The Anglo-Catholic Identities of Frederick George Scott, 1861-1944.

By

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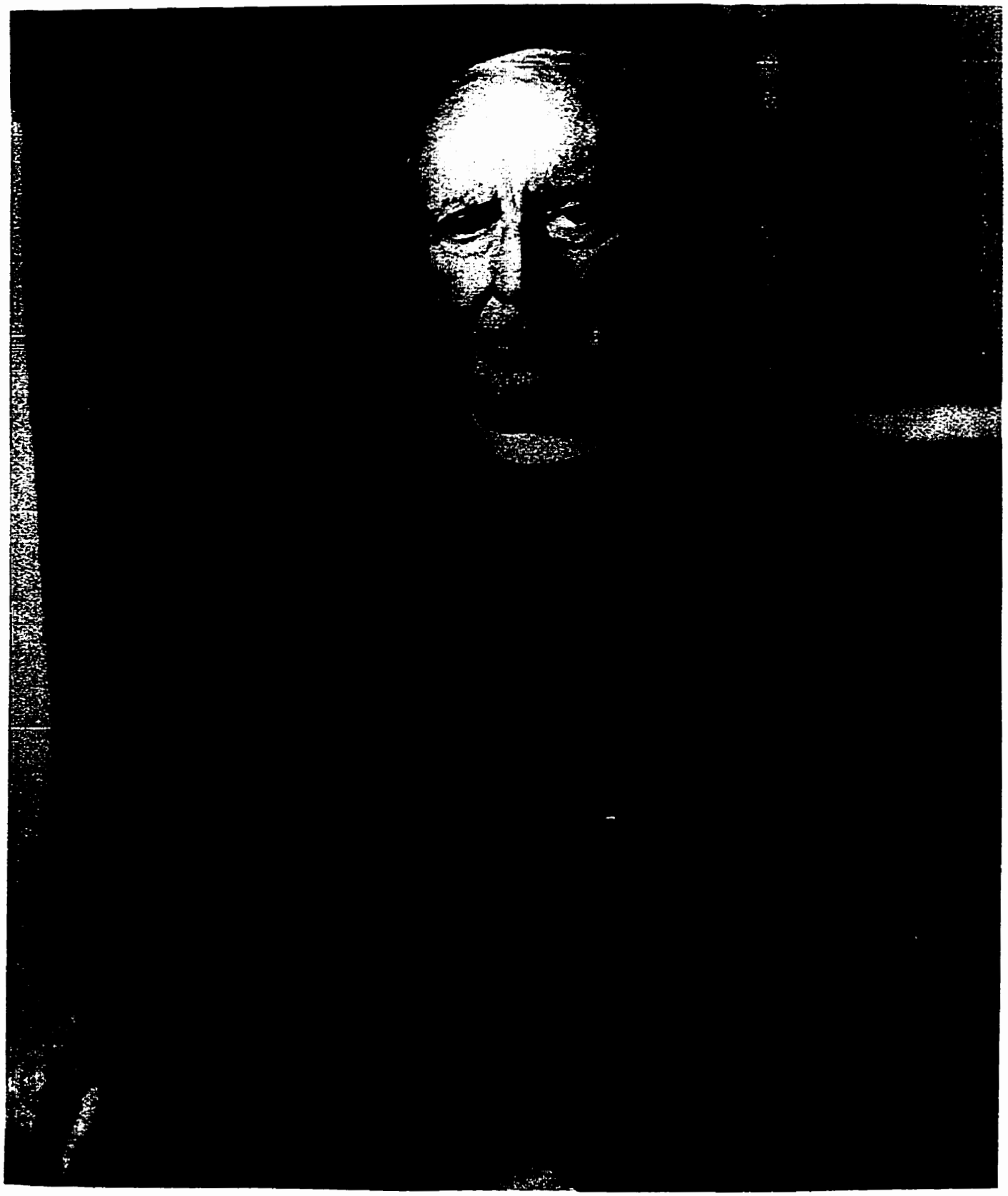

Frederick George Scott, New York City, 1942. (McCord Museum, Montreal.)

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploration of Frederick George Scott's Anglo-Catholic identities, focusing primarily on his evolutionary thought, gender identity, and industrial gospel. Scott's life attests to the presence of antimodernist values in late Victorian Canada and Edwardian Canada.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the members of the Supervisory Committee, especially Professor Ian McKay, for his advice, patience and untiring enthusiasm.

My very special thanks to my mother and father for their support, and to Jean for her friendship.

This thesis is dedicated to my family.

List of Illustrations in Sequence

Introduction

On January 22, 1944 a procession of thousands walked the streets of Montreal to pay final tribute to the poet, former military chaplain, and archdeacon, Frederick George Scott. Three days earlier he had died at the age of eighty-two. The casket, draped with the Union Jack flag Scott had displayed numerous times during his religious services on the Western front, was carried by hearse from Christ Church Cathedral in downtown Montreal to Mount Royal Cemetery, overlooking the St. Lawrence river. There, the Anglican Bishop of Montreal conducted the burial service before prominent veterans and government representatives, distinguished lawyers and judges, business leaders, and spokespersons from Bishop's and McGill universities. As Scott's body was laid to rest, a contingent from the Royal Montreal regiment fired the last salute.[1]

Newspapers and journals across the country reported the ceremony, for Scott was perhaps the most famous chaplain in Canadian military history and one of the country's most respected poets. Commissioned in the Canadian Chaplaincy Services at the age of fifty-three, he served in World War I, administering to the spiritual needs of fellow soldiers in England and France. His bravery and generosity in wartime won him the Distinguished Service Order and mentions in numerous dispatches. Although Scott's fame was attributed mostly to his military service, he was also known as an outspoken imperialist and a writer whose verses on nature had earned him the title "poet of the Laurentians."[2]

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[1] *Montreal Star*, January 24, 1944. Box 7 Folder 64, Frederick George Scott Papers (hereafter FGSP), McCord Museum of Canadian History, McGill University, Montreal. There is a discrepancy between the Scott Papers' index and the indexed items as they are stored. For the sake of clarity, I have listed them as they are stored.

[2] *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 119-123.

Funeral of F.G. Scott, Montreal, Quebec, January 1944.
(National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.)

Scott was born in Montreal on April 7, 1861. His father, Dr. William Scott, the son of an English-Canadian lieutenant, was a well-known physician whose dedicated treatment of influenza and cholera victims had won him the respect of Montreal's citizens. In 1852, Dr. Scott became professor of anatomy at McGill College, and he also served as President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Province of Quebec. Given this, it is a bit ironic that five of his nine children died from the "galloping consumption." Understandably, the Scott parents felt extremely close to their surviving children.[3]

Frederick George, like his three remaining siblings, was raised in the Low Church Anglicanism of his parents. He attended Montreal High School, and after having failed his courses at McGill University, went to Bishop's College where he received his Bachelor of Arts in 1881. A year later, with his parents' financial assistance, he studied theology at King's College, London. From then on, Anglo-Catholicism, a faith premised on the practice of the ancient, undivided Catholic Church, formed the very basis of Scott's worldview. Like other Anglo-Catholics, he reveled in the mystery of God and emphasized Christ's incarnation and sacrifice, as well as the doctrine of apostolic succession. When he returned to Canada in 1887 to serve as rector of St. George's, Drummondville, he quickly realized the marked differences between his faith and that of the majority of Canadian Anglicans. Scott was intensely scrutinized for introducing High Church rituals into his services at Drummondville; many of his parishioners associated ritualism and apostolic succession with Roman Catholicism. Instead of renouncing his "popish" tendencies, Scott articulated his faith more forcefully in his first volume of

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[3]Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 14-15.

poetry, *The Soul's Quest and Other Poems* (1888), and in his semi-autobiographical and religious novel, *Elton Hazlewood* (1892).

In 1896, Scott relocated to Quebec City with his wife, Amy Brooks, and his children, William, Henry, Mary, Elton, and Charles. While he served as rector of St. Matthew's, his wife, originally from Barnett, England, became the parish's President of the Women's Auxiliary as well as president and director of the city's Female Orphan Asylum. Both were more comfortable in their new setting, where Scott was no longer embroiled in disputes over church ritual. Family activities included picnics and camping trips along the St. Lawrence. The children respected their father and often felt compelled to meet his high parental expectations. Scott could also be very severe – spankings took place often in the household.[4] In broad terms, Scott was a Victorian parent, both generous and strict in temperament.

In 1906, the same year he became a Canon of the Holy Trinity, Scott published *A Hymn of Empire and Other Poems* and was appointed chaplain to the 8th Royal Rifles. His poetry, militia service, and his outspoken position on numerous public issues, such as Canadian involvement in the Anglo-Boer War and proposed reciprocity in 1911, reflected his ardent imperialism and Anglophilia. As a result of his war service, he was made a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was awarded the General Service Medal, the Victory Medal, the King George V Jubilee Medal, the King George VI Service Medal, and the Volunteer Officers' Decoration. He was also awarded the 1914-1919 Star.

In the post-war years Scott took a great interest in workers' and veterans' affairs. He attempted to help mediate the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, and in 1923 he

traveled to Sydney, Nova Scotia, where he stayed a week to evaluate the conditions of striking miners and steel workers employed by the British Steel Corporation. His broader social activities included speaking out for penal reform after the 1932 Kingston penitentiary riots and calling for increased national security when Japanese spies were allegedly working in fishing villages along the coast of British Columbia. After having completed his war memoirs, *The Great War As I Saw It*, published in 1922, he traveled throughout Canada and the United States as an invited speaker at Legion conventions and regimental reunions. Scott was a Christian statesman of much energy and many interests.

Despite his various activities and achievements, no extensive and detailed scholarly work on Scott has been done. Sandra Djwa has provided the most thorough analysis of his life, but only as it specifically pertains to his son, the poet and (radical socialist) constitutional lawyer, Francis Reginald Scott.[5] E.A. Pulker's article, "The Social Concern of Canon Scott," addresses the clergyman's social gospel between 1918 and 1932, beginning with the Winnipeg General Strike and ending with the Kingston penitentiary riots, but it is more descriptive than analytical.[6] Jonathan Vance's *Death So Noble* and Duff Crerar's *Padres in No Man's Land* contain cursory glances at Scott's views on war[7], and Jeanne Yardley's analysis of Scott's war memoirs is from a strictly literary perspective.[8] A few books on the Winnipeg General Strike have made passing references to the canon's involvement in the world of labour.[9] The following study attempts to provide a more detailed account of Scott's life by examining his theological

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[4] Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 27-30.
[5] Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*.
[6] Pulker, "The Social Concern of Canon Scott."
[7] Vance, *Death So Noble*; and Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*.
[8] Yardley, " 'The Bitterness and the Greatness'."
[9] See Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike*; and Norman Penner, *Winnipeg 1919*.

development and the ways in which his Anglo-Catholicism helped him come to terms with modernity in late Victorian and Edwardian Canada.

Scott lived at a time when many intellectuals on both sides of the Atlantic struggled with social and religious change. He was a Victorian thinker in the sense that he tried to develop a unified and seamless worldview, a 'high seriousness' that was aligned with an acute awareness of material progress and personal responsibility. Scott developed an Anglo-Catholic faith and an Anglo-Canadian imperial ideal, both of which gave him a certain moral balance when dealing with complex issues such as the secularization of the Protestant faith, concerns about the usefulness of armed conflict, changing codes of masculine conduct, and new forms of conciliation between strikers and employers. His religious and imperial convictions informed his response to changes in Canadian society and enabled him to celebrate the purposefulness of war, the virtues of chivalric manhood, and the inherent brotherhood between labour and capital.

T.J. Jackson Lears defines antimodernism as a psychological backlash and accommodation to the seeming "weightlessness" and "unreality" associated with the general and overwhelming forces of modernity. He contends that, in their search for authentic forms of experience, nineteenth-century American antimodernists idealized a premodern way of life, one associated with the principles of tradition and order, as well as with a vision of an intimate community.[10] Some historians, while acknowledging the originality of Lears's insights, have taken issue with the way in which he overstates antimodernism's impact and coherence in the United States from 1880 to 1920.[11] More specifically, Christopher Berkeley argues that Lears loses sight of the "dynamic

[10] Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

relationship" between the modern and antimodern within the minds of his subjects.[12] George Cotkin has been more nuanced than Lears in his characterization of American thinkers of the same period, dubbing them "reluctant modernists." They tried to "synthesize the traditions and ideals of Victorianism with the challenges and possibilities of modernist streams of thought," he maintains.[13] All differences notwithstanding, the scholars would agree that modernity brought with it many intellectual challenges.

The use of the terms "modernism" and "antimodernism" is problematic when exploring the complexity of Scott's identity as an Anglo-Catholic, military chaplain, and Christian Socialist. Nevertheless, his faith and social concern attest to his modernist need to conduct vigorous scholarship, as well as to purify the Church and emphasize its living presence in the lives of working people. Yet his antimodernist impulse to practice ritualism and to uphold the qualities associated with chivalry and the British Empire were equally strong. His life attests to the complex interplay between modern and antimodern values in the midst of a changing Canadian society.

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[11] Crockatt, "The Progressive Era and Its Discontents," 437-442; and Shi, "The Triumph of the Therapeutic," 705-712.
[12] Berkeley, review of *No Place of Grace*, 157-159.
[13] Cotkin, *Reluctant Modernism*, xi-xii.

Chapter 1
God and Evolution in F.G. Scott's Religious Thought

> The forces that have fashioned thee
> Have rolled through space since time began –
> Have ranged the heavens, the earth, the sea,
> And in God's time have made thee man.
>
> And so to further goal they move,
> When thou hast passed from mortal sight;
> To fashion beings that will prove
> More wondrous still, more full of light.
>
> (excerpt from "Evolution" by F.G. Scott, 1887.)[14]

In the nineteenth-century North Atlantic world, Darwin and geology had seemingly conspired to threaten the conventional Christian belief in a purposive and harmonious universe. More specifically, natural selection had challenged the Genesis accounts of creation and the Fall, thereby casting serious doubt upon the Christian conception of redemption. As John Dillenberger and Claude Welch contend, "there now seemed to be no room for the working of a beneficent purpose in nature or in history. For the eighteenth century, the worlds of nature and of humanity obeyed the same inexorable laws, prescribed by a just and all-wise God. Now the natural law and the moral law were no longer in perfect harmony, but in harsh contradiction."[15] Protestant clergymen in Canada were continually preoccupied with Darwinism's theological implications.

In her biography of Nathanael Burwash, Marguerite Van Die argues that the chancellor of the Methodist Victorian College from 1887 to 1913 had little difficulty in answering Darwin. He, like many earlier orthodox Protestants, questioned the hypothetical and speculative nature of natural selection, and instead embraced a "scientific theology" based on the inductive method first introduced by Francis Bacon.

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[14] Frederick George Scott, "Evolution", *The Soul's Quest*, 39.
[15] Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity Interpreted*, 180.

Burwash was confident that this methodology, when applied to science and biblical studies, would reveal the same unalterable truths.[16] Similarly, A.B. McKillop argues that in the late nineteenth century, Anglo-Canadian intellectuals turned to Christian Hegelianism. This outlook "was infused with an evolutionary, organic vision: the historical process was the progressive unfolding, in both society and the individual, of the spiritual principle toward rational and moral perfection – the Kingdom of God on Earth."[17]

These more nuanced appraisals offer a better context for Frederick George Scott's thought on evolution. He too would overcome the stress scientific inquiry and Darwinism had placed on his faith, and this was reflected throughout his pre-1900 correspondence, writings, and, in particular, his religious novel, *Elton Hazlewood*. Both Scott's adherence to Anglo-Catholic principles, as embodied in the works of John Henry Newman and other Oxford Movement colleagues, and his spiritualized conception of evolution, provided him with a reinvigorated theology, one that celebrated both God's work in nature and His involvement in the progressive evolution of the individual. By espousing evolutionary meliorism, a belief that evolution is an upward spiral toward perfection, Scott provided a religious parallel to the popular philosophy of Herbert Spencer and other Neo-Lamarckians. In his war memoirs, published in 1922, Scott saw God's creative influence in both personal and national terms; God enabled the personal salvation of the individual as well as Canada's growth from a dominated colony to an independent Christian nation. In Scott's view, World War I validated his own particularly hopeful reading of evolution.

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[16] Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*, 96-100.
[17] Reimer, "Religion and Culture in Nineteenth-Century English Canada," 197.

This chapter is concerned with three things: 1) the influences that Newman and evolution theorists had on Scott's religious outlook; 2) Scott's conception of evolution in his early religious novel, *Elton Hazlewood*; and 3) how Scott's war memoirs, *The Great War As I Saw It*, marked an extension of his earlier conception of evolutionary meliorism from the viewpoint of the individual to that of the Canadian nation.

I

In 1882, at the age of twenty-one, Scott left for England to study theology at King's College, London. Having never ventured out of Canada, he found his extended trip overseas exhilarating. In letters written shortly after his arrival in England, Scott expressed his love for the capital, for it was there he was able to explore both local and foreign artists' studios, go to concerts at Albert Hall, and attend church services at both Westminster Abbey and the Anglican high church of St. Paul's. He also lunched with a host of religious figures, including Ashton Oxenden, former bishop of Montreal, who in ill-health had retired to his native England five years earlier. Oxenden was a prolific writer whose works were popular among the poorer classes. His theological essay, "The Pathway of Safety," published in 1856, reached a circulation of three hundred and fifty thousand copies.[18] Scott also visited with Lennox Williams, who would later oversee him as Bishop of Quebec. And although Scott was enthusiastic about Williams's lectures, it

[18] *Dictionary of National Biography*, 9.

was perhaps his visit with the aged Cardinal Newman that left the biggest impression on his mind.[19]

Newman was the prominent theologian whose activities in the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement culminated in his rejection of Anglicanism and subsequent conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845. The movement is considered to have begun with John Keble's 1833 sermon, "National Apostasy," which addressed the group's fears that the newly-reformed British Parliament of 1833, with its large factions of Whigs, Benthamites, and Catholics, would threaten the Church's authority. The Parliament's decision to end in Ireland the obligatory payment of tithes to the Church, for example, had violated the movement's belief that the Church was superior to and independent of government.[20] While it was anti-liberal in the sense that it disagreed with the separation of church and state, the Oxford Movement also evolved into an influential protest against the nineteenth-century liberalization of Protestant theology.

Geological discoveries and evolutionary theory had challenged the orthodox Christian conception of redemption and had compelled clergymen to search for explanations that were satisfactory, yet not controversial, in the eyes of their respective parishioners. While evangelicals, whose faith rested on the word of God, had considerable difficulty in challenging these new impulses, liberal theologians instead moulded scientific and biblical criticism into a revisionist Protestant outlook. Liberal theology would emphasize God's immanence over His transcendence, highlight human

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[19] See "Letters from F.G. Scott from Sheffield and King's College, London," Box 13 Folders 5 and 6, FGSP; "Letters of F.G. Scott to His Family May-July 1883," Box 13 Folder 7, FGSP.
[20] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, 208-219; Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement*; and Clutterbuck, *Marginal Catholics*.

dignity over degradation, and place the Kingdom of God in the future, not the past.[21] Conversely, Newman and his colleagues were informed by a Romantic tradition that celebrated the poetry in life and the mysticism in nature. To them, liberal theology was the "halfway house of atheism", for it had replaced "the prosaic for the mysterious, the impersonal for the personal, and the material for the impalpable." By espousing Catholic doctrines, Newman sought to infuse Protestantism with the spirituality it had allegedly lost. In his history of Christianity, embodied in *Tract 90* (1841), he nullified the Protestant Reformation and claimed that Anglicanism was actually "the Catholic Church in England." The Church of England was esteemed as being directly descended from St. Peter, thereby upholding the doctrine of apostolic succession and the Church as the prescribed mediator between the devout Christian and God. The Holy Communion would once again be highlighted and its mystery emphasized.[22]

Ritualism was an important component of the Oxford Movement, and as Richard D. Altick writes, the movement's "compelling antiquarianism," along with a revival of Gothic architecture in the 1830s, culminated in the fifties crusade "to restore poetry and art into religious worship."[23] But the ritualism of the Oxford Movement and those it influenced was accompanied by accusations of treason against its practitioners. Low Churchmen who saw it as a "steady, desperate, underhand attempt to carry England back to Rome," ensured that for decades Ritualists, whether they used altar candles or burned incense during church services, remained controversial.[24] Ritualism occasioned numerous lawsuits and riots in England as well. The slum priest and Ritualist Alexander Heriot

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[21] See Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, ch. 6; and Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, chs. 1 and 2.
[22] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, 208-219.
[23] Ibid., 216.
[24] Munson, "The Oxford Movement by the End of the Nineteenth Century," 382-395.

