
Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

7-22-2015 12:00 AM

The War of the Worlds: The Militant Fundamentalism of Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields and the Paradox of Modernity.

Doug A. Adams, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Dr. Douglas Leighton, *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History

© Doug A. Adams 2015

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Adams, Doug A., "The War of the Worlds: The Militant Fundamentalism of Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields and the Paradox of Modernity." (2015). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 2985.
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/2985>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlsadmin@uwo.ca.

THE WAR OF THE WORLDS: THE MILITANT FUNDAMENTALISM OF DR.
THOMAS TODHUNTER SHIELDS AND THE PARADOX OF MODERNITY

BY

Douglas Allan Adams

Graduate Program in History

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada

© Douglas A. Adams 2015

ABSTRACT

As Canadian Evangelical Baptists entered into the early years of the twentieth century there were grounds for optimism. Numerical growth was steady, there was solid evidence of social impact, new educational enterprises were developing and among their ranks were prominent members of society. Nevertheless ominous thunderclouds were gathering and a storm of controversy soon engulfed them. Modern forces of “disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish” were soon to wreak their havoc upon traditional faith perspectives and time-honoured practices.¹

Using a biographical approach, this study is an important case study that tests traditional understandings of fundamentalism and especially its militancy. This thesis applies both a new interpretative model for understanding T. T. Shields and a revisionist approach to the question of fundamentalist militancy. Shields’ fundamentalism was not the rabid anti-intellectualism of “a disgruntled and backward people who could not keep up with the culture of their time.”² Shields’ fundamentalist militancy instead illustrated the paradox of competing forces within the modern dialectic. The spiritual consequences of cultural liberalism within his own church and the horrific scenes he encountered as a guest of the Ministry of Information in World War 1, motivated Shields to become a militant fundamentalist. By tracing the trajectory of Shields’ fundamentalism it becomes apparent that, though he fought modernists, he did so as a modern man, using modern weapons and fighting for truly modern ideals. The virulence of the fundamentalist/modernist clash was itself evidence of the polarities intrinsic within the modern world. In the face of modernity’s optimism about the rationalization of all fields of endeavour, the progress suggested by scientific and industrial advances and the liberty promised by new prosperity, Shields and his militant fundamentalist allies merely had to appeal to the legacy of modernity’s first war. Theirs was not an anti-intellectual reaction

¹ Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 15.

² Mark Parent, “The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism” (Ph.D. Thesis for McGill University, 1991), 60.

to rationalism's domination, but a devastating disclosure of the moral price to be paid for modernity's neglect of the spiritual element in the human condition.

Keywords

Baptist Bible Union, Baptist, Catholicism, Communism, Cultural Crisis, Cultural Liberalism, Democracy, Des Moines University, Eschatology, Evangelicalism, Fascism, Fundamentalism, Higher Education, Mackenzie King, McCarthyism, McMaster University, Mitch Hepburn, Modernism, Modernity, Social Activism, Ultra-Fundamentalism, World War 1, World War 2.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With the completion of this project I am deeply conscious of the gratitude I owe to a number of people who have both inspired this study and who have facilitated its achievement. As I laboured on the study of Dr. Shields' life I did so in memory of my father who encouraged me to return to my studies and finally to tell the story of a man whose impact upon his own life was profound. To both my mother and father I am indebted for instilling within me a great fascination for the subject of this study. Furthermore, without their financial assistance in helping to fund my research this work could never have been possible.

I want to thank the University of Western Ontario's Department of History for the program of studies that contributed at every stage to the completion of this work. To my supervisor, Dr. Douglas Leighton, I owe a great debt of gratitude. His unfailing interest and long patience with my work is greatly appreciated. To my second reader, Dr. Keith Fleming, I offer my sincere thanks for his advice, encouragement and critique. His attention to detail and his insistence on placing this work in its proper context have made this a better thesis. I am thankful too for the encouragement of Dr. Roger Hall and Dr. Fred Dreyer in the early stages of the work.

The completion of this thesis would be inconceivable without the contribution of Dr. Paul Wilson. His own thesis *Baptists and Business: 1848-1921* provided a significant contextual tool for the interpretation of my subject. His assistance in interpreting the materials at hand and his regular advice and encouragement were a significant factor in my perseverance.

To the librarians and staff of Weldon Library I owe a great debt. Assistance with research tools and the provision of a place to work were absolutely vital to my ongoing efforts. I am especially thankful for the ongoing encouragement of Mrs. Elizabeth Mantz and Mr. David Murphy.

I also want to express my sincere gratitude to the pastors, deacons and people of Jarvis Street Baptist Church who have provided access to church records and Dr. Shields' papers. Many within this congregation have offered assistance in other concrete ways as well. To Miss Sheila Evans I am indebted for countless hours of proofreading. I am

thankful also for my mother's contribution to that effort. To Mr. Gang Wang for the preparation of the *Gospel Witness Database* and to Mr. Jim Tomlinson for preparing a digital copy of the *The Gospel Witness* I wish to express my sincere appreciation. Without these tools my research time would have been increased exponentially.

To the members of the Canadian Baptist Historical Society I offer my gratitude for their support of my research. Publication of elements of this work along with advice and editorial commentary have been invaluable. I have been assisted particularly by the counsel of Dr. Gordon Heath, Dr. Michael Haykin, Dr. Donald Goertz and Mr. Jim Tomlinson.

Finally, and above all, I am thankful to my wife, Marg, who worked tirelessly to support me and our family as I engaged in this seemingly endless task. Marg, your love, patience and selfless sacrifice are the ultimate factors in my successful completion. Words can never begin to express the appreciation I feel to you for your faithful companionship and support throughout the years. To you, I dedicate this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
Hero or Heretic: The Historiographical Context	1
Contemporary Opinion	8
Historiography	9
CHAPTER 1	37
Accepting His Commission: Evangelist / Soul Winner (1873-1910)	37
The Biographical Context: The Early Years.	37
From Birth to Pastorate	42
Early Pastorates	53
The Young Shields - An Analysis	78
CHAPTER 2	102
Warring in the Spirit: Pastor / Servant (1910 -1920)	102
Pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church - The First Decade	102
Introduction to Social Reform	132
At Work in the Denomination	134
His Rising Star	156
Jarvis Street: The First Decade - An Analysis	158
CHAPTER 3	170
Spiritualizing War: Warrior / Hero (1914 – 1920).....	170
A Changing Perspective	170
Engaging With War	171
London, England - Summer 1915.	174
At Home Summer 1916.	184
To England and Back, 1917.....	186
In The Service of the Ministry of Information – 1918.	192
Home from War: Evaluation of a Changing Perspective.	203
Military Leadership Model.....	217
Military Service Model.....	224
Military Operational Model	228
The War and Shields’ Religious Context	239
CHAPTER 4	254
Engaging the Enemy: Preacher / Polemicist (1919-1920)	254
Jarvis Street – Internal Strife:	254
CHAPTER 5	283
Holding the Fort: Counter-Insurgent (1921).....	283
The Protracted Annual Meeting of 1921 (April – September)	288

Assessing the Split	306
CHAPTER 6	340
Citadel of Truth: Militant Fundamentalist (1921-1923)	340
Jarvis Street and the War on Modernism	342
CHAPTER 7	361
Defending the Faith: Field Marshal (1921-1930)	361
Shields and the Emergence of The Baptist Bible Union	363
Shields, The Baptist Bible Union and The War On Modernism	375
The Baptist Bible Union and the Fundamentalist Response	386
The Campaign	395
Decline of the BBU	417
CHAPTER 8	430
Call to Arms: Provocateur / Separatist (1922-1927)	430
The Canadian Baptist Denomination And The War On Modernism	430
CHAPTER 9	496
Fighting Demons: Social / Political Activist (1931-1955)	496
Premier Mitchell Hepburn	498
Prime Minister Mackenzie King	513
Assessment	535
CONCLUSION	538
Warrior of Christ	538
Towards An Interpretative Model	538
Fundamentalism and its Trajectory	549
Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism	555
Ultra-Fundamentalism	563
Anti-Catholic McCarthyism	567
Shields' Fundamentalist Legacy	570
The War of the Worlds	574
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	577
CURRICULUM VITAE	593

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCC.....	American Council of Christian Churches
AO.....	Archives of Ontario
<i>BYB</i>	<i>Baptist Year Book</i>
BBU	Baptist Bible Union
<i>CB</i>	<i>The Canadian Baptist</i>
FCC.....	Federal Council of Churches
<i>GW</i>	<i>The Gospel Witness</i>
<i>GW&PA</i>	<i>The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate</i>
ICCC	International Council of Christian Churches
JBCA.....	Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives
<i>SR</i>	<i>Simcoe Reformer</i>
<i>TDS</i>	<i>Toronto Daily Star</i>
<i>TT</i>	<i>Toronto Telegram</i>
<i>TTCF</i>	<i>Toronto Telegram Clippings File</i>
WCC	World Council of Churches
WCFA.....	World's Christian Fundamentals Association

INTRODUCTION

Hero or Heretic: The Historiographical Context



Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields

“‘Birds of a feather flock together,’ and the ‘Emporium of malevolence’ on Jarvis Street is their ideal rendezvous.”¹ This caustic remark made by a correspondent of Ontario Premier Mitch Hepburn captures something of the hostility with which many viewed Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields and his associates. With his militant stance on nearly every

¹ David Williamson, *Hepburn Papers - Ontario Archives* (file 1, Record grp. 3, series 10, box 336. Private correspondence 1935-36.) The allusion was to J. Frank Norris’ visit to Jarvis Street as a guest preacher. Williamson further remarked “As for Doc Shields, he must have the heart of a hyena and the conscience of a snake, to invite such a despicable character, to lend assistance in slandering public men of high repute in our province, but then again “birds of a feather flock together,” and the “Emporium of malevolence” on Jarvis Street is their ideal rendezvous.”

social issue of his day, Shields provoked public response that consisted of nearly equal parts fascination and loathing. Shields, who led the forces of militant fundamentalism for many years, readily indulged the media as he led the fight against “the world, the flesh, and the devil.”² For Shields, this was nothing less than the war of “The Worlds.”³

In 1989, William Westfall published an important examination of Protestant culture in Ontario. In his book, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Westfall sought to examine the Protestant culture of Ontario in terms of the division and integration of the two worlds of “the material and the moral, the human and the divine, or to use the language of the age, the secular and the sacred.”⁴ He located Ontario culture in the tension and balance existing between these two competing and complementary worlds. One reviewer noted from Westfall’s research: “Ontario Protestantism’s great strength rested in its capacity to absorb both the sacred and secular, for example in the notion of progressive historical time and in the sacred space of Neo-Gothic Church architecture.”⁵ Another reviewer noted, however, that “in the very process of incorporating material progress into its vision of the future, Protestantism allowed the secular to replace the sacred and thus undermined its own foundation, thereby initiating its own future failure.”⁶ In the early twentieth century, with the fundamentalist/modernist controversy, Westfall’s two worlds went to war. Shields, with his war cry, “Entire Separation,” epitomized and, in many ways, provoked that war. The war, he felt, was necessitated by modern rationalistic assaults on the supernatural foundations of “the faith which was once delivered to the saints.”⁷ With the diminishment of evangelical fortunes and influence, Shields declared war. Ironically, Shields, the militant fundamentalist, represented a modern paradox as he fought against modernity’s assault. Sitting in the seat of modernity, he fought modernism as a modern man, championing modern ideals and employing a truly modern arsenal. However, as he became embroiled in the affairs of the

² A common Christian expression denoting the enemies of the soul possibly derived from Jesus’ parable of the Sower. Mark 4:15-17.

³ William Westfall, *Two Worlds; The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵ A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Enquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), xxi.

⁶ Hubert Henry, *Canadian Literature* 128 (Spring 1991) 184, quoted in McKillop, xxi.

⁷ Jude 1:3.

secular world, a conflation of the two worlds, secular and spiritual, occurred in his thinking and practice, a fatal flaw that contributed significantly to the failure of his fundamentalism and the subordination of his spiritual values to the pragmatic realities of the secular world.

It could be said the history of warfare is a study in escalation in both method and degree. By evaluating the war of the “Two Worlds” through a biographical case study, this thesis seeks to provide an interpretive tool by which to understand both the fundamentalist militancy of Shields and the nature and trajectory of militant fundamentalism itself.

Shields began his ministerial career in the relative obscurity of small rural parishes. However, after his arrival in Toronto in 1910, he increasingly became the focus of media attention. While his denominational skirmishes in the 1920’s found significant coverage in the Toronto newspapers, it was his social commentary that drew the most notice. The media was full of unsparing denunciations of his pugilistic character. By 1949 one Toronto paper had accumulated enough press clipping to fill three bulging scrapbooks.⁸ In that same year Gerald Anglin wrote his critical account of the “Battling Baptist” for *Maclean's Magazine*. Anglin catalogued a few of his minor skirmishes:

T.T. has gone scalping after gamblers, card players, burlesque comedians, the United States of America and women. He has attacked beverage rooms (‘trapdoors to hell’), bobbed hair (‘The Lord never intended women to go to the barber’) and athletics (‘The Lord hath no pleasure in the legs of a man’).

Laying about at his fellow believers, he has denounced Methodists, Anglicans, the United Church and the Oxford Group. More than any of these he has attacked the Roman Catholic Church -but he has lashed out at brother Baptists more relentlessly and more vehemently than at all other objects of his wrath combined.⁹

A few years earlier Kenneth Johnstone of the *Standard* had produced a similar list of conflicts. He spoke of the Des Moines University affair, the McMaster problems, Shields’ calls for legal reforms, including the introduction of the lash as a punishment for criminals. He was said to attack Ontario Premier G. Howard Ferguson for his unholy partnership with

⁸ Gerald Anglin, “The Battling Baptist” *Maclean's Magazine*, June 15, 1949, 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*

rum. He decried the Romanization of Anglicans and also attacked the Amalgamated Builders' Council of Toronto and the evangelist J.C. Kellogg. Johnstone also noted the dissolution of the Women's Missionary Society of Jarvis Street ending "Petticoat rule" in said church. Johnstone recorded skirmishes in the Union of Baptist Churches and more political fighting with Premier Hepburn. Johnstone observed:

The year 1935 was the year of Dr. Shields' big campaign on Mitch Hepburn, and for once Mitch had met his match in the gentle art of invective. First he announced that Hepburn was a vulgarian demagogue. Then he noticed that Hepburn strongly resembled Hitler. He asked the pertinent question: Did Rome assist Hepburn? Finally he lit upon the golden phrase of 'Hepburn's Alliance with Rum and Rome.'¹⁰

Noting that the past few years had posed some few problems for Shields he concluded:

However, his great crusade goes on with unabated and uninhibited fervour. He still calls for the ousting of Mackenzie King, Premier Drew, the Catholic Church, the Baptist Modernists, the Baptist Fundamentalists who oppose him, Labour Unions and cartels.... But these are merely a few of the things that Dr. Shields opposes and combats with pen and voice. Just you name something else and he will be against it, providing, of course, that it isn't Pastor Shields himself.¹¹

The notoriety, however, never daunted Shields. He was not intimidated even by the rebuke of a provincial premier. Responding to reporters' questions about how he would react to a scathing critique by Premier Hepburn, he remarked: "Do you know the Royal York Hotel? Do you think if a sandfly flew into its side that the insect would move the hotel perceptibly?"¹² Many denounced his militancy. Shields denounced their hypocrisy. "I could write volumes on the doings of some people who become incensed at everyone who stands for the faith once for all delivered to the saints." He observed facetiously that they "are so pacifically disposed, so entirely agreeable to everyone but to those who do stand for the defence of the faith. At them they gnash their teeth." He could not resist pointing out the irony: "And they do not know how sadly they contradict themselves when they complain of our militancy, at the same time clenching their fists as they do it."¹³

Some thirty-five years before Shields' pastorate at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, at the dedication of the newly erected edifice, Rev. J. L. Burrows of Louisville, Kentucky

¹⁰ Kenneth Johnstone, "Toronto's Dr. Shields" *The Standard*, Montreal, c. 1946, 10-11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² T. T. Shields, quoted in Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967), 125.

¹³ T. T. Shields, "Unique Winsomeness" *GW* 12:5, 15 June 1933, 9.

suggested optimistically that “the kings’ palace, the house of God [was] the capital of the world, the seat of moral government for the whole race.”¹⁴ Perhaps reflecting that sentiment, Shields, as resident pastor of this palatial structure from 1910 to 1955, held court as though he were the king’s ambassador commissioned with the task of upholding the moral governance of the race. From this centre he would proclaim: “I court the fullest publicity. I wish to speak into the ear of the world.”¹⁵

Twenty-first century Ontario Baptists are not particularly renowned for their militancy. Such, however, was not always the case. In the early years of the twentieth century there were many battling Baptists who were notable for their militant opposition to the rising tide of moral decay in both church and state. Nevertheless, only one man truly personified the title of “militant Baptist” in the public mind. In 1949, the innuendo in the title of Gerald Anglin’s article “The Battling Baptist” was obvious. Renowned by that time for his highly publicized skirmishes with Premier Hepburn and Prime Minister Mackenzie King, few Canadians would have missed the reference to Toronto’s Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields. “Reverend T. T. Shields is again on the warpath” was a common by-line in the contemporary press.¹⁶ Jean Graham, a reporter for *Saturday Night*, in 1931 remarked on Shields’ popularity. She spoke of the reporter who said “I hope that Dr. Shields will never die.” Asked why, the reporter responded “Because he makes such beautiful copy.” Graham also noted that Shields in an earlier time would have been popular with the renowned Dr. Johnson.¹⁷ Johnson claimed he loved a “good hater.” Graham concluded, “Dr. Shields could easily have qualified for a Johnsonian favorite.”¹⁸

¹⁴ Walter E. Ellis “Gilboa to Ichabod” in *Foundations* 20 (1977), 109. This was an address given to the Canadian Society of Church History in Edmonton, June, 1975.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, quoted in Gerald Anglin “The Battling Baptist,” *Maclean's Magazine*, June 15, 1949, 50.

¹⁶ Anglin, “Battling Baptist,” 15. Note Shields’ reaction to such headlines in Shields, *The Hepburn Government’s Betrayal of Its Public trust by diverting Public School Revenue to The Support of Roman Catholic Separate Schools*. (Toronto: n.p., 1936), 3. Cf. “Dr. Shields on the Rampage,” *Mail*, 30 March 1936, *TTFC*, 132, (hereafter *TTCF*). The Toronto Telegram clippings files can be accessed on microfiche in D. B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario.

¹⁷ Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-84) was an “author, lexicographer, and conversationalist.” He was a “High Churchman” with a “marked tolerance for RCism,” but a strong opponent of “Presbyterianism and Nonconformity.” Cf. “Johnson, Samuel” in E. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. London: Oxford University Press, 1985, 755. One of the best known biographies is James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (New York: The Modern Library, 1931).

¹⁸ Graham, “Among those Present.” 11 in *TTCF*, July 1930, 107.

Renown as the “hatingest” man in all Ontario was perhaps not the most flattering reputation to be tagged with as a leading Baptist clergyman. Shields’ notoriety, however, arose out his undeviating pursuit of that “righteousness that exalts a nation” and his public and vigorous denunciation of every evil that threatened to bring ruin upon the social fabric.¹⁹ Shields’ controversial bent was first evidenced in his own denomination as early as 1919. Having come fresh from a visit to Europe and scenes of jubilation in Paris, Brussels and London celebrating the victorious conclusion of the war in 1918, Shields arrived home filled with the determination to uphold the gains he imagined had been won for the cause of righteousness.²⁰ After discovering an article in the *Canadian Baptist* which challenged one of the fundamental elements of evangelical orthodoxy, Shields went to war. Over the next dozen years he was the most prominent figure in both Canada and United States in the fundamentalist battle against the inroads of rationalism. The fight led him all over the continent, and in January 1926, he was able to boast of having travelled over 30,000 miles in only ten months.²¹ During those years he acted as the President of the Baptist Bible Union, a militant fundamentalist organisation that fought “modernism” aggressively on the convention floors of the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States and the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. He led the fundamentalist cause in the purchase of Des Moines University where he became its president. He was influential among the Bible Institutes which were seen by some as the fundamentalists’ last line of defence against the modernist attack.²² When modernism threatened the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, Shields was at once brought across the continent to help in the Institute’s restructuring. At home he confronted modernism as it raised its spectre among the professors of McMaster University, the official educational institution of Ontario Baptists. With many convention officials and

¹⁹ Shields, “The Real Heart of the Matter,” *GW* 14:1, 16 May 1935, 1.

²⁰ Shields witnessed the celebration of the Armistice in London, then the following Sunday the celebration in Paris and thereafter travelled to Brussels with Canadian officers to witness the return of King Albert of Belgium. cf. *Plot*, 79.

²¹ Shields to Rev. Stewart Robertson. 9 January 1926, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²² W. B. Riley, *Breaking the Bible School Defense Line*, (n.c., n.p. n.d.), 1. Note: I have used the terms “Modernist” and “Liberal” interchangeably throughout. Rudnick, however, would argue that “Modernist” refers to those who had left the historic Protestant Faith, while “Liberal” refers to those who “tried to hang on to both Christianity and contemporary thought.” Discussions in *The Gospel Witness* and other Fundamentalist literature did not seem to make that distinction but identified their opponents within Protestant Denominations as “Modernists.” Cf. Milton R. Rudnick, *Fundamentalism and the Missouri Synod* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 3.

McMaster supporters among the membership of his own church, Jarvis Street Baptist church soon became the primary battle-ground. Years later Shields would publish his account of this struggle in *The Plot that Failed*. He concluded: “Modernism hydra-headed, and in its many-coloured forms, raised its head in Jarvis Street Baptist church - and Modernism was vanquished!”²³

The decade-long fight precipitated a significant division among Canadian Baptists, and the fundamentalists withdrew from the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec in 1927 to form the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. Shields assumed leadership of this new venture and served as president for most of its existence. With the loss of McMaster University to the forces of modernism in 1927, Shields founded his own theological training institution patterned after C. H. Spurgeon’s College of Pastors. From his position as the pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church Shields served as the president of this church run school, Toronto Baptist Seminary, until his death in 1955. Needing a vehicle to carry his message of war against evil to the world, Shields created *The Gospel Witness* in 1922. For the next thirty-three years Shields exercised total control over this weekly publication and was often its primary contributor. The publication was his principal weapon both within his own denomination and in the world at large. At the height of its influence it was sent into over sixty countries and to over thirty thousand subscribers.²⁴ At one point, over 3,000 pastors subscribed to the paper, leading Shields’ biographer to comment, “It could probably be stated without exaggeration that this weekly magazine edited by a busy pastor was one of the most powerful organs of the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s and 1930s.”²⁵ In 1930, he added another weapon to his arsenal as he began a radio broadcast. Initially, he had envisioned a “super-station that would carry the message over the entire continent.” He took out a license in 1925 in the name of the church for the operation of a radio station to be known as CJBC, the last three letters standing for Jarvis Street Baptist Church.²⁶ The dual challenges of rising broadcasting costs and the Depression forced him to surrender the permit, but in May 1930, Jarvis Street began broadcasting over Canada’s most powerful station CKGW. For \$150 a week the evening service of Jarvis Street was broadcast. Two

²³ T. T. Shields, *The Plot That Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1936), 356, (hereafter *Plot*).

²⁴ Angelin, “Battling Baptist,” 15.

²⁵ Tarr, *Shields of Canada*, 110.

²⁶ CJBC became a CBC station.

hours were booked to allow Shields sufficient time to preach his sermon.²⁷ Correspondence still extant in the archives of Jarvis Street Baptist Church bears testimony to the wide influence Shields enjoyed through this endeavour.

Contemporary Opinion

Contemporary opinions of Shields were mixed. Historian Arnold Dallimore who was personally familiar with Shields noted that “two violently contradictory attitudes toward him were common.” He also observed that “by many people he was enthusiastically admired and they considered him the greatest preacher Canada had ever produced. But by a vast majority he was hated and was believed to be the cause of division among Christians and above all the source of conflict among Baptists.”²⁸ “T.T. Shields,” commented historian George Rawlyk, “was either loved or hated, respected or detested, considered as a true “disciple of Christ” or as a “minion of Antichrist.”²⁹ He repeated the story told by Dr. Morely Hall to John Dozois, which illustrated this “polarizing tendency.” This story was about “two women in the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, who were struck by the special effect of a shaft of morning sunshine on the countenance of the Reverend T.T. Shields as he sat piously behind his pulpit. ‘One was impressed by the angelic look on her pastor’s face. ... The other was certain that she saw traces of the demonic.’”³⁰ Shields’ supporters saw him as the Spurgeon of Canada.³¹ Some went so far as to liken him to such men as Jeremiah, the Apostle Paul and Martin Luther.³² His opponents were just as prone to exaggeration. He was denounced vociferously as “‘a self-appointed bishop’ and ‘the Pope of Jarvis Street.’”³³ The media treated him to such designations as “‘dictator,’ ‘hypocrite,’ ‘vain,’ ‘egotistical,’ ‘destructive’ and ... ‘a man without a Christian

²⁷ Tarr, *Shields of Canada*, 121.

²⁸ Arnold Dallimore *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalist* (Leamington: unpublished manuscript.) Dallimore author of several Christian biographies passed away before this manuscript could be published.

²⁹ George A. Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990.), 76.

³⁰ John D. E. Dozois, “Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism.” (B.D. thesis presented to McMaster University 1963), 57.

³¹ Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967) 3. According to the fly-leaf, one of the first to call him this was Sir W. R Nicol editor of *The British Weekly*. It is a comparison often made in both Canadian and British newspapers. (cf. “The Spotlight,” *TDS in TTCF*, ix).

³² Dr. H. C. Slade “Forward” in Tarr, 3.

³³ Anglin, 50.

heart.”³⁴ In Ontario he became a household name and a favourite target of the press. Quebecers were infuriated by him, and their “plea was that the Minister of Justice should imprison ‘Pasteur’ Shields” with some even calling for “his public hanging!”³⁵ Former Prime Minister R. B. Bennett, in a personal visit praised his anti-Catholic efforts and affirmed Shields in his predictions of a coming civil war.³⁶ Premier Hepburn kept a “dirt file” on him. Prime Minister King once declared from the floor of parliament that he had “nothing but contempt” for “Dr. Shields.”³⁷

Historiography

Stewart Cole

Historical interest in Shields began early and has proved to be as ambivalent as public opinion. The first critical evaluations of Shields came in the context of the examination of the broader question of fundamentalism.³⁸ These evaluations were often influenced heavily by presuppositions concerning the fundamentalist/modernist debate itself. One of the first was Stewart Cole’s *The History of Fundamentalism*, written at the end of the controversy in 1930. He has been characterized as an intellectual historian who focused on the ideological and theological roots of the schism. His work was apologetic in nature, defending liberalism against the fundamentalist attack as “a positive attempt to mold doctrine in response to change.”³⁹ He saw fundamentalism in terms of the “decades of theological disturbance which were associated with the spread of popular science and secular culture.” For Cole, fundamentalism found its primary impulse in the actions of

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Tarr, 132.

³⁶ Viscount Richard Bedford Bennett was Prime Minister of Canada from 7 August 1930 to 23 October 1935. T. T. Shields “*Scandalous Manipulation of Canada’s National Revenue Service.*” *GW* 30:23, 27 September 1951, 2.

³⁷ Dozois, 108. “Speaking here as a member of the Protestant Church, I wish to say that I have the utmost contempt for Dr. Shields and all the utterances he can make.” (cf. T. T. Shields, “*The Gospel Witness and its Parliamentary Critics,*” *GW* 25 February 1943, 2)

³⁸ Fundamentalism is a term coined in 1920. cf. Curtis Lee Laws, “Convention Side Lights,” *Watchman-Examiner*, 1 July 1920, 834. He wrote, “We suggest that those who still cling to the great fundamentals and who mean to do battle royal for the fundamentals shall be called ‘Fundamentalists.’” Older historiographies characterise the decade of the 1920’s as the decade of the Fundamentalist-Modernist conflict. cf. Stewart G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1931; reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), and Norman Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.)

³⁹ Walter E. W. Ellis, “Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934” (Ph.D. dissertation University of Pittsburgh, 1974), 22.

certain “maladjusted individuals” who “found it very difficult to tolerate the changing ideals of the corporate communions.” He pointed to three men who “stood out pre-eminently” in the three major Baptist Conventions. Among the Southern Baptists was J. Frank Norris, in the Northern Convention was William B. Riley and in the Canadian Convention of Ontario and Quebec the leader was Shields.⁴⁰ “The Shields-Riley-Norris triumvirate” issued a “Call and Manifesto” to “the twenty thousand Baptist Clergy of Canada and United States” and were elected “presidential leaders” of the resulting organisation, the “Baptist Bible Union of North America.”⁴¹ Shields served officially as the first president.

Cole argued that while many fundamentalists used the threat of schism to affect their policies, most never showed a real willingness to “follow the logic of their testimony” and to withdraw and form a new cult. However, among the more radical defenders of orthodoxy there were some who did. He noted two different approaches. Working with the church/sect model of S. D. Clark, Cole argued that one group withdrew to develop a “sect in keeping with the literal interpretation of certain denominational distinctives” while another sought to “produce one by appealing for loyalty to beliefs that cut across all sectarian distinctives.”⁴² The Baptist Bible Union fell into the first camp.

In Shields’ role as President of the Baptist Bible Union, Cole identified his radical and divisive character. Under Shields the Unionists first organised their own missionary department. This ran contrary to moderate fundamentalists under Jasper C. Massee who supported the regular missionary projects of the convention.⁴³ Cole was quick to demonstrate the provocative language used by Shields in his defence of the move. When Shields was asked for “advice respecting contributions to Foreign Missions,” he answered: “Do not give one solitary cent for any purpose into the hands of the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. After the exhibition made at this Convention, we would as soon trust Judas Iscariot ...”⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cole, 282.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 283.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 281.

⁴³ Jasper Cortenus Massee (1871-1965) led the moderate fundamentalist forces in the Northern Baptist Convention. Fighting for the cohesion of the Baptist denomination, his struggles for reconciliation with modernistic forces were characterized by compromise.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Characteristic of Cole's attitude toward Shields and his confederates was the comment he quoted from a *New York World* article: "When they come to deal with disagreement on an article of doctrine, they are filled with bitterness, and eaten with hate. No one note of the humility of Jesus is found in the speeches of these men. Not one note of charity ... No doubt they are sincere and believe they are seeking the truth. But how pitiable...."⁴⁵

Norman Furniss

Fundamentalism was subjected to serious ridicule with Norman Furniss' 1954 publication of *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918 - 1931*. Furniss was unsparing in his depiction of the fundamentalists. He characterised them as fear-ridden men "experiencing obscure apprehensions as a residue of wartime fever."⁴⁶ They were uneducated men who longed for certainty and seemed to find it in a "supernatural Savior" and traditional orthodoxy. "The vague affirmations of the Modernist," he observed, "offered them no consolation." Their reactions were extreme and one of the most "outstanding features" of fundamentalists was their "violence in thought and language." The symbol of war was a common aspect of their polemic. Shields was not a particular focal point for Furniss but it is interesting to notice that Shields provided Furniss with the most obvious evidences of his observations. "T. T. Shields," he noted, "announced in early 1924, that he had resigned from the diplomatic service of Christianity and had joined the army in the field."⁴⁷ Given the "violent language and vituperative personal invective," Furniss was led to inquire "whether the movement had any close connection with that other phenomenon of excessive emotion, the Ku Klux Klan."⁴⁸

Leslie Tarr

Shields of Canada, a book published ostensibly to celebrate Canada's centennial year, is the only biography of Shields. It was commissioned by the pastor and deacons of Jarvis Street Baptist Church as a memorial to Shields as they felt it appropriate to celebrate the memory of one who was given "the extraordinary ability and genius to defend the political, spiritual and moral interests of the people of Canada in such full

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁴⁶ Norman Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy* (Hamden Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963), 35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

measure.”⁴⁹ Its author, Leslie K. Tarr, was personally acquainted with Shields and worked for many years with him. The biography was hagiographic in nature and contained little in the way of critical assessment. It was flawed, commented historian Mark Parent, “by small but disconcerting errors in the opening chapters.” These Parent attributed to Tarr’s lack of access to the full archival material available in Jarvis Street Baptist Church and “because of the scarcity of material on Shields’ early years and his family background.”⁵⁰

Tarr was deeply enamoured with Shields. He claimed “his ardent admiration for his subject” and offered the biography as “my tribute to the greatest preacher I ever heard. For Tarr, Shields was primarily a “preacher of the word.” He lay claim to the boast that “as a preacher of the gospel, Dr. Shields probably has had no peer in Canada.”⁵¹ Tarr argued that there was wide consensus in this judgement and was able to show evidence with such testimonials as that of Dr. George Truett in the *Watchman-Examiner*, Dr. W. B. Riley of First Baptist Church in Minneapolis, and Dr. R. E. Neighbour who declared that Shields was “The Spurgeon of the American Pulpit.”⁵² Tarr clearly played to the theme of “Spurgeon of Canada” and offered in his appendix two representative sermons to demonstrate his “Spurgeonic thought and style.”⁵³

Tarr was no less flattering in his commentary on Shields’ polemic activities. For Tarr, Shields was the “Soldier of Christ.” He flatly denied that Shields was “a bigot or ... intolerant person who would silence others.” Rather, he saw him as “an outspoken advocate for the genuine tolerance which recognizes the right of free expression to all.” He was a defender of “civil liberty as a precious right.”⁵⁴ He felt that Shields would better be characterised as a “shepherd of souls,” a pastoral figure who was deeply loved by his church. In opposition to the public press, which demonized Shields as “an aloof, contentious, and bitter person who spent his time in attacking others,” Tarr argued that he was “even in controversy ... a gentleman.”⁵⁵ All in all, maintained Tarr, Shields was “a

⁴⁹ Tarr, flyleaf.

⁵⁰ Mark Parent, “The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism” (Ph.D. Thesis for McGill University, 1991), 43.

⁵¹ Tarr, 150.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 151

⁵³ *Ibid.*, flyleaf.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 165.

man of God.” Tarr recounted the fact that “Of all the descriptions used in Scripture to describe the minister Dr. Shields desired most the simple appellation, ‘the man of God.’” “He was indeed God’s man,” claimed Tarr, “unmoved by either taunts or flattery, the servant of the Lord, conscious of his great mission.”⁵⁶

John Dozois

One of the first critical assessments of Shields’ life and ministry after his death in 1955 appeared in 1963 as a B.D. thesis for McMaster University Divinity School. John D. E. Dozois presented what continues to be one of the more balanced views of Dr. Shields in *Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism*. In the end however, as with most who have followed him, his attitude to Shields was largely negative.

Dozois took pains to give credit where credit was due. He acknowledged Shields’ eminent position in the religious world of his day. He was a man who “has left an indelible impression upon Canadian Baptist life.”⁵⁷ Shields was, suggested Dozois, the most prominent figure to take the fundamentalist side in Canada and except for “personality traits” could have been “recognized as the preserver of common sense conservatism in Canadian religious circles.”⁵⁸ He noted as well that Shields’ amazing talent for preaching led some to assert that he was the best preacher in Canada.⁵⁹ He was a man of “outstanding ability”⁶⁰ with the wisdom of a “penetrating insight,”⁶¹ whose “arguments were often worthy of consideration.”⁶² Dozois recorded the assertion that others had made: ‘He is like an old prophet - he can anticipate the moves of his opponents and smell a modernist a block away’.⁶³

However, Dozois did not have to go far to discover ambivalent reactions to Shields. This he attributed to an ambivalence in Shields’ own character, an ambivalence that was so pronounced that he identified it as a “Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality.”

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁷ John D. E. Dozois, “Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism.” (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University Divinity School, 1963.) iv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 134

⁶² *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 99.

Certain “personality traits” seemed to cause Shields regularly “to overshoot the mark” and so destroy his effectiveness as an apologist for the causes he championed.⁶⁴ From his earliest period of ministry, Dozois identified in Shields an “unwillingness to admit personal failure.”⁶⁵ Consequently time and time again Dozois documented Shields’ intolerance to “opposition or criticism.”⁶⁶ Quoting Furniss’ observations of Shields’ record with the Baptist Bible Union, Dozois concluded that he was “an inflexible individual who followed the policy of rule or ruin....” Though Shields tried to deny it, Dozois also identified in him a peculiar love of conflict. While acknowledging that his “arguments were often worthy of consideration,” he argued that he seemed to “thrive on contention.” It was this aspect that so often cost him the support of others: “But ... he often went to such extremes that others tired of his personal invective or left him completely.” Dozois believed that if he had been “more moderate in his approach and more charitable in his dealings he would have accomplished much more.” Dozois concluded: “Because he was immoderate he left much undone and made many enemies. It was not until illness struck him in 1953 that he fully realized how friendless he was.”⁶⁷

Dozois’ particular contribution to the historiography surrounding Shields was his attempt to place him in the context of the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920s. In a somewhat unique approach Dozois identified two aspects within fundamentalism against which he measured Shields. For Dozois, fundamentalism contained both negative and positive aspects. Negative fundamentalism was characterised by lack of social concern, excessive legalism, polemic temper, ignorance, shifting fronts, and egotism. Positive fundamentalism sought to bring a corrective to some of the excesses of modernism, such as its ineffective spiritual leadership, excessive involvement in culture, intellectual astigmatism, and divorce from historic Christianity.⁶⁸ Perhaps surprisingly, given Dozois’ estimate of Shields’ temperament, he does not merely cast him as a negative fundamentalist. In fact in three of the characterizing traits of the negative fundamentalist he noted that Shields really did not completely fit the picture. However, with reference to

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 73, 99.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-42.

polemic temper, shifting fronts and egotism, Shields was a perfect fit. Concerning the question of fundamentalism's reputation as being "violent in thought and language," Dozois concluded "In many ways Dr. Shields was the living incarnation of the negative polemic temper of Fundamentalism."⁶⁹

However, as a credit to Dozois' pursuit of balance in his analysis of Shields, he also found in Shields some of the aspects of positive fundamentalism. For instance in the discussion of modernism's divorce from Historic Christianity he demonstrated how Shields exposed the modernist's usage of the "language of Christianity" while meaning "something entirely different." Shields, said Dozois, "rendered a valuable service in pointing this out." Shields was also credited for his devotion to the Bible. According to Dozois "if Dr. Shields did not speak to the intellectual astigmatism of Modernism because it did not exist among Canadian Baptists, it is likely that by his insistence upon a theology based upon the 'whole Bible as the Word of God', he thwarted the rise of a movement that might have gone in that direction."⁷⁰

In the end, however, while acknowledging that Shields defied "a simple classification," he had to conclude: "Dr. Shields was a man of outstanding ability who could have exercised a great ministry to all Canadian Baptists, but whose hope came to nought because of his overriding ambition to rule."⁷¹

W. N. Kilbourn

In 1967, Shields received a passing reference in J.M.S. Careless' *The Canadians 1867-1967*. In his section "The Fifties" W. M. Kilbourn briefly characterized Shields as a bombastic demagogue whose primary focus was the vilification of "French Canadian popery." Noting something of the focus of Shields' invective he commented: "T. T. Shields still thundered against French Canadian popery from his Jarvis Street pulpit, as if the fires of the Inquisition had but recently been lit; and for Jehovah's Witnesses and Roman Catholic liberals in Duplessis's Quebec, Dr. Shields was not entirely wide of the mark."⁷²

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 143, 144.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

⁷² W. N. Kilbourn. "The Fifties" in J.M.S. Careless, ed., *The Canadians 1867-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 312.

George W. Dollar

In 1973, George W. Dollar, Professor of Church History at Bob Jones University, produced a comprehensive history of fundamentalism. Dollar, himself of fundamentalist leaning, knew personally many of the leaders of fundamentalism. His history was an uncritical account of the heroic actions of fundamentalist leaders in defence of orthodoxy. He made differentiation between “Fundamentalism as a Biblical, theological position and Fundamentalism as an organized movement.” He noted that the “former gives assent to the infallibility of the Scripture while the latter is armed and active in the defense of Scriptural Truth.”⁷³ In this sense he felt that fundamentalism in Canada was of the former sort, and so “never had the same meaning in Canada as in the United States.”⁷⁴ The exception to the rule was Shields. For Dollar, Shields was truly an extraordinary figure. In line with Tarr, his treatment of Shields was in the nature of hagiography. His fundamentalism was heavily influenced by his British background and his affinity with Charles Haddon Spurgeon. Taking his cue from Tarr he noted that Shields “was a man of special gifts, a mountain peak without peer as preacher, teacher, writer – a veritable genius, the Canadian Spurgeon, a battling Baptist, and a devoted pastor.” He was “self-taught to a remarkable extent” and for a pastor he had an unusual knowledge of history, especially of England, its institutions and leaders.⁷⁵ Despite the fact that he was Canadian, Dollar afforded him first place among the four “Prima Donnas of Fundamentalism”: Shields, Riley, Norris and Straton.⁷⁶

W. Gordon Carder

Also in 1973, a particularly hostile treatment of Shields emerged in W. Gordon Carder’s “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928.” Carder accentuated Shields’ central role in the Canadian fundamentalist/modernist controversy. He argued that the Canadian manifestation of the struggle had “a complexion of its own” exhibiting “a distinctive Canadian, Baptist, and personal emphasis.” Its unique character, in short, was found in the person of Shields. Though the

⁷³ Bob Jones, “Forward,” in George W. Dollar, *The History of Fundamentalism In America*. (Greenville, South Carolina: Bob Jones University Press, 1973) vii.

⁷⁴ George W. Dollar, *The History of Fundamentalism In America*. (Greenville, South Carolina: Bob Jones University Press, 1973) 108.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 106-143.

American scene was not untouched by Shields, Carder argued that in Canada his “spellbinding controversial skill ... was extremely influential.”⁷⁷ He pointed out that not only was Shields possessed of extraordinary skills, he was also the pastor of “the oldest, largest, and most influential of all the churches of the convention.”⁷⁸ Given the relatively small size of the convention in which the controversy raged, Shields exercised an unusual influence. Carder acknowledged that three significant issues arose through the course of the Ontario-Quebec controversy. The question of the liberty of conscience became a central issue to the modernist threat, a question in the end complicated by issues relating to the separation of church and state. The question of the orthodoxy of a number of Baptist leaders and institutions came into focus. The issue of the freedom of academic institutions to pursue truth was also at the heart of the fight.⁷⁹ However, for Carder, this controversy was “more dominated by strong personalities than by doctrinal issues.”⁸⁰ Throughout his summation of the stages of the controversy Carder continually characterised Shields as the consummate trouble maker. Much of the tension of the debates, contended Carder, arose out of the fact that Shields always seemed to “confuse ... problems of history and literature with those of Christian life and faith.”⁸¹ The issues of the controversy were unduly publicized with the creation of *The Gospel Witness* which, says Carder, Shields soon expanded into “a lively journal of fundamentalism.” This, he noted, had “a circulation all over Ontario and Quebec as well as to a number of individuals and editors in the United States.”⁸² In Jarvis Street, Carder suggested that Shields “tended to a more and more despotic rule of congregational affairs” until such time as he was able to drive out a scandalised and much slandered opposition and so gain “a strong, secure home base of great usefulness and financial worth for his campaigns in the holy war against modernism in Canada and the United States.” He observed that upon the withdrawal of 341 congregants Shields published a celebratory article entitled

⁷⁷ W. Gordon Carder, “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928” in *Foundations* 16 (1973) 374. Cf. W. G. Carder “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1929” (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1950).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 374-5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 358.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 359.

“Modernism hydra-headed raised its head, modernism was vanquished, Hallelujah.”⁸³ As events escalated in the mid to late 1920’s, Carder noted that Shields more and more exercised his organisational skills and “convened a special rally of the Baptist Bible Union of North America, of which he was the president.”⁸⁴ Subsequently he turned “also to public meetings and organisation of the Baptist Bible Union in many parts of Ontario.”⁸⁵ Carder also noted the divisive actions within the Convention itself of organising “another college” and a new society which was to be named “The Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society.” For Carder, this was just one more of Shields’ wedges to be “driven into the painful opening rift in the Baptist body.”⁸⁶ Finally, with Shields’ expulsion from the Convention in 1927, he immediately organised his own rival association. Carder recorded Shields’ campaign to bolster his new Regular Baptist Union at the expense of the old Convention. “Within a few months, meetings whose aims were to divide or have the local church secede to the new Convention had been held in over thirty centres in Ontario and Quebec.” By the time of its first convention Carder noted that Shields’ new Convention could boast of seventy-seven churches, seventy-three of them “reporting a combined membership of about 8,500 persons.”⁸⁷

Throughout Carder’s analysis in the “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908- 1928,” there is little sense that modernism had any real presence in the Canadian churches. For Carder, the controversy was as dramatic and painful as any within the fundamentalist/modernist struggle. However, this controversy was the product of one man’s pursuit of privilege and power.

Clark Pinnock

A few years after Carder’s work Clark Pinnock re-examined the issue of modernism in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, particularly within McMaster University. In a paper presented at the International Symposium held at Acadia University in 1979 entitled “*The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University*,

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 358-9.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 363.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 365.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 374.

1887-1927” Pinnock took issue with Carder’s assumptions.⁸⁸ Like Carder, Pinnock acknowledged the central role of personalities eclipsing the more important questions surrounding the pursuit of truth. He noted that “it was unfortunate that T. T. Shields ... did not keep his eyes more steadily upon the theological principles at stake in the controversy with McMaster, but instead allowed himself to be drawn into a struggle of personalities that ultimately defeated him as a force within the denomination. Had he been more single minded, the truth issues involved might eventually have been discussed in the open and even resolved instead of being swept under the rug and hardly acknowledged.”⁸⁹ Unlike Carder, however, Pinnock identified a real issue underlying the controversy.

Pinnock undertook to investigate whether or not Shields and others were right about their charges that modernism was taught at McMaster. With rather significant evidence he concluded that there were modernistic elements present right from the beginning of McMaster’s existence and predating the school’s founding. The first concrete evidence for Pinnock lay in an evaluation of the role of William Newton Clarke who was appointed in 1883 as professor of New Testament Interpretation at Toronto Baptist College the precursor of McMaster University. From this root he traced an ongoing tradition of modernism throughout the years until the appointment of Rev. L. H. Marshall of Coventry, England to McMaster’s Chair of Practical Theology in the summer of 1925. Pinnock also alleged that a significant effort was made by the modernistic elements within the school to hide the fact from a largely conservative constituency. It was ultimately a combination of the cloud of deception and Shields’ own militancy that defeated the conservative efforts to preserve McMaster and which led to their expulsion from the convention. “Shields,” said Pinnock, “went down to defeat then, not because his charges about Modernism at McMaster had been refuted, but because the public was being deceived about Marshall and because Shields was too eager to do battle with

⁸⁸ Clark H. Pinnock, “The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887-1927,” in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman, (Burlington: G. R. Welch Co. Limited, 1980), 193-207.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 196.

Modernism. He fell into the trap of his own militancy, coupled with a dense fog of untruth.”⁹⁰

Walter Ellis

In 1974 Shields was a person of interest in Walter Ellis’ analysis of the fundamentalist/modernist controversy. In his Ph. D. thesis for the University of Pittsburgh, *Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934*,” Ellis attempted to draw principles from the social sciences to help him evaluate the nature of the conflict. Ellis identified two different approaches in interpreting fundamentalism. The first of these he identified as the “Intellectual Historical” method of interpretation. Ellis noted that this method stressed the “ideological elements in contention and dealt with the schisms as illustrations of the overriding importance of ideology and doctrine in religious controversy.” This he called “elite history” which focused on the “written pronouncements of the leading protagonists.” This approach “tended to support the position of the modernists while deprecating that of the fundamentalists.”⁹¹ He pointed back to the works of Cole and Furniss as examples of the approach. More recent proponents of this methodology were Ernest Sandeen and Erling Jorstad who both defined fundamentalism with reference to millenarian dispensationalism.⁹²

Ellis favoured a second approach which he called the “socio-economic” method of interpretation. Ellis argued that “tensions of sociological origin lead to schism when covert socio-economic strain is fought out in doctrinal and theological terms.” Historians following this methodology concern themselves with “socio-economic data” and “assume the primacy of social factors over ideological ones.”⁹³ Historians exemplifying this approach were H. Richard Niebuhr, Emery Battis and Robert Doherty.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁹¹ Ellis, 22.

⁹² Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Origins of Fundamentalism, Toward a Historical Interpretation*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968); also, *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970). Cf. Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday* (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1970).

⁹³ Ellis, 25.

⁹⁴ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954); Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Robert Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation, a Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

Ellis argued that fundamentalism and modernism were “new faiths” that “were the responses of two increasingly heterogeneous constituencies of Baptist to differing forms of tension. Fundamentalism fostered a revival among young persons of lower middle class backgrounds who were subject to socio-economic strains. Modernism met the needs of a materially secure but psychically insecure constituency of upper middle class evangelicals.”⁹⁵

Ellis’ interest in Shields had more to do with his social status than his theological perspectives or methodological distinctives. Ellis felt that he had discovered certain similarities in many of the main fundamentalist leaders. They “appear to have experienced economic insecurity as youths, to have been raised in rural, often Southern sections of the continent, and to have gained prominence as a result of the exercise of native oratorical ability.” For Ellis, Shields was important as the leading “example of the self-made and self-educated charismatic religious leader.”⁹⁶ Of Shields and his colleagues in the Baptist Bible Union Ellis concluded, “All of the important leaders of the fundamentalist Baptist Bible Union appear to have been men without lineage; men who achieved personal success and with it significant social mobility. Their careers were built on the basis of their popular appeal as orators and later as controversialists.”⁹⁷

Allyn Russell

In the December 1978 issue of *Ontario History*, Allyn Russell published an article entitled “Thomas Todhunter Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist.” Ostensibly the article was directed to a consideration of “the influences which have contributed to the current conservatism in contemporary North American society - and its religious and political interconnection.”⁹⁸ His vehicle to this end was an examination of the “remarkable” influence of Shields. Again in Russell we find a particularly negative perspective of Shields’ legacy.

For Russell, Shields reflected the diverse character of fundamentalism. He commented that the unique “beliefs and lifestyles” of leaders like Shields demonstrate

⁹⁵ Ellis, iv.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁹⁸ C. Allyn Russell, “Thomas Todhunter Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist” in *Ontario History* vol. LXX, Number 4, Dec. 1978, 263.

that “fundamentalism is not so internally consistent a movement as once had been thought.” Central to his argument was his conviction of the prominent role Shields played. He spoke of the “remarkable extent of his influence upon Canadian and to some extent American religious life.”⁹⁹ His overview of Shields’ ministry spoke of a “strong-willed leader” who dominated every enterprise in which he was involved. While acknowledging the extreme expressions of opinion on either side of the question of Shields’ legacy, Russell concluded “It appears a fair judgement to state that T. T. Shields was the most dominating, the most vindictive, and along with J. Frank Norris, the most colorful of those who first went by the name ‘fundamentalist.’”¹⁰⁰ In attempting to understand the dynamic that constituted the man, Russell cited various psychological influences which he felt might have contributed to Shields’ belligerence. He cited Shields’ sensitivity because of the lack of a formal education, his conviction that his father had been deliberately denied appointment to churches reflective of his abilities, his failure to secure a call to Spurgeon’s Tabernacle, and finally Shields’ “self-understanding as an *Athanasius contra mundum*, which contributed to his role as a schismatic leader.” His impact was enormous, but mostly negative. Russell estimated that Shields had “generated more religious controversy during his lifetime than any other single person.” He credited Shields with creating among Canadian Baptists a “religious conservatism and timidity” that has been called a “don’t rock the boat” mentality.¹⁰¹ Though outwardly loyal to the Baptist position, Russell contended that even this was a tradition that “he had seriously distorted and whose autonomous polity he had flagrantly ignored.”¹⁰²

Shields’ influence in the United States, for Russell, was equally negative and demonstrated the fact that “fundamentalist leaders” could not “work together, even to prosper their own cause.” He cited Shields’ schismatic influence as a factor significant as the Scopes trial in giving “fundamentalism a poor public image which repulsed even conservative-minded people from this religious option.”¹⁰³ Shields’ legacy was an

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 276.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 277. Note: Athanasius is renowned as a Christian theologian and Church Father of the fourth century. He was known as ‘*Athanasius Contra mundum*,’ a Latin phrase meaning ‘Athanasius against the world.’ The phrase is now used to express the need to defend personal opinions no matter what the cost.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 277.

environment of suspicion that left an indelible mark on the shape of North American religious conservatism.

Leon McBeth

Leon McBeth published *The Baptist Heritage*, a comprehensive overview of four centuries of Baptist work, in 1987.¹⁰⁴ McBeth took a more guarded position on Shields. He acknowledged the Spurgeonian heritage and noted how Shields was even brought to Australia to promote further that tradition. McBeth viewed Shields primarily, though, in the context of fundamentalism where he exercised a strong leadership role. He saw him as being strongly influenced by J. Frank Norris of Fort Worth Texas and William Bell Riley of Minneapolis. According to McBeth, Shields “imitated their methods, raised similar issues and made common cause with them in an effort to link Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada and the USA into one united movement.” In concert with these men he was a “fighting Fundamentalist” and noted that “even his friends described him as being too eager to do battle with modernism.”¹⁰⁵ Shields, said McBeth, though a premillennialist, took strong exception to “Schofieldism” or “radical dispensational millennialism.” This eschatological divergence brought further schism to the movement and ultimately cost him unity in his own Union of Regular Baptist churches. A brief overview of the fundamentalist/modernist fight within McMaster University, Shields’ final ouster from the Board of Governors and the convention along with the formation of a new school and convention, illustrated for McBeth the identity of Shields as a belligerent controversialist who “could not be placated.” Quoting another historian, he said Shields was “The Norris-Riley type of belligerent fissiparous fundamentalism.”¹⁰⁶ McBeth acknowledged that in retrospect Shields was right in his observations about modernism but really had little influence over the direction of Baptist doctrine.

David Elliot

Another very critical evaluation of Shields was made in 1990 by David Elliot in “Three Faces of Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: Aberhart, Maxwell and Shields.” For Elliot the term “Fundamentalist” was merely a superficial designation embraced by a

¹⁰⁴ McBeth, H. Leon *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987)

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 557.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 558.

few radical figures as an excuse for either power mongering or the “introduction of theological ideas which had more in common with medieval heresies than with theological orthodoxy.”¹⁰⁷ Elliot took some pains to identify in all three men their very loose connections with the traditional Baptist position. He described them as “new men or women.” They were those who “did not have the same education, social status or denominational roots as did those ministers who remained and worked within the denominational structure.” The consequent aberrant theology that Elliot sought to identify in these men was readily evidenced in both Aberhart and Maxwell. Elliot attempted to minimise Shields’ connections with Baptist traditions by citing his father’s record. He identified his father as a “theological maverick” because he “started his career as an Anglican minister, then switched to the Primitive Methodists, and finally joined the Baptists.” Shields’ questionable Baptist heritage was further compounded by the fact that his only theological education was what he received from his father. Yet significant pulpit skills enabled Shields to rise quickly in prominence within Baptist circles in Ontario. Elliot made passing reference to Shields’ experiences in England during the First World War where he believed that Shields made his first connections with fundamentalism. Surveying the scope of Shields’ controversial record with the Baptist Convention, McMaster University, the Baptist Bible Union, Des Moines University, and his own church, as well as the political encounters with Hepburn and his endless anti-Catholic crusades, led Elliot to characterize Shields’ as a “religious anarchist” whose pastoral ministry was destroyed by his mean spirit, his extreme individualism and his autocratic behaviour.¹⁰⁸ Elliot acknowledged that there was an element of truth in Shields’ controversies. The only significant departure from the Baptist position that Elliot identified was Shields’ attempt to impose a creedal structure upon the Baptist denomination. It was his schismatic character that best suited him for the designation of heretic. Most significant for Elliot was Shields’ power mongering and “the prima donna nature” of his fundamentalism. It was, he contended, a movement that had little to do with “Baptist theology and polity.” Rather, the fundamentalism demonstrated by

¹⁰⁷ Elliot, David “Three Faces of Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: Aberhart, Maxwell and Shields.” (Unpublished paper presented at the Baptist Heritage Conference in Edmonton on May 21, 1990) 1.

¹⁰⁸ Elliot, 17.

Aberhart, Maxwell and Shields was “a movement which misused the Baptist concept of ecclesiastical autonomy for its own purposes of gaining power and introducing theological ideas ... which were not part of the established creeds of Christendom.”¹⁰⁹

George Rawlyk

George Rawlyk, one of the most prolific writers on Canadian Baptist history, added to the discussions surrounding Shields in 1990.¹¹⁰ Rawlyk was particularly curious as to why Shields did not seem to have a more significant impact upon the Maritime Baptists during the 1920s and 1930s, and why there was never a modernist/fundamentalist split there. This he found particularly puzzling given the fact that Acadia was more modernist than McMaster, and the Social Gospel had so many supporters. He concluded that the “‘negatory and denunciatory’ gospel of Fundamentalism” so prevalent in Shields’ personal style “did not strike a responsive chord in a region and within a denomination which had, beginning in the late eighteenth century, been committed “to a more experiential, Christ-centred rather than doctrine-centred faith.”¹¹¹ His personal assessment of Shields, which was heavily dependent upon Dozois, once again focused on the controversial nature of Shields’ ministry. He was quick to acknowledge Shields’ prominent role among Protestant leaders in Canada in the “first half of the twentieth century.”¹¹² In fact he suggested that “Shields towered above most of his Canadian Baptist and Protestant contemporaries.”¹¹³ However, as with Dozois before him, Rawlyk saw a man of “polarizing tendencies,” a man with an “almost Manichean temperament” and who exhibited a “Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde quality.” Rawlyk noted that Shields’ “animus” directed at former friends was “often balanced in his sermons with a heavy emphasis upon what might be called a Christocentric Calvinism.” Yet too often, for Rawlyk, Shields was the “closed-minded bigot” whose sermons “often lacked even a touch of Christian charity.” He noted Dr. Martyn Lloyd-Jones’ evaluation of Shields as a man suffering with the “cancer ... of a wrong spirit and wrong methods.”¹¹⁴ Rawlyk

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹¹⁰ See George Rawlyk “In Search of T. T. Shields’ Impact on the Maritime Baptists in the 1920s and 1930s.” in *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990) 76-102.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

acknowledged that “the message Shields desired to communicate was a valid one.” However, in the end the message “was overshadowed by an enormous ego and a frequent inability to ‘speak the truth in love.’”¹¹⁵

John Stackhouse

In 1993, John G. Stackhouse published an important survey of Canadian evangelicalism.¹¹⁶ Noting the prominence of Shields in the controversies at the beginning of the twentieth century, Stackhouse began his account with a discussion of Shields’ particular place in the Canadian evangelical scene. Stackhouse acknowledged that Shields occupied the central place in Canadian fundamentalism. “Church historians may debate definitions of fundamentalism,” he noted, “but standing squarely in the middle of anyone’s definition is Canada’s best-known and most influential fundamentalist, Thomas Todhunter Shields.” Stackhouse provided a useful biographic account of Shields although it was heavily dependent on Tarr’s *Shields of Canada*. Stackhouse tried to find a balance between the “hagiographically uncritical” approach of Tarr and the “patronizingly critical” approach most commonly evident from those “studies that originated in the academy.”¹¹⁷ Stackhouse readily acknowledged the respect with which Shields was treated by many within the evangelical community and he catalogued the various instruments by which Shields was able to wield his influence within the fundamentalist movement, the Baptist denomination, and evangelicalism at large. He certified Shields’ concern for orthodoxy and noted the renown Shields achieved from the eloquence of his preaching. However, in chorus with most other historians before him, Stackhouse pointed to Shields’ contentiousness that in the end led to notoriety rather than fame. While it was Shields’ “combination of principle and pugnacity” that brought him to the attention of the denomination and eventually the nation, and while that “pugnacity” was useful in the battles with modernism and Catholicism, it “ultimately cost him the support of most evangelicals.” By the end of his life his militancy was viewed by most as “dogmatism, if

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹¹⁶ John G. Stackhouse Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Cf. also J. G. Stackhouse Jr., “Thomas Todhunter Shields,” in Charles H. Lippy ed. *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989) also J. G. Stackhouse Jr., *Proclaiming the Word, Canadian Evangelicalism since World War One*. (Ph.D. Thesis for University of Chicago, 1987).

¹¹⁷ Stackhouse, “Thomas Todhunter Shields,” 400.

not sheer arrogance.” “Most of the organizations he headed, with the conspicuous example of Jarvis Street church itself, enjoyed at best only modest support, if widespread notoriety, and then faded into insignificance.” Stackhouse concluded: “Most Christians ... sooner or later decided to separate from the most prominent ecclesiastical separatist in Canada, T.T. Shields.”¹¹⁸ So far as his influence was concerned, Shields marked “out the fundamentalist limit of Canadian evangelicalism” but sat well outside the mainstream of Canadian evangelical life.¹¹⁹

Mark Parent

Mark Parent’s 1991 doctoral dissertation *The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism* makes a valuable contribution by focusing attention on the impact of the First World War on Shields’ thinking. Of particular benefit was Parent’s largely unrestricted access to the Jarvis Street Archives, which no previous historian had been given. Parent was thus able to correct some of the factual errors found in earlier studies of Shields, including those by Tarr and Dozois.

Parent, like Dozois before him, attempted a balanced view of Shields. Rather than becoming fixated on Shields’ questionable methodology, Parent focused on Shields’ theology. He found that a significant shift had taken place during the war years which in more than one sense left Shields well outside the traditional vale of orthodox evangelicalism. In the first place Parent argued that Shields’ vision of a righteous war producing a more righteous society soon proved overly optimistic. However, far from despairing of the vision, Shields believed that just as victory had been won in the trenches, victory “could come to the Church which was willing to transform society through militant action.” Parent reasoned that Shields’ new “commitment to militancy combined with a growing conviction of the importance of right faith (defined by Shields as right doctrine) resulted in a decreasing emphasis on the experiential, revivalistic elements within Shields’ theology.”¹²⁰ For Parent this signified a new more rationalistic approach to Christianity. As Shields took up the fundamentalist cause against modernist encroachments, he turned more and more to a developed creedalism with a new stress on

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 34.

¹²⁰ Mark Parent, “T. T. Shields and the First World War,” in *McMaster Journal of Theology*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1991, 54.

the definition of “faith as intellectual assent.”¹²¹ Though the war proved to be the vital turning point, Parent discovered the earliest roots of this deviation in Shields’ conversion experience. He noted that “The pressure of the ‘war’ against Modernism, and his desire to please his father who had long since died, drove Shields to seek a concrete authority which could withstand the doubts and uncertainties which critical, biblical thought raised concerning commonly held assumptions.” Parent argued that “Lacking an ecstatic conversion experience, Shields could not appeal to an experientially based faith for authority. A more external authority was required. This he found in the Holy Scriptures.”¹²² It was precisely here that Parent discovered the “irony of Fundamentalism.” Though Shields ostensibly defended the “centrality of Christ against the onslaught of new currents in theological thinking ... he ended up replacing Christ with the Bible.” “The irony,” Parent argued “is that in attempting to defend orthodoxy, Shields ended up departing from orthodoxy.”¹²³

Paul Wilson

Another historian who evaluated Shields in the context of fundamentalism was Paul Wilson. Following from Walter Ellis’ socio-economic understanding of the roots of the fundamentalist/modernist schism,¹²⁴ in his 1995 doctoral dissertation, Wilson explored a significant social factor in the schism.¹²⁵ Using the example of Jarvis Street Baptist church where Shields became pastor and which was the leading Baptist Church in Ontario at the turn of the century, Wilson adopted a microcosmic approach to evaluate the issue. In a case study of twenty-five businessmen who were members of Jarvis Street between 1848 and 1921, Wilson examined the impact of social and cultural changes in society arising out of the dominant capitalistic ethos. He argued that business helped to secularize the religious beliefs and values of these men. In a summary of the impact of

¹²¹ Mark Parent, *The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, March 1991). 88.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 42.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²⁴ Paul Wilson *Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and The Secularization of the Businessmen at Toronto’s Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1996.) Wilson agreed with Ellis and Mary Bulmer Hill in the assertion that “class antagonisms played an important role in the fundamentalist-modernist schisms among Canadian Baptists between 1895 and 1934.” 231.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 408.

business upon the religion of the twenty-five, Wilson noted “Over the course of three-quarters of a century, the businessmen of Jarvis Street moved from an emphasis on righteousness to a desire for respectability. They forsook separation from the world for socio-cultural integration with it and in the process sacrificed their commitment to stewardship, moderation, and sometimes honesty.”¹²⁶ They linked material wealth and spiritual health in a “Gospel of Wealth.” However, what began as an emphasis upon philanthropic activity soon turned “to a more self-seeking perspective that sought to satisfy personal wants and business needs before any consideration was given to the needs of the church.”¹²⁷ They forged “an alliance between religious and material progress. They became convinced that one could not succeed without the other. Thus they devoted their lives to advancing the causes of Christ and capitalism.”¹²⁸ Business became a key factor in the secularization of the church. “Businessmen offered the church wealth, new management techniques and an avenue to social integration. In return the culturally liberal version of Baptist religion offered businessmen personal respectability and the moral sanctification of capitalism.” “Business,” Wilson concluded, “benefitted far more than religion from this exchange.”¹²⁹

Opposition to these trends began to appear in the evangelical church at large, Wilson argues, by the end of the century. With the growing recognition that “church and the world were virtually identical in composition”¹³⁰ the emerging fundamentalists were disturbed. “Restoration of the moral and theological certitude associated with a fading ‘evangelical consensus’ became their objectives.”¹³¹ For Wilson then, one of the critical factors in the genesis of the fundamentalist/modernist schism was the secularization of the church by an increasingly materialistic business class within the church. While doctrinal issues were clearly at play in the crisis, the willingness of some to accept the new theological liberalism was generated by this socio-cultural integration with the world.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, iv.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 402.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 407.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 286, Wilson here is quoting John Webster Grant in *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988) 167.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 287.

For Wilson, Shields was the critical figure in the fundamentalist reaction. Shields came to Jarvis Street Baptist Church in 1910 and enjoyed a number of years of successful ministry up to and during the war years. However, Shields became increasingly troubled by the “slipshod” manner of dealing with church finances. Wilson described the first confrontation with business interests when Shields took up the matter of a floating loan the church had gradually accumulated.¹³² Over the next few years Shields’ counter-cultural message would clash repeatedly with the growing worldliness of many within his congregation. Significant conflicts developed over Shields’ rejection of a professional choir and his challenge on the question of worldly amusements. Many of these more worldly minded congregants turned on him in 1919 and the resulting power struggle led to a congregational split in 1921. For Wilson, this rupture in a single church encapsulated the bigger fundamentalist/modernist schism of the time. Wilson’s treatment of Shields was largely sympathetic although he too recognized that a significant factor in the schism was Shields’ “radical conservatism and autocratic approach.”¹³³

As with contemporary opinion, the historical evaluations of Shields have tended to extremes, possibly a consequence of the extreme polarities of Shields’ own character. Leslie Tarr tended to view him as a modern day Elijah whose close communion with the divine shielded him from the weaknesses and flaws of average mortals. For many who sat faithfully under his ministry, the very idea of a critical appraisal of Shields met with much resistance. The uncritical acceptance of Shields, which he personally demanded in his lifetime, seems even now to dictate an unquestioning devotion to his memory among those who once sat under his ministry. Anything else would be a violation of the biblical injunction to touch not “the Lord’s anointed.”¹³⁴

Most historians wrestling with the enigmatic Shields have moved to an opposite extreme and see more of the devil in him than the divine. Yet no satisfactory attempt has been made to account for the paradox implicit in Shields’ historical record. Some have simply dismissed him as a hate-ridden man. Others have tried to account for his darker side

¹³² *Ibid.*, 223.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹³⁴ cf. I Samuel 26 This was a favourite defence of Shields. See for instance Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937), viii.

by pointing to psychological influences that they believed contributed to his belligerence. Among these were a sensitivity to his own lack of a formal education, a bitterness over his father's mistreatment by McMaster influences and his own failure to receive a call to Spurgeon's tabernacle. Still others have postulated a kind of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" psychosis that produced fundamental inconsistencies within himself. While rejecting any notion of an uncritical devotion to his memory, this study challenges these evaluations of Shields' character. Not only were the supposed grounds for his bitterness untrue, in Shields' self-understanding and in the opinion of his avid and dedicated followers there was no self-contradiction in his love of the gospel on the one side and his hatred of the distortions of that gospel on the other. What is needed then is an interpretative model that takes into account his socio-economic context and gives a viable account of the extremities in his character. It is the argument of this study that two factors, the culture of respectability in his liberalized congregation at Jarvis Street and his personal observations of World War I that combined to reshape Shields from evangelist and denominational conciliator into the fighting fundamentalist.

Furthermore, a number of tendencies can be observed in examining the aforementioned historical evaluations that have perhaps obscured the real measure of the man. First, Shields' apparent fanaticism has lent weight to the conclusion that he was never anything more than a marginal figure in the religious world of his day. According to Stackhouse, "If one searches for the mainstream of Canadian evangelicalism, one must look elsewhere than to the 'battling Baptist,' T. T. Shields."¹³⁵ The mass of correspondence still extant in the archives of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, the wide circulation of his magazine and the number of institutions directed or influenced by Shields suggests otherwise.¹³⁶ While it might be concluded that Shields tended to marginalise everything he touched, this is far different from saying he exercised little or no real influence in contemporary

¹³⁵ Stackhouse, 34.

¹³⁶ Many researchers have noted serious restrictions in their access to the archival resources of Jarvis Street. This barrier is gradually weakening as an era passes and we become further removed from sensitive information that could be damaging to those involved in Jarvis Street's history. Furthermore, the present author was for many years Professor of Church History in the connected school, Toronto Baptist Seminary, and a member of the archives committee for the church. He still has significant contacts with the Church and unparalleled access to the historical resources of Church and Seminary.

evangelicalism. Not all of that influence was positive, but there can be little doubt of the broad spheres in which the name Shields elicited powerful reactions.

Secondly, there is a failure to understand properly or acknowledge the significance of the issues Shields contended over. The threat of theological modernism has largely run its course and few evangelicals today would lose sleep over it. The thought of the Roman Catholic Church seizing the governance of Canada to make it a Roman Catholic dominion is now laughable. The concern that communism was infiltrating all the bastions of western liberty has long since been dismissed. However, there can be little doubt that modernism did have a real presence in McMaster during the years of Shields' protest.¹³⁷ The fear of Catholicism and communism were deeply entrenched in North American sensibilities by mid-century as witnessed by the success and popularity of the Orange Order, The Canadian Protestant League, The International Council of Christian Churches, and their alignment with U. S. Senator McCarthy's anti-communist crusades. Even Shields' urgent recommendation in 1950 of the atomic annihilation of these enemies brought little if any censure.¹³⁸ The threats may or may not have been real, but the perception of those threats was serious enough to motivate Shields to an ever more radical opposition. To some degree Shields' fanatic extremes must be understood against the context of the extremities facing a world that suffered through two world wars and a global depression during his life time.

Third, historians have often been so distracted by Shields' methods that his message was overlooked and something of the measure of the man himself was obscured. Somewhat tragically this seemed to be the pattern too often played out in his controversies. In so many cases during his life the fight was lost, and friendships dissolved, not over ideological or theological differences, but over methodological disagreements. Few who faced his bombastic denunciations admired his discernment. Historical assessments, by fixating on his questionable methods, have failed properly to assess Shields' brilliance and keen perception on many issues. His extremism has provoked emotive rather than rational reactions, even among the most careful analysts.

¹³⁷ c.f. Clark H. Pinnock, *The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887-1927* in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*. Ed. Jarold K. Zeman, (Burlington: G. R. Welch Co. Limited, 1980.) 193-207.

¹³⁸ T. T. Shields, "Would it be Christian to Drop Atomic Bombs on Moscow?" *GW&PA* 29:14, 27 July 1950, 5.

Fourth, there is among academics a prejudice created by anti-intellectual assumptions. The charge of anti-intellectualism was a favourite of Shields' detractors. It is difficult in the face of those claims for the historian to take Shields' concerns seriously. Certainly Shields by his own admission never had formal academic training. Though his claims that his private tutoring was the equivalent of any formal educational regimen are probably exaggerated, Shields' record in the whole sphere of higher education is significant enough to give pause. Both McMaster University and Temple University in Philadelphia so highly regarded his work and influence that they conferred on him honorary doctorates.¹³⁹ During his career he sat on the board of governors of McMaster University, he was responsible for the reorganisation of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, he was the leading figure behind the purchase and governance of Des Moines University, and he founded his own institute of higher education in Toronto Baptist Seminary, a school over which he was the president until his death in 1955.

A fifth tendency consists of the failure to evaluate carefully the character of his detractors. In nearly every historical evaluation the evidence taken from his opponents was accepted at face value with little or no consideration of the answer he himself provided. Certainly Shields' defensive overreactions must be considered but it is important that all the evidence be weighed. Undoubtedly the lack of scruples on the part of his opponents can account in part for the escalation in Shields' own reactions.

Finally, with the landmark work of Ernest Sandeen in 1970, *The Roots of Fundamentalism 1800-1930*, a general view of fundamentalism has become popular which "has traced the entire modern Fundamentalist movement to millennial speculation."¹⁴⁰ The consequence of adopting such monistic explanations of fundamentalism has been to marginalise the role played by Shields and the heritage he represents.

In the past historians attempting to evaluate Shields have been seriously hampered in their efforts by restricted access to his papers. While the archives of the McMaster Divinity College contain many useful resources, all of Shields' papers are housed in the extensive

¹³⁹ Tarr, 61.

¹⁴⁰ McBeth, 577.

archives of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. Due to the controversial character of the materials, Jarvis Street long ago closed their archives to all outsiders. Of the earlier studies, only Tarr had access to the collection. Even Tarr seemed to have been restricted and to this day the materials he used remain as he collected them in one box. The first critical historian to be granted access was Mark Parent. Parent's work was disadvantaged by the state of disorganization in which he found the papers. Thereafter Paul Wilson, through association with the present author was granted limited access. By virtue of his family's long association with both Shields and the church, and his role as professor of church history at Toronto Baptist Seminary and Bible College, this author has had unparalleled access.

Jarvis Street's archives are a virtual treasure-trove of materials relevant to the Baptist denomination, Shields and the fundamentalist cause. Recent visits from fundamentalist historians Gerald Priest and David Saxon produced astonishment at the heretofore unexplored resources. The wide circulation of *The Gospel Witness* from 1922 produced a mass of correspondence. Thousands of documents are contained in over forty bankers' boxes. The remarkable character of the collection is enhanced by the fact that most of Shields' responses were typed by his secretaries, and carbon copies affixed to the original letters allowing the historian access to both sides of the issue. In addition to correspondence are the numerous boxes of hand-written sermons, addresses, seminary lectures and miscellaneous other resources. Piles of unsorted documents, some singed by the fire of 1938, still sit untouched. All of the church books and countless photographs are piled haphazardly throughout. Sunday School records and Seminary records from the Shields' era are all found here. Architectural plans for the building and rebuilding of the church are part of the collection. Supplementing Shields' papers are those of previous pastors which give valuable insights into the earlier history of the church and the denomination.

In addition to the vault that contains all these resources is *The Gospel Witness* archives, a room twice the size of the archives vault. Here, all the over-runs of the *Witness* were stored along with the many books and pamphlets published under *The Gospel Witness*'s auspices. Present in the room is also a hand-written card catalogue identifying the major themes of significance through Shields' career. A second catalogue identifies the sermons of Shields that have been published. Countless other cubby-holes and closets throughout the church are still packed with historical documents relative to the period. One

has to confess to being overwhelmed in the face of this mass of primary documentation. Nevertheless, with access and the recent digitization of the first forty years of *The Gospel Witness*, a new biographical analysis of Shields is now possible.

In providing a biographical account of the life and ministry of Shields, this dissertation attempts to contextualize his story as much as possible in the social-cultural setting of his period. Although the recounting of Shields' story moves forward in a chronological fashion, as a critical and interpretive work it does not simply adopt a linear approach. Certain periods of his life, and particular events, receive more or less attention according to their relevance to the critical questions addressed by the analysis. For instance, the discussion of Shields' early life and ministry is developed in some detail because of the contrast it provides with the militancy of later years. The first ten years of ministry in Jarvis Street, likewise, is given significant treatment because of the anomaly it represented in his evangelical development. Critical to the interpretive model presented by this work are the years of the First World War. Shields' growing fascination with the war, his observations upon it, and his involvement with the British Ministry of Information are of crucial importance to the maturation of his militant fundamentalism. This shift in Shields' ministerial outlook, however, did not occur in a vacuum, and the discussion of the ecclesiastical struggles of 1919 to 1921 identifies the catalyst in his transformation. The character of his militant fundamentalism is provided by a discussion of his leading role in Baptist Bible Union, and then in the account of the particularly virulent struggle at home over the denominational school: McMaster University. The last chapter of the dissertation largely ignores some of the more familiar elements of Shields' final years such as the schism in the early 1930's with the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches, and the controversy with Dean Brown in 1948 which led to the exodus of most of his seminary, the formation of the rival Central Baptist seminary and Shields' removal from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. Instead the chapter focuses on the new directions his militant fundamentalism was taking him. The discussion of his significant involvement in public life during the last two decades of his life illustrates a troubling trajectory towards religious nationalism and ultra-fundamentalism.

In the early 1950's, the name Thomas Todhunter Shields inevitably provoked conflicting reactions. Few would have disputed the relevance of Anglin's appellation: "The Battling Baptist." While the Shields of younger years would never run away from a fight, there was little to suggest the course his life would eventually take. What the historian discovers instead was an ardent young man with an undeviating zeal for the proclamation of the gospel. This was the story of a boy named Tod, a boy who rapidly matured in his love of God and who like Samuel of old eagerly awaited his commission.¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ I Samuel 3:9, 10.

CHAPTER 1

Accepting His Commission: Evangelist / Soul Winner (1873-1910)

And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.

Matthew 28:18-20

Shields came of age in the rural environs of south-western Ontario in the late 19th century. The account of young Todd's call to ministry and the beginnings of his ministerial career provides a stark contrast with the directions his life would eventually take. A consideration of the earliest influences upon Shields' development, the impact of immigration to Canada in 1888, his father's rural pastorates, his own introduction to ministry and his early pastorates reveals an earnest and enthusiastic young man whose primary interest in life was the proclamation of the gospel.

The Biographical Context: The Early Years.

Most of those commentators who have attempted biographical sketches of Shields have accentuated the importance of his heritage and family. There is little doubt that this is the correct approach because Shields himself identified his ancestry as the single most important formative aspect of his early development. Shields was somewhat reticent about speaking of his own history. After repeated requests Shields did respond to one inquirer but with great reserve. "I am reluctant, really, to discuss personal matters, because it always seems to me to imply an assumption that a man thinks he has accomplished something. As one who feels - and I say that sincerely - he has fallen immeasurably short of everything he set out to do, I can find little inspiration in my own history except what I see of God in it; and in respect to that I can only say, 'By the grace of God, I am what I am.'" ¹ It was clear, however, from the short biography he did provide, that the ministerial tradition in which he was raised was the single most important influence in his life: "My father was a preacher, and ... we have been more or

¹ T. T. Shields to Rev. Theo. M. Anderson, 13 April 1940, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

less a ministerial family for now nearly two hundred years.” Shields reflected on the many sermons in his possession that had shaped his thinking: “I have hundreds of my father's sermon manuscripts, and I have published a number of sermons by a certain Rev. Thomas Todhunter, an Anglican clergyman, from manuscripts dated at least a hundred and eighty years ago.”² I can tell you little of what is ordinarily spoken of as a “call to the ministry”, except to say that it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that I was born with a conviction that I must be a preacher. I have no recollection of ever once thinking of any other calling.³ This attitude towards his ministerial upbringing continued unaltered until the final years of his life. Much the same account was repeated in a homiletics lecture at Toronto Baptist Seminary in 1951. Speaking of his childhood he recalled that “there was never a time in my life when I did not think I was going to be a preacher.” He continued: “I did not tell anybody, but when I was a little bit of a kiddie I was always going to be a preacher. My father’s initials were the same as mine, and when I saw his name written, ‘Rev. T. T. Shields,’ I could not see any reason why I should not have it too, so I used to write my name just the same.”⁴ One of Shields’ ministerial students recounted a story told by Shields which illustrates something of the formative influences exercised by his father. The story related to a preaching trip taken by his father “to a church in Devon.”⁵ “T. T. tells us, for instance, that when he was a small child his father, on one occasion, took him with him as he went to preach, and since there was a kneeling stool in association with the pulpit he took the little fellow into the preaching area and placing him on that stool, left him to remain there during the entire service.”⁶ Another student recalled Shields humorous conclusion: “So, you see, I was brought up in the pulpit!”⁷

² The manuscript was dated 1760 and was penned by his great grandfather, the man for whom he was named.

³ Shields to Anderson, 13 April 1940.

⁴ T.T. Shields, “Homiletics Lecture: The Acts of the Apostles,” 14 June 1951, “Shields’ Papers,” JBCA, Toronto.

⁵ Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967) 14.

⁶ Arnold Dallimore *Thomas Todhunter Shields ; Baptist Fundamentalist* (Leamington: Unpublished manuscript c. 2001), 6.

⁷ Tarr, 14.

Throughout Shields' career, he always exhibited a profound respect for "the Pater."⁸ His father was his teacher and his mentor and Shields regularly shared insights that he had gained from his father's instructions. Very early in his career, observers were quick to note the resemblance in Shields' preaching to his father's. As a young pastor twenty-seven years of age Shields was already coming to the attention of the denomination at large. Shields was given the rare honour of being a convention preacher at the annual convention of 1901. The report of the event in the *Canadian Baptist* noted the enthusiasm with which it was received: "Bro. Shields has inherited his father's well-known gift of allegorical teaching, and pictured in graphic language the deeds of the 'Old Man' or the carnal nature, and advocated his hanging. It is utterly impossible to report - such an address; suffice it to say that the large audience present was not only interested but enthused."⁹

When Shields was called to the Jarvis Street pastorate in 1910, Rev. C. J. Cameron of the denomination's Home Missions Board provided a brief biography for the *Canadian Baptist*. He indicated that Shields was born in Bristol, England, and described him as "tall, stately, and with a manner at once dignified and cordial" that was "bound to arrest and hold attention." Cameron again traced Shields' unusual preaching abilities to his father's influence: "His father, a pastor for many years in England and Canada, was considered our greatest allegorist, the John Bunyan of Canadian Baptists. No finer training for the ministry could one desire than to sit at the feet of this Prince of Preachers, and this princely privilege his son enjoyed."¹⁰

In 1915 Shields again was honoured, this time with a summer preaching engagement in the famous Spurgeon's Tabernacle in London, England.¹¹ Braving the German U-boats that had already targeted for destruction the ship he travelled on, Shields arrived in England with great expectations for his summer's ministry.¹² In the course of

⁸ This was a common familial reference common in his correspondence with his siblings. cf. T. T. Shields circular letter to family, 19 August, 1915, "Shields' War Time Correspondence," book 3 (Pen Triplicate Book), p. 21, "Shields' Papers," JBCA, Toronto.

⁹ Anonymous, "Annual Convention," *CB*, Vol. 47, 24 October 1901, 2.

¹⁰ Anonymous, "Rev. T. T. Shields," *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 8, 9.

¹¹ This is one of 5 trips in 6 years for the same purpose. Cf. T. T. Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937), 134.

¹² The Germans had published a list of ships they were targeting and the *Arabic*, which they identified as a "munitions-carrying ship," was one of them. Shields was aware of this information but determined to proceed with his travel plans. He had also planned to return with the *Arabic*. His plans in England changed

that ministry, Shields was somewhat humbled by another comparison to his father. A man, who had known his father when a preacher in England years before, came to hear him and talked with Shields of his father's preaching. Shields reported to his family that he "spoke most eulogistically of the Pater. Said he was the most popular preacher of his denomination." Shields also confessed that he "was disappointed to find I was not the T.T.S." He continued: "He was kind enough to say that he saw much in me which reminded him of the Pater 45 years ago." Shields told "him of a woman who, when she had heard me preach, said 'But you've got a long, long way to go before you can preach like your father.'" Shields acknowledged that this was an "opinion with which he cordially agreed."¹³

Shields repeatedly confessed his indebtedness to his father. In his acknowledgments he particularly identified his father's moral and spiritual influences, his educational accomplishments, the examples learned from a "ministerial home," and his pastoral training both practically and homiletically. When he later reflected back upon the mediatorial role he was called to in his early Toronto years by the Home Mission Board, the sense of this heritage was prominent. "In those days I was looked upon as rather an effective conciliator. ... There is something of an advantage in being born into a minister's family, to anyone who becomes a minister himself. Some things become almost instinctive to him."¹⁴

The matter of his education later became a sore point because he never entered a formal degree program at an established university. However, Shields felt that the education his father had provided was second to none. He denounced the arrogance of one critic who demeaned his lack of formal education: "Your posing as a man of education in your sermon, and your saying that the Pastor of Jarvis Street graduated from no college is very funny." In a spirited defence, he expressed a somewhat exaggerated evaluation of his private education: "Let me tell you, my dear fellow, that if I could not have left you miles behind, educationally, when I was fifteen years of age I should have

and he delayed his passage. On that return trip the *Arabic* was sunk. Shields wrote home from England with a measure of his shock and grief at the news. Cf. T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 51-54. Cf. also, T. T. Shields circular letter to family, 19 August 1915, "Shields' War Time Correspondence," book 3 (Pen Triplicate Book), 14, "Shields' Papers," JBCA, Toronto.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 16 August, 1915, 3.

¹⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 299.

expected nothing but a sound thrashing. It may not be known to you that I was brought up at the feet of Oxford and Cambridge teachers, and I think could have beaten any B.A. of McMaster University long before I reached the age of eighteen.¹⁵

As a preacher, Shields clearly learned the art of allegory from his father, but his remarkable command of the English language and his startling eloquence were also credited to his father's influence. He learned first from his father's own example: "I never heard a finer voice in any preacher than that possessed by my father. It could thunder like Sinai, and whisper with the most alluring appeal, with equal clarity of enunciation and articulation." Shields recalled that he "was always impatient with preachers who made no effort to make themselves clearly heard and understood. I have never at anytime, anywhere, been so moved by any preacher as I was by the preaching of my father."¹⁶

One of the disciplines that he was subjected to in his early training was the use of the English dictionary: "I had to find six words from the dictionary every day. Sometimes it was specified that they were to be of three or four syllables. First I must learn to spell them; secondly I must learn to define them, and thirdly, I must write six sentences, employing one of those words in each sentence."¹⁷

In his preaching Shields often reminisced about his father and testified of the deep connection between them. In his final days he came to live with Tod¹⁸ and the son spoke reverently of those final conversations. "We talked together of the Lord Jesus"¹⁹ "As a minister," he noted on another occasion, "although it is many years since he went home, I find myself often waking in the morning with a desire to tell my father something, and then it dawns upon me that he is not here, that I cannot do it. But I have no doubt that some day I shall be with him."²⁰ The aura of his father's influence never seemed to leave him. "I long even to this day "for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still. And sometimes I almost imagine that I can still hear my

¹⁵ T. T. Shields to W. L. McKay, 1926, box 3, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto

¹⁶ Dallimore, 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁸ Tod was the name by which his father always referred to him.

¹⁹ T. T. Shields, "Is It Nothing to You," in *Other Little Ships* (Toronto: The Hunter-Rose Co. Ltd., 1935) 79.

²⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Lord Is Risen Indeed," in *Other Little Ships*, 97.

father's voice. I used to hear him preach. He was my Pastor, and my Theological Professor; and nearly all I have ever learned, I learned from him."²¹

Shields' biographer, Leslie Tarr, spoke as well of the significant role played by Shields' mother in the formation of his character and oratorical skills. According to Tarr, in her later years she confided to her son that "she had long regretted her inability to speak in public for her Lord. She had therefore fervently prayed that God would give her a son who would speak for her."²² She saw in Tod the answer to that prayer, and her own contributions to his training were not insignificant. Surely some of Shields' poetic bent can be traced back to his mother's influence.²³ According to one who knew him Shields "spoke of her as versed in history and literature, able to quote all manner of English poets and to refer at will to the work of this author and that."²⁴

From Birth to Pastorate

Thomas Todhunter Shields, or Tod as he was affectionately known by his family, was born November 1, 1873. He was the fifth of eight children, three of whom died in infancy.²⁵ He seems to have had very close filial relationships with his siblings throughout his life. His older brother, James Irwin Shields, predeceased him in 1944. Irwin's funeral notice indicated that he was survived by brothers Thomas and Edgar, and sisters Margaret and Ethel Shields. Apparently neither of his sisters ever married.²⁶ His brother Edgar also entered the ministry. Shields himself was married twice. He married Lizzie (Dolly) Kitchen December 6, 1899.²⁷ Lizzie died suddenly in 1932 and in 1934

²¹ T. T. Shields, "Is It Nothing to You," 79.

²² Leslie K. Tarr *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967), 24.

²³ Shields often used poetry in his sermons and became something of a poet himself. The present author has a notebook full of his hand written poems.

²⁴ Dallimore, 7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14

²⁶ Obituaries, *SR*, 10 August 1944. Something of a mystery exists here. The obituary refers to Irwin's sisters "Miss's Margaret and Ethel Shields, Hamilton." In 1951 in correspondence with Ethel there is reference to 2 nieces - Nora and Valerie. Shields promised to write to both. Copies of these letters were also found and the first was addressed to Nora Shields (likely the daughter of Edgar as Irwin was survived by son Norman and daughter Nancy) and the second was addressed to Miss Valerie Smith. In that letter Shields clearly spoke to her of her "aunt Ethel." The surname is a puzzle unless Valerie is related through his wife's family or is a great niece.

²⁷ *SR*, 14 December 1899.

Shields married Leota Griffin, a cousin of Lizzie and his former secretary, at the age of 61.²⁸ Shields himself died April 4, 1955 after a seventeen month illness.²⁹

We have only the briefest glimpses into Shields' early years. His father ministered in Blaenavon near Pontypool in Wales from 1881 to 1884. Visiting the site during the First World War, Shields reminisced about his life there years earlier:

As I was coming up the hill from the lower station, a train passed over the bridge from the upper station toward Pontypool. Suddenly the 31 intervening years were blotted out, an old memory was stirred, & as I heard the sound of the engine, the sight of the train, the little gate admitting to the path up to the station on the right, the ridge in front, the first gate on the left - for an instant only an instant, it seemed as though I had never been away! I walked with Irwin up the hill - I had passed Pepler's shop. I had paused, where in bygone days I had been wont to 'take time to consider.'³⁰

Blaenavon had been a difficult place for the Shields family, and Shields remembered the character of Blaenavon's men with some repugnance. As he observed its people again he found them "dirtier than ever." It was a coal mining town and though Shields viewed their filth with distaste he now confessed to a certain admiration as it was they who contributed so much to the war effort. The move to Bristol in 1884 was not greeted with much enthusiasm as it promised no improvement over the conditions in Blaenavon. Shields again reflected "while I found Bristol men now more attractive than on my last visit, I understood ... the note which I remember detecting in mother's voice when she said it was 'all signed, sealed & settled we are going to Bristol.'"³¹

Another incident was related by an old friend of the family in a letter written to Shields in 1928. The correspondent was a Mrs. Beard, and her account again provides a small glance at the Shields' early years and suggests that Shields and his brother Irwin did not lack for the normal experiences of childhood. The correspondent was an elderly lady who wrote to reminisce about the years when Shields' father had lived "at Fishponds near Bristol." The woman, who had recently been widowed, lived at Zeals where they used to invite Rev. Shields on a yearly basis for the celebration of "the chapel anniversary at Whitsuntide." One year Shields Sr. asked the couple if they would take his two sons

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11 September 1934, 11.

²⁹ Tarr, 144.

³⁰ T. T. Shields "Letter Diary 1915", Letter Diary, Book Three, "Shields' Papers," JBCA, Toronto, 21-23.

³¹ *Ibid.*

for the summer holiday. This they happily agreed to and in due course Irwin and Tod came to visit. She recounted something of their daily routine. "I had a donkey with a nice little trap for I was afraid to drive the big horses we had to keep for the butcher business. The donkey was kept in a field just below the house, and after breakfast I used to send you two boys out there to amuse yourselves, and ride the donkey, for I knew if you fell off you could not hurt much as there was plenty of grass." Apparently, however, Irwin and Tod were typically mischievous children because on one occasion they took the donkey out onto the road where one of them fell off and bumped his head. Something of the warmth of their relationship with their father was reflected in the children's reactions. "The one who was not hurt said, 'If father knew of this he would be up here to-morrow.' So I said, 'Of course you are not going to be so silly as to worry your poor dad because your brother has had a bit of a tumble on the road where he had no business to be.' And it ended there."³²

The letter also indicated something of the high respect in which Shields Sr. was held in that part of the country. At that time Shields' father was serving as a Primitive Methodist minister and Mrs. Beard remarked with some surprise at one of his habits. Apparently, at the time "it was almost a crime" for a Primitive Methodist Minister "to smoke." Beard confessed that neither she nor her husband "entertained any such silly notion."³³ She reflected on Shields' habits during his visit with them:

Mr. Shields used to go out into the little back garden. We thought he had gone to meditate on his address, but I was looking out of the back door one day and see him quietly smoking his pipe. So when he came in I said, "I do hope you don't go out of doors to smoke because you think we don't like it. We both very much like the smell of tobacco, so of course after that we all sat round the fire and enjoyed the pipe of peace together, especially after the Sunday services had been got through."³⁴

Later in life the younger Shields often struggled with a persistent cough and perhaps this early exposure to smoke both in the dirty environs of Blaenavon and in his family home might have been contributing factors.

³² Beard to Shields, Nov. 1st 1928, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

As a youth Shields seemed to have played his share of sports. Different times he spoke of the lessons he had learned as a youth upon the playing field: “When we were younger, we used to play cricket; and we always had a contempt for the man who tried to ‘explain’ why he was bowled for ‘a duck’; or why his side was defeated in the game.” Shields understood the principles involved: “We always considered it was a manly and a gentlemanly thing gladly to acknowledge that the best man or the best team had won, and thereafter for the loser to congratulate the victor.”³⁵

In 1888, a significant change came into the Shields’ lives. Rev. Shields, in that period, seems to have had a shift in his convictions causing him to leave the ministry of the Primitive Methodist Church. One author suggested that “whereas he had previously adhered to a rather Armenian [sic] form of theology he now saw the truth in a more Calvinistic statement of faith.”³⁶ Shields’ secession from the Methodist denomination appears to have been the motivating factor for his emigration to Canada.

The environment into which the Shields immigrated in 1888 was very much a new world to them. From the difficulties of itinerant ministry among the Primitive Methodists in the dirty environs of Blaenavon Wales and Bristol England, the Shields now found themselves in a country rich in promise. Significant to the younger Shields’ development was the new socio-cultural and religious context of his father’s ministry. Accepting a charge among the Baptists, new ideals were shaped. In Canada this was an era of nation building in which Baptists and other evangelical communions sought to shape a national consciousness which reflected the ideals of a “Christian civilization.”³⁷ For instance, concerns about enforcement of “Prohibitory Law in the North-West Territories” and the cultivation of “temperance sentiment” that would in time produce “electors and a power of public opinion that will compel and render effective legislation

³⁵ T. T. Shields, “Canada Has Spoken,” *GW*, 18:47, 28 March 1940, 5.

³⁶ Dallimore, 8.

³⁷ “Proceedings,” *Baptist Year Book for Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1891.), 19. (hereafter *BYB*) It is interesting to note that temperance resolutions were passed “in common with our ‘Methodist and Presbyterian brethren.’” *Ibid.*, 18. For more on the Protestant Church’s identity as nation-builders see Phyllis Airhart, “Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914.” In *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George Rawlyk. (Burlington: Welch, 1990) 98-138.

for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic” characterized Baptist thought.³⁸ Prison reform and concerns with the corruption of political life were marked by yearly resolutions from the convention floor.³⁹ With the building of national transportation links, fear about decay in “religious faith and practice and the binding validity of the moral law” came to expression with the corporate “profanation” of the Christian Sabbath. Condemnation of “all unnecessary traffic by railway, navigation and canal companies” came to expression in Baptist agitation for the promotion of legislation “for the better observance of the Lord’s Day.”⁴⁰ Anxiety over the encroachment of Romanism upon the new national framework was also pronounced. With the “recent Statute of the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, commonly known as ‘The Jesuits’ Estates Act,’” the Baptist Convention of 1889 passed resolutions condemning the violation of “the principles of entire separation of Church and State and the equality of all denominations before the civil law.” Their conclusion was that any departure from such “sacred principles,” any “encroachment by a religious body, upon the civil power, implying a connection between the Church and State” would be “fatal to the welfare of society, and irreconcilable with a pure Christianity.”⁴¹ Furthermore, the evangelistic tradition that was the aftermath of the Second Great Awakening of 1859 which first manifested itself in Hamilton, Ontario⁴² still permeated Ontario Baptist culture. Appealing to Shields’ Methodist roots, revival campaigns were commonplace, and would, in fact, play a significant role in the history of the Shields family.

Upon Shields’ arrival in Canada he immediately received a call to a small Baptist Church in Plattsville, Ontario.⁴³ He accepted the call December 30, 1888 and was

³⁸ “Proceedings,” *BYB* 1890, 23.

³⁹ See for instance “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1892, 19-20.

⁴⁰ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1891, 19.

⁴¹ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1890, 23.

⁴² J. Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1964), 8,

⁴³ Plattsville is a small hamlet about 20 miles south-west of Kitchener. The church apparently still stands. Note: The Baptist Convention of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and North-West Territories was in this time period divided into fifteen associations. Each association had its own regional organization with annual meetings. Each association provided statistical information for the annual publication of the *Baptist Year Book*. Often, resolutions from these associations would be presented to the Convention in their annual meeting. These associations included: Amherstburg, Brant, Canada Central, East Ontario, Elgin, Grand River, Middlesex and Lambton, Midland Counties, Manitoba and North-West Territories, Niagara, Ottawa, Owen Sound, Toronto, Walkerton, and Western.

ordained to the Baptist ministry April 30, 1889.⁴⁴ The family was moved to Plattsville, though Rev. Shields noted in his sermon diary that Irwin was left in Toronto.⁴⁵ Tod was 15 at the time of the move and was enrolled in high school along with his brother Edgar in Drumbo.⁴⁶

The Plattsville Church was a project of the Canadian Baptist Home Missionary Society. The *Baptist Year Book* for 1888 made record of the fact that in 1887 a new chapel had been built and opened in the town.⁴⁷ A missionary was appointed and the membership numbered thirty-five.⁴⁸ In 1888, the missionary resigned and the church was reported as being without a pastor. The first reference to Shields came in the 1890 *Year Book* reporting for the year 1889. In a section entitled “Missionaries from Other Countries” the notation was made “Thos. S. Shields *from England to Plattsville*.”⁴⁹ Provision was made for the new family’s residence: “at Plattsville satisfactory negotiations have been entered into which secures for the church a good property to be used by our missionary.”⁵⁰ The year seems to have been a fairly successful one for Shields. In his sermon diary Shields noted that by March “the congregations at night are now half as many again as at the first.” Over the course of the year he preached 109 sermons, several being delivered in a second preaching station in New Hamburg.⁵¹ By the end of the year the membership had grown to sixty-four.⁵² It was also a fairly eventful year for the Shields family. In December he recorded a pithy note in his diary: “Thurs night Decr. 5th 1889 great fire at Plattsville when the factory was mercifully preserved.”⁵³ This year also marked the beginnings of Tod’s spiritual awakening. In November the father noted again in his diary “Heard of a young man who asked for prayer. Young man was Tod.”⁵⁴ In February of the following year, Shields’ father recorded in his sermon

⁴⁴ *Baptist Year Book for Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Toronto: Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1890.) (Hereafter *BYB*), 153.

⁴⁵ Rev. T.T. Shields *Sermon Diary* 1889, “Shields’ Papers,” JBCA, Toronto.

⁴⁶ Dallimore, 8.

⁴⁷ “Home Missionary Society of Ontario, Thirty-sixth Annual Report,” *BYB*, 1888, 28.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1890, 154. It should be noted that an error was made here in reporting Shields’ initials. Like his son after him his name was also Thomas Todhunter.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁵¹ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*, JBCA, Toronto.

⁵² *BYB*, 1890, 141.

⁵³ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

diary the beginning of an evangelistic campaign. This was a common practice among the Baptist churches of this period, and often these would be run for two or three weeks with evangelists brought in to preach at the special evening services. Shields himself in the following years would preach for many such campaigns. On this occasion Shields Sr. had invited Pastor McDonald who preached the week of February 12th and Pastor Sheldon for the following week. The results were positive and Shields noted in his diary that “Revival began.” Even more rewarding for the father was the conversion of his two oldest sons. “Irwie and Todda professed a change of heart Feb. 18th. To God be all Praise.”⁵⁵ As the younger Shields spoke of the event in subsequent years, he deliberately played down the emotional aspect of the event, noting that for him the significant matter was belief in, and acceptance of God’s word of promise:

It was a simple, matter-of-fact business transaction. I rested in the Word of the Lord and I said, ‘If that is the Word of the Lord, either I am now a Christian or God is a liar - one or the other.’ And seeing he cannot lie, I believed all my sins were forgiven for His Name’s sake. I dared to believe and to rest upon His Word. But I could not have shouted Hallelujah! At that moment I did not feel particularly like it. I just accepted the promise, and then I went forward and applied for baptism.⁵⁶

Over thirty years after the event, Shields spoke in much the same fashion of the experience as he lectured on homiletics and pastoral theology to his young theology students. Arnold Dallimore remembered Shields’ testimony of his conversion as a response to the text of scripture used that evening by the evangelist Rev. McDonald, “If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.”⁵⁷ Shields commented: “I remember when I received the word that Jesus was my Saviour, and when I believed that all my sins were laid upon Him, I believed just what that verse said.” However, Shields was not cognizant of any supernatural transformation. “I did not feel that any miracle had been performed; I did

⁵⁵ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*. It should be noted that this event clearly occurred in Plattsville in the third year of the elder Shields’ pastorate there. His Plattsville pastorate lasted from December of 1888 to February of 1892, a duration of 3 years, 2 months. Dallimore spoke of its duration as two years and so spoke of Tod’s conversion as coming in Tiverton, the father’s next charge. Though Dallimore has intimate knowledge of many aspects of Shields’ life especially in its latter stages he is in error here. It is not clear whether Dallimore had access to the father’s sermon diary.

⁵⁶ Tarr, 28.

⁵⁷ I John 1:9.

not feel any kind of electric shock; I did not feel any great accession of joy and gladness. It was a simple matter of fact business transaction.”⁵⁸

While his conversion experience may have been somewhat unemotional, his recollections of his baptism provided a significant contrast. This experience for Shields was intensely emotional:

I remember stepping down into the waters of baptism, and I should like to have had a congregation of at least a million just then to witness my confession. I remember emerging from those waters, and the joy that came to me! I did not hear a voice from heaven, saying, ‘this is my beloved son’ - although I was His beloved son - but I had this testimony that God by His infinite grace had put one simple duty plainly before me, about which there could be no doubt. I had done just as He commanded me and He said, ‘Well done, I am pleased with you tonight.’⁵⁹

In spite of Shields’ profession that he always believed he would follow in the family tradition and become a preacher, for two years after his conversion he struggled with an uncharacteristic shyness. At different times in his lectures to students he reminisced about these early experiences. Commenting on the problem some young pastors face with shyness he remarked, “I need not spend more time on the diagnosis of the trouble - I expect we have all had it. I remember my own experience. For two years I was never able to even announce a hymn.”⁶⁰

Despite his early successes in Plattsville, after only three years and two months, Shields Sr. in February of 1892 moved his family to the town of Tiverton. His considerations in making the move may have been financial. Later in his diary he alluded to the struggles he had providing for his family: “My life’s struggle is for them to keep a house over their heads.”⁶¹ In considering the present move Shields’ diary reflections pointed to the improved situation to be had. “There is a manse and three acres of land and they would I think give \$700.00.” It was, however, a decision the father struggled with. “The great draw back seems to be that there is nothing for Tod to do in the village & I want to keep him at home.”⁶² From a temporal perspective the move soon proved to be

⁵⁸ Dallimore, 8.

⁵⁹ Dallimore, 9.

⁶⁰ T. T. Shields, Homiletics Lecture, 13 December 1932, “Shields’ Papers,” JBCA, Toronto.

⁶¹ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁶² *Ibid.*

something of a disappointment. The Shields family seem to have been ill- prepared for the differences in weather patterns which they encountered in Tiverton.⁶³ Shields' *Sermon Diary* had numerous references to severe storms and he spoke with some amazement of the snow storm that lasted for days. "This is the worst storm we have seen in Canada but thank God we have plenty to eat & keep us warm." In April of 1893 he wrote of the effect of one particularly fierce thunderstorm: "At 1 a.m. in a heavy thunderstorm the barn of Mr Malcolm McEwen was struck by lightening and burnt to the ground together with four horses 5 cattle one pig a number of fowls and about 500 bushels of various grain and a lot of farm implements. The house caught fire but they managed to put that out." Shields' father remembered that "we were awake in the storm and saw the fire from our bed room window but could not be sure where it was till Tod drove me about 6 a.m."⁶⁴

Upon taking up the charge Shields immediately announced a revival campaign and engaged Mr. Metcalf to come. Despite his best efforts, however, the Tiverton church was plagued with internal divisions and failed to thrive. At the end of his second year he noted in his diary, "Completed two years Ministry in Tiverton suffering all the time from the division made by the previous pastor Rev. A. McFayden." Shields was never able to heal the schism and even after his departure from the field the problems followed him even causing divisions in his own family.⁶⁵ On the domestic front Tod did, however, find work though it is evident that for a time at least he resided in Wingham.⁶⁶ His work was in a furniture factory and years after he often drew sermon illustrations from his experiences.⁶⁷ In January of 1894, Shields Sr. suffered with a sickness that kept him from the pulpit for a month. This event proved to be a turning point in his career and in his son's life. Shields wrote in his diary "This sickness opened the way for Tod going into

⁶³ Tiverton is a hamlet very close to the present site of the Bruce Nuclear Plant. It is located on the eastern shore of Lake Huron and is in a recognized belt from Grand Bend to Owen Sound that is particularly subject to lake effect snow. Significant snow falls in this region will reach inland as far as Orangeville and Caledon.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ A brief discussion of the family disruption appears in the following pages. Shields father took it very seriously at the time but the upset did not seem to have lasting repercussions.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Dallimore, 8.

the ministry and also cleared the way for me going to Vittoria.”⁶⁸ The son later reflected upon the event:

I was living at home at a time when my father was taken ill. He called me into his room one day, and he said, “Would you like to try to preach for me on Sunday?” I said, “Do you mean it?” He said, “Yes.” I said, “All right.” “Do you think you can do it?” “Oh,” I said, “I have several sermons written.” I did not know which one I would take, but I had just written away. It was a church that was just full of theologians. There was more theology in one pew than you would find in any theological seminary ... in this country. Some of those Scotchmen could read their Greek Testament just as well as they could read their English one. And so they were all ready for the young man to break down. They had the hymns selected, and knew exactly what they were going to do. But frankly I felt quite as much at home that first time I preached as I have ever felt since. I preached that Sunday, and I have been preaching ever since.⁶⁹

Shields Sr. subsequently viewed the Tiverton experience from an altered perspective. Despite his earliest concerns and despite all the difficulties he had faced, good had come out of it. At a later date he wrote a second note in his diary against the place he first entertained his concerns for Tod. “How little we know how God will work. Tod got regular work with Clellan and besides our going to Tiverton was the means of his going into the ministry.”⁷⁰

The date of that first sermon was January 14, 1894 and Tod was 20 years old. Shields senior accepted a call to the Baptist church in Vittoria of the Norfolk Association at the reduced rate of pay of \$600 per annum.⁷¹ His move perhaps reflected his desire to be free of the insoluble difficulties he had encountered in Tiverton. He preached his last sermon in Tiverton on March 4th and immediately took up pastoral duties in Vittoria. His distaste with the divisions that had plagued his ministry was reflected in two subsequent events. The first involved what he regarded as a foolish attempt by his successor in Tiverton to reopen the issue and to deal with it in an open council. He refused to go, noting that though he had been invited they had not even the courtesy to offer to pay his expenses. Tod was enraged by his father’s decision and sent him a “cruel letter” chiding him for his reticence. He was so provoked at his father that he determined to go himself

⁶⁸ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁶⁹ T. T. Shields, “Homiletics Lecture: the Acts of the Apostles,” 14 June 1951, “Shields’ Papers,” JBCA, Toronto.

⁷⁰ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁷¹ Vittoria is located in Norfolk County, eleven kilometers south-west of Simcoe.

but informed his father that he would not come home and tell him about the event. He wrote a second letter to his sister-in-law informing the family of his decision not to come home whereupon, in the father's words, "she and Maggie and Irwie all set on me & blamed me for Tod not coming home." The father wrote: "Oh what I suffer I will not write it. God bless my poor inexperienced boy ... Truly I have a miserable life. How that boy has made my heart ache and I loved him so dearly. May God bless him and may he never know in his after life such pain and sorrow as he has caused me." This was particularly painful to the father, because Tod was just about to enter his first pastorate in Florence.⁷²

The whole controversy made a lasting impression on the elder Shields. His sudden resignation from the Vittoria pastorate two years later demonstrated his subsequent intolerance to church conflict. The Church report to the *Canadian Baptist* for July 1896 contained the following notice:

At the regular quarterly church business meeting, held on the 7th inst., our pastor, Rev. Thos. Shields ..., most unexpectedly handed in his resignation. It came like a bolt from a clear sky, and we are in mourning. The Clerk was barely able to read the sorrowful words that informed us of our great loss, and when the last word fell upon our ears there was audible sobbing all through the congregation. It was decisive in tone, and will take effect in October next.

The notice went on to acknowledge their great esteem for their pastor: "Bro. Shields has endeared himself to the people of Vittoria, not so much by social contact, or by tickling the ear with silver-toned oratory, but by his wonderful power of unfolding and elucidating the blessed truths contained in the Word of God." Noting the fact that his Biblical exposition was the secret of his success, they spoke of his record: "Since Br. Shields came to us our congregations have increased and there has been a quickened interest and a fuller attendance at our weekly prayer-meetings." However, they quickly acknowledged that the conditions under which Shields had first accepted the call had not been met. "As a condition precedent, Bro. Shields demands peace and harmony in his ministerial work, and, unfortunately, we have not had that in Vittoria." A brief account of incessant dissention followed and Shields' unsuccessful attempts "to bring about a re-union of Christian fellowship." However, they admitted: "In this he has failed, and hence

⁷² T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

his resignation.”⁷³ Whether or not the resignation was a ploy is unclear. However, it had the desired effect and the internal schism was mended. In a diary note from November 10, 1896 Shields wrote: “Received unanimous call to resume Pastorate at 600 and accepted.”⁷⁴

Early Pastorates

The first indication of Tod’s entering into the pastorate came as a notation in his father’s diary. August 4, 1894, Shields Sr. wrote of receiving a letter from J.P. McEwen asking him to speak at the Home Missions conference. The letter also contained an invitation “offering Tod a field.” This was accepted and according to his father’s records Tod left October 13, 1894 to begin his first pastorate a mere nine months after preaching his first sermon. Given the timing of his “cruel letter” to his father noted above, Shields Sr. expressed a sense of reservation: “And he writes this just on the eve of going into the work of the Ministry for the Mission Board has appointed him to Florence. It is a poor preparation but I pray the Lord will overlook it and bless him.”⁷⁵

In the spring and summer prior to his call to the Florence church Tod worked hard to prepare himself for a future in the ministry. When his father left for the church in Vittoria, Shields junior filled the vacated Tiverton pulpit for several weeks. In that time period he also preached in Glamis and then on two occasions ministered under his father’s inspection at Vittoria.⁷⁶ In September he preached twice in Plattsville, a return to the scene of his father’s first pastoral ministry in Canada.⁷⁷

Florence

Shields’ first charge was a small Home Missions work. Florence was the main centre and was initially under the supervision of the church in Dresden.⁷⁸ This was undoubtedly the period in which Shields first made the acquaintance of Dresden’s pastor, Rev. J. W. Hoyt. They became close friends and over the years ministered at times in

⁷³ E. M. Kitchen, “Denominational News: Vittoria,” *CB*, Vol. 42, 16 July 1896, 461.

⁷⁴ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁷⁵ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

⁷⁶ Glamis is located in Bruce County, thirty kilometers west of Hanover.

⁷⁷ T. T. Shields *Sermons Preached* (This is the title given to his own Sermon Diary and contains “a complete Record of all the sermons I have ever preached and of all addresses delivered apart from prayer meetings.”)

⁷⁸ Florence is situated in Lambton County and is thirty-seven kilometers south-east of Petrolia, or forty-five kilometers north-east of Chatham. It was part of the Western Association.

close proximity to each other, including pastorates in Hamilton and London.⁷⁹ They often supported each other in special services. They shared a commitment to evangelism and in subsequent years preached many revival campaigns together both in their own churches and in the denomination at large. Shields was the best man at Hoyt's wedding⁸⁰ and when in 1918 Shields was invited by the British Ministry of Information to tour the war effort, Shields had Hoyt and two other friends certified by M-I-Five to share the experience.⁸¹

The Florence Baptist Church was a small country congregation with a membership of forty-seven when Shields arrived. Under Shields' ministry a new baptismal font was completed meaning that they were able "now to avoid the inconvenience of the river in bad weather." With an evangelistic campaign in the spring of 1895 a number of people were converted, baptized and joined the church. Shields' father assisted him in the campaign.⁸² At the end of the year he was able to report a membership of sixty-six, the largest single year growth in its history.

In connection with the work in Florence there was a second preaching station at Dawn, about four miles away. This work was the product of the efforts of a student supply minister who preceded him. During the summer he held special services in the town and reported a number of conversions. These people formed the nucleus of a group and hoped soon to organize a church.⁸³ Shields' sermon diary reflected the fact that on most Sundays during his year in Florence he preached in both locations. On a number of occasions he also ministered in Euphemia, another nearby village. Shields travelled between these locations by bicycle. It was not until he entered the ministry that he even learned to ride a bicycle. According to one account, being concerned for his ministerial dignity, he would get up at four or five in the morning so that he could learn how to ride out on the country road without making a spectacle of himself in town. He continued to

⁷⁹ During Shields' pastorate in Delhi, Hoyt pastored in Gladstone and Aylmer and later when Shields moved to London Hoyt moved the same year to Chatham. After a brief stay there he took up a pastorate in St. Thomas and ministered there during much of Shields' ministry at Adelaide St.

⁸⁰ Tarr, 34.

⁸¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 75. M-I-Five stands for "Military Intelligence Section 5" and is the government agency in the United Kingdom that is responsible for internal security. It was "formed in 1909 under the leadership of Vernon Kell ... to identify and counteract German spies then working in Britain" Cf. "MI5," *Britannica Online*, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9052422>> accessed, 29 July 2009.

⁸² "Denominational News," *The Canadian Baptist*, Vol. 41, 11 April 1895, 5.

⁸³ "Forty-Third Annual Report of the Home Mission Board," *BYB*, 1894-1895, 51.

use this form of transportation in his ministry until his pastorate in Jarvis Street when he was finally able to purchase a car.⁸⁴

Shields in later years told his own ministerial students of some of the patterns of life he adopted during this first pastorate that in various ways became characteristic of his whole ministry. He began every morning with a time of prayer and devotional readings in his Bible and his hymn book.⁸⁵ His own devotional life seems to have fostered through the years a heavy emphasis upon the church's prayer meeting, and hereafter he would commonly multiply prayer meetings in the churches he pastored. He deliberately made it his purpose to spend fifteen hours a day at his desk and to put himself through "a course in theology more severe than what he would have encountered in any University on the continent."⁸⁶ In preparing his sermons he accepted his father's advice and seldom used commentaries. He often commented about the Pater's warnings against over-reliance upon other people's work: "When this editor was only about twenty, his father recommended him to have not biblical helps on his shelves beyond a concordance, and a good Bible dictionary for the first four or five years of his ministry." Shields remembered objecting "we know so little." His father responded with astute advice: "Do not tell the people how little you know. Your sermons will be too long. Tell them only what you know, and that will ensure their brevity."⁸⁷ In studying theology he was taught to read the works of great theologians but to come to his own conclusions.

Dutton

In October of 1895, Shields resigned his pastorate in Florence to accept the charge of the Baptist Church in Dutton.⁸⁸ He preached his first sermon there November 10, 1895.⁸⁹ Dutton, was in the Elgin Association and like Florence, was a recipient of Home Missions funds.⁹⁰ It was another relatively small country church and the year Shields became the pastor it had a membership of sixty-three. Shields enjoyed a successful first year in this location and at the end of the year membership was up to eighty-six and

⁸⁴ Dallimore, 12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸⁷ "The Prophetic Research Conference in Philadelphia Jan. 5th to 8th," *GW*, Vol. 26, 1 January 1948.

⁸⁸ Dutton is a community in Elgin County, thirty kilometers southwest of St. Thomas.

⁸⁹ T. T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

⁹⁰ *BYB*, 1895-6, 144.

sixteen baptisms were reported. Much of this early success came in the context of another series of special meetings held for evangelistic purposes. Shields did not wait long to bring his evangelistic challenge to the town, and at the beginning of January in 1896 he began a series of meetings. He preached week nights for two weeks in addition to his normal two services on Sundays. After two weeks he asked his friend J. W. Hoyt to come and minister for another two weeks. Shields supplied Hoyt's pulpit for the two Sundays that Hoyt led the continuing evangelistic campaign. A number of people made professions of faith and Hoyt baptized seven people. Seeing the evidence of success Shields continued the services for another week after the departure of Hoyt and his brother who had come to assist. With five more people requesting baptism Shields had Hoyt return to perform the baptismal ceremonies. It was Shields' practice in this early period to ask ordained men to perform the baptisms occurring under his ministry. He felt that a young man such as himself should refrain from baptizing "until he had proved himself before the church and had been recognized by his brethren for the work of the ministry."⁹¹ Shields' account of the event sent to the *Canadian Baptist* gave some insight into the methods used to attract sinners to Christ:

A Bible Reading was given each afternoon at three o'clock, by Bro. J. W. Hoyt. These meetings were well attended and much appreciated; and we are sure lasting good has resulted from them. At the evening services the church was always well filled. With his characteristic earnestness Br. Hoyt shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God. The singing of the Hoyt brothers attracted many to the meetings, who would not otherwise have attended. ... The Lord seems to have especially qualified these brethren for this work. Mr. D. C. Hoyt may be said with truth to be blessed with a voice of a thousand. He sings the Gospel, perhaps as touchingly and effectively as his brother preaches it. Hearts were broken, and eyes bedimmed with tears, as the brothers sometimes alone, and sometimes together, sang of the wonderful love of God. We cannot correctly estimate the number, who during the progress of the meetings, professed to find peace through believing on Jesus.⁹²

Shields kept up the hectic pace in the weeks and months to come, and in March reports started coming to the *Canadian Baptist* about the revival campaign Shields and Hoyt were holding in Thorncliffe and Dresden.⁹³ A number of conversions and baptisms

⁹¹ Tarr, 37.

⁹² "Denominational News: Dutton," *CB*, Vol. 42, 20 February 1896, 124.

⁹³ Dresden is part of the municipality of Chatham-Kent and is twenty-two kilometers southwest of Florence. Presumably, Thorncliffe was a neighboring community but little is known of it now.

were the fruit of this labour, and the church clerk wrote of Shields that he was “to be commended for the untiring efforts” which were “made in the Master’s work.” Another fruit of this campaign was also recorded: “Some whose voices were never heard in a religious meeting have now found that they also can speak a word for Jesus.”⁹⁴ Though his interests seemed to be largely inclined towards evangelism, he was not unmindful of responsibilities to the denomination. His year included addresses given at the meetings of the Western Association and the Elgin Association. The following year he was again a speaker for the Elgin Association where he was now the assistant clerk and the report to the *Canadian Baptist* noted: “The best address of the evening was by Pastor T. T. Shields, theme, “Working power.”⁹⁵ Over the course of his Dutton pastorate he accepted preaching engagements in Rodney, St. Thomas, Hagersville, Vittoria and Tiverton. Sundays were always busy with regular trips to Iona Station six miles to the east where he commonly preached Sunday afternoons.

Shields did not seem to enjoy the same measure of success in his second year. When the report was sent in for the *Baptist Year Book* the membership of the Dutton Baptist church was down to seventy-two and no baptisms were reported. However, the church was pleased with his ministry and in September of 1897 a council was called to “consider the propriety of ordaining to the Gospel ministry Rev. T. T. Shields.”⁹⁶ According to the official report of the event, “the examination was very full and satisfactory, and Bro. Shields gave evidence of having made the Word of God his special study.” His father preached the ordination sermon. However, in a rather odd twist the report concluded with the statement: “Bro. Shields has accepted a call to the church in Delhi, and leaves at once to take his new charge. His departure is much regretted by the church and townspeople generally.”⁹⁷

⁹⁴ “Denominational News: Dresden,” *CB*, Vol. 42, 21 May 1896, 322.

⁹⁵ “Association Reports: Elgin Association,” *CB*, Vol. 43, 1 July 1897, 406.

⁹⁶ Among Baptists, ordination councils were called by the local church. Delegates from other Baptist churches were invited. The candidate would give a statement of his conversion and Christian experience along with an expression of his theological beliefs. The council looked for evidences of God’s calling upon the candidate’s life. In a sense, Baptist ordination represented a formal process by which the denomination recognized God’s ordination of the individual. With a positive vote, an ordination charge would be delivered and the candidate would be accepted formally into the Baptist ministry. He would hereafter be addressed as Reverend.

⁹⁷ “Ordinations,” *CB*, Vol. 43, 30 September 1898, 617.

Delhi

Shields' Delhi pastorate was a very active and aggressive ministry. Before beginning his work in Delhi, Shields took a two week break and spent time with his family in Vittoria, where he most likely sought out his father's wisdom for the coming ministry. One of those two weeks he filled the pulpit for his father. It is interesting to note during his tenure at Delhi nearly every holiday break that he took was given to ministry in other locales. His life in this period seemed to have a single focus and there was an active avoidance of anything that would distract him from the ministry of the gospel.

The church in Delhi was somewhat larger than his two previous charges although it is apparent that there was a significant drop in membership since the ministry of the last pastor. In 1897 Pastor William Cuthbert was able to report a membership of 121. However, in Shields' first year, that number had fallen to eighty-one.⁹⁸ One can only speculate as to the cause of this decline but under Shields' ministry the number rapidly climbed back into the previous range. Once again the grounds for Shields' success was his aggressive evangelism. As in Dutton, within two months of entering the pastoral charge Shields announced an evangelistic campaign. He had a first week of services in January, and then a second at the beginning of February. Four times over the course of his pastorate, Shields held revival campaigns in the Delhi church. The last in 1899 was a five-week campaign in which he preached every night of the week except Saturday. Having just preached thirty-eight times in thirty-one days, he set off for another two week campaign in Palmyra a small community about thirty kilometres south-west of Dutton. This more than anything else seems to have characterized the Delhi pastorate. During the three years he ministered in Delhi, he conducted eight revival campaigns in other churches around south-western Ontario, preaching over 130 times above and beyond his regular Sunday services. In nearly every one of these campaigns, Shields was back in his own pulpit for his Sunday services. On many of those weeks he preached in the afternoon in local villages such as Windham Center (seven miles north-east of Delhi), Pine Grove (eight miles south-east of Delhi), and Teeterville (eight and a half miles north-east of

⁹⁸ *BYB*, 1897-8, 207; cf. *BYB*, 1898-9, 200.

