tosh, John. *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. 2d ed. London: Longman, 1991.

Vagts, Alfred. *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military*, Rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1959.

Vaiss, Paul, ed. *From Oxford to the People: Reconsidering Newman & the Oxford Movement*. Leominster, Eng.: Gracewing, 1996.

Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.

Van Die, Marguerite. *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Vance, Jonathan. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.

Vann, J. Don and Rosemary T. VanArsdel, eds. *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire: An Exploration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Vernon, C. W. *The Old Church in the New Dominion: The Story of the Anglican Church in Canada*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929.

Voegelin, Eric. *Israel and Revelation*. Order and History, Vol 1. Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1956.

Walden, Keith. *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Walker, Franklin A. *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: A Documentary Study*. Vol. 2. Toronto: Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 1964. Reprint, 1985.

Walsh, H. H. *The Christian Church in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956.

Weintraub, Stanley. *Victoria: An Intimate Biography*. New York: Truman Talley Books / E. P. Dutton, 1987.

Westfall, William. *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Wilkinson, B. *The Coronation in History*. London: Published for the Historical Association by George Philip & Son, 1953.

Wise, S. F. *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Edited and introduced by A. B. McKillop and Paul Romney. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993.

Wohl, Anthony S., ed. *The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.

Yates, Nigel. *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism*. London: Historical Association, 1984.

Yeo, Stephen. *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*. London: Croom Helm, 1976.

Articles and Parts of Books

Airhart, Phyllis D. "Condensation and Heart Religion: Canadian Methodists as Evangelicals, 1884-1925." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk, [90]-105. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Airhart, Phyllis D. "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914." In *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, G. A. Rawlyk (ed.), 98-138. Burlington, Ont.: Welsh Publishing Co., 1990.

Allen, Richard. "Providence to Progress: The Migration of an Idea in English Canadian Thought." In *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies, Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Graduate Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, May 23-26, 1984*. Canadian Issues 7, 33-46. Toronto: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985.

Arnstein, Walter L. "Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee." *American Scholar* 66 (Autumn 1997): 591-97.

Avis, Paul. "What is 'Anglicanism'?" In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Edited by Stephen Sykes and John Booty, 405-24. London: SPCK, 1988.

Bell, David V. J. "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (May 1970): 22-33.

Berger, Carl C. "The Historical Ideas of Sir John George Bourinot." *Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report* (1965): [87]-104.

Billig, Michael. "Collective Memory, Ideology and the British Royal Family." In *Collective Remembering*. Edited by David Middleton and Derek Edwards, [60]-80. London: SAGE Publications, 1990.

Bliss, J. M. "The Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (September 1968): 213-33.

Boeke, Brandt B. "Calvin's Doctrine of Civil Government." In *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*. Edited by Richard C. Gamble. Vol. 11, *Calvin's Thought on Economic and Social Issues and the Relationship of Church and State*, 19-41. New York: Garland, 1992.

Cannadine, David. "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977." In *The Invention of Tradition*. Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 101-64. Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983; Canto, 1992.

Carew Hunt, R. N. "Calvin's Theory of Church and State." In *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*. Edited by Richard C. Gamble. Vol. 11, *Calvin's Thought on Economic and Social Issues and the Relationship of Church and State*, 2-17. New York: Garland, 1992.

Carr, Graham. "Imperialism and Nationalism in Revisionalist Historiography: A Critique of Some Recent Trends." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (Summer 1982): 91-8.

Chamberlain, Joseph. "The True Conception of Empire." In *Mr. Chamberlain's Speeches*. Edited by Charles W. Boyd. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914.

Chase, Malcolm. "From Millennium to Anniversary: The Concept of Jubilee in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England." *Past & Present* 129 (November 1990): 132-47.

Christie, Nancy. "'In These Times of Democratic Rage and Delusion': Popular Religion and the Challenge to the Established Order, 1760-1815." In *The Canadian Protestant Experience*. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk, 9-47. Burlington, Ont.: Welsh Publishing Co., 1990.

Clifford, N. K. "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis." *Studies in Religion* 2:4 (1973): [315]-26.

Cole, Douglas L. "Canada's "Nationalistic" Imperialists." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (August 1970): 44-49.

Coleman, B. "Religion in the Victorian City." *History Today* 30 (August 1980): 25-31.

Colley, Linda. "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation 1760-1820." *Past & Present* 102 (February 1984): 94-129.

Cook, Terry. "George R. Parkin and the Concept of Britannic Idealism." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 10 (August 1975): 15-31.

Creighton, Donald G. "The Victorians and the Empire." *Canadian Historical Review* 19 (June 1938): 138-53.

De Villiers-Westfall, William E. "The Dominion of the Lord: An Introduction to the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period." *Queen's Quarterly* 83 (Spring 1976): 47-70.

Emery, George N. "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement 1890-1914." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 19 (March-June 1977): 104-19.

French, Goldwin S. "Egerton Ryerson and the Methodist Model for Upper Canada." In *Egerton Ryerson and his Times*. Edited by N. Mcdonald and A. Chaiton, 45-58. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978.