Mackonochie, for example, was censured by the influential Church Association and prosecuted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council for having committed the following: elevating the Sacrament, kneeling during the Prayer of Consecration, using incense, and placing candles on the altar. In 1882 he was forced to resign his position as vicar at St. Alban's, Holborn.[25]

Although Scott himself never converted to Roman Catholicism, he was influenced by Newman, and upon Scott's return to Canada he recalled that the Cardinal's eyes looked off into the distance to "some wide plain...where the shining battlements of the New Jerusalem, the City of God, were growing hourly clearer through the mist."[26] Scott would also write a eulogy for Mackonochie, venerating "The patient hero [who] wins the race/ Alone in God's great dwelling-place."[27] Anglo-Catholicism provided Scott with the mystery and ritualism his low church Anglican upbringing had lacked. His Anglican co-religionists in Canada, still recoiling against the Oxford Movement's legacy, were often outraged.

In Canada, where the schism between the High and Low Church did not result in the kind of violence that took place in Britain, indigenous circumstances still made the divide at times irreconcilable. By the mid-nineteenth century, anti-Catholic sentiment in Canada was precipitated by the granting of Catholic emancipation, the resurgence of Roman Catholic ultramontanism, and the arrival of thousands of destitute Irish Catholics.[28] Most English Canadians living in Quebec would years later still share these sentiments. Writing in 1887, Scott's brother Frank, who was still influenced by the Low

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[25] Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain*, 17-19.
[26] Cited in Djwa, *The Politics of the Imagination*, 17.
[27] Scott, "In Memoriam (A.H. Mackonochie)", *The Soul's Quest*, 60-61.
[28] Murphy, *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, 176-177.

Church Anglicanism of his parents, called confession a "repulsive subject" and turned to the past to legitimate his anti-Catholicism:

> A cursory glance through the pages of history should convince anyone that wherever the Roman Catholic Church has flourished it has invariably been the harbinger of ill to the nation adopting it. Take Italy, Spain, France, Austria, England – what were these countries after they had been under the sway of the Pope for some time? – Rotten every one of them.[29]

The Anglo-Catholic inclinations Scott had acquired in England did not settle well with Frank, nor did they with Frederick's superiors when he returned to Canada in July of 1883.

Scott's difficulties in Quebec were almost immediate. A week before Christmas Bishop Bond of Montreal found his theology "crude and contradictory" and thus refused to ordain him.[30] Bond was referring to Scott's answer on his ordination exam regarding his position with respect to the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion. Although Scott's answer began with, "I repudiate the conception of Christ's natural Body & Blood in the Blessed Sacrament as they are in Heaven," the second half of his response was less certain:

> I believe that, as the first God breathed upon clay and it never became a living soul, by virtue of the words of Consecration, or rather by the operation of God the Holy Ghost, the elements have a new and heavenly part added with them, so that the Body & Blood of Christ are really present in a heavenly manner under the form of bread and wine though the substance of both these doth remain.[31]

The ambiguity of Scott's response was in keeping with the Anglo-Catholic view of the Eucharist -- a doctrine that "stresses the importance of Christ, but

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[29] Letter, Frank Scott to F.G. Scott, April 6, 1887, Box 14 Folder 25, FGSP.
[30] Letter, William Bond to F.G. Scott, Dec. 18, 1883, Box 1 Folder 5, FGSP.
[31] "Exam Answers," Sept. 1883, Box 1 File 5, FGSP.

which admits neither the transubstantiation of Roman theology nor of the consubstantiation of Luther."[32]

Scott's Anglo-Catholic conception of the Holy Eucharist sometimes prevented him from readily securing clerical appointments. Although he became a deacon in 1884, the following year he had considerable difficulty becoming a priest. On two occasions he went outside of Bond's diocese to request his ordination from Bishop J.W. Williams of Quebec. Williams flatly rejected his appeals, claiming that to do so would be an "unwarrantable intrusion."[33] Dejected, Scott went back to England and took up residence at the Anglo-Catholic parish of Coggeshall in Essex. In March 1886, he signed a declaration of assent necessary to perform the office of curate in St. Alban's,[34] the same diocese where Mackonochie had been vicar only years before. During his several-month stay in Essex, Scott resolved to hold true to his beliefs; he wrote to his aunt telling her he was thankful that Bond had refused to ordain him, since the extra time in England had made him see things in a "stronger Catholic light." He would never compromise.[35]

In January 1887, to the delight of his family and fiancée, Scott secured the position of rector at Drummondville, Quebec. However, within two months of his arrival, critics within his parish wanted him censured for a sermon he had delivered that highlighted the Anglo-Catholic position of the elements in the Holy Eucharist. In response to their formal complaint, Bishop Williams admitted certain excesses in Scott's ritual; Scott "goes beyond the church's teaching when he defines the locality of that presence [of Christ in the sacrament]," and, although the use of wafers was not forbidden

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[32] Hylson-Smith, *High Churchmanship in the Church of England*, 36.
[33] Letters, J.W. Williams, Bishop of Quebec, to F.G. Scott, May 6, 1885 and Oct. 24, 1885, Box 13 File 10, FGSP.
[34] "Diocese of Saint Alban's – Declaration of Assent by a Stipendary Curate," Box 1 Folder 5, FGSP.

in the church, "its introduction to the disturbance of the feelings...of the communicants is much to be deprecated." Williams admitted Scott had not violated any definite law of the church, but he did warn, "I know personal bearing cannot be scrutinized and prescribed in all points, but when his gesture pops out of personal demeanor and into public ceremony it becomes of public concern and he has no right to introduce into the service a ceremony he does not find in the book." Frank once again sided with the Anglican Church against his brother, concluding that if Catholic rites had been preached by Frederick, he sympathized with the people. [36]

Scott's feuds over Ritualism did not end in 1887. Four years later, when Reverend Louis Wurtele was invited to Drummondville, he removed the cross from the Holy Table shortly before one of Scott's services and defended his actions by citing the Privy Council's decision that made the placement of the cross on the table an illegal act.[37] Scott responded directly, calling Wurtele's conduct "weak and underhanded." "Mine is a higher law than even Privy Council Decisions," he declared.[38] Within weeks, the Bishop of Quebec advised Scott to be "content with a good Church line" and to avoid such things as the cassock, wafer bread, Eucharistic vestments, and the sign of the cross.[39] Once again, Scott responded unashamedly: "To be asked to make a sudden and stated change of front at the end of a nine year ministry is enough to break down many a stronger man than myself." He argued that rituals were "by no means trifles or non-essentials when they are objected to as symbols, and solely as such, doctrines held by the Catholic Church of England." He concluded, "I must therefore entreat your Lordship as a kind friend and

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[35] Letter, F.G. Scott to Tilly Preddy, March 22, 1886, Box 13 File 10, FGSP.
[36] Letter, Bishop J.W. Williams to F.G. Scott, April 14, 1887, Box 14 File 25, FGSP.
[37] Letter, Rev. Louis Wurfele to F.G. Scott, Feb. 24, 1891, Box 14 File 27, FGSP.
[38] Draft letter, F.G. Scott to Louis Wurfele, Feb. 24, 1891, Box 14 File 27, FGSP.

father in God, to believe that I am actually acting conscientiously if I tell you that I will follow your counsel rather in spirit than in the exact letter."[40]

To the dismay of his parishioners and fellow clergymen, Scott saw himself as Protestant and undeniably Catholic at the same time. Like other Anglo-Catholics, he considered himself "Protestant in respect to continual *re*-formation and Catholic in the sense of the tradition and continuity of the church."[41] As his friend, Harry Petry, succinctly put it, people would one day see him, not as a "Protestant Minister, but a faithful loyal Catholic Priest of the Anglican Branch of the Church of Christ."[42] Scott's Anglo-Catholic conception of Holy Communion formed the very basis of his theology, for the ceremony itself reconciled his distress over the secularization of Protestantism by liberal theology and scientific inquiry. Transubstantiation not only infused Scott's faith with the spirituality low church Anglicanism seemed to lack, but the rite of Holy Communion itself represented to him, both metaphorically and literally, the state at which religion and science had become one.

While in London in 1883, Scott jotted down a simple poem on Charles Darwin, entitled "On Darwin's Tomb in Westminster Abbey": "The Muse, when asked what words alone/were worthy tribute to his fame,/Took up her pen, and on the stone,/Inscribed his name."[43] Although the verse does little to explain Darwin's influence on him, it nonetheless reveals that Scott acknowledged his grandeur. The clergyman could not dismiss the biologist, yet, as he would later suggest, Darwin's theory of natural selection seemed too cold and mechanical. It lacked a spiritual dimension.

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[39] Letter, Bishop Dunn to F.G. Scott, March 22, 1893, Box 14 File 27, FGSP.
[40] Draft letter, F.G. Scott to Bishop Dunn, Psalm Sunday, 1893, Box 14 File 27, FGSP.
[41] Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity Interpreted*, 71.
[42] Letter, Harry Petry to F.G. Scott, April 13, 1887, Box 14 File 25, FGSP.

In 1894, after continual disputes with the bishop of Quebec, whether it be J.W. Williams or his successors, Andrew Hunter Dunn or Lennox Williams, Scott sat down with pencil and paper and worked out an algebraic expression of the Holy Eucharist in the scheme of evolution (see Appendix for copy of letter in full). Confiding in someone learned in the subject and beyond the intellectual confines of the Church of England, Scott hypothesized that "nature has been a continued evolution of the quality and powers of the life force of organisms, going on side by side with the development of their physical parts." He theorized that evolution of the "primal cell" coincided with "an advance and equivalent evolution of the spiritual and vital part." And while people have souls, whereas animals merely have a capacity for thinking, the "sub-conscious and animal 'lifes'" still within us explain our affinity to the natural world. The ramifications of such a proposition in regard to the Holy Eucharist were significant:

> The completion of the series $Y + Y^{2}$ etc. etc. could only be matched by the man Christ Jesus, in whom the will was made perfect through suffering. In the Eucharist therefore where his bodily life at the summit of bodily evolution and his soul life at the summit of the soul's evolution are given to us we have the final cause of His incarnation and our Lord becomes literally the second Adam, our heavenly father from whom we derive that heavenly quality of life which can be raised up at the last day.
>
> I hope you will pardon the intrusion of this letter from the hands of a heretic, but as I say, I do not know of any men to whom I could submit it with such confidence asking these two questions, are my theorizings true? And are they new? And if they are neither or if the subject were crudely hinted at [or] has been worked out by others I shall be glad to be got on the right track by you.[44]

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[43] Scott, "On Darwin's Tomb in Westminster Abbey," *Soul's Quest*, 97.
[44] Letter, F.G. Scott to name uncertain (St. George Nivart, Esq.?), Jan. 16, 1894, Box 13 Folder 14, FGSP.

To Scott, human evolution appeared to be progressive in both spiritual and physical terms, and implicit in this was the belief that, in time, matter aspires to spirit. The Incarnation of Christ two thousand years prior was seen as the high point in this process.

It seems surprising that Scott would ask his correspondent whether he knew of anyone who held similar views, for fundamental aspects of his supposition were remarkably similar to the evolutionary thought of French biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck. In the Victorian age of doubt the currency of Lamarck's ideas grew, for his evolutionary theory appeared less theologically threatening than that of Darwin. Natural selection could imply that God no longer existed, or was even needed, whereas with a few revisions, Lamarck's theory could be reconciled, more easily, with the belief in God's perfecting force in nature.

Like Scott, Lamarck believed that evolution was governed by a "natural drive towards perfection." However, while Lamarck's God had created nature, for all intents and purposes, He was far removed from it. The biologist had relegated God to the margins. Those American naturalists of the 1860s who dubbed themselves "neo-Lamarckians" placed God back at the center of the evolutionary process. L.J. Jordanova writes that neo-Lamarckians "saw purpose in the universe as evidence of divine presence." She elaborates:

> Lamarck's idea of an inherent tendency within living things to progress and respond actively to their surroundings allowed them [neo-Lamarckians] to formulate a compromise between evolutionism and theology by avoiding natural selection with its implications of accident and chance and stressing instead the immanent spirituality of the universe.[45]

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[45] Jordanova, *Lamarck*, 109.

It may be that Scott, being an Anglophile of the late-nineteenth century, was exposed to neo-Lamarckian ideas via Herbert Spencer. Although the clergyman may have disagreed with Spencer's renunciation of Christianity, the "philosopher of his age" provided a reasonable explanation of the evolutionary process: natural competition in nature and society results in progress and the "indefinite perfectibility of men through Reason."[46]

It should not seem strange that Scott simultaneously harboured ideas derived from both the Oxford Movement and the Neo-Lamarckians. Both seemed to satisfy in different ways his sense of religious unease by "respiritualizing" the world. Whereas Newman sought to restore the mystery back into a quickly secularizing Anglicanism, Neo-Lamarckians expanded on their mentor's evolutionary theory to show a divine force at work in the natural world.

II

Scott's religious novel, *Elton Hazlewood*, was a published expression of his accommodation to these scientific and religious impulses. In it, he would espouse a form of evolutionary meliorism that found expression in human development. This romantic outlook informed his early religious novel.

Published in 1891, *Elton Hazlewood* was a fictional biography of Elton Hazlewood, as told by his boyhood friend, Rector Henry Vane. In it, Elton appears to be the perfect man – intelligent, athletic, handsome, polite, and "with a glory not of earth." Following a brilliant academic career at Oxford, he decides against entering the ministry, and instead becomes an actor. His subsequent doubts about God's existence are attributed

[46] Wiltshire, *The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer*, 70.

to the influence of his "evil friend" Byrne, who later flees England with Elton's wife. Elton plunges even further into despair after the death of his boy, only to re-emerge having found God before he nobly drowns saving the life of his enemy.

Although the book received numerous reviews in North America, most of them either damned it with faint praise or criticized it for its awkward style and the almost hagiographic way in which Scott describes the novel's protagonist. F.W. Firth of Bishop's College School argued that Scott's infatuation with his hero prevented readers from discovering Elton's good qualities for themselves: instead, they are made "bored by enthusiasm for virtues in a man whom they do not know very well."[47] The *Atheneum* contended that the story line is "trite" and the protagonist "amazingly dull": "He writes portentously long and foolish letters, talks stagily, and largely perhaps owing to the excessive admiration of his biographer, appears to be a dreadful prig."[48] The sales of the book were not too pleasing either. Scott's New York publishers complained that they had given away just as many copies as they had sold; "it seems almost impossible to infuse life into it," they lamented.[49] Despite the book's failure, *Hazlewood* provides considerable insight into Scott's thoughts on evolution before World War I.

Many Victorian thinkers who had been influenced by Romanticism accepted the concept of evolution quite readily, though they had reservations about Darwin's theory of natural selection.[50] Alfred Tennyson, for example, put forth his belief in evolutionary meliorism in his poem, "In Memoriam," a eulogy to his friend and Oxford scientist, A.H.

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[47] Book review, appearing in the *Week* (date unknown), enclosed in letter, F.W Firth to F.G. Scott, Dec. 20, 1891, Box 15 File 36, FGSP.
[48] Review appearing in *Atheneum*, June 15, 1893, Box 15 File 36, FGSP.
[49] *The Week* (undated), *Public Opinion* (Washington, Jan. 21, 1892), *Independent* (New York, Dec. 24, 1891), and *Evening Telegram* (New York, undated); Box 9 File 86 FGSP; Letter, Thomas Whitaker Publishers, NY to F.G. Scott, Oct. 13, 1894, Box 15 File 36, FGSP.
[50] See Berger, *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada*, ch. 3.

Hallam. Although nature was "red in tooth and claw," it still revealed a form of divinely guided progress: "Move upward, working out the beast/ And let the ape and tiger die."[51] In Canada, concerns about evolution in nature were expressed by Charles G.D. Roberts, Archibald Lampman, and Wilfred Campbell.[52] Scott was influenced by these poets, of whom Roberts, Lampman, and Campbell were his friends. In *Elton Hazlewood*, Scott expressed his thoughts on God, nature, and evolution most explicitly in the character of Elton.

Vane describes Elton in his childhood as good-looking, "full of life," a leader among boys, and "the living embodiment of the spirit of poesy and ideality." His only weakness was that "his nature appeared incapable of permanent progression in one line." Scott implied that there was no "vital force" (to borrow the term he would later use)[53] driving his character's evolution. Understandably, this lack of drive led years later to Elton's degeneration at the hands of Byrne, whom Scott described as "a man created without a soul. He had the highest human bodily development, he had very high mental powers, but he was only a beautiful animal, he was not a man." Elton would later confess to Vane that he had fallen from his ideal, and instead of striving to "live like a Christian knight", he would instead try to "restrain the animal in himself." Elton then becomes a renowned actor and moves to London where he lives among "rich lamps", "life-size statues", and "oriental rugs and draperies." The overcivilization of urban life makes him

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[51] Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, 36-37, 51-52, 68-69. Interestingly, Scott would quote Tennyson in *Elton Hazlewood*, 115.
[52] See Wilfred Campbell, *At the Mermaid Inn*, Intro.
[53] Letter, F.G. Scott to name uncertain (St. George Nivart, Esq.?), Jan. 16, 1894, Box 13 Folder 14, FGSP. See Appendix for letter in full.

even more aware of the spiritual void consuming him.[54] Elton's moral decay is part of Scott's antimodernist critique of urban living.[55]

After his wife leaves him, Elton is drawn to the sea, for he sees it as "the emotional part of physical nature, or the world's soul" where God seems to speak in the mysterious and beautiful "sea-language." He struggles with the pressures that science has placed on his already weak religious beliefs: "How many a grand sunset has been spoilt to me by my realizing in moments of the most rapt, spiritual exaltation, that the glories which were to me the dames and ramparts of heaven, were but the mechanical action upon the retina of rays of light refracted by the aqueous vapours in the air. Yet I can't believe this is all."[56] Elton's thoughts are very similar to those put forward by Scott in his letter regarding evolution and the Eucharist, albeit expressed in a more artistic manner. Interestingly, however, Scott takes Elton's *own* life as an example of evolutionary progress. It is only after Elton undergoes a journey of spiritual growth that he is able to become more than his physical parts.

Throughout the novel there are indications that Elton is aware of God's remote presence in the universe, but it is only shortly before he puts his entire faith in God that he sees the Lord's perfecting role in the evolution of humankind:

> Man is daily becoming more man, more spiritual. It is the work of God, and the revelation of God's Son has helped it on. Some think that evolution contradicts the doctrine of design in nature; I cannot see it. I would illustrate the gradual accomplishment of God's purposes in nature by the course of a stream down the face of a hill. The water does not flow directly to its goal in the valley below...No, it runs here and there into little crevices in the earth...until in time the end of its course is attained...What hope this gives us for ourselves, for the whole race! How it keeps us in

[54] Scott, *Hazlewood*, 7,8,13,18,19,38,50.
[55] See Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 61.
[56] Scott, *Hazlewood*, 76-77.

> time with the forward march of thought! And when we have this hope, we can work quietly and contently and suffer patiently under the dispensations of God. Yes, we are not a worn-out race, battering vainly with stunted strength against the bars which inexorable law has set round man's domain, but a race still in childhood, still pressing on to the unknown and the ideal, to the fulfillment of our hopes, the attainment of our highest aspirations.[57]

The fact that Elton becomes "more man" only when he puts his faith in God is significant, for it indicates that the divine and progressive evolutionary force within humans is not to be taken for granted. Elton's heroic death is similar to Scott's conception of Christ's Incarnation, for both represent the summit of their physical and spiritual evolution. As for Byrne, his atheism merely confirmed that he lacked God's vital force, thus making him incomplete, degenerate, and merely a "beautiful animal."