Delhi.)⁹⁹ This is all the more remarkable in light of the fact that his main mode of local transportation was still his bicycle.

Shields' activity in the local associations also continued unabated. He was a speaker at the Elgin Association meetings as well as those of the Norfolk Association. In 1897-8 he was listed as the chairman of the Norfolk Association board and thus responsible for organizing meetings and conferences. Given Shields' evangelistic focus it was not particularly surprising that the conference theme for the 1898 Norfolk Association was "Revival," or that his father was listed as one of the keynote speakers.¹⁰⁰ Beyond this, he had a number of preaching engagements in churches across the region including Leamington, Windsor, Dutton, Forestville, West Williams and Woodstock.¹⁰¹

Perhaps the most significant event of his Delhi pastorate was his marriage to Lizzie Kitchen of Delhi on December 6, 1899. His father was the officiant.¹⁰² Lizzie, or Dolly as Shields affectionately referred to her, would be to him a dedicated wife and helper until her sudden death on August 11, 1932.¹⁰³

Shields continued his pastorate in Delhi for nearly a year after his marriage to Lizzie, but in September of 1900 he suddenly felt compelled to submit his resignation: "One Sunday morning I went home from service, and while I was waiting to be called to dinner, for some reason which I could not explain, I wrote my resignation, and I put it in my pocket before I went to church at night." Later that evening he presented it to the church. "I preached a sermon, and at the conclusion of the sermon, I took my resignation from my pocket and read it, and said, 'This will be considered at the Thursday night meeting.'" Shields reflected that "it was like a bombshell in that church." "When I read the resignation, they were staggered. After the benediction they gathered around, and you can imagine what it was like. There was one man, a doctor, who said, 'You are a bit blue.' I said, 'No, I am not.' 'Well, what is the matter?' 'Nothing, I said, 'only the conviction that my service here is ended.'"¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ The information cited here is gleaned from the records kept by Shields in his sermon diary.

¹⁰⁰ "Association Reports: Norfolk Association," *CB*, Vol. 43, 23 December 1897, 809. Cf. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

¹⁰¹ T. T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

¹⁰² "Marriages," *SR*, 14 December 1899.

¹⁰³ George Greenway, "Triumphant," *GW*, 11:14, 18 August, 1932, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Tarr, 39.

Sometime later, after having begun his next pastorate, he was made privy to the discussions which led to his call. He immediately came to the conclusion that his sudden inclination to write out his resignation was an unconscious response to divine guidance. Shields later related the story to his pastoral theology students and told how the Hamilton church prayerfully came to make their decision. The deacons reported:

We went into one of the classrooms and we knelt before God, and we prayed that the Lord would guide us definitely in the selection of a man. When we had finished praying, Brother Parsons said, "It is all settled so far as I am concerned." We said, "What do you mean?" (They had a number of names that had been in their minds.) He said "Mr. Shields is the man." When they asked him why, he simply said, "I feel sure the Lord told me so."¹⁰⁵

When Shields heard that account he asked of them, "Could you tell me what Sunday that was?" When they told him Shields confessed to feeling "a strange thrill." He continued: "As they identified the date, I said, 'Could you tell me just about the hour?' 'Oh,' they said, 'It was about half past one, somewhere before one and two.' I found that it was the same hour that those men whom I had never seen and who had never seen me were praying, and while that impression came to this man Parsons that I was the man, for some reason I could not explain to any mortal, I had taken my pen and written my resignation!"¹⁰⁶

A short time after submitting his resignation in Delhi, Shields was given an invitation to preach in Wentworth St. Baptist Church in Hamilton. The newspaper carried the story. "Rev. T. T. Shields has been invited to preach for one or two Sundays in Wentworth Church, Hamilton. Next Sunday will be the first."¹⁰⁷ A call was duly received and Shields began his new ministry November 4, 1900.

Hamilton

The move to Hamilton marked a change for Shields. Up to this point Shields had ministered almost exclusively in rural environments. Hereafter, all of his pastoral ministries would be conducted in the urban context. Nevertheless, the Wentworth St. Church was not a particularly large church and was a Home Missions project. Shields was given a salary of \$400 a year and of that amount \$250 came from the Home Mission

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *SR*, 4 October 1900.

board. The church had recently completed a new building and having only seventy-one members was facing some indebtedness.¹⁰⁸ The report included in the *Baptist Year Book* of 1898-9 gave an account of the building project. Noting that the church “had to choose between extinction and a new building, [sic]” the report noted that “they wisely resolved to build.” Of the building itself, the *Year Book* insisted: “Their house is not open to criticism. Better value for the money expended cannot be found in the two Provinces. Continued liberty and self-denial such as have been manifested by the church during the past year must, however, be maintained for some time until the debt becomes materially reduced.”¹⁰⁹

The plan adopted by the church was for a building that would seat five hundred and would accommodate five hundred Sunday School scholars. The total cost was projected at \$5,000 dollars.¹¹⁰ When Shields accepted the pastorate the outstanding debt on the building was \$4,200 dollars. This was seen by many as a daunting undertaking for a young pastor to face. Yet Shields embraced the challenge and eighteen months later a remarkable notice was sent into the *Canadian Baptist*: “On March 24th the church met and unanimously and enthusiastically decided to become self-supporting, thanking the Home Mission Board for their support the past few years, and assuring them we will do our utmost in future to help them in their good work.”¹¹¹ The Home Missions secretary C. J. Cameron was ecstatic and wrote a glowing report of the example set by Wentworth Street and its Pastor:

When the Home Mission Board was sorely pressed by a deficit in its revenue last spring it sent out circulars to our missions requesting them, if at all possible, to reduce their applications for aid. Among others the Wentworth St. Church received this appeal. It seemed a hard struggle then with a grant of \$250 to meet all expenses. How did they treat the request? After due consideration they decided to wipe off, not \$50, nor \$100, nor \$200, but the whole \$250, and declared themselves independent and self-supporting. Members of other churches in the city dubiously said: “Their independence will be short-lived. It is impossible for this church, burdened with its building debt, to meet all its liabilities. It will be compelled to return to the Board in a few months.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ For Shields’ salary see “Financial Statistics,” *BYB*, 1901, 258; for the Home Missions support see “Wentworth St. Baptist Church, Hamilton,” *CB*, Vol. 49, 26 June 1902, 5; for membership statistics see “Churches, Pastors, Clerks,” *BYB*, 1900, 366.

¹⁰⁹ “Home Missions Board, Forty-Seventh Annual Report,” *BYB*, 1898-9, 51.

¹¹⁰ “Wentworth Street Church, Hamilton,” *CB*, Vol. 43, 20 May 1897, 306.

¹¹¹ “Denominational News, Wentworth St., Hamilton,” *CB*, Vol. 49, 10 April 1902, 9.

¹¹² “Wentworth St. Baptist Church, Hamilton,” *CB*, Vol. 49, 26 June 1902, 5.

However, the church committed itself to doubling their “weekly contributions” and “the financial difficulty ... speedily disappeared - a magnificent showing,” noted Cameron, “for a church that has no wealthy members.”¹¹³

The success that Shields enjoyed in Wentworth Street church did not mark any particular shift in methodology for Shields. As in his previous two pastorates Shields opened his ministry with an evangelistic campaign. Perhaps coincidentally, this campaign, like his previous two opening campaigns, fell in the month of January. Once again Shields teamed up with his good friend J.W. Hoyt who now pastored Victoria Avenue Baptist Church. According to Shields, Hoyt’s church was only a “fifteen minutes’ walk” from his own charge. The campaign lasted four weeks and was run alternate weeks in Victoria Avenue and Wentworth Street. Hoyt and Shields shared the preaching, each preaching ten weeknight services. Remarkably, these two churches had previously been somewhat hostile. Shields noted that when his call was first being considered by Wentworth Street, had his relationship to Hoyt been known, it would have been detrimental to his acceptance in Wentworth Street as “the relation between those two churches was anything but happy at that time.”¹¹⁴ One of the fruits of this evangelistic campaign was the healing of the rift and one of several reports of these meetings to the *Canadian Baptist* recorded the fact that “the two churches are closer together than has ever been known.”¹¹⁵ All the reports to the *Canadian Baptist* spoke of conversions and baptisms. One report spoke of thirty conversions, another spoke of the sixteen new members welcomed into Wentworth Street church. According to the clerk, “The Wentworth St. Congregation has never before enjoyed such a revival.”¹¹⁶ A similar campaign was run the following year in February with similar results. Cameron in his report summarized the eighteen months leading up to the church’s independence of Home Missions’ support:

In November, 1900, the Wentworth St. Mission called to be its pastor Rev. T. T. Shields, who was born and educated in Bristol, England, the son of Rev. Thos. Shields, until recently pastor of Leamington Baptist church. During the eighteen months of his pastorate the church has made phenomenal progress. The

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Tarr, 38.

¹¹⁵ “Denominational News, Wentworth St., Hamilton” *CB*, Vol. 47, 7 February 1901, 4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, cf. also issue Vol. 74, 31 January 1901, 5.

congregation has risen from an attendance of 125 to nearly 400. The membership of eighty-nine has been increased by eighty-five additions - (fifty by baptism) - being almost doubled.¹¹⁷

The economic gains made by the church were credited by Cameron to Shields' evangelistic efforts rather than to fund-raising schemes. In fact, he gave particular notice to Shields' aversion to fund raising for churches, preferring instead a voluntarist principle:

All money for the church is raised by voluntary offerings. Although the pastor has no objection to sociable gatherings for the purpose of increasing Christian fellowship and mutual acquaintance, yet he sets his face like flint against entertainment or socials where an admission fee is charged for the benefit of the house of God. 'The members of a church,' he says, 'are like one family. If debts are incurred, they should pay them. It is not manly nor right to solicit aid, directly or indirectly, from your neighbors to pay debts they took no part in contracting.'¹¹⁸

Years later Shields spoke of this long-standing conviction to his pastoral theology students:

Before I became a preacher at all I felt the greatest possible repugnance to the prevailing practice of many churches to hold garden parties, tea meetings, bazaars, and to employ all sorts of tricks to raise money. And when I became a pastor, I promised the Lord that I never would be pastor of a church for twenty-four hours that practised that sort of thing. When I went to my first pastorate, I told them this. I said, "If you want me, you can have me on these terms. I am bound by a solemn promise to the Lord which I cannot break. It is not optional with me; it is a matter of conviction, and I cannot serve you unless you indicate you will have none of these things."¹¹⁹

Finding himself for the first time in an urban setting, the Hamilton experience gave Shields his first opportunity to raise his voice in social commentary. March 17, 1901 Shields was invited to preach in the James Street Gospel Temperance Hall. His message on that occasion, simply titled "King Alcohol," was in some ways a foretaste of his determined resistance to the alcohol industry that would become so prominent in his controversies many years later with Premier Mitch Hepburn. The message was somewhat hurried in its preparation, as Shields noted on the cover page: "This was begun a few

¹¹⁷ "Wentworth St. Baptist Church, Hamilton," *CB*, Vol. 49, 26 June 1902, 5.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Tarr, 34.

minutes before midnight & finished two o'clock Sunday morning." It was, nevertheless, an outstanding example of his allegorical skills. This sermon, as with all of his sermons until 1920, was painstakingly written out in full. Though he was never accused of reading his sermons, they were sufficiently polished as to be published without revision years later.¹²⁰ Using an extended metaphor throughout, which could be likened to that of John Bunyan in his *Holy War*, Shields explored the cruel reign of this demonic majesty.¹²¹ According to Shields, "King Alcohol's throne is built upon the ruins of a once magnificent temple originally built for God to dwell in." His colourful imagery ran all through the forty-seven pages of his written manuscript but one short excerpt might give some suggestion of the measure of his antagonism to the destructive character of this industry:

King Alcohol hath for his dwelling a great palace, built from the ruins of a million homes. It is luridly lighted by candles of delusion which are lit by the devil's tapers with fire borrowed from the flames of hell. There is music in the palace. The King's musicians play, upon glasses, such music as the fingers of the devil's harpers make. They dance to the music in the palace. They begin in the morning with a round of pleasure and while the sun goes down they dance the dance of despair.¹²²

Shields' Hamilton ministry was a time of great achievement for him.

Evangelistically, he reaped the richest harvest of his career to date. Throughout the duration of his pastorate he baptized ninety-four people.¹²³ He took a struggling church and placed it firmly on the road to success. He enjoyed the companionship of his friend J. W. Hoyt and made many new friends. One of his more famous ministerial friends, Dr. J. W. Philpott, came from this period of ministry. Philpott went on to be the pastor of the "Moody Church" in Chicago and the "Church of the Open Door" in Los Angeles. Once

¹²⁰ Responding to a repeated request for biographical information Shields provided his correspondent with a sermon recently published. He commented that it "would show you something of my means of preparation. For many years it was my practice to write every word of the sermon in advance. ... it was published by merely handing the manuscript to the printer." T. T. Shields to Rev. Theodore Anderson, 13 August 1940, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

¹²¹ Bunyan developed an allegory concerning the human body using the image of the city of "Mansoul." Where Bunyan used the metaphorical image of a city, Shields pictured the body using the image of a temple. Cf. John Bunyan, *The Holy War* (London: The Church of England Book Society, n.d. [versified 1857.])

¹²² T. T. Shields, "King Alcohol," 17 March 1901, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

¹²³ T. T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

when preaching at Jarvis Street Philpott remarked, “I was a pastor, and I had no pastor. Your pastor was mine.”¹²⁴

However, this was also a period of great grief for Shields. Shortly after having preached a revival campaign in his father’s church in Leamington, he learned that the “Pater” had been diagnosed with cancer. Having found “a little lump about the size of a pea under his tongue,” Shields’ father conferred with a doctor in the church. The doctor immediately diagnosed it and Shields’ father presented his resignation the same evening saying that it “marked the termination of a ministry of forty-three years.”¹²⁵

Shields moved his father and mother to Hamilton and spent a good part of that year caring for his father during his last illness. Reminiscing about that time, Shields noted that the “x-ray was just beginning to be used; and my father went for daily treatments. I accompanied him most of the time - nearly every day he went.” Sadly, noted Shields, “it succeeded only in driving the disease within: and about August of that year he went to bed and did not rise again.” Shields testified that he was a great sufferer; and went home the first of October, 1902.” He concluded: “He passed as he lived – triumphant in the faith of Christ. He said to me not long before he died, ‘After all, the one and only truth that matters is that Christ Jesus came into this world to save sinners.’”¹²⁶

While Shields’ personal sorrow was unsurpassed, the passing of the elder Shields left a profound sense of loss in the whole denomination. The *Canadian Baptist* moved his obituary to the front page.¹²⁷ The obituary appearing later that year in the *Baptist Year Book* well expressed the denomination’s regard for the one who had now passed from among them. It identified him as one of the Baptist ministry’s “faithful members” and “one of its outstanding defenders.” Reflecting on his preaching the report noted: “by the force, color and fidelity of his presentation of the claims of the gospel he came to be regarded as a preacher of no small merit. His was the preaching of Bunyan, with all the strength, flexibility and sanctified imagination of that old Puritan.”¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Tarr, 40.

¹²⁵ T. T. Shields to S. J. Eyre Hartley, in Parent *Christology*, 14.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ “Editorial Notes,” *CB*, Vol. 49, 9 October 1902, 1.

¹²⁸ “Obituaries,” *BYB*, 1902, 20.

The loss of Rev. Thomas Shields was keenly felt in the denomination. However, the vacuum left by his passing was quickly being filled by the son who was so much his prodigy. In later years Shields expressed some resentment of the denominational leadership. A number of people have noted the rancour he expressed over his “conviction that his father had been deliberately directed to churches of insufficient size in relation to his talents.”¹²⁹ This he related to a monopoly of denominational affairs by men trained by McMaster. Dallimore recounted one such testimonial. On an occasion when Shields complained to several denominational ministers “that the Convention officials had not been fair with his father” recommending him “only to very small churches,” he was told it was “because he had not graduated from McMaster University.” When his advisers informed him that “he would never get anywhere in the Baptist Convention unless he attended McMaster,” Shields “brought himself up to his full height and bringing his large fist upon the desk with a resounding bang he asserted ‘I’ll rise to heights no McMaster man ever dreamed of!’” Dallimore testified that a “knowledge of his life reveals that by this he meant that one day he would become the pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, the most prestigious Baptist church in Canada, and that after some few years there he would be called to the pastorate of Spurgeon’s Tabernacle in London, England, the largest Baptist church in the world!” He concluded: “Such was his ambition as a young man.”¹³⁰

Perhaps in consequence of these attitudes, Shields later acknowledged the fact that prior to his call to Jarvis Street his “ministry had been exercised entirely apart and beyond the bounds of Baptist official life in Toronto.”¹³¹ However, despite Shields’ own lack of a McMaster education, he proved to be a hard man to ignore and he did in this period receive a greater degree of recognition throughout the denomination. In October 1901 he was honoured by being invited as a convention speaker for which his preaching abilities were warmly acknowledged. He was also asked to preach in a large Toronto church, Bloor Street Baptist, in July of 1902. Not surprisingly, however, he was more and more in demand for revival campaigns. In the end these demands became so urgent that

¹²⁹ C. Allyn Russell, “Thomas Todhunter Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist” in *Ontario History* vol. LXX, Number 4, December 1978, 277.

¹³⁰ Dallimore, 14.

¹³¹ T.T. Shields, *Plot*, 13.

Shields asked for a leave of absence from his church. “Our pastor, Rev. T. T. Shields, has accepted a persistent call from churches in the Ottawa Valley to conduct Evangelistic services, and expects to be away for about four months.”¹³² When the four months had passed and Shields was still hard pressed to keep up with the demand, his removal from Hamilton became permanent.

Year of Evangelism

The following ten months were a virtual whirlwind of activity for Shields. He conducted in that time fourteen evangelistic campaigns, going from one church to the next in immediate succession. His practice was to preach three times on the Sunday and then every week night except Saturday. Seven of the campaigns ran for two weeks while the rest were carried on for 3 weeks or more. His itinerary included Osgoode, Ormond, Arnprior, Hawkesbury, Owen Sound, Walkerton, Wiarton, Brantford, Petrolia, Peterborough, Belleville, two different locations in Ottawa, and Carlton Place. Throughout this period he preached every Sunday including once at home in Hamilton on the Sunday of his Christmas break. The period of his full-time evangelistic endeavours spanned 329 days, during which he preached 309 times. Over the course of the forty-four weeks, thirty-six were spent actively campaigning. On a few occasions he enjoyed a week’s break between the last Sunday of one campaign and the first Sunday of the next. In those thirty-six weeks of active campaigning he preached an average of eight and a half times a week. He did, however, rely heavily on his stock of old sermons for most of this period only composing eight new sermons in the whole interval.¹³³ Nor was he idle during the weekdays before his evening sessions. During the day it would seem that he led an aggressive visitation blitz of the area. Speaking years later of his experience in one of the towns he visited, he shared how he was able to educate the pastor there on how to run an evangelistic campaign. “I immediately proposed to him” said Shields “that we should visit together from house to house throughout the entire town, not omitting a single place of human residence.” Knocking on doors was supplemented with modern methods of advertising. “We printed some invitation cards, with an announcement on one side; and, on the other side, a simple setting forth of the way of salvation, with the names

¹³² “Denominational News,” *CB*, Vol.49, 4 June 1903, p. 9.

¹³³ The figures cited here are compiled from Shields’ own records as preserved in his sermon diary.

of the Pastor and his helper subscribed.” So armed the two “began each morning about nine o’clock, and went from door to door.” Concerning their visitation blitz, Shields continued: “Where it was possible, we entered the house, engaged the people in religious conversation, and, where they were willing, we read the Scripture and prayed. Where that was not possible, we bore our testimony at the door, gave the people a warm invitation to attend the services, and left a card as a reminder.” Shields related the fact that they “continued this until every house in the entire neighbourhood had been visited, and not an individual in the town had been left without an invitation.” At the end of the campaign the pastor confessed to Shields: “I have been a minister in this town for ten years: you have been here but a few days. But you have introduced me to the town. I have met hundreds of people I did not know. I have entered many homes I had not even seen. You have shown me possibilities of work of which I had never even dreamed; and I am most grateful.”¹³⁴

The product of Shields’ effort was celebrated by successive churches as they reported to the *Canadian Baptist* of astonishing results. “A great wave of spiritual power washed over us,” wrote one correspondent. “Teachers wept, and children and young people rose, and we were content to go without supper to lead them to Jesus.” Concerning the overwhelming response he continued, “One whole family, father, mother and two sons, five in another family, two and three in others, and forty to fifty of our young people and children were among the converts and a large number of older people, who will be looked up and dealt with as the Lord shall direct.” Dealing with the numbers applying for baptism apparently posed something of a dilemma because they had to group the “young people... the men and women in relays for the ordinance.”¹³⁵ From Ottawa came the report, “From the very first, God’s blessing rested upon the preaching of His word, and scarcely a night passed without souls being saved. Considerably over one hundred persons have professed conversion.”¹³⁶ Of the fourteen churches visited, ten sent in reports and all spoke of the power of Shields’ preaching and resulting conversions and baptisms. Over the course of the ten months of evangelistic effort, 317 conversions were

¹³⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 297.

¹³⁵ “Denominational News; Park St., Peterboro,” *CB*, Vol. 50, 28 January 1904, 9.

¹³⁶ “Denominational News; McPhail Memorial, Ottawa,” *CB*, Vol. 50, 7 April 1904, 12.

reported. While the validity of all these professions of faith is hard to judge, what was more concrete were the baptisms, most of which were performed by Shields himself. One hundred and thirteen were recorded in the reports and most churches noted their expectation that many more would follow.

London

On September 4, 1904, Shields returned to pastoral ministry. The scene of this ministry was Adelaide Street Baptist Church in London, Ontario. This was his last pastorate prior to his call to Jarvis Street where he would spend the rest of his life. Adelaide Street was a larger church and the administrative demands upon his time were much greater. Shields rose to the task and demonstrated the leadership skills that would characterize so many of his later endeavours. Shields' Adelaide street pastorate demonstrated the fact that Shields was not only an effective preacher and evangelist, he was also a capable administrator. Under his guidance and inspiration the congregation grew in leaps and bounds and the physical plant was greatly enlarged. Financial matters were never so healthy and with Shields' optimistic guidance, the debts incurred in building were rapidly reduced.

The congregation at Adelaide Street embraced their new pastor with great enthusiasm and throughout Shields' relationship with the church there seemed to be a great sense of affection and unity between them. His first pastoral report to the church after four months commented particularly upon the "cordial and sympathetic relations existing between pastor and people." The deacon's report echoed his sentiments and also reflected upon the "spirit of unity" that had been fostered "among all the Baptist churches in the city."¹³⁷ Looking back at his relationship with the church in 1910 Shields was able to remark "I feel ... that our relationship as pastor and people for these five years and eight months has been so exceedingly happy, and our united labor has been fraught with such large spiritual blessing, that I owe it to you and to myself to assure you that nothing but the clearest indication that such is the divine will could lead me to bring about a severance of our present relationship." Nor was there ever any suggestion of opposition from his board in all of his plans. "No pastor could desire a more faithful staff of officers

¹³⁷ "News from the Churches; London, Adelaide St.," *CB*, Vol. 51, 2 February 1905, 4.

than I have had, and the officers of few churches may reasonably hope to be more generally and generously followed than we have been by the members of the Adelaide St. Church.”¹³⁸

Shields entered into the London ministry with typical evangelistic fervour. He quickly united with the other pastors of the city in a city-wide campaign focused on different parts of the city over the course of several months. From October of 1904 through to the end of March 1905 he and his fellow pastors focused on first one church and then another. Thirty-five members from Adelaide Street were dismissed to begin another church at Egerton Street and this was the scene of their first campaign. Regular reports to the *Canadian Baptist* over the following years from this new church demonstrated the success of their joint evangelistic effort. His own congregation, despite the loss of numbers due to the Egerton Street venture, soon began to grow. The first report to the *Canadian Baptist* in February of 1905 showed a membership of 267, a net decrease of only eighteen despite the thirty-five that had left. In that same report the clerk noted “some difficulty being experienced in accommodating all who come to listen to the clear cut Gospel messages from week to week.”¹³⁹ C. J. Cameron, in a later account of Shields’ ministry, noted, “By his personal magnetism and through his judicious advertising the congregation soon overflowed the building. Scores of people every Sunday night were turned away from the church doors.”¹⁴⁰ Shields was determined to have as large a congregation as possible to hear the gospel message. Later in speaking of the need for the expansion of their facilities, he asked “And what is it all for?” Answering his own question he continued: “Simply that we may have the largest possible opportunity to give men the word of the Lord.” Justifying the enlarged building he described its function: “A church building must not be regarded as a place of entertainment ... The church should be a spiritual post-office, or telegraph office: it is a place to receive and send messages from and to heaven, a place for prayer and praise and preaching. And so I announce again in this larger building, and to this larger audience, that this church considers she can have no higher mission than to spend all her energies,

¹³⁸ “News from the Churches; London, Adelaide St.,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 9.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ “Rev. T. T. Shields,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, p. 8.

sparing not, but lifting up her voice to cry aloud, ‘O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord.’”¹⁴¹

Shields aggressively canvassed the city to draw in the crowds. Cameron’s account for the *Canadian Baptist* spoke of Shields’ “superb system of visitation”: “The district tributary to the Adelaide Street Church he divided into twelve sections. Companies of ladies going out by twos, visit in each section for one month. Then they are moved on to the next section; the pastor from his study meanwhile directing their movements and rotation like a train dispatcher.” Shields himself actively followed up those who came. Dallimore spoke of his parents’ experience in their first encounter with the young pastor of Adelaide Street. “When my father and mother moved to London in 1909, on their first Sunday in that city they attended the Adelaide Street Baptist church. As they were leaving T. T. shook hands with them at the door and asked, ‘What name, please?’ They informed him of their name and address and on the Monday afternoon he knocked at their door. Mother often described to me how dignified he looked even though he was wearing clothes suitable for riding a bicycle.”¹⁴² Tarr recorded the fact that Shields “made a point of knowing the name, address and phone number of each member!”¹⁴³

Nor was Shields afraid of the charge of novelty in his pursuit of larger audiences. Perhaps remembering the experience of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the man who more than any other created the model for his own ministry, Shields made a controversial decision to enlarge his audience. When Spurgeon had filled out the New Park Street auditorium in the U.K. capital after only three months’ ministry, he turned to the stages of London’s largest music halls.¹⁴⁴ His action brought quick condemnation in the popular press. When he rented the Surrey Gardens and later the Exeter Music Hall, the *Saturday Review* was scathing in its denunciations:

This hiring of places of public amusement for Sunday preaching is a novelty, and a painful one. It looks as if religion were at its last shift. It is a confession of weakness rather than a sign of strength. It is not wrestling with Satan in his

¹⁴¹ T. T. Shields, “O Earth, Earth, Earth, Hear the Word of the Lord,” in *GW*, 18:47, 28 March 1940, 1.

¹⁴² Dallimore, 16.

¹⁴³ Tarr, 45.

¹⁴⁴ Patricia Stallings Kruppa, *Charles Haddon Spurgeon; A Preacher’s Progress* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982) 70, 71. cf. Charles Ray *The Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon* (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1903.) 130, 136.

strongholds — to use the old earnest Puritan language — but entering into a very cowardly truce and alliance with the world.¹⁴⁵

Shields faced something of the same condemnation when he moved his evening congregations to the city's large skating rink, the Jubilee Rink.¹⁴⁶ Hearing of the regular baptisms that followed his evangelistic excursions "ministerial critics" began contemptuously to refer to "Mr. Shields and his Sunday night tub!"¹⁴⁷ His skill at advertising his meetings was well demonstrated with the publication of his sermon titles. Even from the time of his Hamilton pastorate he had capitalized on this method, but one of the best examples of his practice was on the occasion of Charles Taze Russell's visit to London. Russell was the founder of what would become the "Jehovah Witnesses" and one of his assertions was that there was no hell. When he announced his title "To Hell and Back" Shields quickly announced to the press his own title "To Hell and Stay." Shields later spoke of the experience. "Pastor Russell paid my advertising bill that week, for literally, not only the sidewalks but the streets as well were packed so that it was impossible to get in the church."¹⁴⁸

The results of this aggressive outreach to the community were soon reflected in the reports sent into the *Canadian Baptist* from the church clerk. In a second report in February 1905 the account of the February 5th communion service noted the addition of twelve individuals to the church membership. This, the clerk noted, brought the total number of new additions to forty-one "since the coming of our present pastor in September last."¹⁴⁹ In April the clerk reported thirty-one more additions since the last report.¹⁵⁰ In June the clerk reported more additions "a total of ninety-one during the past nine months, the majority being added by baptism."¹⁵¹ In October when the *Canadian Baptist* featured an article on the churches of London the following was the report of the Adelaide Street Church: "The present pastor is Rev. T. T. Shields, a young man of

¹⁴⁵ "Mr. Spurgeon at the Surrey Gardens" *The Saturday Review*, October 25, 1856 in *Autobiography*, Vol. 2, in *Ages*. 225.

¹⁴⁶ The Jubilee Rink was a block away at 385 Lyle. Sometime around 1907 it was renamed the London Curling Club. Cf. "Fire Insurance Plan 1892," [revised 1907], sheet 19, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario.

¹⁴⁷ Tarr, 45.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, cf. Dallimore, 16.

¹⁴⁹ "News from the Churches; Adelaide St., London," *CB*, Vol. 51, 16 February 1905, 9.

¹⁵⁰ "News from the Churches; Adelaide St., London," *CB*, Vol. 51, 2 April 1905, 12.

¹⁵¹ "News from the Churches; Adelaide St., London," *CB*, Vol. 51, 29 June 1905, 12.

decided pulpit power and evangelistic gifts. The building is at present being enlarged to about twice its former capacity, and the membership expects to need all the seating thus provided. In this church also, Onward is the watchward.”¹⁵²

Within months of arriving in London, Shields’ success in drawing crowds to his services made the existing facilities inadequate. Shields, reflecting upon the occasion, remarked, “We had room for not more than four hundred people, and ... we began to say among ourselves, like the sons of the prophets in Elisha’s time, “The place where we dwell is too strait for us.”¹⁵³ At Shields’ prompting discussions were begun “as to the ways and means of so extending our borders as to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers who crowded to hear the Gospel, laying upon us a responsibility we dared not shirk.” At an “enthusiastic meeting of the membership, the forward policy was heartily approved of.”¹⁵⁴ A building committee was established though Shields himself was given authority and direction over their efforts. Plans were then made to double the capacity of the present building.

By May of 1905 as soon as the weather was warm enough, Shields had moved his congregation to the Jubilee Rink for the evening services. When the work began in July the congregation gathered at the Jubilee Rink for both morning and evening services. When the cooler temperatures of the fall precluded this accommodation, they moved for a few weeks to the Y.M.C.A. auditorium. By November the Sunday School room of the Adelaide church was ready and the congregation moved back into their own building. The rebuilding was finished by February and the following report to the *Canadian Baptist* described the finished product. The north and west walls had been moved out and a tower was erected at the north-west corner. The walls were also raised by six feet and a new roof was added. With these changes the auditorium now measured sixty-five by fifty-five feet and the seating capacity was doubled. The report noted: “Attractive entrances, spacious vestibules, comfortable vestry, choir and robing rooms, with baptistry insuring the utmost privacy have been provided.” Provision was also made for the erection “of galleries to accommodate an additional 400,” which “bids fair to be very

¹⁵² “The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec,” *CB*, Vol. 51, 19 October 1905, 1.

¹⁵³ T. T. Shields, “Oh Earth, Earth, Earth ...,” 1.

¹⁵⁴ “Adelaide St., London; Reopening Services,” *CB*, Vol. 52, 22 February 1906, 9.

shortly required.” Some attention was also given to the luxurious character of its furnishing. The total cost of the improvements was \$18,000, “of which \$4,000 was provided for before operations commenced.”¹⁵⁵

While the “eminent Canadian” Rev. Robert Stuart MacArthur, D.D., LL.D., pastor of the Calvary Church, New York City was brought in for the reopening celebrations, the church insisted that the honours of preaching the opening services be given to Shields. The desire was that he be the “first to occupy the pulpit in this building, which is so largely a monument to his compelling optimism”¹⁵⁶ In his “second report of a full year’s work as pastor,” Shields related the fact that “it was at the first morning service of his pastorate that the idea of a new church shaped itself in his mind, and ever since it held its place until now realized in bricks and mortar.”¹⁵⁷

Nevertheless, Shields was not content. Though the building was a fine piece of workmanship, Shields’ true vision was not for temporal monuments to his name. In reflecting on the successful completion of the building in his pastoral report, he observed, “one thing calls for regret - that there have not been larger spiritual results ... the salvation of souls is the end for which the church exists.”¹⁵⁸ Shields did not have to wait long for the results he envisioned. On February 17, 1907 Adelaide Street celebrated an anniversary by inviting one of the denomination’s prominent ministers, Dr. A. T. Sowerby, to come and minister.¹⁵⁹ The services were packed and in the evening service it was noted that even the “minister’s platform” was filled. In that service before he sat down after the message, Dr. Sowerby “called on any unconverted person in the audience who wished to become a Christian to stand up.” “Thirty or forty” responded to the invitation. Seeing these “first fruits” of what promised to be a fruitful campaign the “pastor and people agreed the time was ripe for special effort in the church’s paramount work - winning souls for Christ.”¹⁶⁰ Dr. Sowerby consented to conduct a series of

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ “News from the Churches,” *CB*, Vol. 53, 24 January 1907, 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Dr. A. T. Sowerby was an active pastor and evangelist in the denomination for many years. He was one of the most highly respected critics of McMaster in the controversy surrounding Dr. Marshall in the mid ‘20’s. cf. T. T. Shields, “Editorial Notes,” *GW* 4:36, 31 December 1925, 11; T. T. Shields, “Dr. Sowerby’s Illuminating Correspondence with Chancellor Whidden,” *GW* 4:37, 7 January 1926, 16-17.

¹⁶⁰ “News from the Churches,” *CB*, Vol. 53, 7 March 1907, 9.

evangelistic meetings beginning the end of the month. Shields organized “cottage prayer meetings in sixteen districts of the city,” led by members of the church and run for several weeks. For five months special evangelistic services were conducted at the church from “two to four nights per week, the pastor preaching continuously.” Shields also elicited help from “some of the strongest leaders in America, such as Dr. Wharton and Dr. Towner.”¹⁶¹ By the end of the period over 400 members had been added to the church from the time of his first coming to London.

Once again the building was too small for the numbers that crowded in and the planned for galleries had to be completed. In October 1907 the church moved back into the Sunday School rooms and the work was begun. By December the work was completed “providing an additional accommodation of perhaps four or five hundred.”¹⁶² At the reopening services Shields boasted, “I think I may trust to your fairness to acquit me of any charge of immodesty if I briefly remind you of how often we have been unsettled in this place during the last three years. ... If you reckon that up I think you will find we have moved seven times in two and a half years It cannot be said that this is not a ‘moving’ church.”¹⁶³ Years later he added to his boast, “Indeed it would not be too much to say that there was no record certainly within the bounds of the Convention, of any such spiritual progress as had been made in Adelaide St. Church in the same length of time.”¹⁶⁴

The London pastorate was certainly a time of great achievement for Shields and perhaps the critical period in establishing himself for the ministry that was yet to come. Not only did Shields prove himself as an able administrator, motivator and leader, he also made himself increasingly useful to the denomination. Over the years he served in London, he was the featured speaker at a number of denominational events. In 1908 he

¹⁶¹ “Rev. T. T. Shields,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 8. Little is now known of these two men although the *Canadian Baptist* editorial held them in high esteem at the time. Towner may have been Daniel Brink Towner, a “prolific gospel hymnist” who was for a time the superintendent of the Moody Bible Institute’s Department of Music. At one point he served as the “primary musician” for Moody’s revival services. E. Perry Carrol “The Influence of Daniel Brink Towner (1850-1919) on the Development of Southern Baptist Music during the Early to Middle Twentieth Century. (A Paper Presented to The Colloquium on Baptist Church Music, Baylor University, 24 September 2009.)

<http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/100426.pdf> (8 April, 2015)

¹⁶² T. T. Shields “A Sermon Thirty-Three Years Old.” *GW* 18:47, 28 March 1940, 4.

¹⁶³ T. T. Shields, “Oh Earth, Earth, Earth ...,” 1.

¹⁶⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 12.

was invited to be a speaker at the annual convention alongside Dr. E. Y. Mullins, the president of the Southern Baptist Seminary of Louisville, Kentucky. His address was entitled “Our Future as Baptists.” According to Tarr, Shields’ address followed that of Mullins and was the final address of the convention.¹⁶⁵ In this period he served on a variety of standing committees within the denomination including the Obituary Committee,¹⁶⁶ the State of Religion Committee,¹⁶⁷ the Committee on Christian Stewardship,¹⁶⁸ and the Committee on Baptist Union of Canada.¹⁶⁹ In 1910 he was one of eleven men elected to constitute the Committee on Evangelistic Effort.¹⁷⁰ In 1908 he was made Chairman of the Home Missions board of the Middlesex-Lambton Association which gave him a seat on the General Board.¹⁷¹

This was also an important period for extended contacts within the region and beyond. At home he formed a fast friendship with the pastor of Maitland Street Baptist church, Rev. C. M. Carew, who according to Dallimore had “the chief place in his affections.” Shields’ comment about Carew was that “everything he did was right!”¹⁷² Through the years Carew was a source of great encouragement to Shields and in 1932 when “Dolly,” Shields’ wife of 32 years, suddenly passed away, it was Carew who came to his side and led the “quiet” funeral service in his home.¹⁷³

Some of the most influential men in the denomination, such as Dr. Wharton, Dr. Sowerby, Rev. Principal Forrest, Dr. B. D. Thomas and Rev. C. J. Cameron shared his London pulpit. Shields himself was in demand as a speaker and preached in numerous places around the province. However, in this period Shields’ horizon broadened

¹⁶⁵ Dallimore, 17; cf., Tarr 46. Dallimore even provides the outline of Shields’ sermon. However, other than an entry in his sermon diary for a message preached in First Church Ottawa the day after the convention on the “Baptist Union of Canada,” I was unable to independently verify this information. The *Baptist Year Book* gave an account of Mullin’s address but was silent about Shields. Uncharacteristically there was also no entry in Shields’ sermon diary for the address. Given the detailed character of Dallimore’s information and the precise record of the event by Tarr, I have accepted it as probable and have included it here.

¹⁶⁶ “Baptist Convention of Ontario & Quebec; Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1905, 9.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1907, 12.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1908, 8.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1909, 9; 1910, 8.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1910, 27.

¹⁷¹ “Home Mission Board,” *BYB*, 1908, 60. Cf. *Plot*, 12.

¹⁷² Dallimore, 17.

¹⁷³ Deacon George Greenway, “Triumphant,” *GW*, 11:14, 18 August 1932, 1. Carew also served as Shields’ Associate Pastor at Jarvis St. from 1912 - 1921. He died in 1934. Cf. *Plot*, 27.

significantly. In 1905, Rev. John McNeill, pastor of the First Church Winnipeg and future pastor of Walmer Road Baptist Church in Toronto, travelled to England for the Baptist World Congress. Shields filled his pulpit for two months.¹⁷⁴ In years to come these two men would work together in the Forward Movement of the Baptist Convention. In 1907 because of the interference of another London pastor, Rev. J. J. Ross, a man Shields privately called his enemy, Shields was prevented from returning to the First Church in Winnipeg and so instead went to the Fort Rouge Church.¹⁷⁵ There he met a pastor from Vancouver who invited him to minister in British Columbia the following year. In 1908, Shields spent his summer in Vancouver where he preached for two months and made a number of significant contacts that would be of great significance in later years. One such man was Rev. T. I. Stockley with whom he shared the pulpit at First Church, Vancouver, on the Sunday of August 9. Stockley was the pastor of West Croyden Tabernacle on the outskirts of London, England. Stockley was sufficiently impressed with Shields that in 1913 he arranged a visit to England for Shields and a preaching itinerary that included two services at the church of Shields' dreams, the famous Metropolitan Tabernacle of C.H. Spurgeon.¹⁷⁶ This was the first of several visits and for several years Shields and the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Dr. A. C. Dixon, exchanged pulpits for their summer holidays. Later in 1927, when Shields founded his own seminary, he appointed Rev. Stockley as its first dean.¹⁷⁷

Despite Shields' lack of a McMaster education, he was coming to the attention of the Toronto churches. In January of 1909 Shields was invited to become the pastor of the Parkdale Church in Toronto. Parkdale was in the process of building a new auditorium and Shields' administrative record in the Adelaide Street expansion must have been very attractive to them.¹⁷⁸ However, despite the fact that he was offered a salary of \$2000, a

¹⁷⁴ "Personal and Otherwise," *CB*, Vol. 51, 20 July 1905, 9; cf. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

¹⁷⁵ T. T. Shields circular letter to family, 21 July 1915, "Shields' War Time Correspondence," (Pen Triplicate Book), 63, "Shields' Papers," JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁷⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 35; *Sermons Preached*, 1908; T. T. Shields circular letter to family, 21 July 1915, "Shields' War Time Correspondence," (Pen Triplicate Book), 63, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. G.A. Adams, ed., *By His Grace to His Glory, 60 years of Ministry; Toronto Baptist Seminary and Bible College, 1927- 1987*, (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1987), 21.

¹⁷⁸ "Personal & Otherwise," *CB*, Vol. 55, 21 January 1909, 8.

rather significant increase from the \$1500 he was receiving from his London church, Shields turned down the invitation.¹⁷⁹

Shields' horizons now also stretched outside Canada for the first time. In 1910 he was invited to supply the pulpit of the famous Moody Church in Chicago. Shields was in Chicago for the week from January 9th to 16th including both Sundays. He preached seven times at Moody Church and eight times at Moody Bible Institute.¹⁸⁰ The following month he was invited to preach in Hanson Place, Brooklyn, New York. He preached there for two Sundays and was invited back for an evangelistic campaign later in April. Hanson Place was looking for a pastor at that time and had intended upon calling Shields to that position. However, before Shields returned for the April campaign, Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, invited him to become their pastor, a call Shields could not refuse.¹⁸¹

The Young Shields - An Analysis

Only a few of Shields' interpreters have given much attention to Shields' early ministry. Shields' biographer Leslie Tarr, true to his hagiographic design, examined Shields' early period to illustrate what he saw as the roots of Shields' later greatness. For Tarr, Shields' richest heritage was his ministerial background. Working under the presupposition that Shields was widely viewed as the most obvious continuation of the Spurgeonian homiletic tradition, Tarr gave close attention to the formative factors in Shields' renowned oratorical skills.¹⁸² Emphasizing again the wealth of practical training provided by the elder Shields, Tarr sought as well to undermine the criticism that was so often levelled at Shields concerning his own lack of formal education. By documenting anecdotal records of Shields' first pastorates, Tarr attempted to illustrate the early development of the genius he believed was subsequently manifested in all Shields' pastoral and denominational leadership. In this early experience Tarr argued that Shields had received a "veritable post-graduate course in Christian experience and pastoral theology."¹⁸³ The youth encountered in Tarr's account was a shy but determined young

¹⁷⁹ "Personal & Otherwise," *CB*, Vol. 55, 4 February 1909, 9.

¹⁸⁰ T.T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*, 1910.

¹⁸¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 16.

¹⁸² Tarr on his jacket cover noted the description of the editor of the *British Weekly*. Sir W. R. Nicol's designation for Shields was "The Canadian Spurgeon." Tarr included two sermons "to serve as fair specimens of Spurgeonian thought and style."

¹⁸³ Tarr, 36.

man who worked hard to overcome his limitations. He was deeply pietistic, rejecting cold religious formalism in a deeply felt experience of divine intimacy and guidance.¹⁸⁴

From a more critical perspective, Dozois and Parent provided a brief survey of his early pastorates and both made cursory observations about his early development. Dozois identified in this period three “developing traits which were to be accentuated in Shields’ later life.” These included “an amazing talent for preaching,” “a strong adherence to Baptist principles,” and finally “the high value he placed on his own abilities, including his personal judgments.”¹⁸⁵ Parent had a more serious intent in his review of Shields’ early experience. Though he felt that the critical shaper of Shields’ later deviation from evangelical orthodoxy was the First World War, Parent worked hard to find in Shields’ earliest religious experiences a cold formalistic or rationalistic approach to Christianity that contrasted sharply with the warmth of the pietistic response Tarr chronicled in his biography. He concluded: “Lacking an ecstatic conversion experience, Shields could not appeal to an experientially based faith for authority. A more external authority was required. This he found in the Holy Scriptures.”¹⁸⁶

There is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in the assumption underlying these interpretative analyses that Shields’ most characteristic traits were developed in his early training and pastoral experiences. His growth and development from that shy young man who could not stand in public to lead a hymn, to a man who took London by storm is indeed the story of a very unique and unusual individual. There are numerous facets of his early development that are noteworthy and indeed critical to the final analysis of the man and his influence.

¹⁸⁴ Parent has complained about the lack of historical accuracy and documentation in many of the details of Tarr’s biography. (Parent, 43). Tarr seems to have relied too heavily on his own personal recollections of the things he heard from Shields over the years. On the whole the book was poorly researched and overlooked some of the most valuable resources from this period. Of Shields’ first sermon he noted “We have no record of the text, the subject, or the reaction on the occasion of that deliverance.” However, most of those details were in Shields’ sermon diary. He gave cursory attention to the father’s diary but never seems to have opened Dr. Shields’ diary. If he had access to the father’s diary it is inconceivable that he did not also have access to the son’s. As a consequence and as an example of his carelessness, he overlooked the whole Tiverton episode even though he quoted from sections of the father’s sermon diary that were written in Tiverton.

¹⁸⁵ John D. E. Dozois, “Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism.” (Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, McMaster University, May 1963), 56.

¹⁸⁶ Parent, 42.

There can be no question that from the very outset Shields manifested a very high work ethic. His dogged work habits, which were established from the commencement of his ministry, continued throughout his life and were perhaps the single biggest factor in the success and influence he achieved. Shields' first pastorate in Florence saw an energetic young man who far surpassed the minimum requirements of the job. Shields began a routine that carried on until the early 1920's. Following his father's practice, he carefully hand wrote every sermon he preached and bound the finished product with string. He spoke later of the "laborious preparation to which I habituated myself for so long."¹⁸⁷ In another place he noted that "most of them represented hours of midnight and early morning toil."¹⁸⁸ Over 1500 of these sermons still exist in the archives of the church where he spent the larger part of his career. Every Sunday, Shields looked for other opportunities to preach the gospel and every Sunday afternoon through this busy year Shields travelled to neighbouring villages to hold a preaching service. Even though he usually travelled the ten plus kilometres by bicycle, he was always back in time for his own evening service. This would be his regular practice throughout his rural pastorates. However, his formal ministry was not limited to Sundays and every week had a prayer meeting in which he again emphasized biblical teaching. His own devotional life and intimate dependence on prayer translated into a heavy emphasis on the prayer meeting. By the time of his Hamilton pastorate he had so pressed the issue that the church was able to report for the year book three regular weekly prayer meetings, the most of any church reporting in the denomination.¹⁸⁹ In addition to Sunday services and prayer meetings, Shields also engaged in extended campaigns in which he would preach throughout the week as well.

While Shields learned early the importance of visitation within the village or town in which his ministry occurred, his first pastorates also were the period of his most intensive theological training. As noted above, Shields determined early to spend fifteen hours a day behind his desk, putting himself through a concentrated educational program. From all the indications, his father was the supervisor of this program. This rigorous

¹⁸⁷ T. T. Shields to Rev. Theodore Anderson, 13 August 1940, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁸⁸ T. T. Shields "A Sermon Thirty-Three Years Old," *GW* 18:47, 28 March 1940, 4.

¹⁸⁹ "Churches, Pastors, Clerks, etc.," *BYB*, 1901, 241.

regime, extended back into his teenage years. It would seem that even before the young Tod had made any formal commitment to Christianity, his father had dreams of seeing him in the ministry and had laid the educational foundations. As previously noted, in one unguarded moment Shields berated a critic for demeaning his educational accomplishments. He spoke of the quality of the education his father had provided, noting that even before he was fifteen he had “been brought up at the feet of Oxford and Cambridge teachers.” His comments also reflected some of the rigor of his father’s pedagogical approach: “... if I could not have left you miles behind, educationally, when I was fifteen years of age I should have expected nothing but a sound thrashing.” It may well be that Shields had a rather exaggerated view of his own educational accomplishments, especially when he claims that “I could have beaten any B.A. of McMaster University long before I reached the age of eighteen.”¹⁹⁰ However, his indomitable work habits would seem to suggest that he was no intellectual or academic lightweight. In later years many people made the mistake of underestimating his intellectual prowess. Until the very end of his career, despite all his other commitments, Shields was well read and fully informed of the events unfolding around him such that he always felt confident enough to publish authoritative commentary on them.

With all of the tasks that Shields performed in these early pastorates, tasks that multiplied over time, it raises the question of how he found the time to do all that was demanded of him. An intimate letter to his sister many years later gave some rather interesting insights into the question. In 1951, at the age of 77, Shields lamented the fact that he had not yet been able to publish his father’s sermons. His life was so busy that he complained “duties follow each other in procession like cars in a traffic jam, crawling bumper to bumper, so that there is no chance to get between them to cross the street.” Yet the problem for Shields was not lack of time, but lack of energy: “I don’t mean to say that I have no time to do it, or that I am so crowded that I cannot do it, but I find that Anno Domini has not passed me by, and when I get through with one duty, I am not so ready for the next as I used to be, and sometimes have to rest between.” While most men might look forward to rest as a well-earned break from their labours, Shields always seemed to see rest as a hindrance to the work he wanted to accomplish. With a note of resignation,

¹⁹⁰ T. T. Shields to W. L. McKay, 1926, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

Shields struggled to give in to the inevitable: “I suppose that is natural. Most men retire many years before they reach my time of life. But I still have all my administration duties to attend to, two sermons on Sunday, and two lectures a week.” His last comment, however, gave a sense of the life he led as a young man: “If I could do as once I did, work all night, and begin again early next morning unwearied, I could get through with things; but I find now that that is beyond me.”¹⁹¹ His early ambivalence toward rest was reflected in his holiday times as well. Shields did take holidays during these first fifteen years of ministry, however, his idea of a holiday was to exchange pulpits with another minister and to assume his responsibilities for the period of absence from his own church.

Above all, Shields was dedicated to the task of ministry. There was really but one duty and that was the work of preaching the gospel and winning souls. Everything else he did moved to that end. He did not waste time on anything else, including necessary rest. Even his marriage was kept low profile, and throughout his ministry his wife stayed in the background offering support but avoiding any sort of distraction to his “holy” calling.¹⁹² In his mind, the man who accepted a calling of this sort had to be willing to make the necessary sacrifices and to exercise “a vigorous and aggressive service.” He was more than critical of the man who wanted to sustain himself by the ministry but who was unwilling or incapable of exercising that kind of intense service.¹⁹³

A vigorous work ethic and an aggressive commitment to ministry in these early years was accompanied by a deep commitment to self-sacrifice for the sake of gospel service. Shields gave little attention in these early years to his own comfort. When he first moved to the Adelaide Street ministry, the only accommodations he could initially find were in a boarding house on Princess Street.¹⁹⁴ Shields, though pastor of one of the larger churches in the city, was content with his lot and went about his ministry without complaint. In the previous pastorate, his example of self-sacrifice was the instrument whereby Wentworth Street was able to free itself of dependence on Home Missions funds and become a self-sustaining entity. C. J. Cameron, the Home Missions secretary, held out Shields’ leadership in this matter as exemplary. He noted “among the many lessons of

¹⁹¹ T. T. Shields to Miss Ethel Shields, 1 March 1951, “Shields Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁹² See Deacon Greenway’s tribute to Mrs. Shields in “Triumphant.”

¹⁹³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 302.

¹⁹⁴ Tarr, 43.

value” from the Wentworth Street example was “the willingness on the part of both pastor and people to sacrifice largely in order that their fellow-citizens in other parts of the home-land destitute of the Gospel might receive the means of grace they so richly enjoy.”¹⁹⁵

Clearly, the most distinctive characteristic of Shields’ early pastorates was his aggressive evangelism. His first pastorate witnessed the beginning of a practice that characterized all of his first five pastorates, as well as various periods of his ministry in Jarvis Street. Shields would announce the beginning of an evangelistic campaign and after extended preparations in prayer and visitation he would begin meetings that would extend from one to five weeks. In most of these he would do the bulk of the preaching although in longer campaigns he would rely on other pastors to supplement his own preaching.

The methods Shields employed in his evangelistic outreach are of definite significance to the critical appraisal of the man. In this period Shields was a well-balanced representative of Baptist practice and theology.¹⁹⁶ His was a blend of the Calvinistic view of God’s sovereignty in “revival” outpourings and Methodist notions of human instrumentality in “revivalism.” Some have correctly observed the very different emphases in these two traditions. Iain Murray, in his book *Revival and Revivalism* identifies the prevailing definitions of revival over the period from 1740 through the years of the Second Great Awakening until approximately 1860. In so doing he differentiated between “revival” and “revivalism.” The understanding of “revival” among most preachers of religion in the earliest period presupposed the supernatural, as opposed to a more recent view of revival that relied heavily upon human manipulation. Murray arrived at his conclusions by a thorough consideration of the writings of those who professed to have experienced revival and he built his case on their own perceptions of what had happened. He also examined the watershed between revival and revivalism in 1830 and gave an excellent overview of the controversy that raged between old school

¹⁹⁵ C. J. Cameron, “Wentworth St. Baptist Church, Hamilton,” *CB*, Vol. 49, 26 June 1902, 5.

¹⁹⁶ This is my own observation from extensive readings in *The Baptist Year Book* and the *Canadian Baptist* from this period. Revival campaigns were the norm in Baptist churches in the mid to late 19th century and early twentieth century. Shields’ use of revivalism was not at all out of the ordinary. What was rather extraordinary was the measure of his own involvement as the revival preacher, and an ever-increasing fixation on evangelistic endeavour.

and new school divines over “new measures.” The two schools had very different notions of what constituted a revival and had a very different theological base. This was a classic clash between Calvinist and Arminian soteriology. “Revivalism” really entered through Methodist theology, camp meetings and the merging of Finney’s evangelistic methodology with the New Divinity coming out of Yale or the New Haven theology of Nathaniel William Taylor. He also gave some reference to the historiography of revivalism which before 1870 understood the difference but after 1870 did not even recognize the watershed of 1830.¹⁹⁷

Among those who spoke of “revival” blessings, Murray identified a number of common characteristics. Most of these denied that special means could be used to promote “revivals.” Most contended that the “first appearance of the work was sudden and unexpected.”¹⁹⁸ True “revival,” furthermore, was seen as the “immediate work of God,” and brought lasting changes. According to one adherent of the old Calvinist ideology, “Revivals are always spurious when they are got up by man’s device and not *brought down* by the Spirit of God.”¹⁹⁹ Also, most of these men believed that “revival” was more characterized by silence and stillness “like the silent dew of heaven” than by commotion and noise, though the latter was often found as a kind of a spiritual distraction where the former appeared.²⁰⁰ Finally, for these men, true “revival” was more than just a manifestation of religious excitement.²⁰¹

“Revivalism,” on the other hand, referred to a methodology designed and employed to secure maximum response.²⁰² It focused primarily on human instrumentality rather than divine intervention. The best means of procuring “conversions” was through an appeal to the emotions and so “revivalism aimed to create excitement.”²⁰³ Consequently, the revivalists deliberately tried to stir up extraordinary manifestations like crying out or shaking or falling which earlier revival preachers feared and discouraged.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁷ Iain Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: the Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism, 1750-1858*. (Edinburgh; Carlisle, Penn.: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994)

¹⁹⁸ Murray, 129.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 201.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 208-216.

“Emotion engendered by numbers and mass singing, repeated over several days, was conducive to securing a response. Results could thus be multiplied, even guaranteed.”²⁰⁵ The “new measures” popularized by Finney in 1830 included this encouragement of physical responses, particularly falling down.²⁰⁶ It also encouraged women’s vocal participation in worship, protracted meetings and prolonged invitations. These invitations were calls to “submit to God” publicly and to prove it by a humbling action such as standing up, kneeling down, or coming forward to the anxious seat.²⁰⁷ “Revivalism was about results and so revivalists looked for the immediate fruits of their efforts. Where earlier evangelicalism had avoided recording the number of conversions, revivalists fixated on numbers. The means for this counting at first was to count the “fallen” but this was too unreliable so soon the vehicle became “the invitation to the altar.”²⁰⁸

Murray concluded that “revivalism” worked from a fundamentally different theological base than that of the earlier “revival” preachers. It rejected Calvinistic assumptions of depravity and appealed to Arminian assumptions of free will.²⁰⁹ As such, conversion was seen as an act of human will instead of a new creation of God’s Spirit. Even the revivalist’s view of God shifted seeing God’s Spirit no longer as sovereign, but as one who was “placed at your disposal.”²¹⁰

The theological perspective prevalent among Canadian Baptists during the period of the Shields’ ministry could best be described as a moderate Calvinism. Elements of both of the aforementioned traditions were found in varying degrees. There is little doubt that tension between the two extremes still existed and can be sensed in the report of revival services held by Shields and Hoyt at Shields’ father’s church in Leamington. Calvinist theology, most likely the product of the Calvinist leanings of the elder Shields, resonated throughout the report. However, reference to human instrumentality, though in moderation, and concern for results reflected the “revivalist’s” perspective. Writing about a month long series of “special services” which had “been conducted by Revs. T. T.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 164. “Of the physical phenomena attending the revival that of ‘falling’ became the most common. People dropped ‘as if shot dead’ and they might lie, unable to rise, conscious, or unconscious, for an hour or for much longer.”

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 242.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 178.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 248.

Shields of “Wentworth Street Church, Hamilton, and J. W. Hoyt of Victoria Ave., Hamilton,” the reporter celebrated the results which “gave great cause for gratitude to God.” He immediately noted however, that, while Mrs. Hoyt ... rendered valuable service in singing with her husband” no “sensational methods were employed. There were no recitals of the preacher’s prowess, no attempts to be funny, no clap-trap announcements.” Rather, “Plain, searching, forcible presentations of Gospel truths, accompanied evidently by the Holy Spirit, were the means employed.” The substance of the messages related to traditional evangelical truths: “The substitutionary character of the Atonement, the necessity of the new birth, and the eternal duration of the punishment awaiting the finally impenitent, were presented in the most positive manner as truths taught in God’s Word.” The evangelists, however, were moderate in their discussion of the fate of the lost. The reporter was careful to notice the absence of any “sentimental gush over the unfortunates who happened to be sinners.” He noted: “The guilt of sin was insisted on, and the universal and total natural depravity of the human race shown from the Scriptures.” As to the results, he commented:

Every night the spacious building was filled, and some nights chairs had to be placed in the aisles. The meetings were the talk of the man on the street, and it is not too much to say that this town of 3,500 souls was moved. ... After the first few nights some were saved at nearly every meeting. ... We do not publish the total number who professed, as we object to that on principle. Twelve have already been baptized, and a number more, it is known, will be in the near future. As is generally the case, a few have joined other churches or will do so. To God we give all the praise and glory.²¹¹

In some ways, Shields could be seen as a product of his father’s theological progression. Having left England and Primitive Methodism because of his turn to a more Calvinistic theological perspective, Shields senior undoubtedly trained his son in a Calvinistic framework. However, his years of circuit riding and camp meetings and their affinity to the Canadian Baptist evangelistic campaigns preserved his attachment to aggressive evangelistic methodology. The tension between the two traditions was also reflected in the practices of the younger Shields. Shields’ Calvinism will be discussed in another place, but he never wavered in his devotion to God’s sovereignty. At the same time he clearly relied on elements of human instrumentality.

²¹¹ “News from the Churches: Leamington,” *CB*, Vol. 47, 26 December, 1901, 9.

One glimpse of Shields' methodology in this period was revealed in his description of the aggressive preparation that preceded evangelistic meetings during the year of full-time evangelistic outreach. Comparisons of Shields' reflections on these campaigns years later with contemporary accounts of the same events in *The Canadian Baptist* highlight common features. The first thing was Shields' emphasis on advertising the event. In Shields' reflective comments in *The Plot that Failed*, the form of that advertising was an invitation card which was to be delivered to every "house throughout the entire town, not omitting a single place of human residence."²¹² A report from Walkerton in November of that year of evangelism documented very similar requirements. Posters, local papers and invitation cards placed "in every home" announced the event. The report noted that this advertising campaign was further reinforced by personal visitation: "After the first Sunday personal calls were systematically made by Christian workers from house to house throughout the town, presenting a warm invitation to the saved to co-operate in the work, and to the unsaved to come and hear the Gospel." A third visit was made to each house at the end of the week and new invitation cards were left "announcing the subjects for the second week." The report concluded: This work was begun on the assumption that nobody wanted to come, and every effort was made to "compel them to come in," with the result that the work was well begun, and the interest sustained to the close.²¹³

Advertising, combined with door-to-door visitation and an organized follow-up program, seemed to be consistent features of both the campaign work he did and his regular pastoral ministry in each of the churches he pastored. However, Shields, true to his inherent Calvinism, did not rely alone on human effort. Many of the reports of these campaigns referenced the prerequisite prayer meetings Shields insisted on before a campaign opened. Reflecting Shields' conviction that salvation was ultimately a sovereign act of God's Spirit, appeal for Divine intervention was critical to Shields' hopes of success.

Once the campaign had begun, there were other elements that were repeated time and time again. Somewhat akin to the revivalist's emphasis on stirring up the emotions

²¹² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 297.

²¹³ "News from the Churches: Walkerton," *CB*, Vol. 49, 12 November, 1943, 9.

through mass singing, Shields regularly employed music as a vehicle to prepare hardened hearts to receive the gospel message. Shields commonly engaged the talents of his friend J. W. Hoyt and Hoyt's brother or wife. In the Dutton campaign described above, the report spoke of the evangelistic thrust that the music provided. The clerk described the singing of the Hoyt brothers as the vehicle that "attracted many to the meetings, who would not otherwise have attended." He also remarked that J. W. Hoyt's brother sang the Gospel, "perhaps as touchingly and effectively as his brother preaches it."²¹⁴

This aspect of his "revivalism" was of such significance to Shields that years later he still employed it. He commonly took his choir director from Jarvis Street with him on his evangelistic campaigns to administrate the musical aspect of the campaign and to minister to the children. In a letter to the pastor of Deer Park Baptist Church in Louisville, Kentucky, one of the churches he planned to visit in 1931, he wrote asking permission to bring "his own choir director." In commending him Shields noted that he "is the Superintendent of our Sunday School; he is a magnificent leader of song, and understands my ways. But in addition to this, he is the greatest children's evangelist I have ever known." Shields further recommended that if Mr. Hutchinson was to accompany him, "that he hold children's services after school hours either every afternoon, or occasionally. This would have the effect not only of bringing the children to Christ, but of interesting their parents."²¹⁵ What is interesting to note about this letter is his reference to "Uncle Hutch" as "a magnificent leader of song," but also as one who "understands my ways." Clearly, the music ministry was a well-established and vital part of Shields' evangelistic arsenal.²¹⁶

At the same time Shields was deeply antagonistic to any kind of entertainment being introduced into either his evangelistic campaigns or the regular ministry of the church. Commenting on the larger accommodations celebrated at the reopening of the Adelaide Street church after the installation of the galleries, he was quick to note "A church building must not be regarded as a place of entertainment." For Shields, the

²¹⁴ "Denominational News: Dutton," *CB*, Vol. 42, 20 February 1896, 124.

²¹⁵ T. T. Shields to Dr. M. D. Austin, 31 July 1925, box 1, "Shields Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

²¹⁶ "Uncle Hutch" was the affectionate name for Mr. Hutchinson who was also the Canadian director of the Fagan homes. Mr. Hutchinson lived well into the period of the present author and I can remember the numerous occasions when we sang happy birthday and watched him blow out his 90 plus candles on some elaborate cake.

building was a place for “prayer and praise and preaching.”²¹⁷ His hostility toward mixing entertainment and religion was very probably a direct consequence of the ascetic streak in his own internal makeup. This personal asceticism, which was everywhere evident in his work ethic and commitment to ministry, lay behind many of his ministerial attitudes and expectations of his followers. Over time internal inclination hardened to conviction and contributed to what some saw as a legalistic asceticism in his later pastoral expectations. This asceticism became a defining characteristic of his later fundamentalism and was the focal point of most of his greatest difficulties in Jarvis Street. At the end of one such struggle, when Shields had triumphed, he boasted of the “hydra-headed monster” of Modernism that had been “vanquished.” One of the identifiable heads of that monster was “vaudeville performances in Sunday School entertainments.”²¹⁸ Nor did his antagonism to entertainment in the church ever diminish. One member of his congregation recalled the vociferous response of his pastor on the occasion he and some of the other men in the church ran a men’s fellowship in the Sunday School Hall one Sunday evening after church. When he later spoke to Shields about it, Shields replied, “This ends now! When this comes in the gospel goes out.”²¹⁹ Shields of course referred to this conviction that when entertainment of any sort came into the church, the work of God’s Holy Spirit went out.

All of Shields’ campaigns featured the preaching of biblical truth. Many of the sermons he preached on his extended campaigns were sermons he had prepared for and preached at the regular Sunday services of his various churches. Most of his sermons were Spurgeonian in the sense that they all made very specific application to the need of men everywhere to repent and be converted. Nevertheless, as indicated in the report from Leamington above, they contained a wide range of biblical doctrine. Shields believed firmly in laying out the biblical message before his congregations and rested in a confidence that this was God’s word and that it would produce its own results. On some campaigns he held meetings in the afternoon simply for Bible readings to be made.

²¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “Oh Earth, Earth, Earth, . . .,” 1.

²¹⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 356.

²¹⁹ Interview with Jim Thomlinson, 19 September 2005.

Another character trait that is prominent in Shields' early pastorates was ambition. There can be no question that Shields was a very ambitious young man. As a child he envisioned himself a pastor, and from the outset of his ministry he dreamed of pastoring the largest churches. In his animosity towards convention officials for their prejudice against those without a McMaster education, particularly in regard to his father's experience, Shields expressed a determination to vindicate his father's memory and to prove them all wrong. However, it would be wrong to see in the early Shields an ambition that fixated on self-aggrandizement. The narcissism of later years was not yet advanced. His ambition was primarily of a spiritual character. This aspect was in evidence during his Hamilton and London pastorates. In Hamilton, Shields' ambition led the church to free itself of its dependence upon Home Missions grants and its own debt load. In London, that same ambition led to the rebuilding of the church building. In both places his ambitious campaigns led to a doubling of their congregations. Yet the focal point of his ambition was the salvation of souls. He craved larger congregation sizes but only that more people might be brought under the sound of the gospel. This understanding of the man was reinforced by his year in evangelistic endeavour. Shields responded to the compelling needs of other churches. He was tireless in his efforts to reach out to as many "lost souls" as he could.

Some have pointed to the fact of his short tenure in his first churches as evidence of an unusual ambition to climb the denominational ladder, using smaller churches as stepping stones to advance his career. Parent commented, "I have been unable to find any information as to why Shields stayed such short periods of time in his first four pastorates." Parent speculated that it might have been a "result of his father's example." He argued, however, that "a more probable reason was Shields' ambition which drove him in his early years, and some would add, latter years as well." That ambition, insisted Parent, was to pastor the two most famous Baptist churches, Jarvis Street and Spurgeon's Tabernacle.²²⁰

However, it should perhaps be noted that Shields' record in this regard was not at all out of the usual and certainly should not be used to demonstrate a deleterious pursuit of personal prestige. By examining the recorded statistics for the churches and their

²²⁰ Parent, footnote # 17, 45.

pastors for the sample year of 1894-5, the year Shields first entered the pastorate, a number of interesting trends can be observed that would help explain Shields' own behaviour over the next 10 years.²²¹ Of the 130 pastors with sufficient data listed to examine trends within the denomination, 112 were listed as having been ordained. Most of the eighteen who were not ordained ministered in smaller churches. Nine pastored churches of 100 or less, seven pastored churches having a listed membership of 100 to 200 and only one ministered in a church with over 300 members. In the larger churches it is clear that there was a preference for men with an established record as reflected in their successful accounting before ordination councils. Shields himself was ordained September 23, 1887, almost exactly three years after his first entry into the pastorate. It was Shields' conviction that any further advance in the ministry depended a great deal on this factor. His refusal to baptize new converts until this denominational affirmation had occurred demonstrated his own sense of the importance of the rite.

A second observation related to the denomination's attitude toward higher education. The denomination reflected a much more ambiguous attitude in this matter. While 86.2% of their pastors were ordained, only 17.7% or twenty-three of the 130 were listed as having educational degrees. Twelve had graduated with a B.A., and eleven had graduate degrees. Only one was known at this point to have a doctorate. The majority of those with degrees did minister in larger churches. Only two of these men ministered in churches under 100 in membership. Seven ministered in churches with memberships listed between 100 and 200 and fourteen ministered in churches having over 200 members. Furthermore, only three churches with over 300 members had pastors with no listed degrees and pastors of churches with over 500 in membership all had some sort of formal training. In this respect Shields would buck the trend. Shields' attitude to formal education is discussed elsewhere but it is only when he moved into the larger churches that the matter of his education became an issue.

A third and significant aspect revealed by these statistics related to the average length of pastorates. Shields' average tenure for the first four pastorates was

²²¹ "Alphabetical list of Ministers," *BYB*, 1894-5, 191-198. Out of 370 ministers listed for 1894-5 276 (or 74.6%) were ministering in Ontario, 33 (or 8.9%) in Quebec, 21 (or 5.7%) in Manitoba, 3 (or .8%) in N.W.T., 1 (.3%) in Alberta, 6 (1.6%) in B.C. 5 (1.4%) were Professors, 9 (2.4%) were missionaries and 16 (4.3%) were listed as "unposted" or "retired."

approximately twenty-six months. If the Adelaide pastorate is factored in, his average tenure was thirty-four months. Before one can conclude that this is evidence of unusual ambition, average tenures across the denomination must be considered. It should be noticed that Shields' record was actually not far off the average. For those pastoring churches of one hundred members or less, the average length of time pastors had been with their churches was thirty-one months. For churches of 100 to 200 members, the average stay was thirty-four months. For churches of over 200 the numbers jump significantly and the average tenure was fifty-eight months. From this perspective it would be wrong to think that Shields, more than any other pastor working in small rural churches, regarded these early churches merely as stepping stones to higher glories.

This issue of short pastoral tenures was not one that escaped the denominational leadership. In fact the problem was far more pronounced than immediately indicated by the statistics cited above. The real difficulty with small rural pastorates was the near poverty or subsistence level that pastors were called to endure. Shields' father reflected the struggle in his diary when he complained of his children's ingratitude: "My life's struggle is for them to keep a house over their heads."²²² More than one article over the years in *The Canadian Baptist* addressed the issue and complained of denominational negligence in the treatment of its young pastors. One commentator contended, "The matter of pastoral support - the augmentation of minister's salaries - must be met by Canadian Baptists; and the sooner our people can be induced to follow the example of our Presbyterian brethren - who, by the way, seem nearer to the standard of Christian beneficence than even our own denomination, ... the better for our churches." The same author noted the baneful consequence of the denomination's stinginess. Noting that "ninety per cent" of the graduates of Woodstock College were in the United States he asked "Why are they there?" He further enquired: "Were they not good, able men? Were they not needed in Canada? Is there not great spiritual destitution in this country? And is there not a tendency among our ministers to gravitate toward the United States?" To all of these questions he answered "emphatically, Yes." So far as this commentator was concerned "the average salary paid their pastors by the great majority of our Canadian Baptist churches, is too small even to meet the necessities of life, - to say nothing of

²²² T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

luxuries; and in this matter may be found the key to the Rev. Dr. Stuart's table in the Baptist Year Book, page 173, showing the residence of about 90 per cent of the graduates of Woodstock College to be in the United States."²²³ It is probably significant that within a year of assuming the responsibility of supporting a wife, Shields moved his sphere of ministry into the urban setting of Hamilton. It is also interesting that Shields made an issue of his salary in each of his subsequent churches.

A second reason that Shields may have moved so frequently in his earliest pastorates might have to do with the particular character of his ministry. As the evidence shows, the primary characteristic of Shields' early pastoral ministry was the evangelistic campaign. Speaking metaphorically, it might be that in these smaller communities, Shields "pumped the well dry." He ran repeated campaigns and he judged the success of his ministry by the number of conversions and baptisms he experienced. In the case of at least one pastorate he kept the record of these statistics in his sermon diary. When prospects at home began to become fewer he found himself drawn to other fields of service where the opportunities were more promising.

Another significant characteristic of Shields' early ministry was his autocratic leadership style. Hindsight is "twenty-twenty" and though it would have been impossible at the time to project the actual trajectory of these early autocratic displays, some of his behaviour in this period does illustrate a characteristic that would become more pronounced through the years. His experiences in the First World War seem to be the primary catalyst for its fuller development but even in early life there were signs of what was to come. The first hint of Shields' wilful character was recorded by his own father. His father complained bitterly of Tod's "impulsive" behaviour upon receipt of the "cruel letter" about his refusal to mediate a dispute in the Tiverton church. Noting Tod's wrath and his own pain at the receipt of this communication, he described Tod's attempt to punish him for not bending to his will: "He said he would not come home and he would not write to tell me anything about the council. And he writes this just on the eve of going into the work of the Ministry"²²⁴ It was clear that if a fight was brewing Tod was not

²²³ "Baptist Pastors' Salaries," *CB*, Vol., 34, 29 November 1988, 1.

²²⁴ T. T. Shields Sr., *Sermon Diary*.

one to back down. His father attributed the matter to Tod's inexperience, and though hurt by Tod's anger, wished him well in the ministry he was entering.

Shields' first church in Florence also had a taste of his impetuosity. Later Shields commented somewhat humorously about the time in his first pastorate when he "read the riot act" to one congregation, but recalled that his congregation was very forgiving and took it all in stride:

I remember one thing over which I have laughed to myself many a time. I did not think my people were living up to the mark, and working up to the mark. We had a union service with the Presbyterian Church, and so I issued the order - do not know what else it was - that after the service all of my people would retire to their own church: I had something to say! And so obediently, almost one hundred percent of my members came back to their church. I proceeded to read the riot act and lay down the law! They all accepted it meekly as a flock of sheep. But I certainly gave the whole congregation a thorough castigation for the sake of the few, and trimmed them up to a finish - and went home in triumph.²²⁵

Though both of these incidents can be excused as examples of youthful brashness and inexperience, it should be noted that Shields believed himself to be possessed of a superior personal force that he exercised in a determined and autocratic manner. Having mustered up the boldness and courage to face down a church full of theologically astute Scotsmen in his first sermon, his confidence grew in leaps and bounds. Reflecting on the incident later he commented almost defiantly, "But frankly, I felt quite as much at home that first time I preached as I have ever felt since. I preached that Sunday, and I have been preaching ever since."²²⁶ What emerged over the course of these five pastorates was a man with a deep sense of determination and an iron clad will. As he entered each pastorate he laid down the law. His attitude toward fund raising was one such example. "When I went to my first pastorate, I told them this. I said, 'If you want me, you can have me on these terms. I am bound by a solemn promise to the Lord which I cannot break. It is not optional with me; it is a matter of conviction, and I cannot serve you unless you indicate you will have none of these things.'²²⁷ In his interaction with denomination officials he was equally intransigent:

²²⁵ Dallimore, 12.

²²⁶ T. T. Shields, "Homiletics Lecture; the Acts of the Apostles," 14 June 1951, "Shields' Papers," JBCA, Toronto.

²²⁷ Tarr, 34.

I had always co-operated in the missionary and educational enterprises of the Denomination. I had never been the enemy of one, but always the friend of all. On the other hand, as Pastor of a church, I had refused to allow denominational secretaries or boards ever to dictate to any church of which I was Pastor. We did our own work in the way in which we thought God would have us do it, and, to the best of our knowledge, under the direction of the Spirit of God. For that reason, quite apart from theological considerations, I had not always been popular with the denominational secretariat.²²⁸

From the reports that came from each of his first churches it was apparent that Shields carefully directed all aspects of the church's life. He led the outreach programs with such fine-tuned care that one observer likened him to a "train-dispatcher."²²⁹ He watched over the finances and was largely responsible for Wentworth Street's financial independence. In Adelaide Street he envisioned rebuilding the church and led the church to acquiesce to his plans, even directing the building committee that was appointed to oversee the work. All of these activities spoke of his autocratic control over every venture in which he was involved. In the years to come he would be far more belligerent in his demands but already the character of his administrative oversight was being clearly established.

At the same time, this early period of Shields' ministry was distinguished by a mediatorial spirit and cooperative character. It is probable that his father's determined pursuit of unity, despite his one disagreement with his overzealous son, left a lasting impression. Not only did Shields work together with other Baptist pastors in his many evangelistic campaigns, but also he was quite willing to work hand-in-hand with evangelicals of other denominations. He preached in Methodist churches and in his first pastorate held a series of "Union Services" with the local Presbyterian church, moving from one church auditorium to the other. When he went to Hamilton, he very quickly made peace between his own church and a competing Baptist church a few blocks away that had been very hostile. The two churches entered into a union campaign to evangelize that section of Hamilton. His mediatorial skills soon came to the notice of the denomination and he was much in demand to conciliate difficulties among the churches. "In those days," recalled Shields in later years, "I was looked upon as rather an effective

²²⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 12.

²²⁹ "Rev. T. T. Shields," *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 8.

conciliator. I had never had a church trouble in my life, but had been consulted many, many times by churches that were in trouble, with the invariable result that a way out of their difficulties had been found.”²³⁰

He also demonstrated a larger measure of grace towards detractors than he would in later years. It is apparent that while he tried to get along with everybody, there were one or two who did not appreciate him. One such individual was the pastor of one of the large London churches during his pastorate there. Rev. J. J. Ross, then pastor of Talbot Street Baptist Church, seemed to be a man with high aspirations. He moved in some of the inner circles of the Baptist denomination and was one of the delegation that was sent to London, England, for the Baptist World Congress in 1905.²³¹ In 1907 he moved to one of the large Toronto churches, Dovercourt Road.²³² *The Canadian Baptist* recorded more than one trip he made to England, from which he corresponded with various observations about the state of religion in England. It is clear Ross had a fascination with England and regarded himself as something of an authority on English Baptists. It is quite possible that Shields’ strong British heritage made him a target of Ross’ jealousy. At the time that Shields was preaching in the Metropolitan Tabernacle in 1915 it was clear from Shields’ personal correspondence with his family that Ross was very jealous of Shields’ summer appointment. Those letters were filled with cryptic references to Ross and contained many interesting observations about Ross, observations that demonstrated the great restraint he had exercised through the intervening years. During his time in the Adelaide Street church, Shields had exchanged pulpits for the summer with Rev. John McNeill in the First Church Winnipeg. For some reason Ross took offense at this arrangement and so interfered, with the consequence that Shields had to make other plans the following year. Shields instead went to Fort Rouge where he made connections that led to ministry the following summer in Vancouver and in turn England in 1913 and several years thereafter. Shields suggested in these letters that Ross now attempted to repeat the ploy from 1907 in which he had squeezed Shields out by inviting McNeill to his own pulpit and arranged his own exchange with the Winnipeg pulpit. Now the situation related to the pastor of

²³⁰ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 299.

²³¹ “News from the Churches,” *CB*, Vol. 51, 20 April 1905, 9.

²³² “Personal,” *CB*, Vol. 53, 13 June 1907, 9.

Metropolitan Tabernacle, A. C. Dixon, whom Ross was now courting with invitations to his Toronto church. “Of course,” reflected Shields, “his main object in getting Dixon is to try to get an invitation to the Tabernacle. He did exactly the same with McNeill & Winnipeg. I shall not worry about him in the least.” Despite his determination not to worry about Ross, there was clearly some apprehension. “I am anxiously waiting now to hear about Dr. Dixon’s lecture in Hamilton. I expect Ross will spread himself a good deal in that occasion. I expect him to inform me about Convocation time that he is going to supply the Tabernacle next summer.”²³³ At the same time he consoled himself with the advantageous situation he enjoyed in Jarvis Street. “I don’t think there is any chance of his coming to the Tabernacle. Dixon’s summer home is in Clifton Springs, & no other ch. [church] can or will pay him as Jarvis St. does. However, I am not going to worry about Ross. He always burns his own fingers.” In these letters Shields referred to him as an “envious rival” and an enemy. “As to Ross,” noted Shields, “I have no doubt Mother’s conjecture is right. One is much safer when Ross is his enemy than when he appears to be a friend. He is a dangerous man”²³⁴

The significant thing about this correspondence was Shields’ reaction. Clearly he was troubled by Ross’ interference, but rather than expose him as he would in later years when he would never forget a slight, Shields chose to see the positive side of the situation. In fact, he spoke of owing Ross a debt of gratitude: “It is not always given to one to see the efforts of envious rivals made to minister to his own progress, but I can see it plainly in this case. So that if my position in Toronto has enabled me to do some things which with the London salary would have been impossible, we owe a debt of gratitude to Rev. J. J. Ross.” Shields in fact credited Ross’ envious interference with not only his opportunities in England but also his call to Jarvis Street Baptist Church. Shields could not, however, resist one quick jab at Ross noting that “as to Bro. Ross, it is no use worrying one’s self ... he can no more help it, than a peacock can avoid spreading his tail occasionally” Nevertheless, Shields placed his emphasis on the benefits of Ross’s interference: “besides, he has rendered me many a service, for instance ... the blockade at

²³³ T. T. Shields circular letter to family, 6 August 1915, “Shields’ War time Correspondence,” book 2 (Pen Triplicate Book), 43, 44, JBCA, Toronto.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 July 1915, book 1, 63.

Winnipeg on that occasion ended with the calling of Rev. Avery Shaw of Brooklyn Mass. The church which Mr. Shaw left called Dr. Gifford of Buffalo, the church which he vacated called Dr. Case of Hanson Place, and Hanson Place became so interested in me that Jarvis St. hurried up to get ahead of them.”²³⁵

Another characteristic of Shields in this period was his intense spirituality. Parent’s contention that Shields’ early development was a trajectory towards cold formalism and rationalism is deeply flawed. Parent wrenched one descriptive comment by Shields of his conversion, a comment for which he only has secondary authority, out of the whole context of Shields’ first fifteen years of ministry. Upon this solitary evidence Parent built an incredible fabrication that ignored much evidence to the contrary. Shields’ roots were anything but cold formalism.

The first evidence of the development of an acute spiritual awareness in the young Shields was the almost ecstatic experience of his baptism. Shields’ biographer Tarr correctly observed that though “his conversion was not accompanied by any unusual emotional upheaval, he acknowledged that it was otherwise with regard to his baptism.”²³⁶ Denying that he was conscious of any audible voice, Shields in his recollections of the events testified to a deep joy and assurance washing over him and the sure and certain confidence that God had said to him, “Well done, I am pleased with you tonight.”²³⁷ He would always hesitate to lay claim to direct divine communication in terms of visions or revelations, but he would often speak of a deep sense and assurance of God’s will communicated into his heart. This was quite important to him in his early pastorates and particularly in the important decisions he had to make. The most obvious illustration of this was the decision to resign from his Delhi charge and to take up the ministry in Hamilton. The inner compulsion suddenly to write his resignation and to present it to the church without having thought about it beforehand he related to the inner promptings of the Holy Spirit. This sense of an inner prompting was seemingly confirmed to him later when he discovered that this had occurred at precisely the same hour the deacons in Hamilton were praying about his call. When he made the decision to

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ Tarr, 28.

²³⁷ Dallimore, 9.

resign his pastorate in London he made the same kind of claim to his Adelaide Street congregation. “I feel ... that our relations as pastor and people ... have been so exceedingly happy, and our united labor has been fraught with such large spiritual blessing; that I owe it to you and to myself to assure you that nothing but the clearest indication that such is the divine will could lead me to bring about a severance of our present relationship.”²³⁸

Shields, by his own devotional practices, clearly believed that any consciousness of divine presence was contingent on a commitment to prayer and Bible study. His attention to this in his own life and in the life of all his churches was paramount. Any success he achieved he attributed to God’s answers to prayer. For him the church was “a spiritual post-office or telegraph office ... a place to receive and send messages from and to heaven.”²³⁹ All of his ministry in one sense moved to this end, that is, to achieve and to lead his people to achieve right relationship with God and intimate communion with Him.

Shields’ sermon preparation was another illustration of his deep commitment to divine guidance. He later told a story from his early ministry of how he had been experiencing a fruitful time of sermon preparation in which he was conscious of the leading and blessing of God’s Spirit, but then went out to get his mail. Shields testified that he suddenly felt an inner urge to go and visit an unlikeable old fellow who never seemed to listen. However, he convinced himself it was a waste of time, but when he returned to his sermon preparation he discovered that the “fire of inspiration” had gone out. “At length it flashed upon me as a revelation, that the fruitlessness of my labour was due, not to sudden intellectual disability, but to moral delinquency: I had refused to do what I knew I ought to do. Then I ran away and made that call! When I came back I found as Ezekiel found in his temple vision, ‘The glory of the Lord came into the house by the way of the gate whose prospect is toward the east,’ - through the door by which it had departed!”²⁴⁰

Due perhaps in part to this professed dependence upon intimacy with the divine, Shields soon developed a prophetic demeanour in his ministry as he regularly delivered

²³⁸ “Among the Churches,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 9.

²³⁹ T. T. Shields, “Oh Earth, Earth, Earth ...,” 1.

²⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, “Faith and a Good Conscience,” in *Other Little Ships* (Toronto: The Hunter-Rose Co. Ltd., 1935), 203.

the word that God had laid upon his heart. This prophetic aspect was another characteristic that would become far more pronounced in his later period. While he would always attempt to find Biblical warrant for his pronouncements, believing God never contradicted himself, there were times that Shields' claims demonstrated a certainty bordering on assertions of infallibility. Certainly the time would soon come when he would lay claims to the honours that were due a prophet of the Lord.

In one of the most notable contrasts to the post-war period, Shields in his early pastorates relied almost exclusively on what he considered "spiritual" weapons. Weapons of course presupposed a war, and very early Shields regarded himself as being engaged in a desperate struggle for men's souls, the classic struggle between good and evil. "War is a terrible expedient," he noted, "and on Christian lips it represents an absolute necessity. It is indicative of the divine attitude toward evil. God has declared war. The sword has been unsheathed. Evil is to be searched out, and driven to its last hiding place - out of the sight of God. That too is to be the Christian attitude."²⁴¹

Shields' commitment to this warfare was in large part a response to the challenge of Jude 1:3: "Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." The challenge of this text to "earnestly contend" was an admonition that Shields in future years would use to justify his militant approach to nearly every issue that he confronted. On September 2, 1911, a year and a half after beginning his pastorate at Jarvis Street, Shields preached a sermon entitled "The Weapons of our Warfare," a sermon that reflected well the attitudes he exhibited throughout his early pastorates. This was likely a development upon an earlier sermon preached in Delhi, November 4, 1899, entitled "Warfare, Weapons, Victory." The hand written manuscript of this first sermon contained only an outline of Shields' message on that occasion, suggesting a familiarity with the subject that made him comfortable going to the pulpit without a polished sermon in hand. Both sermons dealt with the Biblical text from 2 Corinthians 10:4: "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." Though we do not

²⁴¹ T. T. Shields, . "The Weapons of Our Warfare," 2 September 1911, sermon # 913, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

have the full text of Shields' first sermon, his outline was very significant. There was little doubt that for Shields every Christian was by virtue of his faith involved in a war. He noted that "Enemies were abroad," "Watchfulness was needed," and "Fighting was imperative." As to the weapons that were to be used he made several significant observations. "Our weapons," he wrote, are "Not Carnal - Therefore Spiritual." Subsidiary points in his message expanded on this principle. "All fleshly weapons [are] condemned." "Apostolic weapons are not obsolete. Spiritually modern warfare differs in no respect from conflicts of ancient times." As to the promised victory he concluded that it was "Certain," "Complete," and "Wrought by God's power." The weapons that Shields believed were to be employed in this battle were prayer, evangelism and Biblical preaching and teaching. Significantly, he also noted that victory was in one sense "conditional," not being "promised to carnal engagements."²⁴²

In recounting the stories of Shields' youth, Tarr attempted to lay the foundations for his eulogistic praises of the man he admired above all others. Parent found evidence of a trajectory into cold formalism and a departure from orthodoxy. It is probable that neither of these approaches was correct but as Dozois observed, many of the characteristic traits exhibited in Shields' youth do survive into middle age and beyond. However, the period of his first five pastorates is perhaps most important for the startling contrast it provides to that which was to follow.

Shields as a young man.



²⁴² T. T. Shields, "Warfare, Weapons, Victory," 4 November 1899, sermon # 389, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

CHAPTER 2

Warring in the Spirit: Pastor / Servant (1910 -1920)

For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.
Ephesians 6:12

Pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist Church - The First Decade

Not only did the first decade of Shields' Jarvis Street pastorate mark the beginning of a remarkable thirty-five year pastorate but it also delineated the pivotal period of Shields' life and career. Undoubtedly there was some continuity with the past in the manner of his oversight of Jarvis Street. However, radical changes were in the offing, both in the character of Shields' ministry and in his own personal attitudes and deportment. In his first decade in Jarvis Street Shields encountered for the first time a culture of respectability. Here sitting in the seat of modernity he would wrestle with cultural liberalism. As he made his own accommodations with modernity he was introduced to the world of social reform, he became actively involved in denominational administration, and he faced the challenges of a growing prestige both at home and abroad. The events of this period provided one of the catalysts for changes that would eventually come to expression in militant fundamentalism.

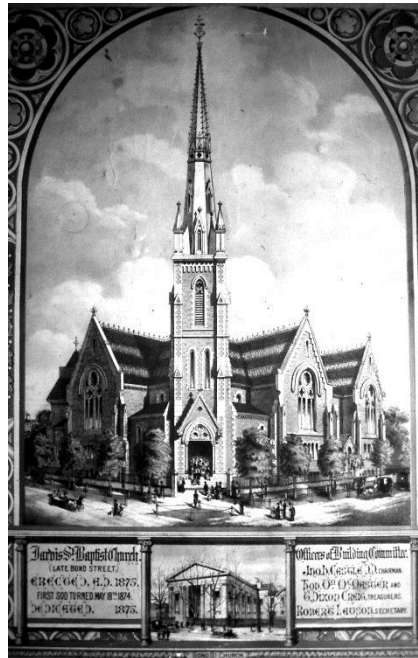
The first significant change for Shields was the environment in which he now found himself. Though his last pastoral charge was in an important urban centre, now Shields found himself in the second largest city in Canada,¹ in a church that was the oldest Baptist Church in the city, and widely regarded as the premier Baptist church of the Dominion.² The announcements of Shields' call to Jarvis Street Baptist Church in the

¹ In 1911 Montreal was the largest city with a population of 470,480. Toronto was second with 376,538. *The Canada Year Book*, (Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1912), 7.

² *The Canadian Baptist* identified the date of Jarvis Street as 1828. cf. "The Baptists of Toronto," *CB*, Vol. 56, 20 October 1910, 1. However, more recent research traces its origins even further back. Cf. Glenn Tomlinson, and Andrew Fountain, *"From Strength to Strength," A Pictorial History of Jarvis Street Baptist Church 1818-1993*, (Toronto: Gospel Witness Publications, 1993). In his recent biography of Jarvis Street's founding pastor, Alexander Stuart, Tomlinson traces the first formation of the congregation to 1818. Cf. Glenn Tomlinson, *From Scotland to Canada, The Life of Pioneer Missionary Alexander Stewart*, (Toronto: Joshua Press, 2008).

denomination's leading publication, *The Canadian Baptist*, demonstrated denominational attitudes toward the church: "Baptists throughout the city ... naturally have a great regard for Jarvis St. Church, which has been for many years the metropolitan church of our denomination in Canada."³ A week after this first reference in *The Canadian Baptist*, Shields' picture was featured on the front page of the weekly publication and a formal write-up on Shields' ministry was provided. Again the expressions of respect for this church were prominent:

...Canadian Baptists generally have come to regard Jarvis St. as the leading church of Baptists in the Dominion This mother of churches has had a line of noble men as pastors; among whom were such men as Fyfe, Caldicott, Castle, Thomas, and Perry, men who won and retained the confidence, love and esteem of the church, and of their brethren at large. In this regard, Mr. Shields enters a succession of worthy men, - a succession which added lustre to the Canadian Baptist ministry and worthily wrought in advancing the interests of the denomination and of the kingdom. We quite expect that Mr. Shields will occupy a prominent place in this galaxy of great and good men, and that the succession will find in him and his ministry not a weak but a strong link in the chain.⁴



For a relatively young man, despite the apparent confidence he seemed to bring to every venture, the tradition and prestige of this church had to be somewhat unnerving.

³ "Personal and Other Wise," *CB*, Vol. 56, 14 April 1910, 9.

⁴ "Rev. T. T. Shields," *CB*, Vol. 56, 21 April 1910, 8.

Even the church edifice must have been daunting to a man who had his roots in the tiny churches of the villages and hamlets of south-western Ontario. The great building projects he had engaged in with the Adelaide Street Church paled beside the facility he now occupied. Owing much to the generous donations of “the Honorable William McMaster and his estimable wife,” the church building was erected in the Gothic style in 1874 on the corner of Jarvis Street and Gerrard Street.⁵ Jarvis Street at that time was a street of mansions and its construction was in part to reflect the character of the social elite who patronized it. A brief history of the street itself was referenced in the *Knox Weekly Letter* in 1953. Noting that its story traced back “almost one hundred and fifty years” to the arrival of two loyalists of the Jarvis family, the author reflected on the “rich” history of Jarvis Street. When they arrived “it was more or less a wilderness.” William Jarvis, fleeing from persecution in the United States, re-claimed his respectable place in society by becoming the “provincial secretary and registrar.” With “great dreams” for Toronto he became involved in its development. He “had a share in the making of Yonge Street,” and “on his death, a new street was cut through his estate, and called Jarvis Street in honour of his son, Samuel Peter Jarvis.”⁶

The street in many ways reflected the attempts to accommodate the dominant classes with segregation and with institutions reflecting their values. One observer, writing at its “final stage of development,” extolled Jarvis Street’s character in *Toronto Past and Present*: “Jarvis and Sherbourne are lined on either side through most part of their extent by the mansions of the upper ten.” The beauties of the street made it a

⁵ “A History of Jarvis St. Church, Toronto,” *CB*, Vol. 43, 14 April 1897, 2

⁶ “Jesus and the House of Dreamers on Jarvis Street,” *Knox Weekly Letter*, Issue No. 296, 8 February 1953, box 3, “Shields’ Correspondence”, JBCA, Toronto. For a more extensive discussion of the history of the Street and the mansions built on it, see Austen Seaton Thompson, *Jarvis Street, A Story of Triumph and Tragedy*, (Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1980). For background on the Jarvis family see Douglas Leighton, “The Compact Tory as Bureaucrat: Samuel Peters Jarvis and the Indian Department, 1837-1845,” *Ontario History*, LXXIII, No. 1, March 1981, 40 -53. In the latter part of the nineteenth century London and Paris were markers of the beginning of the modern age of the tourist, the consumer and the idler. Guidebooks which featured the city and its boulevards as objects of desire and consumption became common for cities throughout Europe and North America. Modern city development had an eye to the taming of the urban crowd, a crowd that had once been revolutionary and violent, was now tamed and focused on shopping and other urban leisure activities. Tourists were invited to join the crowd of *flâneurs* strolling the city’s boulevards. Cf. Heather Marcelle Crickenberger “The Flaneur,” *The Arcades Project Project* < <http://www.thelemming.com/lemming/dissertation-web/home/flaneur.html>> (13 April 2015). Cf. Walter Benjamin *The Archades Project* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.) See also Miles Ogborn, *The Spaces of Modernity* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998).

common destination for those looking for an evening stroll. “Of a summer it is pleasant to saunter down one of these streets while the thick verdure of the chestnut trees is fresh with the life of June, and the pink and white bunches of blossom are as beautiful as any of the exotic glowers in the lawns and gardens of the houses.”⁷ Austin Seaton Thompson in his 1980 history of Jarvis Street spoke in similar fashion of the charms of the street: “While Queen’s Park and St. George Street were also to become the milieu of a number



of equally impressive residences, it was the breadth of Jarvis Street, with its sidewalks and ornamental fences and its great shade trees rising from grassy verges, that imparted to it something of the distinction of the Champs Élysées in Paris.”⁸

Jarvis Street Baptist Church was designed by Langley & Burke, Burke being a member of the church until his death in 1919, and was “the first church of amphitheatrical form erected in Toronto.”⁹ Thompson added his own description of the church’s construction. Noting that it was “completed and dedicated in 1875, he described it as being designed “in grey stone by the Toronto architect Edmund Burke in the Gothic Revival style.” He added that “the church is still well maintained and, somewhat incongruously, displays a small plaque on the wall by its entrance which assures the passerby, “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. Romans 1:16.”¹⁰ Its seating

⁷ Thompson, 161.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁹ “A History of Jarvis St. Church, Toronto,” *CB*, Vol. 43, 14 April 1897, 2.

¹⁰ Thompson, 183.

capacity was 1,500 although there would be many times Shields would pack more than 2,000 people into its auditorium. At the dedication of the newly erected edifice, the speaker, Rev. J. L. Burrows of Louisville, Kentucky, referred to it as “the king’s palace.”¹¹

Nor was the opulence of this palatial structure without its significance in the broader social context. William Westfall in his book *Two Worlds; The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, pointed to Jarvis Street Baptist Church as one of four outstanding examples of the medieval revival in church architecture. Discussing the reason for this movement toward Romantic and Gothic forms among most major Protestant bodies in the mid to late 19th century, Westfall noted the social context. He traced that context back through the years of Protestant dialectic with denominational groups such as the Methodists and the Baptists representing the emotional side of Protestant culture and Anglicans representing the rationalistic side. While the rationalistic elements appealed to the values of order and reason, which was at the foundation of the nature of God and His Creation, the enthusiastic elements appealed to the value of feelings and personal experience. However, both sides faced increasing problems with the changing social context and gradually moved to middle ground. For Westfall the convergence into a Protestant consensus was marked visually in the universal Protestant acceptance of the Gothic architectural style. Westfall contended that “The romantic form met the needs of both ends of the old religious spectrum.” For the Methodist as for the Baptist it marked a movement from “the other-worldly and sectarian extreme and tempered the old-style revivalism with more moderate forms of worship.”¹² In many respects the architectural revolution reflected growing pressure from within and from without “to conform quickly” to “new concepts of middle-class respectability” and “more refined codes of social and religious behavior.”¹³ Jarvis Street Baptist Church’s new edifice stood as a graphic symbol of Baptist “respectability.” Thompson’s observation of the incongruity of the text placed at the entrance was perceptive but could as easily have

¹¹ Walter E. Ellis “Gilboa to Ichabod” in *Foundations* 20 (1977) p. 109. This was an address given to the Canadian Society of Church History in Edmonton, June, 1975.

¹² William Westfall, *Two Worlds; The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989) 141.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 69.

identified the anomaly about to occur with the ascension of Shields to its rostrum.

Ironically, Shields, the leading Baptist “revivalist” of his period, found himself occupying the pulpit of the most fashionable and respectable church of the Baptist denomination. In the terms of S. D. Clark, when Shields stepped onto the platform of this magnificent edifice, “Church” met “Sect.”¹⁴ While the first encounter was cordial enough, an astute observer might have sensed a slight tremor in the Baptist firmament.

If Shields did not immediately understand the implications of accepting this pastorate, there is little doubt that he was not long in finding out. The constraints of this environment of “respectability” soon confronted him on every side. Later, when reflecting back upon his first years in Jarvis Street, he alluded to the culture he inherited: “Jarvis Street Church, therefore, was the heart of the Baptist Denomination in Ontario and Quebec. Its services were always *well ordered and dignified* [my emphasis], and the Jarvis Street Church and congregation were rated as one of the principal churches of the city, and the premier Baptist church of Canada.”¹⁵ Prior to his arrival in Toronto, the most conspicuous characteristic of Shields’ ministry had been his aggressive evangelism. Every pastorate began with an evangelistic campaign. From the time of his first pastorate in Florence to the opening of his ministry in London, evangelistic outreach was the key note of his ministry and he occupied himself in campaign after campaign with increasing frequency. By the end of his pastoral ministry in Hamilton, he was so consumed with evangelistic outreach that he left the pastorate for nearly a year to pursue this evangelical burden. When he returned to pastoral ministry and took up the charge in London, Ontario, his evangelical zeal had not abated. In conjunction with the other London pastors he participated in a city-wide campaign that lasted nearly 6 months. Several times in his London ministry he ran campaigns from his own church and the fruit of that labour was a doubling of the congregation’s size and a building project that significantly

¹⁴ S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948). Clark sought to examine the struggle between church and sect; the struggle between the organized religious structure which sought order and accommodation with the community versus the otherworldly separatists who had little or no concern with the ungodly society around them. This struggle revolved around the issue of social stability which when present favoured the church and when absent encouraged the sect form of religious organization. Thus the church grew out of the conditions of mature society while the sect was a product of frontier conditions of social life. For more on the religious shift towards respectability among the Methodists of this period see Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind; Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada. 1839-1918*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989.)

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 8.

increased the seating capacity of the church. For Shields, the evangelistic campaign was the answer to everything from church growth to church division. As a conciliator for the denomination, Shields' approach was to go in and lead an evangelistic campaign. Usually by the end of the campaign the difficulties had been eradicated. Shields himself was able to boast of having never encountered any division during his own ministry.¹⁶ It seemed that all his methodology was informed by the evangelistic campaign and all his energy and time was consumed by his evangelistic zeal. The burden for "lost souls" was a consuming passion.

It was surprising therefore that not only were the earliest years of the Toronto pastorate devoid of evangelistic campaigns, over eleven years passed before a single campaign of such character was conducted within the walls of this church. In fact, over the next eleven years, only three such campaigns can be identified from Shields' records. The first was nearly two years after the outset of his Toronto ministry and was conducted on the other side of the American border in Jackson, Michigan. Another two years passed before Shields the evangelist was at work again, this time in Kingston, Ontario, and then in 1920 in New York City. Shields spent a good deal of time in 1919 going about the convention on behalf of the Forward Movement making an appeal for evangelistic outreach, but the evangelistic campaign itself was curiously absent.

The question must be asked if Shields had lost his evangelistic zeal and moved outside the evangelical camp. Mark Parent has argued that during this period Shields did indeed make significant shifts in his theological position away from his earlier evangelicalism. The critical factor for Parent was the war:

This commitment to militancy [learned during the war years] combined with a growing conviction of the importance of right faith (defined by Shields as right doctrine), **resulted in a decreasing emphasis on the experiential, revivalistic elements within Shields' theology** [my emphasis]. These revivalistic elements, which in the earliest years of his ministry were quite prominent, had provided a balance within Shields' theology and ministry. The militancy instilled by the war, coupled with his growing conservatism, disrupted this balance.¹⁷

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁷ Mark Parent "T. T. Shields and the First World War" in *McMaster Journal of Theology*. Vol. 2, Fall 1991, 54.

While Parent was right to identify the very significant impact that the war had upon Shields, his treatment of Shields' evangelistic stance was deeply flawed. Parent's interpretation ignored several critical factors. The first is the immediacy of the shift that occurred in Shields' methodology. It was not in the period of 1914 to 1918 that the move away from the evangelistic campaign occurred but rather in 1910. In fact, from the moment Shields accepted the pastorate of Jarvis Street Baptist church, his evangelistic methodology was completely curtailed. Shields himself identified the restraints of "worldliness" and "respectability" and concluded "I had to wait eleven years for my full liberty as a preacher of the gospel."¹⁸

The second factor that Parent missed was the fact that the war did not lessen Shields' evangelistic zeal, but rather heightened it. Early in 1919, the Baptist denomination decided somewhat belatedly to join in the interdenominational movement known as the Forward Movement.¹⁹ In a preamble to the motion presented to the Convention, the post-war context provided the incentive for an intensification of the denomination's evangelistic efforts:

Believing that the present world situation, presenting as it does, not only very serious problems, but also unparalleled opportunities, constitutes an urgent call to all Christian people for a higher standard of Christian life than is generally practised, and greatly enlarged Christian effort and sacrifice for the saving of men and the extension of the Kingdom of God, Therefore be it resolved²⁰

Shields threw his full support behind this movement. He offered his own church as host for a "Special Conference" February 24 -26, 1919, as a kind of preparatory "kick off" for the whole campaign. The *Baptist Year Book* of 1920 noted Jarvis Street's further contributions to the campaign:

With characteristic generosity, Jarvis Street Church, Toronto, released both her pastors -Dr. Shields to [the] work of the Spiritual Aims Committee when in

¹⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 196.

¹⁹ In Canada the Forward Movement was known formally as "The Inter-church Forward Movement." It was established under the governance of a Committee of Forty on March 6, 1918. According to Allen, the Baptists joined later but almost immediately withdrew and ran a simultaneous campaign. However, Allen missed the fact that due to delays to the beginning of the inter-church movement because of the Ontario Referendum [probably the Prohibition referendum of October 20, 1919] and the Victory Loan campaign the Baptists were in a position to re-join. This they did in their October 1919 Convention. Cf. Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.) 138., See also *CB*, 31 July 1919. 3; also "The Forward Movement," *CB*, Vol. 65, 6 November 1919, 8.

²⁰ "The Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1917 - 1918," *CB*, Vol. 65, 30 January 1919, 3.

association with the President, his contribution was far-reaching in practical guidance and inspiration, - and Rev. B. W. Merrill to the exacting work of Secretary of the Executive - a task which he fulfilled with the greatest devotion and skill.²¹

In conjunction with the Convention President, Rev. John McNeill, and later one of his deacons, Shields travelled throughout Ontario and Quebec from November of 1919 to February of 1920, presenting the challenge of the Forward Movement. While McNeill preached on the “Baptist Mission,” Shields delivered an address on “The Baptist Message.” His concluding comments reflected on his experience at the end of the war when he was witness to the return of King Albert to Brussels and his “Triumphal entry into his capital after his more than four years of exile.” Describing the euphoria of the crowds at the return of their king, Shields drew a parallel with the future return of the King of Kings, Jesus Christ. Speaking of the certainty of Christ’s triumph and His immanent return Shields appealed for the proclamation of the gospel message: “In the certainty of His ultimate triumph, and in anticipation of His coming in glory, this Forward Movement calls us afresh, as a voice from Heaven, to dedicate all our ransomed powers of spirit, soul, and body, to the world-wide proclamation of this message”²²

A third factor that Parent overlooked was the fact that when in 1921 the split with the “worldly” and “respectable” elements of his congregation was inevitable, Shields returned to his evangelistic methodology with a vengeance and in one dramatic and intense campaign reversed his fortunes within the church. The final vote on his removal from the church will be defeated by virtue of the new additions to the church gained through the campaign. Never again would Shields surrender his freedom to preach the gospel in any fashion he pleased. In fact, in the years to come, in connection with a number of leading American evangelists, his own evangelistic methodology would become more and more “revivalistic” and radical. In the four years following the exodus of the “respectable” elements of the church, Shields’ revivalist methods accounted for the addition of 1500 new members to take the place of the 341 who had left.²³

²¹ “Report of the Forward Movement Committee,” *BYB*, 1920, 64.

²² T. T. Shields, *The Baptist Message*, (Toronto: Baptist Church House, 1919), 20.

²³ T. T. Shields, *The Necessity of Declaring War on Modernism*, (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1925) This information was taken from an advertisement for *The Gospel Witness* appearing on the back of the pamphlet.

There were other ways during this first decade at Jarvis Street in which Shields felt himself constrained by this new environment of “respectability.” Shields’ leadership style heretofore had been quite autocratic. In his first five pastorates there was no record of resistance to his leadership, or challenge to his authority. For the most part his congregations were content to follow his lead quite meekly. However, when he came to Jarvis Street, Shields was suddenly confronted with a very different demographic construct. Now, for the first time, Shields faced the challenge of ministering to the social elite of both the ecclesiastical realm and the secular.

Various references have already been made concerning Shields’ ambivalent attitudes toward the denominational leadership and McMaster University. It was clear that Shields resented denominational preferences for McMaster-trained men and the apparent attempts to control pastorates like patronage.²⁴ On one occasion he remarked: “Non-McMaster men were tolerated for the doing of rough work, even as the Chinese coolies were used to do rough work on the Western Front in the Great War. ... To my personal knowledge certain of the Faculty of McMaster look upon non-McMaster men as useful only for carrying meals to the graduates.”²⁵ Having himself been the subject of this prejudice, there is little surprise that a real source of tension in Shields’ Toronto ministry would be the intimate connections that Jarvis Street had with the various departments of denominational administration. Many of the men who were in key denominational positions were also members of Jarvis Street. Shields catalogued the various denominational leadership positions held by Jarvis Street men at the outset of his ministry:

The membership of Jarvis Street had been drawn upon largely by the Denomination in the formation of its boards. At the time of which I speak, it had in its Diaconate the Chairman of the Board of Governors of McMaster University, the Chairman of the Home Mission Board, the Chairman of the Foreign Mission Board, the Secretary of the Superannuated Ministers’ Board, the Editor of *The Canadian Baptist*; and in the membership of the church, the Secretary of the Bible Society; a little later, the Secretary of the Sunday School Board, the Chairman of the Publication Board, the President of the Woman’s Foreign Mission Society of Ontario West, and several members of the Board; The President and Vice-President of the Women’s Home Mission Society of Ontario West, and many

²⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 10.

²⁵ John D. E. Dozois, *Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873 - 1955): In the Stream of Fundamentalism* (Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, May 1963), 64 -65.

members of the Board; as well as other unofficial members of the Home, Foreign, and Publication Boards, Superannuated Ministers' Board, Sunday School Board - indeed it had more members of Boards than the full complement of Convention delegates to which Jarvis Street Church was entitled.²⁶

As Shields took up positions of responsibility within the denomination, something the pastor of Jarvis Street would be expected to do, Shields found himself working with many of his own church members in collegial or subordinate roles. Two outstanding examples of this were James Ryrie and Dr. D. E. Thomson. Shields worked on a number of projects and committees together with James Ryrie. For over a decade, from 1911 forward, Shields served on the Home Missions Board. He was on the executive committee and for many of these years served as first vice chairman under the chairman, James Ryrie. In 1914, Ryrie was given the highest honour in the denomination and elected president.²⁷

Perhaps the man who came closest to intimidating Shields was D. E. Thomson, who more than any other was responsible for Shields' call to Jarvis Street.²⁸ He was at the time a deacon and the chairman of the pulpit committee. Though the two men would eventually break over the issues that split the church in 1921, Shields formed an extraordinarily high impression of the man, an esteem that, despite differences, would never waver. The two men often walked together over three miles to church.²⁹ In 1911 Shields spent his summer holidays camping with Thomson in Algonquin Park.³⁰ Years later Shields recalled:

I think of Dr. Thomson as one of the greatest souls I ever met. I did not agree with his view of inspiration: he was much looser than I could ever afford to be. But I have never met one who was more obviously a genuine Christian. He was one of the greatest of Canadian lawyers. Some men were afraid of him. He seemed, at a distance, to be rather austere and forbidding: I found him a most genial and gracious soul. ... Though many years my senior, I have met few men whom I more highly respected, or more deeply loved, than D. E. Thomson, K.C., LL.D.³¹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁷ *BYB*, 1914, 4, 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 71.

³⁰ T. T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*, July 1911, "Shields Papers," JBCA, Toronto.

³¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 71, 73.

It is clear that on many things Shields deferred to Thomson, even tolerating his rather “liberal” views on inspiration. This is all the more remarkable as the doctrine of inspiration was for Shields the *sine qua non* of the Christian faith and a matter over which he would later split the denomination.³² Part of this respect arose out of Thomson’s remarkable accomplishments in the legal realm. Shields was also humbled by Thomson’s deep spirituality. However, a significant part of Shields’ deference surely arose out of Thomson’s long involvement in the governance of the denomination. Thomson’s involvement can be traced back to the early 1880s. He was heavily involved in the founding of Toronto Baptist College in 1880 and McMaster University in 1887. He sat upon the Board of Governors of the latter institution throughout most of the years of its existence up to and including the years of his association with Shields. In 1889 he was also named President of the Baptist Convention.³³ Shields may have been pastor of the church, but both Ryrie and Thomson were presidents of the convention.

There is no doubt that Shields was very conscious of the presence of these men as he entered the pulpit from week to week. On one occasion when addressing issues relative to the denomination as a whole, Shields noted the constituent elements of his audience:

Just in front of me, slightly to the left, sat Dr. D. E. Thomson, K.C., Chairman of the Board of Governors of McMaster University; behind him, Mr. F. L. Ratcliff, ex-Chairman of the Publication Board; on the right, Mr. James Ryrie, chairman of the Home Mission Board; the Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board; Secretary of the Sunday School Board; and many others who were members of other Boards, including several who were members of the Board of Governors of McMaster University, were there.³⁴

However, it was not just ecclesiastical leaders that Shields had to deal with, but also many of the wealthiest and most influential business leaders in Toronto. A brief sampling of some of these men sounds almost like a “Who’s Who” of Toronto’s social elite. Paul Wilson, in his doctoral dissertation entitled *Baptists and Business*, studied

³² In the matter of the honorary doctorate offered him by McMaster, Shields was reluctant but again deferred to the counsel of Thomson. *Ibid.*

³³ *BYB*, 1889, 18.

³⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 123.

twenty-five of its leading businessmen between 1849 and 1921.³⁵ Wilson demonstrated that in the years preceding Shields' arrival in Toronto some of the prominent men who exemplified this pattern included Robert Cathcart, a wholesaler and retailer who owned "Robert Cathcart General Dry Goods"; James Lesslie, partner in "Lesslie and Sons, booksellers, Stationers & Druggists"; Thomas Lailey, owner of Thomas Lailey & Co., a clothing retailer and wholesaler; William Hewitt Sr., a hardware retailer and wholesaler who owned "Wm. Hewitt & Co."; William Elliott, of "Elliot and Company," a chemical manufacturer and wholesaler; John Lugsdin, a partner in "J & J Lugsdin, Hatters and Furriers"; Arthur McMaster, a partner in "William McMaster and Nephews" and owner of A.R. McMaster and Brother"; William McMaster, founder of "William McMaster and Co., Dry Goods," founding president of "The Canadian Bank of Commerce," member of the Canadian Senate 1867 - 1887, and founder in part of "McMaster University."³⁶ Perhaps Jarvis Street Baptist Church's most famous member was Canada's second prime minister (1873 -1878): Alexander MacKenzie.³⁷ Though MacKenzie's membership and that of the aforementioned businessmen predated the years of Shields' pastorate, they were nonetheless indicative of the stature of the men who frequented this prestigious place of worship.

By 1910, tradition had become the norm at Jarvis Street. The leaders of the church were all men of social distinction. Wilson identified some of the principal actors in the saga of Shields' early years at Jarvis Street: William Davies, pork packer, owner of the "William Davies Company"; James S. McMaster, a partner in "William McMaster and Nephews," also of "A.R. McMaster and Brother," "McMaster and Co., and "McMaster, Darling and Company"; John and William Firstbrook, owners of the box manufacturer, "Firstbrook Brothers"; William K. McNaught, a jewellery manufacturer and wholesaler, owner of "American Watch Case Company"; Daniel E. Thomson, lawyer and businessman, a senior partner in "Thomson, Henderson, & Bell," and in Thomson, Tilley, & Johnston"; James and Harry Ryrie, jewellery retailers and manufacturers, and joint

³⁵ Paul Wilson, *Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and The Secularization of the Businessman at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1996.)

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 411 - 413.

³⁷ Tomlinson, 24, footnote # 4.

owners of “Ryrie Brothers Limited”; Albert Matthews, bond dealer and partner in “Matthews-Blackwell Co.,” and in “R.C. Matthews Company, Limited”; Edmund Burke, architect for several firms including “Langley & Burke,” “Burke, Horwood & White”; Quartus B. Henderson, a partner in “Davis & Henderson, Limited, Printers”; George Lugsdin, partner in “Lugsdin & Barnett, Saddle, Harness and Trunk Manufacturers”; John and Joseph Lugsdin, partners in “J & J Lugsdin Hatters and Furriers”; John Northway, a clothing manufacturer, wholesaler and retailer, owner of “John Northway & Son, Limited.”³⁸ Shields later remarked: “Jarvis Street was looked upon as an eminently respectable congregation. There were many in its membership whose positions in business and professional life, in the view of the worldly people at least, gave the church a certain standing.” He reflected on the socio-cultural implications. “That being so, no sacrifice was involved in joining the church. On the contrary, it was rather a mark of respectability. ...Hence we had no members who were not quite respectable. But we had many members who were worldly-minded, and were not spiritual.”³⁹

The evangelistic campaign was the first casualty of the ethos of “worldliness” and “respectability.” Shields’ autocratic control was the second. Shields’ later recollections of the period noted something of the struggle:

I have been a Pastor for some years - Pastor of this church for nearly twenty-eight years. There was a time when some of my friends used to say, "Why does Mr. Shields not do this or that?" Because I could not. Why? Because I had a cabinet called Deacons. I recently published a book on it called, "The Plot that Failed", giving the whole story. I could not move. I was once going to give an address on the Roman Catholic situation in Ireland - I delivered it in a certain university, and a committee of ladies asked that it be repeated here. Immediately the good Deacons said, "You must not do that." "Why?" "It would cause a disturbance. Roman Catholics would come in and break up the seats." "Nonsense." A business man said, "It is like this, Pastor. We are business men, and many of our customers are Roman Catholics. We do not want to offend them."... I got rid of those deacons...!⁴⁰

³⁸ Wilson, 411 - 413. Northway’s experience stands as a good example of the gradual social and theological shift experienced by these men. For a full discussion see Allan Wilson, *John Northway: a Blue Serge Canadian*, (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern Limited, 1965).

³⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 196.

⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, "The British Government's attempt to 'Appease' Hitler and Mussolini," *GW*, 16:43, 3 March 1938, 12.

Shields' analysis of the restrictions of "respectability" that constrained his own evangelical energies focused on the shackles encountered in polite society by his congregation. "In those days," Shields reflected, "few members of Jarvis Street had learned to give the Lord all their time apart from that which was necessary for their business and their home life...." He was quick to clarify his meaning. "I would not be misunderstood. I do not remember that it was ever necessary to apologize for the life of any Jarvis Street member. They were delightful people on the whole, and walked circumspectly before the world." However, the problem for Shields was their socio-cultural integration with the world in which they lived. Significant for Shields was the fact that they "had not learned the principle of entire separation 'unto the gospel of Christ.'"⁴¹

Shields' otherworldly and separatist spirit bristled at the limitations he struggled against. Even eight years after taking up his duties in Jarvis Street, Shields was still taken aback at the bondage he felt these men encountered due to the entanglements of social expectation. Speaking of the occasion on which he first challenged his congregation about the growing threat of theological liberalism within the denomination Shields observed:

I can see that Sunday morning congregation as I write. Had I measured the personal conviction of each one by his or her profession, I should have estimated there were few opposed to the position I had taken. It had not then occurred to me that a man's opinions, and the probability of his course of action in given circumstances, could never be clearly appraised until the man had talked it over with his wife, and she had made up his mind for him.⁴²

Shields noted it was not only social pressures experienced within the family but also the business environment that led to the compromise of religious principles. "Nor did I suppose that a business man would subordinate his religious convictions to considerations of business expediency." Noting the strong "individual strength" that had brought these men to "influential positions as directors in various large corporations" he assumed that they would assert their individualism equally strongly in "religious matters." However, Shields was dismayed to discover how quickly these same men

⁴¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 23.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 125.

deferred to “business associates” who “disapproved” of their religious convictions. He also targeted “secret societies” that many of these men participated in. “Still less had it entered my mind that men who held membership in certain secret societies that were supposed to exist for legitimate mutual service, would use their fraternalism to further their religious ends.” Shields had come to the painful conclusion “that a large congregation of religious individualists is likely to include a great company of people who, by domestic, social, business, or fraternal ties, are held in bondage not less real than the shackles about the prisoner’s ankles, or the handcuffs upon his wrists.”⁴³ Shields’ boast of getting rid of his worldly deacons was something of a hyperbole, as his liberation from the restraints of “respectability” as dictated by that “cabinet” came only after an eleven-year struggle, a struggle which Shields survived only by a small margin.

The third casualty for Shields in his early Toronto ministry was the other-worldly character of his congregation, something he largely took for granted in his former pastorates. With his call to Jarvis Street, Shields was introduced into the world of polite society and expected to conform. At his thirty-fifth anniversary he spoke sarcastically of these expectations. He was very derisive of a fellow minister in the city who capitulated to the ethos of “respectability.” Speaking of an article published in *Toronto Saturday Night* that evaluated the four largest churches in Toronto, he recalled: “Another church was remarkable for its social standing and the preacher’s duties, this article said, were mostly social. That is to say, he had to attend pink teas and drawing room concerns and be a nicely dressed lady of the masculine gender. That was his duty. Pretty poor job for a preacher. But he was one of the prominent preachers of the city.”⁴⁴ More than thirty years later Shields was boastful of his own resistance. Noting the apologetic and subdued character of many ministers facing these restraints, Shields professed superiority and pity. Shields reflected: “I said to myself I’d rather get on a white suit and a broom and the thing with two wheels and go cleaning the streets and retain my manhood.”⁴⁵ There is little doubt that Shields’ early conformity to this “world of polite society” was superficial, but it is clear that he chafed under the restraints confronting him. Shields bided his time

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, “Thirty-fifth Anniversary address,” May 1945, audio tape, JBCA, Toronto.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

but in a gradually escalating fashion began his own assault on the bastions of worldliness within his church.

His first major confrontation with his board came over the issue of shoddy business practices in the administration of church affairs. Despite the supposed advantage to the church of accomplished businessmen administering its affairs, Jarvis Street Baptist Church had long been plagued with growing deficits. Wilson traced the issue as far back as the late 1870's. In 1896 and 1897 the church carried floating debts of \$5,360 and \$6,260 respectively. In the period immediately preceding Shields' call to the church, an annual operating deficit of \$3,200 was recorded. By January 1909 the floating debt stood at \$4,500.⁴⁶ The glory and integrity of Christ's kingdom was always a paramount concern for Shields. As reflected in his attitudes about church bazaars and other similar practices, Shields had always exercised great care, before the world, in guarding his own reputation and that of the church so that it was beyond reproach. Now, as Wilson noted, "the integrity of both pastor and church were put at risk by the 'slipshod' manner in which church business was conducted."⁴⁷ Shields later related his surprise at the state of affairs: "When I came to Jarvis Street Church I assumed I should find it perfectly organized, and its business affairs ordered and systematized as the businesses of these men must have been. Therefore, I did not immediately intervene, but quietly observed how things were done." Shields watched with some horror the arbitrary manner in which money was spent with no discussion at all about where the money would come from. He alluded to one motion by a member of the finance committee and a deacon concerning the purchase of pianos to replace those that were presently being rented: "I am tired of listening to these discussions about pianos. I move that Deacon So - and - So be authorized to buy what pianos we need." Shields noted that the same week "several pianos, including a grand piano for the Lecture Hall, were delivered at the church." The debt incurred along with an expenditure to carpet the entire church auditorium with a new "brussels carpet" was simply added to the floating debt.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Wilson, 220 -224.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁴⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 32, 33.