French, Goldwin. "The Evangelical Creed in Canada." In *The Shield of Achilles*. Edited by W. L. Morton [15]-[35]. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.

Fridja, Nico H. "Commemorating." In *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*. Edited by James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, Bernard Rimé, 103-27. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997.

Gauvreau, Michael. "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867." In *The Canadian Protestant Experience*. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk, 47-97. Burlington, Ont.: Welsh Publishing Co., 1990.

Gauvreau, Michael. "The Taming of History: Reflections on the Canadian Methodist Encounter With Biblical Criticism, 1830-1900." *Canadian Historical Review* 65 (September 1984): 315-46.

Grant, John Webster. "Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches." *Church History* 38 (September 1969): 327-37.

Grant, John Webster. "The Church and Canada's Self-Awareness." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 13 (July 1967): 155-64.

Hammerton, Elizabeth and David Cannadine. "Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897." *Historical Journal* 24:1 (1981): 111-46.

Hardesty, Nancy A. "The Wesleyan Movement and Women's Liberation." In *Sanctification & Liberation: Liberation Theologies in Light of the Wesleyan Tradition*. Edited by Theodore Runyon, 164-73. Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1981.

Headon, Christopher. "Women and Organized Religion in Mid and Late Nineteenth Century Canada." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20 (March-June 1978): 3-18.

Headon, Christopher F. "Developments in Canadian Anglican Worship in Eastern and Central Canada, 1840-1868." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17 (June 1975): 26-37.

Homans, Margaret. "'To the Queen's Private Apartments': Royal Family Portraiture and the Construction of Victoria's Sovereign Obedience." *Victorian Studies* 37 (Autumn 1993): 1-40.

Hubbard, R. H. "Viceregal Influences on Canadian Society." In *The Shield of Achilles*. Edited by W. L. Morton, [257]-[275]. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.

Katerberg, William H. "Redefining Evangelicalism in the Canadian Anglican Church: Wycliffe College and the Evangelical Party, 1867-1995." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk, [171]-88. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Kealey, Gregory S. "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class." In *A History of Ontario: Selected Readings*. Edited by Michael J. Piva, 71-94. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1988.

Kenyon, John. "The Influence of the Oxford Movement Upon the Church of England in Upper Canada." *Ontario History: Papers and Records* 51 (Spring 1959): 79-94.

Kiesekamp, Burkhard. "Presbyterian and Methodist Divines: Their Case for a National Church in Canada, 1875-1900." *Studies in Religion* 2:4 (1973): [289]-302.

Looker, Mark S. "'God Save the Queen' Victoria's Jubilees and the Religious Press." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 21 (Fall 1988): [115]-19.

MacCrimmon, Irene. "Samuel and Joseph Ryerse/Ryerson." In *Loyalist Families of the Grand River Branch, United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada*, 477-88. Toronto: Pro Familia Publishing, 1991.

McGrade, A. S. "Reason." In *The Study of Anglicanism*. Edited by Stephen Sykes and John Booty, 105-17. London: SPCK, 1988.

McKendry, Virginia. "The London Illustrated News and the 'Invention of Tradition'." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 27 (Spring 1994): 1-24.

MacVean, William C. "The "Erastianism" of John Strachan." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 13:3 (1967): 189-204.

Martin, Ged. "Queen Victoria and Canada." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 13:3 (1983): 215-34.

Masters, D. C. "The Anglican Evangelicals in Toronto, 1870-1900." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20 (September-December 1978): 51-66.

Millman, T. R. "Canadian Anglican Journalism in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 3 (March 1959): 1-[19].

Moir, John S. "The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition." In *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario*, 189-95. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967.

Moir, John S. "A Vision Shared? The Catholic Register and Canadian Identity Before World War I." In *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies, Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Graduate Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, May 23-26, 1984*. Canadian Issues 7, 356-66. Toronto: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985.

Morton, W. L. "Victorian Canada." In *The Shield of Achilles*. Edited by W. L. Morton. [311]-[334]. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.

Page, Robert J. D. "Canada and the Imperial Idea in the Boer War Years." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (February 1970): 33-49.

Page, Robert J. D. "Carl Berger and the Intellectual Origins of Canadian Imperialist Thought, 1867-1914." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (August 1970): 39-43.

Rack, Henry D. "Wesleyan Methodism 1849-1902." In *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*. 3 vols. Edited by Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George, Gordon Rupp, 3:135-48. London: Epworth Press, 1983.

Richards, Thomas. "The Image of Victoria in the Year of Jubilee." *Victorian Studies* 31 (Autumn 1987): 7-32.

Roper, Henry. "The Anglican Episcopate in Canada: An Historical Perspective." In *Frontiers Then and Now: The Canadian Anglican Episcopate, 1787-1987*. The Archbishop Owen Memorial Lectures, 1987, 1-16. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989.

Schama, Simon. "The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture, 1500-1850." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Summer 1986): 155-83.

Schwarz, Barry. The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory." *Social Forces* 61 (December 1982): 374-401.

Semple, Neil. "Ontario's Religious Hegemony: The Creation of the National Methodist Church." *Ontario History* 77 (March 1985): 19-42.