Scott's correspondence and *Elton Hazlewood* provide essential understanding of the nature and stability of his religious thought before World War I. Between 1882 and 1894 Scott had weathered formidable ideological storms over church ritual within his own parish, and over the ways in which science and evolutionary theory should be reconciled with religion. In the midst of much opposition he had formulated a relatively unified theological outlook; and, contrary to what David Marshall describes of the nineteenth century, that is, the "accommodation of the clergy and churches to a society growing more secular,"[58] Scott's revisionist outlook was *more* spiritual in content. Confronted with the new science, it seems that instead of secularizing his Anglican faith, Scott sought to spiritualize evolutionary theory. His beliefs in transubstantiation and in a divinely guided evolutionary progressivism were highly complementary, for Christ's presence in the elements was seen as the apex of his spiritual and physical evolution.

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[57] Ibid., 105-106.

Because Scott's character Elton had given himself to God, he ensured his very own spiritual-evolutionary progress.

III

Scott's World War I memoirs would prove to be an extension of this outlook. In late July 1914, after having read a call for service in case of an armed conflict in Europe, Scott turned to his friend beside him and bluntly said, "That means I have to go to war."[59] A few days later he informed his parishioners, who were stunned at the news. After all, the man was fifty-three years old. The closest Scott had come to battle was serving as chaplain for the Eighth Royal Rifles during peace time, writing war poetry (one poem was a tribute to those killed in the 1885 Northwest rebellion), and delivering a sermon to the Canadian men who fought in the Anglo-Boer War. Before its departure for South Africa, Scott told the contingent, "You will show to the world that in the heart of Canada there beats still that life blood which built up Old England and New England, and will now, with God's help, build up Canada."[60] Not once in his sermon did Scott mention the words "South Africa" or "war", and despite his inexperience with battle, fifteen years later in the summer of 1914, he felt that "some mysterious power was dragging" him into it.[61]

After having spent two months at Valcartier, Scott embarked on the Cunard liner *Andania* and left for England. In recalling the voyage along the St. Lawrence and Gaspe

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[58] Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 4.
[59] Scott, *Great War*, 15.
[60] *Quebec Chronicle*, 1901 (otherwise undated), Box 9 File 92, FGSP.
[61] Scott, *Great War*, 15.

Basin, he wrote that "the green arms of the hills encompassed us, as though Canada were reluctant to let us go."[62] Despite having been assigned a post in an English hospital, he managed to sneak himself on board *The City of Chester*, a small vessel headed for France. Scott would spend three years in that country and witness some of its biggest battles – the second battle of Ypres, the Somme, Vimy, and Amiens. When he was wounded in both legs at the crossing of the Canal du Nord in September 1918, thereby ending his military service in France, he lamented, "I knew that the great adventure of my life among the most glorious men that the world has ever produced was over."[63]

Evidently, for Scott, World War I proved to be a rewarding experience. He had gained so much respect from soldiers and officers alike, that in recommending his promotion to the rank of full Colonel in 1919, Major General A.C. McDonnell commented: "He is a unique character, full of kindness, and of the most undaunted courage: his influence throughout the Division has been a power for good. He is respected and loved by all ranks. Always in the thick of Battle, he did an invaluable amount of good amongst the wounded and dying."[64]

It was with war experiences still fresh in his mind, that Scott sat down to write his memoirs in the spring of 1920. Perhaps because of his new-found fame, or simply because of the book's popular subject, *The Great War As I Saw It* fared much better than *Elton Hazlewood.* First published in 1922, *The Great War* was serialized in several newspapers across the country and went on to a second edition. He received a written congratulations from the premier of Quebec, and in 1944 a first-edition copy was

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[62] Scott, *Great War*, 26.
[63] Scott, *Great War*,317.
[64] "Confidential Report on Officers," Signed A.C. MacDonnell, Major General, Jan. 19, 1919, Box 1 Folder 7, FGSP.

ceremoniously given to the Public Archives of Canada, its pages filled with some 3000 veterans' signatures.[65]

Despite the thirty-one years that separated their publication dates, and notwithstanding their difference in topic and in literary genre, there appears a remarkable consonance between Scott's two major works. Both *Hazlewood* and *The Great War* converge in their emphasis on humankind's relationship to nature and in their general understanding of evolution, whether expressed explicitly or implicitly. *Hazlewood* is a fictional biography that highlights God's infinite plan in the upward evolution of the individual. Elton's development from an agnostic to a devout Christian who dies saving his enemy highlighted Scott's belief in personal honour and self-sacrifice. Scott portrayed Elton's death in terms that recalled Christ's Incarnation – it was the point at which physical and spiritual evolution had reached their summit. Nowhere in his war memoirs does Scott use the word "evolution", yet his portrayal of the Canadian soldier, like his previous depiction of Elton, was undeniably cast in evolutionary terms. The Canadian in the trenches was divinely called to sacrifice, and his transition from civilian to military life was an instance of evolutionary meliorism as Scott saw it. Scott, interestingly, would also extend this concept of progress to that of the Canadian nation. World War I and Canadian history would be framed in terms of Canada's divinely-guided evolution from a dependent colony to a powerful nation. With God on its side, Canada would one day be a force in its own right, able to act as grand mediator between England and the United

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[65] Letter, Premier of Quebec to F.G. Scott, July 6, 1922, Box 9 File 89, FGSP; *Chronicle-Telegraph*, Feb. 2, 1944, Box 9 File 89, FGSP.

States.[66] No more than evolutionary theory did war shatter Scott's Christian faith. It invigorated it in new and bold ways.

In *The Great War*, Scott writes of his encounter with a wounded German soldier:

> I never saw anyone more brave. He was a beautifully developed man, with a very white skin, and on the blanket looked like a marble statue, marked here and there by red, bleeding wounds...I knelt down beside him and started the Lord's Prayer in German...I gave him the benediction and made the sign of the cross on his forehead, for the sign of the cross belongs to the universal language of men. Then the dying, friendless enemy, who had made expiation in his blood for the sins of his guilty nation, drew his hand from under the blanket and taking mine, said, "Thank you." They carried him off to an ambulance, but I was told he would probably die long before he got to his destination.[67]

Scott's description encapsulated much of what he thought about the individual in war. Although in many instances he described German soldiers in terms of degeneration,[68] this exemplary soldier shared more similarities with the Canadian servicemen.

Canadian soldiers' physical beauty and what he thought to be their genuine faith in God made them the human embodiment of perfection – the most highly evolved of people. Like Scott's Elton Hazlewood, the soldiers were "more man", for a "new and mysterious light...born of heaven...cast a glory" upon them.[69] In looking at Hill 63, he explicitly equates the soldier's sacrifice to that of Christ:

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[66] In 1938, Scott wrote of Canada's role in British-American relations: "Alas, neither the United States nor Canada can ever prevent being drawn into a war....For the sake of civilization, then; for the sake of all that may be included in the word 'humane,' let Britain and the United States draw closer and closer together with Canada between them to be interpreter of their policies and the solvent of their misunderstandings." *Greenwich Time*, June 30, 1938, Box 9 File 95, FGSP.

[67] Scott, *Great War*, 142.

[68] Scott often thought of German soldiers as nothing more than "well-trained brutes." After hearing a General say that he would press a button to blow up Germany, Scott remarked "I spent nearly four years at the front hunting for that button." On another occasion, he went as far as to write that on more than one or two occasions , "have I longed to be a combatant with enemy scalps to my credit." (Scott, *Great War*, 189, 40, 64). Scott's comments reflected the extent to which Protestant churches embraced an extreme militarism in this period. See Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I."

[69] Scott, *Great War*, 299.

> With wet rubber sheets hanging over their huge packs and with rifles on their shoulders, the men marched up through the mud and cold and darkness, to face wounds and death. At such times, the sordid life has been transfigured before me. The hill was no longer Hill 63, but the hill of Calvary. The burden laid upon the men was no longer the heavy soldier's pack, but it was the cross of Christ, and, as the weary tramp of the men splashed in the mud, I said to myself, "Each one has fuifilled the law of life, and has taken up his cross and is following Christ.[70]

Soldiers' actions in war were not futile nor were their deaths a sign of God's malevolence; they were instead defenders of humanity whose deaths in battle were the "supreme sacrifice." He, like many returned soldiers, recalled the romance of war.[71]

If anything was to shatter Scott's conception of the soldier's place in war, it might have been the death of his own son Harry at the Battle of the Somme. After receiving the news, however, Scott recalls looking "far off into the murky distance where I saw long ridges of brown land, now wet with drizzling rain, and thought how gloriously consecrated the soil, and how worthy to be the last resting place of those who had died for their country."[72] He forwarded the news to his family shortly afterwards, stating in the telegram, "Harry died nobly leading his Company in attack. He did not suffer. Hope to get his body later. May God give you courage and strength. We must keep on unflinchingly to the end."[73] Scott's initial reaction to the news and his message to the family indicate the religious and national meaning he placed upon Harry's death. Afterwards, Scott wrote to another one of his sons, Elton (named after Scott's fictional character), who had recently enlisted: "Fancy being the father of two boys who have shed

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[70] Scott, *Great War*, 117.
[71] See Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*.
[72] Scott, *Great War*, 148.
[73] Cited in Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 36.

their blood for the Empire [another son, William, had been shot by a German sniper] and of another who is coming to the front. You are all so noble."[74]

Scott's construction of the Canadian soldier was full of meaning. Like the wounded German Scott describes, the combatant was the perfect man whose spiritual and physical development had made him the human embodiment of Christ. But Scott's Canadian soldier was also the embodiment of Canada, for he writes at the outset of war, "It seemed as if Canada herself were steaming across the ocean."[75] It only made sense that the most evolved Canadians who themselves embodied Canada's progress, would go to war on behalf of God and nation to ensure Canada's further upward evolution! The Canadian soldier, the Canadian nation, and God seemed to manifest themselves in one another.

Two weeks before Scott left Valcartier for England, he preached to an estimated fifteen thousand men in perhaps the "most remarkable church parade in the history of the division." Noting the presence of the Duchess of Connaught, Princess Patricia, and Robert Borden, and marveling at the ways the "autumn tints coloured the maple trees on the sides of the ancient mountains," Scott also expressed his satisfaction with the progress Canada had made since the turn of the century:

> At that time the war [Anglo-Boer War] was with a small half-civilized nation in Africa, now the war was with the foremost nations of Europe...I looked at the everlasting mountains around us, where the sound of our worship died away, and thought how they had watched and waited for this day to come, and how, in the ages that were to dawn on Canadian life and expansion, they would stand as monuments of the consecration of Canada to the service of mankind.[76]

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[74] Cited in Ibid., 38.
[75] Scott, *Great War*, 26.
[76] Ibid., 22-23.

To Scott, Canada's progress in history was inevitable, the product of God's will and the hard work of Canadians. He, like many late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imperialists, saw society as "an organism with roots stretching back into history" and felt that "to disturb those subtle and delicate strands of continuity was itself an unholy thing leading to disastrous consequences."[77] Like them, Scott constructed a Canadian heritage that accommodated and validated his religious and nationalist sentiments,[78] and his representation of the Great War was of a piece with this tradition.

In *The Great War*, Scott wrote that he was the only one at the front who remembered Canada's first Dominion Day on July 1, 1867. For the senior chaplain 1867 and 1914 were significant dates in the country's history, for "Canada had traveled a long distance on the path of nationhood since that far-off time, and now, after fifty years, I had the satisfaction of being with the great Canadian Army Corps on European soil, engaged in the biggest war of history." He went on to note that the "splendid body before me gave promise of Canada's progress and national glory in the future." With God on her side, Canada would emerge more powerful than she had ever been.[79]

Scott truly believed God guided the Canadian soldiers and their nation. He justified the war as a religious crusade: "Boys, unless the devil has got into heaven we are

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[77] Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 92.

[78] In 1908, when the suspected remains of twenty to thirty of Wolfe's men were found near the former site of the Ursuline convent in Montreal, Scott infused the timing and place of the discovery with nationalist and historical meaning. He suggested that the remains be buried on the plains of Abraham, highlighting "the part played by the common soldier in the working out of our country's destiny. A tender and beautiful touch too is given to the present occasion by the fact that the poor fellows who died...were kindly nursed in their last moments by the French-Canadian sisters, and were allowed a last resting place in the peaceful convent garden." (*Chronicle*, June 12, 1908, Box 9 File 95, FGSP.) When he led the charge against reciprocity in 1911, Scott argued that to implement the agreement would be against the will of God who had given the northern country to French and English to build; "Our Stewardship is Not for Sale", was his motto. (*Montreal Star*, Oct. 1911, Box 9 File 95, FGSP.) Scott's interest in the remains found at Montreal and his stand against reciprocity on religious grounds exemplified the ways in which the past revealed the nation's march of progress.

[79] Scott, *Great War*, 189-190.

going to win...Right is after all only another name for the will of God."[80] In doing so, he celebrated the beautiful destruction of war in almost child-like ways. While taking part in an air raid over German lines, the senior chaplain exclaimed, "Splendid!"; during an Allied assault against German lines, he shouted out, "Glory to God for this barrage!;" and, on yet another occasion, he reflected, "Of all the music I have ever heard in my life, none comes near the glorious organ sound of a barrage."[81] While war had made many soldiers and civilians doubt the existence of God, it only strengthened Scott's faith in Him. What would hopefully emerge after an Allied victory was the Kingdom of God on earth.

Jeanne Yardley has argued that Scott's war memoirs represent a kind of transitional piece between two styles of war literature; its "conventional romance language and structures" are similar to those of the literature of the trenches written during and shortly after the war, yet its unconscious use of irony also makes it comparable to the much more critical war literature that was increasingly produced in the 1920s and after.[82] She writes that

> this experience of the irony of events is simply horrible, such as his [Scott's] finding something red on the ground, 'a piece of a man's lung with the windpipe attached' (157); at others it is almost indecently unfair: he congratulates a slightly wounded officer, who would now be able to return in good conscience to his new wife, only seconds before the man and his stretcher-bearers are killed by a shell (295).[83]

The presence of irony in Scott's prose cannot be denied. Yet it seemingly co-existed with

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[80] Scott, *Great War*, 70.
[81] Scott, *Great War*,263, 277, 110.
[82] Yardley, " 'The Bitterness and the Greatness.'"
[83] Ibid., 95-96.

a strengthened faith. Scott's post-war speeches clearly indicate that the war had not shaken his religious beliefs. In a 1922 address to an audience comprised of mostly veterans, he highlighted the continuing need for Canada's young men to uphold the virtues of sacrifice to the nation and service to one another:

> At the root of Canadian nationalism should be the splendid ideal of human service, of the brotherhood of man. We must uphold this ideal. We must set it before others. We must exemplify it in our own lives. We must not come empty-handed to the Bar of God's judgment seat. Everyone Canadian should turn his mind to think in terms of humanity. Let us be one great family, one great army, and let the spirit of war-comradeship link us in a real brotherhood of sentiment and common action.[84]

These comments reflect Scott's continuing optimism when many other Protestants had acquired a more sober vision in a post-war era in which "hope had been swallowed up by despair and a sense of futility."[85] In 1939, Scott characterized the upcoming war as a "religious crusade", and at the age of 78 he tried to enlist himself.[86]

After having gone over the bulk of the material that would comprise his father's archival papers, Elton wrote to his brother William, making the astute comment, "I can understand better now why the war was a 'godsend' to father. It gave him a freedom of action and expression which he did not feel he had in the parish."[87] The disputes over church ritual that shadowed much of Scott's clerical life before the turn of the century had been unpleasant, and in his reconciliation with Bishop Dunn in 1894, he admitted, "I suppose that I have gone through so much badgering in the past that it has made me a little marked on the subject."[88] But Scott's feuds with church wardens only seemed to

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[84] Sermon, F.G. Scott, "The Place of Young Men in Canada," 1922, Box 9 File 93, FGSP.
[85] Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity Interpreted*, 237.
[86] *Ottawa Journal*, Sept. 10, 1939, Box 9 File 94, FGSP.
[87] Letter, Rev. Elton Scott to William Scott, May 30, 1959, Box 1 File 4, FGSP.
[88] Letter, Bishop Dunn to F.G. Scott, March 30, 1893, Box 14 File 27, FGSP.

make him articulate his views more clearly and defend them more vigorously. Anglo-Catholicism and his faith in God's divine role in humankind's positive evolution had formed the basis of his outlook, and World War I, instead of prompting him to reject this world view, instead enabled him to extend it.

Chapter 2:
Scott's Emergence as an Anglo-Catholic Patriarch

Knighhthood (To H.T.O.)

In Honour, chivalrous;
In duty, valorous;
In all things, noble:
To the heart's core, clean.

(Frederick George Scott, 1917.)[89]

Early in his religious career, Scott was a marginalized man at odds with a society that viewed his Anglo-Catholic faith as "effeminate" and otherworldly, two qualities which ran counter to the respectable middle-class ideal of Christian manliness.[90] The gendered world of Anglo-Catholicism was more complicated than its numerous critics acknowledged, though, because many High Church Anglicans, including Scott, practiced a form of active Christianity similar to the one espoused by the popular "muscular Christian," Charles Kingsley. Scott's protagonist in his novel, *Elton Hazlewood* is not considered as "manly" as those in other and more popular novels at the time, yet the book reveals the ways in which Scott tried to accommodate the dominant ideal of masculinity to his Anglo-Catholic principles. Interestingly, Scott himself shifted, whether consciously or not, from a marginalized manhood to a "central" or hegemonic one that would, by the middle of the Great War, position him as an ideal man to emulate. After 1892, and amidst the rising tide of Canadian militarism, the "manly" appeal of his Christian message became more pronounced. As a chaplain in the 8th Royal Rifles militia unit in Quebec, and then as senior military chaplain overseas during World War I, he took part in a

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[89] Scott, *In the Battle Silences*, 23.

[90] For a discussion on the centrality of Christian manliness in Victorian culture, see Segal, *Slow Motion*. For studies of muscular Christainity in North America, see Rotundo, *American Manhood* and Martin, "Billy Sunday and Christian Manliness." For a similar discussion in the British context, see Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit* and Tozer, "That Humpty Dumpty Word."

brotherhood in which patriarchal bonds were strong and his High-Church emphasis on pastoral responsibility could be celebrated. He became a father-figure to hundreds of soldiers, and for some he served as their grand initiator into manhood. This chapter concerns itself with Scott's emergence as a patriarch and the ways in which such a study of him complicates gender issues in late Victorian and Edwardian Canada.

I

As has been noted in the previous chapter, Scott's High Church convictions made him somewhat marginalized during the 1880s and 1890s. His non-Catholic parishioners at Drummondville were so angered by his Eucharistically centred theology that they petitioned Bishop Williams to have him censured, and they threatened to establish another Church, one free of Anglo-Catholic doctrine. Amy Brooks, Scott's fiancée at the time, was clearly shaken by the 1887 row over church ritual at Drummondville. She admitted, "The only thing that saves me from complete derangement is that the comic side of the situation strikes me so forcibly at times that instead of sitting down to weep as I otherwise might, I go into uncontrollable fits of laughter over it."[91] That same year, Scott's brother Frank warned him that should he lose his job, shame would be brought to the family: "If you lose your crib you can't afford to get married. In that case Boots [brother Charlie] and I shall leave the country I think, we could not stand it."[92] Scott's Anglo-Catholicism was seen to have endangered one of the defining traits of respectable

[91] Letter, Amy Brooks to F.G. Scott, March 24, 1887, Box 13 File 11, FGSP.
[92] Letter, Frank Scott to F.G. Scott, May 28, 1887, Box 13 File 11, FGSP.

masculinity, the ability to hold a full-time position. More generally, Anglo-Catholic men were commonly seen as anathema to the values associated with Christian manliness.