Early in 1914, with the debt reaching \$6,000, Shields had had enough. With a sudden return to his autocratic pronouncements of previous ministries, Shields laid down the law:

In the early part of 1914 I decided it was time to act: I therefore told the Deacons that until I became Pastor of Jarvis Street, I had never presided at the Annual Meeting of any church of which I was Pastor, where a deficit had been reported, and that I had done so for the last time in Jarvis Street. I pointed out that it was utterly unnecessary. Jarvis Street people had plenty of money to meet their obligations when they were due; that it was not honouring to the church nor to the Lord to treat its business affairs so carelessly.⁴⁹

Shields justified his actions by appealing to his own reputation in the matter: “I told them that the man who, more than anybody else, was held responsible for the state of a church, in public estimation, was the Pastor; and I did not propose to bear the responsibility longer.” His rebuke seems to have produced the desired effect and Shields was able to boast “the deficit of six thousand dollars, which by sheer carelessness had been allowed to accumulate, was met, and the sum of sixty thousand dollars was subscribed for a new building.”⁵⁰

A related issue that marked the growing worldliness of the church and that proved over time to be a great irritant to Shields was the role played by the children of wealthy parents. Many of these were McMaster University graduates who had proved themselves largely useless to the spiritual ministries of the church. According to Shields, “they were never seen at prayer-meeting” and “could not be pressed into Sunday School work.” In his assessment they were “utterly useless to the church because apparently destitute of spiritual interest or life.” Nevertheless, on account of their McMaster standing and relation to prominent members of the church they were utilized for “their alert minds and business ability for the work of the church by putting them on the Finance Committee!” Shields, always hostile to large committees, commented: “The average church organization is about as useful for effecting the purpose of its existence as would be the heaviest and most ancient ox-cart drawn by oxen with sore legs and shoulders, if entered in a race to compete with a modern motor car.” The addition of these men to the finance committee, for Shields, “proved about as sensible as adding a trailer to our ox-cart, and

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 35, 36.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

filling it up with rusty scrap-iron.”⁵¹ In 1921, some of these men were among those who formed a “Committee of Fifteen,”⁵² or “Men’s Committee,” for the express purpose of driving Dr. Shields from the pulpit of Jarvis Street.⁵³

A far more serious confrontation arose in 1920 over the issue of the length of choral anthems and the choir. This too provided fodder for Shields’ reminiscences at the celebration of his 35th anniversary in the church. Again referencing the article in *Toronto Saturday Night* Shields spoke of the importance of the musical reputation of Jarvis Street:

I remember reading in Toronto Saturday Night in those early days of the four most prominent churches in Toronto. Jarvis Street was one of them. I won’t tell you what other churches were named, but there were four. One was a Methodist, one was a Presbyterian, one was an Anglican and we were the Baptist. And the churches were described in what they were remarkable for, and the ministers were also described. Jarvis Street was specially noted, so it said, for its fine music. Here the Mendelssohn Choir was born. And here we had the finest choir, the most thoroughly trained musical organization in the city, or in the country. I hadn’t been here very long and I was supposed to conform to the status quo. And this was a centre of music.⁵⁴

Jarvis Street’s musical reputation was a fundamental part of its culture of “respectability,” a tradition that in the end created dissonance with its other-worldly pastor. The resulting cacophony was the first open manifestation of real trouble for Shields in his own church. Shields himself revelled in many of the performances, but complained that “the musical numbers were too heavy, too long, and too numerous.”⁵⁵ Shields’ objection that the musical program was supplanting biblical preaching was a virtual declaration of war. For many of the prominent members of the church, Jarvis Street’s musical reputation was at stake. For Shields, the spiritual character of the church was in question. Shields, summarizing the struggle that climaxed in the 1921 split, asked: “Shall a church practise in its corporate life what it collectively professes to believe? Is the church to be a place of entertainment, or a place to receive some kind of religious sedative? Or is it a place where instruction in the things of God shall be given?”⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 239-252.

⁵³ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, (Toronto: Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1921) 6.

⁵⁴ T. T. Shields, “Thirty fifth Anniversary address.”

⁵⁵ T. T. Shields, “Plot,” 186.

⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, “*The Inside of the Cup*,” 18.

However, Shields, in attempting to curtail the length of the musical presentations, was running against a long tradition that predated his pastorate by two and a half decades.

The Toronto Mendelssohn Choir was born in Jarvis Street in 1894 under its famous director Augustus Stephen Vogt.⁵⁷ Vogt was the organist and choir master in Jarvis for twenty years until 1906 when he was succeeded by Dr. Edward Broome.⁵⁸ Dr. Broome also was secured for the position because of his significant musical accomplishments. Shields readily acknowledged those accomplishments: “Dr. Broome was ambitious to succeed as a choral leader, and organized the Toronto Oratorio Society. For his oratorio concerts in Massey Hall he brought to Toronto such musical organizations as the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, and I believe, the Chicago Orchestra.”⁵⁹ Reporting on the unfolding events in Jarvis Street Baptist Church in 1906, *The Toronto Telegram* further heralded Broome’s stature: “Born in England in 1869, he came to America in 1893 as conductor of the North Wales Male Choir, which competed at the Chicago World’s Fair. He is a Bachelor of Music, a Doctor of Music, a composer of note, and has conducted several oratorios.”⁶⁰

The character of the music presented by these professionals became a focal point in the tensions that eventually erupted. Victory Fry, a member of Jarvis Street for over seventy years, when reflecting back on those years, commented: “I know this. The millionaires were there. And they would bring their friends. And they didn’t want to hear just an old gospel meeting. They wanted fancy music. And the music man, Mr. ... what’s his name ... oh. ... Vogt ... he was the founder of the Mendelssohn choir.” Speaking also of his successor Dr. Edward Broome, Fry noted: “He was a wonderful man. Dr. Shields used to accredit him. But he says, ‘there’s no spirit in your music, in your singing.’ He said, ‘this is a church. It’s not just a place for music.’”⁶¹

Shields tolerated the situation for a number of years, but with each passing year noticed that the focus of the service was more and more given to the music. Commonly,

⁵⁷ “Toronto Mendelssohn Choir” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.dfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0003440>> (24 November 2009).

⁵⁸ “Rev. T. T. Shields Resigning over Friction with Choir Director,” *TT*, 3 May 1920. Cf. *Plot*, 185.

⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 185.

⁶⁰ “Rev. T. T. Shields Resigning over Friction with Choir Director,” *TT*, 3 May 1920.

⁶¹ Victor Fry, interview by author and Paul Wilson, March 1992.

when the choir opened the service, the “opening sentence” turned into a ten-minute anthem. Thereafter, two or three other lengthy performance pieces would be presented. Shields noted that “They were superbly rendered, but were not sufficiently simple to minister to people who were not musically trained.” However, it was not only their complexity that troubled Shields, but their length. Shields protested that as “other congregations were hearing the benediction” the “Jarvis Street preacher would begin to preach.”⁶² When people began to complain of sermons that exceeded twenty minutes and when he noticed that people were beginning to leave the service before the sermon was begun, Shields’ patience ran out. He discussed the matter with the deacons and presented a resolution which would have limited the number of pieces presented each week. It also sought a compromise solution, suggesting that the morning anthem should be sung during the collection of the offering. When Shield communicated the resolution to Dr. Broome, Broome strongly objected to the demotion of the morning anthem to an offertory and communicated his displeasure to the choir, promising action when “Mr. Ryrie comes home.”⁶³ With continued obstruction from Broome, Ryrie and the music committee, Shields brought the matter to a head by presenting his resignation to the church. At a hastily called business meeting on May 5, 1920, the church unanimously rejected Shields’ resignation. However, having tested his strength in the church, Shields was determined to bring the matter to a conclusion. Before acquiescing with the expressed desire of the church to continue as its pastor he insisted upon a resolution that would exalt Christ by giving “precedence ... to the Ministry of the word.” In this Shields was careful to speak to both the “character” and “proportion” in the ordering of the elements of the service.”⁶⁴ Also included in the motion was a first hint of Shields attitudes concerning the role of deacons:

And in order that these principles may be given effect the church hereby places the conduct of the public services of the Lord’s Day entirely in the hands of the pastor of the church, or of such other preacher as may at any time minister in his stead; it being understood, as a matter of course, that the deacons are the pastor’s proper advisers in all matters relating to the conduct of the public worship of the church; and that, therefore, henceforth the Music Committee shall be considered a

⁶² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 186, 187.

⁶³ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, 22.

⁶⁴ “Jarvis St. Baptists Unit (sic) for Dr. Shields,” *TDS*, 6 May 1920. 8.

sub-committee of the Deacons' Board, of which the pastor shall be ex-officio a member.⁶⁵

In the context of the moment, Shields took pains to avoid giving the impression that he was “submerging the musical part of the program” or that there was “any suggestion of lack of appreciation of the splendid service being rendered by members of the choir.”⁶⁶ However, the choir was now in open revolt and over the course of the following months, which saw nearly all the “respectable” elements of the church drawn into resistance, Shields became increasingly vocal in his opinion that the choir and its leader lacked the spiritual qualifications to lead in worship. In the aftermath of the 1921 split, several resolutions were adopted and prominent among them was the proclamation: “That this church desires to see in the department of music a spiritual choir, spiritually conducted.”⁶⁷

A fourth challenge that arose for Shields out of the culture of “respectability” was the erosion of the ethos of Calvinism. One of the implications of Paul Wilson’s examination of the Baptist businessmen of Jarvis Street was the testing of the Weber-Tawney thesis. His investigation uncovered an ironic reality. Acknowledging that Weber was “correct in his assertion that Calvinism promotes capitalism,” Wilson also established the fact that capitalism in turn led to the “modification and muting of Calvinism.” Tracing “the shift of priorities from the spiritual to the material” among these business leaders, Wilson concluded: “It appears that for central Canadian Baptists in urban centres by the end of the 19th century, that the rise of capitalism had resulted in a corresponding decline of Calvinism.”⁶⁸ As tensions between the “other worldly” Shields and the “respectable” elements within his church grew, the conflict between Calvinism and capitalism came to open expression. A significant issue in the infamous split of 1921 was the confrontation between Shields’ high view of God’s sovereignty and “a more hedonistic and liberal religion that de-emphasized belief in God’s sovereignty and encouraged belief in man’s ability.”⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 326.

⁶⁸ Wilson, 408.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 409.

Even the most cursory examination of Shields' preaching during these years would quickly demonstrate the thoroughly Calvinistic character of his theological outlook. This was consistent with his earlier periods of ministry and could undoubtedly be traced back to the influence of his father who trained him in Reformed thought. The elder Shields had left his denomination and homeland over his acceptance of Calvinism, a fact that most likely influenced his son's theological development. Though some tension between Shields' revivalistic methodology and his Calvinist soteriology has been noted, it is apparent that Shields never wavered in his high view of divine sovereignty. If anything could be said of a shift in Shields' Calvinism, it would have to be that it became more prominent during the years of the First World War. This was due to the fact that the war so clearly illustrated the nature of human depravity and thus provided for Shields a powerful corrective to the Darwinian assumptions of human progress that underlay much of modernistic theological thought. From this point forward Shields' Calvinistic assumptions of divine sovereignty were never far from the surface in any of his theological considerations, nor is any significant shift in his thought through the years discernible. Shields often boasted of the continuity of his convictions as he republished his earliest hand-written sermon manuscripts nearly a half century later in his weekly magazine, *The Gospel Witness*, with little or no revision.⁷⁰

In speaking of Shields' Calvinism, allusion is made to an historical tradition that can be somewhat difficult to define. Historians have long debated the legacy of John Calvin. Interpretations range from seeing him as a power mad "Machiavellian adventurer"⁷¹ to finding in him the origin of economic capitalism.⁷² However, many historians would identify the spirit of Calvinism as "a faithful response to the Scripture revelation of a sovereign and redeeming God."⁷³ Paul Fuhrmann argued: "Calvin's true

⁷⁰ Shields often boasted of these manuscript sermons and suggested that *The Gospel Witness* could be kept going for many a year simply reproducing these sermons, which in most cases could be handed to the editor with little or no revision. cf. T. T. Shields "A Sermon Thirty-Three Years Old," *GW* 18:47, 28 March 1940, 4.

⁷¹ Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965) p. 10. Walzer comments "Calvin pursued power in Geneva with all the artfulness of a Machiavellian adventurer." He has this in mind particularly when he interprets the Puritans in England.

⁷² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Calvinism* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1930).

⁷³ John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962) 433.

legacy is, indeed, not a system but a method, the method of striving to see everything - man, Christ, faith, the world, the Bible, religion, life ... not from man's point of view but from the viewpoint of God."⁷⁴ In this broad sense Shields' ministry was truly Calvinistic. Shields' Calvinism leavened all his thinking, all his controversies and all his teaching.

In his fight for the faith against the inroads of worldliness and the religion of "respectability," Shields saw himself standing firmly in the tradition of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, particularly the Spurgeon of the Downgrade Controversy.⁷⁵ In both men there was an unflinching defence of the glory of the sovereign God. If there could be found a difference between the Calvinism of the two it might be seen most in their style. Spurgeon used the term without hesitation almost as a synonym for the gospel. "And I have my own private opinion" insisted Spurgeon, "that there is no such a thing as preaching Christ and him crucified, unless you preach what now-a-days is called Calvinism. I have my own ideas, and those I always state boldly. It is a nickname to call it Calvinism; Calvinism is the gospel, and nothing else."⁷⁶ Shields was more hesitant in the use of the term. Even toward the end of his life he would only say "I am a bit of a Calvinist myself. I mean by that, I believe in the sovereignty of God, that He chooses His people."⁷⁷ Not only did Shields hesitate to use the title, but he also did not commonly refer to the "five points" or any of the catch phrases usually associated with the system.⁷⁸ His Calvinism tended to be more like that of John Newton whom Spurgeon described in the following terms: "Good John Newton used to say of his Calvinism, that he did not preach it in masses of dry doctrine like pieces of lump sugar, but that it was stirred up in all his preaching, like

⁷⁴ Paul T. Fuhrmann, *God-Centered Religion* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1942) 23.

⁷⁵ In 1887 C.H. Spurgeon published in the *Sword and Trowel* a series of articles under the heading of "The Downgrade." The major issue was the question of the inerrancy or infallibility of scripture. The resulting "Downgrade Controversy" led to Spurgeon's withdrawal from the Baptist Union and a polarization of evangelical opinion. cf. T. T. Shields, "Why I am Not a Modernist, But Believe the Bible to be the Word of God." *GW&PA* 29:12, 13 July 1950, 12. Here Shields challenged some of Spurgeon's methods but clearly identified the Downgrade Controversy with the fundamentalist/modernist controversy of his own period. See also Erroll Hulse, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon and the Downgrade Controversy," in *Acorns to Oaks: The Primacy and Practice of Biblical Theology*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin, (Dundas, ON: Joshua Press, 2003) 169 - 186.

⁷⁶ C.H. Spurgeon, "Christ Crucified," *New Park Street Pulpit* 1855, in *Ages Digital Library The Spurgeon Collection* (Rio, WI: Ages Software, 1998-2001), 100. (Hereafter "Ages").

⁷⁷ Shields, T. T. "Kept by the power of God," in *GW&PA* 31:6, 29 May 1952, 8.

⁷⁸ The "five points" sometimes identified by the acrostic TULIP is a common summary of the soteriology of John Calvin. The five points were Total Depravity, Unconditional Election, Limited Atonement, Irresistible Grace and Perseverance of the Saints. This was a summary arising out of the Synod of Dort 1618 - 1619.

sugar dissolved in our tea.”⁷⁹ He may not have commonly used the terminology, but in all of Shields’ preaching, life and ministry, from the beginning of his career to the end, he was a man of one idea - The “glory of the Sovereign God.” In the last years of his life he still insisted: “I affirm there can be no accurate religious thinking, no sound - if you will allow me to use the word that is in much disfavour - theology, which is not firmly based upon the conviction of Divine Sovereignty.” He concluded: “We must begin our planning, we must begin our thinking, as the Bible begins its speech: ‘In the beginning God...’ And unless we put Him in the Beginning there can be nothing but disaster in the end.”⁸⁰

Theologically, Shields’ focal point was God’s sovereign glory particularly as revealed in the divine program of redemption. “A minister of Christ,” Shields would later insist, “if he would be faithful, can have but one theme. Whenever, he preaches, whatever the circumstances, to whatsoever people he may address his message, he ought ever to speak of the salvation that is in Christ.”⁸¹ Though spoken twenty years later, the sentiment expressed well-captured the evangelistic tenor of his ministry prior to Jarvis Street and the burden of his ministry during the early Jarvis Street period. The fundamental reason that Shields was so openly militant about challenges to God’s sovereignty was the fact that the question of humanity’s eternal welfare was so directly tied to it. It was Shields’ conviction that submission to God’s sovereign will was absolutely essential to salvation. For Shields the redemptive program was the cardinal expression of divine sovereignty. “How is that sovereignty exercised?” he would ask in another place. “How does God manifest His sovereign power?” His reply pointed to the example of Joseph who exercised his sovereignty by showing “kindness to people who were in need.” He concluded: “God has shown His sovereign power, His sovereign rule, first of all, by HIMSELF, WITHOUT AID FROM ANY OF HIS CREATURES, DEVISING ‘MEANS THAT HIS BANISHED BE NOT EXPELLED FROM HIM.’”⁸² Shields never deviated from the fundamental conclusion that salvation was entirely the product of God’s sovereign grace: “The scheme of redemption originated in the divine mind, and the outworking of it, the

⁷⁹ C. H. Spurgeon “The Sieve.” No. 1158 Metropolitan Tabernacle Pulpit Vol. 20, in *Ages*, 131.

⁸⁰ T. T. Shields, “Behold, I Make All things New” *GW&PA* 30:37, 3 January 1952, 2.

⁸¹ T. T. Shields, “The Exceeding Greatness of His Power.” *GW* 16:1, 13 May 1938, 1.

⁸² T. T. Shields, *The Doctrines of Grace* (Toronto, The Gospel Witness, 1930), 21, 22.

coming of Christ to this earth, and all the details of His earthly career, His ultimate Sacrifice at the Cross, and His resurrection and ascension to the right hand of God - from beginning to end it is of God, and man had not an infinitesimal part in it.”⁸³

Shields’ vigorous rejection of any kind of a synergistic approach to salvation originated in this undeviating vision of the glory of the sovereign God. However, his high view of God was counter balanced by an equally low view of man’s ability. Shields lived at the end of an era that particularly celebrated the dignity and potential of an enlightened humanity. Social Darwinism in combination with British ideas of the age of progress gave an inflated view of human society. David Bebbington noted the consequent and simultaneous advance of “meliorism.” “The belief was spreading that the greatest need of humanity was not rescue from its futile ways through salvation, but effort that would apply knowledge for the betterment of the world. ... if only skills were exerted, the human race would make rapid progress.”⁸⁴

In many evangelical circles these ideas had converged with a prevailing post-millennialism, the idea that Christ’s millennial kingdom could be achieved on earth prior to Christ’s final appearance.⁸⁵ The product for many was the Social Gospel. In many ways this was a whole new gospel, a gospel very different from that which Shields found revealed in scripture. This was a gospel which offered “a sociological poultice for all the ills that the body politic is heir to.”⁸⁶ In social gospelers such as Walter Rauschenbusch, narrowly individualistic ways of thinking were seriously challenged. In so doing, as one contemporary put it, these radical reformers threatened to “commit a Christianity of nineteen centuries to a philosophic theory not yet out of the cradle.”⁸⁷ Rauschenbusch applied the gospel message not to the individual but to the corporate entity. The scriptural promise “Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like

⁸³ T. T. Shields, *The Doctrines of Grace*, 32.

⁸⁴ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980’s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 141.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 191, 216. Cf. Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind; Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada. 1839-1918* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), 169. Note the discussion of the Postmillennialism of Church Union; cf. Phyllis Diane Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992).

⁸⁶ W. F. P. Faunce, quoted in Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963), 192.

⁸⁷ W. F. P. Faunce, quoted in May, 192.

crimson they shall be as wool” was a promise to the nation as a whole. “Religious individualism,” he said, “was a triumph of faith under abnormal conditions and not a normal type of religious life.”⁸⁸ Shields later attacked this collectivism in religion as he found it in the United Church:

Indeed, instead of Christianizing individuals, our friends of the United Church conceive it to be the church's function to 'Christianize the social order'. They no longer evangelize individuals, but 'evangelize life' -whatever that means. The gang-plow, the seed-drill, the machine binder, the power threshing-machine, the line production, the chain-store, mass buying, political collectivism -all this in principle is to be employed by the church in the execution of its mission....Man may seek to devise some other way of improving society, but we are convinced that the only way to 'Christianize the social order' is to secure the regeneration of every individual of which the social order is composed. The only way to 'Evangelize life' is to evangelize the individual....⁸⁹

The fatal flaw of the Social Gospel for Shields, was a faulty view of man:

What silly nonsense this whole doctrine of socialism is, that if you give people better wages and better houses, better education, better food, better circumstances in general, they will become better men. ... Put a pig in a parlour and there will be a change, but it will not be in the pig! And our great requirement is that God should come to us, and begin with us and make us new! ... That is the divine program. You cannot build a new society with natural unregenerate men. If we are going to have a new society, that we talk so much about, we shall have to have it made up of new men. There are some people who seem to think that God is running some kind of a repair shop ... God repairs nothing. He makes all things new.⁹⁰

Human depravity for Shields was the inescapable fact of human existence and divine revelation. He was clear in his teaching that the biblical doctrine of original sin included all in sin. “By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned:’ - everybody. There is no escape from that comprehensive word of three letters. We were born in sin, born with a bias against God, born with a tendency toward sin, born on the downward road where it is easier to do wrong than it is to do right, born with a consciousness, every one of us, of that tremendous fact.”⁹¹ He concluded, “We do not measure up; we have gone astray; we have

⁸⁸ Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1907), 10.

⁸⁹ T. T. Shields, “Collectivism in Religion,” *GW* 16:8, 1 July 1937, 3.

⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, “Behold, I Make All Things New,” *GW&PA* 30:37, 3 January 1952, 4.

⁹¹ T. T. Shields, *The Doctrines of Grace*, 100.

missed the mark.” Appealing to an amusing story he noted: “I read the morning smile the other day in which the student said to the Principal, ‘I do not think I deserve this zero mark.’ ‘Neither do I,’ said the Principal, ‘but that happens to be the lowest mark we can give you just now.’” For Shields, this was the story of the whole human race: “Well we are all marked down to zero, that is all. We have gone astray; we cannot pass the examination; we cannot attain to the Divine standard; we are not equal to what is required for admission to the presence of God.” He was quick, however, to distance himself from the notion of ‘utter depravity:’ “It does not say that every man is as bad as he might be, but it does say the every man has failed to be as good as God requires him to be.”⁹²

The impact of the two World Wars did more than any other thing to shake the optimistic view of the social gospelers. In both wars Shields was quick to draw the stark implications about man’s moral depravity. During the First World War he published a book of eight addresses entitled *Revelations of the War*. In two articles, “The War and Human Nature” and “‘Culture’ and Evolution,” Shields demonstrated the bankruptcy of Social Darwinism and the optimistic view of man’s potential. “We have in the present war,” he argued, “on a stupendous scale, a clinic in unregeneracy.” He posed the rhetorical question: “What answer do your newspapers, so full of stories of destruction and death, make to the assumption that human nature has changed for the better? What confirmation of the melancholy truth of the text [Romans 8:6, 7] is afforded by the bloody fields of Flanders, of Poland, Galicia, and Serbia?”⁹³ Later during the Second World War he would comment in a similar vein:

I remember having some part in a controversy on that subject [the evil of human nature] years ago, when a certain professor mocked at the idea of total human depravity. “We are not depraved. There is a bit of the angel in all of us, and it is the business of the gospel to discover the angel, to clear away the debris, so that the angel can be revealed.” So the professor taught. How would you find the angel in Hitler, and those who have followed him? Angels! If so they are of an ugly hue. The truth of the almost infinite capacity for evil of fallen human nature has surely been borne in upon the world in these recent days!⁹⁴

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ T. T. Shields, *Revelations of the War: Eight Sermons* (Toronto: The Standard Publishing Co., c. 1915), 11.

⁹⁴ T.T. Shields, “A Name Which is Above Every Name,” *GP&PA* 24:1, 3 May 1945, 7.

For the Calvinistic Shields, human depravity no less than Divine Sovereignty demanded a monergistic approach to salvation. Salvation must be all of God:

I want none of your Arminianism. I do not want you to put me on an elevator and tell me that there is a steel rope from the top to the bottom, but that it is connected to the cage by a little bit of hemp. I want it to be steel all the way through. If you could show me that my salvation is conditioned upon any human effort, upon any degree of human merit, howsoever infinitesimal it may be, then you would have destroyed my hope of ever reaching heaven. But when I learn that my glorious Lord is the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, and that it is all of God, and all of grace, I can say, Hallelujah, I am saved with an everlasting salvation.⁹⁵

Considering Shields' predominantly Calvinistic construct, it is no surprise then that at some point in his early Jarvis Street ministry a significant clash would occur. Being confronted in his own church with a "liberal religion that de-emphasized belief in God's sovereignty and encouraged belief in man's ability," Shields' resolve hardened in proportion to the measure in which the opposition revealed itself. Shields, with his focus on the eternal glories of a sovereign God, could never be impressed by the culture of respectability which fixated on the temporal glories of human accomplishment. Nor would he ultimately be cowed by displays of prestige either in the secular realm or the sacred. He was increasingly appalled by exhibitions of "conspicuous consumption," and an apparent enslavement to worldly entertainment.⁹⁶ To the consternation of the social elite whose comfortable and hedonistic religion he opposed, Shields appealed for an entire separation from the world of materialism and pleasure. Nor did he flinch when confronted by their threats of financial impoverishment! In the end, he could not compromise for to do so was to compromise the message of the gospel. An understanding of God's sovereignty and human depravity was critical to Shields' understanding of salvation by grace alone.

It should not be supposed, however, that the first decade of Shields' ministry in Jarvis Street was a continual battle between Shields and the opposing forces within the church. These controversies were gradual in their development, and for many years

⁹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Doctrines of Grace*, 42, 43.

⁹⁶ "Conspicuous consumption" was a descriptive phrase used by Wilson to describe the shift away from "modesty as the primary lifestyle characteristic for many businessmen." Cf. Wilson, 402.

Shields worked, at least on the surface, in apparent harmony with the leading members of the social elite within his church. Speaking of the first years of his ministry, Shields commented: “During these years there was never a ripple on the surface of the tranquil waters of our church life. We lived and wrought together as harmoniously and happily as is possible to mortal men.”⁹⁷

Throughout this first decade of the Jarvis Street pastorate, Shields threw himself into the work of ministry with typical abandon. Though there were many demands made upon him, he regarded his first task as being that of the preacher of the Bible. He devoted a great deal of his time to study and the preparation of the messages he preached from week to week. Responding at least in part to the desire of the deacons to make Jarvis Street a preaching centre when they called him to the pastorate, Shields was anxious to comply.⁹⁸ As noted above, this focus eventually led to competition with his choir and hostility from some within the church who had no patience for lengthy sermons. When the matter eventually surfaced some years later, Shields declared to one reporter: “When a man is moved by the Spirit, I contend that you cannot limit him to 20 minutes.” Some also objected to this focus to his ministry because it tended to limit the number of visits he could make to members of his congregation. Shields argued that he “endeavored to visit cases of sickness, bereavement and other deep sorrow, but otherwise the bulk of the visiting was left perforce to his assistant.” The complaint, he argued, arose “from a misconception of a minister’s duties.”⁹⁹ The *Toronto Star* reporter who was investigating the growing controversy reported the rather simplistic attitude of one member: “At a meeting not long ago one lady had suggested that for seven weeks in the year all ministers should be required only to preach two sermons on Sunday and one on Wednesday night, having the rest of the week free to attend to visiting. Only ‘canned sermons’ could be prepared without hard work.”¹⁰⁰

Though the process of reformation within Jarvis Street took a lot longer than Shields’ later reflections seemed to indicate, Shields gradually did shift the focus of ministry in the church. Speaking of Jarvis Street’s musical reputation, he stated: “Well

⁹⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 24.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁹ “Jarvis Street Baptists Unit [sic] for Dr. Shields,” *TDS*, 6 May 1920, 8.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

that didn't last very long and this church became rather a preaching centre than a centre of music."¹⁰¹

Introduction to Social Reform

Although he exercised uncharacteristic patience throughout this first decade of ministry in Jarvis Street, Shields was clearly frustrated by the measure of worldliness he encountered within the walls of his own church. Perhaps as a mark of this frustration, or perhaps as a means of alleviating his growing impatience, Shields turned his attention to the world outside his ecclesiastical purview. In years to come, Shields' name became a media favourite. His public renown would in large part come from his exploits in the sphere of social activism. He first came to the attention of the Toronto media in 1912. Within two years of taking up his tenure in Jarvis Street Baptist Church he was already throwing in his lot with the city's social reformers. When the St. Clair affair erupted in September 1912, Shields was front and centre in the battle with city officials that ensued. When Rev. R. B. St. Clair, the secretary of the Toronto Vigilance Association, published and distributed a pamphlet exposing the indecent performance of "The Darling of Paris" that had been presented in Toronto's Star Theatre, he was arrested and convicted for "circulating obscene literature."¹⁰² The irony of the fact that a prominent clergyman could be arrested for circulating obscenity while the police morality squad refused to lay charges against the theatre itself was too much for many of the outraged citizens of Toronto. Three prominent clergymen denounced the whole proceeding but Shields particularly dominated the headlines with his suggestion that "An open cesspool in front of the City Hall would be less injurious to the public health than that place of so-called entertainment is to the moral health of those that frequent it."¹⁰³ Shields deliberately courted the newspapers. According to the *Globe* reporter, Shields announced his title "How the Devil's Work is Covered Over in

¹⁰¹ T. T. Shields, "Thirty fifth Anniversary address," May 1945, audio tape, JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁰² "Judges Comment on St. Clair Bulletin," *The Globe*, 27 November 1912, 9. The Toronto Papers gave prominent coverage to this issue. For further reading on this issue see Paul Wilson, "Caring for Their Community: The Philanthropic and Moral Reform Efforts of Toronto's Baptists, 1834-1918," in *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, ed. Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson, (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 219-160; cf. also Lyndsay Campbell, "A Slub in the Cloth: the St. Clair Affair and the Discourse of Moral reform in Toronto, 1912-1913." Paper presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Law and Society Association, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario (June 1996).

¹⁰³ "Theatre Worse than Open Cesspool," *The Globe*, 30 September 1912, 8; Cf. "Clergymen Condemn Way Police Censors do Work," *TDS*, 30 September 1912, 3.

Toronto” and held up his “manuscript and said he took full responsibility for all he said, and hoped the newspapers would enlarge his audience.” As for Staff Inspector Kennedy, Shields noted “that he was utterly disqualified to be a judge of moral questions, as disqualified for his special work as one would be for Medical Health Officer who would recommend an open sewer down Yonge street.” Noting the hypocrisy of city officials he pointed out that he had read of some who “were denounced for straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, but here are some that strain at a pamphlet and swallow a theatre.”¹⁰⁴ In a manner that would characterise his later dealings with public officials, Shields defied and taunted the governing authorities:

After what I have said you must not be surprised to hear that I have been arrested by the edict of the sultan of the Morality Department and duly photographed and measured. And disinclined and unaccustomed as I am to the work of scavenger, I am disposed to feel that such an experience would not be altogether unwelcome, because of the opportunity it would afford me to assist the Morality Department to clean house. I would not promise under such circumstances to use a dustless and noiseless vacuum cleaner.¹⁰⁵

In this first public skirmish Shields had much cause to be encouraged. Due in part to his agitation for the reform of the police board, a citizens’ committee of “One Hundred” was established to protest the situation further. A formal call was issued to the citizens of Toronto for a mass meeting. This call was signed by “fifty-two prominent men” among which were the signatures of T. T. Shields and his deacon James Ryrie.¹⁰⁶ When the meeting was convened at Massey Hall on November 1, Ryrie was the chairman and Shields was one of the featured speakers. Shields was also prominent as one who presented resolutions pertinent to the reconstitution of the Police Commission. Four thousand citizens were in attendance.¹⁰⁷ The meeting also saw the formation of a committee of forty “for the purpose and with authority to convene public meetings of citizens, when in its opinion such meetings are desirable in the interests of public morals....” Again Shields was included in the committee and it is clear that he took his role seriously. When he visited London, England, three years later he took the opportunity as a member of the committee to make inspection of a local theatre. Mistaken for a member of the Lord Chamberlain’s office

¹⁰⁴ “Theatre Worse than Open Cesspool, 8.” cf. Matt. 23:24.

¹⁰⁵ “Theatre Worse than Open Cesspool,” 8.

¹⁰⁶ “Fifty-Two Names Signed to Call” *The Globe*, 26 October 1912, 9.

¹⁰⁷ “Clean House, Demand of 4,000 Citizens,” *The Globe*, 2 November, 1912, 9.

Shields delighted in making the manager squirm. “The thing was remarkable for its silliness” remarked Shields, “it would be very tame in the Star in Toronto. I learned something for the Committee of Forty, & incidentally gave the manager an uncomfortable quarter of an hour.”¹⁰⁸ In the St. Clair affair, the public pressure was too much, charges were laid against the manager of the Star Theatre, and despite the Toronto mayor’s protests, changes were made to the criminal code and the police board was enlarged.¹⁰⁹

At Work in the Denomination

In his first decade of service to Jarvis Street, Shields was, as ever, characterized by industrious work habits and a broad vision. Though the demands of such a large and important church were undoubtedly very heavy, Shields did not limit his energies merely to the church itself. Though a significant amount of his time was committed to study and the preaching ministry at Jarvis Street, another important component of his time and effort was dedicated to denominational duties. Throughout this decade Shields was very actively involved in the inner workings of the denomination. A quick glance through the pages of *The Baptist Year Book* for this period demonstrates something of the measure of that commitment. Every year Shields was named to various standing committees. Judging by some of the resolutions presented to the convention over the years by Shields, which represented the substance of their work, his appointment to these committees was not merely honorary. It is clear that even in these minor roles Shields took his task very seriously. The range of his involvement was also quite impressive as indicated by the varying character of the committees he served. In 1910 he was found on the “Committee on Baptist Union of Canada,” and the “Committee on Evangelistic effort.” In 1911 he moved the report on Baptist Union and was an active participant in the subsequent discussion.¹¹⁰ He was named that year to the “Committee to consider matters raised by the Superannuation Board concerning the McMaster endowment,” as well as the “Committee on Ministerial Education.” In 1912 he was given duties on the “Ministerial

¹⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” (Pen Triplicate Book containing a carbon copy of circular letters to family members, summer 1915), 23 July 1915, JBCA, Toronto. (Hereafter “1915 Letter Diary”).

¹⁰⁹ “Indictment Follows Charges of St. Clair,” *The Globe*, 11 December 1912, 9; cf. “Radical Amendment to Criminal Code,” *The Globe*, 5 December, 1912, 9.

¹¹⁰ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1911, 29.

Credential Committee,” and continued his work on the “Committee on Ministerial Education.” His involvement in the latter committee would continue throughout the remaining years of this decade and beyond. In 1913 he was placed on four committees. In addition to his ongoing role with the Education Committee, he was also given responsibilities on the “Committee to discuss possibility of a Forward Movement,” a “Committee to report on closer ties of the convention with the Grande Ligne Mission,” and a “Special Committee regarding Superannuation and publication boards.” Over the next few years Shields became heavily involved promoting a Forward Movement in the Baptist denomination. Also his interest was particularly sparked in the work of the Grand Ligne mission and his appointment may well have been the product of his active discussion of the issue on the convention floor.¹¹¹ The following convention he presented the motion that read in part: “...the time has come when the Grande Ligne Mission should be made an integral part of this Convention’s Mission and Educational work; and that we express the hope that the Board of the Grande Ligne Mission will immediately take steps toward that end.”¹¹² Over the subsequent years to the end of the decade Shields’ involvement with many of these committees continued unabated. His work with the “Committee on Evangelism,” and the “Spiritual Aims Committee” in 1918 and 1920, also reflected something of his burden for the denomination as he fought for the ideals of evangelistic outreach and Spiritual growth within his own church.

These were minor positions within the administrative machinery of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, but Shields quickly rose in prominence in these circles and soon served as a board member as well. Over the next few years Shields was appointed to the Western Board, the Home Missions Board and the Western Missions Board. For most of the years of his participation in the Home Missions Board he served as First Vice Chairman. In 1920 Shields was also appointed to the Board of Governors of McMaster University, a position from which he would champion the fundamentalist fight against the growing liberalism creeping into the school and the denomination at large.

¹¹¹ The Grande Ligne Mission was the first Protestant mission in the Province of Quebec and was founded by Henrietta Feller in 1835. See Albert Azro Ayer, *Historical Sketch of The Grande Ligne Mission* (Grande Ligne, Quebec: 1898) <http://www.archive.org/details/cihm_05846> (Jan. 11, 2010).

¹¹² “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1912, 23.

By virtue of his growing involvement in the inner workings of denominational life, Shields was gradually introduced to the incipient struggle of the traditionalists in the denomination with the proponents of modern scholarship. In Ontario the fundamentalist/modernist controversy can be traced to McMaster University and its appointment of professors who actively challenged traditional views of inspiration. The debate first surfaced with the appointment of I. G. Matthews to the Chair of Hebrew in 1904 with a discussion “at the convention held at Jarvis Street.”¹¹³ The debate was rekindled in 1910 when Dr. Elmore Harris made “certain charges” against Matthews relative to the inspiration issue “in the Senate of McMaster University.”¹¹⁴ The matter came before the convention in Bloor Street church in October, 1910, with the report of the committee appointed to investigate Harris’ charges. This also marked Shields’ first involvement in the controversy. Shields was persuaded by his old friend John MacNeill to second a motion that ended the debate by leaving the matter to the McMaster Board of Governors to oversee. Shields long regretted this action which he later claimed he did in ignorance and naiveté.¹¹⁵ It did provide, however, an excuse to challenge the university when the issue arose again.

Not long after this convention debate, Shields took up his pen to further champion the cause of biblical inspiration. Late in 1910, the editor of *The Canadian Baptist* announced a new series of articles entitled “The Altar Fire.” He noted: Mr. Shield’s [sic] well known ability in thought and expression, and his experience in handling Biblical subjects in sermon and address, assure us that these articles will be read with profit and pleasure.¹¹⁶

Shields’ first instalment appeared December 15, 1910. Using the Old Testament image of the burning bush, Shields set out to examine the character of divine revelation and its final manifestation in the Bible which is “lit up with a divine light that is incomparable.”¹¹⁷ It is clear from the outset that Shields intended this series as a defence of biblical authority against the growing attacks of modernist scholarship. Alluding to the

¹¹³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 38.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 44-45.

¹¹⁶ “Editorial Comment,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 8 December 1910, 1.

¹¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Altar Fire; A Fire Out From Before the Lord,” *CB*, Vol. 56, 29 December 1911, 4.

Biblical records of Babel and Jacob's vision, Shields asked rhetorically where the Bible derived its authority.¹¹⁸ He noted "the world of difference between ... two contrasting points of approach," one representing the "upward climb of man to God," and the other depicting "the divine revelation of the way God has ordained" for man to come to God.¹¹⁹ Shields raised the question to champion the notion of divine revelation against the modernist and rationalistic forces that were currently advocating the notion of human ascent. As the October convention seemed to suggest, the onslaught against the integrity and authority of the scriptures was already finding its way into the very heart of evangelical and now Baptist circles. Though Shields had seconded a successful amendment to Harris' motion of censure, a compromise solution leaving the matter to the judgment of McMaster's board of Governors, it is clear that issue was close to his heart. The article represented Shields' opening shot in a vicious battle that would dominate his attention in years to come. Finding the same root causes in this battle as those that brought the world to war in 1914, Shields' militant approach to this question was so enflamed by the end of the First World War that he would be propelled into the forefront of the movement that stood for the defence of scriptural authority at all costs.

The importance of the Bible for Shields was so significant that at least one interpreter has been led to accuse Shields of losing his balance altogether, and displacing the centrality of Christ with the centrality of scripture.¹²⁰ This claim is exaggerated and it is clear in this earliest public challenge to modernism's assertions that Shields had not overinflated the Bible's place: "There was a divine revelation long before there were any Scriptures," noted Shields, "they are but the record of that revelation."¹²¹ For Shields the vehicles of God's self-revelation were many and over the course of the following months, by using the Old Testament imagery of "Altar Fire," Shields used the column to examine the process by which God gave his revelation to man. In his January 19th instalment of "The Altar Fire," Shields spoke of the infallibility of Christ as the final and penultimate revelation God gave to man and in so doing provoked the first controversy of many that

¹¹⁸ For the tower of Babel see Genesis 11:1-9; for Jacob's vision of the ladder from Heaven see Genesis 28:12 - 15.

¹¹⁹ T. T. Shields, "The Altar Fire: Unused Paths to the Shining light," *CB*, Vol. 56, 15 December 1910, 3.

¹²⁰ Mark Parent, 2.

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, "The Altar Fire," 3.

were to come.¹²² Though his own participation in the controversy was minor, the issues raised were not, and in many ways presaged the war that was to consume the convention nearly a decade later.

Shields' growing popularity within the denomination also meant an increased number of speaking engagements. Some of these were denominational events, and twice in these years he was a featured speaker at the annual convention. In 1911 he gave the Home Missions address, "Some Home Mission Essentials."¹²³ In the 1918 convention he was the host pastor and gave the closing address on his experiences in England and France at the close of the war. The sermon was particularly notable for the lessons he drew "for the churches from the experiences of the Great War."¹²⁴ Throughout these years he was also frequently used for ordinations, association meetings and various local or specialized conventions. He received numerous invitations from sister churches within the denomination and even some from neighbouring Presbyterian and Methodist churches with which he maintained a good relationship. His speaking engagements also continued to take him far and wide. He was a featured speaker at Moody Church, Chicago and received invitations from a number of churches in New York.

This was also the period in which Shields realized a life-long dream, that of preaching in the famous Metropolitan Tabernacle of C. H. Spurgeon. His boast from previous years of rising "to heights no McMaster man ever dreamed of" was now realized.¹²⁵ His first visit was arranged by the friend he first met in Vancouver in 1908, Rev. T. I. Stockley, the pastor of West Croydon Tabernacle.¹²⁶ Four more times during this decade Shields made the arduous trip to England by ship to exchange pulpits with his friend A.C. Dixon, who was by this time the pastor of the famous London church. Shields' repeated visits led some observers to begin to compare him to C. H. Spurgeon

¹²² This controversy surrounded the question of *Kenosis* and the degree to which Christ emptied Himself of His divine glories in His incarnation. Shield's emphatic insistence upon Christ's infallibility raised questions for some of the reality of His true humanity. If Christ knew no limitation in the sphere of knowledge, then His true humanity was open to question. Shields' discussion of this point has led Mark Parent to charge him with a Christology which was "monophysistic and docetic." Parent, vi.

¹²³ "Proceedings," *BYB*, 1911, 24.

¹²⁴ "Proceedings," *BYB*, 1918, 34.

¹²⁵ Dallimore, 14.

¹²⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 35; *Sermons Preached*, 1908; T. T. Shields "Letter Diary," 21 July 1915.

himself, and eventually earned him the appellation, “The Canadian Spurgeon.”¹²⁷ A leading American fundamentalist, Dr. W. B. Riley, even after the rupture of their relationship, would call Shields “The Spurgeon of the American Continent.”¹²⁸ Three of Shields’ trips to England, in 1915, 1917 and 1918, were during the war years, and the experiences gained in those adventures made a lasting impression upon Shields and are in many ways a key to understanding his subsequent development. Judging by comments made to his family in his correspondence from this period, it almost seemed as if Shields was angling for and expecting a call to the Tabernacle in the event that Dixon were to withdraw.

In one such letter Shields wrote extensively on how much more qualified he was for the role than was the “American” Dixon. His comments were a response to the flattery of his deacon, Edmund Burke, who had written to Shields in England to report on Dixon’s ministry in Jarvis Street. When he commented “Our regular pastor can do as well,” Shields launched into a critical comparison of himself to Dixon based on his own British heritage. Shields was derisive of the fact that Dixon was an “American type preacher.” According to Shields, Dixon was “rather an evangelist of the Chapman order than a great preacher. He has great popular gifts; but they say here that he tells the same stories over and over again.” Not only was Dixon an entertainer, his stories could not resonate with a British audience. “They all feel ... that the Statue of Liberty looms so large, that the British lion can’t be seen in its true proportions. You can easily imagine how heroic illustrations drawn altogether from American history ... would appeal to a British audience - in this time of fearful carnage, when nearly every home is a home of mourning, and the United States has played the part of a selfish - money-snapping coward.”

Though Shields defended Dixon’s record on American neutrality he reflected clearly in his letter to his family the British sense of bitterness prevailing over America’s non-participation in the war. For Shields, who was intensely proud of his British

¹²⁷ “Dr. Shields, Baptist Warrior,” *TT*, 17 October 1927. Tarr credited the editor of the *British Weekly*. Sir W. R. Nicol’s for the title “The Canadian Spurgeon.”

¹²⁸ Rev. R. W. Bennett to T. T. Shields, 22 June 1938, “Shields Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

heritage,¹²⁹ Americans knew nothing of fighting for “honour.” “Everything,” said Shields of American values, was measured “by material standards.” “All this,” Shields observed, “will serve to show how beset with difficulties Dixon’s path is.” He noted that many felt that Dixon had long overstayed his welcome. His own situation provided a significant contrast to Dixon’s nationalistic disadvantages: “With a great price obtained I this freedom” - “But I was free born.”¹³⁰ One cannot become in heart & soul a citizen of any country by any process of naturalization. They cannot be born again. And with respect to earthly citizenship that cannot be.¹³¹

Nor was Shields content to rest his boast of superior qualifications on citizenship alone. He quickly entered into a discussion of his own homiletic prowess and how much better suited it was to this British audience. Shields believed that his sermons were more “solid” than those of Dixon. He boasted of the observation that “his sermons required such close attention.” He believed that both he and his brother had been taught to preach in “reasonable” terms. “We have both assumed that the Gospel was a reasonable thing designed for rational creatures. Hence you would find in Edgar’s sermons as in mine a good many therefores and not a few becauses.” Shields believed that “English audiences are prepared to listen to therefore sermons - sermons that produce their cause and bring forth their strong reasons. I have learned that I have been cultivating an English style, and the English recognize it.” Speaking of his experience in the previous week-night meeting, Shields described the contrast between British and North American audiences:

Last night, Thursday, I had an audience that would have packed Jarvis St. Church. Indeed, I am not sure they could have got in. ... I had a fine time - they were nearly shouting. I find that the thing that Canada and Americans demand in a preacher, England won’t put up with. And talk about the congregation being “intellectual,” you ought to see the libraries of some of them. They are trained and disciplined theologians - in short they are Spurgeon’s men.¹³²

Though Shields boasted that he made every effort publicly to support Dixon while occupying Dixon’s pulpit, his letters were replete with disparaging comparisons and

¹²⁹ Shields’ British pride characterized him throughout his life. This author, hearing the many stories of Shields from his followers, found that this element was prominent. Some humorously characterized Shields as being more British than Christian.

¹³⁰ A reference to Acts 22:28 “And the chief captain answered, ‘With a great sum obtained I this freedom.’ And Paul said, ‘But I was free born.’”

¹³¹ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 6 August 1915.

¹³² T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 6 August 1915.

commentary on Dixon. He found quite humorous the prayer made for Dixon by one of the Tabernacle's deacons: "O Lord, bless our dear Pastor, Dr. Dixon. Bless him every time he opens his mouth, and give him wisdom not to open it too often!"¹³³ When Shields' ability to stand in the pulpit and preach without notes was widely remarked upon in the London church, Shields had to relate to his family that "Dixon couldn't preach without notes unless it was an "old traveller."¹³⁴ As he was leaving, Shields had one more experience that he felt significant enough to comment on to his family:

And here was one almost alarming remark made by Deacon Hall - one of the most prominent ...[deacons], & he made it in the hearing of Mr. Edwards the Assistant Pastor. "When have you to leave?" Mr. Hall enquired. I said, "I expect to sail on the first ship leaving after Aug. 29th." "Oh", he said, "I wish you were going to stay with us altogether." He said it, I think almost without thinking, for he is not a light weight, and usually weighs his words.¹³⁵

From the tenor of his comments in these letters, there is little doubt that in 1915 Shields still nurtured the dream of becoming the pastor of this famous church.

The question of whether or not this call ever materialized is difficult. Arnold Dallimore, the historian and former student of Shields who often heard Shields talk about these experiences, argued that Shields went to England in 1919 after the resignation of Dixon fully expecting to receive the call to become the next pastor of Spurgeon's Tabernacle. However, there is no immediate evidence that the expected call materialized and Dallimore characterized Shields' reaction as one of bitter disappointment. Dallimore noted the peculiar hostility Shields developed towards Dixon's successor: "This was Rev. H. Tydeman Chilvers, and only those who knew T. T. can realize with what vehemence he regarded this preacher who was given the cherished position he felt ought to have been his own."¹³⁶ In Shields' detailed reflections upon these days in *The Plot that Failed*, there was not a single word of an actual call to the Tabernacle. Yet oddly, over 30 years later, Shields started making the claim that he had indeed received a call to the Tabernacle.

¹³³ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 6 August 1915.

¹³⁴ An "old traveller" was a sermon preached many times.

¹³⁵ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 6 August 1915.

¹³⁶ Arnold Dallimore *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalism* (Leamington: Unpublished manuscript c. 2001) 33.

There was a day when the officials of Spurgeon's Tabernacle met me at a luncheon, and said, 'We offer you the most honourable position in all the Christian world. We would like to invite you to become the minister of the most famous pulpit on earth.'¹³⁷

Dallimore attributed this claim to Shields' overactive imagination and disputed the claim: "No one who knew T. T. will believe that he could have experienced this crowning achievement, that Spurgeon's pulpit was plainly offered to him, that he let the opportunity pass, and that he didn't even make it known, for several years." Dallimore asked facetiously: "Are we to believe he let a quarter of a century come and go before he mentioned plainly the possibility that he said was given to him to fulfill his lifelong ambition?" He further observed of Shields, "He who could expend seven pages on reporting some minuscule event would not have allowed himself to overlook the possible fulfillment of a design cherished since his childhood without even devoting a paragraph upon it."¹³⁸

Perhaps what really happened will never be known for a certainty, but unquestionably some doubt can be cast on this interpretation of events.¹³⁹ Shields, in 1953, argued that he refused the call because of the battle brewing in Ontario: "I was solicited by the Deacons of Spurgeon's Tabernacle, London, and had only to say the word and I could have crossed the Atlantic and relieved myself of all this trouble. I stood because there was a principle at stake, and I felt that it would be utterly cowardly to retire from the field before the victory was won."¹⁴⁰

It should be noted that Shields' memory of events from this period remained sharp to the end of his life. Dallimore argued that the first example of this "imagination" was made in 1941. Yet even in 1947 Shields was relating details of his 1915 visit that were surprisingly accurate as compared to his 1915 correspondence.¹⁴¹ With such a keen

¹³⁷ T. T. Shields, "This Shall be Written for the Generation to Come; In Jarvis Street Twenty-Six Years Ago," *GW*, 26:22, 25 September 1947, quoted in Dallimore, 34.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Years later a contributor to *The Gospel Witness*, Dr. John Wilmot, speaking of Shields' call to the Metropolitan Tabernacle, stated: "But being the man of correctitude that he is, he declined consent to the proposed irregularity of his name being placed before the church in competition with another. Cf. John Wilmot, "Spurgeon's Betrayal Complete," *GW* 22:8, 24 June 1943, 9.

¹⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Great Contention," *GW&PA*, 31:31, 16 July 1953, 10.

¹⁴¹ Note for instance his impromptu reminiscences of his afternoon tea with Dr. John Clifford. See T.T. Shields, "Too Busy to Be Faithful," *GW&PA*, 26:21, 18 September 1947, 9. Other than some variation in

recollection of this period, one would have to argue that were Shields' claims not true that they were not "imagination," but deliberate falsifications. Furthermore, Shields' reasons for turning down the call sound very convincing. Shields was never one to run from a fight. From his early rebuke of his father for not going to Tiverton to settle an old score to his recent experiences in England observing the war effort, Shields believed himself to be a vital specimen of British honour, ready to fight for a principle, simply because it was the honourable thing to do. With the example of so many who had laid down their lives for the honour of England, the self-sacrifice involved in rejecting this call for the cause of righteousness in Canada, was little in comparison. His refusal to reveal for years the fact of the call could be understood as ministerial etiquette. At the time, such a boast might have proved embarrassing for the officials at the Tabernacle, and might have weakened his hand at home. Even in 1937, when Shields published *The Plot that Failed*, he may have felt promises made to the deacons in 1919 still to be binding. Indeed, Childers was pastor of the Tabernacle until 1935, and so publicizing the fact that he was a second choice only two years after his departure might have been in bad taste.¹⁴² In any case there is little doubt that 1919 was a critical year for Shields. Shields saw it as the turning point for Ontario Baptists. It is also obvious that he was beginning to develop an increased sense of his own importance to the cause. Indeed, it can be argued that due to the various honours that had been bestowed upon him during the war years, Shields developed an over-inflated view of his own importance.

In Shields' official account of these events, *The Plot that Failed*, Shields devoted a chapter to the first months of 1919 in which he chronicled events that had occurred just prior to his last visit to the Metropolitan Tabernacle. He noted the late convention date of 1918, usually held in October but this year held over until January of 1919 because of the Spanish influenza. In the events that followed, Shields and Jarvis Street figured prominently. The convention that was held in January was hosted by Jarvis Street, and Shields gave the closing address on his "Experiences in England and France." At the bequest of the British Ministry of Information, Shields had been given a grand tour of the

the generalizations of Clifford's age at the time, the description of the event fits well with his accounts at the time to his family." cf. T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 28 August 1915.

¹⁴² cf. Hunt, Jonathan, "Did AC Dixon Jump or Was He Pushed?" in *Met Tab < CH Spurgeon* <<http://charleshaddonspurgeon.wordpress.com/2006/07/12/a-short-history-of-the-met-tab>> (April 9, 2020).

war front, and he returned to the convention as something of a celebrity. In the 1919 convention, it was also proposed that the Baptists join the Forward Movement. As previously discussed, Shields took a prominent role in this, and again provided his own Church as the site for a prayer conference, February 24th to 26th, to promote the cause. Jarvis Street's pastors provided the administrative oversight for this whole movement. However, looming against this forward spiritual thrust was what Shields saw as the spectre of the soul-destroying menace of modernism as it infiltrated the churches of the denomination through the McMaster influence. Shields, furthermore, was led to believe that he was the only one who could do anything about the modernist threat. A number of significant events happened shortly before his departure that led him to his conclusion.

The first experience shaping his sense of the role he was destined to play was a visit from a long-time missionary. Miss Anna Murray, who had for many years been a missionary to India under the Ontario and Quebec Baptist Foreign Missionary Board, came to him with a peculiar request. She noted that she had been on furlough during which time she had "visited many parts of the convention territory." She related to Shields that what she had discovered left her "greatly depressed in spirit." "Dr. Shields," she said, "gray hairs are here and there upon our beloved Denomination, yet it knoweth it not." She went on to describe what she saw as the various evidences of its spiritual decline. She was particularly concerned that "Evangelistic passion, and loyalty to distinctively Baptist principles, seemed to be things of the past." Having prayed about the matter, she told Shields that God had turned her mind to him as "the only man in the Denomination who can do anything." She left him with the commission: "I am going back to the frontline trenches again, to face once more the blackness of heathendom, but I felt that before going I must come and lay this matter on your heart, and beg you in the name of the Lord to do something." Shields confessed that he "pondered Miss Murray's words very seriously, and sought the guidance of God as to whether I should do anything, and if so, what I ought to do."¹⁴³

A second significant event shaping Shields' subsequent actions was a visit from one of the professors of McMaster University. Professor E. M. Keirstead came to Shields with a warning that with the withdrawal of Professor Matthews the Chair of Hebrew and

¹⁴³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 95-96.

Old Testament exegesis was left empty. It was his observation that “there were influences already at work seeking to fill Professor Matthews’ place by one who would be far worse than he.” After a long discussion, Keirstead reiterated Murray’s sentiment: “Shields, you are the only man in the Denomination who can do anything to stop this drift.” Shields recounted the moment: “He had no idea what should be done, but he gripped my hand, and with tears literally streaming down his face, he said ... ‘Shields, in God’s name, do something.’”¹⁴⁴ Judging by the subsequent sequence of events, Shields was deeply moved by these appeals. His next actions constituted a pre-emptive strike that initiated a furious battle over the theological moorings of McMaster University, a fight that would span the best part of the next decade in Baptist circles.

Shields had professed to both of these individuals that he did not know what he could do. He was not long, however, in devising a strategy to strike hard at the university’s primary means of infiltrating the denomination at large. As noted above, Shields had long resented McMaster’s apparent attempts to control pastorates like patronage.¹⁴⁵ McMaster first introduced its students into the denominational churches through “summer field” appointments. These appointments were made “just before summer vacation” by the Superintendent of Home Missions, and Dr. Farmer, the Dean of Theology. Shields was keenly conscious of the growing number of complaints coming back from convention churches about “the character of the teaching given” during these summer visits “by some of the McMaster students.” Using his own position as First Vice Chairman of the Home Missions Board, Shields presented a proposal that struck at the heart of this arrangement. Justifying his actions on the fact that it was the Home Missions board which paid the salaries for these summer students, Shields proposed the formation of an Examining and Stationing Committee of the Home Mission board, which would assume this responsibility. “The plan,” said Shields, “was for this Committee, instead of the Home Mission Superintendent alone, to take the responsibility of interviewing every one of the ministerial students from year to year before he went to his field, and to find out from each one personally whether he was going out with the intention of preaching the gospel of grace or otherwise, what he had in his mind.” Two teachers from the

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

university could be present for the interviews “for the purpose of giving information, but who should have no vote as they were not members of the Home Mission Board.” By this means, the convention could directly control the infiltration of its churches by students given over to modernistic ideas. The board adopted the proposal and Shields wrote its constitution. However, the action was deeply resented and “vigorously opposed by McMaster University.”¹⁴⁶ Judging by subsequent events, the McMaster contingent settled into a determined opposition to Shields, and having a large number of its administrative heads in the membership of Jarvis Street itself, determined to strike back at him within his own church.

The second response taken by Shields had its roots in 1910. In that year’s convention Shields had seconded the compromise motion ending debate on Dr. Elmore Harris’ censure of Professor Matthews for his teachings concerning the matter of Biblical inspiration. The solution left the matter to the McMaster Board of Governors to superintend. In 1919 Shields reopened the matter with a formal letter to Dr. A. L. McCrimmon, the Chancellor of the university. This letter was dated the 3rd of May and was to be followed up with a mass mailing “to all the Pastors, Church Clerks, and as many more individuals in the Denomination as could be reached by mail” should his response be less than satisfactory.¹⁴⁷ Shields confessed in this letter “that in no other act of my public ministry have I found it so difficult to keep pace with my own conscience, as in refraining from protest against a situation which the resolution I supported was intended ... to remedy.”¹⁴⁸ Despite the inaction of the board for nearly nine years, Shields had held his peace. With the present vacancy in the Chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Shields felt the time had come to act. “The responsibility I assumed in seconding the Amendment referred to, at the convention of 1910,” wrote Shields, “compels me to address you now.”¹⁴⁹ He was “profoundly convinced” that the Senate and Board of Governors did not merit the convention’s trust. Now, however, the situation had arisen which finally provided an expedient means of correcting the problem and restoring the faith of the convention. Shields, was at pains to impress upon Chancellor

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 100.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 103, 104.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

McCrimmon the obligations the university was under. Shields noted that by “solemn resolution” the Convention was committed to the position taken in 1910, a position reiterated by “the Conference held in the Jarvis Street Church in February last.” He concluded:

... it provided unmistakable and overwhelming proof that the Denomination as a whole still holds the conviction of the divine inspiration of ‘the Old and New Testaments, and their absolute supremacy and sufficiency in matters of faith and practice’; and the Convention has strictly enjoined the Senate and Board of Governors ‘to see that the teaching in the Institution (McMaster University) is maintained in harmony therewith.’¹⁵⁰

The point at hand, was a warning about the appointment to be made: “I am firmly of the opinion that it would be little short of disastrous for the Senate and Board to appoint to the Chair of Hebrew a professor holding views on that subject similar to the views held by the professor retiring.”¹⁵¹ When McCrimmon’s response came back, Shields and an associate within the Home Missions Board felt it was unsatisfactory and so they began to make preparations for the mass mailing of the letter to the convention at large. When Shields left for England, this preparation was being undertaken. Word did come to Shields in England that the university had conceded, and a satisfactory appointment was being made. The mailing was suspended. However, Shields by this time was well aware that the fight had just begun. There can be no doubt that any decision on accepting a British pastorate at this juncture would have been profoundly influenced by the events unfolding in Canada. Furthermore, over the course of the past few summers spent ministering in England, Shields had become deeply convinced of the tragic consequences and spiritual havoc that had been caused by modernistic teaching in Britain since the time of Britain’s “down grade.”¹⁵² The decision he had to face in the event of a call to the Metropolitan Tabernacle was a choice between occupying C. H. Spurgeon’s pulpit or fighting Spurgeon’s fight in a land that had not yet fallen to the enemy. Judging by what is already evident about Shields’ character and his growing militancy after his war

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 110. This is a reference to the “Down Grade Controversy” engaged in by C. H. Spurgeon in the late 19th century and which Shields felt he was struggling with.

experiences, his choice was obvious. Apparently, the appeal of becoming Canada's Spurgeon trumped the long held dream of being the pastor of Spurgeon's Tabernacle.

When Shields returned home in 1919, he very quickly became embroiled in one of the bitterest controversies ever to disturb the peace of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. The controversy was already growing at an alarming rate before Shields' departure, and by the time of his return had exploded onto the pages of *The Canadian Baptist*. Though control of the theological direction of McMaster was hotly contested, the debate over Biblical inspiration was at the very heart of the contention. Shields had pinpointed this in his letter to McCrimmon dated May 3rd. On June 10th *The Canadian Baptist* printed the report of the Lindsay Association of Baptist Churches which contained a resolution affirming their adherence to the traditional view of the Scriptures. Significantly, the resolution was framed by Shields' brother, Rev. Edgar E. Shields:

That this gathering representative of the Whitby and Lindsay Association of Baptist Churches, reaffirm its adherence to the historic Baptist view with reference to the inspiration, inerrancy, and supremacy of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and express itself as being unalterably opposed to the ordaining of any man to the Baptist ministry who cannot unequivocally and unreservedly subscribe to that position; and that we request the Clerk of the Association to include this resolution in his report to *The Canadian Baptist*.¹⁵³

Though Shields later professed that he had not read the resolution at the time, it is clear that the two brothers were of the same mind in trying to prevent the modernistic teachings of McMaster from being disseminated throughout the convention. Their actions created something of a firestorm in response. Over the next several months the controversy was carried on in the pages of *The Canadian Baptist*. The publication of the Whitby-Lindsay resolution produced the complaint that the association's action was "Reactionary, Arbitrary and Superfluous."¹⁵⁴ Reaction came from both sides with a series of letters speaking to the opposing sides of the question. On the one hand the opinion was voiced that the resolution violated the traditional Baptist position on freedom of thought. The point, however, was quickly conceded in that ordination counsels would themselves

¹⁵³ "Associational Reports: Whitby-Lindsay Association," *CB*, Vol. 65, 26 June 1919, 16. Edgar Shields claimed authorship of the resolution in his letter, "Neither Reactionary, Arbitrary Nor Superfluous," *CB*, vol. 65, 24 July 1919, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Edgar Watson, "Reactionary, Arbitrary, Superfluous," *CB*, Vol. 65, 10 July 1919, 5.

be superfluous if Baptists could not maintain theological standards of their prospective pastors. The argument quickly turned to the definition of inspiration itself and what constituted essentials of the faith. Objectors to the traditional view of inspiration desired simply an idea of inspiration that did not demand the notion of inerrancy:

... ministerial candidates should not be asked to ascribe to the view of inerrancy that accepts the “alleged scientific accuracy - geological, astronomical, biological, historical, ethical, anthropological, etc. - of the documents composing the Bible wherever these branches of science are touched upon or alluded to incidentally or otherwise from Genesis to Revelation.”¹⁵⁵

The conservative response, largely championed by Shields’ brother Edgar, denounced these higher critical challenges as “destructive criticism” that wrongly exalted reason and science over the Holy Spirit and faith, and led down the “rationalistic road” to no Bible and no faith, a “road ... to darkness and despair.”¹⁵⁶ Though E. E. Shields asserted that the debate was merely a “pleasant little fistic encounter between pygmies,” he quickly demonstrated the ideological magnitude of the debate and the diametric opposition of the views being defended.¹⁵⁷

The chief proponent of the higher critical position, Edgar Watson, tried vainly to minimize the matter insisting that they were making “a mountain out of a molehill.” With a superior air he said that he deplored the growing acrimony, and taking a last shot at Shields ended his participation in the debate: “I have read Mr. Shields’ last letter and very much regret that he has seen fit to descend, in his vehemence, to sarcasm, aspersions of ignorance and insinuations of destructive intent on my part.” He summarized the whole issue as merely a matter of tolerance. He decried the intolerance the Whitby-Lindsay resolution would bring: “The resolution has within it the seed of an intolerance worthy of the Middle Ages.”¹⁵⁸ However, he showed himself unwilling or unable to respond to the arguments of the conservatives. In his response to Watson’s “final word,” Shields charged him with retreating from the fight. He strongly challenged Watson’s accusations of ignorance and insinuation and indicated that Watson himself had descended to this level of controversy. He argued that Watson’s letters well

¹⁵⁵ Edgar Watson, “Of the Same Opinion Still,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 31 July 1919, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Edgar E. Shields, “Destructive Criticism,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 14 August 1919, 4.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Edgar Watson, “Mr Watson’s final Word,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 28 August 1919, 9.

demonstrated the significant character of the debate and the necessity of a convention-wide discussion of the matter. The dispute was nothing less than the battle for the Book, the Book upon which all their faith rested. To underscore the significance of the issue he expressed the first public suggestion of the necessity of separation over the matter: “I desire to express myself in a way that cannot be mistaken: I am prepared to-day, if necessary, painful and regrettable though it be, in no spirit of bitterness and with no desire but for the common weal, to vote to part company with those who lay destructive hands upon the Book of God.”¹⁵⁹ Although still some years in the future, separation would become a key plank in the fundamentalist platform.

Up to this point the debate had been carried on by members of the Whitby-Lindsay Association. However, the critical issues being discussed quickly awakened an interest throughout the convention. With the editorial of September 11, by D. E. Thomson, entitled “Inerrancy,” the fight had spread to the denominational leadership and to Jarvis Street. Thomson tried to defend a intermediate position arguing that “inspiration” concerned itself “with the spiritual content of the record and not necessarily with illuminating and inerrantly controlling the minds of the writers with reference to physical, scientific or historical facts.”¹⁶⁰ E. E. Shields again responded and made his appeal to the infallibility of Christ Himself who bore record to the historicity of these writings.

In response to the debate and quite possibly Shields’ earlier action establishing the Examining and Stationing Committee of the Home Mission Board, a pivotal editorial appeared in *The Canadian Baptist* in the October 2nd issue. Shields openly speculated that it had been written by a member of the faculty of McMaster University. This anonymous editorial constituted a blatant attack on the traditional understanding of inspiration. The author argued that the traditional view was archaic and in England had already largely passed from the scene. In an obvious jab at the Shields brothers he noted that “some crude theological views still prevail in many quarters to which some partially educated but very dogmatic preachers are still making loud proclamations of views and theories as

¹⁵⁹ Edgar Shields, “Unanswered,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 11 September 1919, 5.

¹⁶⁰ D. E. Thomson, “Inerrancy,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 11 September 1919, 3.

to the Scriptures, which were laid aside years ago in England and Scotland.”¹⁶¹ Shields was incensed by the article and particularly by the fact that it appeared “with full editorial authority” leading many to believe that it indicated “the present position ... of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, for which ‘*The Canadian Baptist*’ may be presumed to speak.”¹⁶² Where his brother had responded to the issue with vigorous argumentation, Shields responded with mockery and a call to war.

Apologizing at the outset for resorting to the “carnal” weapons of his antagonist, Shields immediately challenged the insinuations of ignorance and the author’s claim that the conservatives only attacked straw men:

In such controversies neither side has monopolized the practise of setting up straw men. I shall, however, on this occasion, endeavor to avoid this alleged common error - the more especially as a bag of chaff or thistle-down would more accurately represent my own estimate of the weight of “scholarship” and religious effectiveness represented in the reasoning of the article in question.¹⁶³

Having just returned from England with first-hand observations of the state of British Baptists, the article’s references to the situation in England particularly fuelled Shields’ retort. His opponent’s reference to the inspiration issues having been settled fifteen to twenty years ago in England, said Shields, was an inference that any who did not agree were “not intelligent Christian people.” If fifteen to twenty years behind, Shields concluded, “all such are to be editorially castigated as being either dullards or laggards.” Shields’ sensitivity to the matter of his own lack of a formal education was immediately evident in his accusations of intellectual snobbery and his belittling of the methods of modern scholarship. Such an approach, insisted Shields, reduced biblical scholarship to a “keep up with the Joneses” mentality. He likened it to the British lady he recently heard saying “We in England are rather amused at the effort of Canadians to keep up with the latest fashions.”¹⁶⁴ He concluded:

I make no apology for my irony. In my attitude toward the presumptuous arrogance of this faith-destroying thing that plumes itself in peacock feathers and struts around under the ridiculously assumed name of ‘scholarship,’ I have

¹⁶¹ “The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 2 October 1919, 8.

¹⁶² T. T. Shields, “Inspiration and Authority of Scripture,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 16 October 1919, 3.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

progressed from enquiry to amazement, from discovery to disgust, and from indignation to contempt.¹⁶⁵

He did not profess to know yet what the response of Baptists in Ontario would be to the editorial but boasted that for himself “I am proud to be classed in this connection with the ‘unlearned and ignorant men.’ One of the unmistakable badges of presumptuous ignorance in the realm of religion is the approval of the mechanical, ostentatious, oracular, religious, ‘scholarship’ of the much-exalted and smugly complacent ‘modern’ academician. From its imprimatur may I by God’s good grace, for ever be delivered!”¹⁶⁶

As to the British situation of which the editorial bragged, Shields was critical: “Everywhere the churches are losing ground. All sorts of conferences are being held, and innumerable schemes devised to regain the influence the churches once exercised. ...the fruits of the new view of the Scripture which your editorial recommends are the most damning evidence of its pernicious character that could possibly be adduced.”¹⁶⁷ In a companion piece entitled “Those ‘Settled Questions’ in the Old Land,” C. J. Holman, a member of Shields’ church and a long-time supporter, provided some statistics supporting Shields’ claims:

The decrease of membership in evangelical churches of the United Kingdom in the ten years from 1906 to 1916 is as follows: Baptists, 26,712; Congregationalists, 9,300; Wesleyan Methodists, 49,053. And in the same period the scholars in the Sunday Schools have decreased as follows: Baptists, 59,026; Congregationalists, 104,554; Wesleyan Methodists, 130,409.¹⁶⁸

Also responding to the article in question and its admission that “archaic views” of scripture still held in some American churches, Holman contrasted their prosperity with the British model. He looked to the record of the Southern Baptists who clearly held to these “archaic views” and found that where the British spiritual fortunes were rapidly waning, Southern Baptists were steadily advancing. Noting the evangelistic fruit of their seminary he observed “in one year the staff of that seminary, with the assistance of the students, had in evangelistic meetings held by them 10,252 professions of faith, and

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Charles J. Holman, “Those ‘Settled Questions’ in the Old Land,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 16 October 1919, 4.

6,080 were immersed in Baptist churches on profession of their faith ... all in one single year.”¹⁶⁹

1919 was also the big year for the significant evangelistic thrust that Shields himself was heavily involved in promoting. With the Forward Movement well under way in their various associations, Shields asked the pertinent question: “Forward whither? And to what?” “I am personally of the opinion,” he continued, “that the farther we move ‘forward’ in the direction in which your article would lead us the farther we depart from ‘the faith once for all delivered to the saints.’”¹⁷⁰ Announcing his intention “to move an amendment to the motion to adopt the report of the Publication Board” at the upcoming convention, Shields concluded: “I send you this, my indignant protest ... in the earnest hope that it may be possible to demonstrate at the coming Convention, what I feel certain is the fact, that the Denomination as a whole still stands true to its historical position in its present attitude to the question of the inspiration and authority of scripture.”¹⁷¹

The 1919 Ottawa convention promised to be a very contentious occasion. The call to war had been issued and Shields summoned his troops. He asked that the editor of *The Canadian Baptist* publish a letter informing all the churches of the importance of sending its full complement of delegates to the convention to vote on the crucial issue. The editor refused, and Shields sent the letter directly to every pastor in the denomination. He later realized the strategic advantage. Had he relied on publication in the *Canadian Baptist*, notification would have been given too late for most pastors to have made plans to attend. Instead many held special business meetings Wednesday evening and appointed delegates.¹⁷² Shields later reflected that “the result was that the delegation was the largest that, up to that time had ever been recorded as in attendance at a meeting of the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec.”¹⁷³

Shields went into the convention with a suspicion that “those who were responsible for the programme of the Convention” might be quite antagonistic to his position. His concerns seemed to be justified on Wednesday morning when the report of

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ T. T. Shields, “Inspiration ...” 4. The Biblical reference here is to Jude 1:3.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 137.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

the Publication Board was to be presented. A new innovation was introduced and it was announced that Rev. Edgar Watson was to preach a sermon that morning before the report was given entitled “The Church and the Changing Order.” Shields later noted “the sermon at a week-day morning service was itself an innovation, and the selection of Mr. Watson as the preacher, a man of whom few in the Convention had ever heard until he wrote to *The Canadian Baptist*, surely indicated that there was some official sympathy with the view he had expressed.”¹⁷⁴ With fifteen minutes left in the morning program Shields was finally given opportunity to present his amendment. Shields demonstrated a growing political shrewdness in his response. Realizing that the short time allotted to his amendment meant that no real discussion of the matter could occur before the lunch break where his opponents could then evaluate his amendment and plan their strategy, Shields forestalled them. He responded that because of the lateness of the hour he would refrain from making an amendment to the Publication Board’s report and instead present a resolution when the Resolutions Committee reported after lunch. When challenged immediately to publish his resolution, Shields responded with a thinly veiled threat of schism. Shields explained publicly to the President “What I really wanted was an unmistakable expression of the considered judgment of the Convention. If the Convention approved of the principles of the editorial at issue, I for one, wanted to know it; and I believed others had the same desire - that we might determine where our future fellowships were to be found.”¹⁷⁵ Shields boasted that at the conclusion of his address “the house fairly rocked with deafening applause.” The resolution was then presented. After a long preamble outlining the various reasons for presenting the motion, the resolution disapproving of the editorial was read. The declaration of disapproval was based on the fact that *The Canadian Baptist* had a “representative character as the organ of the Convention.” In this editorial it had commended to its readers “some new vague view of the Scriptures different from that to which the Convention declared its adherence in 1910, and upon which the denominational University is declared to be founded.”¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 142.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁷⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 147. A slightly amended version is recorded by *The Canadian Baptist*, reflecting the fact Shields in his summary comments added an expression of appreciation for the editor.

Prior to the convention Shields had shown the resolution to two men, one of whom had agreed to second the motion on the convention floor. Word reached Shields that last minute delays prevented this deacon from attending. When the second man was approached and asked to support the resolution he declined with an explanation that he had found a better way to deal with the issue. Shields felt betrayed and perhaps with good reason as the “better way” was soon put forward in the form of an amendment to his motion. After Shields’ resolution was seconded from the floor of the convention by Rev. W. W. McMaster, the Pastor of James Street Baptist Church, Hamilton, a compromise designed to protect the peace at any cost was presented:

That the convention reasserts loyalty to the Baptist positions: (1) That the Bible is the inspired Word of God, and is the sufficient and only authoritative standard in all matters of faith and practice, and (2) That the individual believer has an inalienable right to liberty of thought and conscience, including the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures in reliance on the illumination of the Holy Spirit. (3) At the same time the Convention strongly deprecates controversy at this time as to the interpretation in detail of our distinctive beliefs as uncalled for, and sure to minister to heart-burnings and divisions in our body, when we ought to be presenting a united front in grasping the opportunity of the hour.¹⁷⁷

Significantly and ominously for the future of Jarvis Street, the author of the amendment was none other than his own deacon, James Ryrie. The motion was seconded and championed by Rev. W. A. Cameron of Bloor Street Baptist church. When Cameron concluded his defence of the amendment he remarked: “And now, there is nothing left for Dr. Shields but to withdraw” Shields related the immediate reaction of the audience:

He did not complete his sentence; for that great assembly exploded like a British mine, and roared in reply, ‘Never! Never! Never!’ And then, apparently with measured speech, and as one person, that great crowd proceeded from their cries of ‘Never’, to ‘Sit Down! Sit down! Sit down!’ This ultimately was accompanied with a rhythmic stamping of the feet. In utter astonishment, Mr. Cameron raised his hand and said, ‘You need not shout; I can hear’, and stepped from the platform.¹⁷⁸

A reporter for the *Canadian Baptist* testified that the subsequent debate lasted five hours. In the end the “various amendments and substantive motions were withdrawn in favour of Dr. Shields’ resolution.”¹⁷⁹ At the vote, the motion passed with near unanimity, though

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁷⁹ Rev. Chas. Geo. Smith, “Report of the Convention,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 13 November 1919, 1.

a handful of “influential men of the Modernist group” voted against the resolution.¹⁸⁰ *The Associated Press* represented the debate as “a mere storm in the teacup.” The *Canadian Baptist* reporter had a very different take on the matter:

I must strongly dissent, however, from the flippant verdict published throughout Canada, through the agency of the Associated Press ... Nothing could be a greater travesty on the truth, or a worse libel on earnest Christian men. My own conviction of that ‘storm’ finds fullest expression in the dramatist’s solemn and stately word: ‘I have seen tempests, when the scolding winds have riv’d the knotty oaks, and I have seen the ambitious ocean swell and rage and foam, to be exalted with the threatening clouds. But never till to-night, never till now, did I go through a tempest dropping fire.’¹⁸¹

The denomination went on to pursue the Forward Movement and knew a momentary peace after the Ottawa Convention. However, the modernists were biding their time, and Shields was hardening his position. The calm that settled at the end of 1919 would in time prove to be but the “eye of the storm.”

His Rising Star

In many ways the decade 1910 - 1920 marked a high point in Shields’ career. Shields was pastoring the largest and most prestigious Baptist church in Canada, he regularly supplied the pulpit for the most famous Baptist Church of all in London England and was likely considered for a call there. In 1917 and 1918 two new honours were conferred upon him in the form of honorary degrees. When in the early part of 1917 Shields was informed of the intent of Temple University in Philadelphia to confer on him an honorary doctorate, he professed consternation. In his attitude toward ministerial degrees he was much like C. H. Spurgeon, perhaps from the same romantic wellspring of thought or by his great hero’s example itself.¹⁸² Spurgeon before him had regularly defied nearly all the conventions of ecclesiastical deportment. In the persona of John Ploughman he had quipped “there’s none so pleased at being dubbed a doctor as the man who least deserves it. Many a D.D. is fiddle-dee-dee.”¹⁸³ Shields himself commented:

¹⁸⁰ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 156.

¹⁸¹ C. G. Smith, “Report ...”, 2.

¹⁸² Concerning the Romantic aspect see Doug Adams, *Charles Haddon Spurgeon: Romancing The Gospel; A Nineteenth Century ‘Puritan’ Response to Evangelical Decline*. (Unpublished paper, 2004)

¹⁸³ C. H. Spurgeon, “All are not Hunters Who Blow the Horn” in *John Ploughman’s Pictures* (London: Passmore & Alabaster, Paternoster Buildings, 1906) 28.

I was very much disturbed by this communication, for I had never set much store by honorary degrees, or ministerial titles of any kind. I had rather favoured the idea that it was well that ministers should be appraised, like furniture in the natural wood without any finish upon it, and before any sort of putty or paint has been applied to make a good joint of a bad one.¹⁸⁴

The President and founder of Temple University, Dr. Russell H. Conwell, had some years before become a close friend of Shields and this furthered his discomfiture. Shields believed that his known friendship with Conwell would be seen as the cause “for the action of the University of which he was President.”¹⁸⁵ When Shields expressed his concerns to him, Conwell refused to discuss the matter saying only “That is the price you pay, my boy, for having been given a little measure of success.”¹⁸⁶ Shields was to receive the degree at the university’s commencement exercises in June. Shields resolved to discuss the issue with Conwell at a visit previously planned for April. Conwell had agreed to come to Jarvis Street for the night of April 13, 1917 to present in Jarvis Street his famous lecture “Acres of Diamonds.”¹⁸⁷ Noting Shields’ reluctance, Conwell took matters in his own hands. According to the various accounts the church was unusually packed, with people sitting even in the baptistery. Conwell opened his remarks in an uncharacteristic fashion with a description of Temple University. When he had finished his comments about the university he stated: “At a recent meeting of the trustees of this University I was authorized, as its President, on the occasion of my visit to Toronto, in the name of the University, to confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa* upon the Pastor of this church, which I have great pleasure in now doing.”¹⁸⁸ Shields remembered seeing “the choir first and then the entire congregation” of over two thousand people leaping to their feet, waving handkerchiefs and cheering wildly.¹⁸⁹ Within a year of Temple’s action McMaster University conferred their own honorary doctorate upon Shields. Again Shields expressed reluctance:

I was more embarrassed than ever. So I went to my friend, Dr. D. E. Thomson, K.C., Chairman of the Board of Governors, and showed him the Chancellor’s

¹⁸⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 65.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

¹⁸⁷ *The Canadian Baptist* announced the coming lecture and noted that “This lecture has been delivered more than five thousand times by Dr. Conwell.” “Personals,” *CB*, Vol. 63, 12 April 1917, 8.

¹⁸⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 69.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

letter, and asked what it meant. He said it meant exactly what it said, that it had been his desire, and the desire of others, that it should have been done long before, but that now he felt sure it was the desire of all concerned; and he assured me that he would be deeply disappointed and greatly grieved were I to decline to accept it.¹⁹⁰

Despite his reluctance, Shields felt constrained to accept the degree. Shields later confessed that “as the Temple degree had been thrust upon me, I could not now, without offence, decline McMaster’s proposal.”¹⁹¹ His response, though, seems to have been anything but gracious and underscores the fact that even in 1918 relations were already badly strained between Shields and McMaster’s Board of Governors. An article appearing some years later in *MacLean’s Magazine* described that scene:

Some of the senior men in the convention thought that a degree would be a fine way to butter him up – but they didn’t know Shields! One man who was there recalls. “In his speech of acceptance he did everything but throw his hood in the faces of the Senate. He told them he was under no illusions as to why they were giving him the degree and finished by saying if it weren’t for fear of insulting them he wouldn’t take it – after he’d been standing there insulting them for ten minutes!”¹⁹²

One critic noted: “but he did accept the honor - and that was just like Shields, too!”¹⁹³

Jarvis Street: The First Decade - An Analysis

It can be argued that the first ten years at Jarvis Street were for Shields the most significant and pivotal years of his career. Again, however, historians have tended to see the period differently. Leslie Tarr, true to his hagiographic approach, emphasized the positive characteristics of the period and entitled his chapter encapsulating the decade as “Ten Fruitful Years.” He particularly noted the positive relationship that Shields seemed to enjoy with his people. Though some differences arose from time to time, Tarr emphasized Shields’ skilful handling of the difficulties and characterized him as an able administrator and an excellent pastor. For Tarr it was a time of general prosperity for the church with an average growth of 114 per year. It was also the period in which Shields was afforded several great honours. Tarr used the fact that Shields was widely recognized

¹⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 71.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Gerald Anglin, “The Battling Baptist,” *Maclean’s Magazine*, 15 June 1949, 51.

¹⁹³ Dozois, 66.

as one of the leading figures in the Forward Movement and that he was awarded two honorary degrees as illustrative of his rising reputation within the denomination. For Tarr, the first decade at Jarvis Street was important as a foundational period, but was not particularly pivotal.¹⁹⁴

Dallimore, like Tarr, tended to emphasize the positive aspects of the decade. He did comment, though, on the “bitter and lasting nature” of the opposition to Shields’ call to the Jarvis Street pastorate. Despite that opposition, however, Dallimore observed that Shields’ preaching was “very well regarded by the overwhelming majority of the people of the Church.” He quoted Shields’ own observation that “The congregations increased until Sunday evenings the auditorium was invariably filled.”¹⁹⁵ Dallimore remarked on the efforts Shields made to refrain from public discord with public officials in both the ecclesiastical and secular domains, and, according to Dallimore, Shields had by 1919 largely been successful in retaining the high regards of most people. “Moreover,” commented Dallimore, “he had, as yet, retained the good will of the government, both of the provincial body in Toronto and the federal legislators in Ottawa and, as we have seen he was known to and respected by the government in England.”¹⁹⁶ Dallimore’s interpretation of the period focused on Shields’ pursuit of the pastorate of “the most prominent Baptist Church in the world,” Spurgeon’s famous Metropolitan Tabernacle in London, England. For Dallimore, Shields’ failure to attain this life-long goal was the pivotal event of his career, and Shields’ resulting bitterness was the key to understanding his subsequent militancy.

Dozois tended to de-emphasize the period and treated it only as part of the period from 1910 to 1927. For Dozois the period of tranquillity in Jarvis Street was only from 1910 to 1913. He gave particular attention to the Harris-Matthews controversy in 1910. The period was important to his work only so far as it identified the roots of later controversies.

Parent’s significant contribution to the historiography of the period was the crucial role played by the war. Each of these commentators has noticed Shields’

¹⁹⁴ Tarr, 56-62.

¹⁹⁵ Dallimore, 27.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 31.

experiences of the war, but only Parent has really commented on the pivotal character of his experiences in that period. The war, suggested Parent “imparted to him a sense of uneasiness concerning the direction in which Canadian society was heading along with an attitude of militancy which gave expression to that concern.”¹⁹⁷

All of these approaches to Shields contain elements of the truth, but all fall short of a complete and accurate understanding of the importance of the decade. Dallimore and Parent particularly focused on the pivotal character of the period and identified a significant shift in Shields’ character and his methodology. In this they were heading in the right direction. However, the causes and consequences of the shift in Shields’ ministry merit further scrutiny. Both of these men have identified singular causes for Shields’ shift. However, there were at least two key elements that contributed to the reshaping of the man and his ministry. In the first place, none of the major commentators on Shields’ record have considered the impact of the demographic shift that Shields encountered upon entering the Jarvis Street pastorate. At Jarvis Street, Shields suddenly found himself embroiled in a war not of his own making. Those beliefs and practices that he took for granted in his previous ministries were now under attack. The otherworldly focus of kingdom ministry was challenged on every front by the insidious creep of secularization within a church governed by a culture of “respectability.” This creeping liberalism from the pews of his own church coupled with the theological shifts so easily embraced by his liberalized parishioners was an assault on Shields’ faith perspective that shook him to the core. The second key factor related to the fact that at the same time Shields was beginning to come to an appreciation of the magnitude of the challenge facing him at Jarvis Street, he became an active observer of the events unfolding on the world stage. The shock of war’s brutality and his own war experiences taught him further of the enormity of the struggle in which he was engaged. Shields’ internalization of these experiences was a traumatic call to war in the context of war. The context of his own struggle was reshaped and the manner of his reactions was redefined. The militancy that so characterized the fundamentalist movement was born in Shields as he drove across the territories devastated by war on the French front.

¹⁹⁷ Parent, 23.

What each of these assessments of Shields has in common is a general agreement that Shields enjoyed, for a few years at least, a harmonious and generally successful ministry. This of course followed from Shields' own reflections on the period from *The Plot that Failed*. In part Shields was anxious to attribute the troubles that he finally encountered in Jarvis Street to outside interference from McMaster interests rather than from any ministerial failing on his part. Shields tried hard to paint a rosy picture of the period but it is clear that all was not well either with his congregation or with his own ministry. While Shields spoke highly of his congregation from this early period he also acknowledged a deep seated ambivalence towards them. On the one hand, he lauded them as "delightful people on the whole" who "walked circumspectly before the world." On the other hand, in the same breath he castigated them as being worldly and lacking in spirituality. They "had not learned the principle of entire separation 'unto the gospel of Christ.'" ¹⁹⁸ The ambivalence Shields felt towards his people had to reflect upon his own record during this period, a record that essentially caused him to redefine his definition of success. Clearly, upon ascending to the pulpit of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Shields had achieved the first of two lifelong dreams. In this he had been eminently successful, and Shields was not the least bit reticent about gloating over his triumph in wresting this choicest "plum" from the sphere of McMaster patronage. Having achieved this honour it is clear that he was not going to let it slip from his grip for anything except a call to the Metropolitan Tabernacle despite the character of the congregation he had inherited. Nevertheless, hints of the inner struggle he faced surfaced time and again as he reflected upon this early period of ministry. His idealistic assumptions about this premier Baptist Church did not at all line up with the reality he encountered. He quickly found himself mired in the culture of "respectability" and openly acknowledged that he had to wait eleven years to achieve "full liberty as a preacher of the gospel." ¹⁹⁹ In his previous pastorates Shields measured his success in terms of the measure to which he had brought glory to Christ and extended the kingdom of heaven. The results of his evangelistic efforts were his only barometer of success. By surrendering the evangelistic campaign

¹⁹⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 24.

¹⁹⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 196.

Shields had to measure himself by different standards, standards that focused far more on his own abilities and accomplishments.

It is true that Shields was hesitant to make boasts about numbers, as was common among Arminian type evangelists. However, he was not unaware of those numbers either and in at least one case calculated the total number of people baptized in a particular pastorate. When involved in the building program at Adelaide Street in London, he made no apologies for courting the masses as his desire was that more and more would come under the sound of the gospel. Church growth was everywhere evident in his early track record, most of that growth coming from new converts who were baptized and joined the church. In his first church at Florence he was able to post a forty percent net increase in membership in a single year of ministry. In Dutton he baptized sixteen people in a year and saw a net increase of 36.5 percent. In Delhi, he posted an increase of forty-six percent in the first year. In subsequent years the growth fell off and Shields was soon to leave for greener pastures. Perhaps his most successful ministry from a church growth perspective was at Wentworth Street in Hamilton. Using the congregation's size at the time of his coming as a benchmark, Shields posted gains after a year of eighty-three percent, after two years of 125 percent and after three years of 168 percent. He was able to boast of having baptized ninety-four people in the course of this pastorate.²⁰⁰

Furthermore, he led the congregation in expanding its current buildings and to becoming self-sufficient, free from home missions support. In London, his successes were equally astonishing. Over the course of his ministry there the membership grew by seventy-one percent. That number also did not reflect the significant number of people sent out from the church to establish Egerton St. Baptist Church. Church growth was so rapid that the church had to be expanded three times to provide sufficient capacity and on at least one occasion they had outgrown their expanded facilities before they even moved back in.

Shields' first ten years at Jarvis Street, however, were a very different story, and judging by the standards established in his first five pastorates Shields' own positive estimates of the period and that of his biographers must be questioned. Shields boasted of filling the auditorium Sunday nights, a fact Dallimore quoted in his exaggerated estimate of the period. However, such boasts did not reflect actual growth in the membership. The

²⁰⁰ T. T. Shields, *Sermons Preached*.

boldest misrepresentations came from Tarr who suggested a growth rate of about ten percent a year and an increase of 1147 in ten years. By a simple mathematical equation Tarr argued for an average increase of 114 a year. These numbers, however, badly misrepresented the actual case. Tarr reported only additions to the church and ignored losses. Over the course of ten years the church posted net losses in four of those years. Also Tarr's numbers did not accurately reflect evangelistic success in Shields' ministry. They did not take into account the 273 received by letter in 1913 when the church amalgamated with Parliament Street Baptist Church. These numbers also did not reflect the fact that of the nearly 1200 people who did join the church over the ten year period, sixty-four percent were received by transfer from other churches and only thirty-six percent through conversion and baptism. *The Baptist Year Book* in the year that Shields became pastor recorded the congregation's size as 1069. Unlike every previous pastorate, Shields posted a net loss in membership for his first year of ministry. At the end of ten years, the figures provided to the *Year Book* recorded a congregational size of 1144, a net gain of seventy-five or only seven percent after ten years of ministry!²⁰¹ By previous standards, Shields' record for the first ten years of ministry was dismal indeed. Whereas Shields had far surpassed denominational averages in his earlier pastorates, these statistics fell behind. In 1920 the denomination boasted exactly the same number of churches as it had in 1910 but had grown by 10,000 members or 19.4 percent.²⁰² A comparison with the statistics for the first four years after his release in 1921 from the shackles imposed upon him by this culture of "respectability" is also significant. In the first three years, through aggressive evangelical outreach over 800 were added to the congregation.²⁰³ After four years the number had risen to over 1500.²⁰⁴

There can be little doubt that during this first decade of ministry in Jarvis Street, Shields must have struggled with great inner conflict. Not only did he express his serious frustration with a "cabinet called deacons," but he also had to be aware of the significant

²⁰¹ *The Baptist Year Book* published detailed membership records on an annual basis. Each year the numbers joining the church were identified as entering by baptism or by letter. Losses were represented as those transferring out by letter, those who died and those who were excluded. It is very clear that after 10 years of ministry, Jarvis Street had sustained very little real growth and had barely managed to hold its own.

²⁰² "Summary of Numerical Statistics," *BYB* 1909-1920.

²⁰³ T. T. Shields, "A Word about Jarvis Street Church," *GW* 3:10, 17 July 1924, 32.

²⁰⁴ T. T. Shields, *The Necessity of Declaring War on Modernism* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1925)

decline in his evangelistic achievements. Considering that evangelistic outreach was the consuming passion of his life prior to his Toronto experience, Shields must have been greatly conflicted if not somewhat guilt ridden by the restrictions he found himself labouring under. Nevertheless, despite the limitations upon his evangelistic instincts, Shields would have been supremely loath to give up his Toronto charge. Shields was now pastor of the most famous Canadian Baptist Church, an accomplishment of which he was very proud. In England in 1915 he visited with Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, who Shields labelled the “autocrat” of the British Baptist Union. Shields instantly was at pains to impress him with the significance of the church he pastored:

Asking about the Churches, he said Jarvis St. was the only church known in England, & he was, apparently, surprised to find that I was its pastor. When he asked about the relative strength of the churches, I quickly told him that in Missionary work, Jarvis St. equalled the two next strongest churches - Walmer Rd. & Bloor St. combined. And when he knew what our numbers & income were - about eleven thousand pounds, he said, “We have no church like that in England.”

I don’t think I boasted in the least, but I refused to be patronized by degrees! Whether he knew anything about me or not I cannot say. But he asked about the university, & I told him McNeill & Cameron had the professors & I had most of the Governors!²⁰⁵

With his declining measure of success in the realm of evangelism, Shields appears more and more to have consoled himself with the sense of the prestige of his position. As the period advanced, in fact, Shields can be found more and more expressing consciousness of the public acclaim surrounding him.

Shields himself wrote often of the events of these years. In the pages of *The Gospel Witness*, a magazine he established in the early 1920s to publicize his skirmishes, and notably in a pamphlet *The Inside of the Cup*, Shields frequently spoke of the troubles he encountered as discord erupted in Jarvis Street at decade’s end. In 1937 Shields gathered all his materials together and wrote of the 1921 split in *The Plot that Failed*. Shields made a great effort in this book to exonerate himself and his ministry as he catalogued the progression of the controversy. The 376-page book was an exhaustive

²⁰⁵ In addition to being the chief administrative official of the Baptist Union in Britain, Shakespeare was also editor of the *Baptist Times and Freeman*. Shields resented him as a McMaster type who insisted on academic degrees for ministers. cf. T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 17 July, 1915.

record of ten years of ministry and began with the earliest considerations of the call he received to become pastor of the church. From the outset Shields was very concerned that his readers understand the prestigious character of his call to Jarvis Street as well as the honours implicit in the other ministerial options he then had before him. Throughout his book Shields took every opportunity to illustrate the growing measure of his success and importance as he moved toward the crisis of 1921. Significantly, there is very little reference to what could be called “kingdom statistics.” Where Shields had once been utterly preoccupied with matters relating to the advance of the kingdom of God, there was now little reference to great campaigns, conversions and baptisms or additions to that kingdom. Here Shields had adopted a defensive mode and was now far more interested in his own exploits in defending the status quo. What is particularly prominent was Shields’ extended references to the various men of importance with whom he had become acquainted. He boasted of his relationships with several important and famous preachers. Dr. John Clifford was one such individual. The veteran of a fifty-seven year pastorate in London, England, Shields spoke very highly of him and his long record. He reflected on having been successful in getting Clifford to speak at Jarvis Street and then later of meeting him again in England where they chatted about the various members of the British Parliament that Clifford knew personally. His visit to Clifford’s home was occasioned by the fact that Clifford had made a special trip to hear Shields preach in Spurgeon’s Tabernacle in 1915. Shields said of him: “he was one of the world’s great men, beyond question, and one of the most gracious and Christlike souls it has ever been my privilege to meet.”²⁰⁶

Several pages of *The Plot* were committed to documenting his relationship with the famous Russell Conwell, pastor of the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia and president and founder of Temple University. By Shields’ invitation Conwell was often a guest at Jarvis Street. Of course it was Conwell who surprised Shields with his first honorary doctorate. Shields was also quick to point out his close relationships with other leading American preachers. In 1918 he bragged of having Dr. James Frances of Los Angeles, Dr. George Truett and his old friend, Dr. J. W. Hoyt, accredited along with himself by Scotland Yard’s “M.I. Five” to observe the British war effort. As they were awaiting their

²⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 58.

accreditation, Shields had Truett share his preaching engagement at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Truett was suffering with a scalded foot and so had to borrow one of Shields' slippers. Shields playfully noted: "for once in his life the great preacher stood in my shoes, at least, in one of them."²⁰⁷

Shields' relationship with the pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Dr. A. C. Dixon, was also a subject of much reference, both in *The Plot* and elsewhere. Shields long regarded his five summers supplying for Dixon in this famous church of his great hero Charles Haddon Spurgeon as among the greatest honours of his life. He was particularly mindful of the honour of meeting Spurgeon's son, Thomas, who also had the distinction of serving as his father's successor at the Tabernacle. It was a double honour in the sense that Spurgeon had made a special effort to come and hear Shields preach. Spurgeon had suffered through a serious illness and had not been able to attend services for several months.²⁰⁸ Having enjoyed a measure of recuperation, Spurgeon choose the date of Shields' preaching to make his return. The Spurgeons entertained Shields in their home and there expressed to him the fact that they had chosen to come and hear him rather than the famous John Henry Jowett who had been filling the pulpit before Shields.²⁰⁹ They also professed their preference for their guest over the present pastor Dr. A. C. Dixon, something Shields was quick to report to his family in his correspondence. He expressed great delight at the privilege of being invited to sit in C. H. Spurgeon's favourite arm chair and of having been given a special memento of his visit. Shields related Thomas Spurgeon's comments to his family: "I have been looking over my things to see what little memento of my father I could give you, and I have selected a little pocket book filled with his hand writing. It is the original copy of one year of John Ploughman's Almanac."²¹⁰ Through Thomas Spurgeon's influence Shields was also afforded the honour of addressing the students and faculty of Spurgeon's Pastor's

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁰⁸ Spurgeon's health had been a concern from 1911. Cf. "Personal and Otherwise," *CB*, Vol. 57, 13 July 1911, 9. As a consequence of Spurgeon's deteriorating health, A. C. Dixon, pastor of the Moody Church, Chicago, was given the call to become pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Cf. "Personal and Otherwise," *CB*, Vol. 57, 4 May 1911, 8.

²⁰⁹ Jowett was a well-known English Congregationalist preacher. He had become the pastor of Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, N.Y. City in 1911, and later returned to England to pastor Westminster Chapel, succeeding Campbell Morgan. Cf. J. G. G. Norman, "Jowett, John Henry," In *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* ed., J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 551.

²¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 17 July 1915.

College. As he recorded his experiences, his consciousness of the honours implicit in the occasion were paramount. Speaking of his arrival at the college he noted:

There Mrs. Spurgeon was awaiting me and I went in with her to the lecture hall. The trustees, professors, and students were there, and Thomas and Chas. Spurgeon, and Professor Densbury the famous Manchester Elocutionist. As we went in Mr Thomas Spurgeon who was just opening the proceedings said "Here comes Mr. Shields!" They all clapped loud enough to be heard a block, and Chas. Spurgeon got up and called me forward to a seat.²¹¹

Shields' ministry at the Metropolitan Tabernacle was his proudest accomplishment, and one upon which he would reflect throughout the years. However, Shields' greatest ministerial success of the decade lay in his handling of the 1919 Ottawa convention. There Shields successfully championed the emerging fundamentalist cause. Envisioning himself as something of a romantic hero, Shields defended what he saw as the traditional understanding of biblical inspiration against the assault of modern scholarship. Arguably, from the perspective of prestige, this was Shields' finest hour. Shields would go on to win other victories, but never again did he so completely dominate the field in the utter rout of his opponents. Though he tried hard not to appear arrogant in his victory, he simply could not resist recording his recollections of that triumph: "The session closed, there was a veritable stampede up the aisles for the platform. Literally hundreds of hands were raised, almost like a Nazi salute, as they swarmed up to the platform to shake hands, and to offer congratulations."²¹² Shields noted how deeply moved many of them seemed to be and he particularly recalled that "Dr. S. S. Bates, then Secretary of McMaster University, gripped me warmly by the hand, as, with tears on his cheeks, he said, 'Thank God for your leadership to-day. I never thought so much of you as I do now.'"²¹³ Years later when he regularly squared off against the political leaders of the day he may well have thought back to the flatteries of that day: "I learned later that I was credited with a great political astuteness, which I utterly declaim ... But one ... stopped me ere I could leave the building, and said, 'I have been wondering, Dr. Shields, what would happen to your opponents if you were to decide to go into politics. They would have no chance at all.'"²¹³ Shields was particularly gratified

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1915, book 3, 32.

²¹² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 156.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

to hear a report that the man who had attempted to derail his motion with an amendment had been heard to comment “if the Pastor of Jarvis Street wished to be so, he could easily make himself Prime Minister of Canada!” However, Shields had recently returned to Canada revitalized in the Spurgeonian tradition he venerated. Considering Spurgeon’s battle against similar foes, the words of one pastor at the close of the meeting must have been most satisfying. “This has been the greatest victory for Evangelical Christianity ever recorded in the history of this Dominion.”²¹⁴ The honour of being Canada’s Spurgeon was tangibly within his grasp.

As Shields later recorded his memories of these events, he tried hard to picture himself as the man he once was. Clearly, the focus of his ministry was being reshaped. His energies were being consumed in a far different milieu than they had been a decade before. Nevertheless, even in the context of contention and strife Shields struggled to define himself according to the pietism of his former ministry. Though evangelism as a primary activity had been sacrificed for the present, Shields considered the honours that had been heaped upon him and was confident that he was still a faithful minister of Christ. Describing his 1919 victory, Shields professed to be supremely conscious of the Holy Spirit’s guidance. From the sense of peace that had come upon him the night before the ordeal to his mental alacrity during his extended speech, he professed utter reliance upon divine guidance:

During that hour and a half the promise, ‘It shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak’, was abundantly verified. Scriptures passed in procession before my mind like moving electric signs, ablaze with glory; and those who were present on that great occasion, who read this account, will remember how often during the course of that afternoon the word of the Lord was as a hammer breaking the rock in pieces.²¹⁵

“Throughout that afternoon,” Shields insisted, “I was but a humble servant under authority, and had not consciousness whatever of being particularly astute, or of resorting to any tactical move to gain a victory.”²¹⁶

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 144.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 157.

Nevertheless, by 1919 Shields was a changing man. It is likely that in 1910 Shields had little idea of the ramifications that faced him as he achieved one of his cherished objectives. In accepting the pastorate of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, he had wrested the choicest “plum” from McMaster’s sphere of patronage. However, with Shields’ ascent to Jarvis Street’s rostrum he encountered an entirely new dynamic. In place of the vibrant spirituality of former ecclesiastical charges he now faced the insurmountable restraints of the culture of respectability. He encountered a congregation that was morally circumspect but which was governed by social taste and not spiritual appetite. Theirs was a convenient marriage of the “two worlds” secular and sacred. Reluctant to surrender the prestige of his prominent posting, Shields made temporary concessions to the cultural sensibilities of his new charge. Gone was the evangelistic campaign and with it the phenomenon of rapid church growth. Subtly the appeal of modernity leavened Shields’ ministerial construct. Jarvis Street Baptist Church by situation and design was a product of modernity. By establishing himself in the seat of modernity, his perspectives unconsciously shifted. The spiritual fulfilment of aggressive evangelism for a time was replaced by the pursuit of personal respectability within the denomination.

This was also the period of Shields’ emergence as the leader of those protesting the inroads of theological modernism into the denomination. This provided a new outlet for his spiritual energies and Shields’ focus quickly turned to polemics. His early successes in the struggle with modernism marked an important step in Shields’ transformation from other-worldly evangelist to militant fundamentalist. Ironically, however, as Shields battled modernism he would do so in a modern context. At the same time Shields was beginning to appreciate the magnitude of the challenge facing him both in the denomination and at home in Jarvis Street, he became an active observer of the events developing on the world stage. As the world’s first modern war unfolded Shields became fixated with the enormity of the crisis. The militancy of his own struggle and the modern character of his growing arsenal will be shaped by the experiences of the war years.

CHAPTER 3

Spiritualizing War: Warrior / Hero (1914 – 1920)¹

Thou, therefore, endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

2 Timothy 2:3

A Changing Perspective

It is clear that by the midway point of his first decade of ministry in Jarvis Street Baptist Church, all was not well for Pastor Shields. His prestige in church and denomination was rapidly rising, but the fundamentals of his earlier pastoral vision were severely compromised. His evangelistic zeal had been curtailed, and though he maintained, for the most part, the good will of his congregation, his administrative control over the affairs of the church was seriously limited. The restless energies that had driven his evangelistic efforts in the past were channelled in new directions. Denominational affairs and social reform claimed more and more of his attention. In 1914 a new distraction began to dominate his thoughts. Shields was not alone in his fascination with the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of World War 1, but for Shields the fascination would soon become a fixation that profoundly reshaped his ministerial vision. Hereafter, the whole dynamic of his ministry would be reshaped by the military metaphor, a metaphor which provides an interpretive model for his emerging militancy. A military leadership model, a military service model and a military organization model will dominate all his interactions: interpersonal, ecclesiastical and political.

When war broke out in August of 1914, Shields was away from the Jarvis Street pulpit for his summer holiday. His first opportunity to comment on unfolding world events was September 6th, the first Sunday of his return. He preached a sermon “The Lord is a Man of War” based on a text from Exodus 15:3.² The text was something of a pretext

¹ Sections of this chapter have been previously published in Gordon Heath and Michael A. G. Haykin eds., *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s – 1990s* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2015). Used by permission of Wipf and Stock Publishers. www.wipfandstock.com.

² T. T. Shields, “The Lord is a Man of War,” 6 September 1914, # 1098, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

which Shields used largely as an excuse to comment on the war. The sermon provided interesting insights into Shields' perspectives at the outset of the war. Shields noted that it was his duty to show the religious implications of the war. He disputed with the man who insisted that the war had no religious significance and insisted: "Nothing is without religious significance if Christ is all in all."³ However, Shields promised that hereafter his commentary on the war would be minimal: "I have said this that you may know that this pulpit will not attempt to usurp the office of the military expert." He determined that the church should provide a sense of peaceful refuge. "From time to time it may be wise to try to read the events of the week in the light of the sanctuary; but in the main I hope we may find this place as a thick-walled, sound-proof castle, where at the King's table, we may gain wisdom and strength to worthily play our part in the battle which rages without."⁴ Such was Shields' intent at the outset of the war, but as his exposure to the events of the war increased so did his commentary upon it. Shields' promise, therefore, was short-lived, and before long he was preaching regularly on the matter. By war's end he imagined himself something of an expert and his commentary more and more was posited as authoritative summations of the war's impact and significance.

Engaging With War

The sermon preached September 6, 1914, in many ways set the pattern for his future proclamations about the war. In attempting to find its religious significance, Shields effectively spiritualized the war. Speaking of Germany's determination for war Shields proclaimed: "It is not against Belgium or France, or Britain, she has set herself, but against the whole moral order." Shields went into the pulpit armed with a news article reporting a recent speech by the British Prime Minister H. H. Asquith entitled "Blood lust of Enemy, Asquith on the Kaiser."⁵ Using excerpts from the speech, Shields denounced German war atrocities in an attempt to paint both the Kaiser and Germany as evil incarnate, an evil that should be met with all the contempt and hatred that could be mustered: "No one can love who cannot hate. And we have forgotten how to hate. We

³ A reference to Ephesians 1:23. T. T. Shields, "The Lord is a Man of War."

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Anonymous, "Blood lust of the Enemy, Asquith on the Kaiser." Special cable to *The Star*, London, 4 September 1915.

have assumed an attitude of easy tolerance toward the greatest evils.” Insofar as this was now set as part of the great battle of good versus evil, Shields concluded: “And it is not Britain, but a Higher and Mightier Government which declares war upon the nation which has no regard for ‘a scrap of paper’ [reference to treaty obligations] and the fundamental morality it represents.” This was a battle Germany could not win, for to Shields’ way of thinking Germany had declared war on God: “The revelation of the whole Bible is to show that God refuses to be ignored. He is never neutral. He will keep His treaty obligations as the ally of all who are fighting the cause of righteousness.” Shields added: “Wherefore though we read of phenomenal German successes, let us remember that she is marching to meet this Man of War in His might.”⁶

Not only did Shields spiritualize the war, he also saw it as an extension of the battle with “German Rationalism” that was everywhere being encountered in Christian churches in the battle over “biblical inspiration.” Where Asquith denounced Germany’s crimes against culture in “the shameless holocaust of irreplaceable treasures lit by blind barbarian vengeance at Louvain,” Shields drew the parallel with German Rationalism’s attacks on the Bible. “And yet it is no greater crime than that which Germany has for years, in the name of scholarship, been attempting against this storehouse of “irreplaceable treasures and by which attempts she has poisoned the springs of the religious life of the world.”⁷ For Shields, those fighting on the ground in Europe and those fighting in pulpits around the world were engaged in the same struggle. By spiritualizing the war Shields took the first step towards imagining himself a direct combatant in the ongoing battle.

Though most would regard the identification of the “battle for the book” with the First World War as farfetched, in a sense there was a practical convergence of these two struggles in the person of Shields and his eventual fundamentalist construct. Shields became a devoted war supporter at home and an avid first-hand observer overseas. His actions of 1919 and thereafter would be shaped to a large extent by the traumatic shock of staring war in the face and internalizing the horrors he encountered. The passion and fury

⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Lord is a Man of War.”

⁷ *Ibid.*

evoked by lasting mental images would never be far from the surface as he vigorously battled against what he saw as the lingering remnants of German influence.

In May of 1915, as the world reeled in shock over the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Shields' fury reached fever pitch.⁸ Again, the pulpit became his forum for his vitriolic denunciations of this hated enemy: "The outrage on Belgium, the method of warfare in general, use of gases and poisons, the torpedoing of merchant vessels is general. But here are over 2,000 souls - many women and children, not one of them armed. And they are murdered on the high seas by governmental direction."⁹

This sermon demonstrated another aspect of his response to the war. British patriotism from this point forward became a prominent feature of his religious outlook. Since Germany stood as the incarnation of evil, Britain, which he regularly personified as "John Bull," was held out as the defender of righteousness. Patriotic adulation became for Shields almost a form of worship. A year later, having visited London in the summer of 1915, Shields presented a series of addresses variously entitled "England at War," or "Imperial London at War." His conclusions illustrated this growing sense of adulation for his beloved homeland:

Oh London! Intangible, fascinating, incomparable, paradoxical, mighty, glorious London! Through travail of soul, through centuries of toil and conflict, of patience and determination, of self-discipline, and moral and religious culture, thou hast come to thy proud position as the centre of that empire which is the bulwark of the world's liberties."¹⁰

By extension, with the United States' official neutrality, Shields began to express a decidedly anti-American sentiment. In fact, much of the sermon "The Sinking of the *Lusitania*" turned into a rant against American neutrality: "If the U. States is silent in the face of this outrage American prestige will not recover from the blow for generations. The most serious aspect of all is this. American silence means either that she doesn't care ... or else official America is afraid, and the Kaiser ruleth in Washington."¹¹ It is clear

⁸ The *Lusitania* was a passenger liner that was sunk by a German U-boat on May 7, 1915. It sank in 18 minutes killing 1,198 of 1,959 people aboard. It was instrumental in turning public opinion against Germany around the world and in bringing the United States into the war.

⁹ T. T. Shields, "Sinking of the *Lusitania*," 9 May 1915, Sermon # 1147, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "Imperial London At War," 8 April 1916, "Miscellaneous Lectures," JBCA, Toronto.

¹¹ T. T. Shields, "Sinking of the *Lusitania*."

that not only were the spiritual dimensions of the war stirring him, his own British heritage and patriotic pride fuelled his pique.

London, England - Summer 1915.

Shields' fascination with the progress of the war intensified significantly with the events surrounding his 1915 summer holiday. In that year, a great excitement gripped Shields as he prepared to sail to England to fill the pulpit of Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle. Certainly the honours associated with preaching in such a famous pulpit filled him with anticipation, but the excitement of traveling across the Atlantic in the midst of the war was exhilarating. When informed that the ship upon which he had booked passage, The White Star Lines *Arabic*, had been officially targeted by Germany, Shields was resolute. Another member of his church had also booked passage and Shields was quick to commend her wisdom in changing her booking because of the danger. Shields jokingly noted that he preferred to face a German torpedo than to travel on the same ship with her: "One of us had to transfer, I was sure of that, and I followed the rule of the sea, "Women and children first!"¹² For Shields, the added threat clearly appealed to his sense of adventure, and he later commented: "They were thrilling days, however, whether on land or at sea, and I have never enjoyed crossing the ocean more than during the war."¹³

Shields adopted the practice, for this trip, of keeping a letter journal. Using a pen triplicate book, Shields wrote a daily account of his adventures, and sent the first two copies home to his family. The third remained in his book, now housed in the archives of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. The journal was filled with graphic details of his daily observations. Everything relating to the war held a special fascination for him.

The *Arabic* sailed from New York City June 23, 1915. Shields found it significant to observe a number of German ships tied up in the harbour with a British cruiser outside the harbour blocking their passage. Later he commented patriotically of the significance:

They have the statue of Liberty in America, but the statutes of liberty are found wherever the flag of Britain flies. And yonder is a fleet of twelve or fourteen ships among them the largest ship in the world. They are the Hamburg *American*, and North German flagged liners. They are not interned. But they are all crowded

¹² T. T. Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937), 51. (Hereafter *Plot*).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 56.

together in their docks. Why don't they put to sea, as we are doing? Outside the three - mile limit, tossing upon the waves a grey ship is sailing about keeping the Germans in and protecting Uncle Sam's statue of liberty too!¹⁴

Aboard ship, Shields excitedly documented the various aspects of their voyage. He noted that the *Arabic* was indeed a munitions carrier as the Germans had charged. Because they sailed from a neutral port, they "had to sail unarmed, or the ... port from which we sailed would not have suffered us to leave."¹⁵ For most of its trip, the *Arabic* also sailed without escort. In the midst of the voyage Shields wrote: "... we are the most important ship on the Atlantic just now. We have thousands of bags of mail, a large quantity of munitions, motor trucks and aeroplanes, but we have a large quantity of gold specie besides."¹⁶ He recorded his awe at the sight of a huge iceberg which the officers aboard used for target practice. He spoke in detail of the various life boat drills and how he was assigned to boat four. It was under the command of the First Officer and Shields concluded bravely that it would be the second last to leave the ship. The atmosphere on board became much more sombre with one discovery: "A white object was detected floating past the ship which some said was the carcass of a horse, but through my glasses I saw unmistakably that it was a human body - probably one of the *Lusitania* victims."¹⁷ As they approached the war zone all the portholes were covered and the ship moved in darkness. Shields again recorded something of his own sense of the imminent danger and the preparations he was making. He was assigned to a lifeboat that had only twenty persons assigned to. Its capacity was sixty-five. He believed that would afford him the luxury of taking a few things with him. Most important of these things were his sermons. Telling his family not to laugh, Shields related: "I have wrapped up my sermons ... in my dressing case and then in brown paper." These along with "a few other things," he intended to put in his "week-end bag." The letter itself was to be wrapped in his "remaining oilskin" and put in his belt.¹⁸ As to his personal safety he noted:

I have my cork life belt on a shelf at hand - this I shall put on outside my pneumatic belt which I shall keep on and under my vest. I shall have my overcoat,

¹⁴ T. T. Shields, "Imperial London At War."

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, "The Sword of Victory," early 1919, "Miscellaneous Lectures," JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁶ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," (Pen Triplicate Book containing a carbon copy of circular letters to family members, summer 1915), 27 June 1915, JBCA, Toronto. (Hereafter "1915 Letter Diary").

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1915.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 June 1915.

bath robe, and a couple of blankets where I can snatch them up in a minute. These I shall try to take for the children, for there are five and several women in our boat. Everybody in the ship is thoroughly prepared as though it were certain we should have to leave here. Tomorrow night very few will sleep, all the children will be put to bed ready dressed even to their shoes. I shall not undress at all tomorrow night.¹⁹

Despite their fears and despite nearly colliding with another ship in the dark, the *Arabic* arrived safely in Liverpool July 3rd.

Once in London, Shields was transfixed by all the evidence of the war effort going on around him. From the recruiting posters to the posted fines for not blacking out windows, he found everything geared for war. He wandered the streets taking in the sights and sounds, at least once in the company of an old friend, a Captain Silcox posted near Shorncliffe in the Atterpool camp. Silcox would later take him out to his camp where Shields slept with the officers in Silcox's tent. Shields enjoyed an early morning escapade with several of the officers as they went off to bathe in the ocean. Along the way he observed the various drills taking place, the armaments and trenches dug for home defence. He found quite amusing the "improvement" the Canadian soldiers had made upon the old hymn entitled "Count your blessings:"

Shake your blankets,
Shake them one by one,
And it will surprise you
What the shake has done.²⁰

Towards the end of his trip Shields did spend a fair amount of time traveling among the Canadian camps speaking with the soldiers and visiting as many of his Jarvis Street boys as he could find. Jarvis Street Baptist Church had sent 298 of its young men to war. Responding to Shields' urging, all of these men volunteered and Shields could later boast that there was not a conscript among them.²¹ All but one of the eligible members of his

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 August 1915.

²¹ T. T. Shields, "The Censor and the Editor Exchange Letters," *GW* 19:35, 2 January 1941, 11. Shields' use of the pulpit for recruitment was not unique. Bliss has argued that during the South African War, 1899-1903, "Methodist pulpits ... were the best recruiting stations." Heath has argued that the Boer War provided the pattern and precedent for the Great War among Protestants. J. M Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (1968), 35; Gordon L. Heath, "The South African War as Prelude to the First World War," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. Gordon L. Heath (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 24. What was perhaps remarkable about Shields was the measure of his success and his predilection to boast about it.

church enlisted and the one who did not was subjected to ridicule by Shields for cowardice. This represented over 25 per cent of Jarvis Street's total membership.²²

In London, Shields made every effort to speak with those who had seen action. One young lieutenant told him of his experiences in the battle of the Marne. He had two horses shot out from under him, one of those having had its head blown off. He himself was wounded in the head.²³ Another told him of the German atrocities he had witnessed:

He told me of the literal crucifixion of a friend of his and who was still alive. He was nailed by railway tie spikes to a door and a rope put around his ankles and the rope nailed down. He was found and taken down, but has lost the use of both hands. He says the Canadians now take no prisoners. The only thing to do with a German is to kill him where ever you find him.²⁴

On his walk one evening, Shields noticed several ambulances going along the Mall: "... the backs of the cars were open and I could see the poor wounded fellows lying within, one of them with his head enswathed with bandages."²⁵ On another occasion he noticed a number of men wearing blue uniforms. Upon closer inspection he realized that these were "convalescent wounded." His own hotel had a large number of wounded soldiers staying there. Shields' growing sense of horror at these ghastly fruits of war came to expression with his remarks after visiting the brother of one of his acquaintances in Edmonton Hospital. He had been wounded and "gassed" at Ypres. Shields noted that "a piece of shrapnel about 2 inches wide went into his right side and lodged in the left lung - it is there still. He is convalescent, but will never be strong. It will always be a menace to him and doctors say it can never be removed." Shields was deeply moved at seeing him and wrote: "When I looked at him I felt toward the Kaiser as I hope I always feel toward the devil."²⁶

These traumatic accounts of war and its horrific aftermath played a significant role in reshaping Shields' psyche. His shock and horror at the atrocities being committed

²² Jarvis Street membership stood at 1152 in 1917 and 1171 in 1918. Cf. "Directory of Churches," *BYB*, 1918, 331.

²³ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1915.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 August 1915. Note: The *London Times* printed a story May 10, 1915 about a crucified Canadian Soldier; "Torture of a Canadian Officer". The story became legendary and after the war the Nazis used this as an example of British propaganda. The account related here by Shields differs in details, but quite likely reflects the growing legend. The significant point is that Shields believed it and used its propaganda value.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 July 1915.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 August 1915.

began a process of transformation within him that deepened and hardened as his exposure increased. However, the damage to his psyche was not the only consequence of this wartime adventure. Shields' self-esteem was significantly inflated by the reception he was given. The lustre of the reception lavished upon him in the ecclesiastical realm dimmed somewhat as his mind became increasingly obsessed with the distinctions reserved for him in the civil realm. Shields came to England armed with a letter of introduction from Sir George Foster to the Canadian High Commissioner, Sir George Perley.²⁷ Little is known now of the nature of the relationship between Shields and Foster, but clearly Foster's reputation carried great weight, and his recommendations were of such a character as to establish Shields before Perley as a Canadian of some distinction. Shields himself commented: "I don't know what Sir George Foster said about me in the letter which he gave me to Sir George Perley, but both Sir George Perley and Mr. Griffith are very good to me."²⁸ Perley's immediate response to the letter of introduction was two-fold. The first was a promise to process his application for a passport which Shields hoped to use to go to Paris. Shields' fascination with the war was such that he wanted to travel as close to the front as possible. As matters worked out, in very short order Shields did receive his passport in good form but when he went to have it certified at the French Consulate he discovered "a mob" waiting to process their papers to go home for the "Bank Holiday."²⁹ Because of this and other opportunities that presented themselves before the end of his stay, Shields did not get to France on this trip.

Perley's second gesture to Shields was to present him with a ticket to the House of Commons. Shields was ecstatic and immediately set off for the House. He reported in his letter journal of having listened to speeches by Asquith, Law and Lloyd George.