Smith, Neil Gregor. "Nationalism in the Canadian Churches." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 9 (April 1963): 112-25.

Stamp, Robert M. "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8 (August 1973): 32-43.

Stanworth, Karen. "'God Save the Queen': Narrating Nationalism and Imperialism in Quebec on the Occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee." *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne—Canadian Art Review* 12:1-2 (1994): 85-99.

Stevens, Carolyn. "The Objections of 'Queer Hardie,' 'Lily Bell,' and the Suffragettes' Friend to Queen Victoria's Jubilee, 1897." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 21 (Fall 1988): [108]-14.

Stortz, Gerald J. "The Irish Catholic Press in Toronto, 1874-1887." In *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions, Forty Seventh Annual Meeting, Montreal, June 1 and 2, 1980*, 41-56. Ottawa: Historiae Ecclesiae Catholicae Canadensis Publications, 1980.

Stortz, Gerald J. "The Irish Catholic Press in Toronto, 1887-1892: The Years of Transition." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 10 (Summer, 1984): 27-46.

Talman, J. J. "The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1840." *Canadian Historical Review* 15 (September 1934): 361-75.

Thomas, Clara. "Canadian Social Mythologies in Duncan's *The Imperialist*." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12 (Spring 1977): 38-49.

Thompson, E. P. T. "Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture." *Journal of Social History* 7 (Summer 1974):382-405.

Thurston, John. "'The Dust of Toryism': Monarchism and Republicanism in Upper Canadian Travel and Immigration Texts." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30 (Winter, 1995-96): 75-87.

Turner, Bryan S., and Michael Hill. "Methodism and the Pietist Definition of Politics: Historical Development and Contemporary Evidence." In *Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* 8, 159-79. Edited by Michael Hill. London: SCM Press, 1975.

Van Die, Marguerite. "'A March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of 'The Beauty of Holiness'': Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Edited by G. A. Rawlyk, [73]-89. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Westfall, William. "The End of the World: An Aspect of Time and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Protestant Culture." In *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies, Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by the Association for Canadian Studies and the Graduate Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, held at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, May 23-26, 1984*. Canadian Issues 7, 72-85. Toronto: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985.

Unpublished Papers and Theses

Agnew, Christopher Mack. "The Failure of the Imperial Idea in Canada." Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1980.

Anstead, Christopher J. "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony." Ph.D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1992.

Banfield, Paul Anthony. "The Well-Regulated Family: John Strachan and the Role of the Family in Early Upper Canada, 1800-1812." M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1985.

Davenport, Randi Lee. "Imperial Mother: Victorian Motherhood and the Domestic Literature of Imperialism." Ph.D. diss., Syracuse University, 1991.

Dickens, Thomas W. "Winnipeg, Imperialism, and the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee Celebration, 1897." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982.

Dow, Thomas Edward. "The Evangelical Ecumenism of James Arminius." Ph.D. diss., University of Waterloo, 1980.

Fahey, Curtis. "A Troubled Zion: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada. 1791-1854." Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1981.

Fallis, Laurence Sidney. "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada: 1841-1867." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1966.

Gilbert, Angus Duncan. "The Political Influence of Imperialist Thought in Canada, 1899-1923." Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1974.

Headon, Christopher Fergus. "The Influence of the Oxford Movement Upon the Church of England in Eastern and Central Canada, 1840-1900." Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1974.

Huskins, Bonnie L. "Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax." Ph.D. diss., Dalhousie University, 1991.

McDonald, N. G. "Canadian Nationalism and Education, 1867-1914." Ph.D., diss., University of Toronto, 1981.

MacRae, Norma J. "The Religious Foundation of John Strachan's Social and Political Thought as Contained in His Sermons, 1803-1866." M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1978.

McKendry, Virginia. "'Wife, Mother, and Queen...': Images of Queen Victoria in the Illustrated Press, 1841-1861." M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993.

Metz, Wayne Normile. "The Reverend Samuel Peters (1735-1826): Connecticut Anglican, Loyalist, Priest." Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1974.

O'Dell, Doris Mary. "The Class Character of Church Participation in Late Nineteenth-Century Belleville, Ontario." Ph.D. diss., Queen's University, 1990.

O'Dell, Doris Mary. "The Jubilee Concert of 1887: The Event and the People." Unpublished term paper, McMaster University, [1982].

Ostergaard, Karen. "Canadian Nationalism and Anti-Imperialism, 1896-1911." Ph.D. diss., Dalhousie University, 1976.

Rutherford, Paul F. W. "The New Nationality, 1864-1897: A Study of the National Aims and Ideals of English Canada in the Late Nineteenth Century." Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1974.

Stortz, Gerald J. "John Joseph Lynch, Archbishop of Toronto: A Biographical Study of Religious, Political and Social Commitment." Ph.D. diss., University of Guelph, 1980.

Walsh, Robert James Patrick. "'Silver-Tongued' Laurier and the Imperialists, 1896-1906: A Character Study in Imperial History." Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1979.

Welch, John Archibald. "Evangelist of Empire: George R. Parkin's Response to Imperialism and Imperial Federation." M.A. thesis, Trent University, 1974.