In the nineteenth century, "manliness" was a contentious and often-used word. Although it was applied across class lines and could embody a variety of esteemed traits, manliness was an "ideal of doing, a code of action rather than a philosophy of thought" most commonly associated with Anglo-Saxon, Christian upper middle-class men.[93] E. Anthony Rotundo argues that the mid-century witnessed a significant shift in white middle-class masculinity in North America. In the wake of commercial capitalism and imperial politics, an older masculine archetype rooted in an emotional religiosity and communal service, was replaced by a more militaristic standard that emphasized self-improvement, religious devotion, and the physicality of the body. Men who espoused this new ideal were inspired by the chivalric code, in which knights "mastered their own impulses" and transformed "primitive male aggression into a civilized force that upheld morality and crushed the enemies of religion."[94] Although this archetype was at times divorced from its holy undertones, Protestant clergymen valued it *because* of its religious dimension, and hoped that its espousal would counteract the apparent declining church attendance of middle-class males.

Clerics, gravely concerned with what they perceived as the "feminization" of Protestantism, established athletic and reading clubs in the name of "muscular Christianity" to attract middle-class boys to their churches. Associated with vigorous athleticism and the qualities of integrity, bravery, and self-discipline, the movement divorced itself from all traits considered "feminine," including physical weakness and

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[93] Tozer, "That Humpty Dumpty Word," 76.
[94] Rotundo, "Body and Soul," 26-27.

emotionality.[95] Its most popular American exponent, baseball player-turned-revivalist Billy Sunday, characterized Christ as the "greatest scrapper that ever lived." He also prayed, "Lord save us from off-handed, flabby-cheeked, brittle-boned, weak-kneed, thin-skinned, pliable, plastic, spineless, effeminate, ossified three-karat Christianity."[96] One of Canada's religious journals, *Presbyterian Witness*, also celebrated Christian manliness, albeit in a more moderate way. It declared that Protestantism was "a live religion that expects to grow, a robust religion that is meant for work, of a virile type that is neither weak-eyed nor maudlin."[97]

In Britain, where the phrase was first coined, muscular Christianity permeated the public school system and was a mainstay of the popular novels written by the Christian Socialists, Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley. In *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861), Hughes celebrated the perfect gentleman whose character was formed by team sports and lessons in Christian ethics. Kingsley's novels revealed his concern for the poor and his esteem for the "man who fears God and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours."[98] His heroes were "gentle, very perfect knights" who cherished marriage and family, and acted in the here and now. He doubted that such "manly" characteristics could ever be found in any of Cardinal Newman's disciples. After Newman's conversion, Kingsley attacked him in the English press for "his Catholicism, his celibacy, his gender transgression, or 'effeminacy', and relatedly, his homosexuality." Newman was portrayed as a "kind of 'wayword woman', an

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[95] Segel, *Slow Motion*, 547-549.
[96] Martin, "Billy Sunday and Christian Manliness," 811-823.
[97] Cited in Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 110.
[98] Cited in Chadwick, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement*, 129.

effeminate betrayer of the 'masculine' values of openness, honesty, and straightforwardness," writes historian Oliver S. Buckton.[99]

Perhaps because he almost lost his future wife to an Anglo-Catholic sisterhood, Kingsley vehemently attacked the doctrines of celibacy and monasticism in his novels. In *Two Years Ago*, he tells of clergyman Frank Headley, whose High Church practices turn his parishioners against him. He becomes a true man and a respected cleric only when he abandons his Tractarian ways and falls in love with Valentia. And, in *Yeast*, Kingsley describes Luke, a convert to Catholicism, as "sincere but selfish, interested primarily in the salvation of his own soul, a little weak, not quite manly, in a word, un-English."[100]

Like many muscular Christians and some Victorian thinkers, Kingsley associated celibacy with the unnatural, monasticism with the otherworldly, and ritualism with the effeminate. Young male Anglo-Catholics were characterized by their detractors as "giddy young men," "unwholesome," "sentimental," and everything else that muscular Christianity was not.[101] *Punch* scoffed at the "extreme High Church proclivities" of those who "are very fond of dressing like ladies."[102] And amongst Roman Catholics and Tractarians, Kingsley elaborated, "there is an element of foppery -- even in dress and manner; a fastidious, maundering, die-away effeminacy, which is mistaken for purity and refinement." Anglo-Catholicism's harshest critics associated the faith with homosexuality, and argued that Newman's burial alongside his friend, Ambrose St. John, exemplified the questionable sexuality of the Oxford Movement's leaders.[103]

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[99] Buckton, "Gender, 'Perversion,' and Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*," 361.
[100] Cited in Uffelman, *Charles Kingsley*, 46, 63.
[101] Reed, " 'Giddy Young Men.' "
[102] Hilliard, "Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality."
[103] Ibid, 186.

David Hilliard argues that although most of the accusations of sexual misconduct made against Tractarians were fictitious, many homosexuals were indeed attracted to the faith. For them, he contends, "Anglo-Catholic ritualism provided a way of escape from the problems of sexual tension and forbidden love into a make-believe world of religious pageantry, ancient titles and ranks, exotic symbolism, and endless chatter about copes and candles, the apostolic succession, and the triumphs of 'true faith.'"[104] John Shelton Reed also describes High Church Anglicanism as a refuge where Englishmen alienated by muscular Christianity could embrace the doctrine of ascetic celibacy and take part in a "subculture in which 'womanish' tales and values were regarded as not only acceptable, but superior."[105]

Both historians highlight Anglo-Catholicism's otherworldliness and characterize it, somewhat dismissively, as a refuge from the dominant gender ideals of Victorian society. Yet, like Kingsley and his contemporaries, they do not acknowledge the gender identity of the heterosexual majority of Anglo-Catholic men, many of whom practiced a form of active, and thus "manly", Christianity. One of the Oxford Movement's leaders, John Keble, for instance, could be found on most nights giving lessons in Christian action to the downtrodden, whose long hours of work might have prevented them from attending church.[106] High Church Anglicanism, in its emphasis on pastoral responsibility, spread from discussions around university common rooms to spiritual guidance and relief work in England's slums. "The fact that Ritualists identified themselves with the lives of the poor in a way that other groups in the church failed to do,"[107] suggests that they had

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[104] Ibid, 190.
[105] Reed, " 'Giddy Young Men' ", 224.
[106] Clutterbuck, *Marginal Catholics*, 34.
[107] Ibid, 42.

more in common with muscular Christians than either Kingsley conceded or recent historians have recognized. Scott, for instance, mediated between Anglo-Catholicism's "feminine" emphasis on sanctity and otherworldliness and its much-ignored "masculine" celebration of the social gospel. In fact, he complicates the binarism significantly.

While at King's College, young Scott was concerned with the welfare of the city's poor. His mother wrote to him in March 1883: "I do not like you to go so much among the poor miserable wretched people of London. I think it dangerous, I like your taking the little, miserable, hungry children into bakers' shops and feeding them with buns, but take care my darling, you may be waylaid and robbed."[108] Scott was also intrigued by the celibate life, and three years later, contemplated joining a religious order and even applied to the Anglo-Catholic parish of Coggeshall in Essex, England for ordination. Amy Brooks was steadfastly against the idea. She, like Kingsley, believed monasticism was for the selfish, and warned him, "There always appears to me a kind of moral cowardice in entering an institution of that sort as it takes away so much of the feeling of individual responsibility attached to this life."[109]

The tension Scott felt between a life of Christian action and one of monastic withdrawal from the world was resolved by 1886, when he wrote "The Soul's Quest," a poem about the religious pilgrimage of a female figure who is the personification of the spirit. Caught in nowhere time where "there's the chill of death in the silent air," the woman seeks rest in a sisterhood where "the song of the nuns was so strange and so sweet." But in the "loneliest cell" where the "The cloistered aisles are but leafless trees," she cannot draw strength: "No matin or vesper hymn or prayer/ Can shut those eyes'

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[108] Cited in Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 16.
[109] Ibid, 19.

wide-open stare/ At the glimmering of darkness everywhere." Drawn out of the convent and onto "the cold, hard road" where "lies Jesus' Cross," she takes the emblem "round from door to door," where "lonely hearts that ached before,/ Find joy and peace for evermore."[110] She finds her place in time, not by retreating to the monastery, but by staying in the world at large, embracing the pain of Christ, and choosing a life of active and sacrificial Christianity.

Although "The Soul's Quest" had a woman as its subject, it paralleled Scott's masculine ideal, one rooted in both muscular Christianity and High Church Anglicanism. Nowhere was this conciliatory masculinity more pronounced then in his fictional character, Elton Hazlewood, the introspective Romantic, Oxford graduate, athlete, and leader amongst his peers. "It was no wonder then," observes Hazlewood's friend, Henry Vane, "that every member of the household took this handsome, clever youth, straightway into his or her heart and felt the sun less bright when he was gone."[111]

As a young man, Hazlewood considers taking the religious path, but admits at times "the quiet uneventful life of a clergyman fills me with dread. I fancy I should die under the monotony." Although sympathetic to Newman's sermon on the divine guidance (as retold by Vane's father), he opts to become an actor instead and stars on stage as a "knight of the middle ages, a crusader king, an Egyptian priest, an old Roman, a Greek hero." and "a Norse demi-god." Vane has difficulty separating Hazlewood's noble character from those of the mighty heroes he plays: "He was no longer Hazlewood, he was Henry the Fifth, the crown of chivalry, the conqueror of France. Had he called me I would have rushed on the stage and kissed his hand, or knelt before him and received the

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[110] Scott, "The Soul's Quest," *The Soul's Quest*.
[111] Scott, *Hazlewood*, 24.

badge of knighthood." Hazlewood seems worthy of admiration, but he does not become the perfect man until he retrieves his faith in God.[112]

After his close friend Byrne betrays him by tempting his wife into infidelity, Hazlewood returns to the countryside with his son and rekindles his fellowship with Vane, who is also an Anglo-Catholic clergyman. Hazlewood attends his friend's parish regularly, and is overjoyed that his son, dressed in cassock and surplice, eventually leads the choir. Despite Hazlewood's Anglo-Catholic sympathies up to this point, his seven-year-old son, not God, provides him with the stimulus he needs: "It is very wicked of me, but I cannot help it. He seems to me to take the place of God...In fact, I don't seem to feel any need for God or Heaven, so long as I have the love of him to guide and console and purify me." But the boy catches diphtheria and dies. The child takes Holy Communion shortly before his passing, and is buried in his "snowy surplice, fittest emblem of his innocence." Grief-stricken and desperate, Hazlewood struggles with religious doubt before he is initiated into full manhood.[113]

Hazlewood embraces Anglo-Catholicism, thereby overcoming his restlessness. In a letter to Vane requesting that he ordain him as a deacon, he admits that he has changed: "That which has made me different, is the realizing, as I have never realized before, the Incarnation of God the Son – *The Word was made Flesh*... Night after night, when sleep would not come, and I have turned and turned and found no bodily ease, those wonderful words have given me comfort." Hazlewood then spends five years working alongside Vane, during which time the parishioners come to idolize him. As one who practiced incarnational theology and pastoral responsibility, "no trouble was too great for him."

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[112] Ibid., 26, 27, 44, 46.
[113] Ibid., 86, 83, 101.

"Manly, frank, [and] cheerful," Hazlewood becomes a "friend and guide" to all those around him.[114] He is the ideal man.

The morning Hazlewood is to be ordained, he mysteriously disappears. Years after, when Vane runs into Hazlewood's estranged friend, Byrne, then "deeply bent" and with a "blanched and haggard face," he learns the heroic way in which his best friend died. The day Hazlewood vanished, Byrne had earlier met him on a large rock overlooking the sea and told him of how he had plotted to destroy his marriage and how his wife had died pregnant, penniless, and "raving mad." (The only solace offered by Scott is that she had confessed to a Roman Catholic and had received the sacraments the day before she died.) Hazlewood responded calmly by walking away "erect and proud." Enraged by his enemy's composure, Byrne grabbed him and they both fell into the water. With "supernatural strength" Hazlewood fought the wind and tide and delivered his enemy to safety on a ledge. His last words were "Stay where you are, you will be safe. I do not fear death."[115]

Moments before Hazlewood drowned, Byrne recalls, "I thought he was praying, for there was a look of resignation on his features which they had never worn before." Upon hearing the news of his best friend's death, Vane claims that the "natural altar" where his colleague fell "seemed full of angels with shining wings." He continues: "Shedding childlike, happy tears, I turned my face to the sea, over which the spirit of Hazlewood still brooded, and kneeling I poured forth my thankfulness to God."[116] On the cross erected on the ledge where the protagonist plunged into the water, is inscribed, "Near this spot, Elton Hazlewood, for the love and memory of God's Son, laid down his

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[114] Ibid., 109-110, 112, 113.
[115] Ibid., 132, 128, 136, 138, 140.

life to save that of his enemy." Just as Scott praises Hazlewood's religious transformation, so too does he celebrate the manly way in which he tended to his parishioners and sacrificed his life.[117]

Scott's protagonist seems more inactive and indecisive when compared to the heroes of the once popular and action-packed novels written by Canadian and muscular Christian, Ralph Connor. Whereas Connor delighted his readers by recounting courageous tales about God-fearing men in the beautiful but harsh environment of the Canadian West,[118] Scott's story of Hazlewood's religious and manly transformation irked more reviewers than it pleased. One American newspaper deemed Elton as too "unearthly", even "extravagant", while another said that Scott's writing was marked by "strong and original imagination", but advised that if he "is very young we shall hope to see him do better."[119]

Although Scott might have failed as a novelist, *Hazlewood* nonetheless represented a challenge to the dominant stereotype of Anglo-Catholic males as "giddy young men," and revealed the gender complexities of High Church Anglicanism. Hazlewood the character embodied Scott's belief that a man could be both an Anglo-Catholic and a muscular Christian, a Ritualist and a proponent of the social gospel. This was expressed more explicitly eighteen years later, in 1910, when he looked back on the ways Anglo-Catholics had been treated generally and applauded them for having the "backbone to stand against the spirit of the age." High Church Anglicans had "provoked a sneer" and had "all [been] called narrow, self-satisfied, unintellectual, unsympathetic,

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[116] Ibid., 143.
[117] Ibid., 141, 143, 145-146.
[118] See Thompson and Thompson, "Ralph Connor and the Canadian Identity."

and uncharitable." "As soldiers of Christ," however, he maintained that they had steered clear of "the popular road [that] was broad and easy, smooth and comfortable." [120] Four years later, Scott went off to war, and in doing so, ensured at least for him, that his masculine identity was not only "fashioned in the imagination" but "lived in the flesh," to use apt terms employed by historians Michael Roper and John Tosh in a different context.[121] From 1914 onwards, the clergyman became known as "Canon Scott," the celebrated Christian statesman and patriarch, and, for many contemporaries, the ideal man.

II

In Quebec City, on a chilly October night in 1897, a man by the name of LeFrancois, having consumed too much alcohol, fell off Champlain wharf and into the fast moving current of the St. Lawrence. "Throwing off his overcoat, Scott jumped in after the man, whom he could not see on account of the darkness. He found him, however, and held him until a rope was thrown."[122] The following New Year's Day, Sir J.A. Chapleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, presented Scott with the Royal Canadian Humane Society's Gold Medal for conspicuous bravery. While the *Globe* dubbed him one of the "Heroes of Life-Saving in Canada," the *Montreal Star* reckoned: "His mission was to aid in saving souls. He had gone beyond that, in saving the body too. Everybody

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[119] *New York Eve Telegram*, undated, Box 9 File 86, FGSP; *New York Independent*, Dec. 24, 1891, Box 9 File 86, FGSP.
[120] Unknown newspaper clipping, Dec. 10, 1910, appearing in F.G. Scott's scrapbook, Box 19, FGSP.
[121] Roper and Tosh, *Manful Assertions*, Intro., 14.
[122] *The Globe*, 1898 (otherwise undated), Box 1 File 8, FGSP.

knew his great qualities and his intellectual and scholarly attainments and they knew also his retiring nature and that modesty which was the finest gilding of all."[123]

Amy Broolexaton, a friend of the Scott family, had admitted that she had always found Frederick to be a "weak mortal" compared to his two brothers who engaged in courageous acts "once or twice a week." But this incident would make him a man to be listened to. "I have always thought a parson, to be a real parson, should be a manly person," she noted, "and I believe that your pluck will give you more personal weight with the many hundreds of boys and young men who will come under your supervision."[124] Scott's rescue of the French Canadian man coincided with his emergence as a central and heroic male figure, one who was no longer merely on the margins as a genteel Anglo-Catholic.

With the rise of Canadian militarism towards the end of the nineteenth century and with the arrival of the Great War in 1914, Scott could now more successfully disassociate himself from the negative gender stereotypes of Anglo-Catholic males. While the friendships between Tractarian men were often cast under the shadow of questionable sexual orientation, in the military male bonding was not only celebrated, but considered by many soldiers and officers as essential to their survival in the trenches. Scott was comfortable in the gendered space of the 8th Royal Rifles of Quebec and the Canadian Chaplaincy Services overseas, in part because he could in that context espouse a more "manly", muscular Christian message, one even more pronounced than that embodied in his fictitious character, Elton Hazlewood. Scott held up the Canadian soldier as the embodiment of true manliness, one whose endurance, courage and self-sacrifice

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[123] Ibid.; *Montreal Star*, Jan. 3, 1898, Box 1 File 8, FGSP.
[124] Letter, Amy Broolexaton to F.G. Scott, Dec. 23, 1897, Box 1 File 8, FGSP.

ensured membership in a classless brotherhood of "true Christian knights." The pastoral responsibility he felt for the soldiers around him was paternalistic, and he often referred to them as his "boys." While he admired the Canadian soldiers' robust masculinity, many of them looked to him as a father figure and even an initiator of men. By the end of the war, his transition from marginalized man to celebrated patriarch was complete.

Given his English Protestant heritage and his family's military background, Scott was inclined to recognize the value of army service. His grandfather, John Scott, had been a Lieutenant in the 4th Regiment of the local militia in Surrey, and an uncle Walter Scott was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Montreal Light Infantry.[125] As a child, Scott attended the "Royal Salute" in the grounds of McGill College on the very first Canada Day, and he later recalled that "the sound of the guns and the strange exhilaration which a boy feels at anything martial imprinted themselves on my memory."[126] His interest in war and men's conduct in it was first expressed in some of the poetry he wrote in his early twenties, around the same time he was drawn to Anglo-Catholicism. In the first two stanzas of "British War Song" (1885), for example, he used a high-sounding rhetorical style to celebrate his belief that all high-minded British men would not hesitate to fight should they be called to arms:

> "Wars and rumours of wars" – the clouds lower over the sea,
> And a man must now be a man, if ever a man can be;
> "Wars and rumours of wars" – a cry from the flaming East,
> For the vultures are gathered together, and the lions roar over the feast.
>
> War! Shall we flinch? Shall we shrink like cowards from the fray?
> Better all Britons were dead than their glory passed away!
> The clouds may be dark and lowering, the storm may be loud and long,
> But the hearts of our men are true, and the arms of our men are strong.[127]

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[125] See "Official Documents – 19th Century," Box 2 File 6, FGSP.
[126] Address, "Canada's New Outlook," Sept.27, 1920, Box 9 File 95, FGSP.
[127] Scott, "British War Song," *The Soul's Quest*, 65.

Much of Scott's poetry would clothe the realities of war in such romantic language and celebrate a Kingsley-like code of manliness. It should not be surprising, therefore, that he joined the military when a wave of militarist sentiment rolled across the country.

Between the end of the Boer War and the beginning of World War I, a growing number of Canadians believed that increased military recruitment would ensure Canada's national defense as well as provide the means by which those enlisted would be "made" into men. This form of Canadian militarism surged at a time when working- and middle-class males felt unsettled about their declining role in the home, in the churches, and in the workforce.[128] Many, therefore, retreated to the militia to affirm their respectability and sense of manhood.[129] In this "school of manliness" where men could be "educated physically, morally and nationally," muscular Christian values were taught. Here, men engaged in competitive sports and were trained, much like boys in the British public school system, to fear God, be loyal to the King, and "play the game."[130]

Scott's Anglo-Catholicism made him no less attracted to the military. He became a chaplain to the citadel at Quebec by the turn of the century, and in 1906 was appointed chaplain with the honourary rank of captain to the 8th Royal Rifles. Attached to a regiment, he worked within a hierarchical structure that encouraged a paternalistic relationship between the military brass and foot soldiers, and he became part of a culture

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[128] There is a significant body of literature in the field of North American gender history that supports this claim. See the following: Doyle, *The Male Experience*; Pleck, "American Fathering in Historical Perspective," in Kimmel, ed., *Changing Men*, 83-97; Rotundo, "American Fatherhood: A Historical Perspective;" and Rotundo, *American Manhood*.