²⁷ Sir George Foster had first served as Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the government of Sir John A. Macdonald. He was promoted to Minister of Finance in 1888, a position he continued to hold through the governments of Abbott, Thompson, Bowell and Tupper. In the Borden government he was given the portfolio of Trade and Commerce. In 1914 he was given a knighthood for his work on the Royal Commission on Imperial Trade. He was responsible for "the reorganization of Canadian industry on a war-time basis..." and was appointed acting Prime Minister while Borden was in London. In 1919 he served as Canadian delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference. For more on Foster see, W. Stewart Wallace, *The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., at St. Martin's House, 1933).

²⁸ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 30 July 1915.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1915.

Shields' sense of the moment was significant and he related the scene with romantic eloquence:

... the thrilling part of it consisted in the knowledge that one was listening to the virtual ruler of the Empire, speaking for the Empire to the whole world, and especially our allies and to our Enemy. He [Lloyd George] was very deliberate, and one felt that every word was mighty as the biggest shot from our biggest battleship, that indeed the might of the British Empire was expressed in every syllable.³⁰

His impressions of David Lloyd George's speech concerning "trade unionism" were equally impressive and his attitude toward trade unions was forever reshaped. Shields was fascinated with "the recital of his efforts at organizing the country" but horrified at the account of the obstacles encountered:³¹

He went so far as to say that he had been able to secure a net increase of not much more than 20,000 skilled munition [sic] workers, while if the unions would consent to a relaxation of their "practices" for the duration of the war it would be equivalent to an increase to the factories of hundreds of thousands of men. Pressed to explain, he said everybody knew what he meant, that a union man was not allowed to exceed the output of an average man.³²

Shields concluded: "It was the most damning indictment of unions I have ever heard: that the same men now employed could produce as much more as the labour of hundreds of thousands would amount to, but the unions won't allow them."³³

The ticket to the House of Commons was not, however, the last of the High Commissioner's efforts on his behalf. The next day Shields was somewhat surprised to receive a telegram from the High Commissioner's office requesting him to call. When Shields arrived he was presented with "a ticket and a reserved seat ... at the Guildhall where Sir Robert S. Borden was to be presented with the freedom of the City." Shields described the scene in some detail and even diagrammed the hall and the place of his reserved seat. "Among others who were announced," Shields noted, "were The Right Honorable Herbert Asquith Prime Minister and first Lord of the Treasury, then Bonar Law, Austen Chamberlain, Bishop of London, Dean of Canterbury, and Earls and Lords galore." As to his seating he commented: "I sat right next the aisle and could have

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28 July 1915.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

touched Asquith, Chamberlain, and the rest with my elbow.” Shields related that it was a moment of “thrilling interest” though he was not overly impressed with Borden himself: “... there was nothing remarkable in what Borden said or in the way he said it - I really think I could have put the case better myself!” He admitted to being somewhat overcome with emotion at the significance of the event: “The representative character of the persons present and of the place, the ancient Guildhall in the heart of Imperial London, and the fact that the honour bestowed was a recognition of Canada’s part in the greatest war in history - all this I felt and feeling sat with moist eyes and a lump in my throat.”³⁴

A further honour was afforded Shields by the High Commissioner’s office in the form of an official invitation to the great ceremony “commemorating the commencement of the war” to be held at St. Paul’s Cathedral August 4, 1915. The High Commissioner’s agent noted that there were a number of tickets reserved for “distinguished Canadians” and that if Shields chose to stay in England that one such ticket would be reserved for him.

Shields was almost mesmerized by the sequence of events that followed. Upon receipt of the ticket he immediately reported to his family “You will see by this that I am specially favored as a ‘Distinguished Canadian.’”³⁵ Years later, coming upon the ticket in his files he commented on the pride he had felt at the time. “Was I ever invited to such occasions? Of course I was, and told how to dress, and all the rest of it, on many occasions. I was foolishly rather proud of that at that time”³⁶ The developments of the day were recorded in some detail as Shields tried to convey to his family at home something of the grandeur of the occasion. He rode in an open cab and was quite aware of the spectacle he must have presented: “Of course I was dressed in my best - my morning coat, and Top Hat and I felt quite important, able to wave aside all those officers of the law ... by my Lord Chamberlain’s warrant.” Shields’ reserved seat was among the best in the Cathedral. He prepared a detailed diagram of the seating arrangements which he attached to his letter. He boasted of his proximity to the king and queen. “If you examine the forgoing plan you will see that I had a better seat than Kitchener or Borden,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1915.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3 August 1915.

³⁶ T.T. Shields, “A Great While to Come,” *GW* 32:13, 16 July 1953, 7.

for they were behind the King - whereas I was just to his right in front of him. And 'honest-injun,' he fixed his eyes on me and stared at me as though he wondered who I was. And so did Queen Mary too! That is really a fact. He did not offer to shake hands but he certainly ought to know me when we meet next time."³⁷

Despite his excitement and sense of reverence concerning the significance of the proceedings, Shields was, less impressed with the performance of the Archbishop. With comments suggestive not only of his inflated view of himself, but also of his growing tendency to elevate all war themes into the realm of the spiritual, Shields critiqued the Archbishop's performance. Having sent a bundle of newspaper reports of the event home to his family he left the reading of the sermon itself to them. His own conclusion was that "There is not so much in it, and as he delivered it, it seemed poorer still. Apart from his official position, and on his merits, if he always preaches in that strained and jerky style, he would not be invited to preach in some pulpits I know the second time."³⁸ Shields was particularly critical of the Archbishop's failure to spiritualize the war or to see it in its religious aspect:

... he might at least have brought the matter into a strong religious light. Instead of that he talked a lot of thuddle about everybody having been made inheritors of the kingdom of heaven in holy baptism and urged upon them "To stand fast in the faith" to which they had been dedicated at a time when they "did not dream" what it meant. I looked across at the Giant Kitchener, then at Frey, then at Asquith, and considered what they thought of such piffle.³⁹

When Shields reflected upon the traditions represented by the place and the great host of wounded that sat listening, he was even more scornful:

... with all the tradition of the British race, cut in stone before him, with such an extraordinary audience, on such a great occasion as the anniversary of the world's greatest war, with the battered representatives of the world withstanding the Barbarian hordes, with all this, to fire the imagination, the passion, and sympathy of any man of heart, it was almost inexcusable to serve up such a dish of platitudes as the Archbishop gave us - especially when served cold.⁴⁰

Though critical of the sermon, Shields was still moved by the event. His patriotic love of King and country was clearly evident: "I was thrilled to see the King before the whole

³⁷ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 4 August 1915.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

assembly kneel, and all his ministers and soldiers and sailors and subjects of all ranks kneel with him, in humble prayer to Almighty God for the Nation and the Empire.” Shields reflected: “There never was a greater occasion and I felt that it was real prayer, and that a spirit of true worship filled the place. One other service I should like to attend in St. Paul’s and that is the Thanksgiving service which will certainly be held when Germany is beaten and peace is restored.”⁴¹

Shields’ war fever was raised to a new level on his return to London, August 19. After his visit to St. Paul’s, Shields paid a brief visit to some of the places he had lived as a boy in Wales. When he returned to London, the first thing he noticed in the train station was a posted bulletin announcing that the *Arabic* had been sunk. He had known that the Germans had publicized their intent to sink this particular ship as an arms carrier, but the reality of the event came as an utter shock. The shock was even more vivid as he realized his own narrow escape. Due to a double booking for the *Tabernacle* and being somewhat annoyed at Dixon’s carelessness in giving away one of his Sundays, Shields had seriously considered heading home before the date originally set. However, in the end, he decided to overlook the slight and to stay on for a further two weeks to fill out the terms of his obligation. Had he decided upon the earlier date, the *Arabic* was the ship upon which he would have sailed: “If I had finally decided not to remain for August 29th that was the ship I was going on, and our reason for thinking of returning earlier was the matter of expense as the *Arabic* was the only ‘one class’ boat sailing.”⁴²

The London papers were filled with stories of the drama at sea. At first report, 391 persons had been saved and thirty-three were missing. Captain Finch had seen a torpedo strike the steamer *Dunsley*, but had only time enough to get off an S.O.S. before a second torpedo hit the *Arabic*. While the *Dunsley* was afloat for some time, the *Arabic* went down in ten minutes.⁴³ Shields commented in sorrow to his family: “I am thinking of the Captain and crew, many of whom I got to know.”⁴⁴ The Germans later tried to justify their actions to America by claiming that the *Arabic* was a legitimate target because it was an arms carrier and though heading back to America with American

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, 19 August 1915.

⁴³ “*Arabic* Sunk; White Star Liner Torpedoed,” *The Times*, 20 August 1915, page 7, column f.

⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 19 August 1915.

passengers was carrying gold in payment for arms received.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the public outcry in America was great and the press vilified them because the *Arabic* was clearly westward bound and loaded only with innocent passengers. Shields reflected this sentiment in his own letter: “The fact that the Arabic was sailing from England, makes her destruction more clearly an act of piracy than anything they have yet accomplished, for they cannot plead in justification that she was carrying munitions.” His own sense of grief was conditioned by his own familiarity with the ship and her crew. “Her loss will almost surely be attended by considerable loss of life. The loss of the ship itself appears unspeakably sad to one who has sailed on her.”⁴⁶

The more Shields thought about the event, and the more he read of it, the more he imagined that he could feel the actual trauma of the experience: “I have read all the accounts of the sinking of the Arabic with the deepest interest. I am able almost to live through it all because we went through it all, had the actual getting into the boats.”⁴⁷ Shields was confident that the large numbers of lives saved was the result of the Captain’s preparations and his bravery. According to the media accounts, Captain Finch “went down with the ship and came up among a lot of wreckage.” He was some twenty minutes in the water during which time he rescued a number of others including a woman and her baby.⁴⁸ Shields boasted of his own testimonial to Finch aboard the *Arabic* at the end of his own voyage. Noting that he was “sure that all that is said about Capt. Finch’s coolness and bravery is perfectly true,” he reported how he had been asked to present a testimonial to the captain and “to make a speech in the dining saloon.” He initially deferred noting that “it would be foolish to congratulate him or ourselves until we were actually clear of all danger.” However, he did deliver “the thanks of the passengers ... quietly in his Cabin” as they were arriving in Liverpool.⁴⁹

Many of the newspapers noted the tremendous impact of this event upon American neutrality. *The Times* in New York demanded a diplomatic break with Germany. Noting that “in every detail the German attack upon the Arabic fulfils

⁴⁵ “Germany and the Arabic; The Rights of the United States,” *The Times*, 25 August 1915, page 3, column c.

⁴⁶ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 19 August 1915.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 August 1915.

⁴⁸ “The Lost Arabic; Scenes Described by the Captain,” *The Times*, 20 August 1915, page 5, column c.

⁴⁹ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 21 August 1915.

President Wilson's definition of an act "deliberately unfriendly" to the United States," the correspondent concluded: "There is only one course he can follow with dignity and with honour. Without delay, without further protest or any diplomatic exchange whatsoever, the German Ambassador at Washington should receive his passports, and the American Ambassador in Berlin should be recalled. The time has come now to act. To talk further is to encourage, not avoid, murder."⁵⁰

Shields could not pass up the opportunity to comment on his own attitudes to American neutrality in the matter: "I believe there is a growing feeling of contempt for the United States in England. I notice that Jowett and others are returning on neutral ships but I have decided if I can't get back under the Union Jack, I'll stay here and help fight. I won't sail under the contemptible Stars and Stripes if I never get back."⁵¹ Whichever way Shields looked at this tragedy, he seethed with indignation and righteous outrage. Its magnitude could only be expressed in spiritual terms: "Nothing is safe anymore. Surely the very devil is let loose in the earth!"⁵²

At Home Summer 1916.

Though the war continued to be in the forefront of his thoughts, in 1916 Shields did not travel to England. While it was clear that Shields was anxious to do so, Dixon, for personal reasons, was unable to make the trip. Shields proposed a pulpit exchange of two months, noting that with the Tabernacle supply being so small, "I could hardly afford to go for less than seven or eight Sundays."⁵³ In their exchange of correspondence, Dixon expressed his doubts that he would be able to cross the ocean that summer. Shields encouraged him to delay his decision rather than going ahead and making other arrangements for his summer supplies. He also made every effort to encourage Dixon, offering him more time in Jarvis Street, opportunities to raise funds for Spurgeon's pastors' college, and his own plea that the only way he could get a true break himself was to get out of the country. Despite the thinly veiled urgency behind Shields' appeal, Dixon declined the invitation.

⁵⁰ "Reserving Judgment; (From our Correspondent in New York)," *The Times*, 21 August 1915, page 7, column f.

⁵¹ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 19 August 1915.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ T. T. Shields to A. C. Dixon, 23 February 1916, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

The exchange of correspondence, provided some interesting insights into Shields' attitudes to the war. In the course of his discussion of the possible pulpit exchange, Dixon noted the deep financial plight of Spurgeon's pastors' college, and the great danger it was in of closing. "Cannot you ..." asked Dixon, "see some men of means in Canada who might give something toward lifting this load and heartening the leadership of the College?" Shields' elongated response was interesting. Noting how much he would like to help the cause, he went on to show as clearly as he could why such a venture would be utterly unsuccessful at the moment. Part of his response was a defensive reaction to Dixon's comment: "You, of course, in Canada are feeling the pressure of the war very much as we are in England, but not quite so heavily I presume."⁵⁴

All of Shields' response seemed to be politely geared to challenge that assumption. Noting the tremendous drain already upon his people of wealth, he quoted the response of William Davies of the packing company by the same name: "A forlorn hope, I fear," said Davies. Shields added: "As to our own men, and we have most of the stronger financial men among the Baptists in Toronto, in Jarvis St. I could not do anything with them on that score, if I tried." Shields also described the desperate needs of their own educational institution, McMaster University. Beyond this, Shields catalogued some of the many projects and the extraordinary efforts already being made both in recruitment and fundraising: "In our own church our Patriotic Society uses nearly a hundred dollars a day every day they meet for raw material, and they meet at least once a week, and that is all raised with the church." As Shields represented the case, the war had become for him and his people an all-consuming occupation. "We think and talk and work for one thing only - The War." He concluded, "... we have nearly all the demands, I suppose, that you have in England." As almost an afterthought, Shields underscored the difficulty with the request by noting that "The sons of all our financial men are in the army." The consequence was that "people are not interested in any but military colleges just now ... You cannot get support for any institution that would keep men out of the army. We are busy recruiting up to 500,000 men." His pride in Canadian accomplishment was clear in his final comment: "If you take that number out of a population of eight

⁵⁴ A. C. Dixon to T. T. Shields, 29 January 1916, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

millions, including foreigners, you will see that we are quite as much at war as England.”⁵⁵

For Shields, no discussion of the war was complete without a reference to its spiritual or religious aspect. He seemed keen to interact with Dixon on the matter, at least with reference to what he had been able to observe in Canada. Something of Shields’ spiritualizing of the war and his opinion that this was a war for righteousness was evident in his expression of disappointment that the fruits of that struggle were not more clearly seen: “So far as outward appearances are concerned, the effect of the War upon the religious life of Canada is disappointing. I have some hope that there is a deepening of religious interest, but if there is it has not found much expression as yet” He tried to remain optimistic, however. “I am of the opinion that many of the activities at present engaging the energies of the people are themselves an expression of interest in the great principles of the Gospel; and I try to console myself with the hope that it is so, and that after the War is over this new religious vigour - if it is religious, will manifest itself in increased attendance upon the means of grace, and in renewed activity in every avenue of Christian service.”⁵⁶

To England and Back, 1917.

Shields’ growing fascination with everything having to do with the war was further stimulated by the adventures of his 1917 voyage to England. Though a shorter visit than he doubtless would have desired, in the summer of 1917 Shields again was able to exchange pulpits with Dixon. He settled for the four weeks of the month of August, though he was in England for a total of six weeks.⁵⁷ On his outward voyage he travelled aboard one of the Cunard lines ships, the RMS *Aurania*.⁵⁸ The ship had been launched 16 July 1916 and took its maiden voyage from the Tyne to New York 18 March 1917. It was outfitted from the start as a troop carrier and remained on hire to the British Government until it was torpedoed 4 February 1918 and sank near Tobermory, Scotland. Shields noted

⁵⁵ T. T. Shields to A. C. Dixon, 23 February 1916, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, “England in Wartime,” 1917, “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto, 7.

⁵⁸ Not to be confused with the *Carmania*. In Shields’ letter journal of 1917, his first entry identifies the *Aurania* as the ship from which he wrote. In 1937 when Shields wrote *The Plot that Failed* he identified the *Carmania* as the ship upon which he sailed in 1918 calling it the “flagship of a convoy of sixteen British Ships.” T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 77.

that on this voyage there were only three civilians aboard. He reported to his family, "So far I have not found a Canadian or English man on Board. The majority are an ambulance party of U.S. soldiers."⁵⁹

Despite the ship's reputed speed, engine trouble early in the trip cost them at least fifteen hours. The problem, it was eventually discovered, was a "hot-box" or a "heated bearing of the propeller shaft." Shields overheard one of the American officers commenting: "By George, if that is a hot-box that is detaining us I shall not have another easy minute on this ship." Shields commented: "I hope we shall have all the engine trouble we are going to have before we get into the war zone, for an experience like today's would be absolutely fatal. Nothing could save us if we had to stand still for hours in a calm sea."⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the danger merely piqued his sense of adventure and his journal was from that point forward full of his observations of the military aspect of the journey. He noted that the life-boat he was assigned to this time was that of the captain, meaning that he would be the last to leave the ship. He described the countermeasures used to confuse submarines, including the zigzag pattern of their advance, and testing the smoke screen used to blind their unseen enemies. Of the ship itself, Shields commented: "This ship is in the war - it is a warship. We have troops on board, we have a great barge full of petrol or gasoline which I saw pumped out of a big iron barge into - our hold. We have an enormous cargo of wheat as too a great quantity of cotton and other supplies." He was somewhat comforted by the "six inch gun in the stern." He noted that "the gunners practice every day, but using a "sub-calibre" and not the real shot."⁶¹

As they approached Queenstown harbour, the danger of their situation became more immediate when a periscope came up beside the ship. Shields commented that it was "variously estimated at from 150 to 500 feet away. It was sighted by the lookouts and confirmed by the bridge." With some relief, however, he noted that "it disappeared at once," and he concluded "a wholesome respect for our 6 inch gun in the stern prevented its reappearance as we passed." Perhaps the presence of the twelve destroyers he was able

⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 11 July 1917.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 July 1917.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 16 July 1917.

to count as they left Queenstown also had something to do with the submarine's caution.⁶² Despite the dangers, Shields arrived safely at his destination on both trips.

After his return to Canada in the fall of 1917, Shields felt sufficiently enlightened about the war effort to lecture upon the matter to Canadian audiences. Not only were these lectures designed to appeal to public interest, they were commissioned by the Union Government of Robert Laird Borden to promote enlistment and encourage support for conscription. Years later, while Shields was once again fighting for conscription, this time during the Second World War, some saw his actions as disloyal and disruptive to national unity. Challenged by the press censor, Shields threw his record in the press censor's face when he dared to question him. Not only could he boast of this commission, he also was quick to point out that by the time *The War Measures Act* had been passed into law, there was nobody left in his church to conscript. At Shields' insistence all the eligible young men had already enlisted: "During the last war the Jarvis Street congregation gave about three hundred men to the armed services - to be exact, two hundred and ninety eight. And there was not a conscript among them." He boasted: "When conscription was introduced, there was only one man left liable to the new law in this large congregation." With a defiant last word he observed: "In the General Election of nineteen hundred and seventeen I accepted the invitation of the Union Government Committee to deliver a number of addresses in support of the Government and its war measures."⁶³

One of the addresses that Shields presented in this time period was entitled "England in Wartime." Between September 1917 and June 24, 1918, this lecture was presented in twenty-two different localities throughout Ontario. It was also presented in Montreal and south of the boarder in Saginaw, Michigan and Jamestown, New York. For the first half of these engagements, Shields recorded congregation sizes suggesting an aggregate audience of nearly 8,000 people by December of 1917.⁶⁴

The lecture itself was an interesting mix of eye-witness observation and ideological commentary. Noting the ambitious task he had set before him, Shields

⁶² *Ibid.* 21 July 1917.

⁶³ T. T. Shields, "The Censor and the Editor Exchange Letters," *GW* 19:35, 2 January 1941, 11.

⁶⁴ T. T. Shields, "England in Wartime," 1917. Shields listed these figures on the last page of the document.

remarked on the “difficulty” in discovering “a new viewpoint” from which to discuss the war. Shields adopted for his theme an exposition of England’s historic role as the fountainhead or source of all civil and religious liberty. Utilizing a playful and extended metaphor of John Bull (England) and his wife (“the spirit of Britain”) and the return of their sons (children of the empire), Shields described something of England’s preparations to defend her hard won liberties: “John Bull with all the family resources mobilized, standing with sleeves rolled up, and fists clenched, and muscles taut, and eyes blazing, defying all the forces of tyranny and reaction - John Bull defending his own castle, and incidentally playing Big Brother to the whole civilized world, is incomparably magnificent.”⁶⁵ Throughout the address, Shields adopted an optimistic outlook relating various “scenes in their representative significance,” which he believed were “prophetic of a new order of things in the world.”⁶⁶ He brought back a glowing report from the Canadian camps in England, showing from statistics concerning sobriety the moral superiority of the Canadian lads. He spoke of the significance of America joining the war effort and underscored that significance with eye-witness accounts of the parade of American soldiers before the King. He argued that history was in the making as he expounded upon the historical context. He quoted from “Pitt the elder, the great Lord Chatham” who, he noted, had “opposed the measures which produced the American Revolution.”⁶⁷ For Shields, as the King took their salute, the moment marked a profound reconciliation when, finally, two great peoples stood together in the defence of liberty:

And now, behold these marching men - only four thousand of them, but the vanguard of hundreds of thousands, ... who by their coming, justify the prophetic weight of that great English statesman [Pitt], whose forbears fought against the tyranny of a German king of England, and who come to join with all the freemen of the world in this most holy war that ‘government of the people, and by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.’⁶⁸

Not only did Shields glorify these champions of freedom, but he also vilified the Germanic personification of evil. Sharing eyewitness experiences of German atrocities, Shields expressed his outrage:

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

I have seen the Huns like birds of prey in the air. And I have seen our men go up to meet them. And then I have seen the battle as shrapnel burst around them. I have heard the crash of bombs - and have seen our men, when they had brought down five of the enemy machines, drive the Huns out to sea. A few hours later I have stood where their bombs have fallen, and lives were lost, and I have cried, as every moral Briton must have cried, for Heaven's vengeance on the Kaiser and his fellow-murderers. God grant that Britain and her Allies may speedily become His instrument!⁶⁹

Behind much of his discussion, however, lay an almost spiritual appeal to his audiences to sacrifice all in the cause of this "most holy war."⁷⁰ Enlistment and conscription were obvious expressions of the commitment he demanded. Shields pointed to the example of the Canadian troops he had visited: "... from the general officer commanding down to the humblest in the ranks, they are making everything in life subservient to the noble task of hurling the gory and accursed Prussianism into a bottomless pit, from which it shall never rise again."⁷¹ This self-sacrificing character of the troops was the ideal by which he built his case for commitment at home. He related to his Canadian audiences the expressed concerns of the men in the field about the support they could expect. "The question they all asked," Shields testified, was "Will conscription carry?" When Shields raised the question among the troops about their own attitudes toward conscription he got two responses. In the first place, the men spoke of their own measure of commitment: "One man who had been twice wounded, and was again ready to go to France held up his right hand and showed me his third finger bent and stiff. He said: 'I got this the first time, and went back to the trenches with a hand like that. I was wounded again, and now I am reported fit for the front once more. I did not complain. I am willing to go.'" The concern among the men however, was whether or not their own level of commitment was reflected at home: "But some of us feel is this: Why should some go back again and again, while some never go at all?"⁷²

The second reaction that Shields related was a general disdain for partisan politics during the war:

Another, a Sergeant-Major said - mind I asked no leading question, and I report his exact words as nearly as I can recall them - he said, "I wish, Sir, you would on

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 7.

your return to Canada voice my protest against what I call the crime of an election. We don't want to be bothered with an election. We only want to get on with the war, and if we can subordinate everything to that end, surely the people at home ought to be able to find some ground of agreement."⁷³

The great fear was that political considerations would in the end impact the availability of reinforcements. Speaking of the attitudes of the officers of the Division at Witey, Shields commented: "They at that time feared that reinforcements from Canada would not be forthcoming, and that they might themselves be broken up for reinforcements instead of going as a Division."⁷⁴

So armed, Shields launched an all-out attack on the political agenda of Laurier.⁷⁵ He loudly decried his partisan politics asking rhetorically, "And is any man going to put his petty party prejudices or personal interests in the balances with a matter of such vital or fatal urgency as this?" He left little doubt as to his contempt for those who would. "I know there are little shrivelled, wizened, stunted, crippled, deaf, and blind souls, like mules in a coal-mine, who think the limits of their political party define the boundaries of the universe."⁷⁶ Laurier's proposed referendum on conscription brought equal scorn. Using the graphic image of those standing in the breach Shields eloquently demanded action:

I have heard the distant thunder of the German guns in London, like the roar of a lion hungry for his prey, or like the boom of baffled waves beating on some forbidding shore. And I have known that the barrier between the devourer, between the deluge and ourselves, was a long wall of living, throbbing, suffering, flesh and blood. And I have seen the human fragments of that wall where breaches have been made, brought into London by the train-load. And I can hear their call for help across the sea. I can feel the strain, the agonizing tension; I can see their veins stand out like whipcords, as they stand in the breach for us; and hold on, and wait, and wait, and wait, for the help that does not come! To propose a referendum on the question is absolutely criminal and all but treasonable too!⁷⁷

Noting that the success of Laurier's call for a referendum would mean "a year's delay in sending reinforcements," Shields declared, "Because I believe the election of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his party at this time would be a national disaster of the first magnitude, ... I

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the Prime Minister of Canada from 1896 to 1911.

⁷⁶ T. T. Shields, Untitled political address, Fall 1917, "Miscellaneous Lectures," JBCA, Toronto, 8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

venture to tell you ... I have vowed to do everything in my power to prevent it.”⁷⁸ He concluded: “a vote for ... Laurier is, in the nature of the case, a vote against the men in the trenches, and therefore a vote for the Kaiser.”⁷⁹ It would be impossible now to gauge the ultimate impact of Shields’ addresses, but the election of 1917 was fought over the conscription question and passage of the Military Service Act. The Liberals split on the question and a Union government under Borden won a “huge majority of 114 Conservative and 39 Liberal members. Laurier’s Liberals won 82 seats, 62 of them in Quebec and only 2 in Western Canada.”⁸⁰

Shields had now come a long way from his early protestation: “this pulpit will not attempt to usurp the office of the military expert.” Instead of the sanctuary he had promised, “a thick-walled, sound-proof castle, where at the King’s table, we may gain wisdom and strength to worthily play our part in the battle which rages without,” Shields had now turned his pulpit into a political soap box.⁸¹ From this vantage point he acted the role of the military expert instructing all who would listen of the necessities of war. This politicization of his ministerial role marked a significant change of course in Shields’ ministry.

In The Service of the Ministry of Information – 1918.

By the end of 1917, Shields had travelled the hostile waters of the Atlantic four times. Adventures on the high sea had stirred his restless spirits. The dangers he encountered gave him a sense of identification with the war effort. In retrospect, however, up to this point he had been merely a casual observer of the war. In 1918, all that changed with his introduction to the British Ministry of Information. By the end of 1918 Shields would lay claim to a measure of expertise on war matters that truly reshaped his own self-image and his ideals of ministry.

In the annual Baptist convention of 1917, Shields took his concerns regarding the war to the denomination. Trying to further promote awareness of the Canadian war effort

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 10. The *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg) made the same assertion concerning “a vote for the Kaiser.” Cf. Ramsey Cook and Réal Bélanger eds., *Canada’s Prime Ministers – Macdonald to Trudeau* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 216.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ T. T. Shields, “The Lord is a Man of War.” 6 September 1914, Sermon # 1098, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

he moved that the Convention appoint “some Baptist to visit the camps in England and France.”⁸² In hindsight, his motion appeared somewhat self-serving because in 1918 the Convention officially urged Shields to undertake the task.⁸³ This was the main justification he used later that year for the extension of his summer exchange by nearly four months.

Late in July 1918, Shields again sailed the Atlantic, this time upon a ship that was “one of sixteen ships in a convoy.” The ship he sailed on was the flagship of this particular fleet. Every ship in the convoy was British and all combined the fleet carried forty thousand American troops.⁸⁴ Shields found it noteworthy that on his return trip over five months later, aboard the *S. S. Mauretania*, he sailed with the first consignment of returning American soldiers.⁸⁵ Aboard ship Shields was able to boast of having travelled with several significant individuals with whom he interacted: “One was my cabin-companion, Sir Robert Falconer, President of Toronto University.”⁸⁶ A second was the famous ‘Tay Pay’ (T. P.) O’Connor, the father of the British House of Commons. And the third was “the famous - or notorious - Clarence Darrow, the criminal lawyer of Chicago.” Shields boasted of having talked religion with them and recorded the fact that Darrow in particular saw all religion as “dope.” Falconer formed a friendship with Shields and later in December when Shields had returned from France, Falconer presided over the meeting when Shields lectured on the war to over 2000 people under the title “The Fall of Lucifer.”⁸⁷ Aboard ship Shields and Falconer together attended an address that deeply moved both of them. The speaker was Maria Bochkareva, “the famous Russian peasant woman, who, with seventy Russian officers under her, commanded the celebrated Death Battalion on the Eastern Front.”⁸⁸ Bochkareva’s battalion had participated in the June Offensive, but after the October Revolution fell afoul of the Bolsheviks and was arrested and ordered to be executed. At the intervention of a friend

⁸² “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1917, 26.

⁸³ “Jarvis Street Baptists Unit [sic] for Dr. Shields,” *The Toronto Star*, 6 May 1920, 8.

⁸⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 77. Cf. T. T. Shields, “The United States and the War,” *GW*, 18:44, 7 March 1940, 1.

⁸⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 79.

⁸⁶ For more information on Falconer see James G. Greenlee, *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.)

⁸⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 78. The title “Father of the House” is a term of honour referring to the oldest member of the House of Commons or the longest serving member. O’Connor had a record of unbroken service amounting to forty-nine years, 215 days.

⁸⁸ T. T. Shields, “The Fall of Lucifer,” *GW* 20:16, 21 August 1941, 11.

she was spared and granted an external passport which she used to travel to the United States for a meeting with President Woodrow Wilson. With Wilson's promise to try and intervene, Bochkareva boarded ship for England in July of 1918 where she would be given an audience with King George V. It was on this trip that Shields and Falconer had the experience of hearing her impassioned plea for Russia. Bochkareva returned to Russia where she again fell into Bolshevik hands and was executed May 16, 1920.⁸⁹

Shields arrived safely in London to take up his summer ministry. Unfortunately, Shields' letter journal for this period is no longer extant. However, a number of letters do survive and his accounts of the events in his addresses on the war when he returned home summarized his experiences. Over the years, Shields often spoke of these experiences, either to validate his own prestige or to illustrate some spiritual principle that he was expounding. Shields again supplied the pulpit of London's Metropolitan Tabernacle, this time for the month of August. During his time in London, Shields was invited by the British Ministry of Information to "see Britain's war effort" and he became "a guest of the ministry ... over a period of four months." Shields long viewed this privilege as a recognition of his labours on behalf of Borden's Union Government and of his "unreserved support of the British cause."⁹⁰

In September as he awaited his pass to France unforeseen delays prompted the Ministry of Information to propose a tour of Ireland. Shields readily accepted the invitation and was even able to secure the inclusion of some ministerial friends: "Drs. Truett, Francis and Hoyt."⁹¹ The tour was arranged under the auspices of Lord Beaverbrook, and the group set off in the last week of September for a two week excursion.⁹² Shields and his companions met with political and social leaders from Londonderry in the north, to Cork in the south. Their first visits were to Belfast and

⁸⁹ Laurie Stoff, *They Fought for the Motherland: Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006) 212-213. For more on Maria Bochkareva see her autobiography: Maria Bochkareva, *Yashka: My Life as Peasant, Exile, and Soldier* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1919).

⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Censor ...," 11 (455).

⁹¹ T. T. Shields to "The Deacons of Jarvis Street Baptist Church Toronto," 2 November 1918, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

⁹² "Canadian Pastor Refuses to Testify for Outsiders on Conditions in Ireland," *Toronto Telegram*, 23 October 1920. Lord Beaverbrook was a Canadian but moved to London, England, in 1910. During WWI he represented the Canadian government. In 1917 he was made a peer and in 1918 became minister of information. He also wrote *Canada in Flanders*.

Dublin where they were hosted by the Mayor of Belfast, Lord Decies,⁹³ and Sir Frederick Shaw, “The commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland,” and Archbishop Crozier, “the Primate of all Ireland,” “the Chief Commissioner of Lands,” “the Commander of the Irish Constabulary,” and “a judge of supreme court.”⁹⁴ They were “privately entertained in the homes of leading Belfast Manufacturers,” visited the shipyards, and met deputations of working men.⁹⁵ Shields also boasted of having met some of the business classes including the proprietor of five Irish newspapers, Mr. Linus Nealy.⁹⁶ However, Shields insisted that every effort was made to avoid giving them a one-sided view of things and provision was made for them to meet a variety of individuals representing other sides of Irish opinion. They had conversations with Tim Healy and John Dillon the nationalist politician and Member of Parliament for over 35 years.⁹⁷ At Sinn Fein headquarters they met with the acting president of the organization Rev. Father O’Flannigan.⁹⁸ In Dublin Shields visited a number of bookstores looking for Sinn Fein material. In one such store the clerk, discovering his interest, offered him a number of “prohibited pamphlets” if he would get them to an American publisher. Shields refused the request but was able to take the literature none the less. Along with materials given him at Sinn Fein headquarters, he “reported their possession ... to the authorities” and “was given permission to keep them.”⁹⁹ In the end he was able to take home with him a rather large body of Sinn Fein material.

At the end of the tour Shields personally was given an extended interview with Sir Edward Carson.¹⁰⁰ Through the years Shields boasted repeatedly of the insights that he had been able to share with Carson about the Irish problem.¹⁰¹ Shields came away from

⁹³ This is possibly a reference to John Beresford, 5th Baron Decies (1866 - 1944). He was a representative peer for Ireland from 1912 - 1944.

⁹⁴ T. T. Shields, “A Lecture on Ireland,” *GW* 19:41, 13 February 1941, 10. (This lecture was first delivered in McMaster University Friday evening, December 10th, 1920.)

⁹⁵ T. T. Shields, “To the Deacons ...”

⁹⁶ T. T. Shields, “A Lecture on Ireland,” 11.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁹⁸ The president, de Valera, was currently in prison. T. T. Shields, “A Lecture on Ireland,” 11.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 (544).

¹⁰⁰ Lord Carson was a leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and held many positions in the Cabinet of the united Kingdom. The standard biography is H. Montgomery Hyde, *Carson: The Life of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Carson of Duncairn* (London: William Heinemann, 1953). For more recent treatment see, John Hostettler, *Sir Edward Carson: A Dream Too Far*, (Chichester: Barry Rose Law Publishers, 1997.)

¹⁰¹ cf. for instance T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW*, 13:43, 7 March 1935, 1.

the experience believing himself to be something of an expert on the Irish situation. He boasted that “in two weeks we met with the leaders of all shades of Irish opinion,¹⁰² and “saw more than perhaps one would ordinarily be able to see in ten years.”¹⁰³ He added the observation that “the Ministry of Information tells us that to no others have so many Irish leaders spoken, and so freely as to us.”¹⁰⁴ Later, on his return to Canada he lectured on the Irish problem at McMaster University, and a variety of other places. The deacons, however, would not allow him to repeat the address at Jarvis Street for fear of offending Catholics who patronized their businesses.¹⁰⁵ The lecture was published in the *Evening Telegram* and reprinted years later in *The Gospel Witness*.¹⁰⁶ Shields was also encouraged in this elevated opinion of himself by the invitation of the American “Committee of One Hundred Organized for the Investigation of Atrocities in Ireland” to testify before their commission.¹⁰⁷ Shields acknowledged his expertise on the subject but curtly declined the invitation. According to the media report of the correspondence, Shields refused “to have anything to do with the farcical and gratuitously impudent project.” He asked of them the rhetorical question, “Would the members of your Committee of One Hundred be willing to appear before a ‘Commission of Inquiry’ sitting in London and chosen of One Hundred Englishmen organized to investigate, let us say, the Negro problem of the South, or any other matter which was exclusively the business of the United States?”¹⁰⁸ The tour of Ireland left a lasting impression on Shields contributing to an inflation of his ego and a hardening of his attitudes toward the Roman Catholic Church.

¹⁰² T. T. Shields, “To the Deacons ...”

¹⁰³ T. T. Shields, “A Lecture on Ireland,” 15 (167).

¹⁰⁴ T. T. Shields, “To the Deacons ...”

¹⁰⁵ T. T. Shields, “The British Government’s attempt to ‘Appease’ Hitler and Mussolini,” *GW* 16:43, 3 March 1938, 12. Shields’ address was offensive to Catholics because he blamed the Catholic Church for the Irish problem. He informed Carson that Catholic education indoctrinated successive generations of young people with grievances from past centuries.

¹⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, “A Lecture on Ireland.”

¹⁰⁷ This “Committee of One Hundred,” with headquarters in New York, seems to have been formed as one of a number of US based philanthropic organizations arising out of post-war sentiment to promote social justice and long-term stability in Europe. Some of these concentrated their efforts on events in Ireland, particularly the Irish War of Independence, January 1919 to July 1921. The foreword to one such report justified investigation: “America has saved England in the late War from utter annihilation, and the voice of America ought to be potent in her councils.” Cf. Katherine Hughes, *English Atrocities in Ireland* (“Full text of ‘English atrocities in Ireland; a compilation of facts from court and press records, with a foreward by James D. Phelan.’”)

<http://archive.org/stream/englishatrocitie00hughuoft/englishatrocitie00hughuoft_djvu.txt> (16 April 2015).

¹⁰⁸ “Canadian Pastor Refuses ...,” *TT*, 23 October 1920.

Shields, therefore, made good use of his time through to the end of September and the first two weeks of October. On the 14th of October, Shields was finally able to cross the channel to France for the first of two trips. His goal was to visit with the Canadian Corps. He explained that “The chaplaincy services were anxious I should see the Canadians in detail and carry back some news of their work.” In his explanatory note to the deacons’ board giving the reasons for his delayed return, he argued: “This seemed a very reasonable request, the more so, as I should expect to report my observations chiefly to Canadian audiences.” These were the last days of the war and though Shields “motored fully 300 miles over the devastated part of France,” he did not see much of the Canadian troops. What he did see, however, left images seared upon his mind that even time could not entirely obliterate: “I saw hundreds of dead lying upon the ground; and miles, and miles, and miles of territory in the region of the Somme where not a living thing remained; where towns and villages had been blotted out of existence, and the whole face of the earth changed.” He said to some friends who were with him: “this looks as though something superhuman had been at work. It really looks as though hell had here been let loose.”¹⁰⁹

Shields, however, had been unsuccessful in finding Canadian troops, and so a second trip was arranged for later in November when he would again attempt to catch up with Canadian forces.¹¹⁰ The date set for this second excursion was November 10th. However, the events now rapidly transpiring at war’s end delayed his departure once again. The delay in obtaining passage, though, did mean that he was in London November 11th for “that wonderful day when the armistice was signed.”¹¹¹ Shields spoke of the emotions that erupted at the announcement: “Monday at ten-forty-five London was calm with an expectant hush. At eleven the announcement was made that the Armistice was signed, and was effective from that hour. And then the dam burst! The streets became as the channels of rivers along which there rushed mighty torrents of humanity.” Shields struggled to capture the exquisite sense of emotional release in his description of the event:

¹⁰⁹ T. T. Shields, “Great News - Jesus is Coming Again!” *GW* 3:27, 13 November 1924, 4.

¹¹⁰ T. T. Shields, “To the Deacons ...”

¹¹¹ T. T. Shields, to Mrs. T. T. Shields, November 1918, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

But the roar, and the froth, and the foam, and the rainbow-painted spray, were the outpourings and upleaping [sic] of the unspeakable joy of a great nation's heart. They commandeered everything on wheels; buses, taxis, lorries, cabs - nothing escaped. No one cared where they were going, and no one paid for going there! They made merry, and no one could say the British mind was lacking in inventiveness who observed the many ways of merry-making. Everyone spoke to everybody, and laughed with everybody, and seemed to love everybody. The soldiers were especially popular. A uniform gave the same warrant as a bit of mistletoe, and where the soldier's modesty made him hesitate to exercise his privilege, ladies of all classes went more than half way to meet him! One soldier told me he had been kissed at least a hundred times. And I, alas, had no uniform! The crowds besieged hotels, and restaurants, and all public places, and made old London ring with such shouts and songs of gladness as she had never in her long and glorious past heard before.¹¹²

That evening, Shields himself led the "great thanksgiving service at Spurgeon's Tabernacle."¹¹³ He was also on hand for the thanksgiving services held the next day at St. Paul's. This was almost the fulfilment of the hope he had expressed three years earlier when he had been a guest at St. Paul's for the intercessory service. On this occasion, however, he had to content himself with standing among the crowds thronged outside the precincts:

This time I stood outside where hundreds of thousands thronged the precincts of St. Paul's. And as the King and Queen, and members of the Government rode unguarded through that vast and exultant concourse of people, as I heard their tumultuous and affectionate applause, and caught the tone of triumph in those mighty acclamations, I closed my eyes, and looked with imagination on the world, and listened with imaginative ear until I could see and hear around the world a multitude which no man could number together with an innumerable angel-chorus, cry, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How are thou cut down to the ground that didst weaken the nations!"¹¹⁴

Shields finally did leave again for France and after touring Paris with his friend J. W. Hoyt wrote to his mother and sisters of the scenes of celebration as Paris celebrated "the restoration of Alsace - Lorraine to France":¹¹⁵

A procession of 150,000 was to march down the magnificent Avenue Champs d'Elysees from the Arch de Triumph to the Place de la Concorde. We had covered the ground the day before, and we saw the hundreds and hundreds of captured German guns of all descriptions littering the Place de la Concorde and adjacent

¹¹² T. T. Shields, "The Fall of Lucifer," 16.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Alsace- Lorraine was lost to France during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 - 1871.

avenues. The Strasbourg Monument which had been draped with mourning for 48 years was still draped - but the drapery was covered with flowers. ... All Paris was in the street and nearly all crammed into the Avenue ... leading to the Concorde. I have seen crowds in London and elsewhere, but nothing approaching this. ... And I could feel the emotion - The ... President of the French Republic removed the mourning from the Strasbourg monument and welcomed it back home to the bosom of France. At the same time swarms of carrier pigeons - there appeared to be thousands of them, they rose like a cloud over that historic square where the German armies had camped as Conquerors in 1870, and flew away to all the towns and villages of France bearing the news that Alsace-Lorraine were restored!

116

From Paris, Shields travelled to Boulogne from which point a car was standing by to drive him in pursuit of the Canadian troops "who were by this time on the march toward Germany as part of the army of occupation." Though his time was limited, Shields was "most anxious to follow them ... and get as far on the way toward Germany as possible." Though he did not expect to actually "set foot on German soil," he did hope to get as far as Brussels. This trip was among the most significant events in all of Shields' war experiences. With him on his drive was "an officer of 'the old contemptibles,'" Captain H. G. Gilliland.¹¹⁷ Together they drove "thousands of miles" across French territory visiting one scene of devastation after another.¹¹⁸ From first-hand observation Shields would relate: "Her [France's] losses have been colossal. I have seen tens of thousands of her graves. Her mining and industrial centres have been in the hand of the enemy. I have seen war's destruction. Cities reduced to ashes. Bethune, Bapaume, Peronne, Albert, many others. Villages obliterated. Land like the waves of the sea."¹¹⁹ Perhaps even more significant than the scenes unfolding around him were the stories told to him by Gilliland. Gilliland, more than many, harboured a deep hostility towards the "Hun." Having been captured early in the war he was held as a prisoner of war in Germany before escaping. When he returned to England, he wrote a book entitled: *My German Prisons: Being the Experiences of an officer during two and a Half Years as a*

¹¹⁶ T. T. Shields, to Mrs. T. T. Shields.

¹¹⁷ "The Old Contemptibles" was a name adopted by British troops of the regular army in 1914. It likely originated in a comment of the German Kaiser who in exasperation at the delay of German troops in France referred to "Sir John French's contemptible little army." cf. "firstworldwar.com," <<http://www.firstworldwar.com/atoz/oldcontemptibles.htm>> (July 2, 2010).

¹¹⁸ T. T. Shields, "The Fall of Lucifer," 10.

¹¹⁹ T. T. Shields, "The Sword of Victory," 19.

Prisoner of War. The book was published in 1918 in a deliberate attempt to stir up animosity against the German State and to resist rising pacifistic sentiments among the British people. Noting a growing despondency and war weariness he concluded: "If the revelations disclosed herein bring home ... a knowledge of the infamous, relentless, and savage character of the Hun, deliberately dehumanised by the State for the purposes of the State, the writer will feel that his labour has not been in vain."¹²⁰

Gilliland's stories filled Shields with great animosity toward Germans and were perhaps among the most significant instruments in producing within him the militancy that hereafter so profoundly characterized his ministry. Furthermore, Shields became more and more resolute in his own denunciations of pacifism, a resolve that hardened rapidly as he was confronted on all sides by the horrific evidence of human depravity:

He told me many things which the censor would not permit him to publish, and other things which are too horrible to print. But he saw the working of the German mind in the days when Germany thought she was winning. And from intimate association with him I learned that the fiendishly ingenious tortures of the dark ages, and the horrible mutilations of their captives by savage tribes, would rank as courtesies in comparison with the infernal inventions of the mind of a German prison commandant. They studied to inflict the most exquisite tortures upon the mind, to crucify the spirit, to drag the soul through all the filth of Prussian bestiality, to condense eternal torment into time, to throttle hope, and to drive their captives to the madness of despair.¹²¹

Shields was successful in his attempts to meet with Canadian troops. At Mons he came to "the Headquarters of the Canadian Army Corps." Also at Mons Shields heard that some of the officers were going to travel to Brussels to witness the return of King Albert of Belgium to his capital. Shields was invited to accompany three officers who planned to make the trip. Having accepted their invitation he travelled together with them in an open car and Shields later remembered how cold the ride was noting "we had to substitute the mental warmth of satisfaction which the knowledge of victory afforded."¹²² Though the streets were thronged when they arrived, the four were able to find a vantage point from which to view the parade on the fourth floor balcony of an office building. Again Shields recorded his reflections of the event:

¹²⁰ Capt. H. G. Gilliland, *My German Prisons: Being the Experiences of an officer during two and a Half Years as a Prisoner of War*. (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918) preface.

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, "The Fall of Lucifer," 10.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 16.

At length we heard the sound of horses' hoofs, and the rumble of heavy wheels approaching, and presently the King and Queen came into view each mounted upon white chargers. Their children, mounted, rode behind them. Then came units of the Allied Armies led by high-ranking Generals. The British, the French, the Italians, the Americans, were all there, and then, thousands strong, their guns and other equipment accompanying them, a contingent of the Belgian army.

Shields expressed some surprise at the reactions of the crowd:

I expected a great outburst of cheering but instead, as the King appeared, a profound silence fell upon the vast multitude. My companions on the balcony were in tears, and so was I. So far as I could discern the same was true of nearly everyone in that great concourse. The lady standing on the chair at my side whispered to herself through her tears, "Magnifique! Magnifique!"¹²³

During the course of his four months as a guest of the Ministry of Information Shields was given a large number of opportunities to see and assess the strength of Britain's war effort. He visited a factory which "outside of Krupps," he was informed was "the largest munitions plant in the world." Before the war, the plant had employed about fifteen thousand labourers but by war's end was employing over ninety thousand. "I saw them making the great guns, and building warships of all sorts, from submarines to super-dreadnoughts." He was overwhelmed at the size of the plant. "That one plant alone stretches for seven and a half miles along the bank of the Tyne, and in that one establishment there were more workers employed than the entire army under Wellington's command at Waterloo."¹²⁴ In the office of Sir Glynn West, "Lloyd George's technical first lieutenant when Minister of munitions," Shields was shown the photographs of other munitions factories located throughout the country. He was informed of the relative contributions of the United States and Canada to the munitions used in the war noting that for all but the first three months of the war "eighty-two and a half per cent" of all the munitions employed were produced in Britain.¹²⁵

Shields was also taken to one of the "principal aerodromes." There, officers demonstrated the superiority of British aircraft by allowing him to inspect aircraft brought down by Britain's air force. These had been pieced together from many of the

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

wrecks in an attempt to learn all about them. Shields was shown how desperate the Germans had become in the manufacture of their planes. "He showed us how their material was deteriorating, their substitutes for rubber, their wing-cloth made from thistles." Later when Shields was taken to "the great linen mills of Belfast," he saw first hand how the British were establishing superiority in the air as he watched them "making only aeroplane cloth - not of thistles, but of the finest linens."¹²⁶

He was also taken to England's tankodrome.¹²⁷ "I saw where the tanks were made, and where they were assembled and tested and by what means their secret was so cleverly kept." Later he was actually able to ride in one of the latest tanks through the Hindenburg trench. He told how it "rode over logs, and through shell-holes, and over all sorts of obstructions. It was not exactly like a Pullman car, but it was thrilling. It carried its bridge with it. Pushed it ahead and threw it across the canal, went over it, and picked it up, and carried it along for the next gap."¹²⁸

One of the most impressive sights that Shields experienced came with his visit to the Grand Fleet. "It was my privilege to visit the Grand Fleet, and to sail down between those miles of floating fortresses. I saw the famous *Lion*, Admiral Beatty's flagship at the Battle of Jutland, a ship which the Germans officially sank four times!" He noted sarcastically "That is the only way of sinking the British *Lion* - on paper!" He also saw the current flagship, "*The Queen Elizabeth*," and spoke personally over lunch with Sir Philip Watt, the ship's designer. He also spoke of the "many other famous ships" he passed as well as "the American battle-fleet." Again, he was entrusted with statistics, this time of the size and strength of the fleet. From the outset of the war, he testified, Britain had increased its fleet from "twelve ... mine sweepers and patrol boats" to "thirty-three hundred." In these great ships Shields saw the last line of defence for the world's liberties. "But what if I were to describe those long lines of gray hulls, their cleared decks, their heavy armour, their mighty guns, all ready to speak in righteousness and might to save the liberties of the world? ... then these gray monsters are fused into an invincible whole; animated by one spirit, moved by one passion, directed toward one

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ T. T. Shields, "The Sword of Victory," 24.

¹²⁸ T. T. Shields, "The Fall of Lucifer," 13.

aim; a single weapon in the hand of a Free Democracy and mightily used for the weal of the whole world.”¹²⁹

In December of 1918, Shields sailed from Liverpool aboard the *Mauritania*, the first ship to deliver American troops to the shores of the United States at war’s end, and so he was once again on hand for the celebrations. He spoke of the trip in which he and his friend J. W. Hoyt were the only civilians aboard and which was the roughest of all his crossings. Undaunted by the ferocious winds and towering waves, emotions stirred by scenes of war and celebration flowed unrestrained throughout his whole being:

The weather was terrific, high seas, and a seventy-mile gale, but as Neptune played his grand organ - the majestic open diapason, with all the magnificent orchestral harmonies of a storm at sea, to my ears the wind and the thunderous waves did but echo the acclamations of London, and Paris, and Brussels. And at New York, as ours was the first ship to bring American soldiers home, I heard it again, and louder than anywhere else. But it was the same exultant cry!

The scenes of victory that stirred his heart as he braved the storm fired his imagination with visions of the triumphs he hoped soon to see repeated in the spiritual and ecclesiastical realm. Coming home fully apprised of the immense cost by which “the Sword of Victory was forged and fashioned and how it was skilfully [sic] wielded until it was driven with fatal force to the heart of tyranny,” Shields prepared himself to wield the sword to obliterate the last vestiges of Germanic influence from America’s shores.¹³⁰

Home from War: Evaluation of a Changing Perspective.

The pivotal character of Shields’ first decade in Jarvis Street resulted from a combination of two significant factors. The first was the restraint imposed upon Shields by the culture of respectability and his growing restlessness under its dictates. The second was the traumatic shock of a war in which he became deeply engaged. His observations of that war directly shaped the character of his response to the restraints facing him at home.

Historians have largely overlooked the significance of these years as an interpretative tool for understanding Shields’ subsequent militancy. Of the four assessments of Shields’ early career given by Tarr, Dallimore, Dozois and Parent, only

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Sword of Victory,” 1.

two saw anything of a pivotal character in Shields' first decade at Jarvis Street. Most were even less discerning regarding the impact of the war.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the war received no comment in their historical assessments. For instance, many of Shields' experiences in these years played well to Leslie Tarr's idealization of the Shields persona. Tarr argued that the war was very important to Shields. Shields was outspoken as an opponent of pacifism and Tarr spoke clearly of Shields' fear that "a German victory would be a blow to civilization and a hindrance to the progress of the gospel." Tarr boasted that, as an avid war supporter, Shields was used by Borden to solicit support for the Union Government and the call for conscription. This political position, argued Tarr, also led to Shields' first confrontation with Catholicism. Shields' uncompromising call for conscription incurred the displeasure of the "Canadian Roman Catholic hierarchy because of his well-documented contention that Roman Catholic Quebec was hindering the implementation of an all-out national war-effort."¹³¹ Even more important for Tarr, however, were Shields' preaching engagements in Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle during the war years. Tarr acknowledged that these engagements along with his visits with Spurgeon's son, Thomas, reinforced his growing self-identity as the Spurgeon of Canada. Tarr was also quick to note Shields' growing international prestige with his invitation to the Service of Thanksgiving and Intercession at St. Paul's Cathedral. Shields' stature was further reinforced by Tarr with his storied descriptions of Shields' interaction with his ecclesiastical companions on the Irish tour. Though all three were leading dignitaries in their own denominations, in their subsequent adventures, Tarr subtly suggested that Shields took the leadership role among this group.¹³² Tarr even provided anecdotal evidence that Shields was increasingly popular with secular dignitaries. He told the story of Shields' encounter with T. P. O'Connor and Clarence Darrow aboard the Cunard liner *Carmania*: "What an opportunity! What a picture! The greatest criminal advocate of the age in conference on the high seas with one of the outstanding advocates for the Lord Jesus Christ."¹³³ For Tarr, Shields' war experiences left a deep impression, but such

¹³¹ Leslie K Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967), 58.

¹³² Tarr, 58-60.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 60.

experiences were not particularly pivotal. Tarr cited the various experiences as further evidence to support his interpretative framework which sought to portray Shields as the Spurgeon of Canada.

In similar fashion, Arnold Dallimore used the experiences of these years to illustrate something of the character of the man he sought to describe. For Dallimore, Shields' support of Britain and Empire were particularly pronounced. He listed the various sermon titles he used during the war years to illustrate the intersection between Shields' imperial and ecclesiastical interests. He spoke of his strong support for enlistment and noted the 289 men that he was able to send from his own church to the war effort. Dallimore even provided Shields' patriotic excuse for not enlisting himself: "All ministers in that day had much to do in keeping up the morale of the people at home."¹³⁴ However, for Dallimore, Shields' visits to London's Metropolitan Tabernacle were more important than his war experiences: "And since he had already reached his first goal, the pastorate of the major Baptist Church in Canada, and as he had preached for some two months during each of four years in the most prominent Baptist Church in the world, he felt he had cause to assume that he would receive a call to become its pastor as soon as its pulpit became vacant. He waited impatiently for that event to take place."¹³⁵ Dallimore's interpretation of Shields was of a man embittered by his rejection by the Tabernacle. For Dallimore, this was the pivotal issue. The war was an interesting experience and reflected his British character, but was of little consequence to Shields' subsequent development.

Unlike Tarr, Shields' war experiences received very little attention from John Dozois. Though he dedicated a section of one chapter to Shields and the war, the period was notable for Dozois only for a number of coincidental events. He discussed Shields' dissatisfaction with a proposed addition to the church building and seemed to hint at Shields' relief at the disruption of the project with the outbreak of war. Dozois addressed the matter of Shields' extended absences from Jarvis Street during the war years as he ministered repeatedly in Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle. He also briefly addressed

¹³⁴ Arnold Dallimore, *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalist* (Leamington: unpublished manuscript, c. 2001), 29.

¹³⁵ Dallimore, 31.

the question of Shields' expected call to the Tabernacle, noting some of the debate surrounding the issue. Dozois acknowledged the interpretative significance of the question with brief mention of the opposing points of view. He noted the accusations of some that failure to receive a call embittered Shields and led to the acerbic demeanor so often identified in Shields. Dozois indicated that others believed a call had indeed been received and quoted one of Shields' associates to the effect that Shields had refused the call in light of the developing controversy in Ontario. Dozois, however, did not weigh in on the controversy himself. The other matters of significance that Dozois identified in these years were the loss of many of the Church's young people to the war effort, and the honorary doctorates received in the period. Undoubtedly, Dozois saw the experiences of this period as contributing to Shields' rising influence among the Baptists of Ontario, and to Shields' own inflated view of self. However, there was no consideration at all of the impact of Shields' war experiences *per se*.¹³⁶

Mark Parent was the only one of Shields' critical interpreters to consider the actual impact of his war experiences. "The war was an important turning point for Shields," Parent insisted.¹³⁷ For Parent, the war had two significant consequences in Shields' ministry. The first, a notion refuted in the previous chapter, was Parent's contention that the war marked the end of Shields' evangelical commitment. The second was the birth of an "attitude of militancy." "The war," suggested Parent, "imparted to him a sense of uneasiness concerning the direction in which Canadian society was heading along with an attitude of militancy which gave expression to that concern." The first aspect of this new militancy, then, Parent discovered in the context of social activism.

Undoubtedly, some of the observations made by these men about the impact of the war years on Shields are correct. Their collective weakness, however, is that they do not go far enough. For the most part, the war as a formative element for Shields' subsequent ministry was overlooked. Even where attempts were made to identify changes occurring within Shields, their interpretations were skewed to fit respective interpretative models. Dallimore viewed Shields as a bitter and combative individual, and he traced the

¹³⁶ John D. E. Dozois, "Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism" (B. D. Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1963), 64-65.

¹³⁷ Mark Parent, "The Christology of T.T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism" (Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, March 1991), 23.

roots of this bitterness to this period. For Dallimore, Shields' bitterness had to do with his expectations regarding a pastorate in London and had little or nothing to do with the war. Only Mark Parent wrestled with the question of the war's impact. Here again Parent seems to have been overly influenced by the interpretative model that he was developing. Parent imagined a great irony, the irony that in defending orthodoxy Shields stepped outside of the orthodoxy he sought to defend. For Parent, Shields' apparent departure from evangelism was a key plank in that process.¹³⁸ Underlying that deviation was a "militancy instilled by the war" which disrupted his former balance. Where Parent described "a new commitment to militancy" he was on the right track.¹³⁹ However, even here his interpretative model skewed his perspective. Parent argued that Shields' vision of a righteous war producing a more righteous society soon proved to be overly optimistic. However, far from despairing of the vision, Shields believed that just as victory had been won in the trenches victory "could come to the Church which was willing to transform society through militant action."¹⁴⁰ Though Parent is correct to find in Shields "a new commitment to militancy," Parent's understanding of the character of that militancy was simplistic. In the first place, it was not just the war that imparted to Shields the "sense of uneasiness concerning the direction in which Canadian society was heading" or the beginnings of Shields' social activism. Two years before the world went to war, Shields had already commenced his campaign against deteriorating social standards in the St. Clair affair and even as early as 1901 had engaged actively in social commentary regarding the alcohol industry.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, the decade following Shields' war experiences, saw relatively little of Shields' social activism, but rather witnessed a formal declaration of war on theological modernism. When, in 1923, Shields helped found the Baptist Bible Union and became its first president, he demanded: "What then can be our answer to Modernism's declaration of war? There can be but one answer. The Baptist Bible Union is designed to mobilize the Conservative Baptist forces of the continent, for the express purpose of

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³⁹ Mark Parent, "T. T. Shields and the First World War," in *McMaster Journal of Theology*, Vol. 2, No. 2, Fall 1991, 54.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁴¹ For discussion of the St. Clair Affair see above Chapter Two 123 - 125. For early social commentary see above Chapter One, pages 55 - 56.

declaring and waging relentless and uncompromising war on Modernism on all fronts. We are resolved that we will not surrender the faith once for all delivered to the saints."¹⁴² Undoubtedly, Shields argued that modernism's undermining of the Bible's spiritual authority would ultimately have a social consequence. "Beyond question, modernism in the religious life of the nation is having the effect of lowering the moral standards everywhere."¹⁴³ However, at this point, his first concern was not societal but ecclesiastical. "The future of evangelical religion," remarked Shields, "will be largely influenced by the attitude the Christian leaders of to-day assume toward the forces of disintegration which are now at work in the Christian church."¹⁴⁴ Shields certainly did have secondary concerns about the deterioration of societal standards; however, at this critical juncture of his life, his militancy was not directed so much against social drift as against doctrinal deviation. It would be more correct to argue that certain trends were initiated by the war which would in years to come result in social and political activism. However, the immediacy suggested by Parent is misleading and the relegation of Shields' militancy to the realm of social activism fails to capture the scope of the changes coming upon him.

There can be little doubt that upon his return from England in 1918, things quickly changed in Shields' ministerial demeanour and outlook. Over the next few years, this same man who had never suffered through a church split and had been used by the denomination for his conciliatory skills, now split his own church down the middle and dragged his whole denomination into the bitterest rupture in its history. At home in Jarvis Street a faction was becoming increasingly restive under a ministry they found to be increasingly more controversial. They complained: "Dr. Shields' ways do not appeal to a quiet peace-loving people, such as we are. He is a fighter all the time."¹⁴⁵ In the pivotal convention of 1926 in First Avenue Baptist church, one delegate was led to the observation: "Three years ago in the Emmanuel Baptist Church there was not a man who would not have voted for Dr. Shields and followed his leadership; to-day I challenge anybody to find a single man who has any confidence in any statement that Dr. Shields

¹⁴² T.T. Shields, "A Holy War," *GW* 2:6, 21 June 1923, 5.

¹⁴³ T. T. Shields, *The Necessity of Declaring War on Modernism* (Toronto: n.p. 1925), 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁴⁵ "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *The Toronto Daily Star*, 12 October 1921, sec. 1, 2.

makes.” Moments later the same delegate remarked: “These things are crippling the Lord’s work. If slandering the brethren is Satan’s work, if robbing men of God of their good name is dishonourable, if disrupting churches and sowing disunion is wicked, if undermining the health of noble and Christian men is cruel, then I beseech Dr. Shields to come to repentance, for he has committed every one of these offences.”¹⁴⁶ Both inside his church and outside, a new and more caustic Dr. Shields was emerging. Shields would have explained the changes in his demeanour as a necessary response to the enormity of the threat facing evangelical Christianity. Shields now viewed himself as a heroic warrior, set for the defence of the faith. While the import of the issues being fought over certainly contributed to the magnitude and speed of his metamorphosis, it is equally arguable that Shields’ immersion in the affairs of war over the previous four years led to significant shifts in outlook and behaviour.

War now increasingly became the defining metaphor in Shields’ view of the Christian faith. Early in his career and before his involvement in the First World War, Shields had a much more “other-worldly” view of the warfare in which he was to be engaged. The connection between “great conflicts” of the physical and spiritual realms lay in the sphere of principles. In his early sermons Shields was quick to find illustrations in contemporary battles of spiritual realities. Nevertheless, the connection between the two realms was tenuous and served primarily to provide illustrative material. “In every great conflict,” he argued, “the warring peoples are representative of warring principles, and from the issue of such battles useful lessons may always be learned.” For instance, at the conclusion of the war between Russia and Japan in 1905, he impressed upon his congregation the importance of making peace with God. At that time, though, he was quick to note: “I am aware that the now historic conflict between Russia & Japan can only partially illustrate the battle between the soul and God.”¹⁴⁷ However, with the advent of the Great War the connections between physical and spiritual dimensions quickly deepened.

¹⁴⁶ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod, McMaster’s New Name” *GW* 5:26, 4 November 1926, 155-156. (This was an expanded issue of *The Gospel Witness*. In its earliest form the magazine commonly ran to 8 pages. As controversy unfolded editions began to run over 20 pages. This particular edition was 176 pages in length and was printed as a separate booklet.)

¹⁴⁷ T. T. Shields “The End of the War.” (London: 1905) Sermon # 659. “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

These vital interconnections first became evident in Shields' letters which he sent home from England during the First World War. It would seem that the intersection between the physical and spiritual worlds evolved in Shields' mind as he increasingly imagined himself to be an active participant in the war. His ministerial concerns quickly dovetailed with his developing military fixation. When Shields travelled to England in the summer of 1915 aboard the *Arabic*, a ship already on the German "hit list," he boasted about the fact that he was fully aware of the situation when he booked passage. In some of his accounts of the trip, there is almost a sense that by travelling under the Union Jack aboard a ship carrying munitions to the war front and marked for destruction by the enemy he was actively identifying himself with or even enlisting himself in the war effort. It was a mark, too, of his manhood and courage that he did not shrink from the dangers involved.

The developing interconnection between the wars of the physical and spiritual realms was further indicated in these letters by his musings concerning his father's former ministries in Wales. While visiting England in 1915, Shields took the opportunity to make a trip to the scenes of his childhood. As he walked the roads of Blaenavon in Wales, where his father had ministered from 1881 to 1884, Shields considered the challenges of ministering in such a difficult environment both there and later in Bristol. Nostalgically, as the smell of the fish shops triggered his memory, Shields reflected on his father's ministry in 1881 and 1882: "There are heroes of peace as well as of war and ... 'battles and victories' in the wars of the Lord, are fought and won - literally in trenches, as hard to hold and as foul to live in as the trenches in Flanders and France."¹⁴⁸ In almost romantic fashion, Shields had begun to celebrate the struggles of the ministry in terms of war. The work of ministry he now likened to fighting in "trenches" and the difficulties of that calling he now equated with trench warfare in "Flanders and France." There can be little doubt that as his exposure to war intensified his ministerial outlook changed. As he encountered resistance in his own church and then in the denomination, his mind was quick to romanticize that opposition by reference to the heroic defence of Flanders and France.

¹⁴⁸ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 19 August 1915.

Arguably, one of the most dramatic consequences of this growing conflation of spiritual and physical was the loss of the otherworldly aspect so characteristic of Shields' early ministry. While this element never entirely disappeared, it became less and less prominent in subsequent years. There was a subtle elevation in Shields' mind of the significance of contemporary events and a growing tendency to spiritualize such events. The war marked the genesis of this trend and set the trajectory towards his later absorption into political matters in the 1930's and thereafter. His fascination with the unfolding scenes of war increasingly diverted his attention from the eternal to the temporal. Shields' justification for his obsession with the temporal affairs of war was to find spiritual meanings in events, often so elevating the importance of temporal circumstances as to speak of them in a spiritual fashion. For instance, Shields' Blaenavon contemplations were reverential in character. Speaking of the perpetual filth covering Blaenavon's residents particularly the "little boys," Shields commented: "With black unyouthful faces! - these are they who supply power to our mighty engines of war, and preserve, inviolate the shores of lovely England, and no less lovely Wales and in so doing maintain the menaced liberties of the world!" He concluded: "Therefore all hail Blaenavon! ... You are no less worthy of respect and even renown than the stoker in the hold of a battleship for you shovel out the coal and he shovels it in!"¹⁴⁹

Shields' reflections concerning his beloved Britain were even more obvious in this regard. As Shields observed and reflected upon the war effort first hand he quickly developed a deep fascination with Britain's heroic defence of not only the territorial integrity of its empire, but also the spiritual traditions and principles which to his mind had laid the foundations of freedom and civilization. His patriotic and imperialistic musings contained a spiritual component and demonstrated a quality that could even be described as a form of jingoism.¹⁵⁰ Britain, for Shields, was the champion of truth,

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ "Jingoism" was also called "chauvinism". Both of these terms came into vogue in late nineteenth century Britain. They were radical expressions of nationalism. To be chauvinistic or jingoistic meant seeing one's own nation as superior to all others and being ready to fight to prove it. A popular British music hall song of the period put it this way: "We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do, We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too!" Aline Waites and Robin Hunter, *The Illustrated Victorian Songbook* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1984) 180-184. For more on Jingoism see Richard N. Price, "Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Class Patriotism, 1870-1900" in Geoffrey Crossick ed. *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London : Croom Helm, 1977), 89-112.

righteousness and justice while Germany was “Diabolos,” the living incarnation of everything Satanic. “Time would fail me,” contended Shields, “to sketch the Satanic features of this character even in barest outline, except to say that the modern German mind has shown itself incapable even of entertaining any conception of truth or honor, or of those fundamental national virtues which are essential to the peaceful relations of sovereign states.”¹⁵¹ Britain, by contrast, was the true home of freedom:

London’s greatness is of another order. She is a symbol of the Empire of which she is the capital. It is a greatness which is born of centuries of struggle not so much with others as with herself. Britain’s liberties have been bought with a price. With respect to her wealth of civil and religious freedom, Britain is not a Mrs. Newrich. Her liberty is a family tradition, her freedom a heritage bought with blood.¹⁵²

As noted earlier in Shields’ encomium on London, his admiration of England’s exalted place in the history of civilization bordered on worship: “Oh London! Intangible, fascinating, incomparable, paradoxical, mighty, glorious London!” For Shields, God had granted England a peculiar place in history so that it had now become “the bulwark of the world’s liberties.”¹⁵³ Years later as the Second World War was unfolding, Shields sounded much the same boast:

In view of Britain’s history, I am compelled to believe that God has a singular favour to the British Empire; since more than any other national entity in the world, He has been pleased to use it for the furtherance of His kingdom - and I think He will continue to do so until the day when Christ Himself shall return.¹⁵⁴

Clearly, Shields spiritualized the war in almost every part. To his mind World War One brought into vital interconnection forces that were playing themselves out in the physical realm and in the spiritual realm. This was truly a war for righteousness, justice and truth and its battles were being waged simultaneously in both realms. On the practical level this allowed Shields to imagine himself a direct participant in conflict, offering leadership in the spiritual conflict that was unfolding and recruiting soldiers from his following for the physical conflict. From his pulpit, he thought to lead the spiritual

¹⁵¹ T. T. Shields, “Address on World War I: The Sword of Victory.” (Toronto: 1919) “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁵² T. T. Shields, “Imperial London At War.”

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ T. T. Shields, “The Shadow of Thy Wings,” *GW* 21:17, 27 August 1942, 3.

charge against the enemies of righteousness. In a 1915 sermon entitled, “Germany and Future Punishment,” Shields argued that Germany was the superlative embodiment of moral evil. He chose as his text Luke 11:50: “That the blood of all the prophets, which was shed from the foundation of the world, may be required of this generation.” Citing the principle of accumulating guilt as taught here by Christ concerning His own death at the hands of the Jews, Shields drew a rather tenuous link to Germany’s guilt: “It would be easy to relate innumerable instances of German villainy, and thus to stir your emotions. But there is no time for details, and I have no disposition to appeal to passion. Let me rather show you, in the light of this text, something of the heinousness of Germany’s offence.” He asked: “What has she done? Ravaged Belgium and shed the blood of tens of thousands of others?” Not surprisingly, however, Shields found her greatest guilt to lie in the assault on liberty:

That is the least of her offences. Her destruction of the University of Louvain was a symbolic act. With all her boasted culture, she has turned her back upon all the lessons of history, upon all human learning of morals; and, by her attempted conquest of Europe, she has taken upon herself the guilt of the blood of all who have died in the cause of freedom from the foundation of the world; she has entered into league with the spirit of every despot whose ambition ever cursed the earth.¹⁵⁵

To Shields’ way of thinking this amounted to nothing less than a second crucifixion of Christ: “The war involves, I say, the repudiation of Christianity, a second crucifixion of Christ, and an attempt to banish the principles of which He is the incarnation from the earth.”¹⁵⁶

Shields traced the genesis of the war to German rationalism which, in the physical realm, resulted in Germany’s quest for world domination, and in the theological realm manifested itself as an all-out assault against the bastions of supernaturalism.¹⁵⁷ What would become the fundamentalist contention with modernism was merely the spiritual dimension of the First World War. Although the physical war in Europe ended in 1918, Shields believed that the struggle against “Germanism” in the spiritual sphere was only

¹⁵⁵ T. T. Shields, “Germany and Future Punishment,” in *Revelations of the War; Eight Sermons* (Toronto: The Standard Publishing Co., 1915), 57-58. (Hereafter, *Revelations of the War*).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 58.

¹⁵⁷ This was a recurring theme in Shields war addresses. See for instance “The Fall of Lucifer” (1919). “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto. Cf. *GW* 20:16, 21 August 1941, 9.

just heating up. As noted above, when Shields gave the inauguration speech at the founding of the Baptist Bible Union in 1923, he identified the sole purpose for uniting: “The Baptist Bible Union is designed to mobilize the Conservative Baptist forces of the continent, for the express purpose of declaring and waging relentless and uncompromising war on Modernism on all fronts. We are resolved that we will not surrender the faith once for all delivered to the saints.”¹⁵⁸ In 1924, he penned an editorial entitled “The Devil’s Peace Offensive.” In this publication, Shields illustrated the vital link between the fundamentalist campaign and England’s defence of liberty as he discussed the Kaiser’s “peace offensive.” Noting something of the catastrophic results which would have occurred had the “pacifists” carried the day in 1916, Shields moved the discussion into the spiritual realm by showing the parallel threat on the religious front. “There is a close analogy,” claimed Shields, “to this historic incident in the peace offensive in which the rationalistic hosts are now engaged.” Noting the condemnations of those who “contend for the faith” or “disturb the peace of Zion” Shields spoke of the great danger presented by this religious pacifism:

Rationalism has declared war upon every fundamental of the Christian faith; and when believers refuse to surrender them, we are charged with disturbing the peace of Zion. The peace offensive of Modernism is no more sincere than that of the Kaiser. Were Fundamentalists to yield, the conditions of peace behind their proposal would be found to be the surrender of every principle of supernatural religion.¹⁵⁹

Another dimension of the eroded distinction between the secular and spiritual spheres was Shields’ growing identification of secular opponents with spiritual enemies. With his justification of hatred in his 1915 sermon “The Virtue of Hatred,” Shields now began to focus his personal animosity against personalities whom he saw as agents of the devil’s work. While the sermon was a clear admonition to hate evil, at places it bordered on an appeal to hate the evil doer. He spoke approvingly of the late Dr. Parker’s cursing of “the Sultan, Abdul Hammid.” In light of subsequent events, Shields’ advocated the

¹⁵⁸ T.T. Shields, “A Holy War,” *GW* 2:6, 21 June 1923, 5.

¹⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, “The Devil’s Peace Offensive.” (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1924) This editorial reproduced in *The Gospel Witness* of 14 August 1924 from *The Western Recorder*, Louisville, Ky. was published separately as a pamphlet.

same for the Kaiser.¹⁶⁰ His own attitudes were poignantly expressed in this regard in letters to his family in 1915. Speaking of his visit to one victim of the war, Shields commented: “When I looked at him I felt toward the Kaiser as I hope I always feel toward the devil.”¹⁶¹ While such sentiments were perhaps common in that era, it seems that this tendency to hate the personality behind the action became more and more pronounced in Shields’ subsequent conflicts with modernism and Catholicism. The bitterness of many of his denunciations left him open to charges of hatefulness and by late in his career led one observer to identify him as the “hatingest man in all Ontario.”¹⁶²

It is certainly true that Shields was not the only ecclesiastic deeply impacted by the war. A new militancy in the work of the Gospel was widespread and was reflected in the post war inter-church conventions. Donald Goertz in *Baptists and Public Life in Canada* identified the vision of the movement that resulted. In a discussion of the role of padres in the war he pointed out the inspiration they had taken from “admirable soldiers of self-sacrifice and dedication.” On their return home the stories of these men were retold “with powerful effect.” He identified the concomitant assumption “that these men, newly recommitted to their faith, had learned how to sacrifice for God, King, and country, and that this willingness to put everything on the line would carry over into religious life back home.” Goertz concluded: “This led to a widespread belief that with this attitude of sacrifice, all of the problems that had been growing before the war could be encountered and overcome. The forward Movement was born of that assumption and was its resulting vision.”¹⁶³ Richard Allen in his book *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914 – 1928* identified American connections and goals:

In 1919 there emerged on the North American scene a church movement with broad vistas and high ambitions for the fulfilling of the social and world responsibilities of the church. To this end it planned to link the energies and programs of some thirty churches. The first project of this Inter-Church World Movement in the United States was to raise \$1,300,000,000 over five years.”¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Virtue of Hatred,” in *Revelations of the War*, 37; cf. *The Canadian Baptist*, Vol. 61, 24 June 1915, 2-3.

¹⁶¹ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 11 August 1915.

¹⁶² Kenneth Johnstone, “Toronto’s Dr. Shields” *The Standard*, 1946, 3.

¹⁶³ Donald Goertz, “A Missed Opportunity,” in *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*. ed. Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson (Eugene Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012) 310.

¹⁶⁴ Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914 -1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 137.

According to Allen a similar movement took root in Canada:

The Inter-Church Forward Movement, as it was called in Canada, was born in the winter of 1917-1918 and formerly established on 6 March 1918 under the guidance of a central Committee of Forty, representing the Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist, and Congregational churches, and the Missionary Education movement.¹⁶⁵

The Inter-Church Forward Movement made great strides during the summer and fall of 1919. Allen observed: "The campaign was the greatest single example of church co-operation to date and in its scale could be matched by few, if any, other combinations of Canadian voluntary organizations." Allen further indicated that a "paramount concern" of these conventions was "to equip the church for larger tasks at home and abroad, and to generate as a moral equivalent for war a passion for social service throughout the land."¹⁶⁶ Within Shields' own denomination, many church leaders were considering the lessons of the war. In the 1919 Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Dr. J. H. Farmer, a McMaster professor warned of the threat of general lawlessness. He appealed for a Forward Movement among the Baptists, declaring: "'We must return to Christ' is the cry from the battle-front." Dr. John MacNeill gave the Thursday night address and similarly noted: "The War has revealed a deeper sense of the need of Christ. It has also discovered a widespread distrust of the present program of the Church." It was at this same convention that Baptist entry into the Inter-Church Forward Movement was proposed. Noting the "serious problems" and "unparalleled opportunities" of "After-War Reconstruction," the convention resolved to organize a campaign that would place the various enterprises of the church "on a war basis that there we may meet the unprecedented challenge with which God is facing His church at the present time, and to enlist every member of every church as a weekly contributor to both local and denominational work."¹⁶⁷ Dr. Shields' own contribution to this convention was given in the final address. Citing his experiences in England and France at the end of the war, he reiterated the call to place the church on a war basis and to view it as an army.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 137-8.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ "Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1917 – 1918," *CB*, Vol. 65, 30 January 1919, 2-3. Note: The 1917-1918 convention was delayed until 1919 because of the outbreak of the Spanish Flu.

¹⁶⁸ Shields and MacNeill promoted the movement widely among the churches of the Convention. Shields used the opportunity to call for personal commitment to service. However, upon reading the accounts of the

The impact of World War One on Shields' ministerial outlook can hardly be overstated. It provided a new defining metaphor for the Christian faith, led to a deepening of the connection between spiritual and physical realms, established a trajectory towards military and socio-political involvement by elevating the significance of contemporary events, and justified hatred as he equated spiritual and carnal enemies. It is not surprising that with a changing outlook the war would evoke in Shields practical and significant changes in the manner of his ministry. These could be summarized as a new military leadership model, a new military service model and a new military operational model.

Military Leadership Model

Previous chapters have demonstrated Shields' tendency towards an autocratic leadership style. His domineering control was significantly challenged in the opening years of his Jarvis Street tenure, but by the end of the war Shields was rapidly hardening in his demands for respect and subservience among his followers. Several factors arising out of the war years contributed to this trend. Perhaps foremost was the impact the experiences of these years were making upon his self-image. With tributes flowing in from the religious realm and recognition being awarded him from the secular sphere, Shields was left with imaginations of an international prestige that greatly inflated his ego. The unguarded descriptions of his impressions of events in his wartime correspondence to his family provided valuable insights. Earlier comment was made concerning the acclaim Shields received from men like Dr. Clifford and Thomas Spurgeon and his boasts concerning them. The accolades he experienced while at the Metropolitan Tabernacle made a similar impact upon his psyche. Shields could not resist relating to his family the "decorous mention" received at the close of every service, more, he said, than "I have had in Jarvis Street in more than five years."¹⁶⁹ He noted:

Literally, often the multitudes throng me from the Tabernacle steps to the big iron railway. At the street there is a wide space in which hundreds, or indeed thousands would stand and no matter how long I wait crowds wait out there and waylay me as I pass to shake hands. Again and again the deacons have come to the rescue.¹⁷⁰

movement in *The Canadian Baptist*, it would seem that the primary function of the movement was fundraising, a goal that met with varying degrees of success.

¹⁶⁹ T. T. Shields, "1915 Letter Diary," 11 August 1915.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

The prestige garnered through his international associations in the religious sphere was quickly dwarfed by the tributes heaped upon him as a “distinguished Canadian” in the secular realm.¹⁷¹ His experience with the Canadian consulate in England and then later the Ministry of Information left him not only with an inflated self-image, but also a sense that his understanding of events unfolding in the European theatre was vastly superior to his contemporaries.

Even while still in England in 1915, Shields determined to make the most of his wartime experiences. His letters quickly became a journal of his observations, and as such a resource to be used for public discussion. At home, Shields put his materials to good use and developed a number of addresses on the war. As noted above, in 1917 Shields used these addresses in the service of the Borden government as he travelled across the country preaching on behalf of conscription. At war’s end, and thanks to his experiences with the Ministry of Information, Shields publically celebrated the victorious conclusion of the war with a series of addresses in which he claimed an intimate understanding of that victory. He boasted: “I am to attempt to tell you this evening how the Sword of Victory was forged and fashioned and how it was skilfully wielded until it was driven with fatal force to the heart of tyranny amid the rejoicings of the world.” Citing his credentials for the task he declared: “I have seen the Sword in the making, some of the mines whence the ores for its making were fetched, the fires in which they were smelted, the forge in which it was shaped, and the wheel on which it was sharpened, and I have felt the pure Spirit of Liberty by which it was so mightily used once more to strike the modern incarnation of immemorial ambition from its throne.”¹⁷²

The experiences of these years loomed large in his subsequent ministry. Having been honoured in both secular and ecclesiastical realms and having been uniquely privileged in witnessing Britain’s war effort, Shields was emboldened in his public demeanour. Hereafter he would always be quick to cite his credentials, believing his record endowed him with an authority that should not be challenged. This can be seen, for instance, years later when he tangled with Ontario’s premier, Mitch Hepburn, over the

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3 August 1915.

¹⁷² T. T. Shields, “The Sword of Victory,” 1919, “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto.

matter of public funding for Catholic schools. Attempting to impress his audience with his expertise on the Catholic question, Shields immediately appealed to his experiences in Ireland under the Ministry of Information. He boasted of advising Lord Carson as to the solution to the Irish problem. Speaking of “the distinguished honour of being, by his special invitation, the guest of Lord Carson” he reflected on the wide range of political opinion to which he had been exposed: “At Trinity College, London, I had met the great Provost, Dr. Mahaffy. He said, ‘And what are you doing in Ireland?’ I said, ‘I have been trying to study, so far as I am able, the Irish question; and trying to understand something of the principles involved.’ ‘And,’ said he, ‘How far have you progressed?’ To which I replied, ‘I believe I must have met a representative of every shade of Irish political opinion.’”¹⁷³ Shields went on to relate to Carson what he thought the problem with Ireland was and what its solution should be. He bragged of Carson’s response. “Ah, could you do that, you would have solved the Irish problem.”¹⁷⁴ Armed with such experiences Shields became increasingly obstinate in his judgments and obstreperous in his attempts to see his ideas implemented.

A second factor in the development of Shields’ military leadership model and closely linked to his developing superiority complex was an accentuation of the prophetic aspect in his ministry. This provided the Biblical justification for Shields’ growing authoritarianism. To Shields’ way of thinking the Old Testament prophet was a warrior fighting against the inroads of apostasy among the people of God. He was God’s mouthpiece to address the evils that threatened the Old Testament theocratic state. As Elijah was sent to rebuke wicked King Ahab, so the ministers of the New Testament era were to admonish transgressors within the church. As scenes of war stirred Shields to militant action, he solidified his authority by magnifying his prophetic office. As the battles erupted in church and denomination, Shields appealed more and more to the prophetic experience. Whenever he faced accusations of being a trouble-maker he remembered Ahab’s retort to Elijah: “Art thou he that troubleth Israel?”¹⁷⁵ Responding on one occasion to accusations of obstructionism, he imagined himself an Elijah:

¹⁷³ T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW* 13:43, 7 March 1935, 1.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ T. T. Shields, *Inside of the Cup*, 3.

They say they cannot move but Jarvis Street pulpit crosses their track. Well, sometimes it has done. Someone said to Elijah ... 'Hast thou found me, O mine enemy?' and Jarvis Street pulpit has crossed the track of certain denominational tendencies; and tomorrow shall be as this day, and yet more abundant, in that respect.¹⁷⁶

As 1915 dawned, it is clear that the war had taken hold of Shields' mind. Stories of German war crimes filled his imagination and in January he preached a sermon entitled "The War and Human Nature," the first of eight sermons preached about war-related themes on successive Sunday evenings. Shields followed up by publishing his sermons as *Revelations of the War*. Again, the war was spiritualized. His justification for doing so was based on his understanding of the relationship between prophecy and history. In his forward, Shields argued from the Old Testament record that truth was revealed in "the providential ordering" of events as well as the "inspired record" of the event. Assuming the fact that God anointed the prophet to bring forth the truth from the historic account, Shields spoke of "the indissoluble alliance" of prophecy and history for "the revelation, confirmation, and defense of the truth." The confirmation of "the Christian Revelation" was proved, for Shields, not in "abstract reason" but "in the crucible of experience." Prophecy does not "forestall the future" or "gratify curiosity" or "make one wise beyond his fellows," but was "given them as a ground for faith to stand on during the experience of its [prophecy's] fulfilment."¹⁷⁷

Shields used this correlation between history and prophecy as justification for his own commentary on the events of the war. Assuming the prophetic role himself, Shields sought to bring to light the "revelations" he believed God had intended to be learned in the present age. These, he believed, would bolster their faith in this period of historical and cultural pessimism. Shields did not claim to be adding truths to the existing canon of scripture, but rather, by the authority of his office, to be reading present history in the light of inspired revelation. By teaching his people to read current history in the light of scriptural revelation, Shields believed that "the obedient soul, by the door of practice, enters joyously and with unveiled face into the deepest mysteries of grace, while the carnal mind wearies itself to find the door." For Shields, the extremities of the war were

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁷⁷ T. T. Shields, *Revelations of the War*, 5.

teaching the faithful important truths, made more poignant by the “experiences of blood” so that “through our tears we are coming to see the truth more clearly.”¹⁷⁸ His qualifications for the task lay in the prophetic role he understood to be the serious responsibility of every preacher of the gospel as well as the experience and understanding he garnered through his first-hand observations of the events of the war as a guest of the Ministry of Information.

Shields’ claim to prophetic standing was significant to his developing military leadership model at several levels. In the first place, as a prophet, his was an honoured profession in direct succession from the Old Testament prophets with autonomy “to prophesy as he believes the Lord requires.”¹⁷⁹ Considering the words of comfort given by God to Jeremiah, Shields drew immediate application to himself: “I have read for my own comfort, as every Gospel Minister has a right to do, for we are in the prophetic profession.”¹⁸⁰ He poked fun at the deacon who thought that he should be “like business men” who “study their customers to find out what the people want.”¹⁸¹ Shields demanded whether “the Pastor of the Church” should “be a prophet of the Lord or a hireling of a few men; whether he is to be a prophet to speak God’s Word, or a human parrot who is to repeat what people want him to say?” To this critic he declared “if you intend to exercise censorship on the pulpit then you have the wrong man.”¹⁸²

By virtue of his prophetic office Shields believed the pastor’s authority in the church was superior to that of the deacons. When Shields later wrote *The Plot That Failed* as a record of his struggles in Jarvis Street until the split of 1921 he indicated that this was one of the primary reasons for writing the account. He insisted that “there is no scriptural, or practical, warrant for regarding the deacons of the church as its superior officers.” He decried the existing norm: “In the average church the deacons arrogate to themselves the function of directors and managers, to whom the pastor, forsooth, must be in subjection and subservience.” Shields believed that while the relationship between pastor and deacons should be “a mutually cooperative service,” and no pastor could be

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷⁹ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, 21.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

justified in “attempting to lord it over God’s heritage,” he declared that “if there be any precedence as between the two, scripturally it belongs to the pastor, and not to the deacons.” “The pastor,” he insisted, “is called an ‘overseer.’ Believers are exhorted to ‘obey them that have the rule over you’; and ministers were described to still other Christians as those who are “over you in the Lord.”¹⁸³ Shields’ refusal to surrender this important issue was for him a matter of his manhood: “This Pastor is, he trusts, a man; and he did not surrender his manhood when he entered the ministry.” He concluded: “Any wise man will welcome the counsel of men of experience; but he must be allowed opportunity to prophesy as he believes the Lord requires.”¹⁸⁴

Shields also believed that the prophets of the Lord, by virtue of their calling, were gifted with special divine insight and even foresight. Shields was never one to shy away from such claims. In his victory in the Ottawa convention of 1919, he professed utter reliance upon divine guidance.¹⁸⁵ In 1921, when Shields and his assistant Mr. Fraser were preparing to respond to the attack upon his pastorate, he claimed sudden foresight into his opponents’ plans: “Sitting quietly at this time, meditating upon the whole situation, there was suddenly borne in upon me, almost as by a supernatural revelation, exactly what would be done at the meeting scheduled for September 21st. It was spread out before me as a record of accomplished fact. I felt I could almost hear the Chairman giving orders.”¹⁸⁶

By the time of the Second World War Shields placed his powers of discernment on a par with the leading secular authorities: “It was difficult,” noted Shields, “for Mr. Churchill and other prophets of discernment in Europe and elsewhere - among whom I would dare to include myself, as my printed utterances through the years would warrant - to convince Britain and the Empire and the United States of the malignant character of Europe’s ailment, and of the menace it was to the rest of the world.”¹⁸⁷ Even at that time his justification for such extravagant claims always came back to his understanding of his prophetic office: “The prophets were called “seers” in ancient times. Noah saw

¹⁸³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 168.

¹⁸⁴ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, 21.

¹⁸⁵ T. T. Shields, *The Plot*, 144.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 308.

¹⁸⁷ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1943), 3.

something in his day that no one else saw. ... Abraham saw the destruction of Sodom before it came. Jonah ... cried in the streets of Nineveh, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.'"¹⁸⁸

There was also in Shields something of a martyr complex in his expectation of persecution in prophetic ministry. As he increasingly faced opposition in his struggle against the "evils of the day," he consoled himself with the thought that this was the plight of all the prophets up to and including Jesus Christ: "But always the prophets of truth are derided: they always have been."¹⁸⁹ When faced with opposition within his own church or denomination he was quick to take solace in the corporate experience of the prophets before him: "The prophets of God, found their greatest difficulty with those who professed to serve the same God, in Whose name the prophet spoke."¹⁹⁰ At the climactic point of the 1926 convention a resolution was put to the floor demanding Shields apologize for attacks he had made on other ministers through *The Gospel Witness*. This was coupled with a demand for his resignation from the Board of Governors of McMaster University, and a stipulation that he be barred from further conventions. When Shields was given an opportunity to defend himself and speak to the motion his comment was simply: "Mr. Chairman and Brethren. I count it the highest honour of my life to have earned the displeasure of such a spirit as has been manifested in the last two speakers."¹⁹¹

Significant to Shields' understanding of the prophet, was the unimpeachable character of his office. Though the prophets were often martyred for their faithful testimony to God's truth, Shields believed that those who raised hands against the prophet would be held to account. Opposition to the prophetic utterance was resistance to Christ himself, for whom the prophet spoke. In his preface to *The Plot That Failed* Shields noted that "this story is published in the hope that it will reach the eye of a Nicodemus or a Joseph; and that it will move them not to wait until after the crucifixion to act, not to be content merely with not consenting to the counsel and deed of those bent

¹⁸⁸ T. T. Shields, "The Abiding Menace of the Frustrated Attempt to Sell Canada 'Down the River'" *GW* 19:39, 30 January 1941, 9.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, 3.

¹⁹¹ T. T. Shields, "Ichabod, McMaster's New Name" *GW*, 5:26, 4 November 1926, 159.

upon crucifixion; but that they will determine henceforth to obey the Scripture, ‘Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm.’”¹⁹²

The assumption that lay behind much of Shields behaviour, particularly his reaction to criticism from subordinates, was that which he expressed in his observation about the authority he exercised within the church: “But neither pastor nor deacons exercise authority over each other, nor over the church, by virtue of their office; for if there be any precedence in rank in the Christian church, it must be attributable solely to a superiority in spiritual quality. He who serves best will thus become chiefest of all.”¹⁹³ As a prophet or as the officer who had “earned his stripes,” Shields clearly had come to expect the unquestioning support of those under his charge. Criticism could be accepted from a superior but never from an inferior. Throughout the course of his ministry his response to any who dared criticize him was to remind them of their place. The more serious the criticism, the more virulent were his denunciations of their insolence. These denunciations, which in many cases amounted to out-and-out character assassination, often left the casual observer with lasting impressions of a hateful and vindictive character. To Shield’s mind, however, this was the only possible response to insubordination. Whether from the point of view of an Old Testament prophet coupled with the Old Testament prohibition upon touching the “Lord’s anointed” or from the point of view of a military superior brooking no insubordination from those under his command, Dr. Shields would never lend legitimacy to criticism by answering the charges. His defence lay entirely in his imagined place - the office he had attained by his service record.

Military Service Model

By the end of Shields’ first decade in Jarvis Street, his relationship with his congregation was becoming increasingly strained. Though the changing character of Shields’ leadership style played a part in this tension, the heightened expectations that Shields was developing for those under his pastoral care certainly contributed to the friction. Chapter Two noted the beginnings of this trend as Shields began to challenge the

¹⁹² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, viii. Note: Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus were the Biblical figures who prepared Jesus’ body for burial.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 168.

social elite and its culture of respectability. The call to holiness in the matter of fiscal responsibility was his first battle. When, however, Shields began to attack the badges of social respectability that had for so long defined their “dear old Jarvis Street” the war was on.¹⁹⁴ The struggle over the choir was but the first round of a vicious fight that came very close to ousting Shields from the church and resulted in a significant fracture of the congregation in 1921. The reasons for Shields’ magnified expectations arose from several factors that all converged for him in 1919. In that year Shields emerged victorious from the Ottawa convention, the first of many skirmishes over theological liberalism within the convention. As Shields reflected on the ramifications of the liberal assault, he began to realize that there was a significant alliance of cultural liberalism with the theological liberalism manifesting itself within the denomination at large. Though his members objected violently to being painted with the “modernist” brush and even protested in the press about false accusations of “worldliness” and “modernism” Shields believed that business interests and social obligations had made them intolerant of the demands of Biblical holiness.¹⁹⁵ Shields later reflected upon his surprise that when he brought the matter of theological liberalism within the denomination before his church that his concern was resisted: “I can see that Sunday morning congregation as I write. Had I measured the personal conviction of each one by his or her profession, I should have estimated there were few opposed to the position I had taken.” He concluded: “I have since learned that men who are seemingly true to evangelical positions are as houses built upon the sand. . . . But their evangelicalism is based upon the sands of heredity, education, and expediency. They are as those hearers who have not root in themselves, and when ‘tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by (they are) offended.’”¹⁹⁶ Realizing that many within his congregation were indifferent to the denominational controversy or openly resistant to his position, Shields began a campaign to call his congregation to self-denial. Shields acknowledged that until that Sunday morning sermon he had not fully “learned the profound philosophy our Lord’s saying: ‘Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword.

¹⁹⁴ In the climactic battle to evict Shields from Jarvis Street, the rallying cry was “save dear old Jarvis Street.” Cf. T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 240, 244.

¹⁹⁵ “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, 12 October 1921, section 1, 2.

¹⁹⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 125.

For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me is not worthy of me. He that findeth his life shall lose it: and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it.”¹⁹⁷

The second factor that heightened Shields’ expectations for his congregation came from his involvement with the Forward Movement. As noted in Chapter Two, Shields became heavily involved with that denominational effort, organizing it and travelling extensively to promote its goals.¹⁹⁸ In the course of his travels he met with the deacon of a church who informed him that the biggest obstacle to spiritual revival in his own church was a divided attitude about worldliness: “He said half of the Deacons desired to see the church spiritually aggressive, and athrob with the power of the Holy Ghost, but that the others were content with a respectable worldliness. Many of their members he said, were fond of card-playing, and had their little dancing parties, and saw no inconsistency in being found frequently at the theatre.”¹⁹⁹ Later when visiting that church in the course of his preaching tour with one of his own deacons, Shields determined to make an appeal: “I then appealed to Ministers and Deacons, and all present, if they felt God’s call to a deeper consecration, to leave their seats and come forward and say so.”²⁰⁰ Shields was profoundly moved by the scene that followed. A man who had been described as “one of the “worldly Deacons” responded to the invitation. As he and his wife knelt at the front “the procession started – Ministers and Deacons came forward until there was a great company – I would not dare to say how many – on their knees before God. I can only add that we continued with confessions, and petitions, and praises, until long past the midnight hour.” He concluded: “We sang the Doxology together, and bowed as a closing prayer was offered, leaving the place feeling that God had visited His people.”²⁰¹

The question of worldly amusements, “notably, dancing, card-playing, and theatre-going,” soon became one of the key issues for the Forward Movement.²⁰² Shields became convinced that these things were the major obstacles to revival blessings falling

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, cf. Matthew 10:34-39.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 161-184, cf. T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, 16 .

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 203.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 211.

upon the denomination and his church. He began to preach about the necessity of “entire separation.” It would be this factor more than any other that drove the wedge between him and the social elites within his congregation. Reflecting back upon the congregation that he served in that first decade at Jarvis Street, he noted “In those days, few members of Jarvis Street had learned to give the Lord all their time apart from that which was necessary for their business and their home life ... some had not learned the principle of entire separation ‘unto the gospel of Christ.’”²⁰³

The third factor in Shields’ inflated expectations was the contextualization of the whole struggle in terms of the world war just ended. Shields was determined to bring his new military perspective to bear on the question: “It were folly for anyone to join the army in wartime on condition that he be not required to leave his wife and family, business associates, and the country he loves! Hence our Lord insisted that no one could truly be His disciple who would not put allegiance to Him before all other considerations of life.”²⁰⁴ Having witnessed first-hand the deprivations of war and the stupendous cost at which victory was achieved, he now firmly believed that the wars of the Spirit could be won with no lesser sacrifice. Watching the “military trains” leaving “Charing Cross and Waterloo stations in Old London during the war,” Shields reflected on the scenes of sorrowful separation that occurred: “I saw officers and men standing on the platform with their wives and children and other loved ones about them. And as the warning signal was given these splendid men each took his wife and his children into his arms, and often as tears streamed down their manly faces bade their loved ones good-bye.” He asked: “But why did these men go? Was it because they did not love their wives and children? Certainly not! It was because they loved duty more.” For Shields, this was the price of freedom: “And for the sake of the world’s freedom they separated themselves even from those they loved the best that, unhindered, they might, amid scenes of blood, do their utmost to preserve the liberties of the world.” It was this scene as much as anything that shaped the service model that Shields envisioned for the church: “If we are to make

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 23.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

progress in the work of the Lord the same principle must be applied, and the same spirit must be exemplified.²⁰⁵

Military Operational Model

In vision and in practice the war significantly altered the way Shields approached day-to-day affairs of ministry. From this point forward in his ministry his outlook changed and he would forever be at war. The horrors of the First World War had imparted to Shields a new urgency in the way he envisioned the church and its work:

And the war has done little for us as Christian men and women if it has not recalled us from some of the religious fallacies, the humanly complimentary and impossibly pretty religious dreams of our day, to the stern realities which now are so clearly shown to lie behind the martial figures and militant principles with which this Book abounds. Do we not know that the Christian church is at war? - not with flesh and blood but “against the principalities against us and powers, against the world rulers of this darkness against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.”²⁰⁶

Perhaps the most common New Testament image of the church is that of a body.²⁰⁷

However, as Shields looked out upon his congregation, he envisaged an army: “But what a blessing it is in times of such stress to find saints who are steadfast and unmoveable! I discovered that God had given us a great army of people who had been attracted to Jarvis Street, not by its splendid choir, not by its reputation for wealth and social position, but only because of its biblical ministry.”²⁰⁸ The same aspect was front and centre in Shields’ closing address to the 1919 Ottawa Convention. The *Canadian Baptist* report summarized the content:

The church is an army. As such it must be healthy and well disciplined. It must be under authority. It cannot expect to present a program that will be acceptable to the world. The church must keep itself clear of the things that defile. There must be a re-assertion of the authority of God’s Word. ... The church must be under a competent commander. There must be unity of command.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ T. T. Shields, “A Holy War” *GW*, 2:6, 21 June 1923, 3.

²⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, “Weapons of our Warfare,” 7 February 1916, sermon # 1194, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁰⁷ See for instance I Corinthians 10 – 12; Ephesians 4:12-16.

²⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 311.

²⁰⁹ “Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1917 – 1918,” *CB*, Vol. 65, 30 January 1919, 2-3.

The report ended with the account of Shields' "thrilling word picture of the welcome accorded King Albert upon his return to his capital, a prophecy of the final triumph of the King of Kings."²¹⁰

It might be argued that Shields' choice of imagery was not of any great import, but it should be noted that this particular way of viewing the church directly impacted the way he thought the church should be governed. Using a military model for his ecclesiology had some serious ramifications. Hereafter, any hint of disagreement or discord within the church would be treated as treason and would be dealt with in severity.

We see no reason why one or two ill-natured people, born in the objective case, who absolutely refuse to co-operate with a ministry supported by the church generally, should be permitted to disturb its peace and hinder its progress. When the Empire was at war, no one who called himself a British citizen was permitted to lend aid or comfort to the enemy without. A New Testament Church is always at war – at war with the world, the flesh, and the devil; and it should ever insist upon unity within.²¹¹

In 1921, the "one or two ill-natured people" became three hundred and forty-one. Nor was it the last time the membership rolls would be purged.²¹²

Over the years Shields displayed a great love of children. He insisted that they be welcome and present in every service despite the distraction they might afford. Often at the end of the service the children excitedly crowded around him.²¹³ Although there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Shields' affections for his youthful admirers, there was even here a dimension of his militaristic outlook. When describing the spiritual battles fought within Jarvis Street during the war years, Shields published the following poem which clearly captured his sentiment:

Reinforcements
When little boys with merry noise
In the meadows shout and run;
And little girls, sweet woman buds,
Brightly open in the sun;

I may not of the world despair,
Our God despaireth not, I see;

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 334.

²¹² In 1931 over 90 people would be driven out for refusal to sign an oath of loyalty to Dr. Shields. Cf. T. T. Shields to Rev. A. F. Baker, 12 May, 1931, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

²¹³ Tarr, 167.

For blithesomer in Eden's air
These lads and maidens could not be.

Why were they born, if Hope must die?
Wherefore this health, if Truth should fail?
And why such Joy, if Misery
Be conquering us and must prevail?

Arouse! Our spirit may not droop!
These young ones fresh from Heaven are:
Our God hath sent another troop,
And means to carry on the war.²¹⁴

In the decade that followed the war many of the subsidiary ministries of the church took their final shape in accordance with Shields' new military model. As early as 1916, Shields began to portray different departments of the gospel ministry in these terms. For instance, in February Shields was the keynote speaker for the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The message he preached was repeated two weeks later in the morning service at Jarvis Street. To Shields' way of thinking, there could be no more important agency than this. If the church and mission societies provided the army then the Bible society was the munitions supplier. Using the illustration of logistical problems encountered in the war and the necessity of creating the "Ministry of Munitions," he drew the parallel with Bible Society: "And when in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded it was nothing less than the organization by the Divine Government of a Ministry of Munitions to supply the weapons of war to the armies of the Lord of hosts. ... The missionary organizations supply the men, the Bible Society supplies the munitions."²¹⁵ The attitudes expressed here also explain in part the tremendous hostility Shields demonstrated towards modernistic interpretations of the Bible that were prevalent during this period. If disunity was treason, so also was tampering with the weapons provided for the fight: "The man who supplies defective munitions to the soldiers in the trenches is a traitor the heinousness of whose crime no

²¹⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 313.

²¹⁵ T. T. Shields, "Weapons of our Warfare," 7 February 1916, sermon # 1194, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

language can exaggerate, and whose guilt no punishment can be severe enough to expiate.”²¹⁶

When in the mid to late twenties Shields reorganized the Sunday School of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, this too was given a military flavour. On the occasion that the editor of *The Sunday School Times* filled the pulpit for him, Shields could not resist the opportunity to brag about his own Sunday School in the hopes that editor Dr. Charles G. Trumbull would showcase it in his publication.²¹⁷ What was significant about Shields’ description of the Sunday School was the military element associated with bringing such a large number of children into the morning Service: “Only last Sunday we inaugurated a new plan of having the [Sunday School] departments come into the service to the time and tune of a marching hymn. It worked admirably last Sunday, although we were without the mechanical aids which we have provided this week.” He boasted of the orderly fashion in which “nearly a thousand marched into the church.”²¹⁸

The 1920’s would see the establishment of two other significant tools for Shields in his assault upon the bastions of unrighteousness. The first was *The Gospel Witness*, a weekly magazine that Shields edited. This allowed him to make editorial comment upon nearly any matter that stirred his fighting spirit. When he later described the magazine he boasted: “*The Gospel Witness* has been a militant paper, and it is instructive to observe that the issues which have required the largest editions have been those which have come from the press with a great battle-cry.”²¹⁹ The second institution was Toronto Baptist Seminary. Having lost McMaster to modernism, Shields began his own training school. At its inception, Shields trained fighters to assault the strongholds of liberal theology. Over the years Toronto Baptist Seminary changed, but Shields always regarded it as an institution that would turn out militant ministers. By the 1940s Catholicism was in his cross-hairs, and so Shields said of the school: “The Seminary is to be a religious commando training school. We shall aim to train our students in such a way that they will

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ Dr. Charles G. Trumbull was the editor of *The Sunday School Times* and one of the founders of the American Keswick movement. He published works supporting Keswick theology and what is known as the Higher or Victorious Life movement. Cf. C. G. Trumbull, *Victory in Christ: Messages on the Victorious Life* (Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1923).

²¹⁸ T. T. Shields to Dr. Charles G. Trumbull, 23 April 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²¹⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 350.

know “what Roman Catholicism really is, and what the Roman Catholic Church is aiming to do, so that they will be qualified to deal with Romanism wherever they find it. ... In short, we shall aim so to instruct our students that they will not only be thoroughly evangelical, but that they will be informed and skilled militant Protestants.”²²⁰

Shields’ new operational model also came to expression in his inflated manner of proclamation. Not only was there a new fascination with military themes in the content of his preaching, but there was a difference in style as well. His reflections on the war became increasingly jingoistic, and his attitude of belligerent patriotism soon translated itself into a morally confrontational evangelicalism. Richard Allen, in his discussion of the social passions stirred up in the post-war period, discovered “dubious elements” alongside the “high notes of social concern.” These “dubious elements” included alarmist reactions concerning Bolshevism as well as a new jingoism: “Jingoistic Baptist publicity spoke alarmingly of ‘enemies of righteousness’ and the withering of ‘fair flowers of virtue’”²²¹

The Canadian Baptist, the official publication of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, filled its pages in the first weeks of 1920 with reports of The Forward Movement. A central focus was the critical need for divine intervention because of the rapidly deteriorating social conditions. Several editorials were openly jingoistic in their militant denunciations of the evil rampant within society and the morally superior tone of advocates of the Inter-church Forward Movement who fought it: “The forces of evil are on the march. Can we not see them? They are destructive and profane. The Forward Movement is the marching out of the people of God to grapple with these terrible enemy forces. ... Our hope in is Christ. Without Him our souls, our country, and our civilization are lost.”²²² What might better be defined as a Christian or evangelical jingoism increasingly characterized the militant advocates of spiritual and moral reform.

Richard Price noticed a similar phenomenon among the members of the lower middle class in England at the end of the nineteenth century. As this class struggled with

²²⁰ T. T. Shields, “Toronto Baptist Seminary Opens September 27: Canada’s Only Distinctively Protestant Seminary.” *GW* 22:20, 16 September 1943, 1.

²²¹ Allen, 139.

²²² “The Forward Movement is not A Pretty Parlor Game,” *CB*, Vol. 66, 8 January 1920, 1; cf. also “The Years of the Greatest Battle,” *CB*, Vol. 66, 1 January 1920, 1; and “Warning and Appeal by the Great Editor Richard H. Edmonds,” *CB*, Vol. 66, 10 January 1920, 2.

economic pressures and the erosion of Victorian morality, jingoistic protests erupted. These took the form of an appeal to “good old values” through a call to patriotic tradition as a sociological poultice against the breakdown of evangelical hegemony and the decay of “traditional respectability.”²²³ In Shields, we find a rather curious blend of both elements: the Christian jingoism of *The Canadian Baptist* and the British jingoism of the late nineteenth century lower middle classes. In contradistinction to *Canadian Baptist* jingoism, Shields’ jingoism contained an aggressively British and imperialistic note. For instance, while speaking of the metaphorical “Sword” with which Germany was defeated, Shields unabashedly spoke of British imperial superiority over her allies:

It may interest you to know that when the world set to work to make the sword with one consent they applied to John for help. Have you noticed how in some neighbourhoods there will be found one man to whom all go for help - how in sickness one woman in the community is everybody’s nurse? That is what John has had to do for the world. England’s loans to her allies exclusive of her loans to her sons exceed seven billion dollars. And now that uncle Samuel has come to the rescue, to make sure that all is right, he insists that the signature of John Bull and Co. should be on every bond. John has to back everybody’s note still, before Samuel will lend any money.²²⁴

In Shields’ mind, British superiority was the product of centuries of development:

London, once a slave mart, is now a synonym for civil and religious liberty. Rightly to understand London at war you must remember that London is no stranger to war. You must reflect that many a battle has been fought on ground which now is trodden by the feet of London’s millions. Briton and Roman, Saxon and Dane, and Norman, have all wrestled for the mastery here. And in the later centuries principles have found reincarnation in soldiers, and statesmen, in courtiers and kings, in lovers of freedom and lovers of power. London has not hesitated to buy its privileges with blood. True it is representative of the race and of other cities of Britain, but London has played its own part in the fortunes of the world. From the time of the Caesars she has refused to be ignored. As the highest expression of British thought and life she has touched the uttermost parts of the earth. Without deliberate design, her missionaries in search of spiritual wealth and conquest, her mariners and explorers in search of new adventures, her merchants, in quest of trade and gold, have put the whole world under tribute to her greatness.²²⁵

²²³ Richard Price, “Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Middle Class Patriotism, 1870-1900, in *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (London: Croom Helm, 1977) 92-96.

²²⁴ T. T. Shields, “The Sword of Victory,” 1919, JBCA, Toronto, 21.

²²⁵ T. T. Shields, “Imperial London at War.”

While Shields entirely supported the ideals expressed in *The Canadian Baptist's* jingoism, he believed that the righteous ideals the Forward Movement fought for were guaranteed by Britain which he saw as the “protector” of his religious liberties: “England,” declared Shields, “at any time commands the attention of all who would trace the streams of civil and religious liberty to their source.” It was at this point that his patriotic fervour burned brightest: “But England in thoughtful and determined mood; Britain awake and girded for battle; John Bull with all the family resources mobilized, standing with sleeves rolled up, and fists clenched, and muscles taut, and eyes blazing, defying all the forces of tyranny and reaction – John Bull defending his own castle, and incidentally playing Big Brother to the whole civilized world, is incomparably magnificent.”²²⁶ In Shields’ mind Britain and empire epitomized the civilization the Forward movement sought to preserve and which he himself would spend the rest of his life defending:

And the same subtle intangible something which keeps order in London streets, has cast its spell over India & Egypt and has made the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad for it, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose. The principles of justice, and liberty, of law and order transplanted from the blood-soaked soil of Britain to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, lead us to answer the evening’s challenge of Britain with all our resources of money, and of men.²²⁷

British pride was always apparent in Shields, but there can be little doubt that under the influence of his war experiences, his pride morphed into open belligerence about British superiority. As his exposure to war increased, so did his belligerence. In the next decade, Shields’ belligerent fundamentalism would not be far removed from the belligerent jingoism of the war years.

In his pulpit at Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Shields’ growing militancy came to expression in what many of his members identified as knocking or “hitting.”²²⁸ The temptation towards a denunciatory ministry seems to have become a common one during this period. One correspondent to *The Canadian Baptist* noted: “During the war we developed a spirit of battle, and perhaps one of the results of that has been a tendency to fall into the way of opposing everyone with whom there may be any ground for a

²²⁶ T. T. Shields, “England in Wartime,” 2.

²²⁷ T. T. Shields, “Imperial London at War.”

²²⁸ Ryrie to T. T. Shields, 14 March 1918, in *The Inside of the Cup*, 49.

difference.”²²⁹ The “pew-sitters” in Jarvis Street were particularly sensitive to Shields’ growing addiction to the trend. As Chapter Two above has demonstrated, there were very real theological and social differences between Shields and his disaffected members. Nevertheless, his opponents clearly sought to minimize such factors and instead focused on Shields’ growing belligerence. In a letter published in *The Toronto Daily Star* after the controversy had run its course, the correspondents clearly tried to trace the root cause to Shields’ personal conduct: “A small difference with him is never healed as he seems entirely devoid of any capacity for reconciliation. This, perhaps, is to a large measure accounted for by his inordinate egotism and vanity.”²³⁰ One deacon, James Ryrie, a man with whom Shields had worked closely for years, tried to forestall the developing rift by writing a conciliatory letter to Shields in an attempt to share with him the perspective of those sitting in the pews. Though the letter inadvertently illustrated the growing spiritual gulf between the Shields’ faction and the proponents of the culture of respectability in their “dear old Jarvis Street,” Ryrie seemed sincerely to believe that the friction was a “mere matter of policy” regarding length of sermons and the growing tendency towards a critical and condemnatory ministry. Ryrie wanted Shields to understand that people were leaving the church. He summarized the matter, “they feel uncomfortable lest you will be hitting people.” He gave the example of a recent visitor to the service who said: “I noticed your minister didn’t have much good to say about the laymen’s movement this morning.” According to Ryrie, another person remarked, “nor anything else on earth either, it seems to me.” Seven other organizations came “under the bann” in connection with the sermon, “the non-Christian organizations, the Christian Science, the Anarchists, the higher critics, the Prussians, the Russians and the laymen.” Ryrie concluded: “Now, I’m not saying that any of them, nor all of them, are not deserving a censure, but I do know that that is not the way to attain the desired end with me or any member of my family, and we are just good, ordinary, fair samples of the pew sitters.”²³¹ In accordance with his new practice never to acknowledge insubordination Shields refused to respond to the letter, though he later published it in *The Inside of the Cup*. His opponents cited this

²²⁹ J. L. Gilmour, “Conference Impressions,” *CB*, vol. 65, 13 March 1919, 8.

²³⁰ “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, 12 October 1921, Section 1, 2.

²³¹ James Ryrie to T. T. Shields, 14 March 1918, in *The Inside of the Cup*, 50.

as one more piece of evidence of Shields' arrogance: "The letter was never acknowledged in any way, but it has since been treated as a mortal offense."²³²

Up to this point in Shields' ministry, the weapons of his warfare were primarily spiritual. He repeatedly preached on the Biblical text "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds"²³³ In 1911, he had illustrated the absurdity of turning to "carnal" weapons by reference to the South African war:

That is the meaning of this text: that the conflict is in another realm; that carnal weapons are no more effective against principalities and powers etc. than a British battleship against Pretoria. The armoured train was of value, but the battleship could not leave the sea - and would have been out of its element in such a war. And so carnal weapons are out of their element in Spiritual warfare.²³⁴

However, by 1919 Shields was adding new weapons to his arsenal that, arguably, were more carnal in nature as he realized the power of proclamation both through the pulpit and the pen. Jingoistic demagoguery, hitting or knocking, graphic exposés and a general belligerence now became prominent features of his ministry.

The First World War also brought to the surface the underlying assumptions of Shields' social outlook. The ideological underpinnings for Shields' new military operational model, as it related to the world beyond the doors of the church, can be discovered in his Calvinism. As we have seen, Shields' Calvinistic outlook profoundly shaped his theological perspectives concerning God's redemptive program. For Shields, the war had demonstrated the truth of Calvinistic teachings of human depravity, a fact he threw in the faces of the modernistic proponents of human progress. However, at the same time Shields' Calvinistic assumptions about Divine sovereignty influenced the way he thought about the world. A clue to this perspective was given some years later as Shields' reflected back upon the struggles of this period. Commenting facetiously about a sermon preached by Dr. R. J. McCracken at the 25th anniversary of the Park Road Baptist Church, the church which was begun by the dissidents who left Jarvis Street in 1921, Shields noted the irony implicit in the sermon:

²³² "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *The Toronto Daily Star*, 12 October 1921, Section 1, 2.

²³³ 2 Corinthians 10:4.

²³⁴ T. T. Shields, "The Weapons of our Warfare," 3 September 1911, sermon #913, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto.

Dr. McCracken visualizes a time “when the Church becomes militant again, when its strategies are less timid ... and more venturesome.” ... Those who remember the controversy of 1919 to September 21st, 1921, will recall that the Park Road dissidents withdrew from Jarvis Street Church in protest against the very thing Dr. McCracken advocates. Our friends objected to the Pastor’s “knocking” anything. ... The Park Roaders objected to the church’s “attacking with high-hearted confidence the battalions of evil”; they objected to any attempt at “turning the world upside down with a view to setting it right side up.”²³⁵

When speaking in 1916 of the power of the Church’s primary weapon, the Bible, Shields made a similar reference: “Dynamite” did I say. “It would be no exaggeration to say that the potentialities of Niagara, and Vesuvius and Etna, of the tides, and all possible chemical combinations would but imperfectly represent the power of this Book. Here is power to turn the world upside down.”²³⁶

In this suggestion of “turning the world upside down” not only did Shields appeal to a New Testament image²³⁷ but to a recognized ideological tradition that can be traced back to John Calvin. Shields consciously appealed to this “philosophy of life” in his approach to the world: “What is the ultimate law? Whose is the supreme will? In whom does the ultimate, absolute, sovereign, authority reside?” He insisted that “Upon the correctness of the answer to that question the soundness of all theology, the true interpretation of all history and the rational explanation of all human experience, depend.” He concluded: “That is why, I may freely confess, I am what is called a Calvinist. For fundamental to ... that philosophy of life, is the doctrine of divine sovereignty, which assumes that God is absolute in all realms.”²³⁸

Historians differ over the political and cultural heritage of Calvin. However, most agree that Calvin’s notions of divine sovereignty had political and social implications. For Calvin divine sovereignty demanded a divine world view that necessitated social and political activism on the part of the elect. In this regard Calvin differed from Luther. Michael Walzer noted that “the Lutheran saint, in his pursuit of the invisible kingdom of heaven, turned away from politics and left the kingdom of earth, as Luther himself wrote,

²³⁵ T. T. Shields “Dr. R. J. McCracken in Park Road Baptist church, Toronto” in *GW&PA* Vol. 31, No. 2, (May 1, 1952) p 1 (17).

²³⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Weapons of our Warfare.”

²³⁷ Acts 17:6 “And when they found them not, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;”

²³⁸ T. T. Shields, “The War and Divine Sovereignty” in *Revelations of the War*, 77.

‘to anyone who wants to take it.’” “Calvin,” he insisted, “was driven ... to ‘take’ the earthly kingdom, and to transform it.”²³⁹ Robert Scribner, in a fascinating account of popular propaganda for the German Reformation argued that Protestants made effective use of propaganda that capitalized on commonly accepted ideas. It drew on the popular belief of an approaching crisis to involve the believer in the struggle with the Papal Antichrist and an upside down world.²⁴⁰ Calvin’s response to this upside down world was, for Walzer, the first modern appearance of the “startling innovation” of radical ideology. Calvinism introduced the “idea that specially designated and organised bands of men might play a creative part in the political world, destroying the established order and reconstructing society according to the Word of God”²⁴¹ The Calvinist saints, he contended, “saw themselves as divine instruments and theirs was the politics of wreckers, architects, and builders - hard at work upon the political world.”²⁴² Menna Prestwich added “Calvinism was an international religion seeking not to adapt itself to society but to cast society into a new mould.” She too noted the significance of Calvin’s notions of divine sovereignty and predestination: “The doctrine of predestination ... led Calvinists to identify themselves with the Elect and with the children of Israel. The Old Testament was for them both a mirror and a guide, in which they found inspiration for their victories over the forces of Babylon and consolation for their tribulations in the desert or the wilderness on their way to the Promised Land.”²⁴³ Osterhaven showed that the doctrine of service in vocation was emphasized in both Calvin and Luther but that “its social implications were carried out more completely in the Calvinistic tradition.” Again it is Calvin’s view of the Old Testament that shaped his thinking.

...as Calvin labored to restore the church and society he had ever before him the vision of Old Testament Israel called to be a covenant community consecrated to

²³⁹ Michael Walzer, *The Revolution of the Saints :A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965) 26.

²⁴⁰ Robert W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk : popular propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) cf. Chapter 6 “Antichrist and the world turned upside-down”

²⁴¹ Walzer, 1-2. Walzer argued that this idea did not “enter at all into the thought of Machiavelli, Luther or Bodin. In establishing the state, these three writers relied exclusively upon the prince... it was the Calvinists who first switched the emphasis of political thought from the prince to the saint (or the band of saints)”

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴³ Menna Prestwich, “Introduction” in *International Calvinism 1541-1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 7.

God. Under the old covenant every area of life was holy; nothing might be withheld from God. Under the new covenant shadow has been replaced by substance, (Heb. 10:1; Col. 2:17), and no less a condition should prevail.²⁴⁴

If something of the heritage of Calvinism can be found in that response to divine sovereignty that attempts to destroy “the established order” and to reconstruct society “according to the Word of God” or if it can be found in the statement: “Saints are those elect few out of the generality of fallen men ... [who] make war on sin in their own members and in society at large,”²⁴⁵ Shields was a Calvinist.

This Calvinistic perspective contributed directly to the eventual politicization of Shields’ ministry. Shields was not reticent to throw in his hand with political leaders who seemed to be defenders of civilized norms. As we have noted, in 1917 Shields gladly travelled coast to coast in the effort to promote Borden’s Union Government and conscription. By the same token, Shields would not hesitate to raise his voice in decrying the evils of a political leader who did not conform to his standards of civic righteousness. Social questions and matters of post-war reconstruction were well within his purview.

The War and Shields’ Religious Context

Denominational Perspectives

Certainly, the impact of the war upon Shields’ outlook was not entirely unique. His was but one voice in a growing chorus of imperialism and nationalism that swept the nation. Though nuanced by denominational backgrounds, the attitudes and responses to the war among many Canadian churches broadly paralleled his own. Gordon Heath, by examining precedents established in the South African War fifteen years earlier, summarized religious responses to the war in the Canadian context. First, with the surge of patriotism, churchmen everywhere attempted to use the war and its aftermath “to shape the nation into their image.”²⁴⁶ Second, consternation at German militarism and atrocities accentuated concerns for the pursuit of justice both at home and abroad. Churchmen were clear that this was not a war of conquest and echoed Laurier’s earlier declaration

²⁴⁴ M. Eugene Osterhaven, *The Spirit of the Reformed Tradition* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971) p. 144.

²⁴⁵ William Haller, untitled review in *The American Historical Review* Vol. 71, No. 3 (April 1966) p. 953.

²⁴⁶ Gordon L. Heath, “The South African War as Prelude to the First World War,” in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. Gordon L. Heath (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 18, (hereafter *Canadian Churches*).

concerning the Boer War: “the cause for which you men of Canada are going to fight is the cause of justice, the cause of humanity, of civil rights and religious liberty”²⁴⁷

Third, many Canadian churches actively supported the war through propaganda efforts, active recruiting, sacrificial collection of donations, denominational declarations of loyalty, celebratory send-off of troops and commemorative celebrations on their return.

While the war effort was greatly assisted in Canada by the religious press and the activism of Canadian churches, French Catholicism provided the most obvious exception to the rule. Granatstein has observed that because of the racial divide French Canadian attitudes became one of the most virulent issues of the war for Canadians. Henri Bourassa, a leading French Canadian political leader of the time and opponent of British imperialism defiantly asked the question: “*Que devons-nous à l’Angleterre?*”²⁴⁸ Of course, the issue became a matter of national unity when the conscription question was introduced in 1917. Where English Canadians supported conscription, French Canadians did not. Granatstein noted that “the problem was compounded because Canadian territory was never threatened in a sustained, direct fashion” French Canadians he said “would have been prepared to defend their native land against invasion,” but Canada’s participation in the present war served “imperial ends, not national ones”²⁴⁹ He concluded concerning the conscription question, “no single issue has done more to muddy the political waters or to destroy the unity of the nation”²⁵⁰ The response, then, of Quebec’s French-speaking Catholics reflected this racial bias. Simon Jolivet noted that “In spite of the Quebec episcopate’s repeated requests for enrollment on a voluntary basis, French Canadians from that province provided only about 2 percent of the volunteers and conscripts for the CEF.”²⁵¹

Shields was one of the many Protestant voices that denounced the unpatriotic behavior of Quebec Catholics. However, once aroused, his passionate opposition to Catholic sentiments in Quebec never diminished. By the mid-thirties it became a fixation

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁴⁸ “What do we owe England.”

²⁴⁹ J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), 1.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 264.

²⁵¹ Simon Jolivet, “French-Speaking Catholics in Quebec and the First World War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 77.

that dominated the rest of his life. By the conscription crisis of the Second World War, Shields reserved all his fire for the Roman Catholic “fifth column” that threatened the survival of the nation. He will openly call for civil war, entangle himself in politics and face denunciation by the Prime Minister on the floor of parliament as one of the greatest threats to Canadian unity.

A more serious division within Canadian Catholicism opened along the same racial divide. From the outset, English-speaking Catholics struggled to differentiate themselves from their francophone associates. In English-speaking Canada a wave of anti-Catholicism developed because of French Catholic resistance to the war. Accusations that the Roman Catholic Church orchestrated the opposition to the imperial effort in Canada and Ireland were countered by Neil McNeill, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Toronto. McNeil insisted that “race not creed” lay behind Quebec resistance to the war. English Catholic support for the war effort was well indicated by his assertion that “Today the loyalty of the Catholic soldier and of the Catholic population is absolutely essential to the continued existence of the British Empire.” According to Mark McGowan, he was adamant that there was “no difference between the loyalty to be found among Canada’s English-speaking Catholics and that of the nations’ Protestants because, according to the archbishop, ‘we are all involved in the same issue.’”²⁵² McGowan noted that English-speaking Catholics in Canada, being largely of Irish descent, were heavily involved in the war effort despite facing great prejudice because of their creedal associations.²⁵³ Again, Shields was not alone in suspecting creedal origins for Catholic opposition, but subsequent years would see an inflation of his anti-Catholic venom and prognostications of ultramontane rule.

Lutherans also had to deal with issues of prejudice in their support of the war effort. Welf Heik in his study of the Lutherans of Waterloo County argued that “the chauvinistic English-Canadian element of society which, in its fervor to defeat the Kaiser and his Prussian militarism across the Atlantic, turned on anything which smacked of

²⁵² Mark G. McGowan, “‘We are all involved in the same issue:’ Canada’s English-Speaking Catholics and the Great War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 34.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 35.

being German at home.”²⁵⁴ This anti-German sentiment came to expression in official repression through the suspension of German publications, closure of parochial schools and the disenfranchisement of “enemy aliens” in the War Time Elections Act. Nevertheless, according to Norm Threinen, while Lutherans “did not share the Patriotic fervor of their English compatriots,” they still made significant contributions to the war effort through financial contributions and enlistment in the army. He discovered that in 1917 eighty percent of the 118th Battalion from Waterloo County were of Germanic background and these were mostly Lutheran.²⁵⁵ Therefore, despite the suspicion focused on them, Threinen concluded that Lutherans embraced the war effort because “the Lutheran Church had always stood for liberty, the cause for which the Allies were fighting.”²⁵⁶ While Shields was never openly hostile to Canadian Lutherans, along with many other clergymen he was active in stirring up Anglo-Saxon racism and hatred for everything German.

Two denominations largely stood apart from the war effort because of a pacifism grounded in “faith-based opposition to war and the taking of human life.”²⁵⁷ Both Quakers and Mennonites resisted the war propaganda and the eventual push for conscription. Of the two, the Mennonites were far more demanding and outspoken. In part, because of their respectful and reasoned opposition to the war, and their willingness to support the war effort indirectly through relief work and non-combat roles, Quakers were respected as “honest conscientious objectors.”²⁵⁸ Their “integrational pacifism” as contrasted with the “separational pacifism” of the Mennonites was but one factor in the divergent responses faced by the respective groups. Mennonites were clear that “We cannot participate in war in any form; that is, to aid or abet war, whether in a combatant or non-combatant capacity.”²⁵⁹ That attitude alone earned them the reputation as “dirty shirkers,” but their Germanic roots compounded the problem and they were commonly

²⁵⁴ Welf H. Heik, “The Lutherans of Waterloos County, Ontario, 1810-1959: A Historical Study.” (MA thesis, Queen’s University, Kingston, 1959), 24.

²⁵⁵ Norm Threinin, “Canadian Lutherans and the First World War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 205.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁵⁷ Robynne Rogers Healey, “Quakers and Mennonites and the Great War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 218; For a full treatment of pacifism in Canada in the first half of the twentieth century see, Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

²⁵⁸ Healey, 220.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 233.

seen as “potential spies, and unfit as ‘true’ Canadians.”²⁶⁰ Both groups eventually found a measure of exemption from the Military Service Act as conscientious objectors. Mennonite relief was based on 19th century statutes granting them exemption from military service. However, serious issues remained for young Mennonite men. The traditional rite by which formal entrance into the faith was adult baptism and was usually deferred until after the age of 21, well after the age of conscription. Opponents argued that Mennonite youths were therefore not exempt by virtue of membership in the Methodist church. According to Robynne Healey, however, the war was a turning point for both groups and brought about significant changes. Quakers changed in their “interpretation and practice of the peace testimony.” The war led to a departure from their strict otherworldly perspective and produced an activist pursuit of “peace against war” as they sought to “understand” and “ameliorate the underlying causes of armed conflict.” As to the Mennonites, Healey contended that in responding to the challenges of the conscription issue, “the war brought disparate ... groups together in cooperation.”²⁶¹

As the war effort grew in Canada, so did the vocal denunciations of pacifism. One of the most vocal among these was Shields. For Shields there could be no state without the principle of compulsion. War, as horrifying as it was, was a moral necessity reflecting “the moral order” and “moral government of the universe to which nations, as well as individuals are subject.”²⁶² As with his anti-Catholicism, the First World War provoked and set a trajectory for his behavior through interwar years and beyond.

The strongest support for the war was found among the largest Protestant denominations. Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists all united in supporting the war effort with vigor. On the basis of the 1916 government report detailing the religious affiliations of recruits to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, Melissa Davidson has argued that Anglican commitment to war in terms of enlistment was the strongest at about forty percent. Considering their relative size in terms of the total declared population of Canada [fifteen percent], she noted that “Canadian Anglicans were clearly

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 230.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

²⁶² T. T. Shields, “The Lord is a Man of War,” 5 September 1914, sermon #1098, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts, JBCA, Toronto.

enlisting in numbers disproportionate to their overall population.”²⁶³ According to one denominational historian, Anglicans, “both clergy and laity did their duty in whatever state of life it pleased the Lord to call them to.”²⁶⁴ This is all he would say though and Davidson has noted the curious absence of wartime historiography in Anglican circles. She has also observed the “Anglican war effort was not centrally directed” and “individual parishes largely organized their own efforts in collaboration with external groups, including the Red Cross, the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and various Belgian relief agencies.”²⁶⁵ With its history as the Church of England, Anglican attitudes were characterized by imperialistic ideals and rooted in the “religious language and understanding ... shaped by the heritage of the *Book of Common Prayer*.”²⁶⁶ Anglicans generally believed the war was a righteous war “making the Empire a defender of Christian values.” Anglican clerics by emphasizing “the righteousness of the cause – the need to defend Christian civilization” addressed the pastoral need of bringing comfort to the bereaved but also “stiffened the resolve of their congregants.”²⁶⁷

Presbyterians were from the beginning active supporters of the war effort. As a result of their strong Calvinist heritage they were largely free from pacifist leanings²⁶⁸ and strongly supported the idea of a just war.²⁶⁹ Affiliation with the covenanter tradition of fighting for freedom solidified their support for the First World War. Though they believed that the church was independent of the state and that Christ, not the monarch, was the head of the church, they were throughout the war strong supporters of the empire.²⁷⁰ Taking issue with modern historiography, Macdonald argued that the Great War was not a watershed for Presbyterians “as a moment of fundamental change either in terms of theology or active participation.”²⁷¹

Great chagrin was felt by Methodists with the release of the government’s 1916 report and the revelation that the Methodist Church “was sending only 50 per cent of its

²⁶³ Melissa Davidson, “The Anglican church and the Great War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 153.

²⁶⁴ Philip Carrington, *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 252.

²⁶⁵ Davidson, 152.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 159,

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁶⁸ William J. Klempa, “Presbyterians and War,” *Presbyterian Record* (2002) 18-20.

²⁶⁹ William J. Klempa, “War and Peace in Puritan Thought,” in *Peace, War and God’s Justice*, ed. Thomas D. Parker and Brian J. Fraser (Toronto: United Church Publishing, 1989), 81.

²⁷⁰ Stuart Macdonald, “For Empire and God,” in *Canadian Churches*, 135, 136,

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 147.

‘share’ of recruits, the lowest percentage of any Protestant denomination.” Facing accusations from the other denominations that “Methodists were letting down their nation in its time of crisis,” and an internal report that concluded that the Methodist Church was not playing its “noble part,” the Methodist Church threw itself into the recruitment effort.²⁷² Michael Bliss wrote of that effort noting that “No churchmen in Canada worked harder at hammering their ploughshares into swords than ‘the people called Methodists.’” Furthermore, Bliss argued that the war caused a significant shift within Methodism as they “synthesized militarism with radical social critique.”²⁷³ Though pacifist tendencies could be found within the recent history of Methodism, the Boer War had changed attitudes towards war leading to widespread acceptance of the necessity of wars not fought “for greed or conquest, but for freedom, for just and honest government.”²⁷⁴ By 1917, the election with its conscription question was viewed by Methodists as “a plebiscite on the righteousness of the campaign.”²⁷⁵ At war’s end the Methodist Church had embraced a radical interpretation of the Social Gospel. While the Social Gospel grew out of their historic concern for a just and righteous society, Bliss concluded that the war taught Methodists a socialist construct. By 1918, lessons taken from “the government’s wartime controls,” which resulted in “efficient and equitable allocation of resources,”²⁷⁶ led Methodists to appeal to the government to reform society instead of depending on social changes produced by traditional evangelical methodology.²⁷⁷ David Marshall, however, has challenged elements of Bliss’ interpretations which end with Methodism’s optimism in their declaration of the Social Gospel. Citing Rev. S. D. Chown, the “Superintendent of the Methodist Church,” he demonstrated the disillusionment of many leading Methodists by war’s end. At the outset Chown had declared that “Khaki has become a sacred colour,” but by war’s end he concluded “that the Methodist Church could never be caught ‘painting roses on the lid of hell.’”²⁷⁸

²⁷² J. M. Bliss, “The Methodist Church and World War I.” in *The Canadian Historical Review* 49, no. 3 (1968), 218.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 213.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 231.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 233.

²⁷⁸ David B. Marshall, “Khaki has become a sacred colour: The Methodist Church and the Sanctification of World War One,” in *Canadian Churches*, 103.

Among Baptists there was an historical ambivalence to war. Many leading Baptists had expressed their repugnance of war, but most in the end recognized the necessity of defensive wars. Keith Clements summarized Baptist ideals before the war: “On the eve of war ... leading Baptist opinion was deeply committed to internationalism, opposed to militarism, and even prepared to defend German policy in the face of English accusations.”²⁷⁹ However, as Ian Clary and Michael Haykin have pointed out, Canadian Baptists shared the attitudes of their British counterparts in the imperial fervor associated with imperial conflicts, though they viewed war as only a last resort for righteous ends. With the outbreak of war, Baptists were convinced of the righteous character of the war and soon capitulated to its necessity.²⁸⁰ While for the most part Baptists became active supporters of the war effort, issues such as conscription revealed lingering resistance. Amy Shaw identified something of the conundrum Baptists faced noting that “the roots of the Baptist denomination lay in individual dissent.”²⁸¹ However, while Baptist publications reflected the ambivalence felt by many, on the whole Baptists preferred conscription to the alternative: “... we shall not be grieved if many of those who are quite eligible to join the colors, but who so far have been ‘slackers,’ should be forced by ... The Militia Act, to do their duty to State and humanity.”²⁸² For many Baptists voting for the Union Government, the issue became one of Anglo-Saxon racism as they consciously voted against French Canadians.²⁸³

The war left its impact upon Baptists and foreshadowed the modernist/fundamentalist battles that would erupt in that denomination in the following decade. Expressions of liberal theology and the Social Gospel began to appear in the Baptist press. Overt criticisms of “Baptist dogmatism, pessimism, and the traditional Baptist view of conversion,” were expressed. Belief was growing that the present crisis had prepared the people of Canada “for a large programme in Constructive Statesmanship within the Churches.” Voices within the Baptist spectrum spoke of “The Fatherhood of

²⁷⁹ Keith W. Clements, “Baptists and the Outbreak of the First World War,” in *The Baptist Quarterly* no. 26, (1975-1976), 82.

²⁸⁰ Michael A. G. Haykin and Ian Clary, “‘O God of Battles’ The Canadian Baptist Experience of the Great War,” in *Canadian Churches*, 174, 175.

²⁸¹ Amy J. Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada during the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008), 115.

²⁸² “Baptists and the War,” *CB*, 12 July 1917, 1.

²⁸³ Haykin and Clary, 183.

God and the brotherhood of man,” and “The Religion of the Returned Soldier.”²⁸⁴ More conservative Baptists would cringe at the Social Gospel’s claim that “there was emerging ‘on the field of the skull in France, a regeneration of men; vital principles of Christ ... finding expression in manly conduct that will assist immensely in saving the world from the paucity of her religious practices today.’”²⁸⁵

Creating the Myth: Propaganda and the War Effort

Jonathan Vance has rightly warned of the danger of interpreting history by hindsight. Speaking of the objects of historical investigation he noted: “When we assume that they perceived events as we have reconstructed them, we deduce at our peril.”²⁸⁶ In describing his study of the *Memory and Meaning of the First World War* he argued “It is about constructing a mythic version of the events of 1914-1918 from a complex mixture of fact, wishful thinking, half-truth, and outright invention”²⁸⁷ Tim Cook noted the result of deconstructing the myth of the war: “While none of the great powers can escape blame, examinations of prewar German foreign policy conducted after the war revealed – once historians sorted through the propaganda and official publications that suggested all nations had been acting in self-defence – that Germany was willing to risk a war in order to forestall an expected future attack by Russia and France.”²⁸⁸ In the harsh reality of historical hindsight, the “just war” myth has been exposed. However, for Canadian churchmen struggling to come to terms with the First World War the myth quickly became all-consuming. While each of the major Protestant denominations had nuanced perspectives, each propounded variations on the “just war” theme. Anglicans believed it was not so much a “just war” – a war fought for political reasons, or it a holy war – a war ordained of God, but rather it was a righteous war – a war fought in defence of Christian values which were fundamental to any proper understanding of civilization.²⁸⁹ Likewise, Presbyterians without wavering embraced “just war” concepts and justified participation because the empire countered forces threatening the “sacred rights of the nations,” the

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

²⁸⁵ R. G. Cole, “The Religion of the Returned Soldier,” *CB* 2 August 1917, 8.

²⁸⁶ Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 4.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸⁸ Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916*. Vol. 1 (Toronto: The Penguin Group, 2007), 10.

²⁸⁹ Davidson, 156.

“progress of Christianity and the very existence of civilization.”²⁹⁰ Toronto Presbyterian minister Dr. Thomas Eakin,²⁹¹ spoke of it as a crusade with apocalyptic overtones: “This war which is convulsing the world today is a war against Anti-Christ, savage, bestial, loathsome, foul, unrestrained, in which there is no attempt to be governed by the principles of morality, much less Christianity.”²⁹² Methodists spoke of it as a “redemptive war” but soon entertained doubts as they discovered that the war was having an opposite effect upon their young men.²⁹³ Baptists came to the gradual realization that the war signalled a revolt against Christianity in society and so spoke of “Britain’s righteous cause.” Anglophilia and imperial fervour often characterized their proclamations of the justice of the cause.²⁹⁴

As Bliss has observed, “THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY of English Canadian’s participation in World War I was largely a function of their militant idealism. That idealism was encouraged and sustained by the nation’s Christian churches which, like the churches of every belligerent nation, mobilized all of their spiritual resources for battle.”²⁹⁵ The Methodists’ *Christian Guardian* boasted by August of 1915 “that pulpits had been the best recruiting stations in the first year of the war.”²⁹⁶ War rhetoric everywhere glorified the empire and demonized the enemy. Vance recorded some of the atrocity tales that found wide circulation, including stories of the crucified soldier, German abuse of prisoners of war and the popularity of publications from escaped captives from German prison camps, the execution of a British nurse, torpedoing of British ships, the physical damages to France graphically illustrated in countless photographs, the murders of women and children and in every possible fashion the vilification of the Kaiser.²⁹⁷ With all of this Shields readily concurred. He was unreserved in his demonization of the enemy and his own intense hatred of the Kaiser became the focus of his recruitment campaigns. For Shields, the just war ideal became intensely personal. Filled with pride in his British ancestry Shields as much as any other

²⁹⁰ *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1950, 30, quoted in Macdonald, 136.

²⁹¹ Eakin was the minister of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, King St., Toronto.

²⁹² Macdonald, 144.

²⁹³ Marshall, 102, 104.

²⁹⁴ Haykin and Clary, 177.

²⁹⁵ Bliss, 213.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 217.

²⁹⁷ Vance, 23-25.

and more than most glorified Britain, and particularly London as the defender of the worlds' liberties. Jingoistic declarations of Britain's defence of righteousness contrasted sharply with denunciations of the wickedness of the Hun. As the war progressed he became increasingly obsessed with gathering evidences of these assertions. His apparent achievements gave him an inflated sense of his own discernment and exaggerated his claims of qualification for authoritative summations of the war's significance. Other clergymen had similar exposure to the war but few were as personally emboldened as Shields in their construction of the myth.²⁹⁸

Using the language of Jonathan Vance, Shields' "myth" of war aligned well with Canada's collective memory of the war affirmed by the war's end in November 1918: "The Hun had been vanquished and civilization had been saved from the threat of barbarism."²⁹⁹ Shields' myth was built on the vision of devastated French territories, British stoic self-sacrifice in her munitions production and military commitment, lurid tales from Gilliland and scenes of rapture at successive national celebrations of the war's end. Ideas of the "just war" were deeply ingrained into his memory, ideas that soon shaped themselves into the militant ideals reflected in all subsequent ministry.

Social Reconstruction

"Just war" ideology and gradually evolving ideas of a Christian crusade for civilization³⁰⁰ led Christian churchmen to dream of establishing at home what they fought for abroad. Ideas of social conscience and a just society seemed to be the necessary fruit of the world's baptism in blood. The horrific cost in lives in the pursuit of justice had to have some benefit so that their sacrifices would not be in vain. War memorials and commemorative plaques celebrated the noble sacrifice for a more righteous world. The Great War plaque designed by Shields for Jarvis Street was inscribed with the words: "In Grateful Memory of our Brave Young Men who Nobly Died for the Cause of Righteousness in the War of 1914-1918."³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ For instance, among the Baptists John MacNeill accepted a posting as a senior chaplain in Europe during the war where he ministered to the troops under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. cf. Donald Goertz, *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1889-1989* (Toronto: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1989), 49.

²⁹⁹ Vance, 13.

³⁰⁰ See Heath, 27.

³⁰¹ Haykin and Clary, 171.

Expectation that the war experience itself would issue in moral elevation arising out of the spirituality of sacrifice was commonplace. Sam Hughes, the Minister of Militia in the Borden Government, in arguing for “compulsory service” spoke of the “chance to inculcate moral values into the youth of the nation.”³⁰² Among Baptists there was a general belief that soldiers would come back morally and spiritually stronger than before they left.³⁰³ Shields in a message at the beginning of the war entitled “The War and its Compensations” spoke of the virtues the war was cultivating. Both in the war effort at home and among the soldiers in Europe there was developing “splendid devotion” and self-sacrifice.³⁰⁴ The language of “sacrifice,” however, rapidly escalated into a spirituality that justified fighting. Archbishop Michael Spratt of Kingston, Ontario insisted that “the enlistment of Catholic men as a selfless sacrificial act ... would bring one into a virtual *imitatio Christi* and assurance of heavenly reward.”³⁰⁵ Surprisingly, many Protestants echoed that sentiment. Marshall observed of the Methodists that “The brutal irony of the war was that the worse its carnage became and the more its sacrifices mounted, the greater became the devotion to the war effort and the idea that it was redemptive.”³⁰⁶ Shields later spoke of the popularity of the idea: “During the last war, it seemed to me that a great many of our preachers preached salvation through the sacrifice of the battlefield.” When Shields encountered the sentiment in his own church he immediately reacted: “I remember having quite a distinguished man in this pulpit. ... Among other things he said, ‘I will take my chances on the eternal salvation of any man who dies fighting for his country.’” Shields stood up at the end of the service and stated that he “did not believe a word of what the preacher had said, and asked the congregation not to believe it.” He then closed the service with a hymn celebrating the redemption of Jesus Christ.³⁰⁷ Shortly after that event he preached a sermon entitled “Does ‘Killed in Action’ mean ‘Gone to Heaven’?” A sermon of the same title was preached during the Second World War and reproduced in pamphlet form. However, it is interesting to note that in

³⁰² Granatstein, 16.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 188.

³⁰⁴ T. T. Shields, “The War and its Compensations,” 13 September 1914, sermon #1101, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

³⁰⁵ McGowan, 40.

³⁰⁶ Marshall, 113.

³⁰⁷ T. T. Shields, “Does ‘Killed in Action’ mean ‘Gone to Heaven’?” *GW*, 22:38, 20 January 1944, 2.

both these sermons Shields was careful to insist that while only the sacrifice of Christ could save, any who themselves make such a sacrifice show evidence that they have received the sacrifice of Christ, perhaps even calling on Him in the last moment, or going into the battle prayerfully.³⁰⁸

Growing conviction of the spirituality of sacrifice contributed directly to the program of post-war reconstruction. Attempting to capitalize on the spirit of sacrifice generated by the war, Christian churchmen campaigned for selfless commitment to the cause of social reform. Richard Allen in his *Social Passion* noted that “church leaders were to be believed when they expressed a paramount concern to equip the church for larger tasks at home and abroad, and to generate as a moral equivalent for war a passion for social service throughout the land.”³⁰⁹ In both the Methodist and Baptist denominations there was a move towards a comprehensive programme of social reconstruction and the agenda of the Social Gospel. Methodists and liberal Baptists saw the lesson of war as one of self-denial resulting in a more righteous civilization - a regenerated society – “a nation of comrade workers, as now at the trenches ... a nation of comrade fighters.”³¹⁰ Shields saw the lesson of war as one of the self-denial of total commitment resulting in the more righteous civilization of regenerated individuals brought about by the commitment of those spiritual soldiers separated entirely unto the Gospel of Christ.

In one respect, Shields’ experience paralleled that of the Quakers. As Quakers were moved by the war in their “practice of the peace testimony”³¹¹ from otherworldly detachment to activism and propaganda, so Shields shifted from the otherworldly evangelicalism that had so characterized his ministry, to social activist. However, Shields’ activism sharply contrasted with the Methodist model, and that of his more liberal denominational colleagues. John MacNeill, the pastor of Walmer Road Baptist Church, and the man who more than any other would stand as Shields’ opponent in the Baptist Convention, provided a very different model of activism. While never a Social

³⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, “Does ‘Killed in Action’ mean ‘Gone to Heaven’?” 12 December 1915, sermon #1180, “Shields’ Sermon Manuscripts,” JBCA, Toronto.

³⁰⁹ Allen, 138.

³¹⁰ Report of the *Committee on the Church, the War, and Patriotism* in Bliss, 229.

³¹¹ Healy, 219.

Gospeler himself, MacNeill listened to the message of the Social Gospel even hosting Walter Rauschenbusch in his pulpit in 1910.³¹² His response was to found the *Memorial Institute*, called by Goertz, “the most comprehensive outreach program ever undertaken by a Canadian Baptist church.” The institute was a curious blend of Social Gospel and Evangelical Revivalism. It was “an attempt to minister to all the needs of the people in the community.” However, it was “never to offer relief or help for its own sake,” but was to be “evangelistic” pointing to Christ. His goal was to make the gospel “broadly relevant.”³¹³

On theological grounds Shields stood opposed to the Social Gospel and distanced himself from its vision. Shields’ activism, by way of contrast, was polemical in its character. At war’s end and in the decades to come Shields faced society with a escalating sense of paranoia. He stood as a watchman, armed with “the policeman’s baton” and engaged in militant social commentary and critique.

In the early days after the conclusion of the First World War many attempts were made to reorganize the Christian church on a war basis and to exploit optimistic expectations of a deepening of religious interest. What differed in Shields was the longevity, intensity and pervasiveness of the military metaphor. Where others tired of war and its legacy, Shields fought on. In 1918, as he returned home from the traumatic scenes of war he arrived with a grim determination to wage war against the rationalistic remnants of “Germanism” that continued to threaten both church and society. Stirred with patriotic pride and filled with a sense of British valour he clearly viewed himself as representative of that British militancy discovered in John Bull “standing with sleeves rolled up, and fists clenched, and muscles taut, and eyes blazing, defying all the forces of tyranny and reaction”³¹⁴ The decade that witnessed the savagery of the First World War was about to pass, but for Shields a new decade of war was dawning. With the conflation of the worlds spiritual and secular in Shields’ thought and practice, latent tensions were brought to a head. In Ontario, and indeed, across North America Shields

³¹² Goertz, 37. Rauschenbusch was one of the leading advocates of the Social Gospel.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 43.

³¹⁴ T. T. Shields, “England in Wartime,” 2.

was about to fan the flames of fundamentalist fervour. He was quick to protest “We don’t want war” but his sentiments most clearly matched those of the popular British bar song by G. H. MacDermott “but by Jingo if we do, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the men, we’ve got the money too.”³¹⁵ In the history of Dr. T. T. Shields, the story of the 1920’s chronicled the outbreak of the war of the worlds as he stepped up to lead the fight against “the world, the flesh and the devil.”³¹⁶

³¹⁵ "jingoism." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition.* Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2011. Web. 31 Oct. 2011.
<<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/303992/jingoism>>.

³¹⁶ Cf. for instance Bruce West, “Shields vs Satan,” *Globe and Mail*, 10 February 1975, sec. 3, 25.

CHAPTER 4

Engaging the Enemy: Preacher / Polemicist (1919-1920)

“Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.”
2 Corinthians 10:5

Years of restraint imposed by a culture of respectability and a militancy learned in the context of a world at war combined in the early 1920's to reshape the character and ministry of the man who, as much as any, emerged in this decade to lead the international forces of militant fundamentalism. Fundamentalism of various sorts was developing by this period,¹ but only a handful of men could be said to rival Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields in the militancy of his offensive against modernist foes.² However, it was the crisis in his own church that provided the catalyst to cement the changes in his character and that provoked the counter-revolutionary reaction that defined Shields' fundamentalism.

Jarvis Street – Internal Strife:

The acrimony of the schism that wracked Jarvis Street Baptist Church through 1920 and 1921 made these two of the bitterest years in Dr. Shields' career. While denominational issues lingered in the background, it was the struggle on his home turf that riveted his attention as he fought for his very survival as a minister of the gospel. In the broadest sense, the roots of the 1921 schism in Jarvis Street Baptist Church can be traced back to the very outset of Shields' ministry in that congregation. As described in Chapter Two, with Shields' introduction to the pulpit of the Jarvis Street Church, in a very real sense “Church” met “Sect.” In the Baptist firmament, Jarvis Street Baptist Church was the archetypal representation of refined and respectable “Church-type” religion. With its denominational centrality, Gothic edifice, elitist membership, and

¹ See for instance C. Allyn Russell, *Voices of American Fundamentalism* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976).

² In terms of notoriety Shields would likely only be surpassed by the likes of J. Frank Norris or Billy Sunday.

culturally acceptable worship forms, Jarvis Street was the proud centrepiece of Baptist accomplishment and progress in Ontario. On a diametrically divergent trajectory, Pastor Shields, the other-worldly revivalist, was perhaps the leading advocate of “Sect” type religion with its enthusiasm, conversionism and otherworldly disdain for carnal pursuits and luxuries. A fundamental clash of ideological perspectives was inevitable. Latent issues littered the ecclesiastical landscape as the two conflicting forces met.

Denominational sovereignty, diaconate rule and the culture of respectability were countered by ecclesiastical ambition, prophetic demeanour and sect-type revivalism. While Jarvis Street’s social elite sat comfortably unaware of the incongruity of the text affixed over the door of their palatial building, Pastor Shields was quick to make its boast: “I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. Romans 1:16.”³

These two years were the climax to a decade of tension. In one of the climactic meetings of 1921, as he fought for survival as Jarvis Street’s pastor, Shields commented to his congregation that “his life as pastor of this church had been little short of purgatory.”⁴ Years later Shields spoke to fellow ministers of the difficult lesson that he had to learn: “It is seldom possible to reform, overnight, an old established church.” Shields argued that in the attempt to “endeavour to realize the New Testament pattern of a church,” a great deal of patience had to be exercised. He noted facetiously that sometimes “my brethren are disposed to think of me as one who went into an ecclesiastical forest with a broadax, and began immediately chopping down the tall trees. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I had to wait eleven years for my full liberty as a preacher of the gospel.”⁵

For Shields, part of this trial must have been an internal struggle of conflicting ambitions. The ambition to pastor the premier church of the denomination was inherently at odds with his instinctive ambition to be faithful to the gospel of Christ. For eleven years the battle within him raged as his evangelistic instincts were everywhere curtailed by the very church he was so determined to oversee. This internal struggle over time

³ Austen Seaton Thompson, *Jarvis Street, A Story of Triumph and Tragedy*, (Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1980), 183.

⁴ Jarvis Street Baptist Church Minute Book, 1918-1938, 29 June 1921, 110, JBCA, Toronto. (Hereafter “Church Minutes”).

⁵ T. T. Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937). (Hereafter *Plot*), 196.

would come to expression in open ecclesiastical conflicts over the divergent approaches to faith and practice entertained by his congregants. Where Shields, the denominational rebel, had always resisted denominational interference in the churches he pastored, the Jarvis Street congregation had long entertained denominational oversight, and boasted in its membership most of the denomination's leading administrative heads. Where Shields, the prophet, expected autonomy in his pastoral ministry, Jarvis Streets' deacons exercised tight supervision over his every activity. Where Shields, the evangelist, fought to make the proclamation of the gospel central to ecclesiastical life, his secularized and culturally liberal congregation expected professionally trained choirs to entertain them. Where Shields' otherworldly asceticism led him to demand entire separation from the world and its amusements, his audience had formed an alliance with it. Where Shields' pietistic devotion to scripture led him into the forefront of "the battle for the Book," leading figures within his own church would insist that any "man who did not believe in evolution put himself outside the pale of educated men."⁶ From his own perspective, Shields must often have felt that he was pastor in name only. Nevertheless, where a principle was worth fighting for, Shields was never one who would run from a fight. The more resistance he encountered the more he dug in with every bit of the British valour he could muster. When the conflict with his choir exploded in 1920, the fight was on. For the social elite, the cultural respectability they had so carefully shaped was under attack. "Dear Old Jarvis Street" itself was in jeopardy.⁷ For Dr. Shields and his following, "the faith which was once delivered to the saints" had been compromised, and the gospel as he knew it was at stake.⁸

Early Roots of Dissension

His first years at Jarvis Street seemed to go well enough. At a later point Shields made the boast that in the early years of his pastorate "there was never a ripple on the surface of the tranquil waters of our church life. We lived and wrought together as harmoniously and happily as is possible to mortal men."⁹ Despite this vaunt, however, hindsight suggests that the apparent harmony was only surface deep and that the seeming

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ This was the common rallying cry for Shields' opposition.

⁸ An allusion to Jude 1:3 and the rallying cry of Shields' faction.

⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 24.

tranquility was more like the calm before the storm. Indeed, when the storm broke, Shields was quick to point to deeper undercurrents which eddied beneath the tranquil surface. For the historian, identifying the specific sources of Jarvis Street Baptist Church's 1921 split is a difficult one. It is further complicated by the necessity of untangling the rather complex relationship between internal and external tensions. While Shields' denominational battles will be treated separately, from the commencement of Shields' ministry in Jarvis Street there can be no question that outside denominational interests interfered with Jarvis Street's internal affairs.

From Shields' perspective, both internal and external opposition to his pastoral oversight began even before his installation. In subsequent accounts of these events Shields referred to the efforts of a man who from the outset was determined to drive him from the pastorate. In his published account, *The Plot that Failed*, he noted that "there was a man who was President of McMaster Alumni Association, who was a member of the church, and who had gathered a number of young boys about him to oppose the Pulpit Committee's recommendation." Apparently, the individual in question was concerned that Shields would "not be very sympathetic toward McMaster University."¹⁰ This man had some influence in one of the Toronto newspapers and prior to Shields' installation he published reports that there was significant opposition from within the church.¹¹ Shields, in fact, did hesitate in accepting the call because of the negative publicity. Only the assurances of Dr. D. E. Thomson convinced him to come. Thomson was a leading member of the search committee, one of the deacons, and the Chairman of the Board of Governors of McMaster University. Concerning the McMaster issue, Thomson noted "that Jarvis Street Church was then engaged in selecting a Pastor, and not a professor for the University; and that if McMaster was not able to take care of itself, then it was so much the worse for McMaster."¹² Regarding the hostile newspaper accounts, Thomson issued his own statement to the press refuting the other accounts. Shields did accept the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹¹ Though Shields avoids mention of this man's name in most of his publications relative to this controversy, he does identify him as J. H. Cranston in a discussion of a Senate meeting of McMaster University, January 14, 1924. Shields further spoke of him as the man "who began a newspaper campaign against me on account of my theological position before I began my pastorate in Jarvis Street." T. T. Shields, "McMaster's Approval of Dr. Faunce's Infidelity," *GW* 2:38, 31 January 1924, 26-27. (Hereafter "McMasters' Approval")

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.

call, but this man did not stop his efforts. He stayed in the church for “two or three years,” and Shields testified that he “proved himself to be a thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan to buffet me, until, by the advice of his father-in-law, a loyal deacon, he transferred his membership to another church, and left us in peace.” However, according to Shields, “he continued his vendetta indirectly for years thereafter, and I was informed had vowed that he would never rest until he had driven me from Jarvis Street Church.”¹³

In the annual meeting of April 29, 1921 and facing a vote of non-confidence, Shields was given opportunity to make a statement. The Church record noted that Shields immediately identified the root of opposition as going back to this man. Summarizing Shields speech the record noted that this man [Cranston] had led the opposition and “criticized his preaching from the first.” After some time he left the church but “continued his opposition in Jarvis St. through ‘lieutenants’ whom he had left behind him.”¹⁴ In point of fact, the antagonism and interference of Cranston would go on for years, and when the internal difficulties in Jarvis Street were settled, he took up his offensive at the denominational level and, in particular, from within the senate of McMaster University. By referencing Cranston, Shields also identified two of the major undercurrents which plagued his ministry. Strictly speaking, both of these had their source outside of the church and related to denominational matters. The first was the question of the denominational school, McMaster University, and the second was the question of modernism. These issues intersected early on in his pastorate as he became suspicious that McMaster was actively propagating modernistic teaching within the denomination at large. There can be little doubt that the president of McMaster Alumni Association had good grounds for his anxiety that Shields might not be sympathetic to McMaster concerns. Prior to his call to Jarvis Street, Shields was quite open about his bitterness that McMaster had seemed to treat the denomination as its own peculiar sphere of patronage.¹⁵ Shields himself was not a McMaster grad, and he was clearly proud of

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Church Minutes, 29 April 1921, 95-96.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 10. Note: It is clear that Shields was still making this contention as late as the Walmer Road Convention in October of 1922. Dr. John MacNeill on the Convention floor vehemently repudiated Shields’ charge that “men not graduates of McMaster were blocked out by the university.” “McMaster Not Meant as Proselytizing Aid,” *TDS*, 26 October 1922, 5:00 edition, 3.

that fact. Echoes of his earlier boast “I’ll rise to heights no McMaster man ever dreamed of!” still resonated badly with many of the McMaster faction.¹⁶ Shields’ friendship with Elmore Harris, his opposition to Professor Matthews and his conservative theological position were also strikes against him. At the end of his career, Shields painstakingly traced the advent of modernism in McMaster.¹⁷ However, at the outset of his Toronto pastorate, Shields seemed to be somewhat unaware of the extent to which modernism had made inroads. Indeed, in the convention of that year and only five months into his new pastorate, he was persuaded to second a compromise motion that largely silenced the concerns about modernist teaching raised by Elmore Harris. This was a motion that Shields later came to regret. Over the course of the next nine years Shields became increasingly suspicious and in 1919 confronted the issue of modernism in the annual convention in Ottawa.

Ottawa Convention 1919

It is perhaps not surprising that Dr. Shields would date the beginnings of the insurrection within his own church to what he saw as his overwhelming victory over the modernist faction in the 1919 Ottawa convention. It is true that at one juncture he did point to a spirit of complaint that had existed in Jarvis Street Baptist Church as early as 1915. In a letter published in *The Toronto Daily Star* Shields commented: “It is complained that since 1915 there have been fewer baptisms than might have been expected. That is true. But is the spirit which breathes in the letter of complaint conducive to spiritual accomplishments?”¹⁸ Though he seemed to sense a growing hostility from that year, he nevertheless marked the Ottawa Convention of 1919 as the real point of rupture with certain factions in his church. In this same letter Shields remarked: “One of the deacons ... moved the compromise resolution at the Ottawa

¹⁶ Arnold Dallimore *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalist* (Leamington: unpublished manuscript, c. 2001), 14.

¹⁷ See T. T. Shields, “The Great Contention,” *GW* 31:31, 20 November 1952 to 32:19, 27 August 1953. This series never appeared independently but was published in the pages of *The Gospel Witness* in thirty-eight chapters over the course of the year from November 1952 to August 1953. Much of the material was simply a republication of *The Plot that Failed*, but significant additions are made. One of these consisted of an elongated evaluation of the question “Was there Modernism at McMaster University?” Chapters 8 through 12 dealt with the evidence Shields had compiled over the years.

¹⁸ “Dr. Shields Replies to Deacon’s Letter,” *TDS* 28 June 1921, 5. (Hereafter “Dr. Shields Replies”).

convention in 1919 in opposition to my resolution opposing modernism – and the battle has been on ever since.”¹⁹

It should be recalled that the so-called “Inspiration Controversy” came to a head with an editorial published in *The Canadian Baptist* on October 2, 1919. Shields took deep offence at the open attack upon the doctrine of inspiration contained within the editorial, especially as it was published under the auspices of the official magazine of the Baptist Convention. His call for a vote of censure was overwhelmingly endorsed. However, circumstances surrounding the debate were a clear sign that dark clouds were gathering on the horizon for Shields and his ministry in Jarvis Street. The first ominous sign was the attempt to derail his motion with a compromise amendment. Shields’ motion called for a declaration by the convention of its “disapproval of the editorial ... entitled ‘The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture’” in *The Canadian Baptist* on the grounds of “its representative character as the organ of the Convention.” His motion also noted that “the editorial commends to its readers some new vague view of the Scriptures different from that to which the Convention declared its adherence in 1910, and upon which the denominational University is declared to be founded.”²⁰ In place of this, the amendment suggested a general expression of the doctrine of inspiration “That the Bible is the inspired Word of God...,” along with an assertion of the liberty of conscience of believers to decide the issue for themselves: “That the individual believer has an inalienable right to liberty of thought and conscience, including the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures in reliance on the illumination of the Holy Spirit.” Furthermore, the amendment contained an implied rebuke to Shields in his efforts to call the denomination to make a stand on the issue:

At the same time the convention strongly deprecates controversy at this time as to the interpretation in detail of our distinctive beliefs as uncalled for, and sure to minister to heart-burnings and divisions in our body, when we ought to be presenting a united front in grasping the opportunity of the hour.²¹

For his part, Shields was immediately wary of compromise solutions. He remembered only too clearly his own part in what he now saw as the disastrous compromise in the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ T. T. Shields, “McMasters’ Approval,” 21.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Bloor Street Convention of 1910. Where Dr. Elmore Harris had raised concerns about the questionable teachings of Rev. I. G. Matthew, Shields seconded a motion by Rev. John McNeill leaving the question of Rev. Matthew's orthodoxy to the officials of the university to police. Years later Shields reflected: "as a policeman in that debate, I was a 'rookie'; as a soldier I was a "raw recruit"; as a polemicist, I was inexperienced, and therefore too naïve, and too easily convinced of the sincerity of all opponents." In the intervening years Shields had become much more cynical. Matthews' teaching had continued unabated and Shields had learned that the compromise amendment was simply a means to "white-wash" Professor Matthews and to obtain "a new mandate for him to go on with his nefarious work." In hindsight Shields claimed "in that debate I learned more in one night, when viewed in the light of subsequent events, than many a man learns in a whole lifetime. I could read the one hundred and sixteenth Psalm with the profoundest appreciation, and at the eleventh verse, 'I said in my haste, All men are liars'. I could say, Haste notwithstanding, 'he was not far wrong'!"²²

To Shields' cynicism was added the militancy of one who had just come from the scenes of battle on the war front. No longer a "raw recruit" Shields regarded himself now as something of a veteran warrior and was determined "to contend for the faith once for all delivered to the saints."²³ He saw the amendment's appeal to peace as a thinly veiled attempt to muzzle "the mouth of every minister of the gospel."²⁴ He later asked:

What is the purport of it? [The 1919 compromise amendment] Simply this: that we declare that we believe certain things, but if we dare to say what we believe we shall divide the body. Do not tell anybody what you believe. To publish the interpretation of our distinctive principles, the very things for which the denomination stands, will be sure 'to minister to heart-burnings and divisions in our body.' I said at that time, and I say it again, if that be true, that the standing for Baptist principles leads to division, then let division come at once!²⁵

When Shields invited the possibility of division he had to realize at once what that meant for his own church. Shields later asked rhetorically: "By whom was that amendment prepared? By his own confession, it was prepared by the then Chairman of the Board of Governors ... Dr. D. E. Thomson. By whom was the amendment moved? By Mr. James

²² T. T. Shields, "The Great Contention," chapter 5, *GW* 31:35, 18 December 1952, 12.

²³ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup* (Toronto: Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1921), 55. (Hereafter *Cup*)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

²⁵ T. T. Shields, "McMaster's Approval," 21.

Ryrie, a member of the Board of Governors and of the Senate of McMaster University.”²⁶ Significantly however, not only were these two men among the most prominent people in the governance of McMaster University, they were also the most influential members of his own deacons’ board. This was in a church that was largely accustomed to diaconate rule. At the end of the Jarvis Street schism, when Shields had routed his opponents, he confessed: “There is not a shadow of a doubt, if Mr. Ryrie’s amendment had prevailed at Ottawa, that all that has occurred in Jarvis Street would have taken place two years ago. But it was because the vote was the other way that other means had to be taken.”²⁷ By alluding to “other means,” Shields spoke of what he believed to be a deliberate orchestration of events to undermine his ministry and topple him as pastor. From the moment Ryrie rose to propose his compromise amendment, Shields was convinced that an insurrection was being raised against his ministry. To his mind, there was no coincidence in the fact that the opposition from within McMaster had chosen the two most prominent leaders within his own church to embarrass him publicly. By tipping their hand here, Thompson and Ryrie clearly exposed their agenda. This was confirmed to Shields by a number of witnesses. Concerning events that occurred the night of the convention he testified:

I was under no delusion whatever. I knew that though a victory had been won, the war was not ended; but had only begun; for before I slept that night I was advised that a little group had met, and had declared that that verdict would have to be reversed; that they had said, “He has beaten us in the Convention; we will beat him in his own church.”²⁸

In another place Shields commented that upon returning home from the convention, a friend had overheard certain denominational leaders speaking among themselves aboard the train. The comment that the friend heard and related to Dr. Shields was “We must get Shields out of Jarvis Street.”²⁹ Shields’ suspicions were further borne out by subsequent testimony: “Some of my brethren warned me a year and a half ago of a determined effort to bring about just this thing which has been agitating us now for six months.”³⁰

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 16.

²⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 157.

²⁹ T. T. Shields, “McMaster’s Approval,” 24.

³⁰ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 16.

Despite his perception of the cost to his own situation, and probably in large part because of the opposition's determination to oust him, Shields, by his stubborn and increasingly militant nature, determined to dig in. Insisting that his was a "test case" he asked "If overwhelmed here, then who [will] raise his voice against this thing in the future?" He boasted: "I do not mean to say that this Pastor has more influence than others, not by any means; but even his enemies say that he is not accustomed to running away from a difficulty. I think even those who are opposed to me here this evening would say that they will give me credit for this – that I am not easily defeated."³¹

Shields' determination at this point was all the more remarkable when considered in light of the opportunity to achieve the greatest dream of his life, the invitation to assume the pastorate of Spurgeon's Tabernacle. Explaining why he determined to stay in Jarvis Street, he declared: "On personal grounds I would gladly have responded to their overture; but the battle had been set in array. The flags, for and against the gospel, had been unfurled; and I felt that to retire from the field at such a time when, indeed the whole matter had been provoked by my testimony, would have been the most arrant cowardice. I therefore resolved to stand my ground, and fight it out." His decision, moreover, marked a renewed determination to reshape Jarvis Street: "With utmost sincerity I can say, I faced this matter before the Lord, and resolved at last that I would have a New Testament Church on the corner of Jarvis and Gerrard Streets, Toronto, or, if that should be impossible, I would abandon hope of establishing such a church anywhere."³²

Mr. James Ryrie, Dr. D. E. Thomson and the Genesis of Controversy

Shields was right to date the beginnings of the controversy with the events of the Ottawa convention. Undoubtedly, open opposition to his pastoral regime started the moment Ryrie stood to read his "resolution." The audience's reaction to the Ryrie/Thomson amendment only compounded the breach. For Ryrie and Thomson, the impassioned retort of the convention must have come as a shock. Not only did the convention shout down the seconder of the amendment, but as Shields later recalled it, Ryrie had to bellow above the cries of the crowd just to withdraw his amendment: "Mr.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

³² T. T. Shields, "The Great Contention," chapter 20, *GW* 31:50, 2 April 1953, 6.

Ryrie rose, and when he rose that great crowd shouted, ‘Question, question, question, question, question.’ He was not allowed to speak, until at last, at the top of his voice he shouted, ‘Can I not withdraw my resolution?’”³³ Speaking afterwards about it Ryrie rationalized his defeat by claiming that he had withdrawn his motion “to keep the peace.”³⁴ His claim, however, seemed to be little more than an attempt to salvage his pride in the face of overwhelming rejection. Undoubtedly, Ryrie and Thomson returned home bruised and embittered and ready to do battle on every front.

However, the fact that both men, in a public forum, opposed their pastor on a matter that held so much importance to him was very significant. The bitterness of this betrayal stayed with Shields until the end of his life over 30 years later.³⁵ Yet in the case of Ryrie some sort of rupture in their relationship had already occurred. Important clues as to the cause of this can be found in a letter from Ryrie dated March 14, 1918. Herein, Ryrie unburdened his heart about his growing concerns. Though Ryrie adopted a submissive and conciliatory tone, the letter did identify growing opposition within the church. The primary issue that Ryrie complained about was Shields’ preaching which many felt was too long and too negative. Ryrie quoted the general complaint of the young people: “you never know when you are going to get out and were always afraid Mr. Shields will be saying things against people.” He used the illustration of a young missionary who had visited the church at their behest. After the service the discussion turned to the length of the sermon. The missionary commented: “Yes, I was pitying those poor soldiers in the church who are accustomed to fifteen minute sermons.” Another who was a nurse at the military hospital remarked concerning one of her patients who was visiting: “He was very fidgety during the service and I went over to the door just to let him know I had seen him and jokingly said to him, ‘Well _____ have you got a midnight pass?’” He didn’t take it as good humouredly as she expected, but replied, “A midnight pass is no use for this, a fellow would need a week-end.”³⁶ His daughter also said wistfully: “I wish Mr. Shields was as nice in the pulpit as when you meet him

³³ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 48.

³⁴ Both sides in the dispute made reference to this event. See “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Street Church Case,” *TDS*, 12 October 1921, pg. 2. See also T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 47.

³⁵ Shields republished the whole story again as *The Great Contention* only two years before his death.

³⁶ James Ryrie to T. T. Shields, 14 March 1918, published in *The Inside of the Cup*, 49 -52.

outside.” Ryrie indicated to Shields that his own children were increasingly desirous of attending other churches because “they feel uncomfortable lest you will be hitting people.” Ryrie’s complaints reflected a growing restlessness within a congregation more and more exposed to the “critical and condemnatory ministry” identified in the previous chapter. Ryrie sympathetically counselled Shields: “our people ... are more amenable [*sic*] to a loving appeal than chastisement.”³⁷

It would appear that prior to the mailing of this letter, cordial relations had existed between the two men and that Ryrie based his appeal on the assumed strength of that relationship and an intimate discussion of the previous night: “I spent a good deal of my usual sleeping time in wondering whether or not I should be equally frank with you regarding the pew side of the question.”³⁸ Though Ryrie professed ardent love and loyalty to his pastor, the letter did contain a veiled threat of resistance if it was not heard: “Complying with the requireents [*sic*] of the Government, I shall I presue, [*sic*] be compelled [*sic*] to attach a war stamp to the envelope, but every word inside the envelope is meant in love.” Perhaps Ryrie believed that the comment was made in jest, but for Shields reference to the “war stamp” had to be ominous.

Though Ryrie couched his remarks in flatteries and professions of love and respect, he seriously misjudged his man. Shields’ response was to adopt a stony silence. As with all who had offered him rebuke, Shields now regarded Ryrie with intense hostility. This hostility was clearly evident to all those who would hereafter form the opposition. When this faction took their side of the conflict to the press, they were quick to identify the fallout from Ryrie’s letter: “The letter,” they complained, “was never acknowledged in any way, but it has since been treated as a mortal offense.”³⁹ In Shields’ diatribe of October 1921 which he called *The Inside of the Cup*, he exhibited this letter as his primary evidence of Ryrie’s perfidy. From the perspective of his developing military metaphor, this letter was insubordination. From his perspective as a divinely ordained pastor and prophet, Ryrie’s effrontery was a moral felony. That anyone should infringe upon the gospel minister’s liberty to preach as he felt the Lord was leading was, for

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* 49.

³⁹ “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case,” *TDS*, 12 October 1921, Section 1, 2.

Shields, the highest form of presumption. Ryrie soon compounded his offence when he proposed “that there should be a meeting of the men of the congregation to consider how their interest might be secured in the work of the church.” Having gone south for the winter, Ryrie sent Shields a telegram to inform him of the “outline of a programme” he hoped to use for the meeting. In that agenda was the item: “That someone from the pew should prepare an address on the kind of message the pew expects from the pulpit.”⁴⁰ What Shields found particularly offensive was Ryrie’s attitude toward the ministerial role. Shields fiercely guarded the sanctity of his office. Responding to another deacon who had dared to counsel him on what he should preach, Shields’ recalled the deacon’s advice “that ministers, like business men, ought to study their customers.” “You think your minister is a caterer,” Shields retorted. “I say he is the prophet of the Lord.”⁴¹ He concluded: “If you mean that you intend to exercise censorship on the pulpit then you have the wrong man.”⁴² This clash of perspectives quickly escalated and Shields later pinpointed it as being one of the basic issues underlying the whole controversy: “And the ... question is, whether the Pastor of the Church is to be a prophet of the Lord or a hireling of a few men; whether he is to be a prophet to speak God’s Word, or a human parrot who is to repeat what people want him to say.”⁴³ In a manner that sounded increasingly arrogant to the opposition, Shields boasted: “The Pastor is, he trusts, a man; and he did not surrender his manhood when he entered the ministry. ... the question is as to whether deacons are elected to assist the Pastors or is he to be told by them what he is to do?”⁴⁴ After winning a unanimous endorsement of his pastorate on May 5, 1920 in the midst of the choir controversy, Shields took to the pulpit a week later and made a defiant declaration. The church Secretary entered the following account on May 16th:

The Jarvis St., pulpit had always been free for the proclamation of the gospel, but there had been those who objected to the Pastor’s attitude of being set for the defence of certain principles by exposing the error taught elsewhere. He was resolved in the future to be absolutely free in his proclamation from the pulpit and would insist on distinctive principles. He considered it of more importance sometimes to instruct the few, than to inspire the many, and would in the future

⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 9, 10.

⁴¹ “Dr. Shields Flays His Critics, Takes a Fling at Modernism” *The Evening Telegram* 15 October 1921, pg. 20.

⁴² T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 10.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 167.

make no attempt to make the pulpit popular. Knowing his position in regard to distinctive preaching, the Church had invited him to continue his ministry, and he accepted the invitation, as announced on the previous Sunday.”⁴⁵

Ryrie undoubtedly felt that his gentle rebuke of his pastor was kind and fair. However, from Shields’ perspective Ryrie was academically and theologically naïve. From the language and spelling of the letter itself, it is clear that he was no scholar. Nor, according to Shields, was he biblically astute:

He was a very excellent man, but was not biblically informed. I never observed any evidence that he was a student of the Bible. From the kind of book he occasionally quoted in prayer-meeting, and what I learned from himself of his religious views, I know that he had never been “rooted and grounded” in the principles of evangelical Christianity as historically held by Baptists.⁴⁶

When Ryrie penned his missive, it is somewhat unlikely that he would have been aware of the nature of his offense. Throughout the controversy, Ryrie and his associates would insist that they were theologically conservative, but to Shields they were so steeped in modern thought that they could not even comprehend where they had deviated from traditional Baptist and evangelical tradition. Aside from the fact that Shields, from this point forward, became intolerant of criticism, Ryrie’s letter disturbed Shields on several levels. In particular, Ryrie seemed oblivious to the ramifications of his pastor’s exalted view of the pastoral office. For Ryrie, the deacons ruled the church, and to the deacons fell the job of regulating the character of its ministry.

While Ryrie’s disgruntlement undoubtedly was related to the concerns he raised in his letter and the subsequent fallout from it, Dr. Thomson’s concerns are a little harder to pinpoint. In October of 1922, a full year after the final split of September 1921, Thomson revealed something of the measure of his own bitterness. In an interview with a *Toronto Star* reporter he said of Shields, “but after the style of the German Kaiser in his palmy days, he attempts to associate high heaven with his attitude.” While it is difficult to know how much his attitude in October of 1922 reflected his mood in 1919, it is evident from this report that the bitterness of his hostility had been growing for some time. He told the reporter “that no one ever more ardently desired or consistently worked for Dr.

⁴⁵ Church Minutes, 16 May 1920, pp. 69, 70.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 188.

Shields' success in Jarvis Street church than himself." However, in the end, despite Shields' "gentle art of making the worse seem the better cause," Thomson declared that Shields had become nothing but "an efficient and ruthless wrecker."⁴⁷ It can only be assumed that Thomson's attitudes mirrored those of Ryrie as expressed in his 1918 letter to the pastor. It was, after all, his amendment that Ryrie proposed to the convention. There can be no doubt that the two men had confided in one another concerning the direction that Shields' ministry had been taking. The 1919 amendment clearly demonstrated their collusion.

Of Shields' disaffection with Ryrie by 1918, there can be little dispute. However, on the eve of the 1919 Ottawa convention Shields' confidence in Thomson seems to have been intact. Thomson's involvement was not discovered by Shields until after the crucial vote had occurred. Only then did a fellow minister inform Shields that he had accidentally stumbled across the amendment introduced by Ryrie, written upon the "stationery of the legal firm of which Dr. D. E. Thomson, K.C., was the head." This man notified Shields that "beyond doubt, the amendment had been framed by Dr. Thomson."⁴⁸ Shields' reaction to this news can be predicated upon his own reported response to another such attempt. One of the two men to whom Shields had revealed his proposed motion was a pastor who used the information to try to frame his own amendment. This proposal, like Thomson's, sought to derail his own motion. Upon discovering that, Shields remarked: "His conduct was one of my early experiences of ministerial treachery. I was forced to tell him plainly that I had recognized his perfidy – and that day our fellowship ended."⁴⁹

Upon his return from the 1919 convention, Shields was clearly out of fellowship with two of his most prominent deacons. In the course of the following year Thomson seemed to fade into the background in all likelihood due to his failing health. In the annual meeting of 1920 the church re-elected him to the deacon's board despite his withdrawal on health grounds. Shields himself moved a resolution that acknowledged his valuable contributions of the past and sought to retain his name on the board as a deacon

⁴⁷ "Shields Compared to German Kaiser in His Palmy Days," *TDS*, 18 October 1922, 1. (Hereafter "Palmy Days").

⁴⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 158.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 140.

emeritus.⁵⁰ Thomson retained the title until his transfer to Walmer Road Baptist Church in May of 1921, a church fast becoming the seat of much of Shields' denominational opposition. In the church records Thompson's transfer was recorded along with other dissidents including Deacon Scott. Among the reasons given by the dissidents for their withdrawal was disapproval over Shields' refusal to resign after promising to do so, and of Shields' demand for a raise in salary. The bitterness reflected in these withdrawals found resonance a year later in the public expressions of Thomson when he shared his sentiments in an interview with a *Toronto Star* reporter. In reviewing the troubles afflicting the church, his first comment related to the broken promise: "Referring to Dr. Shields' failure to resign after promising to do so if not supported by a two third's vote Dr. Thomson says: 'yet this man, whose word cannot be trusted, has the assurance to lecture other people on moral obligations'"⁵¹

Thomson, despairing of the situation, withdrew but Ryrie settled in for the fight. From the time of the Ottawa convention forward, Ryrie seemed to emerge as the unofficial leader of the opposition. Though he may have tried to downplay that role, there are important clues that identify his fingerprints on much of what transpired thereafter. This was particularly apparent in the storm that erupted over the choir. When Shields objected to the proportion of time taken in the services by the choir, the deacons proposed that one of their anthems be sung during the collection of the offering. When Shields communicated that information to the choir director, Dr. Broome, he met with strong resistance. According to Shields' account of the event, Broome went to the choir and said: "Wait till our friend Mr. Ryrie comes home and we will fight this out."⁵² Broome disputed Shields' recollections, but the fact remained that when Ryrie came home he did champion the choir's cause. In the annual meeting of April 30, 1920, Ryrie spoke for the choir. He noted that the choir had not submitted a report for the year, but that instead he had with him a letter from Dr. Broome. He summarized the contents and "said that he sympathized with the position that Dr. Broome had taken."⁵³ Shields reacted by vacating the chair and making the declaration that a decision had to be made "whether the

⁵⁰ Church Minutes, 30 April 1920, p. 67.

⁵¹ "Palmy Days," 1.

⁵² T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 22.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 23. Cf. Minute Book, 30 April 1920, 63.

preaching of the gospel was to be the supreme end in the Sunday evening services, or whether it was to be subordinated to the musical part of the services.”⁵⁴ When the matter was referred back to the music committee again, Shields took the bold move at the conclusion of the service on Sunday morning to announce a meeting for the following Wednesday where the matter would be voted on, once for all. He suggested that if they did not accept his proposal that his resignation would follow. Ryrie immediately objected: “It is not fair for the Pastor to make the music an issue, there are many people who would agree with him on that and would not be in agreement with his ministry in general.” Shields immediately responded: “Very well, Mr. Ryrie, I will submit my resignation, and you can discuss anything you like.” Somewhat surprisingly, the meeting resulted in a unanimous vote of support for Shields. Ryrie expressed his consternation at those results by downplaying the vote. When Shields tried to discuss with the board of deacons the specific changes to be carried into effect, Ryrie observed “The Pastor greatly overestimates the importance of that meeting.”⁵⁵

In April of the following year, Shields again felt compelled to submit his resignation to the church for consideration. He prepared a letter addressed to “the Members of Jarvis Street Baptist Church,” calling for a consideration of the matter at the annual business meeting April 29th. This letter was submitted to the board of deacons for their approval. Once again Ryrie led the opposition by demanding that a clause be added before the deacons would approve the distribution of the letter: “The Pastor hereby informs every member of the church, that unless he is supported by two thirds of the votes cast, he will tender his resignation.”⁵⁶ Shields remarked of the clause later: “I recall that Deacon James Ryrie expressed the opinion that there would be no doubt of the Pastor’s being supported by a considerable majority, but insisted on the insertion of that clause as a condition of his consent to the sending out of the letter.”⁵⁷ The condition imposed by this clause was removed by a majority vote in the church meeting,⁵⁸ but it

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 23.

⁵⁶ “A Special Letter From the Pastor,” Deacons’ Minutes February 24, 1920 to January 24, 1923. 21 April 1921, JBCA, Toronto. (Hereafter “Deacons’ Minutes”).

⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 242.

⁵⁸ Church Minutes, 29 April 1921, 95.

became one of the largest grievances cited by the opposition. Clearly, the whole matter was cleverly orchestrated by Ryrie.

A similar unbending attitude on Ryrie's part was demonstrated after the annual meeting of April 29, 1921. Once again Shields had been sustained by the church, though this time by a much narrower margin, 284 to 199. Ryrie again refused to accept the decision of the church and ten days after the meeting prepared a letter signed by six deacons who had resigned. Appealing to many who had not attended the April meeting and who ostensibly were against Dr. Shields, this letter demanded Shields' resignation.⁵⁹

It also seemed to be the perception of the people that Ryrie was the leader of the opposition. Shields related the story communicated to him by a supporter. This person had asked two young ladies why they were opposed to Shields, "what fault they had found with the Pastor's message?" They responded: "Personally, none at all." Somewhat puzzled, the questioner asked: "Then why are you in opposition?" "Well," they said, "look at Mr. Ryrie. When a man like Mr. James Ryrie takes up an attitude of opposition towards the Pastor there must be something wrong."⁶⁰ A similar attitude was reported in *The Toronto Daily Star* in September 1921. Reporting on the results of the annual meeting, the *Star* reporter quoted one member of the opposition: "'It does not seem fair,' said Mr. Brown, 'That members admitted irregularly or only last Sunday should be voting against men like Mr. James Ryrie who have been connected with Jarvis street Baptist church for 50 years.'"⁶¹

Orchestration of Revolt: McMaster Grads, Finance Committee and Young Men's Committee

Shields discovered a second centre of opposition developing around the activities of a group of young men in the church, many of them McMaster graduates. Shields often complained hereafter of their worthlessness to the spiritual life of the church. Noting his deep disappointment with them he reflected on the ideal of "Christian education." He expressed his belief in the value of having "teachers, and lawyers, and doctors, who had received their Arts training in a Baptist university." However, now he was convinced that

⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 278; Minute Book, "Prudential and Finance Committee Report," 28 April 1922, 145.

⁶⁰ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 8.

⁶¹ "Expect Secessions at Jarvis St. Church," *TDS*, 22 September 1921, 2.

McMaster's modernistic influence made its graduates liabilities "to the spiritual progress of [any] church they elected to join." He noted: "I think of one church that had in its membership twelve or thirteen of them, and from my observation the quality of their religious life – I will not call it spiritual – I should think they were enough to sink any ecclesiastical ship that could be launched."⁶²

In Shields' mind, there was one McMaster graduate in particular around whom this opposition formed. According to Shields, J. B. McArthur was the friend and agent of the newspaperman, Cranston, who had first opposed his ministry in the church. Both men were also members of the Senate of McMaster University. Cranston had long since left the church but through McArthur was still able to prove himself a thorn in Shields' flesh.⁶³ From 1919 forward, McArthur became active on several fronts in his attempt to drive Shields from the church. At one point Shields went so far as to label McArthur "the instigator of the Jarvis Street futile insurrection."⁶⁴ For his own part, Shields belittled him as a simpleton and a coward: "When the Nazis wanted to burn the Reichstag, they used a halfwit whom they could charge with incendiarism. The man I refer to was never charged by anybody with incendiarism, but in other respects the analogy is not wholly inappropriate." When someone nominated McArthur to the deacons' board, Shields was able to quote Ryrie who was himself horrified by the nomination. "Something must be done to prevent his election," insisted Ryrie, "for by his shirking of every duty during the war, he has forfeited the respect of every man in the church."⁶⁵

The first vehicle of obstruction McArthur and his friends utilized was the finance committee. Shields observed that "it was a practice in those days, that if there was anyone in the church who was as dead as the mummy of Rameses [sic], and hence good for nothing, they put him on the Finance Committee to 'conserve his business ability' for the church!"⁶⁶ Under McArthur's leadership, this group gradually seized the reins of power. Shields reported McArthur's stratagem to force himself "into the Chairmanship of the

⁶² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 198, 199.

⁶³ While Shields did not name these men in his discussions of the matter in *The Plot* and *The Cup*, their identity was revealed in 1924 when Shields provided a commentary about the "jury" set to try him at a Senate meeting of McMaster University. Cf. T. T. Shields, "McMaster's Approval," *G.W.* 2:38, 31 January 1924, 26, 27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 199.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Finance Committee – not even by clever manipulation, but by violating all the rules of decency.” According to Shields, McArthur called a meeting for “an evening when many of the Committee would be engaged, but when his henchmen would be free. He had an official notice sent to all his particular friends a week in advance, while the others received their notice by mail only on the evening of the meeting, when, returning from business, they would receive the notice not more than about two hours before the meeting was to be convened.”⁶⁷ Apparently Shields somehow intervened and secured the nomination of Albert Matthews to prevent this.⁶⁸ His actions at this point later led to charges of interference in the internal affairs of the finance committee.

Even after McArthur’s failed attempt to attain chairmanship of the committee, Shields claimed that McArthur with the aid of his friends waged a campaign of obstructionism. “While publicly complaining of financial straitness [sic],” said Shields, “in committee they were constantly maneuvering [sic] to create a deficit, and precipitate a financial crisis.” They fought a furious campaign to block any increases to the pastor’s salary due to a supposed financial crisis, while at the same time recommending increases for the church janitor and church secretary. They also “suddenly developed a concern for the completion of this building [B. D. Thomas Hall], for the sake of the memory of the man whose name it bore.”⁶⁹ Shields fought back, insisting upon his right as pastor to be an ex-officio member of all committees. When this right was challenged in a finance committee meeting, he took it to the church meeting where his status was reaffirmed.⁷⁰ He apprised himself of their records and involved himself in their decisions. He had also convinced Albert Matthews to take over the chairmanship of the Committee.⁷¹ Shields’ account was substantiated in part by the accusation of the deacons to the press that Shields was interfering in the work of the finance committee.⁷² It is also substantiated by

⁶⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 200.

⁶⁸ “Dr. Shields Replies” 5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁷⁰ Church Minutes, 26 May 1920, 70.

⁷¹ “Dr. Shields Replies” 5.

⁷² “Opposition Strong to Rev. T. T. Shields; Prominent Officers of Jarvis St. Baptist church Sent Out Letter.” *TDS*, 27 June 1921, 2. (Hereafter “Opposition Strong”).

a careful study of the church records themselves, as recorded by the secretary, Evangeline Watson.⁷³

Typical of their strategies was the monthly business meeting of the church in May 1920. Pressure had been growing within the church for a discussion of the Pastors' salaries. Shields had not received a raise in his salary since his installation in 1910. Many of his supporters felt that it was time to make a proper adjustment to his salary. Even among those who were in opposition there was a growing feeling that Jarvis Street's reputation was at stake in the matter.⁷⁴ In response to this growing pressure, the deacons and finance committee presented a resolution that "The salaries of the Pastor and the Associate Pastor be each increased by \$750.00 year from the beginning of the church year." The resolution ran into immediate trouble with prominent members of the finance committee obstructing its passage. Objections were raised including the question of completing the B. D. Thomas Hall, questions of where the money was to come from and the fact that the committee making the resolution was unprepared. An amendment was made referring the matter back to the finance committee "with instructions to secure permanent written pledges to cover the total amount of the proposed extra expenditures" Further amendments were introduced, one of which recommended "that the salary of the Associate Pastor be increased by \$750.00, the salary of the Pastor to remain as at present."⁷⁵ Eventually the first amendment was voted on and passed and the finance committee had the ball back in its court. The question of raising Shields' salary was effectively blocked until nearly a year later. Shields' summary of the campaign of the finance committee demonstrated the depth of hostility that existed on both sides of the question:

Throughout the year 1920 I lived as a man in normal health suffering from a toothache which made existence little less than a prolonged torture. The bad tooth was the McMaster representative who had wormed his way into the Finance Committee, and whose operations were designed to keep the financial nerve of the church open and under constant irritation, with the evident intention of giving

⁷³ Watson was the church clerk whose salary was increased, and who throughout the campaign of opposition adopted a hostile attitude towards Shields. She was among those who withdrew after the Sept. 21st, meeting.

⁷⁴ See discussion of the role of Albert Matthews in the debate in Paul Wilson, "Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and the Secularization of the Businessman at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, November 1995), 338 – 340.

⁷⁵ Church Minutes, 26 May 1920, 70 – 72.

as much pain as possible. ... There could not be found wealth enough in the world to compensate me for even a year's endurance of such humiliating stings as marked my experience of 1920. I would not liken those responsible to jungle beasts – that would necessitate an apology to the whole animal world. They were rather like the mosquitoes of a swamp, generating yellow or typhus fever. Individually insignificant, collectively they possessed the power to infect a multitude with their deadly poison.⁷⁶

In April of 1921, Shields forced the issue of his salary. McArthur and friends made a vigorous attempt to block Shields' demand for a raise, a matter which came to the notice of the press.⁷⁷ When the motion to increase Shields' salary by fifty percent was made, an amendment was introduced by one of McArthur's confederates, J. B. Lawrason: "Resolved that a vote by ballot be now taken to ascertain as to whether the Pastor enjoys the confidence of the Church, and that the result be announced." The amendment was removed due to "the lateness of the hour" but Shields hereafter viewed it as a second vote of confidence in his pastoral oversight. The margin, though, was very close, the motion passing 115 to 108.⁷⁸

Bolstered perhaps by the closeness of the vote, or perhaps by their failure to oust Shields through financial obstructionism, McArthur and his cronies now adopted a new stratagem to affect their goals. On April 14 they met together and formed a young men's committee with the stated purpose of removing Shields from the pastorate. In a letter to *The Toronto Daily Star* dated April 27, 1921, they openly declared their agenda. Noting Shields refusal to "recognize the situation and quietly resign," they indicated that "the men's committee was formed to bring pressure to bear on the deaconate so that they would take action." The letter concluded: "There has been a big feeling of relief on the part of hundreds in the church since this committee was formed and we are confident that if the members of the church will only express their feelings by voting on Friday that Dr. Shields will be unable to evade the issue any longer and resign."⁷⁹

It was this action that prompted Shields to submit his resignation to the judgment of the church in its 1921 annual meeting. The letter prepared by Shields and sent out

⁷⁶ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 202 – 203.

⁷⁷ "First Increase in Twenty Years," *The Toronto Telegram*, 7 April 1921.

⁷⁸ Church Minutes, 6 April 1921, 86.

⁷⁹ "Jarvis St. Committee 'Knock' Rev. Shields: Plain Statement Handed Out Handles the pastor Without Gloves," *TDS*, 27 April 1921, 4. (Hereafter "Jarvis St. Committee.")

under the auspices of the board of deacons with Ryrie's insertion recorded the rationale for his action: "A number of young men who are members of the church, held a meeting April 14th, and authorized certain of their number to wait upon some of the Deacons requesting them to convene the Deacons' Board with a view of obtaining the Pastor's resignation."⁸⁰

In the days following the circulation of the letter, the Young Men's Committee sprang into action. Their first order of business was their letter to *The Star*. With only days to impact the vote, they looked for the most likely instrument to carry their propaganda. By publicizing the matter through the papers, they hoped to generate internal support for their cause. Ironically and somewhat incongruously, they decried Shields' publicity seeking, though theirs was the first public airing of the matter in the Toronto papers: "As the men's committee has never sought publicity, we are very sorry that Dr. Shields, is courting it so much in this matter. Evidently he is trying to make a religious controversy out of what concerns principally the 1,100 members of Jarvis St. Church."⁸¹ Having publicly advertised their intent, the committee then conducted a thorough canvass of the whole congregation in a desperate attempt to generate sufficient votes to save "dear old Jarvis Street."⁸² Shields, noting that they made "no secret of their activities,"⁸³ described their opposition: "They met, they organized, they canvassed every member of this church about whose loyalty to the Pastor they had any doubt; and a fleet of [forty] motor-cars... were used that evening to bring out the vote." Shields cited the testimony of one adherent who asked him, "Does the Pastor know what is going on? Members of my family are members of Jarvis Street Church, and they have been waited upon and they have been asked to come out and vote against the Pastor for the good of Jarvis Street Church."⁸⁴

Shields also protested the obvious collusion occurring between this group and the deacons' board. He complained: "They knew that a committee of fifteen men, augmented by every disaffected member they could find in the church – and everyone they could

⁸⁰ Church Minutes, 23 April 1921, 94.

⁸¹ "Jarvis St. Committee," 4.

⁸² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 240.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁸⁴ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 29.

disaffect - were working day and night in house-to-house visitation of the members of the church.” Noting that he “and his supporters would never stoop to such tactics as these young men employed,” Shields objected to the injustices imposed by the diaconate: “they proposed that the members of the church should be assembled, and asked to vote upon the important question as to whether a ministry, after eleven years, should be continued or terminated, without any discussion.”⁸⁵

Similar tactics were employed by this group both at the June vote and the September vote with varying degrees of success. After the concluding session of the annual meeting, J. B. McArthur demonstrated real bitterness concerning the final outcome. Ignoring completely the campaign he and his associates had waged, he was quick to belittle the alleged activities of his opponents. He spoke disparagingly of their “appeal to prejudice” and their use of “means to stifle the consciences of members by threatening them with all kinds of spiritual mishaps if they voted against Mr. Shields”⁸⁶ Given his own behaviour in the controversy, the incongruity of his accusations seemed to be entirely lost on him.

Dissolution of Partnership with Rev. B. W. Merrill

A third source of discomfiture for Shields was the role played by his associate pastor, Rev. B. W. Merrill. The story of Shields’ relationship with Merrill was one of the more painful chapters in the account of this conflict. Significantly, the events surrounding the dissolution of their ministerial partnership also seemed to indicate a growing sensitivity and paranoia on Shields’ part, and a hardening of his military leadership model. The matter arose in the context of the choir incident in May of 1920 when Merrill spoke critically to the deacon’s board about Dr. Shields. It was not until a year later that Shields would break his silence on the matter and speak candidly of the event: “after my withdrawal” from the deacons’ meeting of May 2, 1920 “Mr. Merrill rose and informed the deacons that he had heard that if Dr. Broome was dealt with the whole choir would resign; that as for himself he had not understood the Pastor for a year and a half. He went right over to the critics, and he wished the deacons to understand that whatever the Pastor

⁸⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 243.

⁸⁶ “Expect Secessions at Jarvis St. Church,” *TDS*, 22 September 1921, 2.

did he had no intention of resigning.”⁸⁷ Later in October, at the time of his resignation, Merrill expressed great regret at what he had said. He insisted that his comments “were reported to the Pastor in a way in which they were not intended.” He remarked: “In light of all that has taken place since, I sincerely regret having spoken at all on that occasion.” Merrill acknowledged his regret to Shields but could find no reconciliation: “I said so frankly to the Pastor in a conference with him in this room on the evening of Monday, May 10th, when I told him what I had said but denied absolutely the interpretation placed upon my remarks by others. He chose to place his own interpretation on my words.”⁸⁸ This account was given by Merrill on October 8th when he was forced to appear before the board to give his reasons for his resignation.

Three days earlier, on May 5th, Merrill had submitted his resignation. The board was caught totally by surprise by his action and was mystified as to the possible cause. Nor was there any clear indication within the letter of resignation for so sudden a departure. Merrill’s letter appealed only to “divine guidance.”⁸⁹ The records of that meeting indicated that Shields confessed to a prior knowledge of the resignation, but there was no hint that he had demanded it. He spoke of an opening for Merrill elsewhere “if the Jarvis St. Church should set him free by accepting his resignation.” He also pointed out that “the principle of having an associate pastor was not working out satisfactorily.” Clearly Shields was becoming increasingly aware of the murmuring from the congregation that he rarely visited his congregation. In fact, this was one of the charges brought against him the following year when his opponents took the matter to the press. Trying both to forestall that objection and to distract them from the real cause of Merrill’s departure, he stated that “he was prepared to accept fully the responsibility of the undivided pastorate of Jarvis St. Church.” Shields deliberately downplayed his role in the matter and blamed the congregation for the situation that had arisen: “The people were not content with the ministrations of an associate pastor instead of those of the man who preaches.” Shields avoided placing any blame on Merrill: “If only the people were satisfied with this plan of work, there would be not man anywhere who could fill the

⁸⁷ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 25.

⁸⁸ Deacons’ Minutes, 8 October 1920.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 5 October 1920.

position better than Mr. Merrill.” He insisted “the Pastor and Mr. Merrill had had the happiest relationships during the ten years of their association in Jarvis St.” He acknowledged occasional differences but clearly denied any falling out between them. The record noted Shields’ claim that “while they had differed in opinion sometimes, there had never been an hour’s unpleasantness.” The closest Shields came to acknowledging his role in this resignation was his comment that “an incident last spring had grieved the Pastor, but he had spoken to Mr. Merrill about it immediately.”⁹⁰

In arguing for the acceptance of Merrill’s resignation, Shields now proposed that clerical assistance be provided to free up his time. He asked that “provision should be made for saving the Pastor from the necessity of doing things that almost anybody could do, in order that his time might be saved for coming into the personal contact with the people.” With this plan in mind then, Shields hurried to the conclusion that on his recommendation Merrill’s resignation should be accepted. Shields recommended that a “resolution expressing appreciation” and “some tangible expression in which every member of the Church should have an opportunity of sharing” should be “presented on some public occasion.”⁹¹ Throughout his statement, Shields seemed to be anxious to avoid any further discussion of the cause for Merrill’s departure. He came armed with a complete plan of action and hoped that the deacons would simply concur and move on.

Despite Shields’ plans and explanations, his deacons refused to leave the matter without a full understanding of the cause of Merrill’s departure. When a motion “to recommend the Church to accept the resignation” was made, an amendment was immediately added “that the resignation be not accepted, and that Mr. Merrill be asked to very carefully reconsider it.” With the amendment in place Shields finally acknowledged that “he had taken the irrevocable step of declaring that the dissolution of partnership between them was inevitable.” In a thinly veiled threat Shields added: “The deacons could see for themselves what the alternative would be if this amendment carried.” Despite his insistence upon acceptance of Merrill’s resignation, the deacons refused to act further without “sufficient information to justify them in recommending to the Church the

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

acceptance of the resignation.”⁹² The matter was left in the hands of a committee who would further investigate.

Three days later, the deacons met once again. The committee had decided that the best course was to oblige Merrill to accompany them and give a statement as to his real reasons for leaving. Reluctantly, Merrill indulged them and came armed with a carefully written account of what had passed between him and Shields. He expressed his concern that further investigation of the matter could only be divisive. At the deacons’ insistence, Merrill briefly outlined the situation from his own viewpoint. He finally acknowledged Shields’ ultimatum: “I have resigned ... for the simple reason that no other course was open to me.” Merrill described a second attempt to reconcile with Shields. On the 6th of June he had begged Shields in tears to accept his own interpretation of the ill-advised words. According to Merrill, Shields seemed to do so and suggested there was no enmity between them. However, the next day Shields informed him that he had already spoken to the board about his decision. He insisted that there remained no animosity between them but had concluded that the principle of dividing pastoral authority was wrong and that he would like to continue with just clerical assistance.⁹³ He insisted that “After ten years of association, there was nothing but affection in his heart for Mr. Merrill. There never had been. There had been grief, but never enmity.”⁹⁴

Throughout this controversy there is no evidence at all from the records, other than the ill-advised comment of May 2nd, that Merrill ever openly criticized Shields. Certainly, the opposition used this event as a significant weapon in their arsenal, but Merrill himself avoided any publication at all of the difficulties that had arisen. Even when the matter was finally presented to the congregation and explanations were demanded, he refused to speak. Throughout the whole affair, despite his own sorrow at the treatment he had received at Shields’ hand, Merrill remained outwardly loyal to Shields. Shields wrote a glowing commendation of Merrill to be read at a service of commemoration for Merrill’s services and procured from the board an honorarium of \$1,200.00.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 8 October 1920.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 October 1920.

However, within a year Shields was telling another story. Having survived the final vote, and having purged the dissidents from all official church positions, Shields felt secure enough in his victory to set the record straight. Freed from his concern about how his opponents would use his unilateral firing of his associate, he flung off the restraints of honour and directly attacked Merrill's character. On the occasion of his publication of *The Inside of the Cup* Shields admitted the real reason for terminating their relationship. Clearly the issue was not principle at all, but was intensely personal. It seems that his former appeal to the principle of divided authority was little more than a clever smoke screen to confuse the opposition. Merrill had betrayed him at the "crisis-hour." "Merrill," Shield recalled saying, "I don't charge you with hostility ... but in the one crisis-hour of my ministry you failed – not that you were hostile at heart, but that you were weak, and you wanted to come in out of the storm."⁹⁵ Shields publicly declared that he could never have trusted him again. According to this account, when Merrill reiterated his loyalty to Shields, Shields replied: "all I have to say is this; I can never depend upon you again; I should never feel that I had a man who could always be relied upon to stand."⁹⁶ Shields could never truly forgive or forget what he perceived as an act of betrayal. Given his military leadership model, any such act constituted insubordination and could never be overlooked despite personal feelings to the contrary.

With Shields' return from the theatre of war in 1918, he was a changed man. Exposure to the war's horrors and his own escalating fixation with the mythology of the "just war" had over the past four years led to incremental changes in his deportment and outlook. He was increasingly belligerent and combative. His understanding of the church's place in modern society was reshaped by a military metaphor that redefined his relationship with his congregants and his expectations of them. Faced with the loss of their preeminent place, the congregation's social elite became restive and tensions that had long simmered beneath the seemingly tranquil surface of church life erupted into open hostility. The worldly values entertained in a culture of respectability were now openly at odds with the otherworldly perspectives of those who had found in the war a

⁹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 25.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

pressing reminder of the spiritual warfare to which the church had been called. By the spring of 1921 the opposition to Shields' ministry had coalesced and the main protagonists had been identified. With the annual business meeting approaching both camps began to dig in and prepare for what proved to be a bitter and protracted battle over competing visions of "the faith."⁹⁷ The battle for "Dear Old Jarvis Street" was about to begin in earnest.

⁹⁷ Cf. Jude 1:3.

CHAPTER 5

Holding the Fort: Counter-Insurgent (1921)

“Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.”

2 Corinthians 6:17

The eruption of hostilities within Jarvis Street Baptist Church not only divided the congregation, it also sowed the seeds of discord throughout the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. The bitterness of the conflict also cemented the changes that were occurring within Shields’ psyche. An examination of the schism within Jarvis Street identifies the major issues that helped reshape the outlook of Shields and marked the birth within him of the militant fundamentalist.

As Jarvis Street Baptist Church entered the fateful year of 1921 a great sense of tension pervaded the congregation. A rift was rapidly developing between those who favoured the spiritual components of church life and those who enjoyed the cultural ornaments that had given them prestige and renown in the city. In the former camp were those who had been drawn to Jarvis Street by the high standards of biblical preaching and spirituality. Their pietistic devotion to spirituality was expressed in faithful observance of the Lord’s Supper and attendance at the many weekly prayer meetings, a practice which among their secularized opponents earned them the disdainful moniker “the prayer meeting crowd.”¹ To them Shields represented a great stalwart of the faith and a champion of true orthodoxy. They revelled in his preaching and cheered his denunciation of every manifestation of evil, both socially and theologically.² Encouraged by his observations of the war, Shields had shaped them into a spiritual army ready to “earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.”³

To the latter crowd, religion had to do with peace, comfort and respectability. Worn out by the horrific scenes of a world at war and the austerity it had so long

¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 244.

² See for instance the resolution of “love and attachment” passed at the April 29th annual meeting and recorded in the *Star*. “Shields will Remain at Jarvis St. Baptist, Received Majority of Votes at Last night’s Meeting, but not Two-thirds,” *TDS*, 30 April 1921, 2. (Hereafter “Shields will Remain.”)

³ Jude 1:3

demanding of them, they longed for a return to happier times. The Gothic edifice that was their “dear old Jarvis Street” provided them with a sanctuary that promised to transport them into the raptured tranquillity of celestial delights. The majesty and awe inspired by the medieval architecture reminded them of heavenly places. The mental cacophony of painful memories was drowned out by the rising crescendos of superbly rendered anthems of praise and worship. Détente had been achieved and worship was celebratory. Secure in their imagination of the world’s triumph over evil they adopted a stance of comfortable complacency concerning the world outside their doors. The prestige of place and social standing was theirs. God was blessing their sacrifice and the fruit of their labour was at hand. In the worlds secular and ecclesiastical they occupied a prominent and eminently respectable place.

To this crowd, Shields represented a painful reminder of the past. Shields had immersed himself in the war and had found the experience exhilarating. He returned from war determined to apply the lessons he had learned, and to drive out any lingering manifestations of the evil that had brought the world to such extremes. The military metaphor now dominated his ministerial demeanour. It was as though the war had never ended for Shields. They saw him as “always fighting,” or “knocking.”⁴ They hated his denunciatory ministry and rebelled when he finally called them to war.

That call to war came in the early part of 1921 when Shields preached his renowned sermon entitled “The Christian Attitude to Amusements.”⁵ On Sunday morning February 14th Shields attempted to institute his new military service model with a sensational appeal for entire separation. Shields opened his remarks with a direct attack on the culture of respectability which was so characteristic of much of the life of his own church:

Some, too, there are who are most punctilious in their observance of religious decorum; who would be offended by a colloquialism from the pulpit, or an inartistic performance by the choir; but who see no impropriety in the presence of professing Christians at the dance. ... The public worship of the sanctuary, the

⁴ See for instance “Shields will Remain,” 2.

⁵ T. T. Shields, “The Christian Attitude Toward Amusements,” *Plot*, 216-229. In subsequent years it was reproduced five times in the pages of *The Gospel Witness*. Thereafter it was published as a separate pamphlet and advertised in nearly every edition of the *Witness* for several years cf. *GW* 1:14, 19 August 1922; *GW* 4:11, 23 July 1925; *GW* 8:40, 20 February 1940; *GW* 11:13, 25 August 1932; *GW* 15:44, 11 March 1937. (Hereafter “Christian Attitude”).

preaching of the gospel, the study of Scripture, the exercise of prayer, the spiritual service of the Christian life, and all the pure spiritual joys flowing therefrom, are esteemed dull and uninteresting.⁶

In this sermon Shields went on to denounce the addiction to pleasure of those “openly advertising themselves to be ‘lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God.’”⁷ He castigated the “mentally demoralizing” effects of “that particular form of amusement provided in the moving picture theatres.”⁸ After discussing some of the biblical principles that pertained to the question, he provided a list of those “forms of amusement which are only evil”:

There are plays which cannot be defended before the bar of an enlightened conscience; there are uses of playing cards which lead inevitably to ruin; there are kinds of dances which are flagrantly immoral, and which no reputable person will attempt to justify. ... Participation in such amusements as I have just named, I feel sure every one here this morning will readily acknowledge, would be as unworthy of a professed Christian as lying or stealing.⁹

Shields further indicated that even those amusements which were relatively innocent, if they led another person to fall, they must be anathema to the Christian. Taking another swipe at cultured society and respectability he argued: “Let me take the highest possible ground. I anticipate your argument as to your taste for literature and the drama, your love of music and the aesthetic, your passion for cultivated society and mental recreation, and your superiority to the degrading influences to which the less favored are subject.”¹⁰ These too were to be condemned. “Let me thunder it in your ears,” he shouted. “*Through thy knowledge shall thy weak brother perish for whom Christ died?*”¹¹

Nor was Shields content to leave this demand for radical separation to their consciences. He made direct application to the various office bearers in his church starting with himself: “No, my standard is not impossible. It is the simple standard of the New Testament. To be a ‘living sacrifice’, to ‘be not conformed to this world’, is our ‘reasonable service’. ... I should be unworthy of my office were I to preach anything

⁶ *Ibid.*, 216, 217.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

less.” He continued, “I must apply the principle to myself; and I say frankly, that if there be any pleasure upon which my heart is so set that it is more to me than the interests of a soul for whom Christ died, I am unworthy of my office, and I ought immediately either to resign that pleasure, or resign my office.”¹² Having embraced the principle in his own ministry he immediately imposed it upon “the office-bearers ... the deacons ... the Sunday school teachers ... and also ... every member of the church.” Shields insisted that if any thought “more of an evening at the theatre, of the diversion of a game of cards, or of the pleasure of the dance, than of the interests of a soul for whom Christ died, he is unworthy ... and ought immediately to resign” He concluded: “The teaching of Scripture requires that every interest in life should be subordinated to the purpose of the Cross – which is, that they should be saved for whom Christ died.”¹³

At the end of his sermon Shields concluded somewhat wistfully: “What if some young man should rise in his pew before all the congregation and say, ‘I have here and now resolved that henceforth at all costs, I will in all things put Christ first’” He opined: “if such a thing should occur, who knows how many would follow his example, and perhaps the revival we have longed and prayed for would come to-day. Shall we not all resolve to rededicate ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ as our Saviour and Lord, and from this forward, put him always first?”¹⁴

The response to Shields’ sermon was mixed. Without invitation a young man at the back stood up and said: “I will do that, Pastor. I have resolved to put Christ first.” Several others followed and before the morning was done over one hundred had risen to make the same declaration.¹⁵ *The Globe* the next morning celebrated the results with the headline: “Many Renounce Worldly Joys; Dr. Shields Stirs Congregation with Attack on Pleasure Craze.”¹⁶ Not all reactions were so positive. While reading the *Globe* account the next day, Shields’ eye happened to fall upon another column. It was entitled “What Women Are Doing.” It went on to describe a dinner dance hosted by The Toronto Dancing Club at the King Edward on the previous Saturday evening. Included was a list

¹² *Ibid.*, 228.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 232; *Cup*, 18, 19.

¹⁶ “Many Renounce Worldly Joys; Dr. Shields Stirs Congregation with Attack on Pleasure Craze” *The Globe*, 14 February 1921, 6.

of those attending, one of whom was a deacon of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. The next day Shields received his letter of resignation. In his letter Q. B. Henderson acknowledged his shortcomings, but professed his efforts “to follow my Lord.” He refused, however, to allow another to dictate to his conscience: “I reserve to myself the prerogative to endeavor to follow Him as I think He wishes me to.”¹⁷ When the matter was considered by the deacons’ board, a long discussion on amusements followed. Rather than defer to the challenge of Sunday’s sermon, they refused to accept the resignation and instead sent a committee to confer with Henderson. At the next meeting of the deacons a report of the committee was given. Deacons Grant and Brown reported that Henderson refused to withdraw his resignation. The board then decided that the matter should simply be passed on to the church at the monthly business meeting without comment from them.¹⁸ The next recorded reference to Henderson’s resignation was at the March 30th meeting of the deacons. There the question was again deferred, this time to the annual business meeting of the church. It was becoming increasingly apparent that Shields was not going to enjoy the support of the majority of his board on this issue. In the end the annual meeting was completely taken up with the vote concerning Shields’ resignation and the question of resignations and appointments of deacons was deferred again. Over the next few weeks the majority of deacons closed ranks against Shields. Those who had resigned, withdrew their resignations and the fight was on. A year and a half later, Shields published this sermon in his fledgling *The Gospel Witness*. At the end he included an explanatory note which summarized the significance of this sermon from his perspective: “This sermon ... proved to be ‘the last straw’ ... and ultimately produced the upheaval in the church, of which the whole country has been informed; but which cleared the way for the great blessing which the church has since experienced.”¹⁹

In their public utterances concerning the controversy, the opposition carefully avoided reference to the sermon itself in their effort to sidestep Shields’ charge of “lack of spirituality.” They refuted the charge by shifting the blame to the “pastor’s administration of the church’s affairs.”²⁰

¹⁷ Deacons’ Minutes, 22 February 1921.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 March 1921.

¹⁹ T. T. Shields, “The Christian Attitude Toward Amusements,” *GW* 1:14, 19 August 1922. 8.

²⁰ “Opposition Strong,” *TDS*, 2.

The Protracted Annual Meeting of 1921 (April – September)

Events accelerated rapidly as the church prepared itself for the annual business meeting to be held April 22 and 29, 1921.²¹ Earlier in April a special business meeting had considered the matter of Shields' raise. This ostensibly had been precipitated by the necessity Shields found himself under of finding new living arrangements. The house he had been living in had been sold and he had until the end of April to find new accommodations. Shields claimed that this could not be done "without a very much larger financial outlay." The housing issue, in combination with the "general increased cost of living, had placed the Pastor in a very difficult position." The deacons' board was therefore petitioned with the need of a "50% increase in salary."²² This was a hot issue with those waging a campaign of financial obstructionism. As Shields revealed years later, he proposed this raise deliberately to draw his real opponents out. He told of the advice of his old friend Dr. J. W. Hoyt: "Present a financial measure to the church. Make it as personal as you can; and you will bring that enemy out of his hiding place."²³ As it turned out, members of the finance committee did try to prevent the salary raise by encouraging people to come out and vote against it. Towards the end of the April 6th prayer meeting when the business meeting was to be conducted, people started flooding into the meeting room. According to Shields, many of them he did not even know. These were people whose names were still on the membership roll but who never attended either prayer meeting or church.²⁴ Shields' plan to draw out his opponents was quite successful but it almost backfired. He admitted later: "I feared that we were utterly swamped."²⁵ When the vote was taken, Shields was supported by the narrowest of margins. Within days this opposition openly formed into the Young Men's Committee with the intent purpose of driving Shields from office. When the Committee publicly

²¹ Traditionally the annual meeting was held on a Friday night when all the yearly reports were presented. The following Wednesday night after the prayer meeting, the annual meeting would be concluded with the election of officers. This year however, "the Deacons recommended that the Church adjourn the Annual Meeting for one week. They further announced that a circular letter would be sent out "of an important matter to be considered at the adjourned meeting." Jarvis Street Baptist Church Minute Book, 1918-1938, 22 April 1921, JBCA, Toronto. (Hereafter "Church Minutes").

²² Deacons' Minutes, 30 March 1921.

²³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 285.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

stated its objectives Shields immediately set the annual meeting as the forum in which the church could express itself once and for all on the issue of his continued pastoral oversight. Other matters had also been deferred to this meeting. The question of Deacon Henderson's resignation over the dancing issue promised to be a hotly contested matter. Motivated by considerations of failing health Deacons Scott, Wellington and Lugsdin had also presented their resignations to the board of the deacons. With other terms of office expiring, several deacons needed to be chosen at the upcoming meeting. Another rather ominous note for Shields was the decision of the deacons not to present a report for the year at the annual meeting. The records say little of this decision except to indicate "considerable hesitancy" among the deacons concerning the reporting of the years' activities.²⁶ This seemed to be one more indicator of a deeply divided board. At a specially convened deacons' meeting on April 21st, Shields showed the deacons a letter which he intended to be sent to all the church members. He was "expressly desirous that this letter should go forth with the approval of the Deacons' Board." The letter indicated that the primary question to be considered at the annual business meeting, and which would "take precedence of all other business at the adjourned Annual Meeting" was that which dealt with whether or not "the present Pastor" should "continue in the Pastorate of this church?" Under Ryrie's guidance the deacons refused to acquiesce to the mailing of this letter under their authority unless the vote was to be taken without discussion and the two-thirds clause was inserted. These terms Shields reluctantly agreed to and the letter was mailed.²⁷ In preparation for the meeting Shields included an invitation card with the letter encouraging all the members of the church to "come to Three Special Prayer Meetings, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday Evenings, when we will pray that God's will may be revealed and done."²⁸

When the evening of the meeting arrived, record numbers made their way into the meeting hall. With so many people turning out for the vote, the meeting was adjourned to the auditorium. According to the church record "the press was asked to withdraw."²⁹ The first controversy that erupted was the question of whether or not the vote would be taken

²⁶ Deacons' Minutes, 30 March 1921.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1921.

²⁸ Church Minutes, 23 April 1921.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 April 1921.

by ballot. Supporters of Shields objected, but by standing vote the use of the ballot was approved. A second and far more serious objection was raised by the Shields' camp over the two-thirds clause. By motion the requirements of that clause were challenged: "it is proposed that a fraction over one third may deprive a majority of the ministry in which they have found profit" The motion also challenged "the precedent, that a condition already existing, and approved by the majority of the members of the church, may at any time, be overturned by a minority, which principle would give no reasonable security of tenure to any of the church's undertakings." It concluded: "Therefore, be it resolved that the church, in Annual Meeting assembled, hereby rejects the principle of minority rule, and calls upon the Pastor to withdraw clause 3 of the letter."³⁰

After heated discussion the motion was put to the church and was carried with the pastor's insistence that he "could not continue in the pastorate unless he should be supported by 'a substantial majority.'" Shields was allowed a twenty-minute statement in which he traced the history of the opposition to his pastorate. He particularly insisted that the issue was doctrinal in character, and that those who stood against him disapproved his opposition to modernism and higher criticism. He concluded: "Consciously or unconsciously, you vote tonight for or against the great body of evangelical truth for which this denomination stands."³¹

When the ballots were counted, 284 voted to retain Shields as pastor, 199 voted against him, and 6 ballots were blank. The total vote was 489 meaning that "Mr. Shields was sustained in the pastorate by a majority of 85 votes."³² For Shields and his following, this was the sizeable majority that justified his continuance in the pastoral chair. For the opposition, the majority fell short of two-thirds and so invalidated his ministry. Shields' letter to the church was calculated to put an end to the strife. It contained provisions that if Shields did not achieve the necessary support that he would leave and that if he did the dissenting deacons would resign. However, if Shields felt that this vote ended the matter, he was to be sorely disappointed.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

Bolstered by the vote and being in a somewhat generous frame of mind, Shields now made a strategic mistake. Concerning the provision demanding the resignation of deacons “not in full sympathy with the church’s expressed desire,”³³ a motion to accept their resignations was put to the church. However, expressing the hope that “if we were to adjourn for a month and pray about this, perhaps we shall not need to accept so many resignations,” Shields moved an amendment that suggested that action be deferred.³⁴

The upshot of the meeting was that nothing at all had been resolved. Shields was still pastor, and the dissenting deacons were still deacons. Both parties emerged from the meeting with a renewed determination to fight on. Shields’ hope that his opponents in the diaconate would defer to the church’s will in the matter was badly misplaced. Within ten days these deacons, including those who had already presented their resignations, signed a letter formally demanding Shields’ resignation. About the same time, Shields was stricken with scarlet fever and was put into quarantine for six weeks.³⁵ His opponents took advantage of Shields’ absence and went to work in earnest to finish what they had started. The continuation of the annual meeting was twice deferred due to Shields’ illness, but a date was finally set for June 29th. Ostensibly, this meeting was to deal with the unfinished business of the annual meeting, particularly clause four and the resignation of the dissenting deacons. In the interlude between the April meeting and the June instalment of the annual meeting, his opposition went on the offensive. They circulated a letter to the whole church congregation and published it in *The Toronto Daily Star*. According to the *Star* reporter, it was signed by “nine deacons, eight members of the deaconesses’ board, six members of the finance committee, four representatives of the Sunday school, three weekly offering treasurers, four members of the Young People’s Federation, five representatives of the ushers and plate collectors and two branch workers.” Prominent among these office bearers were many of the names of the Young Men’s Committee.

The letter was an extended denunciation of Shields’ pastoral oversight. The pretext upon which it was premised was the supposed injustice done to Shields’

³³ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1921.

³⁴ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 30.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

opponents when in the annual meeting of April 29th they were muzzled while Shields himself was given twenty minutes to defend himself. This letter was to address this injustice by allowing the opposition to state its case: “The opportunity to state their case was not given to those who voted on that evening against Dr. Shields remaining pastor. Just previous to the vote being taken Dr. Shields was given an opportunity to make a statement.”³⁶ What is particularly interesting and ironic about this justification is that the circumstances here complained of were put in place by the recommendation of the deacons, nine of whom signed this letter. The church clerk recorded the matter in the minutes from that meeting. The record identified the Deacons’ reasons for taking the vote without discussion: “Most of the members had their minds made up on the question, so that discussion would accomplish nothing while it would expose the Church to the trouble likely to ensue from acrimonious remarks.” Deacon Matthews so “moved that the vote be taken without discussion except that the Pastor make his statement if he so desires.”³⁷ These deacons were basing their whole complaint on a condition they themselves imposed.

Examination of the church records shows that many of the grievances aired in the letter were a similar distortion of the facts and demonstrate something of the desperation his opponents now displayed in their determination to rid themselves of Shields. Twelve complaints concerning “the Pastor’s administration of the Church’s affairs” were published.³⁸ The letter complained of the number of deacon resignations that had occurred. His opponents charged the Pastor with a lack of interest in the Sunday School. The issues of a lack of harmony with the choir, the resignation of associates, interference with the finance committee, the lack of visitation of members of the church, defections because of the Pastor’s “lack of Christian spirit”, the net loss in membership over the last few years and the “general estrangement” of many of his present membership were among the most significant objections. However, at several places the church records do not support this public diatribe. Several deacons had indeed resigned, but by the time of the publication of this letter most of them had withdrawn their resignations. Furthermore,

³⁶ “Opposition Strong,” *TDS*, 2.

³⁷ Church Minutes, 29 April 1921.

³⁸ “Opposition Strong,” *TDS*, 2.

the causes were not uniform. At least two were presented because of age and a serious decline in health.³⁹ Henderson had resigned over the dancing issue because the Pastor's sermon on amusements had demanded it. However, sensing support from the rest of the deacons he withdrew it. Shields' seeming lack of interest in the Sunday school and visitation were easily accounted for by the fact that these roles were assigned to his assistant, Rev. Merrill. As to the resignation of "associates," only two had resigned, Rev. Merrill, and Rev. Carew. The complaint was valid in the case of Merrill, but certainly not in the case of Carew. Rev. C. M. Carew was the pastor of Jarvis Street's Parliament Street Branch. His resignation was in no way a consequence of dissatisfaction with Shields. Rather, Carew had resigned for financial reasons and continued his involvement in the Parliament Street branch until he was called to the pastorate of the church in Fenelon Falls.⁴⁰ He continued to be a friend and avid supporter of Shields for years to come. The complaint of interference with the finance committee was also farfetched. Shields merely exercised his right as an ex-officio member of the board, a right the church reaffirmed.⁴¹ It should also be recalled that the finance committee was waging a campaign of obstructionism so if there was tension over Shields' involvement responsibility rested as much with the members of the finance committee as with Shields. Each complaint could be evaluated in a similar fashion, and indeed Shields did just that in a response to the deacons published in the *Toronto Daily Star* July 28, 1921.

With both sides having made their case in the public arena, on June 29th the annual meeting resumed. When the chairman announced that "the next order of business of the Annual Meeting was the election of officers," the opposition immediately jumped to the attack. A resolution was presented that once again pre-empted the election of officers in favour of a further vote concerning the continuation of Shields' pastoral oversight of Jarvis Street. Citing the conditions laid out in the two-thirds clause and the failure of Shields to resign, "it is moved ... that before proceeding to the election of Deacons, and in order that any one nominated may know whether he can accept or not, the Pastor be and is hereby requested to carry out his promise by tendering his

³⁹ Deacons Minutes, 12 April 1921.

⁴⁰ Deacons Minutes, 19 November 1919. Cf. "Dr. Shields Replies to Deacon's Letter," *TDS* 28 July 1921. Cf. Church Minutes, 19 January 1921.

⁴¹ Church Minutes, 26 May 1921.

resignation, and that any resolution contrary to the above be and is hereby rescinded.”⁴² Shields objected to the motion on the basis of parliamentary procedure. Pointing out J. G. Bourinot’s “Procedure of Public Meetings,” Shields quoted: “No question or motion can regularly be offered, if it is substantially the same with the one on which the judgement of the house has already been expressed during the current session.”⁴³ The chair ruled against Shields’ interpretation and when challenged put the matter to a standing vote. As if a portent of what was to follow, the congregation voted to support the chair’s ruling 198 to 184. Shields continued to challenge the resolution and reminded the church that since the meeting of April 29th, “some of the Deacons had represented the Pastor as breaking his word, but had said nothing about the condition being imposed by themselves or its being withdrawn by vote of the meeting of April 29th. He noted as well that this was a much smaller meeting than that of April and that “it would be imperative to put all the facts before all the members of the church.” He noted that “a vote under the present circumstances could not possibly be final.”

Subsequent discussion of the matter revealed how deeply divided the church had become over the two-thirds clause. Several deacons noted that they had not supported the idea at the time, so that while the clause was imposed by a majority of the deacons, it was not unanimous. Others noted that they had lost confidence in the pastor because they felt he had broken his promise. Clearly Shields’ support was eroding over the matter. When the vote on the resolution was taken it was supported 204 to 176. Shields lost the vote by 28 ballots. Rather than settling the matter the meeting only left the church more divided than ever. According to the church clerk “The Pastor then replied to the resolution that he had yet to choose whether he should yield to the majority of 28 when he had been supported in the former larger meeting by a majority of 85”⁴⁴ The following day *The Toronto Daily Star*, in an article entitled “Vote Against Shields, He Says He’ll Stick,” noted the response to his announcement: “This statement was greeted by considerable cheering. When quiet was resumed, Dr. Shields added, clinching his words with the impact of his tight fist in his left palm: ‘And the pastor has no intention of resigning.’

⁴² Church Minutes, 29 June 1921.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Loud cheers again broke out from a section of the gathering.”⁴⁵ Adjournment was finally moved with provision being made that the meeting should be resumed September 21st.⁴⁶

The summer months witnessed the growing separation of the two factions. More and more members of Shields’ opposition absented themselves from services and withheld their offering subscriptions. The spectre of a “house divided against itself”⁴⁷ was nowhere more poignantly revealed than in the actions of the weekly offering treasurers. These were all in opposition to Shields and absented themselves from the services. However, they would arrive at the church at the end of the service to take away the offering collected by the members supporting Shields. When the issue was raised in the monthly business meeting, the attempt to remedy the situation was effectively blocked by the only three members of the opposition to attend. Their campaign of obstructionism appealed to the laws and traditions by which Jarvis Street church was operated. Nor was this the only matter on which they objected. Nearly every proposal presented at the meeting was contested. Shields’ response was open defiance. When the obstructionists demanded that all decisions be referred to the deacons’ board, Shields “replied emphatically that the Church is not managed by deacons.”⁴⁸ One of the most contentious issues of the whole controversy was now clearly delineated; pastoral and congregational rule, or rule by the diaconate.

Little is now known from the church records about the activities of the deacons during the summer of 1921. From May 16 until the fateful meeting of September nothing was recorded in the deacons’ minute book. Shields, however, was quite open about how he would respond to the crisis. On July 4th, *The Toronto Daily Star* carried an account of Shields’ first sermon after the June vote. Noting that “he had cancelled an engagement to preach for four weeks in Spurgeon’s Tabernacle, London” it reported his announcement that “he was foregoing his annual vacation in order to remain in Toronto to fight the attempt to oust him from the pulpit of Jarvis street Baptist Church.” It also recorded the

⁴⁵ “Vote Against Shields, He Says He’ll Stick,” *TDS* 30 June 1921, 7.

⁴⁶ Church Minutes, 29 June 1921.

⁴⁷ Cf. Matthew 12:25.

⁴⁸ Church Minutes, 27 July 1921.

fact that he had “flatly refused to comply with the request of a part of his congregation ... to resign his pastorate.”⁴⁹

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the June 29th vote was the final severance of any semblance of cooperation between Shields and his rebellious deacons’ board. Shields’ open break with his deacons was a form of emancipation from the restraints imposed upon him by the deacons and their culture of respectability. Though repressed for the preceding eleven years, Shields’ otherworldly sect-type Christianity now re-emerged with a vengeance. Returning to his methodology of former years, Shields reverted to the evangelistic campaign as the answer to his troubles. The *Star* reporter noted: “Dr. Shields stated that one of the weapons with which he would ... fight this movement would be a great evangelical revival which, if necessary, would be carried from the church out into the streets and the highways and byways.”⁵⁰ On the surface this looked a lot like the Shields whose preoccupation with evangelistic gospel ministry had consumed him in former pastorates. It was significant indeed that Shields sacrificed what proved to be his last opportunity to minister in the church of his dreams, Spurgeon’s Metropolitan Tabernacle. However, subtle changes to his former approach were evident as well. This was not just about the pursuit of God’s kingdom on earth, but God’s kingdom at Jarvis Street Baptist Church; not just the salvation of souls, but the waging of ecclesiastical war. Curiously, the Church Minutes for July 27th note that this summer campaign was the substitution of one evangelistic campaign for another. Shields had through the years of his Toronto pastorate conducted occasional campaigns. These had been conducted in places far removed from the watchful eyes of his deacons. One such campaign had been arranged for July 23rd to August 2nd “in the Tent Evangel, New York.” This evangelistic outreach was now cancelled “on account of the situation in the Church.”⁵¹ Suddenly, the salvation of souls in Toronto was deemed more important than the salvation of souls in New York.

As Shields prepared for battle, Shields the evangelist merged with Shields the militant fundamentalist. Battle plans were quickly drawn into array. The church minutes

⁴⁹ “Dr. Shields foregoes Holiday to Fight,” *TDS*, 4 July 1921, 5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Church Minutes, 27 July 1921.

of the July business meeting noted the engagement of the renowned Dr. John Roach Straton to assist Shields in his summer's campaign. *The Toronto Daily Star* captured something of the significance of the arrangement with the headline "Straton Assists Pastor Shields in a Worldly War."⁵² When the opposition later complained about Shields employing a sensationalist to help his cause, Shields retaliated by reminding them that long before the open rupture, it was the recommendation of Albert Matthews, one of the opposing deacons, that led to the invitation.⁵³ According to the Church Minutes, "a committee appointed by the Deacons had invited Dr. Straton to come as summer pulpit supply." Shields now wrote to Straton changing the nature of his role. The Church Minutes noted the change: "Since the Pastor had decided to remain at home all summer, he had written Dr. Straton that the arrangement for the three Sundays would stand and he had invited Dr. Straton to assist him in a two weeks' series of evangelistic services between the 2nd and 4th Sundays."⁵⁴ This did not prove to be the typical evangelistic campaign with messages primarily geared towards the conversion of the lost. Casting himself in the guise of Martin Luther, Shields announced his intentions to fight the cultural liberalism that had insinuated itself into the modern church and pursue a twentieth century reformation: "Dr. Shields, after saying that the fault of the modern church lay in the fact that it tried to provide religious sanction for lives that were worldly, stated, 'The present crisis in this church is due to the direct application of this principle. When church leaders are to be found on the floor of dancing places, playing cards and patronizing theatres, it is time to say, 'Here I stand. I can do no other.'"⁵⁵

Providing the opening salvo in the campaign, Straton did not disappoint. *The Toronto Daily Star* was quick to identify the "sensational" and "bizarre" aspect of Straton's sermons. Perhaps in parody of Luther's famous Reformation Tract "The Babylonian Captivity of the Christian Church" *The Star* announced one of Straton's opening topics. "Fighting the Devil in Modern Babylon" provided an explicit exposé of the "vice and immorality" prevailing in American society. Straton quickly followed that

⁵² *Ibid.*, cf. also "Straton to Assist Pastor Shields in Worldly War," *TDS*, 17 August 1921, second section, 1. Straton was the pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, New York City and a "famous American Evangelist."

⁵³ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 53.

⁵⁴ Church Minutes, 27 July 1921.

⁵⁵ "Dr. Shields Foregoes Holiday to Fight," *TDS*, 4 July 1921, 5.

up with his own denunciation of the worldly amusements that were the focus of Shields' own attack on cultural liberalism. "Is the Theatre the Devil's Church?" and "The Dance of Death" were two of the more sensational presentations. Straton's dramatics immediately stirred a storm of controversy. *The Star* reported the fact that the "Dancing Masters Association of Montreal took exception to the utterances of Dr. Straton and threatened him with a suit for \$10,000.00 unless he retracted his statements."⁵⁶ Nor was it just social institutions that took offence with Straton. Following the developing controversy over the course of the two-week campaign, *The Toronto Daily Star* identified the ecclesiastical reactions. In an article entitled "Dancing Defended by Toronto Divines," the Toronto paper produced a long list of quotes from leading Toronto ministers who were critical of Straton's position. Straton was unfazed by the controversy and publicly exhorted Shields "to go forward to yet greater achievements in the name of our God."⁵⁷

For Shields the summer campaign was quite successful. From June to September forty-seven new members were received. Shields' public stand against cultural liberalism proved to be attractive to some elements of the sacred community and twenty-nine people joined the church by letter and experience. The evangelistic aspect of Shields' summer campaign also saw success and eighteen people were brought into the church by conversion and baptism. Shields' campaign did, however, leave him open to criticism. In an interview conducted by a *Toronto Star* reporter, Dr. E. T. Thomson made a scathing denunciation of the self-serving character of Shields' methodology: "Of the Straton evangelistic services it is said they were instituted to save souls and to all appearances incidentally to create voices for the adjourned meeting. Dr. Shields should apply for a patent of invention of this idea. It is surely novel."⁵⁸ Thomson's bitterness related in part to the fact that these forty-seven new members made the difference in the final vote.

As the final installation of the annual business meeting approached, both camps took to the media with emotional appeals for support. The Shields' faction went on the offensive with a circular letter that the editors of *The Toronto Daily Star* found to be "of

⁵⁶ "Straton to Assist Pastor Shields in Worldly War," *TDS*, 17 August 1921, second section, 1.

⁵⁷ "Dancing Defended by Toronto Divines," *TDS*, 22 August 1921, 3.

⁵⁸ "Palmy Days," 1.

unusual interest.”⁵⁹ Dr. Charles Holman, one of Shields’ staunchest supporters, appealed to the church to realize what an outstanding pastor Shields was and what a calamity it would be for the church and the denomination if he was not sustained in the coming vote. Holman quoted a “widely circulated paper” from the United States which noted: “We covet this man for southern Baptists. If some great pulpit does not capture him, it at least ought to be trying; if some theological seminary had him, happy that seminary. What a college president he would make.” Holman concluded: “And this man, recognized the continent over as one of the most powerful of Bible expounders, they would drive from Jarvis street and from Canada. Where, oh where would we find his equal?”⁶⁰ The following day, *The Star* published excerpts from a second letter of support, this time signed by deacons, deaconesses and trustees. Like Holman’s letter, this too summarized the fundamental issue as being theological in nature: “To us, the real issue is: Have we or have we not a ministry that is true to the gospel of Christ?” They challenged the assumption that Shields’ resignation could heal the breach: “It has been said that only the pastor can heal the breach, and he only by resigning. This is far from the truth. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that the resignation of the pastor would heal the breach.” Again, attention was drawn to Shields’ ecclesiastical stature: “For the pastor to be removed now would in our judgment, be an inestimable loss, which could not be retrieved for years, if ever.”⁶¹

Shields’ opponents argued in their presentation to the press that so long as Shields remained there would be a loss of harmony: “Many who cannot conscientiously support the pastor have with drawn [sic] their presence and financial support, but refuse to be driven from their church home hoping that on September 21st, the pastor will obey the will of the church as expressed in the meeting of June 29th and accept one of the calls which he has intimated he has received.” They strenuously denied the charge of worldliness, and challenged Shields’ interpretation of events relative to the resignation of the deacon whose presence at a dance hall provoked much of the present storm. They forgot the arrangement that the deacons’ board had previously made with Dr. Straton for

⁵⁹ “No Valid Reason for Opposing Rev. T. T. Shields,” *TDS*, 19 September 1921, 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ “Jarvis Street Factions Both Present Cases,” *TDS*, 20 September 1921, 13.

a summer supply and charged Shields with the arrangement: “We fear the pastor has gone beyond good judgment in inviting (without the board of deacons’ sanction) outside speakers to instruct ...the youth in the ways of evil in New York.” They concluded with a general observation about the difficulties encountered in long pastorates, suggesting again that Shields should go elsewhere.⁶²

The 93rd annual meeting of Jarvis Street Baptist Church was a stormy session. Controversy erupted almost immediately. The choice of chairman was hotly contested with both sides seeking a partisan candidate. Shields’ opponents won this round by claiming that this was simply a resumption of the annual meeting adjourned from June 29th. Since Gideon Grant was already acting as chairman for the meeting they argued that he should resume his role. After some discussion, this arrangement was supported by a standing vote. Only six votes separated the two sides on what proved to be a critical issue.⁶³ Shields later complained to a *Toronto Star* reporter:

The victory was a miracle, for nothing but the power of God could have secured the victory under such a glaring exhibition of partisan chairmanship as Mr. Gideon Grant afforded. ... Never in all my experience as a minister have I seen anything to approximate his utter disregard for every principle of parliamentary usage and all that underlies it – simply British fair play.⁶⁴

Indeed, upon assuming the chair Grant’s first official action after reading the motion for Shields’ dismissal, was to challenge the voting qualification of many of Shields’ supporters. According to the official minutes of the meeting, “The Chairman named one lady in particular and read the names of ten persons who had been received in an irregular way, and whose votes should not be counted.” These were people who had been received into membership during the summer. The charge was made that since they were not interviewed and recommended by members of the deacons’ board they were not received in a regular fashion and thus were disqualified to vote. Shields, having foreseen the strategy, came prepared with evidence from the church record that the process followed during the summer had been a process followed countless times down through the years. He presented his own list of members of the opposition that had been received in the

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ “Shields Sustained, Opponents Ousted,” *TDS*, 22 September 1921, 23.

same fashion and demanded that if one group was disqualified then both groups must be removed. In the end, the chair surrendered the point to Shields.⁶⁵

A resolution addressing the critical issue of Shields' continued role was then presented. The preamble insisted that despite "insinuations to the contrary," Jarvis Street Baptist Church "stands squarely today, as it has always stood, for the distinctive principles of Baptists ... including a full and free Gospel, the inspiration of the Scriptures and the supreme authority thereof in all matters of faith and practice." It was therefore resolved that the pulpit "is hereby declared vacant as from this date ... but that his [Shields'] salary be continued for six months" and that "That the Deacons, Trustees, Finance Committee and House Committee of this Church are authorized and instructed to forthwith take any and all such steps as shall be necessary to see that the above expressed will of the Church is carried out and the regular services of the Church maintained."⁶⁶ It was immediately moved that "the question be now put and that the vote be by ballot." The Chair interpreted this to mean that "the motion ... permits of no amendment but makes a vote necessary on the main question." Though Shields' supporters challenged Grants' ruling on the matter he declared the motion carried in a standing vote. When the scrutineers had tabulated the vote, it was announced that "666 ballots had been cast. Of these 5 were spoilt (one of them intentionally), and 1 NO vote had been rejected, leaving 661 votes properly cast. The NO vote numbered 351 and the YES vote 310." Shields had won the vote by forty-one ballots. The minutes recorded the fact that when they heard the news "the Pastor's supporters rose and sang, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."⁶⁷

Shields' supporters now went on the offensive and presented a series of resolutions. The first was a resolution of love and support for their pastor. Following were a series of declarations demonstrating their commitment to the kind of Biblical ministry Shields practiced. These included resolutions affirming Jarvis Street's belief in the "inspiration, integrity and Divine authority of the Bible"; its insistence on "a pure and separated Church life"; its desire for "an active and continuing evangelism" and the

⁶⁵ Church Minutes, 21 September 1921, cf. Shields' discussion of the matter *Plot*, 308, 309.

⁶⁶ Church Minutes, 21 September 1921.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

spirituality characterized by recent prayer meetings; its determination that deacons “are the servants, not the masters of the Church”; and its demand for “a spiritual choir, spiritually conducted.”⁶⁸

The last declaration brought an instant protest from the floor. One member demanded to know if “the last clause of the resolution was an insinuation that the choir was not spiritual, and expressed the opinion that about 75 per cent of the members of the choir were also members of the Church.” Dr. Holman, who had moved the resolution, essentially replied in the affirmative. He noted particularly the conduct of the professional soloists who had been hired to perform in the role of worship leaders.⁶⁹ This resolution was carried by a standing vote. Shields noted in subsequent reflections concerning the meeting that, having lost the critical motion about his pastoral role, many of the opposition left: “It will be observed that there was a drop of sixty-one votes from the vote on the main motion, and that no opposition vote is recorded.”⁷⁰ Shields’ supporters made the most of the opportunity this presented. They immediately set about to institute a purge of the dissidents. The signatories to the letter of June 23rd which had been published in *The Toronto Daily Star* were now removed from office. Citing the necessity that all be “in entire sympathy with the Pastor” the motion resolved that all “who signed the statement ... opposing the continuance of Dr. Shields as Pastor be hereby declared vacant.”⁷¹

The weakened opposition now resorted to obstructionist tactics. An amendment to the motion was presented “that all after the word, ‘that,’ be struck out and words substituted to make the resolution read, “Resolved that this Church regrets exceedingly the spirit shown by Dr. Holman and Deacon Greenway.” After forcing a lengthy debate about the motion, the mover withdrew it. A motion to adjourn the meeting was presented in turn, but was voted down. The vote on the main motion was finally taken. While the opposition vote was not recorded, 290 supported the motion and the chair grudgingly declared the motion carried. Among the many other officials dismissed from their positions, nine deacons were terminated. The chairman, Gideon Grant, was one of those

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 327.