[129] Other men retreated to fraternal lodges in the late Victorian period. The lodges provided an all-male arena where "feminizing" influences could be shut out and where masculine identities could be asserted. See Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*; and Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*.

[130] O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth," 115-141.

that included an "obsession with lineage, genealogy, and continuity."[131] He was ideologically well suited for his new position from which he preached a forceful and masculine message. For example, when plans were being made to build a permanent memorial on the Plains of Abraham in 1906, Scott was precise in his thoughts about what was appropriate. It should not be named a "park", he argued -- "a smooth, artificial thing" which is "laid out by the yard under the instructions of a landscape gardener." "Battlefield", on the other hand, was a more suitable designation, because it "stands for all that is real, earnest, and manly." Furthermore, "no benches and no flower pots, and no planting of trees," he insisted, should be "on the spot where the fate of a whole continent was decided in blood."[132] His poetry of the same period celebrated an imperial and premodern masculinity equally heroic.

The same year he spoke out on the battlefield memorial, *A Hymn of Empire and Other Poems* was published. "On the Return of the Troops," brimmed with the enthusiasm of the triumphant and told of "Strong men, returning victors from the war" whose "Fame sang their valour round the seven seas" and ensured Canada's "illustrious destiny."[133] In "Inscription on Soldiers' Monument, Quebec," he was more pointed about how the Empire came to be: "Not by the power of Commerce, Art, or Pen/ Shall our great Empire stand; nor has it stood:/ But by the noble deeds of noble men,/ Heroic lives, and Heroes' outpoured blood."[134] Scott's early war poetry reiterated the imperialist and masculine ideals of the greater English Protestant culture in which he lived, and allowed him to frame his later war experiences in similarly glowing terms.

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[131] Ibid., 128.
[132] *Montreal Star*, April 18, 1906, Box 11 File 101, FGSP.
[133] Scott, "On the Return of Our Troops," *A Hymn of Empire*, 15.
[134] Scott, "Inscription on Soldiers' Monument, Quebec," *A Hymn of Empire*, 17.

Although he was fifty-three years old, as a member of the militia Scott felt compelled to secure a commission overseas when war was declared against Germany in the summer of 1914. When he eventually became senior military chaplain, his numerous ecumenical duties were considered physically demanding for a man of any age. One of his busier days at the front, for example, included a rigid and exhausting itinerary: 9 a.m. parade service and Holy Communion at the 1st Artillery building; 11 a.m. parade service and Holy Communion for the Entrenching Battalion; 1 p.m. service at the Divisional Supply Column, followed by lunch at home; 4 p.m. attendance at the Wagon lines and ammunition column of the Hewitzer batteries; 6 p.m. tea at home; and finally, 7 p.m. choral evensong in the Soldier's Club Room, followed by hymn singing until 9 p.m.[135]

Writing from France in the spring of 1915, he confided in a friend that such an arduous life overseas "has also made me a young man again for I have had some strenuous times." On his fifty-forth birthday, he had walked more than twenty miles on cobble stone roads – "Not bad for a man of that age," he said proudly. Furthermore, he noted, "I have slept on tiled floors and on the ground under a tarpaulin in the field. So you see when I get back, if I do, I shall be able to live in a stable and eat tack and cheese."[136]

The canon was clearly impressed by the Canadian soldiers' conduct overseas. "A man who does not fire with indignation at wrong, injustice and cruelty," he argued, "is everything but a righteous and Godly man." When hearing the "cries of men, women and little children driven from their homes into exile and starvation or torture of concentration camps," those who "love their human brethren in the family of Jesus

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[135] Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Brooks, Oct. 9, 1915, Box 2 File 22, FGSP.
[136] Letter, F.G. Scott to Dr. Alluett, April 22, 1915, Box 4 File 32, FGSP.

Christ" must "take up arms and go forth to the destruction of the aggressors." In doing so, the Canadian soldier became for Scott an unrelenting defender of justice whose action in combat was not only morally justifiable, but also "a stern duty under God."[137] He saw the soldiers as dutiful, and he also felt that they were capable. "The Canadians went into their baptism of fire," he was to say, "with the spirit with which they go into a hockey match."[138] Scott expressed his admiration for them in other contexts as well. On one occasion when he shared a meal with some troops, he said he felt the event was "sacred and sacramental." "Was there a table in the whole world at which it was a greater honour to sit? Where could one find nobler, knightlier body of young men?" he asked.[139]

Scott not only admired the men, he enjoyed actively participating in some of their rituals. On one occasion, for example, he took part in a spontaneous dance that erupted at a Y.M.C.A. Hall in Quatre Vents:

> The orchestra struck up a lively two-step, and great burly chaps chose their equally burly partners, and started off in the dance with such gusto that the place was filled with the sounds of dissipation. This attracted more men from outside, and finally we had the liveliest scene imaginable. I actually found myself joining in the mazes of the waltz, and amid roars of laughter the dancing went on fast and furious. So delighted was the YMCA Officer, that he mounted the platform at the end of a dance, and in spite of my protest, called for three cheers for the man who had suggested the entertainment. At the close of the evening, we had cups of hot coffee and biscuits, and parted in the best of humor.[140]

The dance exemplified the ways in which Scott and the men participated in an all-male culture that stressed the importance of brotherly friendship, essential to their survival in the trenches. Although he was an officer, Scott felt that his fellowship with the soldiers

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[137] Unknown newspaper clipping, date unknown, appearing in F.G. Scott's scrapbook, Box 19, FGSP.
[138] *Montreal Gazette*, Oct. 1919, Box 5 File 41, FGSP.
[139] Scott, *Great War*, 299.
[140] Ibid., 203-204.

was genuine and valuable. He was to write in his war memoirs: "The sense of 'something accomplished, something done,' inspired our men with the ardor of military life, and bound us all even closer together in the spirit of valiant comradeship."[141] Similarly, on another page he noted: "In Valcartier began that splendid comradeship which spreads out to all the divisions of the Canadian Corps, and which binds those who went to the great adventure in a brotherhood stronger than has ever been known before."[142]

Scott perhaps attracted men to his services with a theology that celebrated a virile masculinity. As well, he was not critical towards activities normally associated with military and working-class culture. He actively supported the Canadian Division's footballers, and he successfully secured the First Division's heavyweight boxing champion to work in what he called the "Senior Chaplain's Battalion."[143] When a fight between two soldiers broke out near one of Scott's services, he quickly postponed the service so the men could rush over to the site where they could see the fisticuffs themselves. After the fray was broken up by a sergeant, Scott commented that "nothing helped so much to make a service bright and hearty as the inclusion of a fight," and mused that should he return to a sleepy parish in Canada he'd arrange a fight for the congregation to "renew their spiritual fervour."[144] At other times, he routinely passed cigarettes out, and only spoke against gambling when it included the lopsided game of crown and anchors. And, when middle-class temperance groups explicitly attacked the

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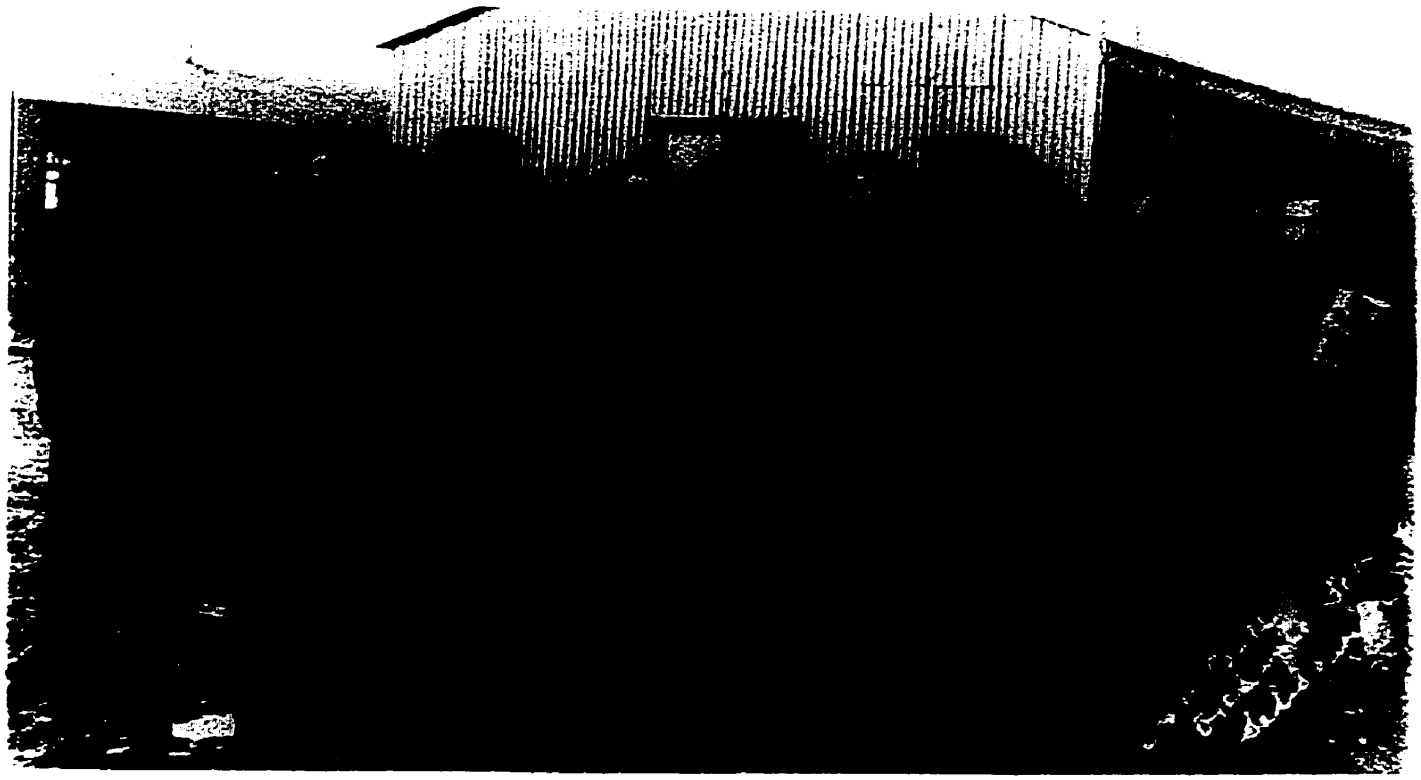
[141] Ibid., 178.
[142] Ibid., 17.
[143] Scott donated a trophy cup to the YMCA 1st Canadian Division footballers. See Letter. Athletic Officer. YMCA 1st Canadian Division to F.G. Scott, May 16, 1918, Box 5 File 38, FGSP; Scott, *Great War*, 194-195.
[144] Scott, *Great War*, 102.



F.G. Scott "with some of our boys," Salisbury Plain, England, 1915. (McCord Museum, Montreal.) The pastoral responsibility Scott felt for the soldiers around him was paternalistic. Many of them looked to him as a father figure and initiator of men.

"manhood" of male working-class drinkers, portraying them as the antithesis of the Christian "manly" ideal,[145] Scott was less accusatory. He had written to the Office of the Militia and Defense suggesting that a temperance room be established to rival the canteens in military depots.[146] He also admitted that large numbers of soldiers were attracted to the village inns where beer was sold, thus making the "maintenance of discipline under such circumstances...difficult." On one occasion four hundred and fifty men from a single battalion were absent without leave, presumably out getting drinks. Scott was confident, however, that "when the moment for big things came, every man would be at his post and would do his bit."[147]

While at times Scott believed he was part of a classless brotherhood of soldiers, his pastoral responsibility as an Anglo-Catholic and his upper middle-class background assured that his attitude would be simultaneously a paternalistic one. Before the turn of the century, he had been concerned that there were "brewers" in the Scott lineage, and attempted to invent a family past to conceal that worry. He chose a stag's head (which he may have taken from the stationery at the Anglo-Catholic parish of Coggeshall) as the Scott family crest, and had it engraved on "Scott family rings", one of which he wore on his little finger, the others he presented to each one of his sons. [148] Ever conscious of class, Scott was attracted to the idea of being a benevolent patriarch, one who could take chivalric pride in his soldiers.

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[145] O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth," 138-140.
[146] Scott's suggestion is in a letter of response from the Office of the Militia and Defense. See Letter, F.W. Borden, Office of the Militia and Defense, to F.G. Scott, Dec. 3, 1901, Box 11 File 98, FGSP. Borden also admitted, "It has not escaped my notice that 'the canteen' in our depots is a serious menace to the welfare of the soldier but I have been unable to discover any way of getting rid of it." Three years later, an army officer agreed with Scott's recommendation and encouraged him to continue keeping the common soldier in the "narrow strait from which he strays." Letter, Unknown army officer to F.G. Scott, Jan. 27, 1904, Box 1 File 19, FGSP.
[147] Scott, *Great War*, 31.

Before he left England for France in 1914, he accompanied twenty-four troops to Salisbury Cathedral for confirmation where he was engaged by their demeanor and by the ceremony itself. The Bishop held a gold cloth and gave a fascinating address that they listened to intently. "I was so proud of our boys," he wrote to his wife afterwards. "They looked so nice in their uniforms and had such good innocent faces."[149] In the fall of 1917, when he traveled to Rome with forty-six men to visit the Pope, he found that "the men were in fine form and presented a splendid soldier-like appearance;" but, he warned: "I told them, before we started, that I did not wish to be either a detective or a nursery-maid, but I asked them to play the game and they did." He led them into the Italian capital, and later wrote, "I think that moment, as I started off to march through Rome at the head of that fine body of men who followed two abreast, was the proudest of my life." Like Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar, and Rienzi before him, he gleamed: "...now, (here my head began to swell till it grew too big for my cap), Canon Scott is leading his forces through Rome."[150]

There was an ethnic dimension to Scott's patriarchal identity as well. In a message delivered to the Federation of Churchmen's Associations in 1910, he was explicit about who he believed the Anglican Church served: "Our mission is to our own people, and our people are the English races and – as far as we can reach them – the un-Christian races of the heathen world....If our Church stands for anything, she stands out as the Spiritual Mother of the English race."[151] Consequently, Scott's notion of what constituted a "good" man was to a large extent ethnically based. Although he believed

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[148] Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, p. 21 f.n. 26.
[149] Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Scott, Dec. 16, 1914, Box 2 File 21, FGSP.
[150] Scott, *Great War*, 216-220.
[151] Unknown newspaper, dated Dec. 10, 1910, appearing in Scott scrapbook, Box 19, FGSP.

that the Chinese men he saw in France were more productive than those living in Canada, he found their customs bizarre: "After the gymnastic performance, we had a concert, and a man sang, or rather made a hideous nasal sound, to the accompaniment of something that looked like three-stringed fiddle."[152] Not surprisingly, these men were considered "deviant others" according to Scott's worldview, and the sympathy he had for them was through-and-through paternalistic. "There was a great mixture of races among the allied forces in France," he noted, "and I always felt sorry for the poor heathen that they should be dragged into the war of the Christian nations."[153]

During World War I, Scott came to believe that German men lacked the qualities normally associated with true "manhood". Instead, they were "well-trained brutes" who, when captured, would play on their enemies' sympathies to spare themselves for the next war.[154] His disdain for them was occasionally severe. When recalling the time he 'un-manned' three German troops by capturing them, he boasted: "Boys, I got seventy-five dollars worth of Huns in one shell hole." He kept one of their shoulder-straps as a souvenir.[155]

Scott's sons were well aware of their father's heroism in the war, and they often felt compelled to imitate his manly conduct. Scott stamped into them, often aggressively, the "manly" virtues he valued so much himself. For example, when he caught Elton, Frank, and Arthur masturbating, he disciplined them forcefully. Elton received the harshest penalty – a lecture that Arthur recalled as "the most God awful going over that a

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[152] Scott, *Great War*, 192.
[153] Ibid., 193.
[154] Ibid., 189, 66.
[155] Ibid., 277-278.

man could ever have from his father."[156] But Scott felt that his strict moral guidance as a patriarch to his sons accounted for their heroic fortitude in the war. After his eldest son, William, was shot in the eye by a sniper in March 1915, Scott commended him for his bravery: "Your coolness and pluck seems to have made a deep impression on the [14th] regiment. They are most loud in their praises of you, and I shine by reflected glory from you."[157] When he was subsequently discharged, Scott told him, "I know that the consciousness of having done your bit and faced the baptism of fire would have a good effect upon you, as it has upon all who do not run away."[158] A year and a half later, the canon spent two weeks with another son, Harry, who had enlisted in the 87th Grenadier Guards. "I am so proud of him," Scott told his family back in Quebec. "I have introduced him to so many of my friends and they have all taken a great fancy to him. He has got so big and strong that they say, 'Your son is a bigger man than you are, Canon Scott.' His spirits are capital and he has a very happy way with his men."[159] Shortly before Harry's company was to capture Regina Trench, Scott wrote to his family back home: "May God spare him. He is a splendid fellow and the idol of his battalion, at least I gather from the O.C. and everyone else, that he is looked upon as a coming man."[160] Harry was shot in the head and killed instantly days after Scott wrote the letter.

The *Quebec Chronicle* described Harry's death as "gallant" and claimed, "It is, we are sure, the death that he would himself have wished, the end that was to be expected from one who was the embodiment of manly courage, ever upright and honorable in all his dealings with his fellow men, beloved and respected by all who enjoyed the pleasure

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[156] Cited in Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 30.
[157] Letter, F.G. Scott to William Scott, March 22, 1915, Box 3 File 25, FGSP.
[158] Letter, F.G. Scott to William Scott, May 11, 1915, Box 2 File 22, FGSP.
[159] Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Brooks, Oct. 4, 1916, Box 3 File 26, FGSP.

of his acquaintance and the opportunity of learning his sterling qualities of heart."[161] The canon took solace in the fact that his son had died heroically, and to another son, Elton, remarked:

> Darling old Harry's death was most noble. If he had to die, he could not have died better. He suffered no pain, and he died with his face to the foe, leading his men in action. It is an inspiration to the whole family. And on his finger still just behind Regina trench, is the signa ring I gave him – the family crest....I told Harry the last night I was with him, 'Well, Harry, you have the Scott guts anyway.'[162]

Scott described to Amy at length the ordeal he had gone through while under enemy fire to give Harry a proper burial in Regina trench. In the letter, which he entitled, "My Visit to Harry's Grave," he appeared deeply moved by his son's "unselfish" death, but he was also careful to construct an image of himself in the letter as a truly heroic figure. Scott told of how his friend, Tate, had warned him not to go to Regina Trench. Scott had insisted, though: "Tate, you may talk till you are blue in the face but I am going to Regina trench to-day." After he had put on his clothes and gathered his gas mask, soldiers inquired as to how the chaplain was going to reach Albert. "Oh, the Lord will provide," Scott replied. He finished his letter by requesting that William make two or three typewritten copies to be preserved in the family archives, "for Harry's name is not going to be allowed to die if I can help it."[163] Later, he insisted to Amy: "I must stick to it. I cannot leave all those brave young fellows in their terrible trial. Many know me so

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[160] Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Brooks, Oct. 13, 1916, Box 3 File 26, FGSP.
[161] *Quebec Chronicle*, Oct. 27, 1916, Box 4 File 34, FGSP.
[162] Letter, F.G. Scott to Elton Scott, Oct. 31, 1916, Box 3 File 26, FGSP.
[163] "My Visit to Harry's Grave." Typewritten copy of Scott's account of Harry's burial in No Man's Land, completed Nov. 23, 1916, Box 3 File 26, FGSP.

well and have nicknamed me "Dad" ...Thank God for our noble sons. What a heritage for the young brothers."[164]

When the *Toronto Star* reported that Scott had given his son a proper burial while under enemy attack, it concluded: "This is the tale of the bombers of the Seventy-Fifth, and of how Canon Scott became to the Fourth Division what he was to his own: a legend, even in his lifetime."[165] *The Weekly Tattler* ran an article on the Scott men, entitling its article, "Families that Fight Together for the Empire – Canon Scott and His Sons are a Splendid Example for the Future."[166] Such media reports indicate well the extent of Scott's success in creating a heroic family mythology.

Indeed, Scott's wartime heroics were noted often in the press. In February 1919, the *Sherbrooke Record* reported his receipt of the Distinguished Service Order and had this to say of his conduct:

> ...from the time of his arrival in France until just before the armistice, with few intervals, he remained at the front helping and comforting the men, whose courage and confidence in the four long years of terrific struggle touched him to the heart. In the trenches, on the field, in the hospitals, Canon Scott was always found, cheerful and optimistic, his very presence an inspiration and a support. He ministered to the sick and wounded, prayed with the dying, read the beautiful service of the church over those who had died for their country...[167]

Other newspapers and magazines had similarly favorable things to say. Arthur Lowe, a reporter for the *Canadian Magazine*, interviewed him in his garden behind the rectory at St. Matthew's in 1930. Although it may have been the rustling of leaves, he wrote, it was as if a "phantom army" of "muddy khaki" and "steel helmets" moved "in and out of the

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[164] Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Scott, Dec. 1, 1916, Box 3 File 26, FGSP.
[165] *Toronto Star*, Feb. 18, 1922, Box 4 File 34, FGSP.
[166] *The Weekly Tattler*, Dec. 30, 1916, Box 7 File 66, FGSP.
[167] *Sherbrooke Record*, Feb. 22, 1919, Box 1 File 9, FGSP.

whispering bushes," its members whispering to the Canon, "We, too, were friends of yours." Lowe believed that soldiers were eternally close to Scott, because "he shared their sufferings and privations, faced danger with them, spurred them on with a jest when everything seemed lost but hope."[168] Writing for a Quebec paper, *The Standard*, Martin Felix Lawless attributed Scott's popularity to the frank and manly manner he conversed with sinners: "...he would make the man understand that he wasn't playing the game; he would appeal to his sense of pride as a man. For instance for a drunkard he would say, 'This damned drink is leading you straight to hell. How do you think we're going to beat the Germans if we don't keep sober? Come now, make a man of yourself.' That was the kind of language the boys understood."[169]

Many soldiers did look to Scott as an exemplary father figure, and they expressed this numerous times in their letters written to him during and after the war. For example, F. Marriner of Eriksdale, Manitoba wrote with satisfaction, "I feel proud that I can be called one of your boys, prouder than being a member of the 16th Battalion."[170] William Windbridge, who had received Holy Communion from Scott on an Easter day at the front, corresponded with him from a hospital bed where he had been for fourteen months: "I am glad I have had the privilege of meeting you Sir, your Christlike life since has helped me a lot."[171] Veteran F.E. Belchamber of Burlington, despite acknowledging "you may not remember me", informed Scott that he had even named his new baby boy, James Frederick Scott Belchamber -- "the first name after my wife's father. The next after the

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[168] Arthur Lowe, "The Beloved Companion," *Canadian Magazine* Sept. 1930, Box 5 File 37, FGSP.
[169] *The Standard* (Shawinigan Falls, Quebec), Feb. 2, 1944, Box 7 File 66, FGSP.
[170] Letter, F. Marriner to F.G. Scott, Sept. 10, 1930, Box 5 File 37, FGSP.
[171] Letter, William Windbridge to F.G. Scott, Jan. 21, 1918, Box 5 File 43, FGSP.

man I loved most in France."[172] Also, a veteran from Winnipeg who later became a Boy Scouts Scoutmaster told Scott "I have taken the liberty of using your verse 'Knighthood' as our inspiration for what Scouts should be. The boys repeat it with me at the close of every meeting, just before we say, 'The Lord's Prayer' and lower the flag..."[173] Still others had more to say: "Some time when you are better and can afford time I would like to hear from you – As I look upon you as my Foster Dad," one foot soldier wrote. "Your 'boys' from the West are hoping that some day you may visit these parts," wrote another; and, still another claimed, "With thousands of others I learned to love you in those vital days and that love has remained."[174]

As became a man who was so often seen as a substitute father, the chaplain even facilitated some of the troops' rites of passage into manhood. When a brigadier was to be shot for cowardice, for example, Scott conversed with the prisoner for hours before his execution and prepared him for an honourable death. He gave the condemned his First Communion, and in doing so precipitated his change in demeanour: "The hard, steely indifference and the sense of wrong and injustice had passed away, and he was perfectly natural." The senior chaplain encouraged him further to "look beyond the great hope which lay before us in another life," and he also argued that the soldier had "just one chance left to prove his courage and set himself right before the world." In agreeing to not to take any brandy before he went before the firing squad, "The man had mastered himself and had died bravely," in Scott's estimation.[175] On another occasion, Scott

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[172] Letter, F.E. Belchamber to F.G. Scott, April 5, 1926, Box 5 Folder 44, FGSP.
[173] Letter, VC to F.G. Scott, July 6, 1941, Box 5 File 46, FGSP.
[174] Letter, Lewis Balfe to F.G. Scott, Oct. 17, 1918, Box 5 Folder 43, FGSP; Letter, Rev. Gilbert Cope to F.G. Scott, May 11, 1919, Box 5 Folder 43, FGSP; Letter, Mr. Oake to F.G. Scott, Feb. 18, 1921, Box 5 Folder 44, FGSP.
[175] Scott, *Great War*, 210-214.

instilled in a soldier at Bracemint the manly resolve needed to "go over the top." Suffering from a bad case of nerves, the enlistee had asked Scott to help him secure work behind the lines before he could return home to his mother and sister. The chaplain instructed the soldier to see the opportunity before him:

> I told him that he had the chance of his life to make himself a man. If in the past he had been more or less a weakling, he could now, by the help of God, rise up in the strength of his manhood and become a hero. His mother and sisters no doubt had loved him and taken care of him in the past, but they would love him far more if he did his duty now. 'For,' I said, 'All women love a brave man.'[176]

Although he was bedridden later, the soldier had managed to summon the courage to fight. He "conquered," wrote Scott, and "like many another soldier in the great crusade will be better for all eternity for self-mastery."[177]

In a 1995 article published in the *Canadian Historical Review*, Joy Parr addresses the ideological divide between senior Canadian historians steeped in a more certain nineteenth-century tradition of historiography and a younger generation of gender historians whose works have been postmodernist in outlook. A "new scholar" herself, Parr argues that historians should never feel too secure with their findings, but should instead acknowledge the "temporariness and impermanence" of their research, as well as the "inherent instability" and multiple identities of their subjects. Parr notes that those historians whose research aim has been to uncover universal truths about human nature (many are political historians, heavily influenced by social science methodologies) are unsettled by, if not openly hostile to, this less definitive style of scholarship.[178] It is necessary to loosen the rigidity of this older literature, she argues, by acknowledging the

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[176] Ibid., 151.
[177] Ibid., 151-152.

inherent ambiguity of gender identity. Although this methodology may raise as many questions as it solves, it provides a much more useful way to analyze how people navigate their ways in highly contentious gendered spaces. Scott's masculine development throughout the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century would suggest that the gendered space in which he lived did not allow for easily defined gender identities; as a poet, Anglo-Catholic, imperialist, father, and decorated war hero, he moved among different, and often contradictory, masculine ideals.

Scott's emergence as a celebrated Canadian patriarch reveals the gender complexity of his Anglo-Catholicism. His faith was often seen and understood by his contemporaries as a religion for deviant males wishing to "escape" the dominant gender ideals of Victorian society. Like Newman, Anglo-Catholic men appeared to lack the qualities associated with the ideal of Christian manliness and were instead deemed to possess the qualities associated with "effeminacy" and homosexuality. At the same time, Scott's rise to the status of patriarch for a generation of Canadian soldiers was mainly due to the position he attained through his fierce belief in Anglo-Catholicism. The Anglo-Catholic faith, its paternalism expressed in the doctrine of apostolic succession and promoted through pastoral responsibility, encouraged in Scott a fatherly concern for his parishioners and his "boys" at the front. It would also form the basis of Scott's less successful industrial paternalism in the post-war era.

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[178] Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice."

Chapter 3:
'The Pilgrimage of Canon Scott': Industrial Paternalism and the Cape Breton Miners, 1923.

The Challenge

Rude Labour, toiling on through hopeless night,
Naked and starved, scorn heaped upon his head,
Now rises in strength with sword to smite,
And asks the nations for his daily bread.
(Frederick George Scott, 1938.)[179]

On a Tuesday morning in late August 1923, Scott stepped off the train at Sydney station. When prompted by a reporter to reveal his reasons for making the trip from Quebec to Cape Breton, he explained, tongue-in-cheek, "I'm here to study clam culture. It's a remarkable subject and one that will doubtless take up considerable of my time."[180] Although Scott was tight-lipped regarding his true intentions on the island, it was common knowledge amongst Sydney's townspeople that he was there to carry out his own "impartial" commission on the recent industrial disputes between the British Empire Steel Corporation (BESCO) and the workers employed in its steel plant and coal mines.

In the post-war era, the number of strikes in the Cape Breton coalfields had risen dramatically. The increasingly militant District 26, United Mine Workers of America, which represented 12,000 miners in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, demanded greater concessions from BESCO, the country's then-largest consortium. During contract negotiations between BESCO and District 26 in December 1921, the company's spokesmen refused to hear the union's seventeen points of contention, and after rescinding the existing contract, reduced wages a further twenty-five per cent. In the end, the miners were left with a one-third reduction in wages, a rate lower than what they were

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[179] Scott, "The Challenge," appearing in *The Canadian Forum*, April 4, 1933.
[180] *Sydney Record*, Aug. 21, 1923.

Cartoon of F.G. Scott that appeared on the cover of *The Halifax Herald*, August 23, 1923. (Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, Halifax.)

being paid in 1914. The dispute was still unresolved by August 1923, when more than fifteen hundred troops were stationed on the island to protect BESCO property and to keep the peace.[181]

Scott became more aware of the miners' predicament in July 1923, when he invited rector J.D. Hamlin to speak at St. Matthew's about the intolerable conditions Hamlin had seen during his recent trip to Cape Breton. Scott believed Hamlin's graphic depiction of industrial hardship to be true and called for a government investigation into the situation. "The casualties in mines are frequent and horrible," Scott said, adding – somewhat oddly: "The occupation is one which the habits of cleanliness at all times must be encouraged if the life is not to degenerate into mere animalism."[182] Nova Scotia's major newspapers printed Scott's comments and highlighted his slogan, "We must think not only of dollars and dividends, but of souls and citizens." His critique was also aimed at low wages, which he claimed were only 32 to 35 cents an hour for more than half of the miners. They worked long and gruèling hours -- the day shift being eleven hours, the night shift thirteen. Furthermore, he cautioned Canadians that the small number of "Reds" in the area "must not be allowed to blind our eyes to the important issue at stake which is have the strikers, as a whole, right on their side?"[183]

Scott's comments were strongly contested by the corporation's supporters. One of Halifax's two major daily newspapers, the *Chronicle*, and Sydney's daily *Post* consistently sided with BESCO, and often painted the miners and steel workers in less

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[181] MacGillivray, "Military Aid to the Civil Power," in Donovan and Tennyson, eds., *Cape Breton Historical Essays*, 98-99, 102-103; Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 190-191, 233-234; and Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation," 19-24. I would like to thank Dr. Frank for having allowed me access to his biography of J.B. McLachlan before its publication.
[182] Halifax *Chronicle*, Aug. 1, 1923. The same story was carried in a similar fashion in the *Sydney Post* and the *Halifax Herald* on the same day.
[183] Halifax *Chronicle*, Aug. 1, 1923.

than glowing terms. In a *Chronicle* editorial, Stuart McCawley dismissed Scott's statements, claiming that the Canon's sources were unreliable. The miners' strike that began on July 2nd, he argued, was in direct violation of their contract -- which did not expire until January 1924. McCawley also claimed that wages over the last four months worked out to "on average of 62 cents an hour, for an eight hour day for every man and boy employed."[184] Two days later, in the same newspaper, Reverend Arthur Moore was disheartened by Scott's remarks, saying that if the Canon was willing "to go on believing the lies told by the Nova Scotia Reds after they have been nailed, we are indeed in a sorry plight." He described the workers' destruction of private property and concluded, "One finds it hard indeed to be patient in the midst of such piffle."[185] In the *Post*, yet another Moore, Sir Newton, who was a major BESCO shareholder and a member of Britain's Parliament, found it difficult to understand "how such misleading and false information could be articulated through the Canadian newspapers."[186] Amidst the conflicting reports, and after much prompting by the local and Quebec press, Scott went to Cape Breton to see the conditions for himself. His actions and his treatment in Nova Scotia's newspapers provide considerable insight into his social Anglicanism during the 1920s.

In Canadian religious historiography there has been abundant research on the social gospel movements during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Ramsay Cook, David Marshall, Richard Allen, and Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau all have asked whether the social gospel prompted a reinvigorated Protestant faith or a further secularization (and by implication, weakening) of it. However, due to the relatively mild influence the social gospel had upon Anglicanism in Canada, their

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[184] Halifax *Chronicle*, Aug. 6, 1923.
[185] Halifax *Chronicle*, Aug. 8, 1923.

focus has been on the Methodist and Presbyterian churches.[187] Edward Pulker's book, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, is perhaps the only in-depth historical analysis of Anglican social activism in Canada. His chapter on Scott's labour concern, entitled "An Outstanding Individual," gives credence to a whiggish argument that suggests progressive clergymen like Scott ensured a growing and positive Anglican stance toward economic issues during the twentieth century. However, Pulker does not explore the theological roots of Scott's industrial gospel, nor does he address the ways workers themselves came to terms with the clergymen's presence in Cape Breton.[188]

Scott's actions during the BESCO strike are better understood as a culmination of his theological and gender development, or better yet, as a point at which his organicist, paternalistic, and class views intersected. His conception of a genuine brotherhood of workers and employers was shaped by his Anglo-Catholicism and strengthened by the experience of comradeship he enjoyed with soldiers during World War I. It can hardly be suggested that he was an enemy of the worker, but the idealistic and paternalistic nature of his Christian Socialism distanced him from Cape Breton's social conflict no less than it had enveloped his understanding of the war. He continued to cling to an industrial gospel of reciprocal interests that workers themselves challenged while under the direction of J.B. McLachlan, treasurer-secretary of District 26. Scott's far-from-radical final "report" revealed the difficulties that beset any chivalric interpretation of contemporary class conflicts.

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[186] *Sydney Post*, Aug. 17, 1923.
[187] See Cook, *The Regenerators*; Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*; Allen, *The Social Passion*; and Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*.
[188] Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*. See also Pulker, "The Social Concern of Canon Scott."

I

In nineteenth-century England, many of the Oxford Movement leaders practiced an active social Anglicanism. Edward Pusey and A.H. Mackonochie are noted examples. Pusey established one of England's first ritualist slum parishes in Leeds during the 1840s, and Mackonochie devoted himself to missionary work in London's poorest districts throughout the mid-century.[189] By the time Scott studied at King's College in 1882, there were a dozen Anglo-Catholic slum churches located in the capital's East and South ends.[190] While in London, Scott was attracted to Anglo-Catholicism and spent his extracurricular time working with poor children, feeding them in the city's bakeries and taking them to the zoo.[191] He was initially undecided on whether he would live a life of Christian action or one of monastic withdrawal from the world, but the dilemma was resolved by 1886, when he wrote "The Soul's Quest," the poem about a woman's calling to lead a life of sacrifice in the name of Jesus Christ.[192] Scott chose a similar path, and, like most Christian Socialists of his time, including Pusey and Mackonochie, believed that Christ's Incarnation and Crucifixion bound "God to men and men to each other."[193] Peter d'A. Jones has described the socialism espoused by nineteenth-century Anglo-Catholics as "sacramental socialism", a term which communicates its proponents' conviction that the Holy Sacraments, especially Baptism and the Mass, bear proof of Christ's socialist beliefs. "Its adherents," he writes, "revivified medieval organicism in

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[189] Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival*, 28, 91.
[190] Reed, *Glorious Battle*, 153.
[191] Djwa, *Politics of the Imagination*, 16; Letter, F.G. Scott to "Emsie" Scott, Feb. 21, 1883, Box 13 File 6, FGSP; and Letter, F.G. Scott to Amy Scott, May 31, 1883, Box 13 File 6, FGSP.
[192] Scott, "The Soul's Quest," *The Soul's Quest*, 1-11.
[193] Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival*, 86-87.

their reclamation of the corporate life of the Church, an exalted ideal of the priesthood, and a genuine religious faith for weekdays as well as Sundays."[194] Scott's industrial gospel assumed the tenets of this Anglo-Catholic tradition.

Scott came to the defense of the worker as early as 1906, when as President of the Lord's Day Alliance he supported a bill introduced in the House of Commons that made Sunday a holy day. Sabbatarianism was essential to the labouring man's welfare, he argued, because it rebuked "the spirit of persistent commercialism" that "endeavors to lay its foul hands upon the homes, workshops, and pleasures of the people...and rob the public of a principle that secures the humblest workman a privilege that is by his decree of God." Without such a law, he maintained, "Sunday will become a day of strife and discord, and of oppression for the laboring man."[195] Scott's comments were a critique of the modern capitalist world.[196] They suggested a benevolent, but also naïve paternalism.

Several years later Scott highlighted more forcefully the Anglo-Catholicism of his industrial gospel in a sermon delivered on the Pauline conception of the Church. According to this doctrine, the Church *is* the Body of Christ, and Christ's physical and moral union with his people is initiated by Baptism and reaffirmed in the Eucharist. The baptized Christian "lives, but it is really Christ who lives in him; into this ontological mode of existence he must integrate his conscious conduct."[197] Therefore, Scott argued, Christians should personify the Church's qualities of "power, opportunity and love." "Love is the breath of the Body of Christ," he declared, "and should breathe through its

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[194] Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival*, 91.
[195] *Montreal Star*, April 13, 1906, Box 11 File 101, FGSP.
[196] Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 200-202.
[197] Fitzmyer, *Pauline Theology*, 70-75.

members in every thought, word and deed." He spelled out the ramifications of such a proposal:

> You must speak boldly, as He spoke, against the oppression of the weak by the strong. You must speak boldly against the appalling conditions of labor in our coal mines, the bad housing of our people in great industrial centres, the turning off into unemployment and starvation of our workers and their families by our governmental institutions when times are bad. The Body of Christ cannot tolerate this, and we must speak as Christ would speak...Christ, who was born in a stable, cannot tolerate the selfish luxury of the rich, and the sin of those who forget the stewardship of wealth.[198]

Scott's interest in Pauline theology was in part a reaffirmation of Anglo-Catholic sacramental observance, as well as an expression of an organic vision of society. He saw Canadian society as a living entity with its own "dynamic unity" and "peculiar moods, patterns, likes, dislikes, passions, and attitudes." [199] The "organicism" of Pauline theology, of Scott's imperialism, and of Scott's class sociology, were all of a piece.

As has been discussed, there was an evolutionary colouring to Scott's imperialism. During World War I, he believed that the Canadian soldiers were divinely called to sacrifice and their transition from civilian to military life were all instances of evolutionary meliorism. Their unselfish conduct and loyalty to God ensured victory on the battlefield and spurred Canada's further evolution from a dependent colony to a strong nation within the Empire.[200] At the military grounds at Valcartier, he later wrote, began "that splendid comradeship...which binds those who went to the great adventure in the brotherhood stronger than has ever been known before."[201] Scott highlighted the

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[198] *Canadian Churchman*, April 26, 1923.
[199] "Organicism," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 756-757. For a discussion on organicism and Canadian imperialism, see Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 92.
[200] See pages 29-32.
[201] Scott, *Great War*, 17.

soldiers' role in forging an exalted and vigorous Canadian identity, and he also hoped the soldiers' sense of national duty and brotherly love would become a useful model for industrial relations in the post-war era:

> The comradeship men experienced in the Great War was due to the fact that everyone knew comradeship was essential to our happiness and success. It would be well if all over Canada men realized that the same is true of our happiness in times of peace. What might we not accomplish if our national and industrial life were full of mutual sympathy and love![202]

Scott's thoughts on war and his labour concerns were held together by his organicist and masculinist picturing of the world. The nation's past and future depended on the communal work of men – whether it be that which united soldiers and officers in France, or labourers and their employers in Canada.