⁷¹ Church Minutes, 21 September 1921.

deacons and he now expressed the opinion that, since the meeting was so evenly divided, the church would not be able to elect new deacons by the two-thirds vote required by the church constitution. The opposition, however, once again underestimated their opponent. Shields presented a motion to establish “a special Committee ... the Prudential and Finance Committee.” This body would “serve until the next annual meeting” and would “exercise all the functions of the Deacons’ Board and Finance Committee”⁷²

Shields had perhaps learned from his experience in the April meeting the danger of being too generous with his opponents. On that occasion he had resisted the inclination to clean house and remove the opposing deacons. Now, however, he overstepped himself in his efforts to dispose of his enemies. In a manner that would become increasingly characteristic of Shields’ methodology, he sought publicly to vilify and humiliate those who had been his most vocal adversaries. To the members of the opposition he appeared vindictive and mean-spirited. When he read a motion demanding a public apology from the members of the Young Men’s Committee or their erasure from the membership role, cries of shame erupted from both the chairman and the congregation. Shields tried to dodge the storm by protesting that he had not actually written the motion, but the damage was done. An acrid debate over the role of these men on the Finance Committee ensued and Ryrie publicly retorted that “if he had previously had any doubts, the fact that the Pastor could get up and read such a resolution as he had with reference to the 15 young men, was sufficient to convince him that he had taken the right course in opposing the Pastor.” Shields quickly resorted to a substitute motion that read:

That the members who have hitherto opposed the ministry of the Pastor of this church, in view of the Church’s decision recorded at this meeting, be requested to accept the Church’s decision, and cease from further opposition, that an end may be put to contention in the Church.⁷³

When the motion finally passed the meeting was adjourned. The newspapers the next day carried accounts of the bitterness of the proceedings and a suggestion of probable secessions from the membership. Indeed, those who voted against Shields made plans to assemble the following Sunday in the Central Y.M.C.A. Rev. Ira Smith, “a well-known Baptist minister in Toronto and throughout Ontario, and coincidentally a close personal

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

friend of James Ryrie, was to conduct the services.⁷⁴ Over the course of the following year the rupture became permanent and on June 7, 1922 the following notation appeared in the minute book of Jarvis Street Baptist Church:

This certifies that the persons hereinafter named were members of Jarvis St. Baptist Church, and at their own request, have been at this date, June 7th., 1922 dismissed from our fellowship, 'for the purpose of organizing a new Regular Baptist Church within the Convention of Ontario and Quebec.'⁷⁵

The secessionists did not retreat quietly. On October 12th a letter appeared in *The Toronto Daily Star* under the heading "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case."⁷⁶ This was a letter signed by ten former deacons of Jarvis Street to the Convention ministers with sufficient copies supplied for each of the delegates assigned to attend that year's convention in St. Thomas. The *Star* noted that copies were "mailed last night to all the minsters of the denomination out of the city," and further noted that the same letter was "to be sent this evening, in turn, to resident pastors here, explaining the whole trouble from the start. According to the *Star* reporter, the purpose of the letter was to prevent Shields from attempting to run for the presidency of the Baptist Convention. Shields later accused his opponents of deliberately trying to keep it from him so that he would not be able to reply: "... this letter was mailed in Toronto on Tuesday – but only to out-of-town churches, the declared object being to withhold the letter from my knowledge, so that I could not reply to it." That Shields was able to read it in the Wednesday evening edition of the *Star* was something of an accident. According to Shields' account "one man of the enemy camp, knowing the letter had been mailed, boasted of it in the *Star* office, in the hearing of one of the reporters. That reporter called an out-of-town preacher by long distance, and had him read the letter to him, taking it down stenographically. That is why and how it was published in Wednesday evening's *Star*."⁷⁷ Never one to take an attack lying down, Shields' reaction was immediately to announce plans to speak on Friday evening at 8:00 on "The Inside of the Cup." He noted "It was not necessary to insert any paid advertisements in the papers: the press gave the

⁷⁴ "Former Members of Jarvis Church Strive for Unity," *TDS*, 24 September, 1921, 1,2.

⁷⁵ Church Minutes, 7 June 1922.

⁷⁶ "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *TDS*, 12 October, 1921, 2.

⁷⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 342.

announcement front-page position, with large headlines.”⁷⁸ Furthermore, he assembled a group of court stenographers, “all court or parliamentary reporters,” to transcribe the speech. Then he engaged a publishing firm “to put their whole night staff on, and nine linotype machines with operators and other helpers were waiting for the first copy.” Shields’ addressed his audience for four hours concluding his diatribe sometime shortly after midnight. Working in relays of ten minutes, the stenographers took down what was spoken and then went to the office to transcribe what they had recorded. These transcriptions were then taken by messenger to the publisher. By the time Shields had been speaking for an hour, “all nine linotype operators were at work.” The book was printed and bound containing fifty-six pages. Shields boasted that “When the C.P.R. train left for St. Thomas at three o’clock Saturday afternoon, a consignment of these books was on board, sufficient to put one in the hands of every delegate attending the St. Thomas Convention. ... the Jarvis Street story was in the hands of all delegates Saturday night.”⁷⁹ There is some question concerning Shields’ boast about the distribution of the book. The news reports of the convention indicated that “Officers of the convention did not distribute his pamphlets of the Friday evening lecture on “The Inside of the Cup.”⁸⁰ Undoubtedly, convention officials did their best to discourage the dissemination of this material due to its divisive nature, but there is little question that the book quickly circulated among delegates in attendance. Significantly, despite much speculation, the Jarvis Street split was a non-issue in the official program of the convention. While the convention officers were successful in repressing public debate over Jarvis Street matters at the St. Thomas conference, the hostilities that had been aroused would soon infect every part of the convention’s life. Again, Shields would be found at the centre of the storm and within six years any harmony that may have existed within the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec was shattered beyond repair.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 344.

⁸⁰ “Can Never Compromise on Adult Immersion; To Silence Shields, His Pamphlets Not Distributed and Church Row may be Closed,” *TDS*, 17 October 1921, 3.

Assessing the Split

Any division of this magnitude will involve any number of factors. If one were to try and assign blame for this particular schism, the evidence demonstrates that both of the enemy camps had legitimate concerns and both unnecessarily enflamed the antagonism of their opponents. As in any fight, truth was submerged in caustic polemic and the landscape of the battleground was often clouded by frivolous accusation and innuendo. However, the point of this discussion is not to discover who was to blame, but rather to identify the major issues that helped reshape the psyche of Shields and marked the birth within him of the militant fundamentalist.

Even a cursory evaluation of the rhetoric surrounding the climactic meeting of September 21, 1921, demonstrates clearly that, for the combatants, the fundamental issues were the question of Shields' *personal conduct versus the character of a biblical ministry*. Shields' opponents summed up the matter from their perspective in a letter to *The Toronto Daily Star*: "The source of the trouble has at various times been attributed to various causes, all of which have been deliberate attempts to becloud the real issue and conceal the fact that the cause is Dr. Shields' own personal conduct which has alienated him from over half his church members."⁸¹ Shields' supporters, also in a letter to *The Star*, expressed an alternative point of view: "What is the real issue? It is not, do we like the pastor's personality; have we been offended at something he has said or done, the motive or attendant circumstances of which perhaps we have not understood. To us, the real issue is: Have we or have we not a ministry that is true to the gospel of Christ?"⁸² It is significant to the understanding of Shields' development at this point to evaluate these claims.

The Question of Character

While Shields' supporters were keen to downplay questions of personal character, the evidence clearly demonstrates that a new combativeness was apparent in Shields from 1918 forward. There is little doubt that the war years and Shields' absorbing interest in all aspects of the international conflict were having their effect on his ministry. As noted earlier, new leadership, service and organizational models were developing in him during

⁸¹ "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *TDS*, 12 October, 1921, 2.

⁸² "Jarvis Street Factions Both Present Cases," *TDS*, 20 September, 1921, sec. 2, 13.

these years. However, other more ominous elements were creeping into Shields' ministry as well. Shields cultivated an extravagant respect for the role of the warrior. He gloried in those he had sent from his own church to the scene of battle and vilified the one whose cowardice kept him home. He celebrated the sacrifices offered in the service of freedom and prepared a lasting tribute and monument in his own church to those who had paid the ultimate price.⁸³ As he visited the servicemen in their camps in England and observed the maimed and wounded returning from the front, he more and more identified himself with their cause. Clearly, Shields began to view himself as a warrior in the same conflict. Facing the same evils of modernity that had brought the world to its present state, Shields determined to champion those ideals that were sacred to his traditional understandings of life and morality. Though Shields had always prided himself on being a strong leader, he now embraced aspects of militancy that deeply disturbed many within his congregation. Where they looked for a shepherd they found a battle hardened combatant whom they characterized as a "fighter all the time."⁸⁴ His new war-like demeanor came into expression with damaging results. His public ministry now resonated with explosive denunciations of every perceived enemy to the "faith which was once delivered to the saints."⁸⁵

Those who objected to his outbursts were regarded, at best, as being sympathetic with the enemy, or at worst as having embraced the enemy cause. Towards these he quickly adopted a "take no prisoner" attitude. In practical terms, where Shields identified an enemy within his congregation, his attitudes immediately became apparent. Stony silence and even open hostility characterized his responses. One fundamental element of Shields' view of war was that there must be no rapprochement with the enemy. In future years this would be amply illustrated in his public declarations concerning the policy of appeasement championed by Neville Chamberlain and the League of Nations. At home in Jarvis Street, Shields was on guard, and those who crossed swords with him earned his lasting animosity. This was most poignantly illustrated in his encounters with James Ryrie, the Young Men's Committee, and his associate pastor, Rev. Merrill. In each of

⁸³ A bronze memorial plaque still hangs on the wall of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church auditorium.

⁸⁴ "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *TDS*, 12 October 1921, 2.

⁸⁵ Jude 1:3.

these situations the opposition could legitimately claim: “A small difference with him is never healed as he seems entirely devoid of any capacity for reconciliation. This, perhaps, is to a large measure accounted for by his inordinate egotism and vanity.”⁸⁶

Ryrie’s letter to a beloved pastor was the first example of this militant reaction. Throughout his letter of March 14, 1918, Ryrie expressed his deep affection for Shields. Ryrie carefully endeavoured to notify Shields of a growing rift within the congregation provoked by the new denunciatory character of his preaching. Ryrie’s desire ostensibly was simply to heal the rift and encourage Shields to make what he believed were minor adjustments to the style and manner of his preaching. His shock must have been profound when he found himself treated as a pariah by the same pastor who had so recently esteemed him as a trusted confidant. The pain of that rupture was reflected in the complaint of Shields’ opponents when they protested to the press about Shields’ treatment of Ryrie. Reflecting the circumstance in which Shields preached a sermon on the “sorrows of a pastor,” they noted: Mr. Ryrie wrote him a kind letter such as he might have written to his best-loved brother. He pointed out in a kindly manner some things in which he thought an improvement might be made by the pastor. The letter was never acknowledged in any way, but it has since been treated as a mortal offense.”⁸⁷

The same attitude was evident in Shields’ deliberate stratagem to draw out the enemies within his congregation and the resulting formation of the Young Men’s Committee. As noted above, Shields responded to the advice of his old friend Dr. J. W. Hoyt: “Present a financial measure to the church. Make it as personal as you can; and you will bring that enemy out of his hiding place.”⁸⁸ When Shields demanded a fifty percent raise, the young men of the church jumped into action to defeat the measure, and Shields quickly took the measure of his opposition. Having drawn them out, he immediately confronted this “fifth column” within his church with a vote of confidence in his ministry, a vote which he won with a large majority. He openly skirmished with them throughout the spring and summer, and tried publicly to blame them for the trouble the church was undergoing. His animosity to these young men climaxed in the conclusion

⁸⁶ “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case,” *TDS*, 12 October, 1921, 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 285.

of the annual meeting September 21, 1921. Having won the vote of non-confidence that had been moved in that meeting, Shields attempted the *coup de grâce*. He stood and read a hand-written motion. The record of the church minutes noted: "The resolution was to the effect that the 15 young men who had organized themselves in opposition to the Pastor, be suspended until they apologise, and that if their apology were not forthcoming within six months, their names should be dropped from the church roll." Shields was effectively thwarted in this attempt by the wave of revulsion that washed through the congregation. "The Chairman cried, 'Shame,' and the cry was echoed by many in the room."⁸⁹ Shields, in embarrassment, backed down claiming that he was only reading something written by someone else. Later more of the same was seen when the application for transfer of membership came from the 341 who withdrew to form a new church. Though Shields did not formally move the motion, a special provision was made under his supervision whereby these men would be identified and denounced to their new church body. Noting their attempt to sabotage the pastorate "in opposition to the expressed will of the church," a note was to be appended to their letters "by special resolution of the church in the conviction that it would not be acting justly to others to grant letters to the members of the so-called "Men's Committee" without this explanation."⁹⁰

Shields' disposal of his associate, Merrill, is another graphic evidence of the warrior mentality that now governed his interactions with his congregants and colleagues alike. The Ryrie rupture, the "Men's Committee" breach and particularly the Merrill controversy demonstrated another disturbing dimension now at work in Shields' character. John Farrell in his 2006 work entitled *Paranoia and Modernity* defined paranoia in terms that found clear echoes in Shields' developing outlook:

Paranoia is a psychological tendency in which the intellectual powers of the sufferer are neither entirely undermined nor completely cut off from reality, but rather deployed with a peculiar distortion. Paranoid thinking can be a concomitant of schizophrenia; it can become a psychosis on its own; or it can appear in people who function relatively normally but whose thinking exhibits what may be described as a "paranoid slant," a penchant for over-estimating one's own importance, for feeling persecuted, being morbidly preoccupied with autonomy and control, or finding hostile motive in other people's behaviour. Paranoid

⁸⁹ Church Minutes, 21 September 1921, 120.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7 June 1922, 154.

characters hold long grudges. They can be aloof and secretive or ironical and superior. In cases that go beyond a mere “slant,” the paranoid discovers plots forming around him, enemies interfering with his life, hidden significance in facts or occurrences that to the unaffected mind seem insignificant. His sense that he is the focus of sinister attention may be accompanied by delusions of grandeur, and it may be held in place by a far-flung system of interpretation. For the paranoid mind, the neutral distinction between appearance and reality slips easily into the insidious distinction between truth and lie.⁹¹

Despite all his protestations of affection towards Merrill, the impression created by the disclosures at the end of the day suggested that Shields’ actions throughout the whole Merrill controversy were governed, to some degree, by paranoid self-interest. There is no doubt that Shields was sensitive to this charge, a charge that was implied in the accusations of the dissidents in their letter to the press of June 27, 1921.⁹² When Shields publicly exposed Merrill’s betrayal, he used the excuse of honour for his former silence. Speaking of their early pledge of loyalty to each other, Shields spoke of an agreement never to harbour disapproval of each other: “You and I will both be criticized, but we must never allow each other to be quoted as criticizing each other. I cannot prevent people criticizing you to me once – I think they will not attempt it the second time.”⁹³ However, his ready willingness to “lift the veil” after the threat of his own termination was removed, placed the whole matter in a different light. Though he had appealed to the notion of “honour,” exposing all on this occasion suggested less than honourable motivations.

In 1920 Shields clearly was in crisis mode and unwilling that further damage be done to his cause. On the one hand, he did not want a man at his side he suspected of being filled with “hostile motives” in the context of a divided church. On the other hand he did not want the church to know that, in effect, he had unilaterally fired Merrill and so to expose his “preoccupation with autonomy and control.”⁹⁴ Throughout the controversies that raged over the next few months Shields maintained his positive spin on the matter saying that there was no diminishment of his affection for Merrill. When the deacons in opposition eventually broke their silence and revealed to the press what

⁹¹ Farrell, John. *Paranoia and Modernity* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006) 1

⁹² “Opposition Strong To Rev. T. T. Shields,” *TDS*, 17 June 1921, 2.

⁹³ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 24.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Merrill had given to them in confidence, they proclaimed that “Rev. Mr. Merrill, our beloved associate pastor, was driven from us.” They were quick to attack the weak point in Shields’ armour: “It cannot be said that brotherly love prompted Dr. Shields to charge him with disloyalty. The public testimonial imposed upon Rev. Wm. Merrill and the flattering remarks made concerning him are strangely in contrast with the unfair and unkind demand for his resignation in private.”⁹⁵ Not surprisingly, Shields’ response in the same forum reiterated his high regard for his former associate and made a great show of protecting Merrill’s reputation. Outlining his own planning for Merrill’s honorarium of \$1,200 and the testimonial he penned, Shields finally admitted publicly that he had demanded Merrill’s resignation. Nevertheless he still insisted that “I cannot even now bring myself to withdraw the veil and disclose the reasons for terminating a ten years’ partnership with one whom I trusted as I have never trusted any other man; but if it was an offense to seek to hide the matter from public view and for the love I bore him, and though grievously wounded, still bear him, to try to make our separation as easy and as profitable as possible for him, again I plead guilty.”⁹⁶ However, a short three months later, when his victory was secure, Shields suddenly was only too willing “to withdraw the veil and disclose the reasons for terminating a ten years’ partnership....”⁹⁷

Certainly a darker and harder Shields emerged from the crisis of 1920 and 1921. Perhaps the traumatic shock of his war-time observations was rekindled within him by the bitterness of the hostility that was now directed toward him. He emerged from the fight a battle-scarred veteran. Paranoia, in the sense of “a penchant for over-estimating one’s own importance, for feeling persecuted, being morbidly preoccupied with autonomy and control, or finding hostile motive in other people’s behavior,” was firmly planted in his subconscious. Over the years that followed, his opponents and friends alike would discover the grim reality and the concomitant truth that “paranoid characters hold long grudges.”⁹⁸ Hereafter, Shields would never forget a slight and time and time again would fling his indignant recriminations “into the ear of the world.”⁹⁹

⁹⁵ “Opposition Strong To Rev. T. T. Shields,” *TDS*, 17 June 1921, 2.

⁹⁶ “Dr. Shields Replies,” 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ John Farrell, *Paranoia and Modernity* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1.

⁹⁹ T.T. Shields, quoted in Gerald Anglin “The Battling Baptist,” *Maclean's Magazine*, June 15, 1949, 50.

A Biblical Ministry

Shields' opponents, while claiming that the issue was Shield's character, in the same breath argued that the fight had nothing to do with the issue of a biblical ministry. While the evidence supports their claims concerning Shields' personal conduct, it also exposes the lie implicit in the latter assertion. Shields and his supporters accurately identified a creeping cultural liberalism that flourished in the context of the culture of respectability. If theological modernism consisted of an intellectual attack upon the foundations of biblical dogma, so too, cultural liberalism represented an attack on biblical foundations with its adamant "refusal to apply Gospel principles to daily life."¹⁰⁰ Shields and his supporters were fighting modernism, both within and without their church; theological modernism in the seminary and cultural modernism in the pew. In his summary synopsis of the tragic events of these years, Shields concluded:

Modernism, as touching the inspiration and integrity of the Bible; Modernism in the matter of amusements; Modernism in vaudeville performances in Sunday School entertainments; Modernism in opposition to the Regular Baptist position in the matter of the ordinances; Modernism in church choirs; Modernism hydra-headed, and in its many-coloured forms, raised its head in Jarvis Street Baptist church - and Modernism was vanquished!¹⁰¹

Shields' opponents seemed to have little understanding of the degree to which they had become submerged in the culture of respectability. Time and again they bitterly rejected the aspersions cast upon them by the Shields' camp. Specifically they rejected the charge of "a lack of spirituality."¹⁰² They bitterly denounced Shields' accusations of modernistic tendencies. Insisting that they stood as they had always stood "for sound doctrine" they challenged Shields "to give one single instance even remotely hinting at anything to the contrary." They noted: "He publishes in the church calendar articles about his stand against 'modernism and worldliness,' and intimates that in this stand he is opposed by those not in sympathy with his general conduct. There is not a word of truth in reiterated statements that it is on this ground that he is opposed by any of his church."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ This was a repeated charge made by Shields throughout the controversy. See for instance Church Minutes, 29 June 1921, 110; "Dr. Shields Foregoes Holiday to Fight," *TDS*, 4 July 1921, 5.

¹⁰¹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 356.

¹⁰² "Opposition Strong to Rev. T. T. Shields," *TDS*, 27 June 1921, 2.

¹⁰³ "Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case," *TDS*, 12 October, 1921, 2.

Despite their objections, there can be no doubt of the fact that Shields and his opponents were poles apart in their attitudes toward biblical ministry. Their differences were most apparent in their respective approaches to *church governance, the place of preaching, doctrinal certitudes and the nature of spirituality*. For years the two sides had worked together in seeming harmony, but what became clear in the aftermath was that tensions had long simmered just beneath the surface. Provoked by the turbulence of the war years, dormant differences were awakened and a clash was inevitable.

Governance

Divergent perspectives on church governance played a critical role in the outbreak of hostilities. Shields treated the ministerial calling as sacrosanct, likening it to the prophetic office of the Old Testament. “Touch not the Lord’s anointed,”¹⁰⁴ summarized his attitudes toward those inclined to meddle with his pastoral oversight. For the cultural elite of Jarvis Street, diaconate rule was viewed as a vehicle whereby their carefully constructed culture of respectability could be guarded and their vested interests protected. In his letter of March 1918, Ryrie’s attempt to rebuke his pastor triggered a clash of these conflicting views of governance.

Evidence of the power struggle is scattered throughout the foregoing account of the 1921 schism. That tension, for instance, was poignantly underscored in the deacons’ handling of the Merrill resignation. Minutes of the deacons’ meetings demonstrated the contest of wills that was rapidly unfolding. Notwithstanding Shields’ machinations and threats, the deacons’ board refused to back down in their investigations of Merrill’s mysterious termination. Despite their best efforts Shields had his way in the end and Merrill was removed. Divisions rapidly opened up within the board, the majority closing ranks against Shields as they fought to preserve their traditional hegemony. Appeals to and assumptions of their traditional status were reflected in a myriad of events. When the Young Men’s Committee was formed, its first appeal was to the deacons’ board which demanded removal of Shields from the pastorate. In April 1921, when the pastor sent out a letter informing the membership of his call for a vote of confidence to be held April 29th, the deacons assumed it was their right to dictate the substance of the letter and to

¹⁰⁴ An allusion to I Chronicles 16:22, “Touch not mine anointed and do my prophets no harm.”

shape the terms of the vote with their two-thirds proviso. When they lost the vote, the deacons' board simply ignored the expressed will of the congregation and sent a letter of dismissal to Shields. When Shields refused to cooperate, the board continued their struggle for dominance and called the June meeting. Ignoring parliamentary procedure, they precipitated a re-vote on Shields' resignation. When Shields again refused to submit, they withdrew to plan their strategy for the finale in September. While they absented themselves from summer meetings, further obstructionism was carried out by their supporters. At the monthly business meeting in July, the opposition opposed actions of the membership by appealing to the bylaws and traditions of the church which would bring all decisions under the purview of the diaconate. Their actions on that occasion provoked Shields' emphatic retort that this "church is not managed by deacons."¹⁰⁵

When the annual meeting was resumed in September, the first significant question was at heart a question of governance. When the deacons, through the chair, challenged the legitimacy of new members, the power struggle between pastor and diaconate reached its zenith. The significance of the dispute about legitimacy of new members revolved around this fundamental issue. Were new members received on the basis of their interview and recommendation by the board, or were they brought in by the extension of the "right hand of fellowship" by the pastor? Shields was able to establish the precedent of the latter practice and the deacons' claims suffered an irreversible setback. When the final vote on Shields' continuance went against them, they were immediately confronted with a resolution that hereafter the church's "officers and deacons should take office on the understanding that they are the servants, not the masters of the Church."¹⁰⁶ The significance of the dispute over governance was further underscored by Shields' immediate suspension of the deacons' board and its replacement by the Prudential and Finance Committee.

Preaching

Ryrie, in his letter to his pastor, undoubtedly had little idea of the startling ramifications of his friendly critique of Shields' ministry. His unspoken assumption of diaconal supervision over ministerial conduct generated a lengthy battle of wills that in

¹⁰⁵ Church Minutes, 27 July 1921.

¹⁰⁶ Church Minutes, 21 September 1921.

the end hardened Shields' attitudes to church governance and resulted in the end of diaconate rule, not only in Jarvis Street but also the Baptist tradition that was to develop out of Shields' revolt. Coincidentally, Ryrie's gentle rebuke touched on another but related point of divergence between the two camps. The primary focus of his letter centred on the question of Shields' preaching. His concerns were two-fold. He decried both the length of Shields' sermons, and the content. To both of these Shields took deep offence. The idea that Shields should be instructed by any member of his congregation about the substance of his messages flew in the face of his understanding and experience of preaching. For Shields, the sermon was a product of hours of prayer and spiritual wrestling before God with the scriptural text that was God's inspired word. Out of the quiet of his intimate communion with his Creator he came armed into the pulpit to declare God's word to His people. His view was that the prophet could allow outside manipulation of that message only at his eternal peril. Shields would quite naturally react against the suggestion that he should shift his focus to the modern business model of studying the wants and needs of the consumer: "You think your minister is a caterer, I say he is the prophet of the Lord."¹⁰⁷

Ryrie's *faux pas* not only brought into focus differences concerning the substance of Shields' preaching, but also its relative place. By questioning the length of Shields' sermons Ryrie effectively anticipated a controversy that would erupt two years later. For Shields, the preaching ministry was the beating heart of a New Testament church. Everything else was to revolve around that and flow from it. When Shields became conscious in 1920 that people were leaving the service at the conclusion of the musical segment, and before he even began his sermon, his spiritual indignation knew no bounds. He immediately demanded that he be given control over the content of the worship service so that an appropriate balance could be struck between preaching and the musical part of worship. Very quickly the choir formed ranks against Shields with Ryrie championing their cause. The debate, as it unfolded, again demonstrated the gulf that existed between the two sides. Shields' more traditional view of the primacy of preaching was countered by expectations of culturally refined services featuring professionally

¹⁰⁷ "Dr. Shields Flays His Critics, Takes a Fling at Modernism" *The Evening Telegram* 15 October 1921, 20.

rendered anthems from the finest choir in the land. Where Shields' followers revelled in his teaching ministry and the pursuit of holiness, his opposition was characterized by their "love of music and the aesthetic," their "passion for cultivated society and mental recreation," and their "superiority to the degrading influences to which the less favored are subject."¹⁰⁸

From the opposition camp there was little interest in expository preaching. It became increasingly apparent that their view of the preacher was that he must be a superlative orator who was careful never to give offence and who could provide entertaining discussions of general biblical themes. Shields chided them that they were "most punctilious in the observance of religious decorum," to the point of being "offended by a colloquialism from the pulpit."¹⁰⁹ Jarvis Street church's minister, like its choir, had to be culturally acceptable. Ryrie epitomized this outlook both in his March letter and in his proposition "that there should be a meeting of the men of the congregation to consider how their interest might be secured in the work of the church." Significantly, he envisioned a program for that conference which provided "that someone from the pew should prepare an address on the kind of message the pew expects from the pulpit."¹¹⁰ It was also noteworthy that when the subject of Shields' salary was raised, it was concern for the church's reputation that generated the only interest in a salary increase among the opposition forces.¹¹¹ In the question of preaching and the preacher, cultural respectability was crucial.

As for Shields, his prophetic demeanour and his military leadership model were firmly entrenched by his defiant rejection of the cultured business model of ministry suggested by the dictates of modernity. He resolved "in the future to be absolutely free in his proclamation from the pulpit" and emphatically rejected any "attempt to make the pulpit popular."¹¹² He would be faithful to this determination until his passing in 1955.

¹⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, "The Christian Attitude," *Plot*, 226.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 216.

¹¹⁰ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 9-10.

¹¹¹ See discussion of the role of Albert Matthews in the debate in Paul Wilson, "Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and the Secularization of the Businessman at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Western Ontario, November 1995.) 338 – 340.

¹¹² Church Minutes, 16 May 1920, p. 69-70.

Doctrine

Complaints about Shields' 'hitting' or 'knocking' related in large part to the new denunciatory aspect of Shields ministry. In part, however, the opposition's growing antagonism to Shields' ministry had to do with the doctrinal component. Increasingly Shields' messages were a polemic against the modernistic trends of leading academics in the sphere of theology. Liberal or modernistic theology might have been spared the brunt of Shields' wrath but for the fact that it had now manifested itself within their own Baptist convention. Most dangerous for Shields was the realization that McMaster, the Baptist ministerial college, was turning out committed modernists. Shields was soon on the warpath, and he carried that war into his own pulpit. His opponents tried to distance themselves from the charge of theological modernism, but were quite insistent that Shields should not use the Jarvis Street pulpit to wage his war: "If Dr. Shields wants to carry on a religious controversy we insist that he must do it in some other capacity than as pastor of Jarvis street Baptist Church."¹¹³ Shields later expressed his surprise that when he first introduced the issue in his pulpit his congregation was not united behind him: "Had I measured the personal conviction of each one by his or her profession, I should have estimated there were few opposed to the position I had taken."¹¹⁴ However, very shortly thereafter he learned that such was not the case. "I heard later of one whom I would have trusted with my life, who that morning stood in the vestibule of the church, and greeted many, and who remarked that by such action the Pastor would drive hundreds of people away from the church. His prophecy proved to be correct."¹¹⁵

Ryrie and Thomson, of course, were the first to resist Shields in his crusade, and it was they as much as he who carried the matter into the church. These men clearly envisioned a more latitudinarian approach to theology. As reflected in the amendment Ryrie presented to the 1919 Ottawa Convention, they championed the ideal of liberty of conscience: "That the individual believer has an inalienable right to liberty of thought and conscience, including the right of private interpretation of the Scriptures in reliance on the illumination of the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁶ Shields recognized very early that Thomson took a

¹¹³ "Jarvis St. Committee," 4.

¹¹⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 125.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹¹⁶ T. T. Shields, "McMasters' Approval," 22.

much broader position on critical questions of biblical inspiration and inerrancy. Speaking of his audience on the Sunday in which he first presented these matters to the church, Shields noted: "So far as I knew, all these men were solidly evangelical, with the exception of Dr. D. E. Thomson. I believed ... that his attitude on critical questions, as evidenced in his article in *The Canadian Baptist* of a few weeks before, on "Inerrancy", was a rather dangerous one."¹¹⁷ At a later point in the controversy Shields would also complain of Thomson's assertion: "Any man who refuses to believe the doctrine of evolution makes himself ridiculous and puts himself without the pale of educated men." Shields concluded: "Well, I frankly admit that I must be ridiculous and I am without the pale of educated men if that be true."¹¹⁸ For Shields, these were critical questions that lay at the heart of evangelicalism and Baptist tradition. However, wherever Shields demanded adherence to the doctrinal statements of church or seminary, he encountered serious resistance. Repeatedly the opposition professed their adherence to evangelical and Baptist traditions, but in the same breath insisted on the liberty of conscience that allowed them to ignore divisive questions. Shields later concluded of them: "But their evangelicalism is based upon the sands of heredity, education, and expediency. They are as those hearers who have no root in themselves, and when 'tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by (they are) offended.'"¹¹⁹

This controversy solidified in Shields' mind the important place of careful theological definition. He understood more than ever that playing footloose with the creedal underpinnings of denominational identity threatened the very survival of those institutions. He cautioned his congregation that by rejecting him, they rejected his defence of those traditions that made them evangelical and Baptist. "Consciously or unconsciously, you vote tonight for or against the great body of evangelical truth for which this denomination stands."¹²⁰ Hereafter, Shields would give careful attention to the theological formulations of those organizations of which he was a part. Any attempt to view the Bible and the doctrines of the church in the light of "modern thought" would draw his immediate and condemnatory censure. Five years before his death in 1955,

¹¹⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 124.

¹¹⁸ T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 8.

¹¹⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 125.

¹²⁰ Church Minutes, 23 April 1921.

Shields continued to display the same hostility to the intellectual ramifications of modernity. In a message entitled “Why I am Not a Modernist, but believe the Bible to be the Word of God,” he concluded with a definition of modernism: “The word was first used, with disapproval, by the Pope, about 1907, to designate those who viewed the Bible and the doctrines of the Church in the light of “modern thought”, and, of course questioned the authority of the papacy within the Roman Catholic Church.” Shields applied the Pope’s observation about “modern thought” more broadly: “It denominates that intellectual blight which has fallen upon nearly every branch of the Christian church, calling in question the things which for so long have been most certainly believed.”¹²¹

Spirituality

The cultural divide between those who loved Shields’ ministry and those who deplored it was nowhere so apparent as in the question of spirituality. Since his involvement in the Forward Movement campaign of 1919, Shields had become increasingly concerned about the question of holiness and spirituality in church life.¹²² The great obstacle that he encountered when he tried to achieve those ideals in Jarvis Street was the issue of worldly amusements. Shields believed that a holy and separated church life was not only traditionally Baptist, but was also the pattern of a New Testament church. In this, Shields was not without precedent. Charles Haddon Spurgeon, who was widely respected in Baptist circles as the archetypal Baptist minister, made very similar demands: ¹²³

The Holy Spirit does not bless that church where holiness is not regarded... I am afraid that there is a good deal of laxity in some of our churches; and (take my word for it for the moment, but observe afterwards for yourselves) those churches which begin to relax -- those churches in which the members commonly go to the

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, “Why I am Not a Modernist, but believe the Bible to be the Word of God,” *GW&PA* 29:12, 13 July 1950, 12.

¹²² See a discussion of this issue as it arose in the Forward Movement and the Toronto Baptist Ministerial Association, T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 204, 210.

¹²³ In the subsequent denominational battles both sides of the Baptist Modernist/Fundamentalist debate repeatedly appeal to Spurgeon in support of their arguments. See for example T. T. Shields, “The Canadian Baptist’s Defence of Professor Marshall,” *GW* 5:22, 7 October 1926, 8; Cf. “Professor Marshall’s Teaching,” *CB*, LXXII:39, 30 September 1926, 1.

amusements of the world, if there be such churches, are churches in which there cannot be conversions.¹²⁴

When Shields demanded a moratorium on such worldly pursuits in the sermon “The Christian Attitude to Amusements,” he made much the same argument. The sermon immediately polarized the emerging factions within the congregation. For many, it was the last straw. Two very distinctive cultures became discernible within the congregation. Those who embraced Shields’ ideals were widely sneered at as the “prayer meeting crowd.”¹²⁵ These worked to solidify a spiritual culture within the church through evangelism, prayer and Bible study. Those who rejected Shields’ challenge were denounced as being worldly and unspiritual. This group carefully guarded the culture of respectability that marked their place in the world.

Up to the moment that Shields preached this sermon, the culturally refined among his congregants had little trouble believing that they fitted well into vaguely defined patterns of holiness and spirituality. They were faithful in their attendance at Sunday services and revelled in the great anthems of praise and worship. They could go away from services feeling spiritually refreshed and invigorated, despite their growing impatience with the length of sermons. Some would be found at the weekly observance of the Lord’s Supper, a few even attended the occasional prayer meeting, and most would occupy prominent places at important business meetings. They had little trouble pledging nominal subscriptions to the “Lord’s work” to which they contributed regularly unless by withholding them they could protest some unpopular policy. They led morally upright lives with little hint of scandal. They paid lip service to the doctrinal standards that made them evangelical Baptists, though often it was the conviction of expedience. However, without warning on Sunday morning February 13, 1921, their comfort zone instantly evaporated. Shields immediately challenged their pseudo spirituality: “The public worship of the sanctuary, the preaching of the gospel, the study of Scripture, the exercise of prayer, the spiritual service of the Christian life, and all the pure spiritual joys flowing therefrom, are esteemed dull and

¹²⁴ C. H. Spurgeon, *The Church’s Work*, (Speech before the London Baptist Association, June 16, 1877) in “Speeches at Home and Abroad,” in *Ages Digital Library The Spurgeon Collection* (Rio, WI: Ages Software, 1998-2001), 110. (Hereafter “Ages”).

¹²⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 244.

uninteresting.”¹²⁶ They listened in horror to the exacting spiritual demands that would be required of them to continue as members and officers of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. Visions of a rigid puritanical regime ominously overshadowed the blissful images of “dear old Jarvis Street” they had so carefully nurtured. At every level the socio-cultural integration and respect they had worked so hard to achieve with the world outside their doors was threatened. The new normal was to be a radical separation from the world with all its modern advantages and cultural pastimes. Shields, the other-worldly sectarian, was finally making his stand.

Shields taught and believed that separation from the world was one of the fundamental benchmarks of spirituality. However, something of the man himself was implicit in the expectations he now laid out for his congregation. Shields never did anything half-heartedly. He despised anyone who did, especially in the spiritual sphere. Commitment and separation had to be entire. This was well reflected in a story he told years later about a lady who had come to observe the church that would shortly emerge from the drama that was presently unfolding. The lady was the wife of a Presbyterian minister and had come one Sunday morning to look over the Sunday School. Seeing between 1,500 and 1,800 present she asked Shields how he did it. Shield responded: “The teachers, of course, regularly visit and look after the shepherding of all their children. If any are absent, before the next Sunday they are visited.” Surprised, she responded: “But how can they find time ... These young men and young women have got to have time for recreation. They must have a night at the theatre, and perhaps a night for dancing. When they have had that, what time is there for them to visit?” Shields answered: “That does not obtain in this school. Our teachers don’t take a night at the theatre, and they don’t go dancing. They are separated unto the gospel of Christ.” With growing consternation the woman asked: “Do you mean to say that you would not have anyone teach in your school who was an habitual attendant at the theatre ... and you would not have anyone in your school who danced?” Shields replied: “Not for a moment, if we knew it.” “Well,” she said, “That would include me” Shields concluded: “I can’t help that ... but you would be excluded, notwithstanding your husband’s position, and profession. We believe in a regenerated church membership, and we believe the work of the church should be done

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 216, 217.

by regenerated people who have in truth and fact ‘renounced the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world,’ and are factually separated unto the gospel of Christ.¹²⁷

As the story demonstrated, by the end of the decade the church would have a very different complexion than that which his opponents envisioned. A further glimpse of that church in 1929 was provided in a letter Shields wrote to a prospective pulpit supply. The letter described the weekly activities of the church and demonstrated how far removed the spiritual church championed by Shields was from the culturally respectable church visualized by his opponents.

The letter to Dr. Charles G. Trumbull was a fascinating piece of correspondence. Trumbull was the editor of *The Sunday School Times*, a proponent of the Higher Life movement and one of the founders of America's Keswick movement.¹²⁸ He was coincidentally a staff writer for the *Toronto Globe*.¹²⁹ Shields was very conscious of the fact that Trumbull was editing *The Sunday School Times* and was anxious that Trumbull might showcase Jarvis Street's Sunday School in his paper. Trumbull was engaged to fill the pulpit on April 27, 1929. This involved the two preaching services for the day as well as a lecture for the morning Bible class. However, Shields quickly tried to extend the terms of the engagement. First he hoped that Trumbull might arrive in time for the Saturday night prayer meeting. He was quick to boast of the centrality of prayer for Jarvis Street since the split: “A feature of our church life here for nearly eight years has been our three weekly prayer meetings, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Thursday is the largest of the three, and is followed by a Bible Lecture. Saturday night there is no address as a rule, but two hours spent in prayer for the work of Sunday, and for all the interests of

¹²⁷ T. T. Shields “Even if Infant Baptism as Practised by Protestants And Roman Catholics Be Unscriptural, Is there Any Harm In It?” *GW* 29:7, 8 June 1950, 10.

¹²⁸ The Higher Life Movement took its name from a book by William Boardman, *The Higher Christian Life*, published in 1858. It was a British movement devoted to Christian holiness. It was also known as the Keswick movement because of yearly conferences in Parish of Keswick in the United Kingdom. Trumbull was active in establishing the American manifestation.

¹²⁹ C. G. Thorne, Jr., “Trumbull, Charles Gallaudet (1872-1941),” in *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J.D. Douglas. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974.) 987. Note: Shields referenced the *Globe* editorials in the letter: “Your work on the *Toronto Globe* – I may say that Mr. Jaffray let me into the secret which I have faithfully kept, that you are the author of the Wednesday editorials – will make you feel quite at home in Toronto.”

the Lords work everywhere.” Shields urged Trumbull to “sample a little of our simple life of faith.”¹³⁰

Following was a detailed description of the unique experiment of holding Sunday School on Sunday morning and how the Sunday School departments,¹³¹ with a combined attendance numbering over one thousand, were brought into the auditorium to a “marching hymn.” Trumbull was told that he could expect about “fifteen hundred people in the morning, and the same number in the evening.” Significantly, in light of the struggle over service lengths in 1921, Shields noted of the evening service:

Jarvis Street is not accustomed to short services. Beginning with a prayer meeting at six o’clock, Communion Service at six-thirty, the regular service at seven, it is always well past ten o’clock before the after-meeting concludes; and at this latter meeting usually two or three hundred, and sometimes more, remain.” He added: “If you feel like speaking an hour or more, or an hour and a half, nobody will complain.”¹³²

Having finally achieved his full liberty as a preacher of the gospel,”¹³³ Shields’ evangelistic fervor was also in evidence:

I may say that at both services on Sunday, whatever the subject, I always, before closing, give it an evangelistic turn and give an invitation to the unconverted to confess Christ. It is a very rare thing indeed for us to have a service without someone confessing Christ, and often we have fifteen to twenty-five in a day.¹³⁴

Warming up to his project, Shields went on to urge Trumbull to stay over for Monday’s regular Sunday School conference, Tuesday evening’s prayer meeting, Wednesday evening’s publication of *The Gospel Witness*, and Thursday evening’s prayer meeting. “That,” noted Shields, “would give you one clear week in Jarvis Street, and you would be able to sample all our services and have some idea of what Jarvis Street Church stands for” Given Trumbull’s interest in the Sunday school movement, Shields was particularly excited about the regular Monday night conference. For Shields this was the “best service of the week.” Here Shields met with all the officers and teachers of the various departments and taught them “the lesson for the following Sunday.” He noted

¹³⁰ T. T. Shields to Dr. Charles G. Trumbull, 23 April 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

¹³¹ Shields divided the Sunday School into departments according to age groupings: Beginners, Primary, Junior, etc.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 196.

¹³⁴ T. T. Shields to Dr. Charles G. Trumbull, 23 April 1929.

concerning the previous week's meeting "we counted two hundred and eighty present, and they represent the cream of the young life of the church. They are there eager to learn all that is possible about the Word of God that they may more effectively go out seeking the lost during the week."¹³⁵ Victor Fry, a man who taught for Shields in that decade, reflected on those Monday night conferences nearly sixty-five years later:

Now we didn't use his words but he would give us an outline so that we could use it in our own words. And he was very particular that we follow the schedule, not teach something else. So it was very uniform. And then he would preach on it ... oft times he would carry that same lesson for the morning service ... so they tied together.¹³⁶

Shields throughout his subsequent ministry had high expectations of the young men and women of his congregation. This expectation accounts, in part, for his disparagement of the McMaster graduates in his church whose only usefulness was their so-called business acumen. Shields complained that they "were enough to sink any ecclesiastical ship that could be launched."¹³⁷

Spirituality and Legalism

Shields' opponents quickly identified two implicit *non-sequiturs* in Shields' amusement sermon. They would most likely have been quite accepting of Shields' declaration of the principle concerning the subordination of "every interest in life" to the cross of Christ. However, they were violently opposed to any attempt on his part to dictate how, when and where the principle needed to be applied. This was, for them, a violation of their Christian liberty and freedom of conscience. Many had fought in defence of democratic liberties during the war and those who had returned from the sacrificial venture were not inclined to surrender their liberties at this point. Shields had always considered the pursuit of liberty critical because the democratic freedoms fought for on the world stage were the guarantor of individual liberties at home, especially freedom of religion and liberty of conscience. Now, in his opponents' minds, Shields himself was threatening the religious liberty they had risked their lives to defend.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Victor Fry, interview by author and Paul Wilson, March 1992.

¹³⁷ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 198-199.

The second *non-sequitur* for Shields' opponents was Shields' insistence that the subordination of every pursuit of life to the gospel of Christ always meant total abstinence. They felt that there were countless situations in which their pursuit in moderation of various social activities in no way impinged upon their Christian testimony. When Shields demanded total abstinence from a specific list of social pastimes as a precondition of holding office and retaining membership in the church, his opponents responded with charges of legalism and un-Baptistic behaviour.

When Deacon Henderson submitted his resignation from the deacons' board over the dancing issue, he raised the first challenge to Shields' newly voiced legalism. He strongly rejected the pastor's right to dictate the terms of personal relationship with God:

It is needless to say how cognizant I am of my shortcomings, or how keenly I have always felt my unworthiness to hold the office of Deacon, but for a great many years I have endeavoured to follow my Lord, and although I may not always interpret His wishes correctly, nor always give the prayerful thought to His commands that I should, still I reserve to myself the prerogative to endeavor to follow Him as I think He wishes me to.¹³⁸

The matter of Henderson's resignation soon became a celebrated issue within the church and became the focus of the opposition's resistance to Shields' new standards of spirituality. The resignation was also a significant factor in the final alienation of thirteen of nineteen deacons from the pastor.

The opposition had grounds to object to the claims of any pastor, church or denomination which dictated arbitrary standards of behaviour to individual conscience. Most of the members of the church, like Henderson, would have understand the biblical appeal to commitment, even if they could not apply it consistently in their own lives. The examination of the possible consequences of certain actions would also have been deemed appropriate. However, dictating the specifics of how the principle was to be applied was the birth of legalism. For those who responded to Shields' invitation, the ideal of entire separation proved to be a powerful tool in the propagation of the gospel. However, the principle of liberty of conscience was inherently as Baptistic as the ideal of a separated church life and as much a part of Reformed tradition as *Sola Fide* or *Sola Scriptura*. Shields, who influenced many young men from his own church to risk their

¹³⁸ Deacons' Minutes, 14 February 1921.

lives in the defence of liberty was treading on shaky ground when he dictated strict compliance to an arbitrary list of activities that by his own admission were not inherently evil. In the immediate future, his followers understood the dynamic of entire separation unto the gospel. For them it simply meant giving themselves over completely to spiritual and evangelistic activity. In time, however, that dynamic faded and both he and they would forget its power. By the thirties, new worldly entanglements awaited Shields, and the legalistic mind-set born among his people in this period would harden leading to the inevitable fruit of division and discord.

Spirituality and Modernity

The worship forms that emerged over the years that followed the split stood in marked contrast to the culturally polished services that characterized the “dear old Jarvis Street” of his opponents. When Shields reflected back on his struggle to implement this vision of a spiritually separated church, he identified two particular aspects of modernity that proved to be significant hindrances to separation from the world. These were the modern woman and the modern businessman. He complained:

It had not then occurred to me that a man's opinions, and the probability of his course of action in given circumstances, could never be clearly appraised until the man had talked it over with his wife, and she had made up his mind for him. Nor did I suppose that a business man would subordinate his religious convictions to considerations of business expediency.”¹³⁹

Clearly, Shields had a growing discomfort with women's changing role in the modern urban construct. He whined about the franchise:

Oh these women! When did ever a man win in verbal conflict with a woman? And now they have the franchise, and soon they will be sitting in Parliament - and as sure as fate they'll get all the votes! Gentlemen, when your wife invites you to explain your views, if you are wise, I say, if you are wise you will say you have no views apart from hers! The most comfortable view which any man can entertain on any subject is that which his wife insists on holding.¹⁴⁰

He was also poked fun at women's involvement in the modern consumer culture:

Any man who has ever gone shopping with his wife (and no wise man will go if he can either find or invent a respectable and not unchivalrous excuse for not going), but any man who has failed to discover or effectually to plead just reason

¹³⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 125 – 126.

¹⁴⁰ T.T. Shields, "England in Wartime" 17, JBCA, Toronto.

for exemption, and has heroically taken the path of duty, will know how hazardous a venture is involved in such an expedition.¹⁴¹

While there is some debate about the degree to which women were active subjects of modernity, there is little doubt that women who embraced modernity sought the cultural refinement offered by the city.¹⁴² Shields became increasingly conscious of the fact that in his fight for spirituality and separation from the world, one of his biggest challenges came from the women of culture within his congregation. His attack on the social amenities of modern city living would have faced serious opposition in the homes of the “highbrow” segment of his congregation.

The impact of modern business considerations was also significant. On one occasion when Shields wished to give an address at Jarvis Street on the Irish situation, his deacons forbade him. He complained of it afterwards: “I could not move ... A business man said, ‘It is like this, Pastor. We are business men, and many of our customers are Roman Catholics. We do not want to offend them.’”¹⁴³ This was but one small illustration of the practical difficulties Shields had to contend with. However, the issue of business interests was far greater than the simple matter of obstructionism. The businessmen in Jarvis Street introduced a culture of secularization. Paul Wilson in his doctoral thesis, *Baptists and Business* critically assessed the spiritual impact of Jarvis Street’s business men. Wilson’s thesis examined the contention that “Business was a powerful agent of secularization.” Business had secularized the religious beliefs and values of these men. Wilson adopted the definition of secularization that referred to “a negative process through which religious beliefs, values and practices are modified or removed so that they lose ‘social significance’ and consequently their influence on an individual or group or institution.” He noted further: “...I have also used the term secularism to indicate the growth of indifference and hostility to orthodox Baptist beliefs, values and practices.” By

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1.

¹⁴² For discussion of the role of women as subjects of modernity see Gail Finney, *Women in modern drama: Freud, feminism, and European theater at the turn of the century* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1989); Janet Wolfe, *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture* (Cambridge, U.K. : Polity Press, 1990.); Mary Louise Roberts, “Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture” in *The American Historical Review*. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press) 10:3, 1998. Cf. also *Sense and Sensation* [video recording]: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century / written and presented by John Brewer ; producer, John Wyver ; director, Ian Leese.

¹⁴³ T. T. Shields, “The British Government's attempt to ‘Appease’ Hitler and Mussolini,” *GW* 16:43, 3 March 1938, 12.

demonstrating this fundamental characteristic in the business element within Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Wilson identified many of the leading causes underlying the 1921 schism. In a summary of the impact of business upon the religion of these men he noted: “Over the course of three quarters of a century, the businessmen of Jarvis Street moved from an emphasis on righteousness to a desire for respectability. They forsook separation from the world for socio-cultural integration with it and in the process sacrificed their commitment to stewardship, moderation, and sometimes honesty.”¹⁴⁴ They linked material wealth and spiritual health in a “Gospel of Wealth.” However, what began as an emphasis upon philanthropic activity soon turned “to a more self-seeking perspective that sought to satisfy personal wants and business needs before any consideration was given to the needs of the church.”¹⁴⁵ They forged “an alliance between religious and material progress. They became convinced that one could not succeed without the other. Thus they devoted their lives to advancing the causes of Christ and capitalism.”¹⁴⁶ Business then became a key factor in the secularization of the church itself. “Businessmen offered the church wealth, new management techniques and an avenue to social integration. In return, the culturally liberal version of Baptist religion offered businessmen personal respectability and the moral sanctification of capitalism.” Wilson concluded, “Business benefitted far more than religion from this exchange.”¹⁴⁷

Wilson’s work illustrated well the enormity of the challenge facing the otherworldly separatist Shields. Wilson’s work did not pretend to evaluate the ministry of Shields, but he did note of Shields that “as perhaps Canada’s most outspoken and combative fundamentalist” he became the “businessman’s most formidable adversary.”¹⁴⁸ While Wilson’s characterization of Shields prior to 1921 as an “outspoken and combative fundamentalist” was perhaps a little bit premature, his comment well reflected the nature of the tension that simmered just under the surface during most of the first eleven years of Shields’ pastoral ministry in Toronto.

¹⁴⁴ Wilson, iv.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 402; Note: John Northway’s experience stands as a good example of the gradual social and theological shift experienced by these men. For a full discussion see Allan Wilson, *John Northway: a Blue Serge Canadian*, (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern Limited, 1965).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 407.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 405.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

The Leaven of Modernity

Ironically, as one of Shields' most outspoken opponents cheekily observed, Shields was not untouched by the subtle appeal of modernity. In an imagined dialogue between Shields and one of his deacons, Dr. D. E. Thomson satirized his opponent's position:

Pastor: - ... I will not follow ordinary methods of consultation with my fellow members. I will carry on my campaign behind their backs. I am not an ordinary man and refuse to abide by ordinary rules.

Deacon: - That looks like another kind of modernism.

Pastor: - Yes, the members who have withdrawn may be affected by modernism in faith and practice, but when it comes to self-advertising they are hopelessly behind the age. We are the true moderns in the matter of publicity.¹⁴⁹

While Thomson was stretching a point to ridicule Shields, there was truth in his observation. A significant shift in Dr. Shields' weaponry can be identified in this period. Heretofore, Shields gloried in his reliance on the spiritual weaponry of prayer and evangelism. He had boasted frequently that he would place no confidence in "carnal weapons."¹⁵⁰ At the outset of the fight, however, Shields himself reflected on the tensions involved in fighting against the modern method with purely spiritual weapons: "Britons were reluctant to meet gas with gas in opposing 'the methods of modern scholarship' as exemplified by the cultured Germans. I am equally reluctant to resort to such weapons as your editorial employs when it launches its attack upon the historically established Baptist position; but I trust I shall not be accounted unchivalrous if I take the field with my gas-mask properly adjusted."¹⁵¹ This editorial marked the beginning of Shields' resort to the written polemic. He immediately demonstrated the effectiveness of witty comebacks and caustic commentary. By the end of the schism of 1921 he had developed it into a fine art. When Shields caught wind of the fact that the secessionists were taking the fight to the convention and had written to all the pastors of the denomination, he met "gas with gas." As related above, Shields addressed his congregation for four hours in an address he entitled *The Inside of the Cup*. Using a staff of court stenographers, he was able to publish and distribute a book of fifty-six pages by the next day. Later he commented about that experience:

¹⁴⁹ D. E. Thomson in "Palmy Days," *TDS*, 18 October 1922, 1.

¹⁵⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Weapons of Our Warfare," 2 September 1911, sermon # 913, "Shields' Sermon Manuscripts," JBCA, Toronto. cf. quote from 2 Corinthians 10:4.

¹⁵¹ T. T. Shields, "Inspiration and Authority of Scripture," *The Canadian Baptist*, 16 October 1919, 3-4.

I have referred to it only as my introduction to rapid printing and publishing. Since that time, on scores of occasions, I have spent all night in the printer's office, in editorial work, on some jobs that were far bigger than "The Inside of the Cup". Our success, however, in that venture demonstrated the possibilities of quick reply, which I have very frequently made use of since then.¹⁵²

The following year Shields added a new weapon to his growing arsenal. The publication of *The Gospel Witness* was in direct response to the fact that Shields was often denied access to the pages of the official organ of the denomination, *The Canadian Baptist*.¹⁵³ Shields quickly flooded the Baptist constituency with his new publication and before too long it would rival and surpass *The Canadian Baptist's* circulation. With this weapon in hand, Shields could freely expose every imagined advance of modernism and vilify his enemies. His uncharitable attacks soon earned him almost universal hostility among friends and foes alike and drove a wedge in the denomination that ensured its ultimate division.

Politicking rapidly became another of the modern arts that Shields found that he excelled at. In the early stages of the 1921 contention, Shields resisted the urge to respond in kind to his opponents' activities. When the opposition began their campaign of visitation to convince the members of the church to vote against Shields, he instead appealed to his supporters to come out and pray. The opposition, he noted, "rather held us in contempt for substituting petitions to Heaven's throne for personal persuasion in the homes of the members."¹⁵⁴ By September however, his attitudes had shifted. Noting the increasing pressure from his supporters as to what action they should take he initially responded: "I told them we must do as Oliver Cromwell advised his soldiers to do, "Trust in God, and keep our powder dry." However, he soon changed his mind: "I reached the conclusion that, notwithstanding we had been on our knees for nearly six months before God, praying for victory, we must use ordinary prudence in preparation for the great conflict; and, inasmuch as every member of the church had been canvassed again and again throughout the six months by the opposition, and we had done nothing in that direction, it would be well to select a band of people who would visit the membership to

¹⁵² T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 346.

¹⁵³ See for instance T. T. Shields, "This Week's Witness," *GW* 2:38, 31 January 1923, 10.

¹⁵⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 244.

urge the members to come out and vote.¹⁵⁵ Politicking was quietly added to Shields' fundamentalist mix. He became a master strategist in the denominational intrigues of the 1920s and by the 1930's was engaging in political dialogue with leading political figures on the national scene.

Enigmatically, Shields was also quite "modern" in his attitude to church architecture. When it became evident that the two sides in the controversy could not be reconciled, the battle really came down to who would be left with the church building. As his opponents fought to save "dear old Jarvis Street," it was quite obvious that their regard for their Baptist cathedral was uppermost. When D. E. Thomson complained in 1922 about the monetary ramifications of the split for the denomination, he was really complaining about the necessity under which the secessionists found themselves of rebuilding an edifice to replace Jarvis Street.¹⁵⁶ What was particularly curious was that neither side in the debate seemed to understand the oxymoron inherent in that descriptor "Baptist Cathedral." It was a fine piece of irony that the other-worldly Shields could sit comfortably in a Gothic cathedral called the King's Palace as the leading champion of Baptist tradition. In Chapter Two above, it was demonstrated that the significance of the medieval revival in church architecture was related to the modern pursuit of cultural respectability. *The Canadian Architect and Builder* reflected something of the same in its assertion that a church "should speak through every stone in its walls of refinement and culture, meekness and courage, and obedience and reverence to the Almighty."¹⁵⁷ Throughout this debate about separation from worldliness, the marks of cultural respectability and the pursuit of "refinement and culture" were the obstacles that most seriously hindered Shields' attempts to build a spiritual church. It was also ironic that despite his dispute with the choir, in the architecture of the building, the choir loft, not the pulpit, was given the central location. In the only picture of the auditorium of that period, the whole building was structured as an amphitheatre surrounding and facing the choir.¹⁵⁸ Shields complained about "the choir arrangement in Jarvis Street," which he said was

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 315.

¹⁵⁶ D. E. Thomson in "Palmy Days," *TDS*, 18 October 1922, 1.

¹⁵⁷ Abacus, "Notes on a Trip to the West," *Canadian Architect and Builder* 1 (Nov. 1888), 5, as quoted in Westfall, 138.

¹⁵⁸ Andrew Fountain and Glenn Tomlinson eds., *From Strength to Strength; A Pictorial History of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1818-1993*. (Toronto: Gospel Witness Publications, 1993), 14.

“somewhat different from that obtaining in most churches.” He noted: “The choir faces the congregation, seated in circular seats, between the pulpit and the congregation; so that, however simply he may preach, the Pastor must of necessity, physically at least, preach over the heads of the choir.”¹⁵⁹ Indeed, when the building was rebuilt after the fire of 1938, that feature was rectified. Nevertheless, the building Shields fought to retain in 1921 was the greatest single symbol of the thing he opposed. That was an issue which Shields conveniently overlooked. He had long ago determined to be the pastor of the most prestigious church in the denomination and that necessarily included the building. Despite the spiritual congregation he desired, without the cathedral this would not be Jarvis Street Baptist Church. The respectability of pastoring the premier church in the denomination would have been lost.

In this Shields deviated sharply from the Spurgeonian tradition he normally emulated. Spurgeon, in his hostile attitudes to the medieval revival in church architecture, was reacting to social shifts that were similar in some respects to those facing Shields. Nineteenth century British evangelicalism, in varying degrees, embraced the changing cultural attitudes of its age. After the “Church Building Act” of 1818 a great surge of church building, much of it in the Gothic style, was witnessed in every denomination.¹⁶⁰ In conjunction with a renewed focus on the architecture and place of worship, it was a period in which the “experience of religious observance” became prominent.¹⁶¹ Aesthetic tastes were increasingly inclining to the ritualistic and by mid-century were also producing a proliferation of “organs, choirs and the singing of hymns.” The “consumption of religious oratory” or “sermon-tasting” was quite fashionable in all circles.¹⁶² Evangelicalism, while sometimes running a generation behind High Church fashions, nevertheless conformed to the prevailing winds of cultural change.¹⁶³ When Spurgeon faced the necessity of building his own church building, he reacted to these

¹⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 193.

¹⁶⁰ The Church Building Act of 1818 supplied a grant of money and a Commission to direct its use in the construction of church buildings. Cf. Joseph Meisel, *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) 109-112. Cf. Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), Chapter II “Ecclesiastical Architecture: From Grecian to Gothic.”

¹⁶¹ Meisel, 162.

¹⁶² Meisel, 162-163.

¹⁶³ Davies, 47. Davies shows the initial ambivalence of Nonconformist Evangelicals to the use of Gothic architecture but discusses their own use of the style a generation later.

cultural changes by rejecting the Gothic. On one occasion he commented: “It is to me a matter of congratulation that we shall succeed in building in this city a Grecian place of worship. My notions of architecture are not worth much, because I look at a building from a theological point of view, not from an architectural one. . . . Every Baptist place should be Grecian, — never Gothic.”¹⁶⁴

Shields was traditionally Baptist in his definition of a church. He commonly spoke of the church as “a living organism”¹⁶⁵ being made up of “lively stones” and commonly quoted I Peter 2:5: “Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.”¹⁶⁶ He was also quite clear about the fact that God did not “dwell in temples made with hands” but rather in the body of believers incorporated as a church through the death of Christ. Jesus Christ, Shields insisted, was Himself the cornerstone of that spiritual building.¹⁶⁷ For Baptists, the church building was merely a meeting place. Yet when Jarvis Street burned down in 1938, Shields rebuilt the church in the Gothic style. He gave it an evangelical facelift by moving the pulpit to the central position to denote the primacy of preaching and by providing stairways down from the galleries to facilitate the altar call,¹⁶⁸ but he still countenanced the modern ideal of the medieval revival in which the church building spoke of “refinement and culture” and so was designed “to call up a sense of majesty and awe before the real presence of God.”¹⁶⁹ In the celebratory issue of *The Gospel Witness* the month the church was reopened, the cover page summoned its readers: “Come! Let us ‘Walk about Zion and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces; that ye may tell it to the generation following.’”¹⁷⁰ Jarvis Street was still the “King’s palace” and Shields still occupied the

¹⁶⁴ C.H.S., *Autobiography*, Vol. II, in *Ages* p. 346.

¹⁶⁵ T. T. Shields, “Zion – The Mother of Souls,” *GW* 23:22, 28 September 1924, 18.

¹⁶⁶ See for instance, T. T. Shields, “New Testament Deacons” *GW* 1:50, 26 April 1923, 1.

¹⁶⁷ See for instance, T. T. Shields, “Belshazzar’s Feast in Toronto,” *GW* 8:22, 26 September 1929, 7.

¹⁶⁸ “The Main Auditorium,” *GW&PA* 23:22, 28 September 1944, 15.

¹⁶⁹ Westfall, 138.

¹⁷⁰ “Special Illustrated Edition,” *GW & PA*, 23:22, 28 September 1944. See description of the palatial aspect of the building complete with an almost . . . exact facsimile of the Rose Window in Westminster Abbey”, page 10, 11 and 36.

pulpit of its so-called “sanctuary.”¹⁷¹ To the end of his life, Shields would champion his fundamentalist cause from the comfortable and respectable seat of modernity.

Emergence of the Militant Fundamentalist:

On the evening of October 14, 1921, just twenty-three days after winning the pivotal vote that preserved his pastoral tenure, Shields stood in the pulpit of Jarvis Street Baptist Church and summarized the events that had precipitated the exodus of nearly three hundred and fifty of its members. In the course of his commentary, Shields made a startling announcement that drew immediate cheers and applause. The declaration that followed set the course for Shields and his church for the next decade and beyond:

My brethren of the ministry have written me from all parts of the country, bidding me to hold fast. Only last week I had a letter saying, “How long are we going to consent to the domination of a few men in Toronto. When are we going to have a fundamentalist movement in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec?” - and I would fain put a trumpet to my lips this evening, and to all my ministerial brethren throughout the land say “We will begin the fundamentalist movement now.”¹⁷²

There can be no doubt that the man who emerged from this controversy as the self-styled leader of Canadian fundamentalism was profoundly shaped by recent events. His decision to lead the fundamentalist charge was motivated by his determination to finish the fight that had been brought to his own doorstep by denominational interests. The militant fundamentalist that the Baptist denomination now faced was forged in the fires of adversity that denomination leaders had deliberately ignited under him. Not only had they failed to drive him from Jarvis Street, they had helped shape a formidable opponent.

There are a number of characteristics of Shields’ fundamentalist mix that were immediately apparent as Shields stepped to centre stage in the fundamentalist cause. First and foremost was Shields’ perception of himself as the leading champion of biblical truth in Canadian Baptist circles against the destructive forces of modern criticism. He deliberately stood in the tradition of Martin Luther and echoed Luther’s cry of conscience: “Here I stand. I can do no other.”¹⁷³ He introduced a militancy to the fight

¹⁷¹ This was Shields’ common designation for the auditorium. See for instance T. T. Shields, “How the Absence of Titus Prevented Paul’s Preaching,” *GW&PA* 23:2, 11 May 1944, 7.

¹⁷² T. T. Shields, *Cup*, 17.

¹⁷³ “Dr. Shields Foregoes Holiday to Fight,” *TDS*, 4 July 1921, 5.

which was fuelled by first-hand observation of the First World War; a militancy that outraged his enemies and delighted his supporters. To the spiritual weapons of his former life he added the weapons of modernity, with the demagoguery of the pen, mass publication and even political jingoism finding a prominent place. The foot soldiers in his campaign were the product of his aggressive evangelism. From the regular gospel applications in his sermons and the inevitable altar call, to the highly developed machinery of his Sunday School, to the open air services in Allan Gardens, to the Gospel car and its regular excursions around the city,¹⁷⁴ to the resurgence of old fashioned revival campaigns, Jarvis Street soon resonated with new life as converts were added weekly to the cause. In all of this Shields took his otherworldly outlook to new heights as he espoused a radical separation from the things of the world. This was not the separation which arose out of rationalistic adherence to a creed, but the practical holiness arising out of a pietistic abhorrence of worldly pleasures. Legalistic strictures guarded his followers from any deviation from the fight or rapprochement with the world, the flesh or the devil. His fundamentalism was creedal in the sense that he would regularly appeal to the supporting documents of Baptist denominational life in the face of the rapid erosion of evangelical and Baptist tradition. At times his fundamentalist diatribes were even mixed with patriotic sentiments as he associated his cause with the war in defence of the world's liberties. In the Baptist firmament of the early 20th century Shields' militant fundamentalism was a new thing and marked a significant departure from the mainline evangelicalism Shields had once epitomized.

Historiographical Observations

As noted in the first chapter, historians have often remarked at the particular virulence that characterized the polemics of this period. Stewart Cole, in *The History of Fundamentalism* commented: "When they come to deal with disagreement on an article of doctrine, they are filled with bitterness, and eaten with hate. Not one note of the humility of Jesus is found in the speeches of these men. Not one note of charity ... No

¹⁷⁴ Introduction of the Gospel Car was made in the second publication of *The Gospel Witness*. "Church News," *GW* 1:2, 27 May 1922, 7. "The Gospel Car made its first trip last Sunday afternoon. It had twenty passengers, and three motor cars followed its going abroad. There was much singing, plain preaching, and testifying to the power of divine grace. Thousands must have seen the texts on the side of the car, and many hundreds heard the testimony of those who spoke from its platform. Sunday was a fine beginning."

doubt they are sincere and believe they are seeking the truth. But how pitiable....”¹⁷⁵

Norman Furniss in his book *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918 – 1931*, identified the “residue of wartime fever.”¹⁷⁶ He argued that “their reactions were extreme and one of the most “outstanding features” of fundamentalists was their “violence in thought and language.” With Shields as his showpiece he noted the regular appeal to the symbol of war.¹⁷⁷ There can be little doubt that Shields’ militancy and venomous denunciations of his modernist foes lent credence to such interpretive models. Discussion of the 1921 split in Jarvis Street provided significant evidence of these contentions. Shields’ supporters respected and lauded his uncompromising defence of “the faith once delivered to the saints.” His opponents, however, were equally justified to believe that due to “war fever” Shields’ ministry had lost its balance and had become overwhelmingly denunciatory and caustic. “He is a fighter all the time,”¹⁷⁸ was an accusation that resonated equally well among young and old who had wearied of war and its aftermath.

Perhaps what is lost in this interpretative model is the legitimacy of Shields’ complaint from the evangelical faith perspective. Those who focus solely on the acerbic and militant character of fundamentalist polemics give little consideration to the substance of the fundamentalist argument. Fundamentalists were characterized as “uneducated men who longed for certainty”¹⁷⁹ or “maladjusted individuals” who “found it very difficult to tolerate the changing ideals of the corporate communions.”¹⁸⁰ Theirs, however, was not just a militant defence of traditional forms in face of the changes introduced by modernity; it was a reassertion of a central dynamic of Christian faith and practice – “My Kingdom is not of this world.”¹⁸¹ This otherworldly perspective had been brought under attack by uncritical acceptance of modernity’s appeal. To the fundamentalist mind, as to evangelicals world wide, accommodation to the world’s values would sound the death knell of vital Christian faith and practice. In fact, historians such as Richard Allen, A. B. McKillop and David Marshall have theorized that the

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

¹⁷⁶ Norman Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy* (Hamden Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963), 35.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁷⁸ “Retired Deacons Tell of Jarvis Church Case,” *TDS*, 12 October 1921, 2.

¹⁷⁹ Furniss, 36.

¹⁸⁰ Cole, 282.

¹⁸¹ John 18:36.

twentieth century decline in evangelical fortunes and the rise of secularization are directly attributable to such factors.¹⁸²

Furthermore, by focusing too much on the militancy of the polemic, other interpretative factors are overlooked. Walter Ellis has noted that those historians who accentuate fundamentalism's militant defence of tradition tend to emphasize the intellectual component of the debate. He has identified historians such as Furniss and Cole as examples of the "Intellectual Historical" method of Interpretation. More recent proponents of this methodology he found in Ernest Sandeen and Erling Jorstad who both defined fundamentalism with reference to millenarian dispensationalism.¹⁸³ Ellis argued that this method stressed the "ideological elements in contention and dealt with the schisms as illustrations of the overriding importance of ideology and doctrine in religious controversy."¹⁸⁴ Ellis preferred a second approach which he called the "socio-economic" method of interpretation. Historians such as H. Richard Niebuhr, Emery Battis and Robert Doherty exemplified this method which "assumed the primacy of social factors over ideological ones."¹⁸⁵

Both of the elements suggested by the classical interpretations of fundamentalism can be found in the fundamentalist/modernist controversies surrounding Shields but neither provides a complete picture of the nature or timing of this schism. While the fundamentalist/modernist controversy clearly contained the element of sociological division in a religious class war, nevertheless this is true of the whole history of Christianity. The social divide so apparent to many in the fundamentalist/modernist schism is not unique to this particular period of history. There is an otherworldly element

¹⁸² See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith; Canadian Protestant Clergy crisis of belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c1992).

¹⁸³ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Origins of Fundamentalism, Toward a Historical Interpretation*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), also, *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970). Cf. Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday*. (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1970)

¹⁸⁴ Walter Edmund Warren Ellis, *Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934*. (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1974) 22.

¹⁸⁵ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954); Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); Robert Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation, a Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

in the Christian message that has repeatedly led to ascetic expression throughout Christian history. From the hermits and monastics of the early church to the 19th century struggles of the Methodists in Canada fighting the established Church and the Family Compact, Christian history is full of examples of the Christian's struggle with the things of this world. One of the immediate consequences of this otherworldly element was a social divide. From the very beginning of the Christian message, its other-worldliness appealed to the poor and needy. The rich found the message distasteful and could not accept the disparagement of their earthly treasures. Jesus said of the rich young ruler: "How difficult it will be for those who have wealth to enter the kingdom of God!"¹⁸⁶ This struggle of conscience within Christianity was clearly provoked by Shields in his unwavering call for entire separation. It was only when Shields called for a commitment to the otherworldly values of Christianity that the social divide became evident in Jarvis Street.

Certainly, ideological and theological issues were also central to the fight as the fundamentalists fought for what could be argued was the very core of the Christian message. However, this struggle too was as old as the Christian message. The biblical record itself warned of false prophets who would come preaching another gospel. What is so distinctive about Shields' fundamentalist reaction is the violence of his reaction and his manner of setting the two worlds, secular and sacred, and their authority structures against each other. As has already been indicated, the First World War is the interpretative key particularly in connection with Shields' fundamentalism. First, the war shaped Shields' militant response. Second, Shields found in the war grounds to challenge the Darwinian assumptions of the progress of human history and the resulting rationalistic authority structures presently challenging Biblical claims. Exploiting the pessimistic reaction to war and economic downturn, Shields accentuated the immeasurable gulf existing between the two worlds of secular and sacred. Under attack was any idea of rapprochement between these two worlds, either as achieved in the Protestant consensus at the height of the Age of Progress,¹⁸⁷ or in the easy

¹⁸⁶ Mark 10:23 ESV.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 1989).

accommodation with modernity enjoyed by the cultural elite in his congregation. For Shields the war that had raged between the nations now had to be taken to its logical conclusions as assumptions of human progress were confronted with hard evidence of human depravity. Modernistic Christians looked for an accommodation with the secular culture of their day because of their optimistic social Darwinism. Shields demanded separation from the secular world because of its obvious and inherent depravity. Human progress, far from establishing an alternative authority had demonstrated rather its bankruptcy. God's authority in the end was absolute and all things human should be distrusted. A new legalistic asceticism was required to help keep the boundaries between the two realms. These were worlds at war and there could be no accommodation - no rapprochement.

As Shields stepped to centre stage in the fundamentalist cause, a new era opened for Jarvis Street Baptist Church. Freed from the restraints placed on him by the culture of respectability, Shields directed his congregation into aggressive outreach and a militant defence of the faith. As if in fulfilment of Old Testament prophetic expectation "I will give them singleness of heart and action, so that they will always fear me,"¹⁸⁸ Jarvis Street was now blessed with an astonishing sense of unity and the church resonated with a renewed spiritual vitality. Numeric growth occasioned by the addition of new converts quickly made up for the losses encountered through schism. The church stood poised on the threshold of an unprecedented era of spiritual prosperity and influence.

¹⁸⁸ Jeremiah 32:39, (*New International Version*).

CHAPTER 6

Citadel of Truth: Militant Fundamentalist (1921-1923)

And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.
Acts 2:47

“We will begin the fundamentalist movement now!”¹ Shields’ defiant declaration to his cheering congregation October 14, 1921 marked a crucial juncture in his ministry. It is doubtful that anyone in the audience that evening could have forecast the long-term ramifications of that pronouncement. By their enthusiastic acclaim of Shields’ proclamation, a new course for Jarvis Street Baptist church had been set. In that moment, Jarvis Street’s distinctive place in Baptist life was forever redefined. Once the proud centre of Baptist respectability and refinement, hereafter its pride would find its centre in military metaphors and a vigorous defence of the faith. Years later Jarvis Street’s heroic fundamentalist stand would be acclaimed by its ecclesiastical descendants. At the 1975 centennial celebration of the construction of the church building, a banner was prepared and displayed prominently over the front entrance of the church edifice. The placard “A Citadel of Truth For A Century; 1875-1975” remained in its conspicuous position for close to a decade.² The congregation of this latter era clearly had little understanding of the dynamics of the crisis that precipitated the metaphor. Reveling in Jarvis Street’s fundamentalist record they lost sight of the realities of the first half of that century. Their boast was an anachronistic exaggeration. However, the temptation to characterize the whole of Jarvis Street’s history as such, demonstrates how thoroughly the church’s self-identity was reformed by the October 1921 declaration.

As subsequent events soon demonstrated, Shields’ bold proclamation was no idle boast. He was furious at the destructive inroads of modernism into his own church and the diabolical plot to destroy his reputation in the denomination, thereby sabotaging his defence of the faith. His emotional outburst reflected a grim determination to engage the liberal monster that had raised its head in his church and to decapitate it wherever it

¹ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup*, (Toronto: Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1921). (Hereafter *Cup*) 17.

² See photo displayed in *Toronto Star* article Tom Harpur, “5 Years of death threats force minister out of pulpit.” *TDS*, 21 February 1981, A3.

might be found. The decade that followed bore testimony to the depth of that determination. Faced with the grim specter of ecclesiastical war Shields wasted no time marshalling his resources. He threw himself into the task with characteristic vigor. Within months he pushed himself and his church into the very forefront of the battle. By June of 1923 he stood as the newly elected president of the emerging militant wing of Baptist fundamentalism continent-wide. In his inaugural address to the first gathering of the Baptist Bible Union, he quickly removed all doubt as to its *raison d'être*: “What then shall our answer be to Modernism’s declaration of war? There can be but one answer,” he thundered. “The Baptist Bible Union is designed to mobilize the conservative Baptist forces of the Continent, for the express purpose of declaring and waging relentless and uncompromising war on Modernism on all fronts. We are resolved that we will not surrender the faith once for all delivered to the saints.”³

Shields served as president of the BBU for the better part of the decade and throughout the years of its greatest influence. As president of the most militant fundamentalist organization in the Baptist sphere, Shields occupied the central place. From this vantage point he was able to make good on his determination to wage war on modernism. While his presidency of the BBU provided the functional basis to direct the war against modernism, Jarvis Street Baptist Church was absolutely crucial to his success. It was his citadel, the bastion from which he directed his troops and waged his military campaigns. Prior to that fateful evening of September 21, 1921, such a thing would have been inconceivable. However, with the exodus of his liberal opponents, Shields was left with a congregation of unquestioning and utterly committed supporters. While the trials of 1920 and 1921 had been critical to the development of Shields’ character, the struggle was equally significant to the transformation of his church. Having fought to defend their beloved pastor from the assaults of his detractors, his supporters also were drawn into the life and death battle for what they understood to be the survival of Biblical faith and the Regular Baptist tradition. They too were shaped and transformed. Given their own conditioning by years of war and sacrifice, they had risen to Shields’ call to a military service model. Embracing the ideal of entire separation they rejected conformity to the world of modernity and committed themselves to the defence of the

³ T. T. Shields, “A Holy War,” *GW* 2:6, 21 June 1923, 5.

faith and the pursuit of God's kingdom. At the end of the day, Shields found himself commanding an elite band of shock troops ready at any instant to "go over the top" at his word.

Jarvis Street and the War on Modernism

Boot Camp

The supporting role that Jarvis Street Baptist Church played in the ensuing battles was significant on several fronts. In the first place, it was a kind of "boot camp" for Shields and his supporters. This was his training ground where he had learned both the nature of their modernist enemy and how to fight against that foe. Shields' tenure at Jarvis Street convinced him that modernism was a "hydra-headed" monster that would invariably show itself in "its many-colored forms." His first significant experiences with modernism were encountered early in his Jarvis Street pastorate and were theological in nature. Controversy over the teachings of Dr. I. G. Matthews at McMaster had surfaced in the protest of Elmore Harris. Shields had played a minor role in that controversy by seconding a compromise solution in the 1910 convention.⁴ By 1919, the seeds sown in that earlier period had come to fruition in open attacks on the "inspiration and integrity of the Bible." In the Ottawa convention of that year, Shields successfully championed the cause of biblical orthodoxy.⁵ He quickly discovered, however, that his attack on theological liberalism would have serious ramifications for his own church. He was gradually discovering that theological modernism had its counterpart in the cultural liberalism that characterized many of his own socially elite parishioners. When he began to confront and resist the culture of respectability that had been deeply ingrained within the ethos of Jarvis Street, he discovered the beating heart of modernism.

A nascent worldliness that revelled in the love of the ever-increasing amenities of modern urban society flourished under the vaults of the magnificent gothic cathedral that so effectively reflected their Baptist pride of place and accomplishment. "Modernism in

⁴ T. T. Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937), 44-45. (Hereafter *Plot*). Cf "Proceedings," *BYB* 1910, 27 – 30.

⁵ T. T. Shields, "The Great Ottawa Convention," *Plot*, 139 -148. For further reading on this controversy see "The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture," *CB*, 2 October 1919, 8; T. T. Shields, "Inspiration and Authority of Scripture," *CB*, 16 October 1919, 3; Charles J. Holman, "Those 'Settled Questions' in the Old Land," *CB*, 16 October 1919, 4; "Proceedings," *BYB* 1919, 24 – 27.

vaudeville performances in Sunday School entertainments” and “Modernism in Church Choirs” were for Shields two of the most prominent symptoms of this culture within Jarvis Street. Outside its walls the participation of its congregants in the amusements craze of dancing, cards and the theatre led Shields to his denunciation of “Modernism in the matter of amusements.” Curiously absent in this liberalized crowd were also the traditional marks of spirituality. Most significant was the total lack of interest in prayer and worship. While attendance upon the organs of culture and refinement came naturally, participation in prayer meeting and the celebration of the ordinances was neglected. This was but a first manifestation of what Shields would identify as a “Modernism in opposition to the Regular Baptist position in the matter of the ordinances.” With the exodus of his liberalized opponents Shields was able to boast “Modernism was vanquished! Hallelujah.”⁶

Shields’ conclusions about the nature of modernism during the first ten years of his Toronto pastorate also informed his response. “Modernism,” noted Shields, was “a useful term” which at its heart described “the prevailing unbelief in all realms.” The intellectual response of the modernist was the rejection of the inspiration and authority of the Bible. With Modernity’s loss of confidence in the authority of God’s Word, it was only natural that the modern man would “not listen to the word of God.” However, said Shields, unbelief “in principle is as old as the Garden of Eden.”⁷ The solution to modernism then was the same solution that had been offered since the very beginning; repentance and a call to faith in God. Throughout Shields’ war with modernism, the most conspicuous point of his counter-attack was the evangelistic campaign. This was key to his victory in 1921 and before long thousands more would hear the simple gospel appeal and be converted, swelling the ranks of the fundamentalist army he hoped would sweep the land. His military service model with its demand for entire separation from the world prepared these new converts to face down the attractions of modernity and defend the fundamentals of the faith wherever they went.

⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Final Chapter,” *GW* 1:4, 10 June 1922, 3.

⁷ T. T. Shields, “What’s Wrong with the World,” *GW* 10:17, 10 September 1931, 3.

Logistics

A second significance of Jarvis Street through the years of the war on modernism was its role as a home base to provide the logistical support for waging the war. With their understanding of Shields' important place in the war on modernism, Shields was given complete liberty to come and go as was necessary to the oversight of the bigger campaign. Shields was always careful to be in Jarvis Street's pulpit whenever he could, and faithfully kept his congregation abreast of his activities. However, between Sundays he often travelled thousands of miles and spoke at countless meetings across the continent. His itinerary over the next few years was extraordinary and in one piece of correspondence he was able to boast of having travelled "well over thirty thousand miles in ten months."⁸ By June of 1929, he had travelled over eighty thousand miles in relation to his administration of Des Moines University alone.⁹ However, in the midst of all this travel and his oversight of the fundamentalist campaign, Jarvis Street was Shields' first priority and the center of his focus.

For Shields, Jarvis Street became the focal point of his recruitment for the Kingdom of God and its growing numerical strength became critical to sustaining the fight. The secessionists of 1921 had predicted a rapid demise for Jarvis Street Baptist church and financial collapse. Perhaps even beyond his wildest dreams, he proved them wrong. During the next six years, Jarvis Street Baptist Church experienced the most successful years of its entire history. Again, Shields was proactive. There can be no question that Shields had a great evangelistic burden for those he believed to be lost outside of God's grace. This more than any other initiative had characterized his early ministry. He was consumed by his zeal to preach the gospel. It was this same zeal that motivated his fight against theological error. With the modernistic corruption of the gospel message Shields was convinced that souls would be blinded to their eternal peril. His answer was to preach the old-fashioned gospel as far and wide as he could. He knew, however, that it was critical that his efforts had to start at home. Weekly evangelistic efforts radiated out from the church with ever increasing inventiveness and before long

⁸ T. T. Shields to Rev. Stewart Robertson, 9 January 1926, box 3, "Shields' Correspondence 1924-1926", JBCA, Toronto.

⁹ "The latest News from Des Moines." *GW* 8:4 13 June 1929, 8.

new converts were flooding into the church. By September of 1925 he was able to boast of 1419 new members added to the church since the departure of the dissidents on September 21, 1921.¹⁰

One of the most important developments during these years that would affect the future strength of Jarvis Street was Shields' restructuring of the Sunday School. This innovation was inspired by Shields' observations surrounding his visit to Fort Worth Texas in May of 1923. Shields had been invited to speak at the "Annual Meeting of 'The World Conference ... on Christian Fundamentals.'" He spoke twice at a Presbyterian Church, but on the Sunday morning preached in the pulpit of First Baptist Church. The pastor of this church was J. Frank Norris, and this was Shields' first encounter with the man who would become one of his most significant allies in the fundamentalist/modernist controversy.

What most impressed Shields on that occasion, however, was the huge Sunday School that was gathered that Sunday morning. In Canada, Sunday School sessions were still held Sunday afternoon, apart from the main services of the day. In recording his impressions of that surprising morning Shields commented: "I saw what I had never seen before, at twenty minutes past nine in the morning, a number of policemen directing the traffic for several blocks, when the traffic consisted of people going to Sunday-School!" The Sunday School attendance that morning was 4,630. Standing before his own congregation a couple of weeks later, he remarked: "I came away with the conviction that that is the kind of Sunday School the Lord wants us to have in Jarvis Street, and I believe we can have it."¹¹ Shields did not delay long and in September announced to the church: "We are about to undertake in Jarvis Street the greatest enterprise ever attempted in the history of the church. We shall enter upon a campaign which, we believe, will make Jarvis Street the greatest Sunday-School in Canada." To accomplish his intended objective, Shields invited the man who was in large part responsible for the remarkable phenomenon he had witnessed in Texas. That man was Rev. Louis Entzminger. Shields

¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "Ebenezer," *GW* 4:20, 24 September 1925, 7.

¹¹ T. T. Shields, "Contending for the Faith," *GW*, 2:3, 31 May 1923, 2.

boasted of Louis that he was the man who “brought the Sunday-School of Fort Worth, Texas, up from 250 to nearly 5,000” and repeated the same “miracle” in Minneapolis.¹²

The plan was to assimilate the Sunday School into the morning service. “The hour of the Sunday School will be changed to 9:45 a.m.,” he announced, “and the school will close only with the conclusion of the morning service.” His goal was to integrate every “individual member” of the church into the school “either as a teacher or a scholar.”¹³ Co-incidentally the Sunday School would provide a vital means to train and involve a broad cross-section of the church in the struggle for the faith. “Many people,” insisted Shields, “have failed to grow in the Christian life because no work has been assigned them, no burdens have been given them to bear.”¹⁴ Under the plans laid out by the Entzminger brothers, “every member of the church” would be afforded an opportunity to work. Shields referenced “the army of Jarvis Street workers” who would personally visit “the hundreds and thousands of people, - men and women, boys and girls – who go to no Sunday School at all,”¹⁵ as well as “the army of church members” who would be “appointed as teachers.”¹⁶

Preparatory organization was carried out by James Entzminger who planned a mass canvass of all the region surrounding the church. On Sunday afternoon, September 23, 1923, “a great army of workers” went out in the afternoon to take a census of the people living in close proximity to the church. Over five thousand homes were visited, and the names of over twenty-five thousand people were collected on the census. A recurring theme among those visited was the complaint that too many churches had ceased to be concerned with “the actual teaching of the Bible.” Most admitted that by way of consequence they had become “careless about their children’s attendance at Sunday School.”¹⁷ The information collected on the census was then distributed to the newly appointed teachers who were then assigned the task of bringing these contacts out to church.

¹² T. T. Shields, “All Hands on Deck,” *GW*, 2:19, 20 September 1923, 11. (Hereafter “All Hands.”)

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ T. T. Shields, “All Together,” *GW* 2:21, 4 October 1923, 10.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, “All Hands,” 11.

¹⁶ T. T. Shields, “All Together,” 10.

¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Beginning of a Great Campaign,” *GW* 2:20, 27 September 1923, 10.

A week of evangelistic meetings under Louis Entzminger was announced, to which the teachers were to try and draw their prospective students. Thereafter, a close-knit organization would be instituted whereby strong interconnections would be built into the church. Shields commented: "It will go far to solving the problem of keeping in vital touch with every individual member of a large church, for by this plan every member of the church would either be teaching, or would be a member of one of the classes in the church." The teachers of the Sunday School were given key positions in the vitality of the church with each teacher being responsible to "keep in weekly communication with every member of the class, so that nothing could come to any member in the way of sickness or trouble which would not be immediately known."¹⁸ The teachers would also be given weekly training by Shields on the material to be presented to their scholars based on a uniform curriculum. Often the subject matter of Shields' sermon Sunday morning would be co-ordinated with the subject matter of the Sunday School lessons. By this fashion Shields was able to train and indoctrinate large numbers of people who became dedicated followers in the broader struggles.

Jarvis Street's efforts in this campaign were amazingly successful. The Sunday School grew by leaps and bounds. A second campaign was run a year later, this time with Dr. J. Frank Norris as the guest evangelist. On that occasion Norris' keynote address was entitled "Building a Sunday School of Five Thousand in Jarvis Street Baptist Church." From his personal observations Norris noted: "Speaking proportionately, you have in your membership the largest number of real, trained - Bible-trained, and spiritually minded people, that I have ever found."¹⁹ Attendance in the school surged again, and shortly after the conclusion of the campaign Shields was able to announce attendance in the Adult Bible class was 850, and 1509 for the whole school.²⁰

An unforeseen by-product of this grand scheme developed early in 1924. Among those who had come under Shields' Bible training, both in his Bible class and on his Monday night training sessions, were a number who petitioned the pastor "to give them a course of lectures on subjects related to the work of the Christian ministry." Pleasantly

¹⁸ T. T. Shields, "All Hands," 11.

¹⁹ J. Frank Norris, "Building A Sunday-School of Five Thousand in Jarvis Street Baptist Church," *GW* 3:15, 21 August 1924, 1. (Hereafter "Five Thousand")

²⁰ T. T. Shields, "Last Sunday In Jarvis Street and Massey Hall," *GW* 3:38, 29 January 1925, 12.

surprised by this proposal, Shields offered a public invitation after his message Sunday evening, March 15, 1924. Instead of being an invitation to come forward to confess salvation, or to request baptism, this invitation was to enroll in a new Bible institute.²¹ Fifty-two people responded and by the end of the month over eighty-nine had enrolled.²² This was the beginning of the Jarvis Street Bible Institute, and eventually Toronto Baptist Seminary. From this training program and later from the seminary would come forth men trained as fundamentalist leaders and pastors who would spread all over the continent and indeed throughout the world to fight for “the faith once delivered to the saints.”²³

Propaganda Campaign

A third critical significance of Jarvis Street was its place at the center of Shields’ propaganda crusade. Jarvis Street provided both the financial backing and the manpower needed to facilitate this ambitious undertaking. While many extraneous pamphlets and booklets were produced and circulated, it was Shields’ creation of *The Gospel Witness* that provided the primary vehicle to carry his message across the continent. The idea of a weekly periodical first arose out of the success of the Jarvis Street Church Calendar. This was a small four-page leaflet in which Shields published “short articles on spiritual matters.” It also carried items of “church news.” This was soon in great demand as “people were forming the habit of mailing these calendars to their friends.”²⁴ When Shields began receiving appreciative letters from far and wide, the Prudential and Financial committee discussed the possibility of extending the format on a trial basis. The first three issues were approved in a church meeting on May 17, 1923. At that meeting Shields informed the congregation of the growing popularity of the calendar and noted the possible advantages that could accrue from such a venture. He noted that “a great ministry could be exercised through a Church newspaper, which would be full of the gospel, embodying gleanings from Jarvis Street Pulpit ... and which paper could be a medium of weekly communication between the church and its increasing multitude of

²¹ T. T. Shields, “Jarvis Street Baptist Bible Institute,” *GW* 2:45, 20 March 1924, 10.

²² T. T. Shields, “The Jarvis Street Baptist Bible Institute,” *GW* 2:46, 27 March 1924, 9.

²³ See for instance the three volume set: Fred A. Vaughan, *Fellowship Baptist Trailblazers; Life Stories of Pastors and Missionaries*, (Belleville: Guardian Books, 2004). Of the 160 pastors and missionaries listed over one third of them were graduates from Toronto Baptist Seminary, or its spinoff, Central Baptist Seminary.

²⁴ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 347.

friends.” The church minutes recorded the fact that “Mr. George Long moved that the Pastor be authorized to edit such a paper for three weeks, the church to decide at the end of this time as to the advisability of its continuance.”²⁵ When Shields published the first issue of this weekly magazine on May 27, 1922, the masthead read: “In the interest of Jarvis Street Baptist Church ... and of Evangelical Truth.”²⁶

The venture met with immediate success, and Shields was quick to realize the potential of this tool. Two months after its launch Shields printed an article entitled “The Mission of *The Gospel Witness*.” The scope of its mission was now significantly extended. In keeping with his primary response to the encroachments of modernity, Shields intended that its first purpose should be evangelistic: “What then is the mission of *The Gospel Witness*?” he asked. “First of all, it is designed to ‘broadcast’ the pulpit message.”²⁷ While this would include a broad spectrum of Biblical teaching, Shields was always careful to include a strongly worded gospel appeal.

Second, Shields began to envision an aspect of ministry for the *Witness* that would effectively magnify his pulpit influence, giving him, in essence, a world-wide parish. Defying those who warned him against including sermons in this new venture, Shields made the sermon the centerpiece of his publication.²⁸ Not only were the messages evangelistic, they were also intended for the edification of God’s people. In this Shields was surprisingly successful. People began to write to him from all over the world telling him of how they had been blessed by reading his sermons. Many told of the anticipation of awaiting the delivery of their weekly edition. There were even instances where churches having no pastor would have someone read the weekly sermon in the absence of a preacher. One young lady, who was converted in Jarvis Street’s open air services, moved to a small town in “New Ontario” where there was no evangelical church. She called in her neighbors and read the printed sermon on a weekly basis. A building was soon provided and *The Witness* noted: “Our Pastor is their Pastor; and these people, who with one exception, have never seen Dr. Shields, love him and praise God for his

²⁵ Jarvis Street Baptist Church Minute Book, 1918-1939, 17 May 1923, 151.

²⁶ Masthead, *GW* 0:1, 27 May 1922, 1.

²⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Mission of *The Gospel Witness*,” *GW* 1:8. 15 July 1922, 2. (Hereafter “Mission.”), 3.

²⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 348.

ministry.”²⁹ Shields dreamed of the day when the “Jarvis Street Pulpit may be speaking to more people outside the building every week than the utmost capacity of the building itself could accommodate.”³⁰ In 1925, he boasted of twenty thousand readers, some from as far away as the Shetland Islands and China.³¹ Within five years the *Witness* had subscribers in “twenty-four different countries.”³²

By extending his pulpit ministry through the printed word, Shields believed he could even become the pastor’s pastor: “Besides all this, many of our pastors are faithfully serving amid many difficulties in isolated places; and it may be that a weekly visit by *The Gospel Witness* would prove a lift by the way to many a hard-pressed worker.”³³ For a time Jarvis Street Church subsidized the circulation of *The Gospel Witness* in order that a copy would be sent free to all the pastors of the convention. Of course, in the critical years of controversy, this gave Shields a ready-made instrument whereby he could disseminate his polemic throughout the convention. This was especially significant when control of *The Canadian Baptist* fell under the influence of his opponents and he was denied access. However, despite this polemical aspect of the publication, the archives of Jarvis Street are replete with letters of ministers who wrote to express their appreciation of the *Witness*’s pastoral ministry. Often Shields would publish these letters in the *Witness* to illustrate his sense of the importance of this ministry. Norris, on his 1924 visit to Jarvis Street, testified of the impact of the *Witness*: “I seldom read sermons. They are too dry – no juice in them; no inspiration. But I read the sermons of the Pastor of this church every week; they have a message. The sermons that are preached in this pulpit are now being read throughout the lengths and breadths of the earth.”³⁴ Within five years Shields could boast of the three thousand pastors on the *Witness*’s mailing list. For a number of years he even tried to accommodate the filing methods used by most pastors in the size and shape of the publication.³⁵

²⁹ “Church News,” *GW*, 1:49, 19 April 1923, 8.

³⁰ T. T. Shields, “Mission,” 4.

³¹ T. T. Shields, “The Widening Ministry of *The Gospel Witness*,” *GW* 3:44, 12 March 1925, 12. (Hereafter “Widening Ministry.”)

³² T. T. Shields, “‘*The Gospel Witness*’ in a New Dress,” *GW* 6:20, 22 September 1927, 6. (Hereafter “Dress.”)

³³ T. T. Shields, “Mission,” 2.

³⁴ J. Frank Norris, “Five Thousand,” 2.

³⁵ T. T. Shields, “Dress,” 6.

Most significantly, however, Shields now recognized the potential of the magazine as a valuable tool in the war against modernism. He employed the imagery of the “sword” and the “trowel.” As a trowel, it would be used to exert “whatever influence it may now have or may in the future develop to further the cause of evangelical truth.” He promised that “*The Gospel Witness* will be found on the side of every enterprise which is on the side of the Gospel.” This he professed was the preferred function of the *Witness* for it was better “to build rather than to destroy.” However, as events unfolded, it was the *Witness*’s role as a sword that came to prominence. “Modernism,” he protested, “is everywhere on the offensive. It is as subtle as it is aggressive. It can no more be persuaded nor placated than a man-eating tiger ... against the principles of modernism we must declare perpetual war” As though gifted with a keen prescience, Shields boasted “*The Gospel Witness* will be ready to speak in defense of the truth.” He determined that “*The Gospel Witness* will not hesitate, when necessity arises, to do what it can to inform our people of the movements of Modernism within the denomination.”³⁶ It was this aspect of the *Witness*’s ministry that became the most controversial and which enraged both friend and foe alike.

Shields would leave no stone unturned as he determinedly dug out every root and tendril of modernism, both real and imagined. In 1925 he announced the establishment of a second weekly edition of the paper designed specifically to address American issues. “From the first of January we shall have a double-barrel gun,” he boasted, “one to fire in the United States, and one to fire in Canada. That will enable us to devote the Canadian edition to Canadian affairs.” Of the Canadian issue he went on to brag, “Hitherto *The Gospel Witness* has been something like General French’s ‘contemptible little army’, - face to face with a powerful organization, and with only little ammunition. We have just arranged for the organization of a Munitions Department which will provide us with a liberal supply of high explosives. We do not say this in any light way at all; we were never more serious, and never more determined to fight the modernist element in McMaster University than we are now.”³⁷

³⁶ T. T. Shields, “Mission,” 4.

³⁷ T. T. Shields, “Two Weekly Editions of the Witness,” *GW* 4:30, 19 November 1925, 22.

In the first few years of its existence, Shields used every strategy he could think of to increase the circulation of the publication. He rejoiced to hear how many copies of the *Witness* were read and mailed off again to friends and family. He knew of one copy that had been mailed six times.³⁸ He often spoke of his rapidly growing subscriptions and regularly compared them to other periodicals such as *The Canadian Baptist*, *The Watchman-Examiner* and others. He bragged that the *Witness's* 1926 reports of the Northern Convention surpassed “the combined regular circulation of both *The Watchman-Examiner* of New York, and *The Baptist* of Chicago.”³⁹ He regularly advertised reduced rates, offered special rates for longer subscriptions, and encouraged others to give subscriptions to as many people as could be afforded. In all of this Jarvis Street heavily subsidized the ministry to keep costs down. From 1923 forward he regularly acknowledged the significant role of Jarvis Street in an outlined and bolded inset which began with the statement: “The publication of this paper as a missionary enterprise is made possible by the gifts of members of Jarvis Street Church ...”⁴⁰ Shields urged his members to view their support of the magazine as supporting a missionary.⁴¹ He challenged church members and the readership at large to consider “whether a part of their tithe might be usefully employed to spread the message of *The Gospel Witness*.”⁴² Norris, speaking from the Jarvis Street pulpit, reiterated Shields’ appeal. “Do you know what would be the greatest missionary investment that you could make, or that some big, generous believer could make for the whole Word of God? It would be the investing of one hundred thousand dollars in *The Gospel Witness*.”⁴³ As a result of these encouragements, Jarvis Street’s contribution to this undertaking was enormous. While subscription rates and external donations largely helped finance the regular publication and mailing costs, shortfalls were regularly covered by the church. In 1924, Jarvis Street members contributed \$2,799.35 in this manner.⁴⁴ However, this was but a small part of the church’s commitment to the project. Shortly after the launch of the paper, Jarvis

³⁸ T. T. Shields, “Widening Ministry,” 12.

³⁹ T. T. Shields, “*The Gospel Witness* Circulation,” *GW* 5:26, 4 November 1926, 14.

⁴⁰ Cf. inset, *GW* 2:28, 22 November 1923, 7.

⁴¹ T. T. Shields, “Is *The Gospel Witness* a Blessing To You?” *GW* 2:8, 5 July 1923, 8.

⁴² T. T. Shields, “Widening Ministry,” 14.

⁴³ J. Frank Norris, “Five Thousand,” 2.

⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, “The Birthday of *The Gospel Witness*,” *GW* 3:51, 30 April 1925, 8.

Street hired a staff of four secretaries to take over the care of the logistics of operations: subscriptions, records, correspondence, and mailing.⁴⁵ A “regular force” of other men and women was constantly employed on a volunteer basis to package and mail the published paper.⁴⁶



Photographs in the archives in Jarvis Street show rows of tables lined on both sides with volunteers doing the work of wrapping and labelling the magazine for mailing. This was a weekly occurrence. Huge sacks of packaged *Witnesses* are also pictured stacked five or six bags high and covering the floor at the end of Jarvis Street’s concourse. Even in this early period eight to nine thousand copies were being wrapped and mailed each week. This was an imposing task with a regular run. However, numerous times over the years Shields responded to some controversy or other with extended editions or extra reprinted and reedited editions. In its earliest form the *Witness* was eight pages in length. This quickly grew to twelve pages, then sixteen pages. By 1927 the paper regularly ran eighteen pages, now a full letter size page instead of half sheets and printed in two columns. In a 1926 edition entitled “Ichabod,” the issue ran to a record 176 pages. The initial run used four tons of paper and cost “some thousands of dollars in excess of the cost of the regular weekly issue.”⁴⁷ Shields spent “forty-eight hours of continuous desk work” without breaks for food or rest.⁴⁸ That edition proved so popular that a second run was necessitated and another eight tons of paper was required. The

⁴⁵ Note: Through these years the secretarial staff also created by hand a subject index of the *Witness* on a card catalogue. This still exists in *The Gospel Witness* archives room in the basement of Jarvis Street.

⁴⁶ R. E. Neighbour, “The Jarvis Street Baptist Church, An Appreciation,” *GW* 4:7, 25 June 1925, 11.

⁴⁷ T. T. Shields, “Last Weeks’ Great Issue,” and “We Must Say a Word About the Cost Of Mailing,” *GW* 5:27, 11 November 1926, 11.

⁴⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 350.

additional costs ran to \$3,000.⁴⁹ This cost again was largely borne by Jarvis Street as the edition was sent out under the regular subscription rates. In 1927, Shields estimated the regular publication costs covered by subscription fees to be about \$20,000 per year. However, this represented only the cash outlay of printing and mailing. All the office costs were borne by the church and represented another \$20,000 expenditure.⁵⁰

Barometer of Divine Approval

A fourth way Shields used Jarvis Street was as a barometer of divine approval and a public vindication of his actions before his critics. After the schism of 1921 the secessionists from Jarvis Street were anxious to justify themselves by prognostications of dire consequences for the church. They were sure that God's judgment would very quickly be poured out upon the church that had rejected them and upon Shields for his destruction of their 'dear old Jarvis Street.' When the final list of names seeking transfer was presented to the church in 1922, Shields was certain that they had padded their list with nominal adherents "for the sake of the impression that the announcement of so large a number would make."⁵¹ There can be little doubt that such an impression was made because for the next five-and-a-half years, until its expulsion from the convention in 1927, Jarvis Street was subject to repeated vilification as the secessionists spread their discontent throughout the convention. There was much evidence of this campaign of hostility, particularly as Shields became more and more vocal in his denunciations of modernism at McMaster.

The particular focus of this crusade was to minimize evidence of Jarvis Street's success. Repeated efforts were made to explain away or suppress Jarvis Street's post-schism record. One telling example related to the publication of a mission textbook for the Young People's societies. This project of the Home Missions board attempted to give a brief history of Baptist work in Canada. Included in the description of the Toronto churches was a somewhat flattering account of the history of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. The report included recent statistics on "additions to its membership ... and also of its revenue." The book was published and distributed. However, a complaint was lodged

⁴⁹ T. T. Shields, "Ichabod University," *GW* 5:28, 18 November 1926, 17.

⁵⁰ T. T. Shields, "Dress," 6.

⁵¹ T. T. Shields, "The Final Chapter," *GW* 1:4, 10 June 1922, 5.

about the report by opponents of Shields within the convention and the book was recalled. The books were unbound and the offending section concerning Jarvis Street was removed. The whole segment on Toronto Baptists was rewritten and the books rebound and put back into circulation. Shields argued that the whole process was accomplished without informing either the Home Mission Board as a whole or the Executive Committee. He concluded "... obviously its offence was that it set in circulation facts about Jarvis Street Church which it was not desirable that the denomination should know."⁵²

With Shields' escalating campaign against McMaster, sources from within the university quickly counter-attacked by employing similar tactics to discredit his record. Late in 1925 a scurrilous letter was published in McMaster's student magazine, *The McMaster Monthly*. Ostensibly, it was written by a third-year student, but Shields believed by its content that it was inspired by one or more of the professors. The letter professed to be an eye-witness account of a Sunday service in Jarvis Street. It began by attempting to identify "a new phenomenon" which had been "making its appearance in Toronto's religious life." That "new phenomenon" he quickly identified as "Fundamentalism." Rather than dispute the seeming popularity of Shields' services, he sought to disparage them. To the critic the services were "ostentatious" and "intolerant."⁵³ Of its congregation he concluded, "the aggregate is hostile, intolerant and supercilious." Noticing one man in the choir turning the pages of his bulletin during the sermon he piously concluded that such a loss of reverence in worship was the natural result of their leader becoming "so egotistical, so contentious, so engrossed in hurling charges of heresy from a Maxim gun, as it were." He was quick to discover their anti-intellectualism in a fear of "a new expression of the same truth," and in a love of "hackneyed phrases" which have "long lost their power to quicken the intellect." Catching a seeming pun on Shields' name in the reading of a passage of scripture, he reduced the whole pulpit ministry to "sheer pulpit vaudeville."⁵⁴ He left the service

⁵² T. T. Shields, "McMaster's Approval of Dr. Faunce's Infidelity," *GW* 2:38, 31 January 1924, 23.

⁵³ Louis Fowler, "Jarvis Street," republished in *GW* 4:32, 3 December 1925, 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

satisfied in the knowledge that “Jarvis Street has been blinded by the smoke of its own barrage.”⁵⁵

Another report soon came to Shields of the expressed attitudes of McMaster’s Dean of Theology. Two students related a conversation they had with Dean Farmer. One of these students raised the thorny issue of the apparent blessings of God that were currently falling on Jarvis Street’s ministry. He asked: “How do you account, Dr. Farmer, for the blessing upon the work at Jarvis St.? There is a man in my church who says that he is sure which is right, that Dr. Shields is right, because of the conversions that they have at Jarvis St. and the blessing of the Lord upon the work. I know that does not prove it, but how do you account for it?”⁵⁶ According to the two students, Farmers’ automatic response was to denigrate the blessing occurring in Shields’ church. His response was “Well, Mr. Whitcombe, I wouldn’t say this outside, but I have wondered if it may not be that Satan has withdrawn his opposition there in order to gain a greater victory later.”⁵⁷

The desperate attempts to depreciate Jarvis Street’s astounding success soon moved to the floor of the convention itself. Despite the records published in their own *Baptist Year Book*, in the Toronto Convention of 1926 a motion of censure was moved against Shields. In his discussion of the motion, its mover again attacked Jarvis Street’s record. Dr. A. J. Vining made the claim “Mr. Cameron [Bloor Street Baptist Church] preaches to the biggest congregation in Canada. I think without doubt he is the most popular minister in the Dominion, and whatever his topic may be, he turns as many people away a night at seven o’clock as would fill Jarvis Street Church” This was a strange claim considering the fact that after the Norris campaign of 1924 Jarvis Street had to rent Massey Hall for several months to accommodate their evening congregations, a service that often ran in addition to the evening service in Jarvis Street. One Sunday evening early in January 1925, services were held at 6:15 in Massey Hall with “upward of three thousand” in attendance, and then again at 8:00 in Jarvis Street.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁶ W. Gordon Brown, “Interesting Correspondence with Dean Farmer,” *The Prophet*, reprinted in *GW* 5:22, 7 October 1927, 12.

⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, “News From The Prophet,” *GW* 5:22, 7 October 1926, 14.

⁵⁸ “Last Sunday in Jarvis Street and Massey Hall,” *GW* 3:38, 29 January 1925, 12.

1926, Bloor Street had a membership of 1237 while Jarvis Street had a membership of 2011. Bloor Street boasted sixty-five baptisms while Shields' church recorded 242.⁵⁹

For the discerning observer, the denunciations of Jarvis Street's post-schism track record fell flat. The statistics told a very different story. Shields, for his part, repeatedly responded to these attacks by reference to the church's growth record since the church split of 1921. For Shields, not only did the evident blessings upon Jarvis Street justify his course in the denominational struggles, but also, it clearly put a divine stamp of approval upon his stand against modernity and the demand for entire separation from its attractions. Shields often alluded to his "amusements" sermon which he insisted "proved to be 'the last straw' ... and produced the upheaval" He looked back on that sermon as that "which cleared the way for the great blessing which the church has since experienced."⁶⁰ In his *Gospel Witness*, it was common to find reports of weekly blessings. Statistics of those responding to invitations, those being baptized and those joining the church were often given.

Eye witness accounts and personal testimony were added to the record. When the editor of the *Western Recorder*, Dr. Victor I. Masters, visited Jarvis Street in October of 1924 he published an editorial in his paper entitled, "A Sunday in Toronto." Shields was quick to reprint it in the *Witness*. Masters commended Shields as "one of the ablest, most gifted, and profound, Baptist preachers on the North American Continent." Of Jarvis Street Baptist Church he testified: "There are three regular prayer-meeting services in the church weekly, with several other group meetings for prayer; and the church seems deeply saturated with the spirit of reverence and devotion."⁶¹ Masters also referenced the Massey Hall services, elevated worship forms, and Shields' popularity with young people. Of the Massey Hall services, he noted that they were "just being started, but more than two thousand persons were present, and the interest was warm." Of the musical component of worship he celebrated the contrast with much that was presently practiced: "As contrasted with that with which we are becoming familiar ... there was a degree of reverence, repose, spiritual elevation, that both touched and impressed us deeply, and an

⁵⁹ "Directory of Churches ... Toronto Association," *BYB* 1926, 316-317.

⁶⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Christian Attitude Toward Amusements," *GW* 1:14, 19 August 1922, 8.

⁶¹ Victor I. Masters, "A Sunday in Toronto," *GW* 3:24, 30 October 1924, 9.

entire absence of the miserable, nervous, humpty-dumpty jazz, which has insinuated itself gradually ... These Jarvis Street people seem to have time to worship: they were not watching the clock.”⁶² To the chagrin of the secessionists who had regularly castigated Shields for his relationship with the youth component of the church, Masters corrected the record: “But the dignity and faithfulness with which the speaker spoke was responded to in the full by a great concourse, largely made up of young people.” He noted that “On every side we heard how the young people love Dr. Shields, and it is an affection that they have developed for a man who has absolutely no clap-trap methods for trying to win young people by becoming frivolous with them, or enraptured over athletics.”⁶³

In the summer of 1925, Dr. R. E. Neighbour supplied Jarvis Street’s pulpit while Shields was on an extended trip to the west coast. Neighbour was credited with being “the one man really responsible for the founding of the Baptist Bible Union.”⁶⁴ He served for years on its executive committee. A man who over the course of his life time “wrote 94 books, including 2 hymn books, and started 82 churches,” he was widely known and respected across the American continent.⁶⁵ Shields had a great trust in Neighbour, and on this occasion entrusted him with not only supplying his pulpit, but also editing that week’s issue of *The Gospel Witness*. Neighbour took advantage of the opportunity and inserted an editorial entitled “The Jarvis Street Baptist Church: An Appreciation.” This was his testimonial to Jarvis Street and particularly to the “tireless” work of Shields. He evaluated every aspect of Jarvis Street’s ministry from *The Gospel Witness* to the Sunday School to the open air ministry. His eye witness account of Jarvis Street’s “ever-growing” congregation stood in stark contrast to the denominational aspersions on Shields’ success:

The audience invariably fills the spacious auditorium; and an invitation to the unsaved is given at both of the Sunday services. The church is vibrant with spiritual life. An evangelistic tone pervades everything. The church in both Sunday School and pulpit is a soul-saving station. During the past year there were 475 additions to the church, and 344 baptisms.⁶⁶

⁶² *Ibid*, 10.

⁶³ *Ibid*.

⁶⁴ Kingdom Baptist “R. E. Neighbour: Premillennialism: A Fundamental of the Fundamentalist Movement.” <<http://www.kingdombaptist.org/tag/r-e-neighbour/>> (June 26, 2014)

⁶⁵ **Bible Support**, “Neighbour, Robert E - Wells of Living Water (14 volumes),” <<http://www.biblesupport.com/e-sword-downloads/file/7468-neighbour-robert-e-wells-of-living-water-14-volumes>> (26 June 2014).

⁶⁶ R. E. Neighbour, “Editorial: The Jarvis Street Baptist Church: An Appreciation,” *GW* 4:7, 25 June 1925, 9.

When Dr. George Ragland exchanged pulpits with Shields in December of 1925, a similar commendation of Shields' record was given. Ragland had taught for years at Baylor University and Georgetown College in Kentucky. He was at the time pastor of the First Baptist Church in Lexington Kentucky. Upon returning home from his engagement at Jarvis Street he commented to his own congregation, "I am willing to endure anything if God will only do for this church what He has done for Jarvis Street."⁶⁷

While the testimony of these leading Baptist pastors left little doubt as to the phenomenal success Shields was enjoying at home, the records of the convention itself should have silenced his detractors. Every year *The Canadian Baptist Year Book* published extensive statistics on the churches in the convention. In a section entitled "Directory of Churches," details of church growth or decline were listed for every church in the convention. Membership numbers for the present year were listed against the record from the previous year, so that the increase or decline was easily calculated. Furthermore, the manner of increase or decline was also given. Statistics were included as to the numbers joined to the church by baptism, how many joined by letter of transfer, and how many came by experience. Decreases were handled under the headings of letters of transfer, deaths and exclusions. With such detailed records at their finger-tips, it would have been an easy matter for contemporaries to do a comparative analysis of Jarvis Street's growth in contrast to that of the other churches of the convention. In 1924, the author of the yearly report entitled "State of Religion" made public his own observations about Jarvis Street's record: "In the Convention as a whole, Jarvis St. church stands highest in the number of baptisms, and without doubt the example of that church in her prayer services and evangelistic preaching, touching pastors and people, has contributed to deepened interest in evangelism in all the Associations."⁶⁸

In fact, the comparative record posted by Jarvis Street during the years from the split in 1921 to its expulsion from the convention in 1927 was astounding. Jarvis Street's net growth from 1921 to 1927 was 101 per cent. However, when the calculation is made for the four years after the 340 dissenters were taken off the books, the net growth was

⁶⁷ W. J. Hutchinson, "With the Pastor in Kentucky," *GW* 4:32, 03 December 1925, 14-15.

⁶⁸ "State of Religion," *BYB*, 1924, 57.

123.7 per cent. By comparison, the average net growth of the next six largest churches in the convention over the same period was 18.4 per cent. Walmer Road Baptist Church, Toronto, boasted a net growth of 29 per cent, Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto a net growth of 33.8 per cent and Temple Baptist Windsor a net growth of 52.8 per cent. However, two of the other largest churches posted declines, and one stayed nearly the same through the period. From 1923 to 1929 Jarvis Street saw 1125 additions, while the next six largest churches combined saw 1123 additions.⁶⁹ It is little wonder that convention officials opposed to Shields wanted to hide the facts. When the convention itself so openly gauged success and measured Divine approval in terms of evangelistic success, Shields' record was hard to gainsay. Jarvis Street's record during these years proved to be one of his strongest weapons.

The providential circumstances in which Shields found himself by 1923 proved to be the critical factor in his emergence on the international scene. With the unwavering support and resources of this remarkable church Shields quickly established himself as the central figure in the rapidly evolving fundamentalist protest continent-wide.

⁶⁹ Calculations are based on statistics published in the "Directory of Churches," *BYB*, 1921 -1927.

CHAPTER 7

Defending the Faith: Field Marshal (1921-1930)

Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.

Jude 1:3

As Shields' attentions turned south of the border, he quickly encountered many of the same challenges that he had faced in his own domestic circles. As his interest in the fundamentalist cause grew, Shields found himself increasingly in demand as a speaker and evangelist. Shields learned that the issues he had faced in his own church and local denomination were epidemic on a national and international scale. In the Baptist denomination at large, membership was declining and worldliness was spreading.

Augustus Hopkins Strong was "perhaps the most notable Baptist Theologian of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century" and his "magnum opus," *Systematic Theology* "embodied the best ... reflection of Baptist theological thought prior to the ... Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy."¹ In an address entitled "Our Denominational Outlook" delivered at the general denominational meeting May 19, 1904 for the American Baptist Missionary Union, The American Baptist Publication Society, and the American Baptist Home Mission Society, Strong observed that "laxity of belief, worldliness of life and indifference to missions" were among the "deeply working causes of decline."² Over the two decades that followed the trend had accelerated. Enlightened by his own engagement against the deadly threat and armed with the standards espoused in his famous sermon on amusements, Shields was fully equipped and motivated to lead a vigorous counter-attack against established worldliness within Baptist ranks across the continent. As Shields had also discovered, defection into worldliness was often initiated by association with business interests. Robert George Delnay, in his *History of the Baptist Bible Union*, observed that Baptist fortunes in the United States were on the

¹ Kurt A. Richardson, "Augustus Hopkins Strong," *The Reformed Reader*, <<http://www.reformedreader.org/strong.htm>> (8 August 2014)

² Augustus Hopkins Strong, "Our Denominational Outlook," *Miscellanies* (Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1912.) 7.

decline particularly in urban centres. He noted that “Christianity had already become identified with business and had lost most of its appeal to the industrial classes.”³

Educated by his own struggle with business interests in Jarvis Street, Shields soon took a leading role in the BBU’s challenge to the suffocating influence of the Rockefellers upon the Northern Baptist Convention.

At the denominational level, the governing apparatus had been infiltrated by modernists, and Baptist theological institutions were everywhere filled with rationalism and theological liberalism. Strong’s *Systematic Theology* of 1906 was prefaced with expressions of his distress at the theological tendencies which threatened to be more serious than the Unitarian issue of the previous century.⁴ Shields, in his 1921 exposure of modernism in Jarvis Street, quoted Strong noting: “Dr. A. H. Strong – that great Baptist and great theologian – has said: ‘The unbelief in our seminary teaching is like a blinding mist settling down upon our Churches,’ and our Churches are ‘being honeycombed with doubt and indifference.’ Already this is creeping into our Canadian Churches.”⁵ Delnay identified some of the Baptist intellectuals who were leading the way. These were men such as Walter Rauschenbusch, a member of Strong’s own faculty; William Newton Clarke whose rationalism was evident before 1880 in his *Sixty Years with the Bible*; Dr. Nathaniel Schmidt who was “expelled from the faculty of Hamilton Seminary for denying the Canon, inspiration, the supernatural, the miracles, the deity and resurrection of Christ, as well as the ordinances as practiced by Baptists”; and Shailer Matthews whose *New Faith for Old* suggested that the divinity school of The University of Chicago was openly liberal from its very inception.⁶ He also noted that of all the Baptist seminaries of the North, “only Central and Northern were still making any serious claim to Biblical orthodoxy by 1920.”⁷ As Shields struggled at home with the liberal infestation of McMaster University, he discovered the source of the blight in prominent American seminaries. As he joined the fight he was fully awakened to the reality that nearly all the

³ Robert George Delnay, *A History of the Baptist Bible Union* (Ph. D. Dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, May 1963) 4.

⁴ Augustus Hopkins Strong, *Systematic Theology* (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1947) viii ff.

⁵ T. T. Shields, *The Inside of the Cup* (Toronto: Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1921), 34. (Hereafter *Cup*).

⁶ Delnay, 3.

⁷ *Ibid.* see also W. B. Riley, “Breaking the Bible School Defense Line,” *The Christian Fundamentalist* April 1928. (Also published as a separate pamphlet, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto, 16. (Hereafter “Defense Line”).

leading Baptist seminaries across the continent had been so infected.⁸ The fundamentalists' response was to establish "a last line of defense" in the Bible Institute movement with their claim "The Bible Training School has been God's answer to the skepticism of theological seminaries."⁹ Shields, who had begun his own Bible Institute by 1924, was more than ready to support the cause by travelling across the continent to help in the reorganization of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles in its hour of crisis.¹⁰

The story of Shields' alignment with the fundamentalist cause is the story of the emergence of Shields the militant fundamentalist. As was the case with all his militant exploits, this drama underscored the paradox in Shields' persona. Historians have long been puzzled by the Jekyll / Hyde qualities that manifested themselves after the end of the First World War. On the one hand, Shields possessed a fervent faith, great vision, and incredible drive to achieve his evangelistic ends. On the other hand, he alienated potential allies, operated under the illusion that he was always right, and assumed that he had far more influence and power than he actually possessed. Shields' exploits in the continental battle with modernism well illustrated both sides of this dynamic. The interpretative key was his determination to apply the lessons learned through the war years. The application of his new military leadership model, operational model and service model explain both sides of his character and can well account for both the rise and fall of the movement he directed.

Shields and the Emergence of The Baptist Bible Union

At much the same time as Shields in Canada was being driven into his fundamentalist reaction, coalitions of conservatives were forming in the Northern Baptist

⁸ Note: Shields was actively involved in controversies surrounding other Canadian Baptist seminaries. He was fully cognizant of the situation in Brandon College and often published editorials on the matter in *The Gospel Witness*. One major concern there was the presidency of Dr. H. P. Whidden who was a University of Chicago graduate. This would boil over into the Ontario situation when Whidden was made Chancellor of McMaster. For more on Whidden and Shields see G. A. Rawlyk, "Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University"; and Walter Ellis "What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Higher Education in the West"; in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. G. A. Rawlyk (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). Cf. T. T. Shields, "The Baptist Union of Western Canada and Brandon College," *GW* 2:40, 14 February 1924, 7; "More about Western Baptists and Brandon College," *GW* 2:45, 20 March 1924, 7-9; "British Columbia Baptists and Brandon College," *GW* 2:46, 27 March 1924, 7.

⁹ W. B. Riley, "Defense Line." 3.