Scott's imperial agenda included calls for a broad partnership between labour and capital. In doing so, he expressed an industrial paternalism reminiscent of the nineteenth century. It undermined the economic inequalities between workers and their employers by appealing to them as members of a whole community and by stressing the sense of "mission" and "duty." In this context, writes Patrick Joyce, "Labour was no longer regarded as a commodity."[203]

On the surface, the Canon's industrial outlook resembled the way William Lyon Mackenzie King viewed industrial disputes before 1919. Both men sought to Christianize the economic order and they envisioned the state's positive role in mediating between workers and their employers, should the need arise. Like mid-nineteenth-century Christian socialists in general, Scott believed in social reform as opposed to class struggle

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[202] Scott, *Great War*, 78.
[203] Joyce, *Work, Society and Politics*, 136-141.

and encouraged trade unions to work peacefully for better conditions.[204] Similarly, King's *Industry and Humanity* espoused the principles of arbitration, conciliation, and co-operation in ensuring industrial peace. The purpose of the King-inspired Industrial Disputes Act (IDIA) of 1907 was to reduce strikes and lockouts in the areas of utilities, railroads, and coal mines by establishing a conciliation process between workers and their employers. In the case of an industrial dispute that had not yet resulted in a strike or lockout, the Act called for an investigation, a freeze on the terms of employment, and a conciliation board. If mediation failed, both sides reverted back to their pre-conciliation status.[205]

Ramsay Cook argues that King had "a naïve faith in the power of positive thinking" and that he was "almost childlike" in his "conceptions of good and bad and right and wrong."[206] But King's IDIA, argues Ian McKay, was a well-calculated legal document and "a heaven-sent weapon for capital." It lacked protective measures for unions in the face of employer intimidation and provided no safeguards against the dismissal of workers before or after the mandatory investigation. Furthermore, in the event that a collective agreement was brokered, it had no legal status. In 1909, the purpose of the IDIA was made obvious during a miners' strike in Inverness, Cape Breton. After a majority of miners withdrew their support from the Provincial Workmen's Association (PWA) and opted to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), the company continued to collect union dues for the PWA. The Dominion Coal Company dismissed every miner who indicated he no longer wanted PWA union dues deducted from his wages. In July the discharged workers called a strike, and soon after

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[204] Dillenberger and Welch, *Protestant Christianity Interpreted*, 219.
[205] McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914,"40.

soldiers arrived to protect strikebreakers and the minority of workers still on the job. Despite the fact that the strikers had already been expelled from their jobs, their actions were deemed illegal by the legal system because they did not adhere to the conciliation process. Under the Act, the UMW was also prosecuted for unlawfully "supplying provisions to a striker prior to reference of a dispute to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation." For all its origin in King's idealist sociology, the Act was not a disembodied, unrealistic vision in practice. It exposed, rather, the coercive nature of the government, one that was clearly aligned with the interests of capital.[207]

Scott's outlook precluded his ever seeing industrial relations in so conflictual a way. In Winnipeg in 1919, he would affirm that the state could guarantee industrial harmony. He heard of the Winnipeg General Strike while conversing with soldiers in Quebec, and immediately boarded a train for the western city.[208] He arrived on June 4, and the following day he chaired a meeting between anti-strike soldiers and members of the strike committee. Three days later, Scott and J.S. Woodsworth addressed a crowd of workers in Victoria Park, where the military chaplain expressed his belief in collective bargaining on the grounds that it was a constitutional right. Scott also argued that workers "must be given an intelligent interest in industry and a share in the profits."[209] Perhaps on account of fears that he may be misconstrued as a government spokesman, the Canon was disavowed by the state. On June 12th he jotted down in his diary, "Mounted policeman + Bailiff (?) came to see me + took papers."[210] Although Scott was unwilling to discuss the incident publicly, a Winnipeg alderman later claimed that the chaplain's room was

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[206] Cook, *The Regenerators*, 208-213.
[207] McKay, "Strikes in the Maritimes, 1901-1914," 40-43.
[208] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 209.
[209] Penner, *Winnipeg 1919*, 99.

searched for seditious literature, and hours later he was told he would be escorted by armed guard if he did not leave the city immediately.[211] Upon his departure, Scott is reported to have proclaimed, "I am getting old, but I am going to dedicate the rest of my life to fighting labor's battles."[212]

In early September, Charles G. Power wrote to Scott asking him for permission to discuss the Winnipeg incident in the House of Commons. Scott responded, "Please do not mention my deportation in the House. I am just settling down to parish work again and I want to keep out of the limelight. The Government made a mistake in their treatment of me."[213] Despite his Winnipeg experience, Scott's later actions showed that while he was skeptical of Prime Minister King's treatment of workers, he still believed that the government *could* act as an "impartial umpire" between labour and capital.

II

In his address to the crowds of workers at a 1923 May Day parade in Cape Breton, J.B. McLachlan proclaimed, "The workers of this land are our comrades and brothers, the capitalists of this land our robber enemies, the complete solidarity of the former is our hope, the complete extermination of the latter our aim." As secretary-

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[210] F.G. Scott diary entry, June 12, 1919, Box 10 Diary 1919, FGSP.
[211] *Montreal Gazette*, May 22, 1920, Box 11 File 106, FGSP.
[212] Penner, *Winnipeg 1919*, 135-136.
[213] Letter, Charles G. Power to F.G. Scott, Sept. 8, 1919, Box 11 File 106, FGSP; Draft letter, F.G. Scott to Charles G. Power, undated, Box 11 File 106, FGSP. Relatedly, Scott's commanding officer had requested that Scott report his reasons for leaving his jurisdiction. Scott explained himself by stating, "I went to Winnipeg to see some of the thousands of friends who I have who belonged to the Canadian Corps in France; and secondly to try to see what differences of opinion on the labour question had caused a split in the GWVA. I had intended to have stayed only one day or two at most, but my return pass, due on Monday, did not reach me till Saturday, owing no doubt to difficulties in the post office department." Letter, Major Commanding District Depot #5 to F.G. Scott, June 20, 1919, Box 11 File 106, FGSP.

treasurer of District 26, McLachlan's power could not be ignored. The popular press often felt compelled to accuse him of godlessness. In 1923 an RCMP inspector warned, "This agitator is at present in a stronger position than ever in Cape Breton; his present aspirations appear to be both political and revolutionary." Although Communist membership in Cape Breton was not large, its presence along with McLachlan's leadership reflected the extent of labour radicalism in the Cape Breton coal fields.[214]

The "red executive" that took power of District 26 in the spring of 1922 most certainly would have been an affront to Canon Scott's imperialist sensibilities, for not only did some of its members reject the brotherhood of labour and capital, but others like McLachlan also desired the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. Months before Scott arrived in Cape Breton, District 26 and the international executive clashed on the question of business unionism's appropriateness as a weapon in the miners' cause. McLachlan and his supporters continued strongly to challenge, and even repudiate, previous settlements with BESCO. Meanwhile, international UMW president John L. Lewis insisted that the district follow a prescribed code of labour mediation.[215]

In July of 1923, the state, the UMW international executive, and the workers themselves came down hard on the Cape Breton radicals. On the 3rd of the month, McLachlan and District 26 President Dan Livingstone were arrested for seditious libel. Two weeks later, Lewis removed the entire district executive from office and placed the international union's Cape Breton representative, Silby Barrett, as president of a provisional bureaucracy. Lewis' telegram to the deposed officers was telling; in it, he accused Livingstone of being a "self proclaimed revolutionist" in collusion with his "evil

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[214] Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 269, 285.
[215] Ibid., Ch. 6.

genius McLachlan" and the "revolutionary masters in Moscow."[216] Lewis' words revealed the deep cleavages between a union district that sought to challenge, and even repudiate, industrial legality, and an international executive that adhered to this prescribed mediation process.

In a revisionist account of the 1923 BESCO strike, Ian McKay and Suzanne Morton assert that one of the factors undermining the left executive was a group of local workers themselves, ones who sought the international union's intervention. In addition, these historians contend that throughout the executive's "left turn" between June 1922 and July 1923, Livingstone and McLachlan faced considerable opposition from the union's rank and file. Although "the ideals of revolutionary socialism still had a mass base," they argue, the left turn created major cleavages in the union.[217] Nonetheless, the varying degrees of radical labourism in Cape Breton, from challenges to pre-existing contracts to calls for a Communist state, were an expression of the district's past inability to secure more for its members in an age of industrial legality. Even when a 1920 royal commission described the workers' living conditions as "with few exceptions, absolutely wretched", and proposed a wage increase of as much as 55 cents a day, its recommendations were disregarded one year later when miners' wages were cut by one third.[218] Moreover, McLachlan was unable to secure legal protection for the workers when BESCO management violated the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act in 1921.[219]

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[216] Ibid., 312-313.
[217] Mckay and Morton, "The Maritimes: Expanding the Circle of Resistance," in Heron, ed., *The Workers' Revolt in Canada*, 43-86.
[218] Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 192-196.
[219] Immediately after BESCO rescinded the existing contract and cut wages by a further twenty-five per cent, McLachlan appealed to the federal government for a conciliation board meeting. Disregarding him, BESCO management violated the Act by implementing the new wage scale before the board met in mid-January of the new year. See Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 235-236.

His subsequent arrest seemed to further highlight the state's general endorsement of the corporation.

III

Amidst the BESCO strike in the summer of 1923, when employees and management waged venomous attacks against one another in the local press, the workers disagreed with one other about the union's future direction, and citizens clashed with policemen and soldiers, Canon Scott's industrial gospel appeared anachronistic. His anti-Bolshevism and his dismissal of the views expressed in the *Maritime Labor Herald* reflected his inability to truly understand the miners' and steel workers' grievances. Just as he believed that the comradeship among soldiers had guaranteed Canada's victory in the war, so too was Scott convinced that an inherent brotherhood of Cape Breton capital and labour would ensure the island's contribution to the nation's welfare.

In August, Scott went to Cape Breton to assess the living and working conditions of the BESCO employees. Frank Carrell, a *Quebec Daily Telegraph* employee, arranged the clergyman's trip. Earlier, the newspaper representative had sent a telegram to Prime Minister King, urging a government investigation and mentioning Scott's potential visit. Carrell believed the Canon could do "more to unite both interests providing [the] company [was] willing to lay all cards on [the] table."[220] King wrote back to Carrell, informing him in confidence that an inquiry was going to be instituted. The Prime Minister admitted that all along he had felt an investigation was needed and that he was

[220] Telegram, Frank Carrell to W.L.M. King, Aug. 6, 1923, Box 11 File 106, FGSP.

waiting for the "right moment to get in touch with Premier Armstrong."[221] Despite King's comments, Carrell went ahead with his plans. He informed the Prime Minister that Scott was going to spend a week on the Island, "accepting favors from neither officials of the company, or members of any union, paying for every meal and night's lodging, and making no statement whatever in connection with the situation."[222] Scott's son Elton (Scott had named him after his fictional character) would accompany him in order to substantiate his father's findings. Carrell further explained:

> The *Telegram's* efforts and those of myself with men such as Canon Scott and others, are being put forth with the object of steadying things a little and assisting in uplifting the moral standard of our industrial life...If the men feel that they have a few friends ready to give them fair play I believe that more will be done to quell extreme socialism or Bolshevism in this country than by driving men to work with unscrupulous stock gambling administrators, backed up by rifle and bayonet...he [Scott] will hear both sides and will be exceedingly impartial in his version of the situation.[223]

Apparently, both Scott and Carrell saw the need to carry out an impartial investigation and wished to infuse the industrial order with a moral purpose.

When publicly announcing his planned trip to Cape Breton, Scott made it obvious that his industrial gospel was still being couched in imperialist terms. As one who had emerged from the war as a celebrated patriarch, he felt comfortable instructing workers and employers on what values should govern their relations:

> What we must get in all our industrial interests in Canada is the touch of sympathy and comradeship which will promote harmony and co-operation. If they feel their rights denied them, they will rebel. On the other hand, if real Bolshevism of foreign agitators are at the bottom of the trouble they must be got rid of at once.

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[221] Letter, W.L.M. King to Frank Carrell, Aug. 20, 1923.
[222] Letter, Frank Carrell to W.L.M. King, Aug. 21, 1923, W.L. Mackenzie King Papers, Queen's University Archives [hereafter QUA], vol. 90, p.248-251.
[223] Ibid.

> The surest way to keep Bolshevism out of Canada is for employers and employees to carry out the spirit of that for which the flag of our empire stands – British fair play. The spirit of co-operation and brotherhood in our armies in the war between men of different ranks showed what can be done when a big problem has to be faced.[224]

According to Scott, there was a significant difference between those workers who practiced "British fair play" and those with Bolshevist tendencies. Truly patriotic workers were willing to meet their employers half way by resorting to governmental methods of conciliation. In doing so, they, as another clergyman in Cape Breton stated, were "generous in their friendship and devoted to the higher interest of their fellows." Scott characterized Bolshevists in the same manner he had depicted Germans in the trenches -- as deviant 'others' and "extremists" whose purpose was to upset "all of our constitutions."[225]

Scott arrived in Sydney on August 21st. When reporters continued to ask him about the industrial situation, he responded, "No, I want to get next to the clams."[226] As Carrell's letter to King had claimed, the Canon intended not to speak openly of the situation while in Cape Breton. He did mention, however, that he planned to visit with his friends there, three of whom were influential on the island. Reverend C.R. Cumming was rector of Christ Church, and Col. Eric McDonald was Commissioner of the provincial police stationed on BESCO property and its environs. Scott also knew "Dan Willie" Morrison, Mayor of Glace Bay, whom he had met during the war. Together with visiting

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[224] *Sydney Record*, Aug. 20, 1923. Similar articles appeared in the *Chronicle* on Aug. 21 and in the Sydney *Post* on Aug. 22.

[225] Halifax *Chronicle*, Aug. 23, 1923. These views were expressed by Reverend A.M. McLeod whose outlook was similar to Scott's. While he considered those workers who adhered to the "constitutional method" as the "saner element" and "the finest type of humanity," those who comprised the "Red" element he deemed "extremists." He was also fearful that their "vicious" doctrines were spreading.

[226] *Sydney Record*, Aug. 31, 1923.

the mines and the company houses, the 62-year-old priest also intended to visit the Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) branches and to renew acquaintances with its members.[227]

The clergyman's popularity among Cape Breton's returned men could not be doubted. Throughout the war, Canadian soldiers had continually looked up to him for spiritual and fatherly advice, while Scott regarded the troops as his own sons and often referred to them as his "boys." Sydney's veterans attested to Scott's integrity, claiming that during his inquiry he would "travel as a free lance and go when and where he will."[228] And when the clergyman spoke before an audience at the Sydney Branch of the GWVA on the topic of the "Battlefields Revisited," the attendees' response was enthusiastic. As one reporter recalled, the gathering "proved that Canon Scott is no doubt the most interesting speaker that could be found in Canada from the veterans' point of view."[229]

Scott's popularity as a father figure to many of the veterans, some of whom were likely BESCO employees, and his influence in Quebec ensured that neither the labour press nor the daily newspapers could simply dismiss him. Because the Canon refused to make any conclusions about the industrial situation while in Cape Breton, the capitalist press had little difficulty constructing a Canon Scott sympathetic to its own agenda. On August 23, BESCO officials accompanied the clergyman and his son down into colliery #4 in Caledonia, Glace Bay. While the *Sydney Record* made the general observation that Scott was pleased with the treatment received from both officials and workers,[230] the

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[227] Ibid.
[228] *Sydney Post*, Aug. 22, 1923.
[229] *Sydney Record*, August 27, 1923.
[230] *Sydney Record*, Aug. 24, 1923.

Sydney Post and the Halifax *Chronicle* highlighted the clergyman's surprise at how cheerful and well-paid the miners were. The *Post* noted that Scott spoke to one miner who claimed he earned seven dollars that day for only working between eight and nine hours.[231] This was more than double the three-dollar-daily-minimum wage proposed by BESCO in January 1921. Meanwhile, the *Chronicle* reported Scott having said that the Caledonia washhouse was a "very fine and modern building." It also remarked that Scott believed the miners to be "a strong healthy bunch of men, and noted that those miners he met below were all in good humour."[232]

On August 30, Scott held a conference with Silby Barrett, who had taken over as District 26 provisional President after Lewis had undemocratically removed Livingstone from office. During the two-hour meeting, Barrett informed Scott that the deposed executive was attempting to form a dual organization within the district. Barrett assured Scott that he and his colleagues would use a "firm hand" in dealing with the radicals. "This act of McLachlan and his associates cannot and will not be tolerated by the international," Barrett reportedly said. At the conclusion of their meeting, the same paper claimed that Scott invited Barrett to visit his home in Quebec and to speak at a mass meeting there, where he and the other UMW men would be the principal speakers.[233] Although it is difficult to judge the truthfulness of the *Chronicle*'s reports, its coverage of the Barrett-Scott meeting suggests that the clergyman considered the new provisional executive to be the miners' true representatives. Apparently, Scott was not concerned about hearing either McLachlan's or his supporters' "testimony." Sydney's major labour

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[231] *Sydney Post*, Aug. 24, 1923.
[232] *Chronicle*, Aug. 29, 1923.
[233] *Sydney Post*, August 31, 1923.

paper did not report on the meeting between Barrett and Scott, but it did have a lot to say about the Canon's investigation.

The *Maritime Labor Herald* was the mouthpiece of the Cape Breton workers. Founded in the fall of 1921, its by-laws provided that at least three-fifths of the paper's shares be owned by labour unions. This was an attempt to create "a working class paper in working class dress and right on the job fighting the battle of the working class." From its inception, the paper promoted a brand of radical labourism highly revolutionary in rhetoric. Many Cape Bretoners shared its outlook, for the paper's popularity on the Island was almost immediate. By early 1922 it had reached a circulation of over 6,000 copies a week, thus providing it with a larger readership than some of the local daily newspapers. It was a strong McLachlan supporter, and its contempt for Barrett was unrelenting.[234] The paper's approach to Canon Scott, however, was revealingly cautious.

The *Labor Herald* hoped that Scott's inquiry would be productive, but it did warn the clergyman that he "must be careful in consulting BESCO officials and not rely too much upon the[ir] veracity because the workers know some of them in authority are jugglers of the truth."[235] In late August, the *Labor Herald* printed an extensive editorial entitled, "The Pilgrimage of Canon Scott." Initially celebratory, it characterized Scott as "David going forth to meet Goliath," and proclaimed that "deliverance is at hand for the oppressed who have been delivered into the bondage of BESCO."[236] However, the editorial quickly turned to the inadequacy of Scott's approach. While praising him as a "humanitarian" who sympathized with the workers, the writer argued that Scott's calls for an investigation "would only reveal one thing: the futility of an investigation." The

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[234] Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 213-215.
[235] *Maritime Labor Herald*, Sept. 1, 1923.

following excerpt from the column laid bare the *Labor Herald*'s problems with Scott's paternalistic attitude towards the BESCO workers:

> ...He [Scott] imagines that all of this can be abolished by workers and the corporation coming together and agreeing to have harmony in industry. Imagine the corporation that last August flooded the Island with troops and was only prevented from firing on the miners of New Aberdeen because of the fear miners elsewhere would destroy property in retaliation; [it] brought troops in again this year, and is...driving the best union men from the district by means of the blacklist. Imagine this corporation agreeing upon a truce with the workers except upon the basis of the absolute surrender of the workers of all struggle for a better standard of living! The corporation is fighting for the huge profits of the absentee owners of the property. The workers are fighting for a better standard of living for themselves and their families. Two parties cannot win a battle. Thus far the corporation has been backed up with the armed forces of the state, the capitalist press, and the arch-reactionary John L. Lewis. An investigation would benefit the workers nothing and would merely serve as a basis for editorial preaching in the capitalist press on the uselessness of industrial warfare and on the blessings of industrial harmony, this press that can lie so expertly when the workers are struggling for more bread.[237]

The editorial finished by claiming that only in Soviet Russia could a commission adequately address labour's concerns, for Soviet boards consisted of rank-and-file union members and their decisions were enforced by the government. The two "military invasions" of Cape Breton in the last two years had clearly showed that the Canadian state backed the corporation.[238] Although the *Labor Herald* felt Scott to be sincere in his motives, it also believed his ability to effect change was sadly inadequate. Like the radical workers it represented, the newspaper not only questioned Scott's paternalism, but also expressed its contempt for a government and economic order that propped up a *faux* system of conciliation.