¹⁰ "Bible Institute of Los Angeles," "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

convention of the United States and elsewhere. By 1920 the dominance of modernism in the Northern Convention was largely accomplished. Delnay succinctly documented the appropriation of the machinery of the Northern Convention by modernistic elements.¹¹ He noted that “the liberals had the more energetic program, ... made use of strategy meetings, that they were more clever in their use of parliamentary tactics” and had “numerical superiority where they needed it – in the key positions.”¹² Dr. W. B. Riley, the leading fundamentalist in the Northern Convention, astutely observed that the “liberals govern a conservative people.”¹³

Proto-Fundamentalism

It is not surprising that a conservative backlash was inevitable. Long before the militant engagements of the 1920's, battle lines had been forming. Indeed, what has been called a “proto-Fundamentalism” was already well underway.¹⁴ In England, Charles Haddon Spurgeon had challenged modernism in Baptist circles in “The Downgrade Controversy.” David Bebbington, a historian of evangelicalism in England and North America, noted: “Spurgeon’s protest against emerging liberal tendencies may not have carried many with him at the time, but the enduring esteem in which he was held in the whole Evangelical world ensured a wider hearing for conservative opinion in subsequent generations.” Patricia Kruppa in her biography of Spurgeon traced the Spurgeonic legacy to Dwight L. Moody: “Moody, with his wide audience on two continents, was the logical successor to Spurgeon as the leader of the crusade against modernism.”¹⁵ She noted Susannah Spurgeon’s comments when she presented Spurgeon’s pulpit Bible to Moody: “This Bible has been used by my beloved husband, and is now given with unfeigned pleasure to one in whose hands its service will be continued and extended.”¹⁶ While

¹¹ Delnay, 20 - 22.

¹² Delnay, 21.

¹³ W. B. Riley, “shall Northern Baptists Come to Peace by Compromise?” *Christian Fundamentals*, 4:19, July-September, 1922.

¹⁴ Cf. usage of the term by Ronald George Swatsky, *Looking for that Blessed Hope, The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1878-1914* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1989.), i-ii. Note, too, that Sandeen provided significant evidence for the argument “that Fundamentalism existed as a religious movement before, during, and after the controversy of the twenties.” Ernst Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), xiii.

¹⁵ Patricia Stallings Kruppa, *Charles Haddon Spurgeon: A Preacher’s Progress* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), 472.

¹⁶ Kruppa, 470.

many have questioned Moody's true commitment to this crusade, his successor at Chicago's Moody Bible Institute, Dr. Reuben A. Torrey, "was much less willing than his predecessor to compromise on doctrinal questions" and was unsparing in his own denunciations of worldly amusements. Kruppa concluded: "In the twentieth century the torch passed from the Tabernacle [Spurgeon's] to the Moody Bible Institute."¹⁷ It is not surprising that Shields, with his own Spurgeonian links, had a natural affinity for The Moody Bible Institute, and it is perhaps not surprising that when the headquarters for the BBU was established, the city of Chicago was chosen.

Another early source of fundamentalist sentiment in Britain was the Keswick Convention. This was "an annual summer gathering of evangelicals at Keswick in the English Lake District." It originated in 1875 out of the revival that sprang up under the ministry of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey. Its formation was largely the product of the efforts of the vicar of Keswick, Canon Harford-Battersby. Its main emphases lay in the area of prayer, Bible study and enthusiasm for missions. Practical holiness was its primary aim and the motto was "All One in Christ Jesus." When in 1910 to 1915 a series of twelve small books was published entitled *The Fundamentals* many of the articles were authored by members of the English Keswick Convention.¹⁸

Indeed, according to some it was the publication of this series of twelve booklets that first gave definition to the emerging fundamentalist movement. In 1909, after hearing A. C. Dixon preach, a wealthy businessman, Lyman Stewart, donated \$300,000 "to publish that great series of books on 'the Christian Fundamentals.'" Riley credited him with being the real "founder of fundamentalism." He claimed "That gift really originated the movement."¹⁹ A committee was formed to oversee the publication of a series of articles setting forth the fundamentals of the Christian faith. The first Executive Secretary of that committee was Shields' close friend, Dr. A. C. Dixon. When Dixon accepted the pastorate of Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle in London, England, Dr. Louis Meyer, and then Dr. R. A. Torrey succeeded him. According to Torrey, the booklets were sent free to 300,000 ministers, missionaries and other Christian workers in different parts of

¹⁷ Kruppa, 473-474.

¹⁸ Ian Sellars, "Keswick Convention" in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*. ed. J. D. Douglas (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), 564.

¹⁹ W. B. Riley, "Defense Line," 6.

the world.²⁰ In all, over 3,000,000 volumes were mailed. When the demand continued after the Stewart funds were depleted, the plates were turned over to the Baptist Institute of Los Angeles where *The Fundamentals* were republished in a four-volume set and made available at the cheapest cost possible.²¹ As Riley had observed, this effort was the first organizational effort on a broad scale to draw together divergent groups of evangelicals into a fundamentalist movement.

Another group heavily represented among the authors of *The Fundamentals* was the Niagara or Bible Conference Movement that arose out of annual prophetic conferences held at Niagara-on-the-Lake from 1883 to 1897. As evidenced by their fourteen-point doctrinal statement, which was officially adopted in 1890, this movement was heavily influenced by J. N. Darby. Darby was the leader of the Plymouth Brethren and in his preaching tours of the United States popularized a futurist eschatology which came to be known as premillennial dispensationalism.²² While the premillennial leanings popularized by these conferences predated the fundamentalist movement, the convergence of millenarianists was significant. Ernest Sandeen in his book *The Roots of Fundamentalism* argued for the formative role of millenarianism in the genesis of the fundamentalist movement, noting “For it is millenarianism which gave life and shape to the Fundamentalist movement.”²³ From Riley’s perspective, this convergence of premillennial theologians and pastors had to be fortuitous. As he saw it, it was in the matter of eschatological expectation that the liberal defection first originated.

One of modernism’s first points of attack was made upon the belief in the personal and bodily return of Jesus Christ to the earth. The Second Advent was now

²⁰ R. A. Torrey, “Preface,” *The Fundamentals* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, reprint 1980 from 1917 edition).

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980’s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.) 86. Bebbington said of Darby’s premillennialism: “He steadily elaborated the view that the predictions of Revelation would be fulfilled after believers had been caught up to meet Christ in the air, the so-called ‘rapture’. No events in prophecy were to precede the rapture. In particular, the period of judgements on Christendom expected by other premillennialists, the ‘great tribulation’, would take place only after the true church had been mysteriously translated to the skies. The second coming, on this view, was divided into two parts: the secret coming of Christ *for* his saints at the rapture; and the public coming *with* his saints to reign over the earth after the tribulation. Darby’s teaching is often termed ‘dispensationalism’ because it sharply distinguishes between different dispensations, or periods of divine dealings with mankind.”

²³ Sandeen, xv.

reduced to “a social and ethical progress or process – the consummation of which is ‘a peculiar manifestation of Christ ... which issues in the triumph of righteousness, making possible a freer and eternal development.’”²⁴ In the years to come, Harry Emerson Fosdick, a leading Baptist modernist, complained of the things that fundamentalists believed to be quintessential aspects of Christianity. Clearly in evidence was an attack upon traditional literal understandings of the Second Advent: “Side by side with these to whom the second coming is a literal expectation,” insisted Fosdick, “another group exists in the evangelical churches. They too, say, ‘Christ is coming!’ They say it with all their hearts; but they are not thinking of an external arrival on the clouds.” For Fosdick and the modernist thinker, Christ’s second coming was to be taken metaphorically. Eschatological expectation had been reshaped by scientific discovery and found its fulfilment in the dogma of human development. He continued: “They have assimilated as part of the divine revelation the exhilarating insight which these recent generations have given to us, that development is God’s way of working out his will.” Fosdick reduced the Christian message to an evolutionary expectation of the betterment of the human race. Noting that the best elements of the human condition came through “the method of development,” Fosdick argued that Christ’s Second Advent was the working out of Christ’s “will and principles” in “human life and institutions.”²⁵

The immediate ramification of modernism’s rereading of the Biblical account, observed Riley, was to displace traditional evangelism with the social gospel. He believed that it was a sign of “utter defection from the Faith” that Baptists could declare their objective to be “civilization” instead of “evangelization.” For Riley, the “attempt at wholesale saving of nations” was unscriptural. The evangelical model rested on the premise that God would “gather out of the nations ‘a people for his name.’”²⁶ This fundamental shift away from the hope of Christ’s personal return to gather his church was, for Riley, the point at which the great seminaries first defected. He argued that until recently every seminary on the continent was fundamental and with only a single exception they held to the World Christian Fundamentals Association nine point

²⁴ Riley, *Defense Line*, 9.

²⁵ Harry Emerson Fosdick, “Shall The Fundamentalists Win?” in *GW* 2:12, 5 August 1923, 4.

²⁶ W. B. Riley, “Why the Baptist Union!” in *Delnay*, 1.

declaration. The exception was article seven, “We believe in ‘that blessed hope,’ the personal, premillennial and imminent return of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” He concluded that defection at this point “proved the vulnerable point in their armour, and into that, modernism drove its dart of infidelity so deeply as to drive out fundamentalism altogether and permit infidelity to occupy.”²⁷

For Riley, as for the men of the Niagara movement, a premillennial understanding of eschatology, and particularly its concomitant evangel, lay at the heart of the whole controversy. Here the conservative backlash erupted. “Perhaps the greatest single occasion for the creation of the Baptist Bible Union of North America,” insisted Riley, “is at this very point. The most ruinous heresy of the hour is the deliberate attempt to turn the objective of the church from soul-winning to social improvement, and from Christianizing to civilizing peoples.”²⁸ It should be noted, however, that while the Niagara conference and the convergence of premillennial thinkers was a significant illustration of the conservative backlash, Sandeen’s boast that Niagara premillennialism “gave life and shape to the Fundamentalist movement” may have overstated the case. In fact, when the first confession of the BBU was circulated, its last statement was openly premillennial. This apparently “caused a storm of protest in the South,” and also “embarrassed Dr. Shields at his entry into the movement.”²⁹

Shields, early in his career, had rejected the tenets of Darby’s premillennial construct in favour of what has been called an historic premillennial position.³⁰ Throughout his career he moved gradually towards an amillennial position.³¹ Shields certainly agreed with Riley concerning the seriousness of the attack on the Second Advent, but his reasoning was different. Shields tended to sum up the whole fundamentalist/modernist schism as naturalism versus supernaturalism.³² Hence, he concluded that “The basis of this opposition to the Lord’s return” lay in an overt attack on supernaturalism. “You see, the coming of Christ is a supernatural event, ‘on the literal

²⁷ Riley, *Defense Line*, 3.

²⁸ Riley, “Why the Baptist Union!” in Delnay, 1.

²⁹ Delnay, 51.

³⁰ Historic premillennialism rejects Darby’s idea of “different dispensations”, a “secret rapture” and a two-fold second coming.

³¹ Amillennialism equates the church age or “last days” of Hebrews 1:1 with the millennial period. Christ’s second return will inaugurate, not a millennial reign on earth, but the eternal order.

³² T. T. Shields, “Editorial, The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:13, 9 August 1923, 8.

clouds of the sky'; and with that rejection comes the rejection of every other element of supernaturalism in religion: His miraculous advent into the world, as well as his supernatural return."³³ Shields, still within the loose confines of the premillennial camp, cautioned forbearance concerning the various details of futurist prophecy: "I think, dear friends, that we get into a great deal of trouble – make trouble for ourselves and for other people – when we try to project ourselves into the future, and to elaborate a detailed programme of all that God is going to do."³⁴ Consequently, Riley, who had introduced Shields to the BBU for president, had the word "premillennialism" [*sic*] "stricken from the first statement of the Union."³⁵ After the Kansas City convention, at which Shields was installed as president, a new confession was voted on in which the language of premillennialism was largely removed. According to some, this confession was largely the product of Shields himself.³⁶

World Christian Fundamentals Association

The BBU was not the first organization of fundamentalists to appear. In 1919, under the leadership of Riley, an interdenominational and international coalition of conservatives formed as "The World's Christian Fundamentals Association."³⁷ This came about after a series of conservative conferences in New York and Philadelphia the previous year. At the World Conference in Christian Fundamentals meeting in Philadelphia in May 1919, the Association was formally inaugurated. Annual conferences were held in different American cities thereafter. Shields became an avid supporter of the organization and first spoke at the annual conference in 1923.³⁸ Hereafter he was a regular participant and would host the annual meeting at Jarvis Street in 1927. His name was often prominent among the signatories of the various declarations, including their declaration of war in 1925: "The World's Christian Fundamentals Association, composed of men and women who believe in the authority of an infallible Bible, hereby declares a

³³ T. T. Shields, "Signs of the Times in the Religious World," *GW* 4:13, 6 August 1925, 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁵ W. B. Riley, "The Baptist Bible Union of America," *Religious Herald*, 96, 26 April 1923, 5-7. Cf. Delnay, 51.

³⁶ William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1983), 384.

³⁷ Harold B. Burns, "Fundamentalism," in *Bakers Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Everett F. Harrison et al. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978), 234.

³⁸ T. T. Shields, "A Holy War," *GW* 2:6, 21 June 1923, 5. Cf. T. T. Shields, "Contending for the Faith," *GW* 2:3, 31 May 1923, 7.

truceless war on the worst and most destructive form of infidelity that time has ever witnessed since Satan first questioned the Divine Word in the Garden of Eden.”³⁹ Something of the virulence of their fight manifested itself when one of Shields’ co-signatories, William Jennings Bryan, assisted in the prosecution of a Dayton, TN., school teacher in the infamous “Scopes Trial” of 1925.⁴⁰

Trollinger, Riley’s biographer, recounted the association’s involvement in the trial. As early as 1921 Riley had been holding anti-evolutionary meetings in Kentucky. By 1923 these efforts were expanded into a “series of WCFA-sponsored campaigns aimed at creating a public sentiment that would force state legislatures to eliminate the teachings of evolution from their educational systems.” Trollinger noted that “Thanks in part to WCFA efforts, in early 1925 the Tennessee legislature passed an antievolutionary statute.” When the law was challenged by “John Thomas Scopes and the American Civil Liberties Union,” Riley convinced the WCFA to lead the legal defence of the state’s statute. In the 1925 WCFA Memphis convention, the association adopted the resolution: “We name as our attorney for this trial WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN and pledge him whatever support is needful to secure equity and justice and to conserve the righteous law of the Commonwealth of Tennessee.”⁴¹ Of Bryan’s involvement, Shields himself boasted: “I count it an honour to have known him; I shared with other brethren of the World’s Christian Fundamentals Conference when it met in Memphis, in sending him a telegram asking him to assume the responsibility of assisting in the case against Evolution in Tennessee, a task which, we fear was largely responsible of bringing his extraordinary life to a close.”⁴² Unfortunately for the WCFA leadership, the trial conflicted with the annual meeting of the Northern Baptist Convention in Seattle, so none of the three leading fundamentalists, Riley, Shields or Norris, were able to attend the trial. Trollinger speculated that had “Riley and his colleagues ... known how much publicity

³⁹ “A Divided House,” *GW* 4:6, 18 June 1925, 13.

⁴⁰ “Fundamentalism,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, eds. E. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 542.

⁴¹ William V. Trollinger, *God’s Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 48, 49.

⁴² T. T. Shields, “Signs of the Times in the Religious World,” *GW* 4:13, 6 August 1925, 4.

the Scopes trial would receive and how important the case was for the antievolutionist crusade, then they would have been in attendance.”⁴³

This first cooperative association was a significant development in the history of the fundamentalist movement. Sandeen noted that the “1919 conference placed planks in a platform on which the fundamentalist movement would stand for years to come.” Significant aspects of that platform included its “creedal basis,” the “rejection of modernism” and “especially the teaching of the theory of evolution,” rejection of the universities in favour of the “more recently founded Bible Institutes,” and a growing separatism that rejected the inclusive policies of many denominational bodies.⁴⁴

The Fundamentalist Fellowship

Within Baptist circles, the earliest organization of fundamentalists occurred in the Northern Baptist convention. With the end of the war “a number of idealistic programs” were planned by Christian leaders. One of the largest of these was the “Interchurch World Movement.” Initially this movement arose from within the Southern Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board and its proposal to call for a conference dealing with “the great social and missionary needs that existed after the war.”⁴⁵ When the Interchurch World Movement was formally launched, many different groups and denominations were represented, but a large number were Baptists. With John D. Rockefeller as its biggest backer, the Northern Convention became heavily involved using the name “The New World Movement.” In the 1919 Denver convention, the convention preacher was modernist Harry Emerson Fosdick. The main order of business that year was the report of a Layman’s committee appointed the previous year. In keeping with Fosdick’s understanding of the coming of Christ, the report’s first recommendation was the social gospel’s call for social amelioration: “That as a denomination we record our acceptance of the conception that the mission of the Christian Church is to establish a civilization, Christian in spirit and in passion, throughout the world.”⁴⁶ In addition to this report, *The Baptist*, a new denominational paper was also established. This paper “was openly and

⁴³ Trollinger, 49-50.

⁴⁴ Ernest R. Sandeen, “Christian Fundamentalism,” in *Encyclopaedia Online*, <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/222234/Christian-fundamentalism>> (18 August 2014).

⁴⁵ Delnay, 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

consistently modernist in its editorial policy, and its early issues heavily stressed the Interchurch and New World Movements.”⁴⁷ The Denver convention caused a hardening of conservative sentiment against the New World Movement as well as against the convention leadership. Conservative ministers began to fight back, both with the publication of pamphlets and in the planning of a pre-convention conference for the 1920 Buffalo convention. When Curtis Lee Laws, the editor of *The Watchman Examiner* proposed that conservatives within the Northern convention should adopt the name “Fundamentalist,” the loose association of conservatives that emerged from this and subsequent pre-convention meetings became known as the “National Federation of Fundamentalists” or in time simply “The Fundamentalist Fellowship.”⁴⁸ Throughout its existence, this association existed within the Northern Convention and was made up of men who, for the most part, adopted a conciliatory approach. While presenting a serious challenge to the denomination’s leadership, they were led by men “of broad culture and generous spirit,” who argued for change but resisted divisive actions within the convention.⁴⁹ The effectiveness of their protest has been debated. H. Leon McBeth, in his history of the Baptists, *The Baptist Heritage*, argued that in the 1920 Buffalo convention, they made a big impact. He noted that they “forced withdrawal from the Interchurch Movement,” they were able to get a significant motion passed on the convention floor that necessitated a thorough investigation of Baptist Schools, and “so disrupted the convention that some scheduled speakers and reports were either delayed or deleted.”⁵⁰

Shields’ first open involvement with fundamentalism in the Northern Convention came in 1921 when he spoke at the pre-convention conference in Des Moines, June 21, 1921.⁵¹ Something of his early interest in and dedication to the emerging fundamentalist cause was indicated by the sacrificial character of his participation. Both his health and his domestic ecclesiastical circumstances were seriously compromised. Shields was in the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁸ H. Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1987), 570; cf. William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (Judson Press, 2011), 381. Curtis Lee Laws, “Convention Side Lights,” *Watchman-Examiner*, 1 July 1920, 834. He wrote, “We suggest that those who still cling to the great fundamentals and who mean to do battle royal for the fundamentals shall be called ‘Fundamentalists.’”

⁴⁹ McBeth, 577.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 570.

⁵¹ Delnay, 36.

last stages of recovery from scarlet fever, and had just been released from quarantine. He was also at a critical stage in his fight for survival at Jarvis Street. In order for him to attend the Des Moines pre-convention conference he had to request from the church a postponement of a critical business meeting that the following week produced a demand for his resignation.⁵² The pre-convention conference which Shields addressed was largely concerned with establishing a doctrinal standard by which traditional Baptist faith could easily be identified and modernistic deviations could be exposed. A seven-point summation of the Philadelphia and New Hampshire confessions, known as the Goodchild Confession, was adopted and plans were made to present it for adoption at the Des Moines convention.⁵³

The Baptist Bible Union

When the fundamentalists under the leadership of Massee, Goodchild and Laws, failed in 1921 “to accomplish anything on the convention floor other than to try to conciliate their modernist opponents,” dissatisfaction began to spread among the more militant conservatives.⁵⁴ At the 1922 convention in Indianapolis, Riley and a number of associates took the matter into their own hands. Disappointed with Massee’s failure to present the Goodchild confession the previous year and with the disappointing report of a fundamentalist-sponsored investigation into denominational schools, Riley moved the adoption of the New Hampshire Confession. Dr. Cornelius Woelfkin, representing the liberal side, proposed an alternate recommendation: “Resolved that the Northern Baptist Convention affirm that the New Testament is an all-sufficient ground of Baptist faith and practice, and they need no other substitute.”⁵⁵ Trollinger noted: “It was an ingenious tactic. Not only did it allow for an enormous range of theological positions, but it also presented conservatives with the unpalatable prospect of voting against The New Testament.” Riley’s motion failed, the vote going against him 1,264 to 637.⁵⁶ An immediate hardening set in among many conservatives who now realized that victory could not be won through compromise or conciliation. Riley and a number of associates

⁵² T. T. Shields, *The Plot that Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1937), 270. (Hereafter *Plot*)

⁵³ See Lumpkin, “A Confession of Faith,” 383.

⁵⁴ Delnay, 39.

⁵⁵ Trollinger, 56.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

responded to a call from R. E. Neighbour and O. W. Van Osdel to break with the Fundamentalist Fellowship and to establish a new organization, the Baptist Bible Union.⁵⁷ An organizational meeting was held in Chicago late in 1922 in which a resolution condemning Woelfkin's "repudiation of the fundamentals of the Baptist position" was adopted. The resolution was a call to arms: "Dr. Woelfkins' pronouncement, like a bugle blast from an enemy's camp, should summon all Bible loving Baptists to arms more earnestly than ever to contend for 'the faith once for all delivered to the saints.'"⁵⁸

The BBU was established on a different basis from the Fundamentalist Fellowship and quickly demonstrated a divergent approach to the modernist crisis. In two articles both entitled "The Fundamentalists and the Bible Union," and published in *The Watchman Examiner* in 1923 and 1925, the Fellowship leader Frank M. Goodchild identified five points of divergence between the two organizations.⁵⁹ The first related to their scope. The Fundamentalist Fellowship was strictly a phenomenon of the Northern Baptist convention. Its adherents and its concerns were limited to this sphere. The BBU, on the other hand, looked for a constituency spanning the entire continent. The Union drew its membership from Southern Baptists, Canadian Baptists, and the Northern Baptists and was set to tackle modernistic incursions on all three fronts. Secondly, while the Fundamentalist Fellowship was an informal association of conservative interests within the Northern convention, the Union boasted formal membership status for its adherents who were mostly pastors. Shields would become heavily involved in recruitment, but later lamented the organizational flaw. Reflecting back in 1930 upon the failure of the Union, he noted that "it was not an organization of churches, but of individuals only." As such, it was designed to "bear witness for the truth, and against error." When it overstepped those bounds and tried to run missionary agencies and a university, it was doomed to failure for want of an ecclesiastical support basis.⁶⁰ In fact, both organizations suffered from this weakness. In the end, as associations of individual

⁵⁷ Delnay, 47.

⁵⁸ Trollinger, 57.

⁵⁹ Frank M. Goodchild, "The Fundamentalists and the Bible Union," *The Watchman-Examiner*, 11, 19 April 1923, 487-488. For the discussion of Goodchild's articles see Trollinger, 57-58.

⁶⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Baptist Bible Union," *GW* 8:39 13 February 1930, 4.

ministers, neither group had any real alternative to offer the conservative churches of the various conventions. The third point of divergence according to Goodchild was eschatological. While the Fellowship Baptists were a mix of premillennial and postmillennial theologians, the Union was more conspicuously premillennial. Fourthly, the Union was inherently more separatist. Where the Fellowship was interested primarily in purging existing institutions of modernism, the Union was prepared to boycott institutions that had been infiltrated by modernism and start new ones. However, the most significant point of divergence for Goodchild was attitude. He summed up the matter as “belligerency vs. moderation.” He commented: “When at a recent Convention a fundamentalist counselled against a precipitate assault on a modernist in open meeting, an eminent member of the Union gave as his method of procedure Davy Crockett’s maxim, ‘Whenever you see a head hit it.’ The contrast is typical.”⁶¹

Shields, The Baptist Bible Union and The War On Modernism

Shields was inducted as President of the BBU at its inaugural convention in Kansas City, May 15, 1923. In his inaugural address, “A Holy War,” Shields immediately set his militant stamp upon the movement with a declaration of war. In his mind, the “express purpose” of the organization was for “declaring and waging relentless and uncompromising war on Modernism on all fronts.”⁶² Almost immediately Shields appealed to his military service model and again called up images of the Great War and the entire separation required of soldiers upon enlistment. In this war Shields demanded the same level of commitment. He decried the feeble allegiance of many Christians to the cause: “The New Testament standard for measuring recruits has been lowered, and people have been received into the church as though they were registering for attendance at a summer picnic, instead of enlisting for active service in a great war.”⁶³ Shields’ goal, a goal which would require the expenditure of enormous personal energies over the next five years, was “to mobilize the conservative Baptist forces of the Continent.”⁶⁴ He envisioned an intensive recruitment campaign in both Canada and United States uniting

⁶¹ Trollinger, 58.

⁶² T. T. Shields, “A Holy War,” *GW* 2:6, 21 June 1923, 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

“in one great fellowship all Baptists who believe the Bible to be the Word of God.”⁶⁵ His recruitment standards were exacting. In light of the Northern Convention’s rejection of a creed, Shields informed his audience that the Union would require subscription to a Confession of Faith. This would be a seal of fidelity to the Baptist cause. The second standard was that they were to be committed fighters: “I desire to act this evening as a recruiting agent to call to the colours all men of might ... who are men of war fit for the battle.” Quoting a former American president, he noted “Your own Theodore Roosevelt once said: ‘There may often be justification for not fighting at all. There can never be justification for fighting feebly.’”⁶⁶ The third recruitment standard was the commitment of entire separation unto Christ: “The Baptist Bible Union will fight side by side with anyone who is really separated unto Christ.” For Shields, separation meant no toleration of, or compromise with modernism. He avowed “[we] will not be deceived and disarmed by a religious pacificism [sic] which is only disguised Modernism.” Perhaps reflecting the prevailing disillusionment with the Fundamental Fellowship, he noted “Our greatest danger is the religious pacifist: the man who while professing to believe the principles of evangelical orthodoxy yet insists that it is wrong to contend for them.”⁶⁷

In his address the following Sunday entitled “Contending for the Faith,” Shields stood in his own pulpit and made the announcement of his presidency, almost as an afterthought. At the very end of his message he noted: “There is a little matter that I suppose I ought to tell you. It was against my judgment, but at that great meeting in Kansas City they insisted upon electing the pastor of this church as President of the

⁶⁵ T. T. Shields, “Editorial, The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:13, 9 August 1923. Note: The BBU was built as a continent-wide organization. Shields actively campaigned in both Canada and United States to establish local branches of the BBU. He was particularly active in Western Canada. See for instance T. T. Shields, “The Editor Abroad; Further Observations on Conditions in the West,” *GW* 3:43, 5 March 1925, 9. Cf. Robert K. Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 96-99. He built significant contacts in the East as well. Under his inspiration Sidey and Daggett formed the Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association. See G. A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped up in God* (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1988) 128 -131. See also G. A. Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990.) Though the situation at Brandon College generated significant attention, the primary focus of the BBU in Canada became the issue of McMaster University. The McMaster discussion will be reserved to the next chapter.

⁶⁶ T. T. Shields, “A Holy War,” 6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Baptist Bible Union of America.”⁶⁸ It was a telling statement of Jarvis Street’s commitment to the cause that not a ripple of dissent was registered.

The body of the address attempted to give some explanation of the projected work and objectives of the organization. Generally speaking, the organization would reflect its own determination to be set together for the “defence of the Gospel,” to “contend for ‘the faith which was once delivered unto the saints.’” In this defence, Shields expressed its determination to “withstand the opposition of science falsely so-called.”⁶⁹ More specifically, the Union would be involved in exposing and denouncing the liberalism that had captured “our colleges and universities in the Northern States.” Conjointly this meant opposition to the impact of big business upon Northern Baptist interests, because many of these schools had been corrupted through their dependence on funding from the Rockefeller Trust.⁷⁰ Shields left little doubt as to the Union’s attitudes toward this trust which he identified as “the most gigantic corruption fund that ever cursed the Christian World.”⁷¹ Shields also noted that the Union intended to take aim against the growing “ecclesiasticism” which threatened “to put an end to the independence of the local church.” He complained that “last year a regulation was passed at the Northern Convention for the standardization of the ministry.” This involved the appointment of a committee for each state, before which “every minister must pass, and by whom every minister must be approved, or else he would have no standing in the Baptist Denomination.” These committees, according to Shields, were all made up of modernists, thus making it “impossible for any man who stands for the faith to receive acceptance anywhere.”⁷² Throughout the years of its existence the Bible Baptist Union fought furiously against the “machinery” of the big conventions and what they came to call “machine rule.”⁷³

⁶⁸ T. T. Shields, “Contending for the Faith, *GW* 2:3, 31 May 1923, 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁰ The Rockefeller Trust was a trust fund established with the creation of the Ministers’ and Missionaries’ Benefit Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. Twenty years after its establishment, “Rockefeller gifts to the Ministers’ and Missionaries’ Benefit Board with the accumulations amounted to over \$7,000,000.” With the addition of “the pension plan,” Delnay noted that the Ministers’ and Missionaries’ Benefit board became “a powerful device for control of the denomination. Cf. Delnay, 16.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ See for instance, T. T. Shields, “Frank Norris Victory,” *GW* 4:38, 14 January 1926, 10.

Shields spoke further of the comprehensive planning required for a continental war on modernism. He boasted of delegates being registered from every state, and projected that soon every province would have their own representation. He envisioned a great army rising up to drive modernism from its entrenchments, an army which he would lead:

I will have no compromise with this enemy. I have declared again and again that I have resigned from the diplomatic corps; I am a soldier in the field, and as God gives me strength, everywhere, as long as I live, in the Name of the Lord, I will smite it, and I will make it as hard as I possibly can for any liberal professor to hold his position; it will not be my fault if he does not get out of a job. I propose to do everything in my power to overturn the seats of the mighty. You may call us what you like, but we are determined to stand for the faith of Christ.⁷⁴

Identifying Modernist Tactics

As Shields accepted his commission and prepared to engage the enemy, he was well aware that he faced a well-entrenched and highly sophisticated enemy. Marshalling his resources he launched his counterattack by identifying the “strongholds” of modernism that the BBU would assail.⁷⁵ Perhaps the most obvious threat to traditional Baptist identity was modernism’s “machine rule.” Much of the fundamentalist backlash, especially in the Northern Convention, had been occasioned by the modernist infiltration of educational institutions and denominational machinery. At the outset of his campaign Shields optimistically expressed his determination to drive modernism out of the Baptist denomination at every level. Years later Shields would acknowledge that on this front they were already fighting a lost cause. As early as 1920, Dr. Oliver W. Van Osdel, pastor of Wealthy St. Baptist Church, Grand Rapids, Michigan, and one of the founding members of the BBU, had questioned the wisdom of such an approach. He noted that “the Liberals who for profit call themselves Baptists have been at work inside the denomination for years. ... They are now largely in possession of all that may be said to belong to the denomination, the Schools, the Newspapers, the Publication Society, the Committees, the Boards, etc.” He facetiously noted the fundamentalist response: “and now comes the smiling protest and the declared purpose to begin gradually to weed the

⁷⁴ T. T. Shields, “Contending for the Faith,” 4.

⁷⁵ Cf. 2Corinthians 10:4 “For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.”

liberals out of the convention, little by little, year by year.” He seriously questioned whether this could be done and concluded “Not if there is anything to be learned by experience and the Word of God.”⁷⁶ As Shields presided over the demise of the BBU years later, he remarked: “The man who saw farther in this matter than any other among us was Dr. Oliver W. Van Osdel, of Grand Rapids, Mich. He had the clearest possible conviction on the subject from the beginning, and his separatist principles are now abundantly justified in the experience of Wisdom’s children.” He concluded that if these separatist principles had been applied from the beginning in the “formation of another Convention ... it might by this time be as large as the Northern Baptist Convention.”⁷⁷

There can be no doubt, however, that at its inception the BBU was created as a separatist organization. The founding executive committee was made up of Neighbour, Van Osdel, Pettingill, Riley and Norris. Norris and Van Osdel, in particular, already had a record of separatism in their own spheres.⁷⁸ In the winter of 1922-1923 they produced and published a pamphlet entitled *Vital Questions and Their Answers Concerning the Baptist Bible Union of America*. In answer to the question of apostasy in the colleges, churches and mission fields, they registered a strong affirmative. Their response was based on the Biblical admonition “From such turn away.”⁷⁹ Despairing of the situation in the Northern Baptist Convention the pamphlet promised the establishment of a new fellowship of Baptist Churches. Arguing from the scriptural principles “Be not unequally yoked together with unbelievers,” and “follow after the things which make for peace,” they concluded “If we would follow the things which make for peace, we had better seek a fellowship where peace is possible.”⁸⁰ However, sometime early in 1923, Riley seems to have turned away from the separatist position. While there is no direct evidence that Riley’s shift was the work of Shields, Delnay makes a convincing argument that Riley brought Shields on board deliberately to counter the separatist impulse.⁸¹ Shields, in

⁷⁶ Oliver W. Van Osdel, “Editorial” *Baptist Times News*, 11, 15 May 1920, 2 – 3. (Cited from Delnay, 31)

⁷⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 8:39, 13 February 1930, 4.

⁷⁸ Delnay, 52. Cf. Norris’ autobiographical account of his years in Fort Worth, “The Inside of the Cup,” in *Inside History of First Baptist Church Fort Worth and Temple Baptist Church Detroit: Life Story of Dr. J. Frank Norris*. (Fort Worth: *The Fundamentalist*, n.d.). (Hereafter *Inside History*).

⁷⁹ II Timothy 3:5; BBU Executive, *Vital Questions and Their Answers Concerning The Baptist Bible Union of America; Pamphlet Number One*, in Delnay, Appendix C, 287-300. (Hereafter *Vital Questions*).

⁸⁰ II Corinthians 6:17; Romans 14 19. *Vital Questions*, 293.

⁸¹ Delnay, 53.

1923, was fighting an established modernist presence in the Convention of Ontario and Quebec and would refuse to leave that convention until he was driven out in 1927. According to a letter from Charles F. Fredman to Shields in 1929, Riley alone was responsible for the shift: "... it was Dr. Riley alone who refused to allow the publication of the pamphlet and it was at his orders the pamphlet was destroyed."⁸² Perhaps it was due to Shields' early influence but when the BBU's confession was published in 1923, its introduction clearly disavowed separatism. Shields was outspoken on the matter. Denying that the BBU was a divisive movement he adamantly declared "The Baptist Bible Union, therefore, sets its face like a flint against every suggestion of separation. ... Our business is to purge the denomination, and not to run away from it."⁸³

The motivation that Shields cited for the non-separatist stance was the BBU's determination to resist burglary: "What then shall we do with these men who have crept unawares into our schools, into our missionary societies, into the various official positions in the denomination? Are we to run away and leave the burglar with the spoils? Not a minute! We intend to fight for that which lawfully belongs to Baptists."⁸⁴ To Shields' mind then, the first "stronghold" and primary methodology of modernism was "Theological Bolshevism." Modernism did not hesitate to engage in such flagrant violations of basic morality because it was fundamentally anarchistic:

Modernism has to do with the very foundations of civilization itself: for Modernism is, in fact, reactionary; it is really the twin brother of Bolshevism; it denies all objective authority; and, in principle, would reduce both church and state to a condition analogous to a period of Israel's history, of which it is said: 'In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.'⁸⁵

A second bulwark of modernism was interconnected with the first. Coupled with modernism's unlawful attempt to appropriate the "machinery" of the Baptist denomination was its rather successful effort to establish itself as the champion of true Christian orthodoxy. In view of the advancements of modern science, modernists regarded themselves as the enlightened interpreters of Biblical materials. Revelation was

⁸² Charles F. Fredman to Dr. T. T. Shields, 1 June 1929, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto. Cf. Delnay, 53.

⁸³ T. T. Shields, "The Baptist Bible Union At New York," *GW* 2:31, 13 December 1923, 4.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

supplanted by reason. The supernatural assumptions of an earlier time were now dismissed as the simplistic and superstitious sentiments of a medieval and prescientific world. This was well reflected in Fosdick's explanation of the "exhilarating insights" discovered by "these recent generations." According to Fosdick, the Christian message was to be found in "development" rather than supernatural expectation. He readily acknowledged the fact that now "within evangelical churches" "another group" existed who rejected "literal" interpretations.⁸⁶ He scorned the fundamentalists who could not accept their superior judgment on such matters and were "driving in their stakes to mark out the deadline of doctrine around the church, across which no one is to pass except on terms of agreement."⁸⁷ Despite the fact that Fosdick openly ridiculed the conservatives' insistence on adherence to certain Christian basics such as the divine "inspiration" of scripture, "the virgin birth," the "historicity of certain special miracles," substitutionary "atonement," and the second advent, many Christians were lured by modernity's appeal and accepted the modernist redefinition of orthodoxy. Illustrative of this position was the attitude of *The Christian Guardian*, the official publication of the Methodist church. Reporting on the Presbyterian settlement in the case of Fosdick for "heretical teaching," the editor applauded his exoneration. He went on to speak of him as "a preacher of unusual vitality and spiritual helpfulness, whose influence over the readers of his books and the large audiences that hear him preach, is admitted by all to be profoundly wholesome and deeply spiritual That such a man can be heterodox in any significant sense is hardly thinkable."⁸⁸ Under Shields, the BBU's response to this new orthodoxy of rationalism would be to attack its underlying philosophy and its fruit. Shields sardonically observed: "If the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest," be true, slaughter of weaklings only aids the race."⁸⁹

A third successful strategy of the modernist offensive was to convince the Christian world that the whole controversy was really just an issue of semantics. In *The Christian Guardian's* July editorial, the editor blamed the fundamentalists for stirring up division in denominational bodies in their defence of orthodoxy. He opined "It would be

⁸⁶ Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win," in *GW* 2:12, 5 August, 1923, 4.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁸ "Editorial: The Struggle for Orthodoxy," *The Christian Guardian* 4 July 1923, 6.

⁸⁹ T. T. Shields, "A Divided House," *GW* 4:6, 18 June 1925, 12.

easier to understand and sympathize with this struggle after orthodoxy if the issues were of real and vital moment but to many they seem to be largely a struggle over words.”⁹⁰

While the fundamentalists strongly denied that the debate could be reduced to “‘mere shibboleths’ – a striving about words of no consequence,” there was one very real sense in which the battle was a battle over words.⁹¹ Shields identified a fourth significant stratagem of the modernist camp. This lay in the appropriation and redefinition of the language and terminology of historic Christianity. Dozois in his B. D. dissertation *Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism* differentiated between positive and negative fundamentalism. Positive fundamentalism, he believed, made a significant contribution to the debate by demonstrating how divergent modernism really was from traditional Christianity. He quoted Machen to the effect that “Modernism was not a continuance of historic Christianity, but another religion altogether.” He noted that the liberals used “the old phraseology while robbing it of its natural meaning.”⁹² Shields was particularly concerned about this modernist fraud which he labelled “weasel-word chicanery:”

Do you know what a weasel-word is? I believe Theodore Roosevelt coined that word. Do you know what a weasel does? It takes an egg, pierces it, and sucks all the egg out of it, and leaves you a perfectly good egg – except that there is nothing in it. What is a weasel-word? It is the word ‘vicarious’ with all the evangelical content taken out of it. That is what Modernism does, - sucks the blood out of the terminology of orthodoxy, and then comes to us with the very words of orthodoxy, making them mean the very opposite from what they have always meant. It is the very worst kind of deception.⁹³

A fifth component of the modernist arsenal was their appeal to the Reformation ideal of “soul-liberty” which they used to frame an inclusive policy that would accommodate both Modern and traditional versions of the Christian message. This was a tactic that was used repeatedly in Shields’ struggles within his own church. He quickly recognized the same stratagem being employed by men like Fosdick. It was a clever ploy

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ T. T. Shields, “Does it Matter Whether Jesus is God?” *GW* 2:12, 5 August 1923, 6. “Shibboleth” is a reference to Judges 12:6 where the enemy was detected by their pronunciation of the word shibboleth/sibboleth. The term has come to be used of words commonly used by a sect or group but which are devoid of real meaning.

⁹² John D. E. Dozois, (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University Divinity School, 1963), 42.

⁹³ T. T. Shields, “Will Baptists Consent to McMaster Throwing over Redemption by Blood?” *GW* 4:30, 19 November 1925, 6.

because it appealed to a fundamental distinctive of Baptist faith and polity. However, it did so in such a way as to undermine other basic aspects of Baptist identity. The modernist's inclusive policy was particularly in evidence in the open membership debate that rocked the Northern Baptist Convention in Seattle in 1925, over seating delegates from Park Avenue Baptist Church of New York City. The contentious issue arose after the announcement in the *New York Evening Journal* that the Park Avenue Baptist Church, a church heavily subsidized by Rockefeller funds and known as the "Rockefeller Church," intended to build "a skyscraper temple, seating 3,000 and devoted to liberal religious principles." It also noted that "Dr. Cornelious Woelfkin" had resigned to make way for the hiring of "Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick." Fosdick accepted the call on the condition that "the church's membership [would be] open to persons of any evangelical denomination without regard to any particular belief as to the mode of baptism."⁹⁴ The issue erupted in the convention when the Park Avenue church determined to retain its "Baptist" identity and to seat its delegates at the Seattle Convention of 1925.⁹⁵ However, for Shields and the BBU, this inclusive policy was an utter misappropriation of the principle of Baptist liberty. Concerning the misuse of the tradition of "soul-liberty," Shields' conviction was already on record:

But the soul-liberty for which our fathers contended, and which postulated every man's right freely to exercise his conscience in matters of religion, never implied allowance of the modern parasitical contention that Baptist liberty permits a man to retain the Baptist name after he has repudiated the principles of the Baptist faith: it only insisted that no man's conscience should be fettered; that no one should be compelled to profess an allegiance his conscience disapproved.⁹⁶

The sixth, and one of the most subtle and dangerous methods embraced by the modernist camp, was what Shields came to call their "peace offensive." Their appeal to peace was an ingenious attempt to avoid theological discussion by shifting attention away from the issues and by deprecating the militant activities of their fundamentalist opponents. Modernists cast aspersions upon the fundamentalist counter-offensive by

⁹⁴ T. T. Shields, "Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Dr. Fosdick," *GW* 4:3, 28 May 1925, 9.

⁹⁵ T. T. Shields, "Shall the Northern Baptist Convention Remain the Religious Department of the Standard Oil Co.? Modernism Shows its Teeth --- Fierce Battle at Seattle. Report of Baptist Bible Union and Northern Baptist Convention at Seattle, Wash., June 24th to July 4th." *GW* 4:9, 9 July 1925, 1-17. (Hereafter "Religious Department").

⁹⁶ T. T. Shields, "Can we have 'Baptist' Education?" *GW* 1:21, 5 October 1922, 1-5.

accusing them of a lack of Christian grace. Certainly historians have noted the virulence of the fundamentalist attack and their predilection towards intemperate words. As noted above, Stewart Cole was one of the first to identify this tendency: “When they come to deal with disagreement on an article of doctrine, they are filled with bitterness, and eaten with hate. No one note of the humility of Jesus is found in the speeches of these men. Not one note of charity ... No doubt they are sincere and believe they are seeking the truth. But how pitiable....”⁹⁷ For Cole, Shields provided the classic example.

However, from the perspective of the BBU, the modernist’s appeal to peace was akin to the Kaiser’s “peace offensive” at the height of the Great War. In July 1924 *The Western Recorder* invited Shields to prepare an editorial on the matter. Shields responded with an article entitled “The Devil’s Peace Offensive.” The *Recorder’s* editor introduced the piece by noting: “The friendship of the Wolf of Little Red Riding Hood and the pacific invitation of the spider of nursery-tale fame to the fly should be enough to open the eyes of Evangelicals to the meaning of the ‘peace’ propaganda of Modernism.” In his editorial, Shields documented the insincerity of the Kaiser’s proposals of 1916. He referenced the “disclosures made in the Reichstag in April, 1921, by the Chairman of the Committee of the Reichstag, appointed to investigate the responsibility for the origin and prolongation of the World War” Among the “unstated peace terms, which were behind the Kaiser’s peace offensive,” were included such things as “the payment to Germany by France of an indemnity of forty milliard [sic] dollars; by the United States, of thirty milliard dollars; the surrender to Germany by France of Longwy and Briey – rich mineral districts of the French frontier; and the surrender by Great Britain of the Island of Malta.” Noting that “fortunately for the world, the statesmen of the allied nations had sufficient discernment utterly to reject his proposals,” Shields drew the application of the matter to the “peace offensive in which the rationalistic hosts are now engaged.” “That,” concluded Shields, “is the rationalistic trick. Rationalism has declared war upon every fundamental of the Christian faith; and when believers refuse to surrender them, we are charged with disturbing the peace of Zion.”⁹⁸ Despite Shields’

⁹⁷ Stewart G. Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1931; reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963), 284.

⁹⁸ T. T. Shields, “The Devil’s Peace Offensive,” *The Western Recorder*, Louisville, Ky., 31 July 1924, in *GW* 3:14, 14 August 1924, 8-10.

protests, the effectiveness of the offensive was indisputable. Fundamentalism was left critically divided between moderates and militants.

Like Shields, the modernist faction had drawn their own conclusions from the revelations of the war. While the fundamentalist factions drew upon the militancy learned from years of conflict, the modernists capitalized on the pacifist reaction. Even among Shields' allies he encountered a growing resistance to the military metaphor and thoughts of war. When, for instance, he announced his topics for a 1925 conference with William Aberhart, he received a communication from Aberhart objecting that his military headings "would be resented by the people here."⁹⁹ They have a peculiar distaste at present for reminiscences that suggest the terrible war."¹⁰⁰ While Shields disagreed, the subject headings were dropped. Pacifism had powerful appeal. Even during the war, and despite the seriousness of the threat posed by German aggression, the pacifist impulse had surprising support across American society. The hype surrounding Henry Ford's naïve and idealistic peace mission aboard his "peace ship," the *Oscar II*, was a case in point.¹⁰¹ It was relatively simple for the modernist factions to appeal to the pacific impulse, especially among Christians who were to reflect the love of Christ. From Shields' perspective, pacifism was one of the greatest threats the BBU would face and provoked some of his greatest contempt. In the face of modernism's "peace offensive," Shields believed that evangelical peace missions merited nothing but the mocking denunciations Ford's efforts earned when the press scornfully labelled his peace ship "the ship of fools."¹⁰² He avowed that pacifists could not retain the "respect of honourable men." Derisively he noted: "could they but learn the alphabet of correct thinking, were their minds amenable to the most elementary principles of logic, they would know that their so-called pacific principles are only anarchy disguised."¹⁰³

⁹⁹ William Aberhart was the Premier of Alberta's first Social Credit Government. In 1918 he founded the Calgary Prophetic Bible Conference and in 1925 began his *Back to the Bible Hour* program on the radio.

¹⁰⁰ William Aberhart to T. T. Shields, 9 September 1925, "Shields' Correspondence," JBICA, Toronto.

¹⁰¹ For more on American passivism and especially the naiveté and idealism of the Ford peace mission see David Traxel, "Henry Ford and the Peace Ship," chapter 11 in *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 2007), 193-210.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ T. T. Shields, "The Devil's Peace Offensive," 9.

The Baptist Bible Union and the Fundamentalist Response

The BBU's response to the modernist threat seems to have been largely shaped by Shields and Riley, although other noteworthy fundamentalist leaders such as Norris, Dixon, Neighbour, Pettingill, Straton and Van Osdel made significant contributions.¹⁰⁴ When Riley founded the WCFA in 1919, he quickly established "five standing committees" to oversee the various aspects of the organization's work. These included "The Committee on Bible Schools," "The Committee on Colleges and Seminaries," "The Committee on Religious Magazines and Periodicals," "The Missions Committee," and "The Committee on Conferences." The character of these committees demonstrated the kinds of functions Riley expected the WCFA to perform. The Bible School committee was tasked with establishing the "curricula and creeds of the various Bible Schools." The College and Seminary committee would be involved in the examination and exposure and blacklisting of theologically unsound seminaries. The periodicals committee would establish a list of member magazines that would actively promote the WCFA, and would be used to "supply the religious press of North America with official information on the Fundamental Conference Movement, with syndicate articles for publication, and with lists of sound books worthy of recommendation." The missions committee would make evaluations of mission boards, encouraging members of the association to withdraw support from boards that "are knowingly sending forth unregenerate men or those unsound in the faith." They would also encourage donations to a list of missions deemed theologically sound. The committee on conferences would be involved in conducting conferences on "the fundamentals of the faith throughout the United States and Canada."¹⁰⁵ It was not surprising to find that the new organization of fundamentalist Baptists would be engaged in the pursuit of similar objectives. Riley's objectives and methods dovetailed well with Shields' own approach. Many of the principles that Shields had learned in his local fight with modernism would now be employed on a much wider front.

¹⁰⁴ T. T. Shields, "Contending for the Faith," *GW* 2:3, 31 May 1923, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Trollinger, 39.

Support Network

With his new military operational model in mind, the first order of business for Shields was the establishment of a solid base of support. As Shields had learned in his Jarvis Street experience, no war could be waged by its general alone. As Jarvis Street had become his bastion and its people his army, so now he needed to establish fortifications and raise the call to arms across the continent. From the outset, the BBU was a confederation of individuals, and not churches per se. Many churches would adopt the BBU Confession of Faith, but the primary access to the churches lay in the pastors.¹⁰⁶ Hence, a significant focus of the recruitment campaign was directed towards pastors. In his address to Jarvis Street in which he first announced his presidency, he was able to boast of having laid the cause of the Union before “a great audience of three thousand people, at least, fifteen to eighteen hundred of which were pastors.” However, the ultimate appeal was to all Baptist people everywhere. Shields noted “it will be necessary to enlist not a few leaders only, but the rank and file of the whole Baptist Brotherhood of America.”¹⁰⁷ When the BBU’s first official communication was published in many evangelical papers across the continent, including *The Sunday School Times*, *The Western Recorder*, *The Word and Way*, *The Searchlight*, *The Mississippi Baptist*, *The Watchman Examiner* and *The Gospel Witness*, the executive committee wrote “The Baptist Bible Union will make its appeal to the people themselves, to the rank and file of our Baptist Church members all over this continent, and will aim to afford the people a means of expression.” Shields and his fellow committee members believed that “when the people speak the modernist grip upon the official life of the Denomination will be broken, and Modernism, so far as Baptists are concerned, will be utterly routed.”¹⁰⁸ Delnay was skeptical about the success of these recruitment campaigns. He documented statistics estimating the membership in 1925 at between 30,000 and 50,000 but he found little “evidence of large-scale lay participation.”¹⁰⁹ He quoted one informant who claimed the BBU remained “a preacher’s movement.” Shields, in his various reports in *The Gospel Witness* expressed none of that skepticism and often spoke enthusiastically of the

¹⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union of North America,” *GW* 2:12, 5 August 1923, 9.

¹⁰⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union Urgently Needed,” *GW* 2:17, 6 September 1923, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Executive committee BBU, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:11, 9 August 1923, 9.

¹⁰⁹ Delnay, 57, footnote 20.

response of huge crowds to his calls for commitment. He often boasted of the broad representation by state and province in the BBU's various campaigns.¹¹⁰

In addition to the attempt to recruit the "rank and file" of Baptists across America, the BBU was interested in seeking alliances. "We have enlisted in a great war in which many regiments, and indeed, many armies wearing different uniforms, and answering to different names, will be engaged. The Baptist Bible Union will regard all who, on the authority of the Bible as the inspired and infallible Word of God, recognize Christ as the Saviour of men, the Son of God, the King of kings and Lord of lords as its allies."¹¹¹

Though the official membership of the Union was made up of individuals, Shields knew from personal experience the importance of vibrant churches. Jarvis Street and its post-schism record provided ample evidence of that fact. Churches that were stultified by the culture of respectability or were entangled in the snare of worldliness and modern values seldom registered concern about contending for the faith. Only where godliness and spirituality animated the body ecclesiastic could he expect to recruit committed warriors. Much of Shields' focus as president of the Union would be to revitalise the waning spiritual energies of local church bodies.

Revivalism

The first emphasis was a return to revivalism. Under his leadership the BBU repeatedly called for a renewed emphasis on evangelism. When in 1925 it had largely despaired of the situation in the Northern Convention it issued "A Bugle Call from the Baptist Bible Union Executive." Herein it stated its intention to establish its own mission agencies to provide for Biblical evangelism on foreign fields. However, it is noteworthy that despite its concern for evangelism abroad, its first concern was evangelism at home. "After a careful canvas of the opportunities opening before us, your Executive Committee is convinced that the Union should endeavour to undertake the whole or partial support of at least two hundred missionaries on the foreign field, and to secure for evangelistic work at home at least five hundred evangelists for the year 1926." The communication concluded the matter by appealing to the whole membership: "We,

¹¹⁰ See for instance T. T. Shields, "The Editor Abroad; Further Observations on Conditions in the West," *GW* 3:43, 5 March 1925, 9.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

therefore, advise the members of the Baptist Bible Union to concentrate all their energies upon the single task of evangelization at home and abroad.”¹¹²

Shields became heavily involved in evangelistic concerns. Through the pages of *The Gospel Witness* he testified repeatedly of the power of the Gospel in transforming church life and called for others to emulate Jarvis Street’s example. He became personally involved in many evangelistic efforts across the continent. From a cursory survey of the records, at least seven such campaigns could be identified in the years 1923 and 1924 alone, including such places as Boston, Cleveland, New York, Fort Worth Texas, Winnipeg, Montreal and Minneapolis. This record is multiplied when his travels to organize new branches of the BBU are taken into consideration. His addresses on these occasions commonly contained a strong evangelical component.

When in 1925 he planned to travel to Louisville, Kentucky for one evangelistic campaign, his correspondence provided a glimpse into his methodology and attitudes. Shields insisted on taking his “choir director” with him. The man he had in mind was Jarvis Street’s “Uncle Hutch.” W. J. Hutchinson was the Canadian Director of the Fagan Homes and also Jarvis Street’s “Director of Music” and Sunday School Superintendent.¹¹³ Shields clearly understood the power of music in making his evangelistic appeal because he noted of Hutchinson “he is a magnificent leader of song, and understands my ways.” Perhaps even more significant was the insight it gave into Shields’ perspective on ministering to children in revival campaigns. A second reason for wanting to bring Hutchinson was “he is the greatest children’s evangelist I have ever known. I have seen and heard many, but I do not know his equal for interesting and instructing children, from the youngest up to youth, in the things of God.” Shields recommended “that he hold children’s services after school hours either every afternoon, or occasionally.” Shields believed this would have a dual impact “not only of bringing the children to Christ, but of interesting their parents.”¹¹⁴ Later that same year Shields opined: “To make fundamentalists, catch them when they are young! Drill it into them before they are ten years of age – they will discuss your teaching years afterwards, when

¹¹² BBU Executive “A Bugle Call From the Baptist Bible Union Executive,” *GW* 4:18, 10 September 1925, 4. (Hereafter “A Bugle Call”).

¹¹³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*.

¹¹⁴ T. T. Shields to Dr. M. D. Austin, 31 July 1925, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

you think you are forgotten; and their hearts will be opened to Christ and they will stand for the faith in influential positions; and doubtless will turn many to righteousness.”¹¹⁵

With this conviction it was only natural that Shields would be an active advocate of Sunday School programs. Having witnessed Norris’ success and then having seen the impact of building a Sunday morning Bible School in his own church, Shields took practical steps to encourage the development of vibrant Sunday Schools. Even before Shields’ involvement, the BBU’s executive had recognized the strategic significance of the Sunday Schools and their curriculum. In the pamphlet *Vital Questions* ... they had asserted that “The Sunday School is the Study School of the church.” However, they also noted that “much of the present ecclesiastical Sunday School literature is under the supervision of college and seminary-taught men.” They concluded that “much of the literature placed into the hands of our children is unsafe.” Hence, from the very inception of the Union there was a determination to provide “Orthodox Literature” for the Sunday Schools.¹¹⁶ By 1925 the BBU was calling for churches to adopt “The Whole Bible Series” for their “Sunday School studies.” This was a curriculum which was “provided and recommended by the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association.” The plan was agreed on in BBU meetings at Memphis before the Southern Convention meetings and then ratified in Seattle after the Northern Convention meetings.¹¹⁷ When some dissatisfaction was expressed over aspects of the curriculum, Shields was contacted to help prepare a course of lessons to be published in the Union Gospel Press. With the reorganization of his own Sunday School, Shields had begun to publish, as early as March 1924, the WCFA Sunday School lesson course. In 1925 he commented that while the course was well received it sometimes “suggested a too-hurried analysis of the books [of the Bible].” When the “second installment of the lessons” came however, it became apparent that “it was not in any sense consistent with the title ‘The Whole Bible Sunday School Lesson Course.’” He noted that it was more akin to a “study in systematic theology.” As a consequence the Jarvis Street Sunday School workers expressed a desire

¹¹⁵ T. T. Shields, “The Editor in the Canadian West,” *GW* 4:22, 8 October 1925, 14.

¹¹⁶ BBU Executive, *Vital Questions*, 295.

¹¹⁷ “A Bugle Call,” 5.

that Shields himself would undertake to prepare a “study of the whole Bible.”¹¹⁸ Shields complied with their wishes and hereafter published in *The Gospel Witness* a yearly outline of lessons along with a weekly “exposition of each lesson.”¹¹⁹ When Shields was notified of concerns with the curriculum recommended by the BBU he provided The Union Gospel Press with the materials from *The Gospel Witness* along with explanations as to how he was covering the Old Testament. Hereafter, Shields continued to publish these materials in *The Gospel Witness* and the Union Gospel Press published the weekly lesson expositions in leaflet form.¹²⁰ The yearly lesson outline in the *Witness* was represented as having been issued by the Baptist Bible Union of North America, and in 1928, when the Union Gospel Press discontinued publication of the weekly leaflets Shields changed the name of the weekly Sunday School lesson in *The Gospel Witness* to “The Baptist Bible Union Lesson Leaf.”¹²¹

Clearly Shields put great emphasis upon teaching and evangelism, particularly of children. Despite his nearly impossible work load, he was still prepared to reach out personally to an enquiring child. One young correspondent wrote to him reflecting on his sermon on amusements. When her preacher had okayed the playing of games and cards on Sunday she commented: “I think he should have heard the sermon that you preached a little while ago on going to shows and playing ... on Sundays don’t you?” She noted that because of the preacher’s attitudes toward the Bible she no longer went to church Sunday nights but rather had “a little service of our own and three of our little friends gave their hearts to Jesus.” She concluded: “I think that is a good way to get people saved don’t you?” Shields’ response was to encourage the child evangelist! In the return letter to his “Little Friend, Betty Agnew,” he wrote: “What a fine thing that you are able to give your testimony for Christ! I am very glad to know that some of your little friends accepted Him as their Saviour. Do not fail to witness before grown-ups too. Often they will listen to a child when an older person could make no impression.”¹²²

¹¹⁸ T. T. Shields, “The Jarvis Street Whole Bible Sunday School Lesson Course,” *GW* 3:46, 26 March 1925, 8.

¹¹⁹ T. T. Shields, “Lesson Helps,” *GW* 6:34, 5 January 1928, 15.

¹²⁰ T. T. Shields to H. A. Banks, 28 September 1925, Box 2, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, “Lesson Helps,” and “Baptist Bible Union Lesson Leaf,” *GW* 6:34, 5 January 1928. 15-16.

¹²² T. T. Shields to Betty Agnew, 15 July 1931, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

Call to Prayer

For Shields evangelism would be sterile if not accompanied by fervent prayer. This perspective was very much the fruit of Shields' experiences in his Toronto pastorate. Shields remembered the context from which revival blessings had come to Jarvis Street. In the midst of the tumult that gripped Jarvis Street through 1920 and 1921, his primary response was to call his supporters to prayer. He often reflected back upon those periods of fervent prayer. He described them as "anthracite prayer-meetings" when Jarvis Street "became noted for the intense spiritual heat generated in its prayer-meetings."¹²³ He noted that in the crisis they had prayed for "a revival at all costs." Four-and-a-half years later and at the height of the BBU contention with modernism, one pastor, having read of Jarvis Street's revival, wrote to ask Shields about his "secret of success." Shields' immediate answer was an appeal to prayer. He spoke of the importance of prayer meetings which were "not meetings for addresses on prayer," but rather meetings for prayer.¹²⁴ Repeatedly, Shields recorded his recollections of the spiritual power manifested in those periods in which time restraints were forgotten. To his detractors he had noted: "Can Heaven itself surpass this for pure joy? Whatever some outsiders, who never come to the meetings, contemptuously say of our ultra-spiritual imaginings, we dare not say other than that God in the power of the Holy Ghost was with us. Every heart was filled with praise. The shout of victory was in the camp of the Lord."¹²⁵

It is not surprising that a key component of Shields' revivalism was the call to prayer. Early in Shields' tenure he issued "A Call to Fundamentalists" announcing a series of mass meetings to be held in New York City under the auspices of the BBU and the Baptist Fundamentalist League of Greater New York. When Shields published details of the programme he revealed his insistence on the centrality of prayer: "It is intended that the most important feature of the Programme shall be the Prayer Period in connection with every session of the Meeting. Those who profess belief in the Supernaturalism of the Christian religion should be foremost in demonstrating the Supernatural."¹²⁶ In January

¹²³ T. T. Shields, *Plot* 215; "Church Prayer Meetings," *GW* 2:21, 4 October 1923, 8-9; cf. *GW* 6:36, 19 January 1928, 8-9.

¹²⁴ T. T. Shields to Rev. J. C. Sisemore, 29 May 1925, Box 3, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

¹²⁵ T. T. Shields, "Yesterday and Today," *GW* 1:23, 19 October 1922, 11.

¹²⁶ T. T. Shields, "Baptist Bible Union News; A Call to Fundamentalists – Meetings for Real Prayer," *GW* 2:28, 22 November 1923, 9.

1925, the BBU hosted its most successful conference to date in “the auditorium of the Moody Bible Institute.” Shields noted that this conference “was called principally to issue a call to prayer for revival.” By “an enthusiastic standing vote,” the “great congregation” endorsed a resolution calling for a concert of prayer. The resolution called for three days of prayer, April 1st through 3rd, in which all evangelicals across the continent were invited to participate. The “hope and expectation” was “that the services ... may be marked throughout the Continent by the conversion of thousands of souls.” A plan was suggested whereby “churches, and mission halls, and other places where Christians assemble be open for prayer during certain hours on all these days; and that in rural or other places where large meetings are impossible, prayer groups be formed; and that thus throughout this period of Concerted Prayer, there may be thousands of prayer meetings held all over the land.” Appeal was also made to every “Editor of every evangelical publication in America, and throughout the world” to “co-operate with us by printing this Call to Prayer.”¹²⁷

Shields’ repeated appeals to prayer in his governance of the BBU offensive demonstrated clearly his conviction that their battle was spiritual in nature. He was in complete sympathy with the words of the Chicago resolution, which he may have penned himself: “We recognize the spiritual darkness of the times, and the force of the great modernist movement, which everywhere is seeking the destruction of the faith; and we believe that only the mighty power of God can turn the tide.”¹²⁸ From the outset of his campaign Shields and the executive committee made it clear that the Union would “represent a spiritual interpretation of the Bible,” by which they understood that the scriptures demanded “a particular emphasis upon the power of the Holy Ghost in the life of the believer, and in the ministry of the Christian church.” Success in their struggle for the defence of the faith could only come from spiritual empowerment: “While believing that the Holy Spirit makes use of human instruments, we are persuaded that nothing can be done by men to further the interests of the truth of the Gospel apart from the power of the Spirit of God.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union Issues a Call to Prayer For Revival To All Evangelical Believers,” *GW* 3:39, 5 February 1925, 8.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ BBU Executive Committee, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:12, 9 August 1923, 8.

Call to Commitment

In 1925 Shields' military service model was clearly in view when he responded to his minister friend about the secret of Jarvis Street's success. He identified two principles. As noted above, the first was the principle of prayer. The second was the call to entire separation. Shields noted that in their prayers they had "asked God for a revival at any cost." The cost, they quickly discovered, was their stand "on the matter of worldly amusements." Shields related to his correspondent how his call to separation from the social attractions of the modern world stirred up "great opposition in the church" and how they "passed through six months of terrific warfare." The consequence was "the exodus of three hundred and forty-one" dissidents. However, so far as Shields was concerned, this was the turning point and since their exodus, "more than twelve hundred have come in." The principle, concluded Shields, was "that a church should, first of all, pray for a revival; and secondly, that when God begins to answer prayer by revealing the hindrances to revival, we should go right through to the end."¹³⁰

There can be no doubt that in his leadership role Shields actively campaigned for the universal acceptance of this principle. While he was cautious of prescribing certain formulas for success he was always jubilant when he discovered evidence of God's faithfulness to the committed church. When in 1923 he campaigned in Danville, Kentucky, Shields was excited to write home to his own congregation of a case analogous to their own. He reported that an evangelist had visited the Danville church a few years ago and had "spoke in strong condemnation of certain forms of worldly amusements." This had provoked a similar response to the reaction in Jarvis Street and when the Danville church passed "a resolution that thenceforward no one would be considered eligible for office in the church who was addicted to these forms of worldliness" a "considerable number ... withdrew from the fellowship of the church." At the time the membership of the church stood at about four hundred, but since that time "hundreds joined the church, so that it now numbers about 1,100 members, or about one-eighth of the population of the town."¹³¹

¹³⁰ T. T. Shields to Rev. J. C. Sisemore, 29 May 1925, Box 3, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

¹³¹ T. T. Shields, "A Letter from the Pastor," *GW* 2:22, 11 October 1923, 11.

With mounting evidence of the blessings following from the application of his military service model and the principle of entire separation, Shields was quick to repeat his sermon, “The Christian Attitude to Amusements,” in a variety of venues. In the spring of 1925 Shields made an extended tour of the West, travelling 6,200 miles in 220 hours of travel. He addressed twenty-nine public meetings in five cities and preached to an aggregate of 10,000 to 12,000 people. In Vancouver he received an overwhelming response to his “Amusements” sermon and it was reported that about 1,000 responded to the invitation “to declare one’s readiness to put Christ first.”¹³²

The Campaign

Shields’ focus on revivalism and the revitalization of evangelicalism did not, however, prevent him from conducting a vigorous campaign against the modernistic threat wherever he discovered it. Indeed, it was this polemical aspect of Shields’ fundamentalism that earned him his notoriety. There were a number of conspicuous elements in the fundamentalist crusade.

Mass Meetings

Most of the leading figures in the BBU had achieved renown as formidable preachers. These were men skilled at influencing opinion through stirring rhetoric. They all believed in the power of preaching so it is not surprising that their first line of attack would focus on persuading the masses. Delnay was undoubtedly correct when he observed that they never seemed to lose “the conviction that victory comes by swaying sentiment in mass meetings.”¹³³ They believed, moreover, that “a demonstration in force against ... Modernism” would intimidate their opponents in the “Baptist denomination” so as to “ultimately effect the expulsion from the Denomination of those who deny these great fundamental doctrines of Divine revelation upon which the Baptist Denomination stands.”¹³⁴ The first formal gathering of the BBU occurred in Kansas City in May 1923. These were billed as preconvention meetings and were held just before the Southern Baptist Convention. The meetings were hosted in a huge tent, reminiscent of Methodist

¹³² T. T. Shields, “The Editor Abroad; Further Observations on Conditions in the West,” *GW* 3:43, 5 March 1925, 9.

¹³³ Delnay, 66.

¹³⁴ T. T. Shields, “Baptist Bible Union News,” *GW* 2:28, 22 November 1923, 9.

revival meetings of an earlier period. The call for the meetings went out under the names of Shields, Riley and Dixon, who was more respected than Norris in the south.¹³⁵ The call was published in *Christian Fundamentals* and was sent out with the BBU confession of faith and a program of speakers. The meetings were scheduled to run from May 11 to 15 with forty-one speakers slated to present their cause. The tent they rented was designed to seat five thousand people and the turnout did not disappoint. Delnay noted that “estimates in various accounts” ran “between three thousand five hundred and five thousand.” He also observed that with the success of these first mass gatherings “the Baptist Bible Union began to show evidence of being indeed a movement.”¹³⁶

Another early example of the use of mass meetings was the campaign in New York later the same year. Using *The Gospel Witness*, Shields announced a series of “Baptist fundamentalist Mass Meetings.” He printed the program of the meetings and urged every reader to be in attendance. Something of the use to which the mass meeting was put is demonstrated in the description Shields provided for the program: “The Programme aims to set forth by means of carefully prepared addresses, first the great essentials of the Christian Faith; and secondly, the imperative necessity of applying the principles of our great fundamental doctrines to all our denominational activities, including the life of the local church, and our missionary, publication, and educational enterprises.” This was to be “the first of several such demonstrations to be held in different parts of the country within the next few months.”¹³⁷ Thereafter it became the practice of the BBU to hold preconvention meetings before each of the annual conventions of the Northern Baptist Convention, the Southern Baptist Convention and the Canadian Baptist Convention. More than one of the Canadian Baptist preconvention meetings was hosted by Jarvis Street Baptist Church.

One sensational use to which both the BBU and the WCFA put the mass meeting was the hosting of anti-evolutionary debates. While Shields, Norris and Riley became involved in this novelty, it was Riley who achieved the most success. As early as 1920 Riley had issued a broad challenge to evolutionists to debate him in a public forum. He

¹³⁵ Delnay, 54.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹³⁷ T. T. Shields, “Baptist Bible Union News,” *GW* 2:28, 22 November 1922, 9.

offered to travel “any reasonable distance” to meet them so long as they had “sufficiently high professional standing to qualify as a representative of evolutionary advocates,” and there was a venue “adequate to the crowds.” Many accepted his challenge. Trollinger listed a few of the more prominent challengers: “Maynard Shipley, president of the Science League of America; Edward Adams Cantrell, field secretary for the American Civil Liberties Union; Henry Holmes, chair of the philosophy department at Swarthmore College; and Charles Smith, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism.”¹³⁸ Riley proved himself “a master of verbal combat,” and with wit and “anecdotal attacks” subjected his opponents to ridicule. On one occasion when Charles Smith tried to turn the tables on him by bringing “a gorilla clad in full-dress suit, with patent leather shoes and provided with a bottle of liquor” to make his point, Riley quipped: “I came down here to meet Charles Smith, President of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. Since my arrival I find I have to meet the ‘Smith Brothers!’ I trust I have brought along plenty of cough drops for they are going to need them.” It is perhaps not surprising then that his debates generated “wide media coverage,” with several being carried “live on the radio.” Years later Riley boasted that “he was undefeated in twenty-eight debates.”¹³⁹ The method of ascertaining the winner was demonstrated by Shields who presided over one such debate in Seattle. Shields noted that this debate was the fourth in a series of debates against Maynard Shipley and then Edward Cantrell. Shields claimed that Riley “defeated his opponent in the other three debates overwhelmingly, the popular votes ranging from five to one to twenty to one.” In his present debate before “twenty-five hundred people,” Shields called for a standing vote at the end of the proceedings. Apart from about “one hundred and seventy-five,” Shields boasted that “practically the entire audience rose,” and “thus Dr. Riley was enthusiastically acclaimed the victor.”¹⁴⁰ As popular as these debates proved to be, the fact remained that most of the people who made up their audience were BBU supporters. When one debate did not go his way, Riley was quick to blame the organizer “who was out of the city,” noting that consequently “we had few friends present.”¹⁴¹ Though the

¹³⁸ Trollinger, 47.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Editor in the West,” *GW* 4:8, 2 July 1925, 14.

¹⁴¹ Trollinger, 48.

debates reinforced the fundamentalist message in the minds of the converted, some question remains as to how many in the opposing camp were convinced. Trollinger astutely noted: “Certainly Riley’s form of debating did nothing to quell the increasingly popular notion that Fundamentalists were obscurantists.”¹⁴² However, the mass meeting continued to be the primary means of expression throughout the BBU’s short and colorful history. *The Gospel Witness* regularly advertised projected meetings and their programs, and commonly reported on the perceived blessings following from these gatherings of the faithful.

Propaganda and Literature Campaign

From the outset the executive of the BBU promised to use not only “voice” but “pen in preaching and teaching the great fundamentals of the faith.” Accompanying the calls to gather were mass mailings of information publications. The first effort was to publish the BBU’s Confession of Faith. This was widely distributed and published in leading evangelical magazines. Both individuals and churches were urged to adopt it as their own expression of faith: “We invite every Baptist minister, every Baptist church member, and every Baptist church in North America to examine our Confession of Faith, and if they find it an expression of their soul’s conviction of the truth of the Gospel immediately to give their support to this movement by coming into fellowship with us.”

¹⁴³ *The Gospel Witness* announced the further publication and distribution of a forty-six page booklet entitled *A Call to Arms*. Fifty thousand copies were printed and Shields was able to announce that it was mailed “to the Baptist ministers of this continent.”¹⁴⁴ This pamphlet was used to set out the history and aims of the BBU. Shields wrote that “It sets forth in clear language the menace of Modernism among Baptists of America, and the plan of the Bible Union to deal with this plague.” He urged “every Baptist in America to read this booklet.”¹⁴⁵ At the preconvention meetings in 1925 in Seattle, plans were made to raise “thirty thousand dollars ... to be used mainly in the distribution of literature.” The goal was to “print a million copies of the booklet containing the Confession of Faith and

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Executive committee BBU, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:12, 9 August 1923, 10.

¹⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, “Baptist Bible Union News,” *GW* 2:28, 22 November 1922, 8.

¹⁴⁵ T. T. Shields, “A Call to Arms,” *GW* 2:32, 20 December 1923, 11.

general information about the Baptist Bible Union; and to send it, so far as practicable, into every Baptist family in America.”¹⁴⁶

From the outset, the leaders of the movement placed significant emphasis upon building the membership base. By establishing a list of members, the BBU was able to develop a mailing list to whom announcements of BBU activities could be mailed, and points of contact could be established for the further distribution of BBU propaganda: “We desire to have every Baptist minister who is in agreement with us to enroll as a member of the Union, so that we may have him on our mailing list.” While the Union was not an association of churches, the BBU still sought to identify churches that were sympathetic to their cause. “We urge every ... Pastor to endeavour to lead his church to adopt our Confession of Faith, that we may also have a list of Baptist Bible Union Churches.”¹⁴⁷ Early on, the practice was to mail blank application cards with all BBU literature. These cards asked for the name of the church with which they were affiliated and an affirmation that they subscribed to “the Doctrinal Basis, and to the Aims of the Baptist Bible Union of America as set forth in the Confession of Faith, and By-Laws and Aims adopted at the Kansas City meeting of the Union.” Their signature would ensure that their names would be “inscribed on the Roll of Membership of the Baptist Bible Union of America.”¹⁴⁸

While the official organ of the WCFA, *The Christian Fundamentals in School and Church*, was used to announce the first meetings of the BBU in Kansas City, it was quickly determined that the BBU needed an official publication of its own. In June of 1923 the executive committee meeting in Grand Rapids moved that Riley should publish a monthly magazine of twelve pages to be known as *The Baptist Bible Union Herald*.¹⁴⁹ It seems, however, that Riley was not overly enthusiastic about the idea of publishing an official organ over which he would always have to “consult with other leaders before printing.”¹⁵⁰ In a September meeting he did agree to begin publication in November of a magazine to be called *The Fundamental Baptist*. However, his reservations seem to have

¹⁴⁶ T. T. Shields, “Religious Department,” 3.

¹⁴⁷ Executive committee BBU, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 2:12, 9 August 1923, 10.

¹⁴⁸ Delnay, 83.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

ruled the day and in January he began to publish *The Baptist Beacon*. In his first issue he made it clear that this would be his own magazine which he would edit himself. In any case, Riley's paper seems to have served as the official paper of the BBU until 1926. In May of that year he ceased publication, in all likelihood because of health concerns brought on by an accident in 1924 and an overwhelming work load. He passed his subscription list to Norris who merged his own *Searchlight* with *The Beacon*. With the demise of *The Beacon*, *The Gospel Witness* "became in effect the organ of the Baptist Bible Union."¹⁵¹

Throughout the years of the BBU's influence Shields made heavy use of *The Gospel Witness* to support and publicize the work of the BBU. However, he was eager to convince his readership of the importance of the written word wherever it appeared. Shields was always gratified to find his *Gospel Witness* articles reproduced in other fundamentalist magazines. On one occasion he boasted of the fact that the publication of his own articles in another periodical increased their circulation "to other thousands all over the American Continent." He was a little miffed when Trumbull of *The Sunday School Times* referred to *The Gospel Witness* as a "parish paper." Noting some of the other countries in which it circulated, Shields commented: "Oh my! We are young; but we are doing the best we can to grow. Was it not John Wesley who declared that the world was his parish? In that sense *The Gospel Witness* is a parish paper."¹⁵² However, Shields did everything in his power to encourage the cross-fertilization achieved by working co-operatively with other publications. Wherever Shields encountered an outstanding magazine he would give it glowing reviews and encourage all his readers to subscribe. As he read *The Western Recorder* on one occasion, he shared the sentiment that he would like to have reproduced the first article in his own publication. However, as he read on, he testified that he would have needed to reproduce the whole issue. His solution was to encourage all his readers to subscribe to the paper: "We wish that every member of Jarvis Street Church, and all the readers of *The Witness* could have *The Western Recorder* coming into their home every week. It is a great Baptist paper."¹⁵³ In

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² T. T. Shields, "What Others Think of Us," *GW* 2:44, 13 March 1924, 9–10.

¹⁵³ T. T. Shields, "The Western Recorder," *GW* 2:26, 8 November 1923, 10.

addition to the *Recorder*, a brief sampling of some of the papers Shields recommended included Norris' *Searchlight*; Van Osdel's *Temple News*; Riley's *Baptist Beacon* and *Christian Fundamentalist*; C. P. Stealey's *Baptist Messenger*; and J. W. Porter's *Baptist Magazine*. In each of these cases he was careful to provide details of cost and subscription information. In 1925 the *Witness*, the *Beacon* and the *Searchlight* carried a one-page advertisement of a joint venture. Entitled "HERE'S A RED HOT ANNOUNCEMENT," the advert notified their respective constituencies of an offer to receive all three magazines for the bargain price of \$1.50 for six months. Significant in the notice was the appeal of reading about events occurring in "The Northern Baptist Convention," "The Canadian Baptist Convention," and "The Southern Convention." Readers were invited to "read what Dr. W. B. Riley, of Minneapolis, says about the evolution war in his paper, THE BAPTIST BEACON; ... what Dr. T. T. Shields, of Toronto, says about modernism in his paper THE GOSPEL WITNESS; ..." and "what Dr. J. Frank Norris, of Fort Worth, has to say about the evolution professors in his paper, THE SEARCHLIGHT."¹⁵⁴ With the growing popularity of this form of propaganda campaign, a number of BBU magazines began to appear. In 1927, with the establishment of F. S. Donnelson's *The Trumpet*, Shields promised: "Some day soon we will publish a list of all the Baptist Bible Union papers of which we have knowledge."¹⁵⁵ With the existence of other BBU periodicals, Shields was also spared the necessity of publishing everything relative to BBU activities. For instance, in July of 1924 Shields noted that Porter's paper *The Baptist Magazine* contained "all the addresses delivered at the Baptist Bible Union Meeting in Milwaukee."¹⁵⁶

The existence of these periodicals also gave the BBU leadership a significant voice across the continent in convention specific controversies where they otherwise could have exercised no influence. The BBU was fighting on three fronts: the Southern Convention, the Northern Convention and Canada. Addresses and editorials concerning matters the BBU was protesting became the primary means for BBU leaders to influence conventions where they could not sit as delegates. Norris, whose membership was in the

¹⁵⁴ J. F. Norris, "Here's a Red Hot Announcement," *The Searchlight*, June 1925, republished in *GW* 4:5 11 June 1925, 15.

¹⁵⁵ T. T. Shields, "New Baptist Bible Union Paper in Illinois," *GW* 6:12, 28 July 1927, 16.

¹⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, "Dr. J. W. Porter's Magazine," *GW* 3:9, 10 July 1924, 8.

Southern Convention, commonly published details of the fight going on both in Canada and the Northern Convention. In 1924 he republished in *The Searchlight* Shield's addresses on "McMaster's Approval of Dr. Faunce's Infidelity."¹⁵⁷ When the matter of Rockefeller's influence on the Northern Convention became the focus of the BBU's fight, Norris, from the Southern Convention, attacked the matter in an address which he presented in Canada at Jarvis Street Baptist Church entitled "The Rockefeller Conspiracy the Ear-marks of the Beast of Prophecy."¹⁵⁸ Shields, for his part, published a message entitled "Shall the Northern Baptist Convention Remain the Religious Department of the Standard Oil Co.?"¹⁵⁹ When crisis erupted in the south at The Baptist Institute of Los Angeles, Riley of the Northern Convention published reactions in *The Bible Witness*, London, England, and his own *Christian Fundamentalist*. One was published and distributed separately as a pamphlet entitled *Breaking the Bible School Defense Line*.¹⁶⁰ In 1927 with Shields' ejection from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Riley published for his constituency an article entitled "The Canadian Baptist Constrictor." His justification was "It is ... a perfect illustration of the method of modernism, the Boar-Constrictor method – the method of crushing the victim." What followed was a brief account of the Canadian struggle and the means by which the modernist forces unjustly won their victory.

On the Convention Floor

It was the situation in the Northern Convention that gave birth to the BBU and from the 1923 attempt to silence Dr. Faunce in the Atlantic City convention to the 1926 attempt to adopt a clear definition of Baptist ecclesiology in the Washington convention, the BBU carried out its frontal attack on modernism on the convention floor. Preconvention mass meetings would be held proceeding each convention, and some venue would be found near the convention site where delegates could discuss issues afterwards and the BBU could hold formal planning meetings. In Canada, preconvention meetings were held before the critical conventions where issues relating to the McMaster

¹⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, "What Others Think of Us," *GW* 2:44, 13 March 1924, 9–10.

¹⁵⁸ T. T. Shields, "Baptist Bible Union Executive Meetings," *GW* 4:17, 3 September 1925, 14.

¹⁵⁹ T. T. Shields, "Religious Department," 1.

¹⁶⁰ W. B. Riley, "Defense Line." Cf. T. T. Shields, "Dr. W. B. Riley in "The Bible Witness," *GW* 7:14, 16 August 1928, 5.

fight were debated. At least one of these preconvention meetings was hosted by Jarvis Street Baptist Church and such meetings always featured addresses by leading fundamentalists from across the continent on relevant issues. In the Southern Convention, issues relating to evolutionary teachings were often the focus of the BBU assault and even included a challenge from Shields to the president of the Southern Convention to debate.¹⁶¹

Northern Convention

Riley and Straton were two of the key BBU leaders who led the fight on the convention floor in the Northern Convention. Though Straton had made an effort in the 1923 Atlantic City convention to prevent the keynote speaker Dr. W. H. P. Faunce from speaking because he was an avowed modernist, the BBU did not have a program in place until the following year.¹⁶² As the 1924 Milwaukee Convention approached, the BBU began to reveal its agenda. Riley published his concerns in an article entitled “Fundamental Corrections for Milwaukee Convention.” His first interest was to address the question of a Biblical Confession of Faith. Still smarting from the defeat in the Indianapolis Convention of 1922 at the hands of Woelfkin, Norris demonstrated the serious ramifications of the Convention’s actions: “The endorsement of the New Testament as our sufficient creed was either a thoughtless or a deliberate aspersion upon the inspiration of the Old Testament.” He expressed dismay and amazement at the “illogical jumble in mental processes . . . that now characterizes ardent denominationalists who are also anti-declarationists.” Secondly, in a strike at the machine rule of the Northern Convention he proposed the “disfranchisement [sic] of salaried servants.” He argued that those who were paid to serve the denomination should not govern it. “The church should be self-governing, not priest-ridden, and a denomination should be self-governed, not pope-ridden or Promotion Board-ruled.” He noted that in his own church he never voted because he was a paid employee. A third concern related to the required reading course for new ministers. Riley referred to it as “a rationalistic outrage.” The books that were required would have been considered heretical in a previous generation. He noted that young preachers were “given to understand that they cannot preach,

¹⁶¹ J. F. Norris “Shields – Mullins Debate,” *GW* 4:5, 11 June 1925, 16.

¹⁶² Delnay, 67.

without official recommendation and endorsement, until they have been rationalized, materialized and even infidelized!” He called the reading course “a deliberate endeavor to produce ‘ministers of doubt’ and ‘apostles of infidelity.’” His final concern was to call for a total break of fellowship with “The Federal Council of Churches,” which he identified as “nothing more nor less than the Interchurch World Movement corpse.”¹⁶³

Two further concerns were raised by the Straton camp. According to Shields, Straton was president of one of “the most vigorous Fundamentalist organizations in America.” In December of 1923, “The Baptist Fundamentalist League of Greater New York and Vicinity” officially allied itself with the BBU, becoming a local unit of the organization.¹⁶⁴ As the Milwaukee convention approached Shields published in *The Gospel Witness* the New York Union’s resolutions concerning the upcoming convention: “Resolved that this Baptist Bible Union of New York put itself on record as protesting against the appearance of Dr. Sherwood Eddy and Fred B. Smith on the programme of the Northern Baptist Convention at Milwaukee.” Publication of the resolution opposing the presence of these two “radical modernists” on the programme was encouraged so that other churches would “take part in the protest.”¹⁶⁵ The second concern for the New York branch of the BBU was the investigation of the Foreign Missionary Society. Riley had been concerned since 1919 about the growing “tendency of Mission Boards to ... send forth to the field workers who deny the inspiration and authority of the Word of God.”¹⁶⁶ When a former missionary to China, and currently a worker in the “New York office of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, became disturbed about evidences of Modernism,” she took her concerns to Straton. The New York Fundamentalist League immediately began investigation of the report by demanding to see the files in the mission office.¹⁶⁷ When they were blocked in this endeavour, and now having the full backing of the continental forces of the BBU, they proposed a formal investigation of the matter at the convention level. In the course of discussions with the New York group, Riley spoke and acknowledged that the “whole proposition of the foreign mission agency

¹⁶³ W. B. Riley, “Fundamental Corrections for Milwaukee Convention,” *GW* 3:3, 22 May 1924, 8-11.

¹⁶⁴ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union at New York,” *GW* 2:31, 13 December 1923, 3. Cf. Delnay, 76.

¹⁶⁵ T. T. Shields, “Resolution by the Baptist Bible Union of N.Y.,” *GW* 3:3, 29 May 1924, 11.

¹⁶⁶ Delnay, 74.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

is the most serious question now confronting us.” In response to Riley’s speech, questionnaires were prepared “under a cordial and fraternal statement” and sent to the secretaries of the “three foreign boards (South, North, and Canada).”¹⁶⁸

Although Shields could not take an active part in the ensuing convention, he did sit as an observer. He was quick to “give his impressions” of the convention in the pages of *The Gospel Witness*. He was particularly interested in the impact of the BBU upon the “findings” of the convention. Shields noted that the first fruit of the BBU’s activity was “the appointment of a commission to investigate the work of the Foreign Missionary Society in respect to the charges of the prevalence of Modernism on mission fields.” He concluded that “Beyond all question, the appointment of this commission was a victory to be credited to the New York Baptist Bible Union, formerly the Fundamentalist League of New York.”¹⁶⁹

The second accomplishment of the BBU, Shields felt, was the adoption of a confession of faith. While the proposed “Bible Union Confession of Faith” was passed over, Shields could rejoice in the acceptance of “The Stockholm Message.” This was, for Shields, an acceptable confession though it suffered from what it “leaves unsaid,” and its “ambiguity of language.”¹⁷⁰ However, the principle for which the BBU had fought, the adoption of a confessional standard, had been won.

The third decision of the convention relative to the BBU protest was “the adoption of an alternate reading course for candidates for ordination.” He concluded with satisfaction that “it will now be possible for candidates to comply with the Convention requirements, and at the same time take a conservative course.”¹⁷¹

In some ways the 1924 convention marked a high point in the influence the BBU was able to exert upon the convention. In 1925 the Northern Convention met in Seattle, Washington, where Shields reported that a “fierce battle” occurred. Great expectation surrounded this convention. Trollinger noted that “this convention was being held in Seattle, and the conservative Northwest provided the militants with a good number of

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁶⁹ T. T. Shields, “The Northern Baptist Convention,” *GW* 3:4, 5 June 1924, 8.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

supportive delegates.”¹⁷² In their preconvention meeting the BBU unanimously passed a resolution concerning “the Rockefeller-Fosdick Conspiracy to destroy the Baptist Denomination.” The resolution was preceded by a long preamble in which they produced evidence that Fosdick, as a “champion of Modernism,” denied “all the fundamentals of the Christian faith.” The preamble further appealed to the question of traditional Baptist ecclesiology. By accepting Fosdick on the condition of an open membership position, Park Avenue Baptist Church set aside “a divinely instituted ordinance” and called “to its pastorate one whose teaching was known to be destructive of everything for which Baptists have historically stood.” The resolution reaffirmed their own “adherence to the great fundamentals of our Baptist faith” and called on all Baptists to protest “the principles of the Rockefeller-Fosdick ‘new movement,’ hailed by Dr. Woelfkin ... and by every means in their power to endeavour to save the Denomination from the corrupting influence of the Rockefeller-Fosdick combination.”¹⁷³

As the Seattle Convention convened, the BBU resolution found concrete expression on the convention floor with the bid to block the seating of Park Road delegates. After several attempts by the modernist faction to postpone any sort of vote on the matter, the “Credentials Committee” announced that “while the church had announced its intention of changing its condition of membership, the change would not go into effect for another year.” Therefore they “recommended that the delegates from this church be seated in the Convention.”¹⁷⁴ Objections were raised by BBU sympathisers, but they were met with a series of legal maneuvers based on the by-laws of the Convention. The only real success the BBU enjoyed that day was the standing vote on a motion which had recommended deferring the question to the Resolutions Committee. Accompanied by a “perfect roar of Noes,” the motion was declared lost.¹⁷⁵ However, in every other aspect they found themselves blocked by appeals to procedure. The fundamentalist faction saw the matter as a straightforward issue: “The question before the house was as to whether representatives from a church, which by its own announcement

¹⁷² Trollinger, 58.

¹⁷³ T. T. Shields, “Religious Department,” 5.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

was no longer a Baptist church, should be seated in a Baptist convention.”¹⁷⁶ Shields concluded that the modernist faction “resorted to every political expedient to make it impossible for Fundamentalists to express their will.”¹⁷⁷

The BBU delegates were somewhat gratified by “the Report of the Committee on Affairs of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.” The report showed that most missionaries were faithful to the traditional faith of Baptists. However, there was also significant evidence that at least eight missionaries denied many of the fundamentals of the faith.¹⁷⁸ In a motion seconded by Riley, Dr. W. B. Hinson moved that “our Foreign Mission Boards” be “instructed to immediately recall every representative, whether in evangelistic or educational work, who denies any of the great fundamentals of our faith”¹⁷⁹ Again the fundamentalists were met with political maneuvering and delay tactics. The President of the Convention repeatedly ruled fundamentalist motions out of order. Shields concluded: “According to President Milliken’s interpretation, everything was out of order that could by any means afford Fundamentalists an opportunity to express themselves.” Of Milliken himself, a former governor of Maine, Shields wryly observed: “But he certainly could not have served the interests of Rockefeller and his group better had he been an attorney of the Standard Oil Company.”¹⁸⁰

After long debate on the Hinson motion, an amendment was proposed “that we urge upon our Foreign Mission Board, in the light of the facts reported by the Commission, such action as seems to them will best conserve our denominational interests and best serve the Kingdom of Christ.” With the support of moderate fundamentalists looking for a compromise solution, the amendment carried by a “majority of 168 – the vote being 742 to 574.” Shields’ disappointment was evident as he concluded that “the amendment left the whole matter to the discretion of the Foreign Mission Board.” Shields’ report through the pages of the *Witness* noted “MODERNISM

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷⁸ Delnay, 122.

¹⁷⁹ T. T. Shields, “Religious Department,” 10.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

SHOWS ITS TEETH.”¹⁸¹ Trollinger observed that “Nineteen years later Riley was still furious about liberal maneuvers that he felt were responsible for this outcome.”¹⁸²

The disappointing results of the 1925 convention led to a change of course for the BBU. Hereafter, there would be a deliberate boycott of the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Convention and development of plans to establish a new mission board to which fundamentalists could contribute in good conscience. Shields immediately published his reaction: “Not a Cent for Modernism!”¹⁸³ Noting that if they could not express their views on the Pacific Coast where conservatives were “greatly in the majority,” he concluded “there is not hope that Fundamentalism will prove more effective elsewhere.”¹⁸⁴ Now, not only did he charge modernism with burglary, he denounced its parasitic nature: “Modernism is a parasite: Modernism does not pay its own way; Modernism gives little to Missions. Rather, it is a stowaway which surreptitiously conceals itself in some missionary movement, and secures passage to distant lands at the expense of those who sacrificed to send the gospel to the heathen.”¹⁸⁵ Continued support of an agency that had so clearly fallen under the control of the modernist faction was impossible: “There could be no reason under the stars for multiplying so-called Christians with no higher ethical standards than were exhibited by the manipulators of the Northern Convention machine.” He announced the BBU’s response to the failed attempt to purge the mission board of modernists: “The Baptist Bible Union has received hundreds of letters asking for advice respecting contributions to Foreign Missions. We can now answer in a sentence: Do not give one solitary cent for any purpose into the hands of the Foreign Mission Board of the Northern Baptist Convention. After the exhibition made at this Convention, we would as soon trust Judas Iscariot.”¹⁸⁶

At the conclusion of the Thursday session of the Seattle Convention, the Union called for an emergency meeting in First Presbyterian Church where a leading Presbyterian fundamentalist was hosting the BBU’s activities. The question for

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁸² Trollinger, 58.

¹⁸³ T. T. Shields, “Religious Department,” 7.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

discussion was “Shall we have another Foreign Mission Society founded on the whole Bible?” By a resolution which was “carried with great enthusiasm,” the gathering authorized the Executive Committee of the BBU to investigate “the advisability of organizing a Foreign Mission Society, founded upon the Confession of Faith of the Baptist Bible Union.”¹⁸⁷ A second meeting was announced for the following night, July 5th. Citing Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation “declaring this nation could not remain ‘part slave and part free,’” the BBU announced its intention to “launch a continent-wide war to emancipate the Baptist Denomination from the death-like grip of the powerful combination of Mammon and Modernism.” The specific focus of the discussion was to be “Whether the Baptist Denomination shall become the Religious Department of the Standard Oil Company.”¹⁸⁸ A further resolution from that meeting announced the BBU’s method of procedure from that point forward: “The Baptist Union emphatically declares that it is determined to do its work as an organization within the existing Baptist Conventions of this Continent; and if such reforms as it proposes are not effected the first time they are submitted, they will be submitted again and again at succeeding Conventions.” With these resolutions in place the scene was set for the convention of 1926 in Washington, D.C.

Plans moved ahead rapidly for the establishment of an independent mission agency. A BBU Bible Conference was announced for August of 1925 to be held in Jarvis Street Baptist Church. This also provided an opportunity for the Executive Committee to meet. In a series of meetings held from August 30th to September 3rd the decision was made to form a new mission society by adopting the pre-existing Russian Missionary Society as its “initial mission enterprise.”¹⁸⁹ A 32-page report of these meetings was published by Shields in *The Gospel Witness* as the “Special Baptist Bible Union Missionary Number.” The Executive Committee’s endorsement of the Russian society was based on the findings of Shields’ Brother, Rev. E. E. Shields who had travelled for four months in Europe that summer “personally examining the work of this Society.”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union Organizes a Missions Department,” *GW* 4:18, 10 September 1925, 3. (Hereafter “Missions Department”).

¹⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union and Baptist Foreign Missions,” *GW* 4:18, 10 September 1925, 2.

An offer of support was sent to the director of the society, Pastor Fetler, in Riga, Latvia. The conditions of the offer were that the American board of their society had to consist of “Baptists only,” and would include both “members of your American Board” and the “Executive Committee of the Baptist Bible Union.”¹⁹¹ The offer was accepted and the society was presented to the rank and file of BBU members for support.

As attention turned to the Washington convention in 1926, the Park Avenue question remained. In light of lingering questions raised by the seating of Park Ave delegates in the 1925 convention, the BBU now prepared to challenge the convention to define more clearly its constituency. Ironically, by the terms of the 1923 Atlantic convention “Baptist” churches that did not financially support the Convention no longer could have a vote,¹⁹² yet in the 1926 convention it appeared that churches that were not even Baptist in the traditional sense could. In the 1925 Seattle Convention notice was given of an amendment to the “By-laws of the Convention” which would be moved in the 1926 convention. The amendment read: “Section 2. A Baptist church, as defined for the purposes of these by-laws, is one believing the New Testament as its guide and composed only of baptized believers, baptism being by immersion.”¹⁹³ Had this amendment been passed by the convention it would have settled the matter for the fundamentalists, and the Park Avenue church would have been excluded along with its pastor Fosdick. The amendment was an unpalatable one for the modernist and moderate camps to deal with. Voting against the motion would be to vote against being Baptist. However, voting for it would lead to the exclusion of Rockefeller and his money. There was even fear that funds now in the Rockefeller Trust might have to be repaid. The feeling was that some sort of compromise had to be found. In the interim between the two conventions, Dr. J. Whitcomb Brougner, one of the Convention’s moderates, toured the country in an attempt to find some sort of consensus on the matter. On April 13, 1926, he gathered a group of “seventy-five Baptist clergy in the Chicago Beach Hotel in an attempt to arrive at a formula acceptable to both Modernists and Fundamentalists.”¹⁹⁴ Out of this came a

¹⁹¹ T. T. Shields, “Mission Department.” 3.

¹⁹² Delnay, 67.

¹⁹³ T. T. Shields, “Rockefeller-Fosdick Interests Control Northern Baptist Convention,” *GW* 5:3, 27 May 1926, 3. (Hereafter “Rockefeller-Fosdick Interests”).

¹⁹⁴ Delnay, 119.

resolution to be presented to the 1926 Convention. It came to be known as the “Chicago Compromise” and read: “The Northern Baptist Convention recognizes its constituency as consisting solely of those Baptist churches in which immersion of believers is recognized and practiced as the only scriptural Baptism and the Convention hereby declares that only immersed members will be recognized as delegates to the Convention.”¹⁹⁵ While the resolution seemed on the surface to address the question satisfactorily, the fundamentalist faction soon came to see the loophole it opened. Even Straton, who was at the Chicago meeting and signed the resolution, had to speak against it at the convention. The problem existed in the phrase “in which immersion of believers is recognized and practiced as the only scriptural Baptism.” The Park Avenue church could easily accept that immersion was the only scriptural Baptism while at the same time refusing to require it as a pre-requisite of membership.

When the matter was finally brought to the convention floor and the resolution was moved as an alternative to the proposed amendment to the by-laws, Riley immediately moved an amendment to the resolution. Under the Riley amendment the motion read: “The Northern Baptist Convention recognizes its constituency as consisting solely of those Baptist churches in which the immersion of believers is recognized and practised as a pre-requisite to membership.”¹⁹⁶ This would have effectively excluded the Park Avenue church, its minister and its deacon, Rockefeller. When the matter was put to a vote Riley’s amendment was defeated 2,020 to 1,084.¹⁹⁷ Riley wrote to Shields: “My sorrow at Washington is not one of which I want to write, and I am trusting that I will never have to feel it again.”¹⁹⁸ With this failure Trollinger noted: “This crushing defeat, which occurred just months before the Minnesota antievolutionism debacle, closed the BBU campaign. It would be the last great convention battle over the ‘fundamentals of the faith’ for twenty years.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁹⁶ T. T. Shields, “Rockefeller-Fosdick Interests,” 6.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁹⁸ W. B. Riley to T. T. Shields, 28 April 1927, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

¹⁹⁹ Trollinger, 59.

Southern Convention

There was a general feeling in the Southern Convention that the BBU's activities were not needed. Shields himself readily acknowledged that "Southern Baptists have long been renowned for their orthodoxy; and have been generally regarded as an almost impregnable fortress standing for the 'faith once for all delivered to the saints.'"²⁰⁰ When the BBU held its first annual meeting in Kansas City, it marked a deliberate attempt to enlist participation from the Southern Convention. However, by early 1924 the BBU had already generated enough "heat" in the north to cause some misgivings among leading figures in the Southern Convention. A letter was circulated in all the Southern Baptist papers from Dr. J. F. Love making certain "strictures" upon the BBU. One of the concerns that Love identified was the fear that the BBU intended to become a separate convention drawing churches out of both the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions. Shields responded that no such intent existed and that should such a convention develop it would only happen because they were forced out.²⁰¹ One of the publications that carried Love's letter was *The Western Recorder* edited by Dr. Victor I. Masters. Masters, who became a close friend of Shields, published Shields' response. In publishing Shields' answer to Love, Masters acknowledged the work being done by the BBU: "We have now and then given news about it, for its work in the North and Canada as an opponent of Modernism is of the warmest interest to Southern Baptists." However, despite his warm relations with Shields, he immediately noted that "the work of the Baptist Bible Union is not now needed in the Southern Baptist Convention." Fear of "the heat which the Baptist Bible Union seems always to arouse in certain quarters" seemed to lie behind his caution.²⁰² Nevertheless, in defending his decision to publish Shields, Master went on to show the natural affinity the BBU had with the Southern Convention. He noted that already the BBU was "actually turning gifts to our Foreign Board from other sections." Their doctrinal like-mindedness, their uncompromising defence of these doctrines and their fight against a common enemy should, he argued, "command the admiration and

²⁰⁰ T. T. Shields, "Southern Baptists at the Cross Roads," *GW* 4:2, 21 May 1925, 12.

²⁰¹ T. T. Shields, "Union Minutes," 26 May in Delnay, 88.

²⁰² V. I. Masters, "Dr. Shields Replies to Dr. Love on Bible Union's Position," *Western Recorder*, January 1924, in *GW* 2:37, 24 January 1924, 10.

gratitude of every Southern Baptist who really believes the Bible and who is awake to the conditions which exist.”²⁰³

Perhaps some of the angst generated in the south against the BBU concerned the prominence of Dr. J. Frank Norris in the movement. Norris had gained the reputation of being a troublemaker in the South. Much of that reputation had been earned through his fearless exposure of social issues such as state-sponsored gambling and “the liquor traffic in Texas.” Numerous times his persecutors dragged him into court on trumped up charges, and Norris’ notoriety increased as he repeatedly defended himself and found exoneration.²⁰⁴ For several years prior to Norris’ formal role in the Union as the BBU’s Vice-President of the South, he had stirred up controversy in the convention through his attacks on Baylor University over its teaching of evolution. In fact, in the 1924 convention Norris’ actions relative to the Baylor situation brought about the exclusion of his church’s delegates. The grounds for that exclusion was “the opposition of their church to the ‘elected trusted leaders’ of the Convention.”²⁰⁵ Shields himself characterized him as “The Texas Tornado”²⁰⁶ and acknowledged that in his first meeting “we went to Fort Worth rather afraid of the Pastor of First Church.” Shields had been warned by some of “his most intimate friends that association with him [Norris] would be sure to be injurious.” Of course Shields noted that “on meeting Dr. Norris we had a feeling ... that he was almost as much afraid of the Pastor of Jarvis Street Church, Toronto, as we were afraid of him.”²⁰⁷ Norris had clearly alienated many of the leading figures in the Southern Convention, including such men as Dr. L. B. Scarborough and Dr. George W. Truett. In fact, Shields claimed that his association with Norris ruptured his own friendship with Truett, a friendship that had dated back to their journeys together in England under the auspices of Britain’s Ministry of Information in 1918.²⁰⁸ The BBU executive seemed to have been aware of the antipathy the Southern Convention felt toward them because of

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁰⁴ “Dr. Bob Shuler’s Tribute to Dr. J. Frank Norris,” *GW* 31:52, 16 April 1953, 2.

²⁰⁵ T. T. Shields, “Texas Baptists and Dr. J. Frank Norris,” *GW* 3:31, 11 December 1924, 8.

²⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, “Dr. J. Frank Norris, ‘The Texas Tornado,’ in Jarvis St. Baptist Church, Aug. 3rd to 31st,” *GW* 3:10, 17 July 1924. (Hereafter “Texas Tornado”). Before Norris’ 1924 campaign in Jarvis Street Shields published extensive biographical information on Norris in the *Witness*. See for instance the issue of 17 July 1924.

²⁰⁷ T. T. Shields, “Texas Baptists and Dr. J. Frank Norris,” *GW* 3:31, 11 December 1924, 8.

²⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, “Southern Baptists at the Cross Roads,” *GW* 4:2, 21 May 1925, 19 - 20. (Hereafter “Cross Roads”).

their association with Norris. As noted earlier, when the first call for the inauguration of the BBU was issued, the notification went out under the name of Dixon rather than Norris, even though Norris was one of the formative movers of the Union and Dixon had just joined. Also, in 1924, their first Vice-President of the South was not Norris, but Dr. J. W. Porter of Louisville.²⁰⁹

Despite this antipathy and the substantial orthodoxy of the Convention, Shields and the Union executive believed that, given the insidious nature of modernism, it was just as much a threat in the South as it was in the North. They determined to be on guard against every possible incursion and to root out modernism wherever it might be found. With Norris' exposure of evolutionary teaching in some of the southern schools, the BBU was instantly alert and ready to do battle. Most of those within the Southern Convention believed Norris' agitation to be "much ado about nothing." Shields, however, was intimately acquainted with the insidious creep of rationalism into the educational institutions of the North and Canada and naturally concluded the worst. He reported that at "a recent meeting of the Southern Baptist educators" there had been an open and "unblushing" expression of sympathy with modernism, and a blatant proposal that the Southern Convention should accommodate "both schools of thought." With something of a condescending attitude he noted "those who have understood the situation, have known that Dr. Norris did not at all exaggerate its seriousness."²¹⁰ The attitude of the BBU was that preventative measures had to be adopted immediately through the formulation of clear doctrinal standards to safeguard Southern Baptist institutions.

The battle erupted unexpectedly in the 1925 Memphis Convention. In the 1924 Atlanta Convention a committee had been established "to consider the advisability of issuing another statement of the Baptist Faith and Message." In 1925, Dr. E. Y. Mullins, former Convention president and chair of the committee, presented the report. Citing the "general denominational situation" the committee decided to recommend a revised version of the New Hampshire Confession of Faith, the same confession Riley and his Northern associates had failed to have adopted in the Indianapolis Convention of the Northern Baptists in 1922. The "general situation" that occasioned this step, according to

²⁰⁹ Delnay, 96.

²¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "Modernism in The South," *GW* 3:46, 26 March 1925, 11.

the committee, was “the prevalence of naturalism in the modern teaching and preaching of religion.” The fundamentalist character of their position was well reflected in their assertion that “Christianity is supernatural in its origin and history. We repudiate every theory of religion which denies the supernatural elements in our faith.”²¹¹ Shields, in his extensive report of this convention in the *Witness*, commented “We are more than ever in love with Southern Baptists.” His enthusiastic commendation concerned the acceptance of the report and adoption of the New Hampshire Confession: “The Confession of Faith as passed will hearten the fundamentalists of the North and of Canada. It will advertise to the world the orthodoxy of Southern Baptists as a whole.”²¹²

Despite his glowing praise of the general situation in the South, and its fundamentalist convictions, Shields was nevertheless quick to find evidence of the modernist threat. The issue surrounded a minority report presented by one of the committee members, Dr. C. P. Stealey. Stealey had argued at the committee level that in the confession’s discussion of the creation and fall of man there should be a clear rejection of the theory of evolution. In place of the statement “Man was created by the special act of God, as recorded in Genesis,” Stealey proposed “We believe that man came into this world by direct creation of God and not by evolution.”²¹³ This was presented as a minority report and as an amendment to the report submitted by Mullins. In the debate that followed, Shields charged Mullins with misleading the convention, obscuring the real issue and resorting to gag rule. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 2,013 to 950. Stealey later testified that he had expressed his concern in committee to the effect that “the majority report definitely made room for the theistic evolutionist.” He further contended that several committee members, including Mullins, had concurred with this judgement. He leveled the charge that the committee rejected his proposal “on the grounds of expediency with the hope of holding all our people together.”²¹⁴ Shields immediately recognized in this appeal to unity the same ploy that had been used so

²¹¹ “Southern Baptist Convention Annuals; Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1925,” 71 <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ml-sbcann/id/20431>> (10 October 2014).

²¹² T. T. Shields, “Cross Roads,” 24.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 12.

²¹⁴ C. P. Stealey, “Editorial,” *The Baptist Messenger*, 20 May 1925, in *GW* 4:5 11 June 1925, 9.

effectively among the moderates in the North. He accused Mullins and the convention leadership with deliberately suppressing the minority report due to the fear of division.

With Shields' publication of his accusations the issue quickly took on a life of its own. Norris announced through the pages of the *Searchlight* a "SHIELDS-MULLINS DEBATE." This would be conducted through the pages of the *Searchlight*. In his characterization of the projected debate Norris noted "Two colossal minds will meet in 'mortal combat.' ... These two, Dr. T. T. Shields and Dr. E. Y. Mullins, will discuss the evolution question as handled at the Memphis Convention." He further promised that the debate "will become historic and when it is finished it will be published in book form." Furthermore, the BBU promised that there would be a "colossal," "circus size tent" pitched at the next Convention so that "if parliamentary tactics and gag rule should be resorted to again, there will be a place where all free Baptists can gather for an open and above-board discussion of the greatest question now before the religious world."²¹⁵

A year later Shields received an exuberant telegram from Norris claiming a significant victory for the BBU in the matter. He informed Shields of a "tremendously strong unequivocal second anti-evolution resolution" which "passed convention Saturday morning, requiring all boards, missionaries, agencies, seminaries, trustees, professors, and secretaries to sign anti-evolution resolution." He noted that "Scarborough's seminary signed on spot and Mullins is repudiated and crushed." Norris was also quick to boast "both friend and foe credit *Searchlight* and tent meeting with responsibility of victory." He concluded with an expectation that this "unprecedented victory" in the Southern Convention would be a huge help in the Northern Baptist Convention.²¹⁶ The Convention leadership, however, downplayed the reversal. In a speech to the Northern Convention in 1926, Dr. George McDaniel, the president of the Southern Convention, minimized the matter. He used a mathematical metaphor to make his point:

At Memphis the year preceding, we had a doctrinal question at which the Convention said two and two make four, and some earnest brethren said, 'Yes, but we want you to say that it does not make five.' At that Convention ... they refused to say that two and two do not make five, and the amendment was voted down. Throughout the year, there has been some unrest and no little agitation; and

²¹⁵ Norris, "Shields – Mullins Debate," *GW* 4:5 11 June 1925, 16.

²¹⁶ J. F. Norris to T. T. Shields, Telegram, 17 May 1926, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto. cf. Delnay, 157.

in order to quiet all minds, the Convention said this year, two and two make four, and not five, six or anything else. And their minds seem to be quiet; and we are standing together in brotherly love and striving together for the faith of the Gospel.²¹⁷

Delnay, however, in his history of the Union, observed that even though Norris was “widely rejected by Southern Baptists, there is reason to believe that Modernism in the Southern convention was delayed as much as twenty years by the Bible Union agitation.”²¹⁸ Nevertheless, the Houston, Texas Convention of 1926 proved to be the high point of BBU influence in the South. Within two months of Norris’ telegram to Shields, a great tragedy for both Norris and the BBU occurred when Norris was accosted in his Fort Worth office and he shot and killed his assailant.²¹⁹

Decline of the BBU

By the early 1920’s, conservative evangelicals were awaking to the grim reality that their Christian faith perspective was under direct attack from several fronts. Rationalism, with its appeal to modern science, and worldliness, conditioned by the twin attractions of modern materialism and urban culture, proved to be deadly threats. In Baptist circles, frustration with the tactics of denominational leaders and a sense of betrayal over the loss of control of denominational machinery, nurtured a strong grassroots backlash. As the situation worsened, militant organizations of fundamentalists flourished. The BBU was the most conspicuous of these with the interdenominational WCFA acting as an umbrella organization. By 1925 fundamentalism was growing rapidly with a large array of new local organizations appearing. Riley complained:

There is constant complaint coming to our headquarters concerning the multiplication of Fundamentalist organizations. We have the fundamentalist League of the Pacific Coast, the anti-evolution League, American Bible League, the Defenders of Science and Sacred Scriptures, and the Bryan Bible League, and many other organizations. It should be remembered that the original movement is the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association, and in our judgment ... these movements ought to be simply a state organization of the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association.²²⁰

²¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “The President of the Southern Convention,” *GW* 5:3, 27 May 1926, 14.

²¹⁸ Delnay, 157.

²¹⁹ J. F. Norris, *Inside History*, 95.

²²⁰ W. B. Riley, “Multiplying Fundamentalist Organizations,” *Christian Fundamentals in School and Church*, 8, January – March 1926, 28, in Trollinger, 43.

With this apparent surge of fundamentalist activity, it is somewhat puzzling that 1926 should mark the high-water point of BBU activity. A watershed had been reached and by the end of the decade militant fundamentalism was in decline. Despite the ferocity of their attack little had changed. By 1930 modernism was more entrenched than ever in the Northern Baptist Convention. Shields' 1925 prophecy that Park Ave delegates would soon be seated was realized in the 1926 Seattle Convention. His prediction that their pastor, the modernist Fosdick, would be a recognized convention speaker was realized in the 1930 Cleveland Convention where Fosdick actually shared the platform with Riley!²²¹ Despite the BBU's bold determination at the outset to drive modernists from the denomination, by 1930 they had largely given up the fight.

There are numerous factors that led to this collapse but much of the blame must be traced back to the character of its leadership. Its prominent organizers were all grandiose figures with dominating personalities; they were men proud of past accomplishments and jealous of their entitled prerogatives; they were powerful orators, masters in the art of persuasion and used to getting their own way; they were highly ambitious and generally shouldered far more responsibility than they could safely handle; they were men of extreme temperament and predisposed to controversy; they were bold, belligerent and feared no enemy; they were shaped by trial and tended to be paranoid, thin-skinned and unbalanced. While there were a number of peripheral figures, the main actors in the BBU drama were Shields, Riley and Norris. In some ways, these three were the BBU. This triumvirate, more than any, was responsible for the BBU's defining characteristics, particularly its militancy. The temper of that militancy was profoundly influenced both by its leaders' experiences and by their perspectives. Most caustic to the mix was Shields' military leadership model.

Militancy

Like Shields, both Riley and Norris had faced down significant revolts in their churches from entitled minorities. In all three cases the rebellion had been provoked by their uncompromising protest against the prevailing patterns of modern social entertainment and cultural development. Vested interests were threatened and in each

²²¹ T. T. Shields, "What Next?" *GW* 8:44, 20 March 1930, 5.

case the resulting backlash had spilled over into the surrounding community. Norris, particularly, became the target of enraged opponents, who attempted every ploy, including murder, to run him out of town or otherwise end his protest against them. That affair climaxed when he shot and killed their paid assassin.²²² The extremities these men faced in their separate ecclesiastical crises marked the measure of their own extremism as they joined forces to engage an even bigger enemy.

However these men may have been radicalized by their local contests, they also shared a common perspective born of the era in which they lived. Paradoxically, these men and their movement were as much shaped by modernity as the modernists they fought. While their modernist foes championed human progress in scientific discovery, they lamented humanity's dreadful depravity in the deadly consequences of modern invention and cultural development. George Marsden in *Fundamentalism and American Culture* has rightly argued that "the remarkable shift from moderation to militancy" was a product of cultural crisis.²²³ Seeing the horror of German barbarism, the world had gone to war. Shields, in particular, had come face-to-face with the grim realities of that war as he viewed the aftermath of death and destruction brought about by the colossal struggle to ensure the survival of civilization and morality. The traumatic shock of his observations on the war front taught him irrevocably the dangers implicit in what Wycliffe College scholar W. H. Griffith Thomas termed "the astounding moral collapse of German civilization."²²⁴

Shields and his colleagues believed that the cause of the collapse was Darwinian evolutionism and Germany's rationalism.²²⁵ They believed that Darwinism's "survival of the fittest," as a "progressive evolutionary philosophy," inspired "German 'Kultur,' where the doctrine of evolution had bred the twin evils of modernism and militarism

²²² For a full account of Norris' and Riley's experiences see *Inside History*; Cf. Trollinger, 1-32; For Norris' shooting of Cripps see Delnay, 131-135.

²²³ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 141.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 148. Thomas, the Professor of Old Testament at Wycliffe College in Toronto since 1910, had been decrying the evil connection between German theology and German militarism since early in the European war.

²²⁵ See further discussion of this point: Trollinger, 34; Marsden, 141-153; T. T. Shields, "The Lord is a Man of War," 6 September 1914, Sermon # 1098, Shields' Sermon Manuscripts, JBCA, Toronto; T. T. Shields "'Culture' and Evolution," *Revelations of the War* (Toronto, The Standard Publishing Co., 1915), 19-29.

....”²²⁶ While the roots of moral collapse were first theological, Shields and his associates were convinced that the inevitable product was cultural anarchy and barbarism. Seeing that same rationalism insinuating itself into all the mainline Protestant denominations, paranoia concerning western culture festered. It is perhaps not so surprising that with the decline of the BBU all three of these men would be found hunting out threats to the western liberal model of civilization. Riley turned to “the active promotion of an anti-Semitic, conspiratorial interpretation of national and international events” with the “primary target” being “Franklin Roosevelt’s ‘New Deal.’”²²⁷ Norris was consumed with the threat of communist infiltration of educational institutions and denominational headquarters.²²⁸ Shields turned to what could be called anachronistically an anti-Catholic McCarthyism as he trumpeted the dangers of ultramontane Catholic insurgence that threatened Canadian freedoms.²²⁹

Not only did the crisis of modern culture shape the militancy of the BBU’s leadership, but also the ferocity of their protest was quite modern, fashioned and exaggerated by a world surcharged with horrific memories of modernity’s first war. It was no mere coincidence that all three of these men rose to prominence on the national and international level in the shadow of World War 1. Trollinger noted of Riley that “the war created a more receptive audience for his message,”²³⁰ while Marsden spoke of Riley’s particular “ability to articulate the urgency of the cultural crisis.”²³¹ As for Norris, with the nailing of a huge poster to the door of his church announcing his “World Convention of Fundamentalists,” he published in red headlines “WAR IS DECLARED.”²³² Shields, for his part, boasted of the “Virtue of Hatred,”²³³ in language and actions he was dominated by the military motif and he entitled his inaugural address to the BBU “A Holy War.”

²²⁶ Marsden, 152.

²²⁷ Trollinger, 63.

²²⁸ *Inside History*, 220.

²²⁹ See discussion Chapter 8 below.

²³⁰ Trollinger, 34.

²³¹ Marsden, 152.

²³² *Inside History*, 9.

²³³ T. T. Shields, “The Virtue of Hatred,” in *Revelations of the War* (Toronto: The Standard Publishing Co., 1915), 30–39.

A militant response to modernist aggression gave rise to the BBU, but that same militancy was the first factor in its decline. Conditioned by its belligerence, the BBU was ill-suited to negotiation. The biggest single factor behind its failures on the convention floor was an inability to work with moderate fundamentalists with whom it could have enjoyed a substantial majority. As Goodchild observed soon after the BBU's formation, there was a completely different attitude exhibited among the militants. The BBU fought for total victory and saw anything less as compromise. The moderates were more realistic and worked for smaller gains that could over time accomplish the same end. However, every time the moderates refused to vote in support of its offensives, the BBU saw the moderates' actions as a supreme act of betrayal. In 1931 Shields complained to a friend that modernism was not their "greatest foe." He ranted "the battle has been thrown away by those who call themselves fundamentalists. When I think of Curtis Lee Laws and J.C. Massee, and now W. B. Riley, I find it difficult to retain any sort of faith in human nature, even when it professes to be regenerated."²³⁴

It was this kind of arrogant superiority that the moderates found so offensive. Not only did they find the utterances of the militants to be too caustic, they were often themselves the focus of BBU vituperation. Shields especially was unsparing in his denunciations of his erstwhile allies who refused to acknowledge his leadership. He was far too prone to burn his bridges by sardonic commentary published and distributed across the continent. Moderate fundamentalists were repeatedly characterized as modernist sympathizers and dupes. When Shields turned his guns on his more moderate brothers he did more than anything else to ostracize the BBU and thereby to sabotage any hope for victory.

Internal Discord

The militant disposition that generated such strident commentary was bound over time to generate fractious relations internally. According to Trollinger, the leading cause of failure for the fundamentalist crusade was "divisions among headstrong and inflexible leaders."²³⁵ From the very outset there seemed to be testy relationships between the key supporters of the movement. Neighbour was credited with being one of the first to initiate

²³⁴ T. T. Shields to Rev. R. W. Bennett, 20 February 1931, "Shields' Correspondence," JBCA, Toronto.

²³⁵ Trollinger, 61.

the organization of the BBU but according to Delnay he was “shouldered aside and given little notice.”²³⁶ Van Osdel, though part of the movement from beginning to end, was critical of the organization’s hopeless efforts to drive modernism out of the Northern Convention. Something of his frustration with the BBU’s wasted energies in this regard was reflected in a letter he sent to Shields in 1930: “I parted company with the Northern Baptist convention several years ago, and will not consent under any circumstances to have anything whatever to do with a meeting in Cleveland to be held in connection with the Northern Baptist Convention. Too much of that has already been done.”²³⁷ Pettingill and Straton both seem to have lost interest in the movement by 1925 and do not appear on the executive committee thereafter. Of Straton, Delnay commented: “he showed little stomach for committee work, and seems to have soon lost interest in enterprises controlled by others.”²³⁸ Delnay also observed that “The Baptist Bible Union sustained a considerable shock early in 1925 with the resignation of A. C. Dixon.” Dixon, one of the key leaders in the south, released a letter of resignation to the press February 19, 1925 “affirming his conviction that the Bible Union had fulfilled its mission of protest and ought now to be dissolved.” When his wife gave reasons for the resignation she also mentioned the “influence and methods” of Norris as being a cause for his withdrawal.²³⁹ Although Shields vociferously denied that Dixon’s departure was anything but amicable,²⁴⁰ John MacNeill, one of Shields’ most hostile adversaries, was able to use this defection effectively in an attempt to discredit the BBU in Canada.²⁴¹

The first indication of trouble among the active administrators of the BBU surfaced in a communication from Riley to Shields in April of 1927. Confessing that he was still deeply “bewildered and troubled” by the BBU’s failures in Washington the previous year, Riley confessed to two other matters that nearly put him “out of commission.”²⁴² The first was a critical communication from the Secretary of the Union, Edith Rebman. Riley called it “the most uncalled for attack that I have had in my life

²³⁶ Delnay, 59.

²³⁷ Oliver Van Osdel to T. T. Shields, 29 April 1930, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²³⁸ Delnay, 66.

²³⁹ Delnay, 101.

²⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 8:39, 13 February 1930, 4.

²⁴¹ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod, McMaster’s New Name,” *GW* 5:55, 4 November 1926. 55.

²⁴² Riley to Shields, 18 April 1927, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

time.” Riley strongly warned Shields that “in disposition and other things of which I do not care to write I have seriously feared that she would wreck the whole movement if she continued.”²⁴³ The warning seems to have been lost on Shields, something which he would later have serious cause to regret.