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[236] *Maritime Labor Herald*, Aug. 25, 1923.
[237] Ibid.

After having spent more than a week in Cape Breton, Scott boarded a train and returned to his home in Quebec City. Within days, the Canon delivered his "final report" in a sermon to his congregation at St. Matthew's Church. *The Canadian Churchman* reprinted most of the address and excerpts were also carried in a number of Quebec and Nova Scotia newspapers.[239] Scott said that after having met with a number of miners and steel workers, some of whom had been blacklisted by BESCO, and after having consulted with the steel miners' union and the UMW's provisional executive, he sided with the workers. Their claims of low wages and poor working and living conditions could not be denied.

While the bathhouse at Caledonia mine #2 was satisfactory, the one at mine #4 "offered few attractions in the way of cleanliness." The lamp provided in one colliery "could not be described in print," while in another mine, the absence of lighting altogether had thrown 500 men "back to the habits of cave dwellers." The employees' living conditions were also inadequate. The 1500 people who lived by mine #11 were highly susceptible to disease, owing to the fact that their water was supplied through open gutters. The lack of double windows and storm doors contributed to the "squalid appearance" of their houses. The company lodgings at Sydney Mines were even worse. Considering the discontinuous nature of their work, these men rarely earned a "living wage." The majority of miners only made $3.35 a day. Furthermore, the steelworkers' demands for shorter hours, higher wages, and union recognition were "not

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[238] Ibid.

[239] *The Canadian Churchman* (Sept. 13, 1923) reprinted most of the sermon. Excerpts of Scott's report were also carried in numerous newspapers, including the *Montreal Star*, Sept. 4, 1923; *Sydney Record*, Sept. 4; *Halifax Herald*, Sept. 5; Halifax *Chronicle*, Sept. 5; and *Sydney Post*, Sept. 5.

unreasonable."[240] From Scott's comments, it appeared that the corporation, and not the workers, had ignored the tenets of "British fair play."

In terms of the political mood on the Island, Scott lamented that "the general atmosphere is one of gloom and a spirit of depression pervades the whole region. The men do not trust the company and the company does not trust the men." Despite the hostility between the workers and the corporation, Scott claimed that "there was little of the 'Red' element, outside of the utterances of a labor paper printed in a building opposite the company's office of Glace Bay."[241] He apparently had little difficulty dismissing the views expressed in the *Labor Herald*, despite the paper's wide appeal amongst Cape Bretoners. Moreover, the clergyman associated Bolshevist sentiments with the "foreign element," which only comprised "about 10 per cent" of the region's population. As for the rest of the workers, they "belonged to the very finest type of humanity, Highland Scotch, some Irish, and Newfoundlanders."[242] The Canon seemed to forget the glaring fact that McLachlan, the embodiment of "Cape Breton Bolshevism," was a born-and-bred Scot.

To prevent the seeds of revolution from taking root, Scott urged that the workers must be treated fairly. A government investigation, he argued, would be impartial in its inquiry and he hoped it would establish "whole-hearted co-operation between employer and employee." In finishing his sermon, the clergyman affirmed:

> I suggest that the remedy can only be found in approaching the problem in a humanitarian spirit. The workers must be ensured of a decent living, their wives and children must be protected against poverty, misery and squalor, and the only way this can be done, is to insist, if necessary, upon the application of a broader

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[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid.
[242] *Canadian Churchman*, Sept. 13, 1923.

> spirit of human fellowship in the economic relations of master and man.[243]

Clearly, Scott's industrial gospel had not changed. Once again he called on the government to settle the dispute, and echoing the Pauline conception of the corporate Church, he appealed to workers and employers to uphold the qualities of "cooperation" and "fellowship." And even though Scott addressed the workers' low wages and poor housing and working conditions, he viewed industrial disputes in essentially moral terms. It was not economic exploitation inherent in the capitalist system that starved Cape Bretoners, it was the greed and unchristian conduct of the corporation. Whereas workers maintained that the state was in collusion with Wolvin and Lewis, Scott asserted that the government could "re-christianize" labour relations. After all, the clergyman believed that the relationship between labour and capital was that of an inherent brotherhood. In fighting "labour's battles" as he constructed them, Scott fought principally for his social Christianity.

Considering that the *Chronicle* and the *Post* had supported BESCO in the past, it was not surprising when both newspapers openly criticized Scott's findings. Within two days of publishing the Canon's sermon, both papers expressed their contempt for the man. The Halifax newspaper asked why he had come to the region in the first place, and dismissed his report as "overflowing with the perfectly obvious." While it attributed the unsanitary conditions of a washhouse to "the habits of the persons who use it," it instructed Scott to go find the strikers' back-to-work resolution and "bathe in it." A minimum daily wage of $3.35, it snidely remarked, "is better than not working at all."[244] The *Post* seconded the *Chronicle*'s opinions, and also claimed that if Scott had inspected

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[243] Ibid.

company housing elsewhere, "he would have found many scores of colliery homes, in which cleanliness, thrift, happiness and wholesome conditions are as much in evidence as in the homes of our parish." Scott's dismissal of the "Red element", the *Post* concluded, confirmed the Canon's ability to "observe results, without taking the time to investigate causes."[245]

The same day that the *Post* printed the aforementioned remarks, it issued BESCO's official reply to Scott's statements:

> During his stay in Sydney, Canon Scott seemed indisposed to acquaint himself with any phases of the local situation that would credit the management with good intentions...he had an eye only for conditions that seemed to him to permit of criticism and he was unsympathetic to the officials of the company and unable to appreciate their endeavors to do the best for all concerned.[246]

The corporation's officials also argued that the workers' pay and standard of living was the highest it had ever been; more specifically, 40% of the miners made an average daily wage of $6.46. As for the housing conditions, the company was spending "hundreds of thousands of dollars" a year on repairs and improvements, despite the nominal sums the tenants paid in rent. The management concluded that it "would have welcomed criticism, but feel that one-sided disparagement unaccompanied by any suggestions to how conditions are to be improved, is unfair and without any practical value either to the Company or its employees."[247]

Although the *Labor Herald* by no means denounced all of Scott's comments, its lukewarm support of him implied that the clergyman had failed to understand the larger issues at stake. It flatly rejected Scott's calls for "cooperation between employer and

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[244] *Chronicle*, Sept. 6, 1923.
[245] *Sydney Post*, Sept. 7, 1923.
[246] Ibid.

employee": "The struggles that have taken place between the workers and the corporation disprove this idea."[248] Interestingly, in its coverage of the Scott report, the *Labor Herald* omitted the clergyman's anti-Bolshevist remarks; and, in a subsequent article, it defended the clergyman from the *Chronicle*'s and *Post*'s attacks. Scott was claimed to have "no reason for hiding the terrible conditions around the mines...and the low wages paid the steel workers in Sydney. Because of these things the publicity department of Besco has trained all its heavy artillery upon him."[249] Apparently, the *Labor Herald* could uphold Scott as a defender of labour, albeit in general and modified terms.

Before Canon Scott had even arrived in the late summer of 1923, the strike that had begun on July 2 had fallen apart. The workers had drifted back to work, their calls for higher wages and better conditions unheeded. The clergyman's inquiry into the industrial situation further disheartened the miners and steelworkers, for this supposed defender of labour had little idea how to address their concerns. As a social evolutionist, staunch imperialist, and Christian patriarch, Scott framed his industrial gospel in nationalist and paternalistic terms. He believed that just as the comradeship between soldiers had ensured Canada's victory in war, so too would the inherent brotherhood between labour and capital secure Canada's progress in the post-war era. Although he had good intentions when he took that train to Cape Breton, his actions and his attitude towards the BESCO workers while there, exposed an undeniable paternalism in his industrial gospel. Like the soldiers in the trenches, Scott seemed to think of the miners and steelworkers as his "boys." He deplored class militancy, seeing it as an affront to "British fair play." Scott

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[247] *Sydney Record*, Sept. 7, 1923. The same article appeared in the *Halifax Herald* on the same day.
[248] *Maritime Labor Herald*, Sept. 8, 1923.
[249] *Maritime Labor Herald*, Sept. 15, 1923.

continued to believe that the government could effectively Christianize labour relations within a system of conciliation.

In a remarkable 1925 letter to Prime Minister King, Scott invoked both the memory of William Lyon Mackenzie and the specter of Bolshevism in his appeal for federal government involvement in the Cape Breton coal fields:

> If there is no law in the constitution of Canada which gives you the right to avert the hideous calamity now very immanent, the supreme law of common humanity empowers you to intervene.... Ultimately the responsibility of the fate of our fellow Canadians rests not upon our provinces only but on the whole Dominion.... The ancestor whose name you so proudly bear was once judged a rebel because he stood for the rights of the oppressed in defiance of the law, an oppressed people is crying for deliverance today.... If the agony of human beings does not move your government to [take] immediate action, perhaps the reflection that failure to save the lives of Canadians now will not only shake your government but, what is worse, it will shake the ordered constitution of our country. It is merely playing into the hands of that Bolshevism which we all dread and which is threatening the governments of the world today.... This should not be the motive to lead us to play fairly with our fellow Canadians but it ought to bear weight with those whose self-interest shuts their ears to the cry of the suffering.[250]

In his response to Scott's calls for government intervention, King wrote that he shared the Anglican's admiration for the suffering Cape Bretoners, but argued that federal interference in the situation would, using Scott's words, "shake the ordered constitution of our country." He continued:

> To avoid the very Bolshevism of which your letter makes mention, I feel that regard must be had by the Federal Government to what would appear to be the constitutional course of procedure in all matters which may involve rights and responsibilities on the part of municipalities, the Governments of the several provinces and the Government of the Dominion.[251]

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[250] Open letter, F.G. Scott to W.L.M. King, March 24, 1925, W.L. Mackenzie King Papers, QUA, vol. 123, p.104778-80.
[251] Letter, W.L.M. King to F.G. Scott, March 25, 1925, King Papers, QUA, vol. 142, p.104781-83.

The Scott-King correspondence reveals that a considerable gap had opened up between Scott and King since the implementation of the IDIA in 1907. While King no longer seemed inclined or able to Christianize the economic order via the government apparatus, Scott continued to argue that it was the state's Christian duty to better the working classes' conditions.

Pulker has stated that "even though Scott was seventy years old by the time the Great Depression had taken hold, this outstanding individual continued to make his presence felt for several more years on the behalf of those he believed suffered from social injustice."[252] The clergyman's inquiry into the miners' and steelworkers' conditions at BESCO was not a complete failure, for it did make Canadians elsewhere aware of the situation. Nevertheless, it is also clear that Scott's industrial outlook had a significant paternalistic dimension, one that was not only evident in his earlier life, but also made apparent in the media's coverage of his visit to Cape Breton. Instead of reflecting Anglicans' growing interest in economic affairs, Scott's investigation seems to suggest that even the Church's most "progressive clergymen" did not understand the scope and roots of Cape Breton labour radicalism. It is of interest not so much for what it revealed about life and work in the coalfields, but for what it said about the continuing hold of organicist, paternalist and "pre-modern" motifs in Scott's applied sociology.

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[252] Pulker, *We Stand on Their Shoulders*, 83.

Conclusion

When Scott died of lung congestion in 1944, a writer for the Royal Canadian Legion noted that he "is being mourned by more real admirers, more real friends, and more real comrades than any other Canadian has ever been, and that is saying a great deal."[253] A correspondent with Quebec's *Chronicle-Telegraph* lamented that "the Church has lost a rare shepherd of men, Canada an exceptionally gifted son, Literature an inspired poet, and the Under Dog an indefatigable friend."[254] Similar tributes were published in other newspapers and articulated in memorial services held throughout Ontario and Quebec, and in some cities, including Calgary and New York.[255] Calgary's veterans, for example, paid their respects to their 'fallen comrade' by observing a two minutes' silence during their ex-servicemen meetings, holding a memorial service in the Pro-Church of the Redeemer, and requesting that wreaths be placed at Scott's graveside in Montreal.[256] The Legion branch in Welland, Ontario, honoured him by co-sponsoring the building and placement of a memorial window in St. Matthew's Church, where Scott had been rector and curate. And at the request of "his many old comrades and admirers," the Legionary Library in Ottawa made available mail-order portraits of the late archdeacon.[257]

Most Canadians knew of Scott because of popular press accounts of his heroic conduct in the Great War. He had emerged from combat as a Canadian patriarch, and as Bishop Lennox Williams informed one of Scott's sons, "No man in Canada was beloved

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[253] *The Legionary*, Feb. 1944, p12-13, 31, Box 7 File 67, FGSP.
[254] *Chronicle-Telegraph*, Jan. 20, 1944, Box 7 File 66, FGSP.
[255] See "Tributes and Memorials to Canon Scott, 1944-1961," Box 7 File 66, FGSP.
[256] *News* (Medicine Hat, Alberta), Jan. 21, 1944, Box 7 File 66, FGSP.
[257] Portrait of F.G. Scott and mail-order form that appeared in *The Legionary*, date unknown, Box 7 File 67, FGSP.

by so many men, and for hundreds of them the influence of 'Canon Scott' stood for all the religion they had." [258] The "manly" dimension of Scott's theology drew soldiers to him. He served as a father figure to many of them, providing them with a coherent vision of war that eased their fears at the front. War made Canadian enlistees "manly" Christians who, in turn, ensured Canada's growing strength within the British Empire.

In his eulogy for Scott written and printed in 1948, Reverend R.J. Renison lamented that "in our age of cynicism men love to debunk idealism." Recalling an incident when a clergyman told him that the Union Jack had "no place in the House of God," Renison consoled himself by recalling a time forty years earlier when every "English-speaking Canadian child" could proudly recite one of Scott's patriotic poems.[259] Scott, as Renison suggested, was a late-Victorian imperialist who stressed the concepts of community, hierarchy, and order. In the context of a secularizing Protestant faith, concerns about the usefulness of armed conflict, changing codes of masculine conduct, and new forms of conciliation between strikers and employers, his values appeared to be all but modern.

T.J. Jackson Lears argues that American Anglo-Catholics in the late nineteenth-century "required submission to ecclesiastical authority as an antidote to modern confusion." Anglo-Catholics' emphasis on sacramental observance and Catholic corporatism separated them from "the market morality of secularized Calvinism" and empowered them to criticize the class conflict characteristic of industrial capitalist

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[258] Letter, Bishop Lennox Williams to William Scott, June 12, 1944, Box 7 File 65, FGSP.
[259] *Montreal Gazette*, May 6, 1948 (originally published in the *Globe & Mail*, date unkown), Box 7 File 67, FGSP.

society. "Like other dissents from modernity," Lears concludes that American Anglo-Catholicism "often remained intertwined with the culture it attacked."[260]

Scott's faith was similar to that of American Anglo-Catholics Lears evokes. It grounded him in a time characterized by the seeming weightlessness of transatlantic modernity. When Darwin threatened to undermine the conventional Christian belief in a purposive and harmonious universe, Scott espoused an Anglo-Catholic view of Holy Communion that emphasized the sacred over the secular. This sacrament was, to Scott, the perfect example of evolutionary meliorism. It reinvigorated his theology and made it possible for him to celebrate God's progressive work in nature, the individual, and the Canadian nation. Scott was also an antimodernist, in the sense that his gender ideal was an essentialist one. He challenged the negative gender stereotypes of Anglo-Catholic men as weak-minded and effeminate by celebrating a strenuous Christian message that heralded the seemingly timeless and "chivalric" qualities of courage, duty, and gentlemanly conduct. His antimodernist vision of society was made most apparent when he visited Cape Breton in 1923. While the industrial situation there was characterized by intense class conflict, Scott called for a brotherhood between BESCO management and its workers, one that would foster Canada's further growth in the post-war era.
Scott's antimodernist theology came to terms with changes in Canadian society with varied success. He rationalized life in the trenches and was able to return to Canada after the war theologically unscathed. Furthermore, he successfully distanced himself from the negative gender stereotypes of male Anglo-Catholics and emerged from the war a Canadian patriarch to a generation of Canadian soldiers. The republication of Scott's war memoirs this year confirms the continued popularity of his romantic rendering of war and

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[260] Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 198-203.

men's conduct in it.[261] Lears's diagnosis of "anti-modernism" in this case thus only helps clarify Scott's importance in a general sense. The power and influence of his example of chivalric manliness, in so many different contexts, may suggest a significant Canadian/American cultural difference. What can be said with greater confidence is that Scott's life and work attest to the enduring power of ideals of honour, manliness and chivalry well into the twentieth century. There was something functional and "modern" about this much beloved – and mythified – man.

[261] Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It* (3rd ed. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2000).

Appendix:
F.G. Scott's algebraic expression of the Holy Eucharist in the scheme of evolution, addressed in a letter to an unknown correspondent, January 16, 1894. Box 13 Folder 14, Frederick George Scott Papers.

Dear Sir,

Will you permit me, as one to whom the combination of scientific methods and Catholic Orthodoxy in your writings very distinctly appeals, to submit to you some random thoughts which for a considerable time have been grouping themselves with more or less definitiveness and order around a subject which must be to us both, with whatever variation of terms one may express it, the ? of our religion and that is the Holy Eucharist.

My idea is this, that nature has been a continued evolution of the quality and powers of the life force of organisms, going on side by side with the development of their physical parts. E.G. Starting at the bottom of the ladder:

Let x = the primal cell, whatever it may have been.

and

y = the life force which gave it cohesion and the power of growth.

Then each successive stage of development would be expressed <u>not</u> by

$$X + X \text{ squared} = Y + X \text{ squared } Y$$

But

$$X + X \text{ squared} = Y + Y \text{ squared}$$

The ascending series of Y + Y squared + Y cubed representing not merely the addition of instincts resulting from the increased complexity of construction and habits of the organism, but an advance and equivalent evolution of the spiritual and vital part, by which the moral attributes of man are as certainly developed as his natural, so that the <u>real</u> man, is St. Paul says, clothed upon with a fleshy tabernacle.

Does not the fact that there is an unconscious life resident in the muscular tissues of animals independent of the conscious brain-life go to show that our soul-life is expressed not merely by increasing the sum of the series Y + Y squared + Y cubed etc. etc. so that resident in man's body are the actual "lifes", varying in essence and quality of his numerous ancestors, he being what by analogy or might expect him to be a macrocosm with reference to the long line of beings terrestrial which have preceded him. May it not be too, I like to think so, that it is the sub-conscious vegetable and animal "lifes" still resident in tissues of our body which give us that inexpressible feeling of sympathy with the natural world, out of which so much true poetry springs. All this ends me up to the point in question, the Holy Eucharist and its place in the scheme of evolution.

The completion of the series Y + Y squared etc etc could only be matched by the man Christ Jesus, in whom the will was made <u>perfect</u> through suffering. In the Eucharist therefore where his bodily life at the summit of bodily evolution and his soul life at the summit of the soul's evolution are given to us we have the final cause of His incarnation

and our Lord becomes literally the second Adam, our heavenly father from whom we derive that heavenly quality of life which can be raised up at the last day.

I hope you will pardon the intrusion of this letter from the hands of a heretic, but as I say, I do not know of any men to whom I could submit it with such confidence asking these two questions, are my theorizings true? And are they new? And if they are neither or if the subject were crudely hinted at [or] has been worked out by others I shall be glad to be got on the right track by you.

Believe me,
My dear sir
Very truly yours,

F.G. Scott.

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