Riley went on to speak of “another jolt” he had just experienced. This so distressed Riley that he confessed to Shields a growing feeling that God was leading him out of his association with the BBU. The issue related to Norris. Riley was incensed that Norris had decided to rename his magazine *The Searchlight* as *The Fundamentalist*. Riley saw it as a deliberate attempt to bring the fundamentalist movement under Norris’ own headship: “It is easy to see what that means,” argued Riley. “Fundamentalism is growing. State organizations are being effected. Several of the foreign countries have recently organized, and Frank doesn’t propose to let anything get by that he can exploit in his own behalf without his capturing the same.” It is clear from this letter that Riley was very defensive of his own prerogatives relative to fundamentalism. Riley jealously believed that his own WCFA and its publication *The Christian Fundamentals in School and Church* were the official organs of fundamentalism. He complained to Shields, “I don’t propose to have the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association subjugated after this manner.” He was open about his distrust of Norris and cited other Southern Baptists who “have no confidence in Frank.” With a clear insinuation concerning Norris’ track record in the south, Riley reiterated his determination that he would not have “an Association that has had an absolutely clean and wholesome record in every way up to the present moment” involved with Norris’ Southern Baptist battles.²⁴⁴ Clearly, Norris’ unsavoury reputation was becoming a sore point. Fundamentalist historian Marsden remarked that Norris “had already won such notoriety among his fellow Southern Baptists that he had been successively banned from local, county and state organizations.”²⁴⁵ Norris’ paranoia seemed to run deep and he continually convinced himself and others that modernists and evolutionists were being harbored by Southern Baptist agencies. He was open in his hatred for the conservative Southern Baptist Convention whose leadership he labelled as

²⁴³ Riley to Shields, 28 April 1927, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁴⁴ Riley to Shields, 18 April 1927, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁴⁵ Marsden, 190.

“the Sanhedrin.” Southern Baptist leaders and pastors were variously labelled “the Infallible Baptist Pope,” “The Great All-I-Am,” “The Holy Father,” and “the Old Baboon.”²⁴⁶ Shields’ own attitudes toward leading figures in the Southern Convention, like Mullins, Truett and Scarborough, were soured by Norris’ bias. Again, Shields would have been wise to have learned a measure of caution from the concerns voiced by Riley. However, as with Rebman, Shields ignored his counsel. Shields viewed himself as the Field Marshall, and given his military leadership model, he would never be corrected by his generals.

By mid-1927, only Shields and Van Osdel remained of the original leadership.²⁴⁷ Both Norris and Riley had largely dissociated themselves from leadership in the movement, Norris because of the embarrassment of his shooting of Cripps, and Riley, because of his workload and his distress over Norris. However, both men were still involved on the peripheries of the organization and Shields continued to correspond regularly with both on matters relevant to the Union’s governance. A devastating blow to fundamentalism and the BBU occurred in 1929 with the open rupture of the relationship between Shields and Riley. Early signs of tension in the relationship surfaced shortly after the decision of the BBU to purchase Des Moines University in June of 1927. Riley seems to have been hesitant about the financing of the operation feeling that by assuming the school’s debts they were helping “pay off the debts of the Northern Baptist Convention.” Despite Riley’s refusal to sign on as a guarantor of the loans needed to facilitate the purchase of the university, he pledged his support: “I do not want to seem to desert you in any way in this matter, and I will stand by you to the utmost.”²⁴⁸ A year and a half later Riley and Shields were still on good terms.

When troubles erupted at The Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA) in April of 1929 and Shields was called upon to help restructure, Riley offered to cover Shields’ responsibilities in Jarvis Street to facilitate his “great undertaking.”²⁴⁹ However, a few weeks later when troubles broke out in Des Moines, Riley’s distress at the direction the BBU had taken in purchasing the school became evident. In a letter to the board of the

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Delnay, 180.

²⁴⁸ W. B. Riley to T. T. Shields, 15 October 1927, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁴⁹ W. B. Riley to T. T. Shields, 18 April 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

BBU Riley formally demanded that his name be dropped from membership on the board: “I am not in line with the action taken in connection with the Des Moines affair; and that is now your large objective as a Union. Knowing that I cannot sustain the Board, I choose to step aside.”²⁵⁰ As troubles worsened Riley became more critical and directed his angst at Shields himself. When action was taken by Shields and the Trustees’ board to terminate all the professors in the institution, Riley wrote to Shields blaming him for the whole mess: “Knowing that you had an absolutely free hand in creating the faculty of Des Moines, it is impossible to sympathize now with their summary dismissal”²⁵¹ There is little doubt that Shields’ handling of the whole situation was deeply flawed, but ever struggling with issues of hypersensitivity Shields immediately reacted. As in the case of Ryrie in 1918, Shields adopted a stance of stony silence toward Riley and correspondence between the two immediately ceased. His only communication was a letter sent by his secretary in which he retaliated by quitting the WCFA: “Dr. Shields has requested me to reply to your letter ... and has asked me to request that you will kindly drop his name from the Directorate of the Association, and also erase his name from the membership list, as he desires to sever all connection with the Christian Fundamentals Association as from this date.”²⁵²

Furthermore, Shields quickly assumed an attitude of open hostility towards Riley and began to attack him for his continued membership in the Northern Baptist Convention. This climaxed in the spring of the following year, when Shields discovered that Riley’s name appeared on the lineup of speakers for the 1930 Northern Baptist convention. Also appearing on the slate of presenters was the notorious modernist Fosdick. This provided Shields with all the ammunition he needed. Since the turbulent years of the Jarvis schism Shields’ *modus operandi* had increasingly turned to self-vindication and the character assassination of his opponents. Shields now unleashed a furious broadside against his former friend and colleague. In a front page article Shields published a stinging critique of Riley’s role in the upcoming convention entitled “What Next.” Ostensibly, Shields gave Riley an opportunity to explain himself, but the brief

²⁵⁰ W. B. Riley to The Baptist Bible Union of North America, 13 May 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁵¹ W. B. Riley to T. T. Shields, 13 May 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

²⁵² Violet Stoakley to W. B. Riley, 21 May 1929, “Shields’ Correspondence,” JBCA, Toronto.

demand for Riley's confirmation of his speaking engagement left little room for any serious investigation of why Riley had allowed himself to be identified with Fosdick in the upcoming convention. His article was filled with derogatory headlines such as "How Have the Champions of Fundamentalism Fallen!" and "Ministerial Tragedies," and "The Greatest of all Tragedies," and finally, "The Appalling Announcement." He facetiously concluded his piece with the assertion that this must be some mistake, some "dastardly attempt of the Modernists to deal a death-blow to Fundamentalism ... by linking the name of Riley, which has become a household synonym for loyalty to the faith once for all delivered, with the name of Harry Emerson Fosdick, which among all instructed evangelicals has become a synonym for definitely anti-Christian teaching."²⁵³ Farrell's observation that "Paranoid characters hold long grudges" and the concomitant conclusion that "For the paranoid mind, the neutral distinction between appearance and reality slips easily into the insidious distinction between truth and lie,"²⁵⁴ find particular application in the Shields/Riley rupture.

Tactical Errors

Leadership flaws aside, the movement largely doomed itself by a series of strategic mistakes. From the very outset the BBU suffered from a lack of consensus concerning their real direction. The first organizers envisioned a separatist movement. Riley singlehandedly shifted their focus. Introducing Shields into the organization because of his own fight to drive modernism out of the Canadian convention, Riley refocused BBU efforts into a direct challenge of modernist ascendancy in the Northern Convention and modernist incursions into the Southern Convention. Instead of using their resources and energies to build something new, he reduced their efforts to squabbling on the convention floor. Desperation with the hopelessness of the situation soon led to "caustic speech," dealing "in personalities" and "washing their dirty linen in public."²⁵⁵ Fundamentalism never recovered from the reputation for uncharitable behaviour that resulted. Though Shields actively pursued the Riley agenda for several years, in the end he became the biggest critic of Riley's non-separatism. By 1930, Shields was publicly

²⁵³ T. T. Shields, "What Next," *GW* 8:44, 20 March 1930, 1 – 5, 13.

²⁵⁴ Farrell, John. *Paranoia and Modernity* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1.

²⁵⁵ T. T. Shields, "Welcome Advice," *GW* 2:37, 24 January 1924, 10.

acknowledging that Van Osdel had been right and that they should have set about “the formation of another Convention in the beginning.”²⁵⁶

A second major miscalculation made at the movement’s inception was its organizational structure. Rather than establish an organization of churches, the BBU never became anything more than an association of individuals. With no real controls over the activities of their rapidly growing membership, numerous embarrassments were experienced as questionable activities were conducted under the supposed auspices of the BBU. Nor were they adequately equipped by this organizational model to facilitate the activities they were gradually drawn into. Recognizing the corruption of both mission agencies and educational institutions they were driven to the necessity of providing alternatives. However, the best they could do with the mission agency was “receiving and transmitting money to approved evangelical missions.”²⁵⁷ When they were driven to the expediency of purchasing and running a university, they were ill-equipped for the task. The responsibilities fell upon the shoulders of the few men who constituted the board of the Union, men who were already overburdened with unmanageable workloads.

The fiasco of the Des Moines University takeover was really a microcosm of the whole BBU history. Poor decisions, bad character assessment and administrative arrogance doomed the project from the beginning. From the first consideration of a takeover, financial concerns were raised. Despite a rather significant fundraising effort, pragmatic decisions about depending on the tuition of returning students were made. These decisions alone proved fatal, as many of the returning students had little sympathy with the new fundamentalist complexion of the school. Divisions in the student body were soon apparent and the seeds of revolt were planted.

Decisions about key personnel were also factors in the final disruption. Shields himself was named as president, a role that he could only exercise second-hand through his appointed representative, Miss Edith Rebman. Despite Riley’s warnings, Shields exercised entire confidence in her governance of the university. Delnay made the interesting observation: “In this study the testimonies about Miss Rebman fit a rigid pattern: those who worked over her felt that she was magnificent, those who were under

²⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 8:39, 13 February 1930, 6.

²⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Baptist Bible Union,” *GW* 8:39, 13 February 1930, 4.

her felt that she was intolerable.”²⁵⁸ According to Delnay’s research, the students and staff found her dictatorial and accused her of operating “her own spy system on campus.”²⁵⁹ Shields himself was seldom present, and on the few occasions he was there his actions were invariably confrontational. When a new President, Dr. H. C. Wayman, was hired by the BBU board, another serious mistake was made. Insufficient investigation was made of his qualifications and it was later discovered that he misrepresented his credentials. When Shields finally confronted Wayman about the matter, Wayman determined to rid the university of both Shields and Rebman. Delnay’s research indicated that Wayman spread rumors of an illicit affair between Shields and Rebman. Students latched onto the gossip and soon a large faction both of professors and students were demanding Shields’ and Rebman’s removal.

In a critical trustees’ meeting Shields was confronted with the accusations. When accusers were brought forward no real evidence could be produced of his guilt but the damage had been done. Shields, never one to take a personal attack kindly, immediately terminated all the faculty and staff of the university. When the students were apprised of this mass firing they rioted. The administrative building was trashed and Shields, Rebman and the trustees barely escaped with their lives.²⁶⁰ Delnay noted that the next day “newspapers all over the continent carried front page stories of the riots at the fundamentalist university in Iowa, giving prominent notice to the sex angle.”²⁶¹

Norris’ 1927 shooting of Cripps and the forced closure of Des Moines University were embarrassments that could not be overcome. Delnay’s study concluded that “The collapse of Des Moines University, with the flood of lurid publicity, ruined the Baptist Bible Union. There was little for the leaders to do but go back to their churches.”²⁶² For his part, Shields admitted that “Since we decided to close Des Moines University we have declined all invitations but one to cross the Border, and have concentrated all our energy upon our own work in Canada.”²⁶³ The significant lesson that he had learned, both

²⁵⁸ Delnay, 195.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 219.

²⁶⁰ Shields gave a full account of the events. T. T. Shields, “Des Moines University Riots,” *GW* 8:1-2, 23 May 1929. Cf Delnay, 180 - 236.

²⁶¹ Delnay, 231.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 237.

²⁶³ T. T. Shields, “The Bible Baptist Union,” *GW* 8:39, 13 February 1930, 5.

in his American skirmishes and the battles that had been running concurrently in the Canadian context, was that of separatism. Though Shields retired from the field in humiliation and defeat, the fundamentalist work that had begun under the auspices of the Bible Union was carried on. In the Northern States a new organization gathered up the remnants of the BBU and organized itself as the General Association of Regular Baptist Churches. In Canada the BBU survived as the Union of Regular Baptist Churches with Shields serving as its president for the next twenty years.

In many ways the rise and fall of the BBU, with Shields at its head, illustrated the application of the lessons Shields had learned as an observer of the First World War. Prominent in the rise of the BBU were Shields' military organizational model and his military service model. The BBU was structured as an army with Shields playing the role of Field Marshall. The attempt to rebuild an evangelical consensus from the ground up through aggressive revivalism was the product of Shields' military service model with its demand for entire separation. Paradoxically, the fall of the BBU was a product of the same wellspring. Shields' military leadership model created a fractious atmosphere in the governance of the BBU. Operating as its chief commanding officer Shields operated under the illusion that he was always right and that he had far more influence and power than he actually possessed. His rupture with Riley was most instructive. Together with Riley, his most capable general, the movement was shaped as a non-separatist organization. Yet when Shields moved to the separatist camp, he could not forgive Riley for failing to follow his lead. Nor could he accept Riley's advice, correction or rebuke. Refusal to heed Riley's concerns regarding Norris and Rebman doomed the movement. When tactfully reminded of his own responsibility for the fiasco Shields was furious, petulant and unforgiving. For Shields it was completely inappropriate for even a general to question or correct his superior officer.

CHAPTER 8

Call to Arms: Provocateur / Separatist (1922-1927)

“Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.”

2 Corinthians 6:17

The Canadian Baptist Denomination And The War On Modernism

In some ways the attacks of Shields’ domestic critics were minor irritants in comparison with the larger conflict in which the Baptist Bible Union was engaged. Nevertheless, because The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec was his home turf, the local fight took on a deeply emotional character. It became the most virulent battle of them all. Given the added emotional investment, the conflict on his home front revealed more about the development of Shields the militant fundamentalist than all the rest.

Certainly, the BBU’s Canadian front was broader than Ontario and Quebec. Over the years of his BBU presidency Shields travelled from coast to coast establishing fundamentalist associations. For instance, in August of 1925, at a special conference in Truro, Nova Scotia, for “all Maritimers interested in battling against modernism” Shields was the keynote speaker. In association with John James Sidey and Rev. J. J. Daggett, he was instrumental in the formation of the short-lived Maritime Christian Fundamentalist Association.¹ He made several trips to Vancouver, and on more than one occasion made it a western tour with stops in Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia.² BBU concerns in the The Baptist Union of Western Canada centred in large part around the Union’s institute of higher education in Manitoba: Brandon College. There modernism and the Social Gospel had established deep roots. The influence of mainline seminaries in the Northern states, especially the University of Chicago, were particularly worrisome. More specifically, the teaching of New Testament scholar Harris L. MacNeill became the focal

¹ G. A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped up in God* (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1988) 128 -131.

² T. T. Shields, “The Editor Abroad; Further Observations on Conditions in the West,” *GW* 3:43, 5 March 1925, 9. Cf. Robert K. Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 96-99.

point of fundamentalist agitation.³ The concerns escalated and climaxed in 1927 with a schism in the Western Union and the formation of the Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia.⁴ Nevertheless, the primary focal point of BBU activity in Canada during the years of Shields' presidency was the contentious issue of modernism's infiltration of McMaster University.

Years later as he reflected about his decision to decline the honour of pastoring Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle, Shields divulged the measure of his commitment to the battle that was then shaping up. Despite his cherished goal of rising to the "most famous pulpit on earth," Shields readily sacrificed his own dreams abroad to stand for the principles at stake in Canada.⁵ Having thrown down the gauntlet in the Ottawa convention of 1919, he realized "that it would be utterly cowardly to retire from the field before the victory was won."⁶ When Shields handily won the first round in that convention, his enemies mounted an insurgency in his own church, a revolt which he barely survived. Realizing that this personal assault had originated with the modernistic forces entrenched in McMaster University, Shields vigorously turned his attention to rousting his foes from their purloined stronghold. Over the course of the next six years Shields became consumed with his passion to liberate McMaster from its modernist overlords.

Stirring the Pot

While the early part of 1922 was given to restructuring Jarvis Street after the upheaval they had recently endured, Shields did not delay long in confronting his McMaster adversaries. In 1920 Shields had been appointed to the Board of Governors and would hold that office until his ejection during the Toronto Convention of October

³ T. T. Shields, "The Baptist Union of Western Canada and Brandon College," *GW* 2:40, 14 February 1924, 7-10; "More about Western Baptists and Brandon College," *GW* 2:45, 20 March 1924, 7-9; "British Columbia Baptists and Brandon College," *GW* 2:46, 27 March 1924, 7.

⁴ Walter Ellis, "What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Higher Education in the West" in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. G. A. Rawlyk (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 77. (Hereafter "Brandon College"). For more on the Western situation see Robert K. Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 95-99.

⁵ T. T. Shields, "This Shall be Written for the Generation to Come; In Jarvis Street Twenty-Six Years Ago," *GW* 26:22, 25 September 1947, quoted in Dallimore, 34.

⁶ T. T. Shields, "The Great Contention," *GW&PA* 31:31, 16 July 1953, 10.

19, 1926.⁷ In one of the earliest editions of his fledgling enterprise, *The Gospel Witness*, Shields served notice of his intent to exercise his authority in watching for “doctrinal defection.” He noted the great ideal that “education should go hand in hand with evangelism” and expressed his conviction that he felt it “worthwhile making great sacrifices to maintain a Baptist University.” However, he was quick to point out that “the only legitimate claim a university, as a religious university, can have upon the special support of Baptists is that it is doing Baptist work” This work, he believed, included “producing Baptist preachers who will preach what Baptists believe; teachers who will teach the principles for which Baptists stand; and leaders in business, professional, and political life, who hold uncompromisingly the principles of ‘the faith once for all delivered to the saints.’” However, he quickly warned that “doctrinal defection,” or even the practical considerations of “the relation of Church and State,” would “inevitably force a reconsideration of the whole question of the wisdom of taxing the resources of the Denomination for the support of a university which would be Baptist only in name.” In that case he argued it would be better to leave “university education to the state, and concentrate the denominational energy upon the work of providing means of giving a sound thorough theological education to ministerial students.” Though he professed his belief in the place of a “strong, independent, Baptist University, consecrated to the high and holy task of producing strong Baptist leaders for every walk of life,” he made it clear that failure to serve traditional Baptist interests would be to forfeit Baptist support.⁸

In October of 1922 Shields published an article in *The Gospel Witness* urging his parishioners to engage in denominational activities, especially encouraging attendance at the upcoming convention. This many would do, and the galleries at Walmer Road would be packed with Jarvis Street members who cheered and applauded Shields loudly at every opportunity.⁹ As was the case with the BBU struggle in the Northern Baptist Convention, battles on the convention floor would become one of the most conspicuous elements of

⁷ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1926, 37-38. With a large majority Shields was by convention vote removed from his governorship. His eligibility to sit as a delegate to the following year’s convention was also revoked. Shields refused to acquiesce to this judgment and returned the following year to sit as a delegate for Jarvis Street and his name was not removed from McMaster’s list of governors until the following year.

⁸ T. T. Shields, “A Great Opportunity,” *GW* 1:3, 3 June 1926, 2.

⁹ “Rout Shields’ Forces with 5 to 1 Majority; Baptist Convention Censures Jarvis St. Pastor— Four McMaster Governors are Re-Elected After Stormy Session – Shields’ Methods Strongly Condemned,” *TDS*, 26 October 1922, 17. (Hereafter “Rout”).

the controversy. It was here at the annual convention, at the presentation of the McMaster University Report, that Shields would make his stand. As the 1922 convention approached he opened his crusade against McMaster administrators with an announcement that he would be publishing a series of articles on denominational matters over the next few weeks. The articles that followed set the tone of the debate and established the methodology and trajectory of his campaign.

In the first of these articles, Shields raised the issue of the viability of Woodstock and Moulton colleges. These were both denominational schools that purportedly provided young men and young women respectively with secondary school training in a Baptist environment. However, Shields revealed that both schools catered more to Pedobaptists than to their own denominational young people.¹⁰ With this failure to achieve distinctly Baptist goals Shields asked “Why do we, by the maintenance of these two schools, duplicate our high schools; and tax ourselves for their support over and above what we are compelled as citizens to pay for the public system?” He pointed out that neither of the schools was self-supporting and that sixty-five percent of the convention’s Christian Education fund for the last two years had to be spent covering their deficits.¹¹ Shields would be soundly rebuked for recommending the closure of these denominational schools. He was indignantly informed that “the Governors were under a moral obligation to keep Woodstock College open.”¹² However, four years later, after having paid an advisor to investigate their affairs, the Convention closed Woodstock College for much the same reason Shields had identified. On that occasion Shields wryly remarked, “Excuse me for Saying, ‘I told you so.’ ... We refer to this matter now only to show the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec that we modestly offered for nothing, the Board of Governors advice, which they later obtained at a price from someone else; and upon which they have now acted.”¹³ He also threw back in their faces the issue of the “moral obligation,” for which he had been chastised in 1922: “We were told in 1922 that the

¹⁰ Pedobaptists is a term identifying those who practice the baptism of infants. Christian denominations practicing infant baptism include Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Nazarenes, Wesleyans, Episcopalians and Reformed Churches. Shields’ reference here was most likely about Presbyterians.

¹¹ T. T. Shields, “Baptists and Education,” *GW* 1:19, 21 September 1922, 1-2.

¹² T. T. Shields, “Ichabod; McMaster’s New Name,” *GW* 5:26, 4 November 1926, 26. (Hereafter “Ichabod”).

¹³ *Ibid.*

Governors were under a moral obligation to keep Woodstock College open, and to spend upon it some ten thousand dollars a year.” He asked rhetorically: “If that were true in 1922, what has become of the ‘moral obligation’ in 1926?” He noted somewhat bitterly: “We were denounced as a trouble-maker in 1922 for pointing to an economic necessity which, in 1926 the Governors have been compelled to recognize.”¹⁴

Having raised the issue of Woodstock and Moulton colleges in his 1922 article, Shields used the same principle to question the continuance of the Arts department at McMaster University. Once again Shields was serving notice that the continuance of McMaster’s funding from convention churches needed to be predicated upon McMaster’s service of Baptist interests. “Is it doing a distinctively Baptist work, giving a distinctively Baptist witness?” He went on to demand: “If it is, let us have the proof of it. Where are the Baptist lawyers, doctors, teachers, engineers, chemists ... who, being products of McMaster University stand squarely and uncompromisingly for the historic Baptist position?” Given his recent contest with the McMaster graduates in his own church, Shields’ cynicism was thinly veiled. His disparagement at that time of the McMaster graduates in his own church was that their only usefulness was their so-called business acumen. Reflecting later on that crisis, Shields complained that McMaster graduates “were enough to sink any ecclesiastical ship that could be launched.”¹⁵ McMaster administrators were confronted with the fact that serious challenges were about to be made, not only against their department of Theology but also against their Arts department.

“More on Baptists and Education” was the second article to come from Shields’ pen during these critical weeks leading up to the 1922 Walmer Road Convention. In this article, Shields continued to press the principles he had argued the previous week. Shields provided a critical assessment of how educational money was raised and spent within the denomination, and how small a percentage actually paid dividends for denominational interests, or was applied to training missionaries and pastors. Although he claimed that he had “no intention of setting one class ... against the other,” he subtly accused the denomination of class discrimination. Shields argued that most of the money raised by

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 198-199.

the denomination for the support of the Arts department at McMaster was raised on the backs of common laborers: "... the many give of that which has been earned by sheer hard work – often by some form of manual labour."¹⁶ Shields also claimed that "in the minds of many of our people 'Christian Education' is synonymous with 'Ministerial' education." Most of those giving sacrificially to the educational funds of the denomination believed they were "assisting to educate young men for the Gospel Ministry who, in turn, will serve the churches of the Denomination."¹⁷ However, Shields contended that most of that money was going to help finance the elitist education of upper class professions which made no direct contribution to the church's life. He charged that the denomination's actions relative to its educational programs were unChristian and unethical:

On what 'Christian' principle, for example, can we justify an appeal to a young girl who works in a factory to give of her earnings to assist in educating a young man who would qualify for the practice of law? Can it be quite 'Christian' to devote the offerings of a faithful Christian washerwoman to meet the deficit of a college incurred in the process of educating, under cost, the daughter of the well-to-do lady for whom, perhaps, that washerwoman works? Is it clearly 'Christian' to lay upon the Pastor of a little church obligation to give and collect money to support educational institutions of which he knows he is too poor to give his own dear children the advantage? And which institutions are training men and women for professions which make no direct contribution to the church's life.¹⁸

His third article, "Can We Have 'Baptist' Education," included a diatribe about the erosion of Baptist distinctives under the guise of contending for Baptist liberty. Sarcastically he noted: "In some quarters the name 'Baptist' has acquired a significance, which, to us is entirely new. It appears to mean one who believes nothing in particular."¹⁹ Shields strongly implied that this was the guiding principle behind the policies of McMaster administrators. Again Shields served notice: "It cannot be expected that Baptist churches will support educational institutions whose principles are contrary to the principles for whose propagation Baptist churches exist."²⁰ Therefore, urged Shields, all who taught at McMaster University had to be under the requirement that "no matter what

¹⁶ T. T. Shields, "More About Baptists and Education," *GW* 1:20, 28 September 1922, 2

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁹ T. T. Shields, "Can We Have 'Baptist' Education?" *GW* 1:21, 5 October 1922, 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

subject he may teach, whether it be history, or science, or languages, or literature, or psychology, or sociology, or political economy, or theology, he will view everything from a Christian standpoint” Failure to do this would be merely to duplicate “the state system of secondary and higher education,” thereby “impoverishing our ministry; and turning money from missionary channels to purely educational purposes.”²¹ With uncanny prescience Shields concluded that despite the Baptist “principle which obliges us to refuse any form of state aid” their current course would of necessity demand it: “Unless there is a distinct change of policy on the part of McMaster University, unless she hastens to stand forth as a clear-visioned, outspoken, fearless champion of those great principles which Baptists jealously hold, she will speedily find herself in the position of having to choose between some form of state aid, and stagnation.”²²

Shields likely had little idea of the storm of protest that his next article would provoke. Published just eight days before the beginning of the annual convention, the matters addressed by the article “How to Improve McMaster” would be fresh on everyone’s mind as the convention convened. This proved to be the most controversial of the series of articles leading up to the convention. Shields opened the article with a discussion of the Trust Deed to which the University was bound by virtue of its Act of Incorporation and the terms under which the “Honourable William McMaster” conveyed “the lands and premises” to the trustees of the university. The Trust Deed was distinctively Baptist and contained reference to the cardinal doctrines of the Inspiration of Scripture, the Trinity, Human Depravity, Election, Effectual Calling, the Atonement, Justification, Preservation of the Saints, Sanctification, the Resurrection of the Dead, Final Judgment and the Eternal State. It was also clearly a Regular Baptist statement containing the provision that “parties so baptized [immersion in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit] are alone entitled to Communion at the Lord’s Table, and that a Gospel church is a body of baptized believers voluntarily associated together for the service of God.”²³ Shields boasted that because of this document McMaster had largely been preserved from apostasy and “on the whole, stands today truer to the evangelical

²¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

²² *Ibid.*, 4.

²³ T. T. Shields, “How to Improve McMaster,” *GW* 1:22, 12 October 1922, 1. Note: A church was considered to be a Regular Baptist Church if it practiced closed communion.

position than any other.” However, he was quick to note that it had “a certain proneness to wander into unbaptistic paths.” The guard against this drift, he argued, was the convention’s determination to hold the university to the standards outlined in their incorporation documents. He also believed that “Academic or doctrinaire views of religion can be accurately appraised only when tested in the crucible of experience.” Shields predicated that it was the common man, “be he layman or pastor ... engaged in practical every-day ministry” who was best qualified to “judge of the value of academic religious pronouncements.” Hence, McMaster was subject to “the collective judgment of the churches’ practical Christian experience.”²⁴

By this line of reasoning Shields established his *modus operandi*. Since the university was subject to the convention, and since the convention was made up of its people, Shields determined to take his message to the common people of the denomination, its pastors and laymen. He would reach them largely by means of *The Gospel Witness* and whatever third party influence he could stir up. He would appeal to their judgment on the convention floor where he believed the majority of the Baptist populace would vote to hold McMaster to accountability.

In his first appeal to the general constituency Shields seriously overstepped his bounds. Trading on his own reputation, Shields seriously impugned the reputation of two of the leading members of the board of governors. In the exchange, Shields came out the loser and seriously damaged what good will he had left in the denomination. His discussion centred on the issue of choosing a new Chancellor. He decried the tendency to choose men who were good money-raisers or who were renowned for their scholarship. He argued that the Chancellor should be “above all a man of profound conviction – a convinced Baptist, with a courage commensurate with his conviction” However, since the Chancellor had to be recommended by the Senate and appointed by the Board of Governors the real question for the Convention was the democratic vote for governors. “To secure the right Chancellor,” argued Shields, “we must elect the right governors.”²⁵ In his mind this Convention provided a critical opportunity to “Improve McMaster.”

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

Each year four of the sixteen governors retired and four were elected to fill the empty positions. It was common for a retiring governor to be re-elected to his office. Among those retiring this particular year were three men Shields viewed with deep suspicion. Seeing his opportunity to clean house once and for all, Shields went for the jugular. Noting the tendency to elect men “chiefly for their standing in the business world” who have “never once, so far as we know, been asked to state their belief in respect to the principles for which the University is supposed to stand,” Shields now attempted to evaluate the individuals who could be expected to run for re-election. In establishing a grounds for this consideration, he noted “a disturbing, aggressive spirit” among the governors “which is out of harmony with the view of the Denomination as a whole.”²⁶

The first individual Shields discussed was a man he held in high regard. With a couple of flattering comments Shields announced: “It is practically certain that in the election for the Board of Governors this year Mr. Moore’s name will be found on nearly every ballot.”²⁷

His second subject, W. E. Robertson, escaped much of his wrath by virtue of the fact that he had announced that after three terms he was not seeking re-election. Shields observed that he was “a gentleman of many excellent qualities” and that his “business judgment seems to be generally sound.” However, Shields did note that Robertson’s sympathies were “entirely with the Modernist movement.” Given the fact that he was retiring Shields affirmed his decision noting: “It is surely now time for a change.”²⁸

The third candidate was a man towards whom Shields held a strong personal animus. Rev. W. A. Cameron, the pastor of Bloor Street Baptist Church, was the man who had seconded the compromise amendment at the 1919 Ottawa Convention. Throughout his evaluation, Shields ridiculed and mocked Cameron. “We venture to suggest a few reasons why he should be allowed to retire – as he did from the platform at the great Ottawa Convention, when the Convention roared its disapproval of his compromising amendment in the mighty shout, “Sit Down! Sit Down!” Having discussed

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Cameron's seeming defence of the modernist position in the Ottawa convention Shields concluded: "The Convention answered Mr. Cameron's proposal with cries of, 'Never! Never! Never!' Let that resolution stand!"²⁹

If there was one man in the denomination Shields despised more than Cameron, it was Dr. Frank Sanderson. In Shields' mind Sanderson, more than any other, was responsible for modernism's incursions into McMaster University. Shields boldly denounced him as an "avowed Modernist." In a foretaste of Shields' more objectionable methodology he now resorted to the publication of hearsay evidence. Citing the testimony of one who had heard a story from a third source, Shields published as fact the claim that Sanderson had made the boast that "John's Gospel had been discredited and discarded." With this as his sole evidence Shields concluded:

But if Dr. Sanderson is not elected to the Board, what then? The most aggressive Modernist in the Convention will have been required to stand aside; the most astute propagandist will have been retired from our denominational councils; the most persistent disturber of the Denomination's peace will have been ordered to take a vacation; and the most formidable hindrance to McMaster's free exercise of her ministry as a distinctively Baptist university will have been removed.³⁰

As if Shields sensed that a storm was brewing, the day before the convention opened, he published one last article relevant to the McMaster issue. In an editorial entitled "Principles and Personalities" Shields defended his appeal to personalities in the current debate. Shields readily acknowledged that dealing with principles and not personalities was indeed a worthy ideal. However, he quickly pointed out that it was not a realistic ideal. He insisted that "Loyalty to principle ... sometimes requires us to be very personal in our defence of the truth." He argued that "it is sometimes impossible to oppose principles without opposing persons." He added that "The only way to oppose a principle may be to name the person who has espoused that principle."³¹ In defence of his position he noted Paul's rebuke of Peter where Paul withstood Peter to his face.³² Adopting something of a martyr spirit, Shields also noted that he expected to face consequences. He indicated that Christ had promised that "loyalty to His Person would be

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

³¹ T. T. Shields, "Principles and Personalities," *GW* 1:23, 19 October 1922, 1.

³² See Galatians 2:11-14.

likely to disturb many personal relationships.” He also expected persecution on the same grounds: “He teaches us to expect the devil to indulge in the coarsest personalities in his warfare against the Truth. As the Master of the house was called Beelzebub, they of His household must expect to be called names also.” He professed his determination that “even closest ties of blood, and the love of life itself” would be “subordinated to our obligation to the Truth and Person of our Lord.”³³

Over the course of the controversies that followed in the years leading up to his expulsion from the convention, Shields would defend this decision. He noted in 1927 that in this regard he deviated from the example of his great hero Spurgeon. He admitted that Spurgeon submitted himself to the Baptist Union’s vote of censure for refusing to give the names of those he opposed. Still, Shields defended his decision to appeal to personalities, again alluding to Biblical precedent: “Nathan’s parable was not effective until it was applied in the words, ‘Thou art the man.’”³⁴ While Shields would have cause to regret his course in the convention that followed, having set his course he never deviated from it. The repercussion that grew from tremor to tsunami over the next five years focused to a very large degree on the “method and the substance” of his personal attacks.³⁵

The Walmer Road Convention of 1922 proved to be an explosive convention. The tone of Shields’ articles was that of a man who placed profound confidence in his own prestige, the power of his logic, and the convention’s commitment to traditional Baptist ideals. Despite his bluster leading up to the convention, his self-confident assertions of the preceding weeks quickly evaporated in the face of the convention’s indignation. His bold claims degenerated into self-defensive rationalizations. Given the overwhelming support he had been afforded in the 1919 convention, his treatment at this convention must have come as something of a shock.

He arrived at the convention to discover an article being “put into the hands of every delegate.”³⁶ The pamphlet being distributed contained the “resolution of the congregation of Bloor Street Baptist Church passed on Sunday evening, supporting their

³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴ T. T. Shields, “Generalities or Personalities,” *GW* 6:22, 6 October 1927, 8. Cf. 2 Samuel 12:7.

³⁵ “Proceedings,” *BYB* 1922, 40.

³⁶ “Shields’ Charges Without Truth, Says Sanderson,” *TDS*, 25 October 1922, 1.

minister, Mr. Cameron.”³⁷ It included a six-point commendation of Cameron’s ministry, character and evangelical orthodoxy. However, not only was it a spirited defence of Cameron, it was a strong denunciation of Shields and an appeal for justice from the convention. By resolution they thereby expressed “the righteous indignation we feel at this unjust attack on a brother minister, and hope that our indignation may be shared by our sister churches.” They also expressed their wish that “the delegates will re-elect him [Cameron] to the board by an overwhelming majority, thereby expressing their adverse verdict on the character of the controversial methods employed by Dr. Shields and on the substance of his uncalled for criticism.”³⁸

The issues raised by Shields leading up to the convention exploded onto the convention floor with the presentation of the McMaster Report. Afterwards, *The Toronto Telegram* reported that “Practically all day yesterday Rev. Dr. T. T. Shields was the issue at the Ontario and Quebec Baptist convention in progress at Walmer Road Baptist Church.”³⁹ The Convention’s hostility was evident from the very outset. When the report was introduced, Shields was given a taste of Cameron’s discomfiture in 1919. When he rose to ask that the retiring Chancellor, Dr. McCrimmon, be removed from the chair because of conflict of interest, the congregation erupted with cries of “‘No! No! No!’ and ‘Not at all!’” Returning to his seat, his nemesis, Frank Sanderson took the floor amid loud applause. He asked as “a matter of personal privilege, ‘affecting my honor as a member of the Baptist church’” that he be allowed “leave to make a statement.” He continued: “Inasmuch as on the very eve of the assembling of this convention certain untrue and false statements have been circulated throughout the provinces of Ontario and Quebec in reference to myself, without any proper effort being made to ascertain the true facts, I deem it only just and fair ... to be accorded the earliest opportunity of making the following brief statement.” Labelling Shields “the pamphleteer,” Sanderson presented in order three false statements which he denied categorically. The *Toronto Star* reporter observed that “every paragraph” of his carefully prepared statement “was punctuated by

³⁷ “Brands Statements ‘False’ Sanderson Answers Shields,” *TT*, 25 October 1922, 17. (Hereafter “Sanderson Answers”).

³⁸ “Bloor St. Baptists Reply to Shields; Record Their faith in Rev. W. A. Cameron, Deplore Jarvis Pastor’s Unbrotherliness,” *TDS* 23 October 1922, 3.

³⁹ “McMaster Governors Returned, Convention Censures Critic,” *TT* 26 October 1922, 12. (Hereafter “Censure”).

loud applause.” “False statement No. 1,” according to Sanderson, was Shields’ claim that he had voted against his (Shields’) protest in the 1919 convention. Sanderson provided evidence that he was not even in attendance for the vote. “False statement No. 2” concerned Shields’ accusation that he, Sanderson, had claimed publically “John’s gospel had been discredited and discarded.” Sanderson responded: “I hereby declare that I have never entertained any such idea, nor has any person ever hinted to me in any shape or form that I myself held such a foolish and erroneous belief.” He further professed that he knew of no Christian scholars who held such a position. He professed that “I have always regarded John’s Gospel as of inestimable worth.” “False Statement No. 3” concerned Shields’ assertion that he was “strongly antagonistic to the conservative Baptist theological position.” Again Sanderson repudiated the idea and made a strong statement affirming the historic position of the university.⁴⁰

Having made his defence, Sanderson presented “the Financial Statement of the University.”⁴¹ His presentation was crafted as a deliberate repudiation of the supposed facts that Shields had cited in his discussions of the denomination’s educational funding. Again Sanderson’s assertions were punctuated by rounds of applause and cheering. The *Telegram* report noted that when Sanderson had finished reading the report he concluded his remarks with “the simple statement, ‘I am a poor sinner, and Jesus Christ is my all in all,’ tears in his eyes as he sat down.”⁴²

As the McMaster report was discussed, speaker after speaker rose to repudiate the ideas expressed in Shields’ articles and “pamphlets.” After much discussion Shields was given an opportunity to substantiate his claims. As he was taking the floor, a further humiliation was thrust upon him in the form of a motion limiting him to ten minutes. After acrimonious discussion Shields was given an hour to make his case. He opened his remarks with an apology to Sanderson. With respect to Sanderson’s first statement, he acknowledged that he had made a mistake in “having said that he [Sanderson] had voted against the Ottawa resolution.”⁴³ With respect to the accusation concerning the book of John, he produced a sworn affidavit from W. F. Hayden, a former deacon of Walmer

⁴⁰ “Sanderson Answers,” 17.

⁴¹ “Proceedings,” *BYB* 1922, 38.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ “Rout,” 17.

Road who had attended a prayer meeting in June 1920 where he had been told by Dr. Farmer that “Dr. Sanderson had come to him at the close of the meeting and asked him “If he did not know better than to quote from John’s Gospel – a book that had been discredited and discarded by everyone that knew anything about it.”⁴⁴ At this Farmer objected that he had no memory of the discussion. Shields’ introduction of the affidavit itself did him little good and exposed him to one delegate’s charge that he carried on a campaign composed of the “subtle propaganda of insinuations.”⁴⁵ As Shields concluded he acknowledged: “I confess I like a fight even though I am sometimes roundly beaten. Perhaps you are going to beat me this afternoon.” The *Telegram* reporter noted that his remark was met with “Hear! hear!” and laughter.⁴⁶

At the conclusion of Shields’ remarks Rev. Leichliter moved an amendment to the motion for the adoption of the board’s report. The amendment contained a subtle rejection of the substance of Shields’ pamphlets and a strong censure of his methods:

That the convention places itself on record as heartily approving of the valuable work in university education which has been and is being done by McMaster University, Woodstock College and Moulton College and of the administration of the Senate and Board of Governors and that this convention deprecates the method and substance of the attacks made by one member of the board upon the university and colleges and that this convention calls upon the churches to continue their full moral support of the university and colleges.⁴⁷

In seconding the motion, Rev. H. McDiarmid stated that “Dr. Shields had utterly failed during the day to substantiate his claims or meet the arguments of his opponents.”⁴⁸ Shields “had simply begged the whole question and had not attempted to answer the very clear statement of McMaster finances as set forth by Dr. Sanderson.”⁴⁹ In the discussion surrounding the motion and its amendment it was manifestly evident that the convention deplored Shields’ attempt to publicize his concerns via pamphleteering instead of first discussing matters with the board. MacNeill, pastor of the host church, believed he expressed the convention’s wishes when he called for an end to the “propaganda and

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ “Censure,” 12.

⁴⁷ “Proceedings,” *BYB* 1922, 40.

⁴⁸ “Censure,” 12.

⁴⁹ “Rout,” 26.

campaign of suspicion, criticism, agitation and bitterness of spirit.”⁵⁰ In confirmation of that opinion, when the vote was taken on the amendment censoring Shields “only 12 hands” were raised against it.⁵¹

To add insult to injury the convention made show of deliberately re-electing all three of the men Shields had maligned. As if responding to the Bloor Street resolution distributed earlier among the delegates, one after another of Shields’ opponents were nominated. Surprisingly, Mr. S. J. Moore, the one man Shields had recommended for the office, was the first to defy Shields’ wishes. “I nominate Rev. W. A. Cameron,” announced Moore. In making his nomination he observed: “... after the attack that has been made upon him, in justice to Mr. Cameron, and the church he represents, and to this denomination, the place to criticize is on the floor of the convention. It is not Baptistic, It is not British fair play to attack a man in thousands of pamphlets, when he could not reply.” John MacNeill followed quickly by re-nominating Robertson. Reading from Shields’ “printed attack,” MacNeill contradicted Shields and insisted that Robertson was not a modernist. Finally, Albert Matthews, one of Shields’ seceding deacons, nominated Dr. Sanderson. When the vote was taken, the *Toronto Telegram* reported that “Rousing applause greeted the announcement that the old board would be returned, Rev. W. A. Cameron, W. E. Robertson, S. J. Moore, Dr. P. Sanderson.”⁵²

Particularly significant during the first round of controversy were the very different perspectives of McMaster’s function. Shields envisioned a Baptist School doing peculiarly Baptist work. He viewed his role on the board of governors as that of a watchman holding the University to account and reporting to the convention at large. A very different perspective was reflected by MacNeill. Judging by the convention’s exuberant responses to MacNeill’s speech, his perspective and not Shields’ represented the convention’s sentiment.

In the first place, Shields’ particular view of his governorship was out of line with the convention’s expectations. MacNeill emphasized responsible governance, not policing. He sarcastically asked if “it were necessary every once in a while to pull up the

⁵⁰ “McMaster Not Meant as Proselytizing Aid,” *TDS*, 26 October 1922, 3.

⁵¹ “Censure,” 12.

⁵² *Ibid.*

tree of the denominational life to see if the roots were sound.” Governors, he noted, were quite within their rights “to put forward criticisms through legitimate channels, but no such member should have gone afield to criticize before a discussion with the other members of the board.” This comment was met with loud applause.⁵³

In contrast to Shields’ rather narrow vision for McMaster, MacNeill envisioned an educational institution that was “broad of purpose.” The implied thrust of Shields’ six-week rant was to “limit the university to a strictly theological college.” In Shields’ mind, the university was mostly duplicating the work of the provincial university. The only justification for spending Baptist funds would be to turn out Baptists. MacNeill challenged this narrowly Baptist perspective, suggesting that it was never Senator McMaster’s vision to use the university to proselytize non-Baptist students. He believed that Senator McMaster had endowed the school to provide Christian education. He noted the difference between McMaster’s work and that of the provincial universities. In the latter institutions students “took up special studies early in their course.” However, McMaster students were taught not to specialize in their undergraduate years, but “were surrounded by the influence of a Baptist institution.”⁵⁴ He concluded his comments with a repudiation of any notion that McMaster was no longer true to Baptist principles. He immediately made the issue personal by suggesting that any such claim was to cast serious aspersions on the chancellor who was “the controlling mind.” He concluded: “I challenge any man to say that Dr. McCrimmon has departed in any jot or tittle from true Baptist doctrine or policy.” The *Star* reporter noted that MacNeill’s emotional outburst provoked “Great applause.”⁵⁵

Clearly Shields no longer enjoyed the prestige in denominational circles he once had. In Shields’ mind much of this was a result of the ongoing campaign of hostility and “slander” being waged by his disgruntled secessionists.⁵⁶ However, it was obvious that Shields’ new-found penchant for the publication of innuendo and insinuation had struck a raw nerve in the convention’s sensibilities. Rather than accept the rebuke and change his

⁵³ “McMaster Not Meant as Proselytizing Aid,” *TDS*, 26 October 1922, 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, “McMaster’s Approval of Dr. Faunce’s Infidelity,” *GW* 2:38, 31 January 1924, 23. (Hereafter “Approval”).

tactics, Shields would go on to compound his mistake in the pages of *The Gospel Witness* with an ongoing campaign of self-justification, innuendo and aspersion. When real issues surfaced in the following years, Shields' credibility was in tatters. The six-week campaign leading up to the 1922 Walmer Road Convention doomed his fundamentalist campaign before it had really begun.

Dr. W. H. P. Faunce

The real showdown between fundamentalism and modernism erupted in two separate issues. The first was the 1923-4 controversy surrounding the awarding of an honorary degree to an avowed modernist. The second was the 1925-7 controversy over the appointment of Dr. Marshall, a suspected modernist, to the faculty of McMaster. In the former affair, Shields was able to regain some ground, but in the latter controversy Shields soon found himself and his following outside of the convention altogether.

As the denomination looked forward to its annual convention in October of 1923, in Olivet Baptist Church, Montreal, Shields was heavily engaged at home reorganizing his Sunday School. At the same time he was busily involved in the affairs of the BBU, having just a few months earlier accepted its presidency. Perhaps his preoccupation with these tasks distracted him, but as the Baptist denomination headed into the 1923 convention things were relatively quiet. However, wounds had been opened and rival campaigns were being waged behind the scenes. The author of the "State of Religion Report," S. W. J. Pady, noted the divide. He decried the fact that a "censorious spirit" was hurting the work of Baptists. He called for a return to charity: "Brotherly kindness, fervent love toward one another from a pure heart, is surely equally necessary for Fundamentalist and Modernist." Appealing to their evangelistic ideal he noted that "Certainly all alike are to be judged by the fruit, and it is safe to say that the most lovable will be the most fruitful."⁵⁷

The convention passed amicably but within weeks of its conclusion a new crisis rocked the denomination. The first public indication of trouble appeared in a *Gospel Witness* article entitled "A Regrettable Incident." The editorial largely consisted of the publication of three letters, two from Shields to the Chancellor of McMaster University,

⁵⁷ W. J. Pady, "State of Religion Report," *BYB* 1923, 54.

Dr. Whidden, and Dr. Whidden's response. Professing "regret" at "the necessity of writing them" and "still more of publishing them," Shields returned to his unpopular policy of publishing his protest without first bringing his concerns before the board.⁵⁸ This time the matter was of much more serious import and the publication of Shields' "protest" immediately stirred up a storm within the denomination.

The matter at hand related to the decision of the Senate to confer an honorary Doctor of Laws degree on a leading modernist. Shields' first letter to Whidden offered an insincere apology for refusing to attend the convocation ceremony in which Whidden was installed as Chancellor. In one breath he was apologizing for the slight, but in the next he was informing Whidden that he had voted against his appointment "as Chancellor on account of the record of Brandon College under your Presidency." Having made his attitudes toward Whidden perfectly clear he indicated that Whidden's investiture was not the real reason for his absence. "I am writing now," clarified Shields, "in order that you may be under no misapprehension as to the reason for my absence to-day." In celebration of Whidden's investiture, the University Senate had decided to use the event as an occasion to confer an honorary degree on a renowned Baptist leader. The man chosen was the President of Brown University, Dr. W. H. P. Faunce. Citing at some length a pamphlet of Faunce entitled "What are the Fundamentals?" Shields demonstrated Faunce's ridicule of the very doctrines that McMaster's Trust Deed enumerated and which the Board professed to believe in their 1922 Convention report. Almost as a taunt, Shields commented: "It must be known to yourself and to the Senate of the University that although called a Baptist, the principles of Dr. Faunce's teaching would absolutely destroy the foundations upon which McMaster University professes to stand." He concluded: "I frankly say that in my humble judgment the presence of Dr. Faunce on the McMaster platform is a dishonour to the University and an insult to the Denomination."⁵⁹ Later, in December, at a six-day conference of "Fundamentalists" held in Calvary Baptist Church, New York, Shields shocked his audience with an emotionally charged outburst

⁵⁸ T. T. Shields, "A Regrettable Incident," *GW* 2:29, 29 November 1923, 9. (Hereafter "Regrettable").

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

denouncing Faunce as a heretic. "I refuse to stand on the same platform with one who would deny the divinity of Christ."⁶⁰

Certainly there was an insult implicit in the Senate's choice of Faunce. However, it was an insult to which Shields primarily would have been sensitive. Many within the Canadian context would have been largely oblivious to the role played by Brown University and its president in the fundamentalist/modernist conflicts south of the border. Indeed, in his response to Shields, Whidden expressed something of that ignorance: "Probably the members of the Senate had never read a theological statement by Dr. Faunce. I myself had not seen any of his pamphlets."⁶¹ For Shields the insult was too blatant to be missed. As the newly anointed president of the BBU, Faunce was the face of much of his opposition in the Northern Baptist Convention and epitomized Shields' angst against those who had infiltrated and "burglarized" many of the leading Baptist theological institutions in the Northern states.⁶² Seeing the same perfidy at work now in his own back yard and realizing that through devious means the decision had been made behind his back in a way that skilfully excluded his interference, Shields determined to publish. Knowing full well the storm of protest that would come from disseminating his protest publicly, Shields justified his actions: "It is impossible for the Senate to rescind its action; the damage has already been done, and it has been done publicly; and I feel that I should be recreant to my trust as a minister of the gospel if I did not make my protest equally public."⁶³ Furthermore, since this action was openly taken by the authority of the Senate, Shields insisted on his right openly to "dissociate myself as a member of the Senate and Board of Governors from the Senate's action in conferring an honorary degree upon one whose teachings I regard as being absolutely anti-Christian."⁶⁴

Perhaps it was Shields' growing awareness of the methods of his modernist foes, or perhaps it was his own growing paranoia following his war experiences and the Jarvis Street schism, but Shields immediately suspected an insidious plot to insinuate modernist influences into the school: "I cannot help asking myself what sinister influence seems

⁶⁰ "Won't Break Bread with Foe of Christ Says Rev. Dr. Shields," *TTCF*, 4 December 1923, 11.

⁶¹ T. T. Shields, "Regrettable," 11.

⁶² T. T. Shields, "The Baptist Bible Union At New York," *GW* 2:31, 13 December 1923, 3. Cf. Delnay, 67.

⁶³ T. T. Shields, "Regrettable," 11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

ever to be seeking to commit the University to a course which one cannot approve without being guilty of treason to Christ and His Gospel.”⁶⁵ That Shields took the action of the Senate as a personal insult was born out by his press release in New York a few days after the convocation ceremonies had occurred. On December 5th, in an Associated Press dispatch entitled “Shields Throws Down Gauntlet to Faunce,” Shields “characterized the Brown University head, and all other modernists, as ‘religious cuckoos,’ and asserted that the fundamentalists ‘throw down the gauntlet’ to them.” Shields broadcast in the same release that “he absented himself from the installation services of the new chancellor of McMaster University, Toronto, because Dr. Faunce was given an honorary degree.”⁶⁶ A matter that most board members felt was a private institutional matter had now been inflated into an international incident. Worse yet, it had hurled them into the epicentre of the fundamentalist/modernist conflict. The Senate’s extraordinary reactions to this series of events reflected its own chagrin at the unwanted publicity. Knowing now that it had ‘poked’ the BBU ‘bear’ it moved quickly to isolate Shields and protect itself from the BBU resources. However, the members of the Senate should have been all too aware that the more they humiliated and insulted Shields the more violent and extreme his reaction would be.

On January 14, 1924, the Senate called an emergency meeting ostensibly to comply with Shields’ request that his letters of protest to Whidden be read to the board. The meeting was “arranged to suit the convenience” of Shields. The board’s resolution on that occasion indicated that this was their first meeting since the Montreal Convention in October of 1923.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the lengthy and detailed preamble to their resolution suggested that a certain measure of orchestration of their agenda had been engaged in prior to the meeting. Shields later complained that “It was evident from the beginning of the meeting on January 14th that every man had been assigned his part.”⁶⁸ In the published account of their resolution prepared for the *Canadian Baptist* there was no evidence that any deliberation of the substance of the complaint was considered. The four-hour meeting did, however, entertain a discussion of every conceivable objection to

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁶ Associated Press Dispatch, “Shields Throws Down Gauntlet to Faunce,” *TDS*, 6 December 1923, 3.

⁶⁷ “McMaster and Faunce Degree,” *CB*, 17 January 1924, 5.

⁶⁸ T. T. Shields, “Approval,” 27.

Shields' actions. The board's defensive reaction to Shields' public exposure of its actions consisted of a protracted personal attack on Shields. Senate members accused him of having deliberately absented himself from the meetings "in which the plans and programme for the installation of Chancellor Whidden were discussed." He was further accused of timing his objection so that it would appear "only three hours before the Special convocation." They noted the implied insult on Faunce whom they defensively described as one "who for a quarter of a century has been the honoured President of the oldest university in America, controlled by Baptists, and who is a member in good standing of the oldest Baptist church in America." They expressed resentment concerning the "insinuations" that Shields published behind their backs "through the press, and in a public address delivered in an American City." These "insinuations," they argued, imputed motives in such a way as to damage the University's credibility and to breed "suspicion throughout the Convention as to the teaching and policy of McMaster University." They further charged him with casting "reflections upon the good faith and qualifications of Dr. Whidden" and publishing innuendoes against the character and honor of Dean Farmer and Professor McCrimmon." They condemned the action of his church in withdrawing support of McMaster in their "regular financial budget" as early as March of 1923, though as late as October of 1923 he had publically "professed to rejoice in the clear-cut statements as to the purpose and policy of this University presented ... and adopted at the previous Convention."⁶⁹

Based on these charges the Senate passed three resolutions which it determined should be "communicated to the constituency through 'The Canadian Baptist'." The first resolution expressed the "unqualified disapproval of the conduct and methods of Dr. Shields as disloyal to the Senate itself and hostile to the good work McMaster University is seeking to do." The second expressed their "confidence in Chancellor Whidden, Dean Farmer and Professor McCrimmon" and also their "deep resentment at the unwarranted reflections attempted to be cast on them by Dr. Shields." The third resolution decried the "manner in which Dr. Shields has discharged the responsible tasks imposed on him by the Convention" and his "general attitude toward the University." It further declared their

⁶⁹ "McMaster and Faunce Degree," *CB*, 17 January 1924, 5.

belief “that the actions and attitude of Dr. Shields make it obviously impossible to cooperate with him longer in any constructive work with any hope of success.”⁷⁰

With the *Canadian Baptist's* publication of the Senate's resolutions, Shields immediately retaliated. He announced to the press that on the evening of January 24th he intended to respond to the Senate's action in an address delivered at his church. The address, “McMaster' Approval of Dr. Faunces' Infidelity,” was subsequently published as a 56-page special edition of *The Gospel Witness*. The demand for this issue was so heavy that it ran through four editions. The next day the public press announced “Shields Proposes to Starve McMaster into Submission.” Characterizing his response to the Senate's action the *Star* reporter quoted Shields in his defiant declaration, “It is war It is war on McMaster as it is at present.” The report's subtitle noted Shields' call for all “Baptists to Withdraw Financial Support from the University until ‘McMaster behaves herself.’”⁷¹

Shields' account of the events of January 14 accentuated the hostility of the gathering. Upon his arrival he found his “jury” already seated around a board room table. Shields testified that “upon my entrance I found the circle complete – the senate sat around a long table.” Rudely, he felt, Shields was excluded from the circle: “Although I came to the meeting as an elected member of the Board of governors, neither the Chancellor nor any of the officials had the courtesy to propose that the circle be extended to include me.” He was immediately struck by the judicial character of the gathering. “Of necessity, I sat outside the circle, as though it were deliberately designed that I should appear before that august body as a prisoner on trial.” Mocking their attempt at intimidation Shields interjected “I felt a great deal more comfortable outside the circle than I should have been inside.” Adopting the role of a noble martyr he characterized the proceedings as reminiscent of the trial of Christ: “I am describing the spirit of the jury – precisely the same spirit as presided in the palace of the high priest on a certain memorable occasion recorded in Holy Writ.”⁷²

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ “Shields Proposes to Starve McMaster into Submission,” *TDS*, 25 January 1924, 11. Note: In April he published an article in the *Witness* entitled “The Necessity for Passive Resistance” in which he reiterated his appeal: “... it becomes a military necessity to cut off supplies altogether. *GW* 2:47, 3 April 1924, 10.

⁷² T. T. Shields, “Approval,” 27.

Amazingly, the judiciary he faced consisted predominately of the disenchanted secessionists from his church who had finally discovered a convenient forum in which to wreak their revenge. Among those present were nearly all the key players in the Jarvis Street insurrection. He quickly identified James Ryrie, B. W. Merrill, J. B. McArthur, H. Firstbrook, Albert Matthews and J. H. Cranston. He expressed incredulity at the composition of his “jury panel.” “Who are they?” he asked rhetorically: “An ex-deacon of Jarvis Street Baptist Church; and ex-Associate Pastor, for whose resignation I had been compelled to ask; and ex-Chairman of Jarvis Street ex-Finance Committee and instigator of the Jarvis Street futile insurrection; still another member of the Jarvis Street ex-Finance committee; another member of Jarvis Street, who began a newspaper campaign against me ... before I began my pastorate in Jarvis Street.⁷³ Also present in adversarial positions were the three governors whom he had opposed in the 1922 Walmer Road Convention, Robertson, Cameron and Sanderson, and the Chancellor he had voted against, Whidden. He asked facetiously, “What lawyer would consent to argue a case before a jury so constituted?”⁷⁴

Point by point Shields meticulously went on to answer every one of the Board’s objections. Most significantly he put the lie to the Senate’s contention that he had deliberately absented himself from the board meetings relevant to the Faunce degree. After facing this accusation the night of January 14th, Shields requested of the registrar a record of “the dates of all meetings of the Senate, and of all meetings of the Board of Governors held during the year 1923.” The registrar readily complied. The registrar’s report contained reference to two meetings about which Shields had not been informed. The first was on May 14th in which a committee was appointed to arrange for the “Installation for Chancellor Whidden.” Shields found it significant that of the four members of this committee, Frank Sanderson was most prominent as the man who would have made the Faunce recommendation. The second meeting relevant to this matter was October 11th when the committee reported what they had planned. According to the registrar’s information this was a report only and was not even mentioned in the Minutes of the Board. Shields had two significant objections. The first was that on both occasions

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

he was half way across the continent when the meetings were announced and conducted and he was never informed of the substance of either meeting. Furthermore, the process was deeply flawed because the Senate was never given a chance to respond to the actions of the committee. He objected that “the honorary Degree Committee had selected the men, had communicated with them, had received their acceptance of the proposed honour, before ever the matter was brought to the attention of the Senate at all.” Shields noted that even had he been present on the 11th of October, neither he nor the Senate could have done anything about it: “... the thing was all done by the Honorary Degree Committee; and the Senate knew absolutely nothing about it until it was too late to do anything but either accept the Committee’s recommendation or withdraw the offer of the degree, which had already been accepted.” Shields noted that “I saw no announcement until I read it in the evening paper the day before the degree was to be conferred. I then deliberated for some time as to the proper course to pursue; and at noon of the following day wrote the letter which I sent by the hand of my Secretary to the Chancellor in the early afternoon.”⁷⁵

The *Star* reporter related the fact that “He [Shields] served notice on the McMaster Senate that if its censure on him was intended as a bid for his resignation from the board of governors, they must guess again. He was not resigning. The Baptist convention had put him there, and he proposed to stay there.”⁷⁶ Shields emerged from the event more determined to fight than ever. Moreover, in some ways he was more dangerous than ever, as now he had concrete evidence of the boards’ complicity with the modernist camp. He and his supporters felt vindicated by the events that transpired and he came out of the encounter believing more than ever that his methods were justified. Furthermore, he seemed to be gratified that his actions so thoroughly enraged his enemies.

In evaluating the eruption of hostilities between Shields and the Board of Governors, it must be asked if the Faunce issue was merely a blunder on the part of the board which Shields attempted to exploit as the President of the BBU? Or was it a deliberate act of defiance by the Board of Governors in an attempt to embarrass Shields

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁷⁶ “Shields Proposes to Starve McMaster into Submission,” *TDS*, 25 January 1924, 11.

on the international stage? While there is no doubt that both sides in the controversy attempted to use the situation to further their political agendas, the evidence seems to tilt towards the latter interpretation. The occasion of the meetings scheduled to plan Faunce's honorary degree, and even the announcements of those meetings seemed too conveniently timed. Shields' itinerary was well advertised in the pages of the *Gospel Witness* and even the secular press carried stories of his fundamentalist crusade south of the boarder. It seems more than an accident that these two meetings both fell at times when Shields was sure to miss any notice of them. It also seems to be too much of a coincidence that his accusers on the night of January 14th were so heavily representative of the body of secessionists that split from Jarvis Street in 1921. There can be no doubt of the bitterness entertained by the majority of the inquisitors facing him that evening. In any case, objective consideration of Shields' complaint was utterly impossible under such conditions and the matter was left for the judgment of the convention later that fall.

Over the course of the next few months the issue began to gain momentum among the denominational churches. Several associations passed resolutions condemning the action of the Senate in conferring the Faunce degree.⁷⁷ Shields wrote at least two editorials attempting to goad the Senate into some sort of response. In June of 1924 Shields took John MacNeill to task for attempting to organize a resistance movement against him.⁷⁸ As the convention approached, Shields began to stir the pot again by publishing articles rehashing the circumstances surrounding the Faunce degree. He noted in the first place that after the Montreal convention of 1923 he had publicly pledged to support the educational work of the denomination, especially in light of the fact that McMaster had an "urgent need for funds." However, within a month of his public expression of support, "the first public act of the new Chancellor was the conferring of an honour upon a man who, while called a Baptist, is notoriously aggressive in the propagation of the principles of Modernism" Shields reflected: "We called it a 'blunder' in the beginning, but their justification of the 'blunder' was little less than treason." He appealed the issue to the convention: "*We repeat, the one single issue at the*

⁷⁷ Shields publishes some of these in the *Witness*. Cf. "Editorial: What will the Senate of McMaster University Do About It?" *GW* 3:11, 24 July 1924, 8.

⁷⁸ T. T. Shields, "Editorial: A Meeting of Some Toronto Ministers," *GW* 3:7, 26 June 1924, 6-7.

*Convention will be this, Does the Convention approve of the use of McMaster University's powers to honour a man who dishonours Christ? Let the delegates come prepared to answer that question with their ballots!"*⁷⁹ In an editorial appearing the week before the Convention convened Shields again reminded delegates of the dominating issue. He noted that McMaster had been "officially silent, for she feared to come out into the public view." However, he accused the Senate of sending out "emissaries ... from one end of the Convention to the other, spreading their views and conducting a campaign of misrepresentation." Shields boasted: "We are glad we made our protest; we should be ashamed under such circumstances to be silent. It remains for the Convention to find a verdict on this question."⁸⁰

Shields further stirred up matters by igniting a proxy war. He had complained of the practice of denominational factions appealing to the smaller churches on the peripheries of the convention authorizing them to appoint proxies. He noted this practice in the 1921 convention when several of the secessionists of his own church, while still retaining membership at Jarvis Street, were present at the convention as delegates for other churches. In light of that practice, Shields now invited proxies to his camp: "... we will send to any Baptist church who cannot afford to send delegates to London, the names of Baptists who will go to London as their delegates, to vote in harmony with the principles outlined in the foregoing article."⁸¹ This proxy war would heat up in the following years with articles appearing from both sides of the controversy in *The Gospel Witness* and *The Canadian Baptist*. The practice continued to be a contentious issue until it was addressed on the convention floor in 1926.⁸²

As Shields had predicted, the issue of import for the London Convention of 1924 was the Senate's handling of the Faunce degree. Convention officials attempted to avoid open controversy by appointing a committee of five to meet with Shields in hopes they could deal with the matter privately. Shields responded to their request for a meeting by a letter which was later read to the convention. In it Shields categorically refused such an approach noting that "Matters now in dispute are matters of public interest." Clearly,

⁷⁹ T. T. Shields, "What is The Issue?" *GW* 3:21, 2 October 1924, 18-19.

⁸⁰ T. T. Shields, "Editorial: The Convention and McMaster University," *GW* 3:24, 23 October 1924, 7.

⁸¹ T. T. Shields, "Will the Churches Send Delegates?" *GW* 3:24, 23 October, 1924, 7-8.

⁸² "Resolutions," *BYB*, 1926, 55.

after the public denunciation he had received at the hands of the Senate January 14th, he was determined to have his day in the final court of appeals on the convention floor. He had every intention of humbling the Senate and curtailing its activities in the public forum.

Before the report of the Senate reached the floor, however, Shields scored a significant victory as he set the stage for the educational debate. Resenting the fact that the editor of *The Canadian Baptist* had refused to give him access to its pages, ostensibly in an effort to avoid controversy, Shields determined to force a change in policy on the part of the editorial committee. At the conclusion of the Report of the Publication Board, Shield presented a resolution which he noted could be incorporated into the report or voted on as an amendment. Perhaps fearing the consequences of a vote, the chairman of the Publication Board incorporated it into the report where it was passed unanimously. The resolution demanded that *The Canadian Baptist* encourage the “discussion of denominational problems” and that “utmost care should be exercised to give equal opportunity for discussion of both sides of the controversy.”⁸³

At the conclusion of the Publications Report, the Chancellor presented the report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University. Shields immediately rose to make an amendment. Noting the wide discussion of “the propriety of the action of McMaster University in conferring an Honorary degree upon one who is known as a leader among modernist theologians,” Shield moved the resolution “That this Convention, without intending any reflection upon the distinguished recipient of the degree, hereby declares that the action of the University must not be interpreted as an endorsement by this convention of the theological views of the modernist theologian referred to; but reaffirms its adherence to the doctrinal standards incorporated in the Trust Deeds and Charter of McMaster University.” To this Shields added a resolution forcing the Board “to refrain, in the future, from conferring a degree upon any religious leader whose theological views are known to be opposed to the principles of Evangelical Christianity.”⁸⁴ An amendment to the amendment was moved which would essentially have replaced Shields’ amendment with an expression of confidence in the Senate. When

⁸³ T. T. Shields, “Resolution re Canadian Baptist,” *GW* 3:26, 6 November 1924, 7.

⁸⁴ “Proceedings,” *BYB* 1924, 40.

put to a vote, the amendment to the amendment was lost by two votes, 264 to 262. Shields was asked to withdraw his amendment with the promise that the matter would be dealt with under the discussion of the resolution of the Toronto Association. This he allowed, and the evening program was cancelled so that the resolution could be discussed. The resolution in question dealt with the issue of restricting Senate actions relative to the granting of honorary degrees. The discussion carried on well into the evening and after amendment and counter amendment, Shields suggested to the president that a committee of five be “appointed to retire” and to frame a resolution “that would be acceptable to the delegates.” This recommendation was accepted by the convention and a committee consisting of both sides of the argument, including both the Chancellor and Shields, withdrew to deliberate. Upon their return, a resolution concerning honorary degrees was moved by Shields and seconded by Whidden: “That without implying any reflection upon the Senate, this Convention relies upon the Senate to exercise care that honorary degrees be not conferred upon religious leaders whose theological views are known to be out of harmony with the cardinal principles of evangelical Christianity.”⁸⁵ The motion was carried unanimously. To the chagrin of the Senate, Shields’ complaint had been heard and acted upon with a diminishment of their own powers. To add insult to injury, Shields was once again nominated and elected to the Board of Governors. As if rubbing salt in an open wound Shields made much of the failed amendment in the afternoon session. Since this was the only expression of confidence in the Senate placed on the floor of the convention throughout the whole discussion, Shields gloatingly noted that “for the first time in thirty-six years the Convention refused the University a vote of confidence.” This, however, marked the high point of Shields’ fundamentalist crusade in the Convention of Ontario and Quebec and the critical vote was only won by two votes. Given Shields’ penchant for publishing insult and innuendo, the next round was destined to go very differently.

Professor L. H. Marshall

The opening salvo of the impending fire-storm was launched in a *Gospel Witness* article April 23, 1925 entitled “McMaster Vacancies and the Associations.” Shields

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

reopened the question of whether McMaster was entitled to the unquestioned confidence of the convention and whether it was truly worthy of the sacrifices made by the convention to continue its operation. He quoted a speech by Moore at the last convention in which Moore strongly asserted that “there should be clearly and unmistakeably in the minds of our people the conviction that the University deserves the sacrifice which they are asked to make.” Shields reflected on the fact that, along with himself, both Chancellor Whidden and Dean Farmer had been part of the committee that framed the resolution prohibiting further awards of honorary degrees to modernists. He expressed his opinion that the wording of the resolution inherently denoted an allegiance to “the cardinal principles of Evangelical Christianity.” On the basis of the resolution Shields had resolved to hold his peace about the McMaster situation and except for this editorial kept his peace throughout the year.⁸⁶ With the resolution unanimously adopted by the convention, Shields concluded that “the confidence which Mr. Moore insisted was necessary to adequate financial support, may fairly be assumed to have been restored.” However, having made that concession, Shields immediately set about to cast doubt on it. He quickly pointed out that by abstention two leading “members of the Board of Governors did not vote for the resolution.” Furthermore, and more seriously, the Dean of Arts Dr. McLay had just published in *The McMaster Graduate* a resounding endorsement of two of McMaster’s former professors. The troubling thing about this endorsement was the fact that both of these men were now “notoriously modernistic in their views.”⁸⁷ Dr. George Cross was the professor of Systematic Theology at Rochester, one of the universities Shields and the BBU associated with the spread of modernist theology in the Northern Convention. Some of the suspicion of Brandon College surrounded that school’s association with Cross.⁸⁸ Shields noted that “Even Dr. Fosdick himself has not gone farther from the evangelical position than Dr. Cross.” The other professor endorsed was Dr. I. G. Matthews. Matthews, of course, was the professor suspected by Elmore Harris of introducing modernist ideas into McMaster in 1910, and whose tenure was

⁸⁶ T. T. Shields, “Will the Convention Approve the Appointment of McMaster’s New Professor, Rev. H. T. Marshall?” *GW* 4:23, 15 October 1925, 2. (Hereafter “Appointment”).

⁸⁷ T. T. Shields, “McMaster Vacancies and the Associations,” *GW* 3:50, 23 April 1925, 11. (Hereafter “Vacancies”).

⁸⁸ Ellis, “Brandon College,” 77.

repeatedly denounced by Shields since the time of the Inspiration controversy culminating in the Ottawa Convention of 1919. “We regret,” observed Shields, “That Dr. McLay should have written these words at a time when it was so necessary that nothing should be done to further shake the confidence of the Convention in the University.”⁸⁹

Though Shields made much of the 1924 resolution, this article was a clear indication that he had no intention of diminishing his vigilance or that his suspicions concerning the board had been allayed. In an attempt to keep the Board’s activities before the convention, he pointed out that four vacancies currently existed in the faculty: two in the Faculty of Theology, due to the deaths of professors Gilmour and Bates, and two in the Faculty of Arts. Noting that nearly all the annual meetings of the “various Associations of the Convention” would be “held within the next eight weeks,” and mentioning the impact of Association resolutions upon the 1924 convention, Shields urged the associations, by resolution, to demand that “those who are appointed to these positions shall be true to the Bible as God’s Word, and to the great doctrines of the Bible which are written into the Trust Deed of McMaster University.” He concluded: “Prevention is better than cure!”⁹⁰

Shields’ concerns were further exacerbated in July 1925 when he received notification of an emergency meeting of the Senate ostensibly to fill the “vacant professorships.” Shields, conveniently for the Senate, was across the continent in Los Angeles, California, at the time of the announcement. He immediately responded by telegram and warned the Senate that “an important action such as filling vacant professorships at emergency meeting called midsummer when some Convention – elected representatives known so far away make attendance impossible” would not be approved by the Convention.⁹¹ Despite Shields’ warning, the Senate went ahead with appointments. A formal announcement was made “by the Senate and Board of McMaster University that Rev. L. H. Marshall, of Coventry, England, had been appointed to the Chair of Practical Theology in succession to Dr. Gilmour.”⁹² Shortly after this action,

⁸⁹ T. T. Shields, “Vacancies,” 11.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 12.

⁹¹ T. T. Shields, “Appointment,” 14.

⁹² T. T. Shields, “Shall Modernism Capture McMaster?” *GW* 4:26, 29 October 1925, 1. (Hereafter “Capture”).

unsolicited by himself, Shields received two second-hand communications from England concerning the appointment of Rev. Marshall. The author of these missives was Rev. W. M. Robertson, minister of a Baptist church in Liverpool, the same city where Marshall for some time had pastored. Upon hearing of Marshall's appointment he wrote a warning letter. "Mr. Marshall is a Modernist and of entirely different stamp to Rev. Henry S. Curr whose place he is to take."⁹³ Furthermore, noted Robertson: "The church of which he was pastor here is open membership. A few pointed questions on Inspiration, bodily Resurrection of Christ would reveal his position." He concluded: "I learn from Rev. Hughes of Toronto, now in this country, that a fight has already taken place over Modernism at McMaster; and if this appointment is confirmed, Modernism had gained a great victory."⁹⁴ A second letter responding to an additional enquiry was a further delineation of the matter. With both these letters in hand, and now thoroughly alarmed, on September 24, 1925, Shields sent a communication to the Senate. Acknowledging that "no word spoken or written by Mr. Marshall is quoted" and that this only represented "an opinion of a minister who laboured with Mr. Marshall in the same city," Shields asserted that it would be unfair to pass judgment on Marshall on the basis of the letters. However, Shields did feel that in light of the seriousness of the charges that "Mr Marshall should come before the Senate, and that permission should be given to all members to question him touching the subject represented by these letters; or, otherwise, that a committee of the Senate should be appointed to interview Mr. Marshall with the same end in view."⁹⁵

Not surprisingly, Shields met with serious resistance when the convened Senate met to discuss the matter. Most members of the board seemed to be quite perturbed at Shields for raising the matter at all. Although Shields was careful to avoid passing judgment on the basis of the letters, McNeill insisted that "the submission of them here tends to prejudice the whole case." Of Dr. Fox's reaction, Shields remarked: "To say that Mr. Fox's speech was a 'bitter' attack upon the writer [Shields] for daring to raise the question is to use the mildest language we know." Shields retaliated by publishing that Fox was one of the two Board members who abstained from voting on the resolution in

⁹³ The correspondent was incorrect at this point. Marshall was appointed to take the place of Gilmour, not Curr.

⁹⁴ T. T. Shields, "Appointment," 14.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

the 1924 convention. The consensus of the Board was that “the Senate had already satisfied itself of Mr. Marshall’s fitness....” If he was still concerned, Shields was told to interview Marshall himself. Chancellor Whidden, showing remarkably little understanding of his opponent, suggested that Shields invite Marshall to preach in Jarvis Street “and sometime to play a game of golf with him!” Shields responded: “We need make no comment on the character of such a suggestion, except frankly to say to our readers that with great reluctance and disappointment we submitted our communication to the Senate as relating to matters of infinitely greater moment than the playing of golf.”⁹⁶

During the course of the Senate meeting, Shields was informed of the substance of their interviews with Marshall prior to his appointment. What Shields heard from Dr. Farmer was in essence a declaration of war. Farmer acknowledged that “he understood Mr. Marshall to occupy substantially Dr. S. R. Driver’s position on critical questions.” Farmer admitted that he was somewhat uncomfortable himself with Marshall’s position, and added that “he would, personally, take a more conservative view on questions of authorship and dates of the Old Testament Scriptures” He also acknowledged that Marshall’s view of the resurrection of Christ could cause misunderstanding: “Mr Marshall had said he would have to interpret the resurrection in the light of Paul; and that it was a spiritual resurrection.” Farmer went on to admit that if “he had been seeking a man for the Chair of Old Testament, he did not think he would have recommended Mr Marshall.” Shields wondered aloud if “it was safe to appoint a man to teach the New Testament who did not believe the Old?”⁹⁷

Shields went into the critical Senate meeting with concerns about unsubstantiated allegations regarding Marshall but came out with the conviction that everything of which Robertson had warned them was true. He was also horrified at the casual attitudes toward significant issues of modern critical thought taken by both Chancellor Whidden and Dean Farmer. No one on the board seemed at all concerned that the charges might be true. In the end, the Senate refused to take any further action except to appoint a committee “to

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

consider what action the Senate should take in view of our [Shields'] communication."⁹⁸ Fox, who made the motion to appoint the committee, later clarified this motion on the convention floor. "My motion is not to appoint a committee to interview Mr. Marshall. I want to make that clear."⁹⁹ Shields concluded that the committee's function was not at all to deal with Marshall. Its sole purpose was to address the question of what to do with him. Seeing that the Senate resolutely refused to take any further action concerning a man who was to "arrive in a couple of weeks," and who had "resigned his position over there," Shields determined to take his appeal "to the people." On the eve of the 1926 Hamilton convention Shields published his allegations in an editorial entitled: "Will the Convention Approve the Appointment of McMaster's New Professor, Rev. H. T. Marshall?" Over the course of the next few days Shields published five special editions of the *Gospel Witness*, a total of 124 pages covering the issue. Once again, the opposition was outraged. McNeill furiously charged that Shields had no business publishing, especially in light of the fact that the committee had not yet reported. In a caustic debate on the convention floor Shields made it clear that the committee was not even appointed to deal with Marshall, but with him and Robertson's allegations. Since nothing was to be done concerning Marshall, Shields justified his actions. His only apology was to his readership for the suspension of the usual devotional content of the publication: "In wartime it sometimes happens that regular meals cannot be served. We are sorry to have to withhold from our readers this week the weekly portion." Reiterating the military reference Shields served notice to the convention: "We have been, and are still, at war; and for this week our space must be occupied with war news."¹⁰⁰

The 1925 Hamilton Convention

For the McMaster faction, Stanley Avenue Baptist Church, Hamilton, was decidedly hostile territory. Along with Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Stanley Avenue was one of the largest and most Fundamental Baptist churches in the convention. Pre-convention rallies of the BBU were held simultaneously in both Jarvis Street and Stanley

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ T. T. Shields, "Capture," 5.

¹⁰⁰ T. T. Shields, "Creeping In Unawares," *GW* 4:25, 22 October 1925, 1.

Avenue Baptist Churches as the delegates were gathering.¹⁰¹ McMaster officials were assured of a rocky reception. As expected, the presentation of the McMaster University report generated a great deal of interest and opposition. The consequent debate featured bitter recriminations, grandstanding by Shields and backlash from Marshall himself. Shields, armed with stenographic reports, published a blow-by-blow account of the whole affair.

Shields' account of the debate and its aftermath focused particularly on the mounting evidence of Marshall's modernism. Having come away from the Senate meeting convinced of the worst, Shields now set about to discover and expose every hint of deviation from the conservative Baptist position embodied in McMaster's Trust Deed. One of the most troubling issues was Farmer's revelation of Marshall's acceptance of the Driver view. Shields immediately published excerpts from Driver's books to demonstrate the wholesale attack on Old Testament historicity and supernaturalism and by extension Christ's infallibility.¹⁰² In subsequent weeks Shields would further develop his analysis of the danger implicit in Driver's higher critical views. In a sermon preached Sunday evening, Nov. 8, 1925, entitled "Will Baptists Consent to McMaster's Throwing over Redemption by Blood?" Shields demonstrated the ramifications of Driver's teaching for the New Testament understanding of Jesus Christ and His atonement. Shields opened his message with a discussion of Christ's priesthood and the Old Testament background to it. Having identified key Old Testament worship forms, Shields concluded with the New Testament application: "He was Himself the Tabernacle, He was Himself the Altar, He was Himself the Sacrifice, He was Himself the Priest; and He entered into the holiest of all, not with the blood of others, but with His own blood."¹⁰³ Amid shouts of

¹⁰¹ T. T. Shields, "A Great Pre-Convention Baptist Bible Union Conference at Hamilton," GW 4:19, 17 September 1925, 7.

¹⁰² Critical views of the O.T. dismissed the historicity of the book of Jonah. However, Jesus Christ Himself attested to the historicity of Jonah by using it as a type and symbol of His own death, burial and resurrection. (cf. Mt. 12:40). Driver himself acknowledged that this would of course cast doubt on Christ's infallibility. In his preface to his "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" he commented: "It does not seem requisite for the present purpose, as, indeed, within the limits of a Preface it would not be possible, to consider whether our Lord, as man, possessed all knowledge, or whether a limitation in this, as in other respects ... was involved in that gracious act of condescension, in virtue of which he was willing 'in all things to be made like unto His brethren.'" (Heb. 2:17). See Driver, Samuel Rolles, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York, Scribner, 1898), Preface, 12.

¹⁰³ T. T. Shields, "Will Baptists Consent to McMaster's Throwing over Redemption by Blood?" GW 4:30, 19 November 1925, 3. (Hereafter "Redemption").

“Hallelujah!” and “Praise the Lord!” Shields made a dogmatic proposition: “... any gospel – any gospel so-called- which ignores the eternal Priesthood of Jesus Christ is not *the* gospel: it is ‘another gospel,’ it has no relation to the gospel revealed in God’s holy Word.”¹⁰⁴ Shields went on to discuss this proposition by demonstrating how Christ’s priesthood was undermined by the Driver view which Marshall embraced. Shields noted that the whole section on Old Testament priesthood was part of the priestly code that higher critics like Driver took out of the Pentateuch and placed after the Babylonian Exile. For Shields, the ramification of this manipulation of Old Testament dating was staggering: the whole ritual of Jewish worship did not come down from heaven at Sinai, but was copied from Babylonian influences. “What does it do?” Shields asked, “It simply takes the whole conception of the priesthood out of the Old Testament as a divine revelation, and makes it a piece of literary forgery, perpetrated by the priests of post-exile times to credential themselves and their office.” Shields mocked Dean Farmer’s assertion that Marshall held the Driver view “only in respect to authorship and dates.”¹⁰⁵ For Shields, changing the dating of the Old Testament materials undermined the whole matter of Christ’s priesthood. He assertively declared that “the man who takes that view, cannot believe in the Priesthood of Christ.” Claiming that Driver’s beliefs made the five books of Moses “a pious fraud” and “the most gigantic forgery that was ever foisted upon the human mind,” he challenged Farmer’s attempt to minimize the matter. To Shields this was to “take away” the very “foundation of the New Testament.” He insisted that “The New Testament has its roots in the Old, the great central fact of the whole Christian revelation is the Priesthood of Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁶

Shields opened up a second line of attack in his discussion of the convention address delivered by Marshall. Shields published this three times in the next few days replete with highlighting and editorial comment. Introducing it in a condescending manner he noted that “This address contains many good things.” However, it was apparent from the outset that he intended to subject every line to the closest scrutiny. Shields was particularly concerned with Marshall’s commentary on young people. His

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

comments, according to Shields, had particular implications for the doctrines of Total Depravity and Regeneration. Marshall criticized what Shields understood to be the preaching of the gospel to young people as some sort of “spasmodic effort.” According to Marshall, the contemporary church, instead of giving attention to the “spiritual care and culture of the young in the hope ... [of] their spiritual awakening,” allowed its youth to “drift” and then “by expensive missions ... it has tried to bring them back again by forcing them through all the throes of a psychic revolution.” Shields immediately saw in Marshall’s remarks an appeal for conversion in some “natural” process. This was both a denial of human depravity and the spiritual character of conversion. Shields noted the scriptural declaration: “That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit.”¹⁰⁷ Speaking of the centrality of gospel preaching to the evangelical tradition, Shields reflected: “This was the method of Wesley, and of Whitefield, and of Finney, and of Spurgeon, and of Moody, and of many others.” Rhetorically he asked, “Were such conversions as these great evangelistic efforts produced nothing more than “psychic revolutions”? Are such wonders of grace as those great movements witnessed to be psychologically explained?”¹⁰⁸ In a method that became more and more prominent in his polemic, Shields exaggerated a casual and careless comment into a mortal offence. Certainly, in the convention the next day, Marshall protested at the meaning Shields had placed upon his words.¹⁰⁹ However, by careful dissection and with a seemingly logical analysis Shields concluded: “This is Modernism in full flower. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick could scarcely have surpassed it.”¹¹⁰

Having published extensively his suspicions concerning Marshall, Shields forced the issue onto the floor of the convention. In a move that must have taken the opposition somewhat by surprise, Shields moved an amendment to the motion recommending the acceptance of the McMaster report. His amendment was to call for a vote forcing his own removal from the Board of Governors. Noting that such a vote would give the Convention the “opportunity to express approval or disapproval” of his action in demanding of the Senate an investigation of Marshall’s alleged modernism, He moved

¹⁰⁷ T. T. Shields, “Editor’s Comments On Mr. Marshall’s Sermon,” *GW* 4:24, 21 October 1925, 9.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁹ T. T. Shields, “Capture,” 25.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

that “it is hereby resolved, that “the position of the said Rev. T. T. Shields as a member of the Board of Governors be and is hereby declared vacant as from this date.”¹¹¹

While on the surface it may have appeared that Shields was offering to resign his position on the Board of Governors, his opponents were quick to divine his intent. This was an immediate means to force the question of Marshall’s employment to a vote of the convention. Had Shields been supported by a vote of confidence from the floor, a committee to reinvestigate Marshall would have been forced on the Senate.

Remembering their loss on a critical amendment in 1924, McMaster supporters were clearly unwilling to commit themselves to a test of strength at this point. Objection was made that this was not a proper amendment and the chair supported that interpretation. The discussion of the report was continued and recommendation was made that Marshall be allowed to respond to Shields’ criticisms. Though Marshall was only a guest of the convention, the “Convention expressed its approval of the suggestion.”¹¹²

After the Convention was reconvened that evening, Marshall made his address to the gathering. When the discussion of the report was resumed it had become obvious that the only issue of relevance to the acceptance of the report was Marshall. The official Convention report noted that Shields’ amendment was reintroduced by A. P. Wilson of Pembroke.¹¹³ Strangely, the former objection to the amendment seems to have been dropped. In his account of events Shields noted that instead of displacing the motion to receive the report of the Senate, this amendment was made as an addenda to that motion, thereby removing the objection.¹¹⁴ However, before the crucial vote could be taken, a vote that could well have changed the course of subsequent events, an amendment to the amendment was introduced. This displaced Wilson’s amendment with a reiteration of the doctrinal statement of the University as “endorsed by the Senate and approved by this convention in Bloor Street in 1910” After restatement of the 1910 affirmation the new motion added: “And, further, that this Convention commends the Senate and Board of Governors for their action in appointing to the Chair of Practical Theology a professor who, having considered that declaration, sincerely accepted it.” When the vote was taken,

¹¹¹ “McMaster University Report,” *BYB*, 1925, 40.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*,

¹¹⁴ T. T. Shields, “Capture,” 30.

the results suggested that neither side in the debate was comfortable with a test of strength, as the amendment to the amendment passed 399 to 159.¹¹⁵

Shields' opportunity had been lost. More importantly, a significant precedent had been set. The Convention was willingly blind to the possibility that Marshall might have been less than honest in his "sincere acceptance" of the denomination's position. They couched their willing ignorance in the assumption of the basic honesty of the modernists' professions of orthodoxy, and also in the appeal to the basic Baptist principle of "reasonable liberty."¹¹⁶ Despite Shields' conviction that there was mounting evidence to the contrary most of the delegates showed themselves unwilling to believe that there was any kind of deliberate duplicity by either the Senate or Marshall. Shields' efforts over the course of the following year to prove otherwise demonstrated a growing desperation. His campaign increasingly appealed to insult and innuendo. Rather than proving his point he succeeded only in driving the majority of the Convention into the enemy camp.

A second upshot of the Convention was to provoke open hostility between Shields and Marshall. In Marshall's address, he immediately blamed Shields for the whole controversy. His comments reflected little understanding of Shields' character and constituted a whole-scale denunciation of Shields' methods and theological skills. His speech was the most volatile aspect of the whole convention. When, at one point, he tried to compare Shields to Mrs Eddy, he provoked a roar of protest from the Convention floor.¹¹⁷ While it might have been prudent for the Senate to have forewarned him of Shields' probable response to personal attacks, in the end his outburst served its cause effectively. A suspicious mind might even wonder if Shields' opponents had orchestrated the whole matter. Certainly, they had seen enough of Shields in the last couple of years to know that personal attacks on his character would provoke furious retorts. Shields' over-reactions tended to do him far more damage than good. Despite his bluster, Shields was notoriously thin-skinned. The present circumstance demonstrated that tendency well.

In his Convention speech Marshall immediately attacked the methodology of "slander" and "whisper." He alleged: "That is the method of the common slanderer, who

¹¹⁵ "Proceedings," *BYB*, 1925, 42.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25. Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy was the founder of a new religious movement called Christian Science, established in the United States in the latter half of the 19th century.

tells you some horrible tale about somebody and then whispers: of course, we don't know whether it is true or not. But it is too late when it is out. The poison gas is already on the breast of the breeze – and it is in this case, so far as I am concerned.”¹¹⁸

Not satisfied with labelling Shields a slanderer and gossip, Marshall attacked Shields' theological incompetence. Though his convention speech did so by innuendo, Marshall was not so reserved in his interview with a *Toronto Star* reporter later. In that forum Marshall openly declared: “Rev. Dr. T. T. Shields uses scripture ... inaccurately and ignorantly. ... He does not yet understand the scriptures and would be well advised to devote himself carefully to Bible study. ... a man who interprets scripture as Dr. Shields does ... proves himself utterly incompetent as an exponent of the word of God.”¹¹⁹

Marshall also made much of the fact that all of Shields' evidence was based on two letters “by an obscure Baptist minister, who amounts to nothing in the Baptist ministry in England.” He further alleged that in all Shields' denunciations “not a scrap of direct evidence in deed or word that I had uttered or done prejudicial to evangelical Christianity was used.” Of the accusations made by Robertson that he did “not believe in the inspiration of the Bible nor the resurrection,” Marshall bitterly interjected: “That suggestion is an absolute and utter lie and what is further, an infamous and wicked lie.”¹²⁰

If Marshall learned any lessons from the resultant blast it would have been never to underestimate Shields. He might, as well, have considered the inadvisability of providing too much information. Shields, of course, had a heyday with the material Marshall provided in his impromptu Shields' bashing. On Thursday October 29th Shields addressed an audience of over thirteen hundred people on the McMaster controversy. He then published the substance of that address in a thirty-one page exposé of the convention entitled “Shall Modernism Capture McMaster?” After reviewing the history of the controversy from 1910 forward, Shields evaluated the convention and surrounding events in close detail. He paid particular attention to Marshall's speech and subjected every line to intense scrutiny.

¹¹⁸ T. T. Shields, “Capture,” 19.

¹¹⁹ “Incompetent Exponent of Body, Mind and Spirit; Professor H. T. Marshall So Characterizes Dr. T. T. Shields of Jarvis Street in Controversy Over St. Paul's Psychology,” *The Star Weekly*, 24 October 1925, 1.

¹²⁰ “Big Baptist Meeting Supports Marshall; New Professor at McMaster University Excoriated Action of Dr. T. T. Shields,” *TDS*, 22 October 1925, 4.

Regarding the allegations of Shields' theological ineptitude, Shields erupted: "Notwithstanding our reduction to the ranks of the theological awkward squad by Mr. Marshall, I still believe ... [what] Paul teaches by the Holy Spirit"¹²¹ Throughout his retort, Shields adopted a condescending attitude with which to belittle Marshall's imagined expertise: "As *The Gospel Witness* goes all over the world, and is read by about one thousand ministers besides thousands of lay readers, my readers, especially the readers of the sermons, ought to be informed of the Editor's ignorance and general incompetence. As the Editor has been in his present pulpit for nearly sixteen years, and Professor Marshall has been in Toronto only about as many days, the readers of *The Gospel Witness* ought to be advised of Prof. Marshall's great discovery at once."¹²²

Essentially, Shields took Marshall to school and lectured him from the pages of one of McMaster's basic theology textbooks. Challenging Marshall's theological assertions, Shields provided a rereading of Augustus Strong's *Systematic Theology* in which Strong provided a devastating critique of the position Marshall assumed. Of the matter in question, Shields concluded by casting innuendo on Marshall's honesty and integrity: "Dr. Farmer made mention of the fact that Mr. Marshall had subscribed to the whole Statement [McMaster Statement of Faith]; but certainly he does not believe in the total depravity of mankind. Yet he is said to have accepted that Statement."¹²³

Shields also challenged and mocked Marshall's assessment both of Robertson and the sponsors he cited before the convention. Where Marshall spoke of Robertson as being an obscure Baptist minister, Shields cited statistics from the current *Baptist Handbook of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland*. There Shields found both Robertson and Marshall listed in the same official list of ministers in the British Isles. Shields contrasted their records. Where Robertson ministered to a congregation of "four hundred and eighty-seven," Marshall ministered to a congregation of "two hundred and ninety-two." Shields also noted that Robertson's church was only "short six members of being the largest membership of the Baptist churches in Liverpool." Derisively Shields recalled Marshall's assessment that Robertson "counts for absolutely nothing in the Baptist Denomination in

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, "Capture," 26.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 22.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 26.

England.”¹²⁴ Not willing to leave the matter at that, Shields also made reference to two addresses Robertson delivered in “the great Central Hall in London” which he had published in recent editions of *The Gospel Witness*. He invited his readers to compare those with Marshall’s address on “Religious Education” and to “judge of the spiritual and intellectual quality of each, always bearing in mind that Mr. Robertson is ‘an obscure Baptist minister who counts for absolutely nothing in the Baptist denomination in England.’”¹²⁵

In his defensive posturing, Marshall also cited the names of many prominent British pastors and theologians who would certify his orthodoxy: “I have the confidence of Dr. Carlisle, and of Dr. Shakespeare, I have the confidence of Dr. Charles Brown, I have the confidence of Dr. T. R. Glover, I have the confidence of Mr. Aubrey, the Secretary of the Baptist Union; and I venture to say that if the question were raised in the council of the Baptist Union in London tomorrow, as to my fitness from every point of view for the post I shall hold at McMaster, there would not be one dissentient voice.”¹²⁶ Marshall likely little realized the impression that this would make on Shields. So far as Shields was concerned, the Baptist Union was spiritually bankrupt. This convention was the setting of Spurgeon’s Down-grade Controversy. One of the very things that inflated Robertson’s reputation with Shields was the fact that he had withdrawn from the Union: “Mr Robertson’s passport to obscurity is his withdrawal from the Baptist Union ... he is in good company; for the greatest preacher the world has ever known since apostolic times, C. H. Spurgeon, also withdrew from the Baptist Union – and for the same reason.” In light of the present controversy Shields snidely commented: “I suppose that those downgrade tendencies Mr. Spurgeon lamented might almost be considered as conservative to-day.”¹²⁷

However, it was Marshall’s association with Glover that particularly caught Shields’ attention. Inserting an extended quotation from Glover’s *Jesus in the Experience of Men*, Shields revealed how Glover reinterpreted a significant New Testament metaphor. Speaking of the phrase “the lamb of God taketh away the sin of the world,”

¹²⁴ T. T. Shields, “Capture,” 18.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 18.

Glover argued that Christ's removal of sin was not by the literal sacrifice of Himself in death but by infusing his intelligence into society. "And who is this great writer who thus discourses of the death of Christ and 'The Lamb of God?'" asked Shields. "He is none other than Mr. Marshall's chief sponsor, **DR. T. R. GLOVER** of Cambridge." To Shields' mind, for Marshall to cite as his authority a man who publically discounted the death, burial and resurrection of Christ was to bring suspicion on himself. Despite Marshall's labelling Robertson's accusation of disbelieving the resurrection of Jesus Christ an "utter ... infamous and wicked lie," Shields was more suspicious than ever. He concluded: "Why, I ask again, should Mr. Marshall so state his view of the resurrection as to leave his position open – according to Dean Farmer's own statement – to misunderstanding?"¹²⁸

Through the course of the following months Shields published everything he could find on Marshall. By early the next year he believed he could identify several significant departures from the traditional Baptist position reflected in the McMaster Trust Statement. He opened the New Year with the publication of a forty-two page edition entitled "A Battery of Replies to Professor Marshall." His published sermon for that week was entitled "The Contagiousness of Evil and the Untransmissibility [sic] of Good." His main proposition was "that a man has no power to transmit holiness, he cannot communicate goodness; but he has power, by contact, to transmit that which is evil." Noting the fact that "evil is contagious, it is communicable by contact," Shields came quickly to his main point of application: "For instance, take one professor in an educational institution ... let him teach that which is error, let him teach that which is contrary to the Word of God, and he will, in time, subvert the faith of that institution."¹²⁹ In a prognostication of his intended course of action he promised to have "more and more to say about it [Marshall's modernism] until this Denomination awakes to the fact that we have received into our university – I name the gentleman, Professor L. H. Marshall – a man who has nothing in common with the things for which this Denomination stands,

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁹ T. T. Shields, "The Contagiousness of Evil and the Untransmissibility of Good," *GW* 4:37, 7 January 1926, 3.

and whose presence is bound to poison the springs of our denominational life, and to corrupt the whole Dominion from top to bottom.¹³⁰

The first issue that Shields identified in this edition of *The Witness* was the question of “Open Membership.” Quoting from an article published by Marshall in England, Shields identified an assertion that on the surface seemed to stand diametrically opposed to Marshall’s profession of closed membership when interviewed by the Senate:

To regard baptism as essential to salvation or **even to membership in the Christian Church** [emphasis mine] is to ascribe to the baptismal rite a crucial importance for which there is not warrant in the New Testament or in any truly spiritual interpretation of the Gospel or in common sense.¹³¹

With his typical dogmatism, Shields concluded:

Therefore we have absolute proof that Mr. Marshall declared under his own name in *The Baptist Times and Freeman*, London, October 31st, 1924, that there was “no warrant in the New Testament, or in any truly spiritual interpretation of the gospel, or in common sense” for what Drs. Farmer and MacNeill positively assert Mr. Marshall declared to be his personal conviction [i.e. the closed communion position] less than nine months later.¹³²

Shields insisted that it was “indisputable” that “the two statements [Marshall’s confession of closed membership of baptised believers versus his published statement asserting open membership] cannot possibly be reconciled” Shields noted that only two explanations were possible. Either Marshall had changed his mind or “he professed what he really did not believe.”¹³³ However, in the pamphlet of Marshall that Shields was here responding to, Marshall did offer an explanation that satisfied both MacNeill and Farmer, and most likely the majority of the Convention. Marshall pointed out that in his published comment he was simply denouncing what all Baptists denounced: baptismal regeneration.

Furthermore, his reference to the church in that quotation was not to the local church but rather the church universal:

Baptists rightly hold that to pass through the waters of believers’ baptism after conversion is to put oneself completely into line with the teaching of the New Testament and with apostolic practice, but they do not unchurch those members of other Christian communions who have not been baptized. That means that Baptists do not regard baptism as essential to membership of the Christian church

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ T. T. Shields, “Editorial: Professor Marshall’s Pamphlet,” *GW* 4:37, 7 January 1926, 7.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 8.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

– the Church Universal – even though they insist on immersion as a condition of admittance into the Baptist section of the Christian Church.

The rest of Shields' discussion amounted to a painful attempt to rationalize away Marshall's explanation in an attempt to uphold his charge. Despite a perfectly logical explanation of the apparent contradiction, Shields was completely incapable of admitting he was wrong. As subsequent events unfolded it became clear that the convention as a whole was unconvinced by Shields' reasoning, and that it was increasingly suspicious of the powers of his logic. In similar fashion Shields went on to accuse Marshall of disputing the idea of a literal six-day creation; the atoning efficacy of Christ's death; human depravity and the inspiration of scripture. Though Shields was able to publish numerous testimonials by other witnesses, the manner of his denunciations tended seriously to undermine his credibility. Shields may have been quite right about the modernists' practice of using the terminology of evangelicalism with an entirely different meaning, but by repeatedly resorting to insult and innuendo, he lost his audience.¹³⁴ In the end he was preaching only to the choir. His ability to convince McMaster supporters of the threat of a modernist takeover was lost.

The 1926 Toronto Convention

In the year between the 1925 Hamilton Convention and the 1926 Toronto Convention scores of articles addressing the McMaster question came from the pen of Shields as he flooded the denomination with his polemic. Lurid headlines in bolded fonts regularly adorned the pages of *The Gospel Witness*. Shields' accusations and recriminations created a maelstrom of reaction, both pro and con.

As the convention approached Shields became increasingly suspicious of the Convention leadership. With their unwavering support of Marshall, Shields was convinced of a wholesale sell-out to modernism. He imagined plots and subterfuge everywhere. Even before the Convention began, he made accusations before the press that governing officials had orchestrated the choice of venue choosing a church that was too small to accommodate all the delegates which had numbered 800 the previous year. The charge was repeated again and again with the innuendo that this was a desperate

¹³⁴ T. T. Shields, "Redemption," 6.

attempt to hide their schemes and rancour from the convention at large.¹³⁵ Trying to substantiate his ill-thought out accusations, Shields brought men to the convention church, Forward Baptist, to take a count of the seating. The initial counts of 616 seemed to support Shields' accusations, but the claim of a church official that 800 had been present the previous Sunday forced a recount. When the official's estimates were verified, Shields left in somewhat of a huff without apologizing. Significantly, the report of the scrutineers for the first night of meetings identified 966 delegates, but with special visitors the final number came up to 1131.¹³⁶ Despite being proven wrong, Shields continued to press his charges. This increasing proclivity to impute motives and to try and prove his point with almost ludicrous claims and endless nit-picking was now quite characteristic of Shields' method. It left him looking unbalanced and unnecessarily paranoid. It served his opponents well as they successfully turned the Convention's attentions away from the real issues, to the "storm centre of controversy," Shields himself.¹³⁷

Judging by the media reports of the event, an atmosphere of tension and antagonism pervaded the 1926 Convention. Two hostile camps faced each other ready to do mortal combat. MacNeill for the McMaster faction boasted: "Let me give Dr. Shields the assurance this afternoon that now the issue has been joined we are prepared to fight to the last drop of blood in defence of the men and institutions that are marked by the sacrifice of our people in the last 50 years, and if need be we will carry the battle right to the very gates."¹³⁸ Shields retorted: "So far as I have influence, we shall not withdraw from the convention and we shall begin at once to organize and carry out a campaign to compel these people to conduct McMaster' University according to the trust deed of the founder. The fight is just beginning."¹³⁹

From the very outset of the convention Shields and his followers expressed their convictions of a careful orchestration of events. Likely taking their cue from the BBU

¹³⁵ "Shields' Followers Vote to Cut off Contributions To Baptist Home Missions," *TDS*, 21 October 1926, 16. (Hereafter "Contributions").

¹³⁶ "Shields' Charge Convention Politically Managed Denied," *TT*, 21 October 1926, 18. Cf. "Proceedings," *BYB*, 42.

¹³⁷ "'Are We Downhearted?' 'No' Shout Shields' Supporters," *TDS*, 20 October 1926, 13.

¹³⁸ "Dr. Shields Defies Baptist Convention When Apology is Demanded," *TDS* 20 October 1926, 12; cf. "Fight to Last Drop of Blood In Defence of McMaster Faculty," *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 31.

¹³⁹ "Shields Asserts Marshall Proved Himself a Modernist," *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 33.

polemic in the Northern convention, they began publicly to denounce “machine” rule. Rev. W. E. Atkinson reported that “at the convention a committee had all been pre-arranged and scrutineers had been selected. They were not appointed by the chairman.” He continued: “Right from the start the steam roller started.” Reporting on the speech of James McGinley, one of Shields’ young followers, the *Star* reporter noted how McGinley was quick to take up the metaphor: “The machinery at the convention was so well oiled a little child could move it and the reason he was standing there was because he refused to become a nut in the machine.”¹⁴⁰ Shields himself boasted: “I am not afraid of the machine. If they could have meetings like Wednesday 365 days out of every year and pass similar resolutions every day, I would not lose a minute’s sleep over it.”¹⁴¹

Once again the storm erupted with the presentation of the McMaster Report. When MacNeill moved the adoption of the report an amendment was immediately proposed by the Shields’ camp:

That while gladly recognizing the qualities of Professor L. H. Marshall as a man, and his ability as a teacher, this Convention is convinced by his own utterances that the theological views of Professor Marshall are out of harmony with, and involve an infringement of the doctrinal standards embodied in the charter of McMaster University, and the principles held by the Regular Baptists of Ontario and Quebec; and that therefore his continuance as a Professor in that Institution would not be in the best interests of this Convention.

However, before the amendment could be voted on, an amendment to the amendment was proposed in its place which reaffirmed previous declarations of the attitude of the University to the Bible and affirmed its “strong confidence in Chancellor Whidden, Dean Farmer and Professor Marshall.” However, the focus of the amendment was a condemnation of Shields: This Convention deplores and condemns the campaign of misrepresentation and slander carried on for months by the editor of the *Gospel Witness* and certain of his supporters, including some students, against members of the Faculty of McMaster University and its governing bodies, and against other Boards and individuals, and calls for the cessation thereof.”¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ “Contributions,” 16.

¹⁴¹ “Shields’ Reply to Convention Will be Made by Instalments,” *TT*, 21 October 1926, 18. (Hereafter “Instalments”).

¹⁴² “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1926, 35.

The presentation of the Report was continued into the afternoon session of October 19th and was accompanied by speeches in support by its mover, MacNeill and seconder, Albert Matthews. Much of the rest of the afternoon, all evening and well into the night was filled with speeches for and against the amendment to the amendment. Some of the bitterest acrimony in the history of the Convention was recorded in the furious battle that ensued. At its height Rev. A. J. Vining, in a comment that was lambasted in the secular press, shouted “I have more respect for a toad catching flies in the vapor of a dunghill than for some of you.”¹⁴³

Despite the protestation of Shields’ Hamilton ally, Rev. Loney, that he had “never heard him [Shields] speak unkindly of his enemies,”¹⁴⁴ John MacNeill’s speech in support of the McMaster Report was from beginning to end a denunciation of Shields’ treatment of his adversaries. Noting Shields’ abuse of conservative leaders like “Truett, Scarboro, Ramsey and Mullins” in the BBU’s southern campaign, MacNeill noted: “Baptist trusted leaders are attacked, not on account of any unorthodoxy or heresy, but because they failed to come to heel of the Bible Union.” Concerning the men in the current controversy, MacNeill testified that Shields had published accusations that “S. J. Moore ... has never done anything worth-while”; that “Dr. Sanderson has unseated Ananias”; that “Dr Bowley-Green has a kangaroo logic”; that “Dr. Dayfoot is held up to ridicule and scorn”; that “E. O Ford must be discredited before he goes to Lethbridge, not because he is unorthodox, but because he refuses to come to heel”; and of the Convention’s resolution of appreciation for Dr. McCrimmon that “a certificate of sanity is a good thing for a man who has occupied a place in an asylum.”¹⁴⁵ MacNeill’s strongest contempt was reserved for Shields’ treatment of Farmer. Commenting on the dean, Shields had insisted:

The dean in theology, Dr. Farmer, has always been perfectly orthodox in statement but no Jesuit ever surrendered himself more abjectly to an institution than Dr. Farmer did to that institution until he had persuaded himself the end justifies the means. He is the most interesting psychological experiment I have ever met. When put in a corner his ingenious methods and self justification show

¹⁴³ “Oh, That These Columns were D. D.,” *TT* 23 October, 1926, 26.

¹⁴⁴ “Instalments,” 18.

¹⁴⁵ “Fight to Last Drop of Blood in Defence of McMaster Faculty: Attacked Ministers are Defended,” *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 31.

him to be a man who will do anything to gain his end. More than any other man in McMaster he is responsible for selling McMaster to the enemy.¹⁴⁶

MacNeill observed: "... in the long annals of our Convention's history there has never been a parallel to the shameful, and the vindictive, and the persistent attack on the part of Dr. Shields to destroy the influence and reputation and the character and the work of the Dean in Theology."¹⁴⁷ Testifying to Farmers' "nobility of life, his transparent honesty, his unimpeachable integrity of character, his Christ-like simplicity and selflessness of heart, and above all, ... his fifty years of sacrificial service on the denominational altars," he concluded: "if this denomination should find it within its heart at the bidding of Dr. Shields to set that little man aside, we should make our name a by-word in this land from end to end – (applause) – and I for one ... would be proud to go out and stand beside him in the wilderness and shake the dust from off my feet against the denomination that should do so. (Applause.)"¹⁴⁸

It was, however, the direct interaction between Marshall and Shields that was the high point of the sordid affair. The mutual antagonism that had built up over the course of the year now exploded. According to media reports Marshall "turned toward Dr. Shields and in ringing tones, referring to the charges, declared: '... I thrust them down Dr. Shields' throat and I say to him: 'Thou liest!'"¹⁴⁹ What followed was Marshall's response to accusations of modernistic perspectives on the historicity of the Old Testament, along with the modernistic depreciation of Christ's person and atonement. However, rather than making an unambiguous declaration of his orthodoxy on these critical issues, he further muddied the water. Perhaps sensing the momentum shifting his way and revelling overmuch in the warmth of his reception by Convention delegates, he offered, instead, a thinly veiled expression of modernistic principles.

In the matter of the historicity of the Old Testament the issue surrounded Marshall's View of Driver's teachings and the interpretation of the book of Jonah. Concerning the higher critical views contained in Driver's writings he noted that "the

¹⁴⁶ "Shields Asserts Marshall Proved Himself a Modernist," *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 33.

¹⁴⁷ T. T. Shields, "Ichabod," 52.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁴⁹ "Dr. Shields Defies Baptist Convention When Apology is Demanded," *TDS*, 20 October, 1926, 12. (Hereafter "Apology Demanded").

destructive phase of critical study had almost passed away and today it was constructive and the object was to place the Bible in a clearer light.” Marshall noted that in light of modern thought “Driver’s book gave the best methods of approach.” He approvingly quoted Professor Orr that “nobody could study the Old Testament in the light of modern knowledge without becoming a higher critic.” He concluded “The man who seeks to be loyal to the old book is one who seeks to be accurate in his interpretation of the old book.” Significantly, he did not repudiate the Driver approach, nor did he answer in any way the objections raised by Shields about re-dating the Pentateuch’s Priestly Code to a period following the Babylonian exile. Without acknowledging a Sinaitic origin for the Old Testament Priesthood, latent questions about Divine Inspiration and Christ’s own priesthood were necessarily left dangling by Marshall’s “eloquent” evasions.

In a related matter, Marshall was equally obtuse about his views concerning the book of Jonah. For Marshall, the matter was simply an issue of whether the book should be interpreted as a parable or as a history. To applause, he confessed that “If it could be proved to me that Christ accepted the book of Jonah as an historical document that would be enough for me.” However, in his mind Christ’s treatment of Jonah was merely in the manner of a parable. For his fundamentalist critics, however, the matter was as serious as the question of the nature of Christ and His atonement. Rev. W. J. H. Brown, in justification of his amendment to the motion, asked rhetorically: “What kind of a Christ does the theology of Prof. Marshall give us?” He continued: “Is the Christ given us in the doctrinal statement of our university the Christ Dr. Farmer presented to us in his presidential address? That Christ we adore. Our souls worship Him; we are His bond slaves. He is the great infallible Christ (Applause.) Is the Christ of Prof. Marshall’s theology an infallible Christ? (Cries of, ‘No! No!’)”. Brown also noted the assessment of the late Dwight L. Moody: “Moody, the evangelist, used to say that he could judge as to the soundness of a man’s theology by the acceptance or rejection of the historicity of the story of Jonah.”¹⁵⁰

According to the fundamentalists, Christ’s clear declarations concerning Jonah were a definitive assertion of the historicity of the book:

¹⁵⁰ “Chancellor’s Report Held up Three Years,” *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 32.

For as Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall rise in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: because they repented at the preaching of Jonas; and, behold, a greater than Jonas is here.¹⁵¹

For Shields and his followers, not only was the substance of Christ's prediction challenged but also His infallibility should His word on this question be doubted. One opponent noted that "the views of Prof. Marshall would make Jesus Christ either an ignoramus or a deceiver." Nevertheless, Marshall was unbending in his insistence that the book of Jonah had to be interpreted metaphorically: "In Britain, the normal view is the allegorical or the parabolical view. I have never been in a university where that view was not held. I have never had a text-book recommended to me that did not take that view. I didn't know a single eminent Biblical scholar who does not take that particular attitude. I find in Canada that the normal view is the historical view. I will go back to England any time before I surrender my view."¹⁵² Marshall was quite right when he noted that the conservative's faith perspective on scripture and his own attitude were "poles apart."¹⁵³

The most serious issue for Shields was Marshall's denigration of the atonement. Shields' charges against Marshall concerning the atonement related to the fact that Marshall rejected "the idea that in the atonement of our Lord there was a penal element, the innocent for the guilty." For Shields that was "the whole heart of the matter."¹⁵⁴ In his defence before the Convention, Marshall again was vague. He argued that there were many theories of the atonement and that he did "not think that the truth" laid "all with one theory." It was clear that he was critical of the substitutionary theory and provided quotes from a celebrated author to the effect that "it was inconceivable that the innocent should be punished for the guilty." In an attempt to sway the Convention he produced a vague quote from Spurgeon "who said that the theory of 'substitution does not cover the whole dread mystery.'" ¹⁵⁵ He confessed to Shields on the Convention floor that he

¹⁵¹ Matthew 12:40, 41.

¹⁵² "'Thou Liest' – Prof. Marshall's Defiance to Dr. T. T. Shields," *TTCF*, 20 October 1926, 34.

¹⁵³ "Shields as Apology is Asked Says it Highest Honor of Life," *TDS*, 20 October 1926, 13.

¹⁵⁴ T. T. Shields, "Ichabod! McMaster's New Name," *GW* 5:26, 4 November 1926, 127 (Hereafter "Ichabod!").

¹⁵⁵ "Apology Demanded," 12.

rejected the use of the word penalty in reference to the atonement.¹⁵⁶ However, he refused to be more specific about his own understanding of the atonement except to say, that “he believed with Spurgeon ... and you can call Spurgeon a modernist if you like.”¹⁵⁷ When Shields stood and read pages of references from Spurgeon definitively asserting a substitutionary atonement, he asked rhetorically how Marshall could stand with Spurgeon. A delegate called from the floor: “He can’t.”¹⁵⁸

Significantly, what observers seemed to notice about Marshall’s speech was not his pussyfooting around critical issues, but rather the eloquence of his argument. The *Star* reporter noted: “It was the most eloquent and cogent argument that has possibly ever been delivered before a Baptist convention.”¹⁵⁹ Yet at every point of contention Marshall was vague and elusive. Clearly, the Convention was far less interested with orthodoxy than it was with silencing Shields. When the vote on the amendment to the amendment condemning Shields was taken, it passed with a huge majority: 708 to 258.¹⁶⁰

The dust had not even begun to settle when Rev. A. J. Vining took the floor and presented a resolution demanding Shields’ apology for “the unjust attacks made directly and indirectly for many months ... upon the Chancellor and some members of the Faculty of McMaster University, and other Christian brethren, by the publication of statements which ... [he] ought to have known to be false and misleading.”¹⁶¹ Failure to comply would be met with expulsion:

Should he decline, this Convention requests Dr. Shields to submit forthwith to the Convention his resignation as a member of the Board of Governors of McMaster University, and that this Convention hereby advises the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, of Toronto, that Dr. T. T. Shields will not be an acceptable delegate to future meetings of the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec, until the apology asked for by this Convention, is made to and accepted by the Executive Committee for the time being of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod!” 127.

¹⁵⁷ “Apology Demanded,” 12.

¹⁵⁸ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod!” 130.

¹⁵⁹ “Apology Demanded,” 12.

¹⁶⁰ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1926, 36.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

This motion also passed by a large majority, although no actual count was taken. When the Convention demanded his response, Shields walked to the platform and declared: “Mr. Chairman and brethren, I count it the highest honor of my life to have earned the displeasure of such a spirit as has been manifested by the last two speakers.” As to the demand for his resignation, Shields was immediately defiant, and refused. In his address later that evening before his own church, he immediately called into question the legality of the attempt to remove him. However, officials of the Convention had already foreseen that eventuality and the next morning passed a resolution to make legal application for an amendment to their Act of Incorporation thus setting the scene for the 1927 convention.

Shields’ response to this humiliating defeat was immediate. Plans were set in motion that evening for the establishment of an “Association of Regular Baptists within the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, to make possible the co-operation of such Regular Baptists in missionary and educational work”, a move that would pave the way to the formation the following year of The Union of Regular Baptist Churches.¹⁶³ The initial result was the formation of a replacement missions board, “The Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society of Canada,” which would collect funds within the Convention for the support of conservative missions and the establishment of an alternate institution of higher learning.¹⁶⁴ The eventual outcome of the latter object was the opening of Toronto Baptist Seminary in the fall of 1927. In response to the convention’s removal of Thomas Urquart, a former mayor of Toronto, from the Home Mission’s board “after thirty-two years of service,” Shields held a spontaneous vote in the same meeting to cut off all Home Missions funding from the Jarvis Street church.¹⁶⁵ The motion was carried unanimously. Finally, he published a complete record of the convention, replete with editorial comment, in a 176 page issue of the *Gospel Witness* entitled: “Ichabod! McMaster’s New Name.”¹⁶⁶ In order to ensure accurate reporting of the convention, Shields engaged “two Hansard reporters” and took “two independent reports.” He later boasted that he “examined carefully every statement made by every speaker” and

¹⁶³ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod,” 15. Cf. T. T. Shields, “The Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec,” *GW* 6:24, 27 October 1927, 3.

¹⁶⁴ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1927, 51.

¹⁶⁵ “Installments,” 18.

¹⁶⁶ Ichabod is an Old Testament term meaning “The Glory Has Departed.” Cf. I Samuel 4:21.

evaluated the various quotes used by the speakers by citing their sources and examining the context where possible.¹⁶⁷ He spent “forty-eight hours of continuous desk work” without breaks “for food or rest” in preparing it.¹⁶⁸ The circulation of this edition was so extensive that a staggering twelve tons of paper was used in its publication.¹⁶⁹ In 1953 he still regretted that he never produced it in “book form” to make it “available to Evangelicals throughout the world.”¹⁷⁰

Waterloo

It was clear by the end of the 1926 Convention that the die had been cast and a parting of ways between the schismatic factions was inevitable. Throughout the year that followed, Shields presented a brave face and resolutely refused to concede defeat. He was caught by surprise, however, in March of the next year when he received a call from Urquhart notifying him that “a Bill to amend the constitution was to come before The Private Bills Committee in Ottawa the next morning.”¹⁷¹ He and Urquhart boarded the night train and headed for Ottawa to take a stand against the bill. He later confessed that the whole business was a surprise to him. The resolution to amend the constitution had been passed on the last day of the convention when “attendance fades away.”¹⁷² Since the *Year Book* itself was not usually published for at least six months after the convention, Shields had no knowledge of the resolution or the denominational machine’s intent to amend the constitution.¹⁷³

When they arrived in Ottawa they were met at the Chateau Frontenac by a Toronto Member of Parliament who was familiar with Urquhart. A sense of hopelessness immediately settled over them when he addressed “Mr. Thomas Urquhart familiarly, and said, ‘I am sorry Tom, I cannot give you my vote. I have already pledged it to the other side.’” This was one of Shields’ first encounters with the phenomenon of lobbying. His

¹⁶⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Great Contention; Chapter XXXI,” *GW* 32:9, 18 June 1953, 10.

¹⁶⁸ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 350.

¹⁶⁹ T. T. Shields, “Ichabod University,” *GW* 5:28, 18 November 1926, 17; cf. T. T. Shields, “Last Weeks’ Great Issue,” and “We Must Say a Word About the Cost Of Mailing,” *GW* 5:27, 11 November 1926, 11.

¹⁷⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Great Contention; Chapter XXXI,” *GW* 32:9, 18 June 1953, 10.

¹⁷¹ The Amending Bill would provide a legal vehicle within the constitution of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec to exclude any who were not in harmony and co-operation with the work and objects of the Convention.

¹⁷² T. T. Shields, “The Great Contention; Chapter XXXII,” *GW* 32:11, 2 July 1953, 11.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 11 - 12.

disgust was echoed in the *Toronto Daily Star* article that he republished a short time later entitled: "SWARM OF LOBBYISTS FEATURE OF SESSION: Members Buttonholed Almost to death on Public and Private Measures."¹⁷⁴ He noted particularly the statements: "Not since the days of the old railway barons has there been such lobbying in the corridors of parliament as during this session. ... The principal pests, however, have been hired lobbyists, mostly lawyers, seeking to influence members by specious arguments." He also quoted the observation by the *Star* reporter: "A recent bill affecting a religious denomination brought down an influential lobby several days before the bill came up. Generally speaking a religious matter can give rise to a more intense lobby than anything else."¹⁷⁵ Something of the Convention's determination to be rid of Shields once and for all was clearly apparent in their desperate attempt to secure the legal authority to excommunicate him and his supporters.

Despite their last minute arrival, Shields testified that for the most part the Private Bills Committee received him courteously. To the press, however, he expressed his horror at the antics of a few of the M.P.s who acted as hoodlums: "Two or three members of the committee ... behaved as though they were graduates of McMaster University. They acted as full fledged hoodlums They heckled and shouted down anything that was really effective. They acted as though they had been instructed in advance so to do." He concluded: "I confess to a feeling of humiliation ... that men of such a temper should find their way to Parliament, although I will say that the majority of the committee acted like gentlemen."¹⁷⁶

The opposition received unexpected support from Shields' old friend Sir George Perley.¹⁷⁷ Perley had received a communication from a correspondent in Lachute who professed to represent the "views of ... a very large majority of the Baptist people in Lachute and other parts of the County of Argenteuil" This letter represented a

¹⁷⁴ "SWARM OF LOBBYISTS FEATURE OF SESSION: Members Buttonholed Almost to death on Public and Private Measures." *TDS*, 11 April 1927, 3. Cf. T. T. Shields, "**RELIGIOUS BOLSHEVISM**," *GW* 5:49, 14 April 1927, 1.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ "Some M.P.'s Acted as Hoodlums Dr. Shields Denounces Lobbying," *TTCF*, April 1927, 43. (Hereafter "Hoodlums").

¹⁷⁷ Sir George Halsey Perley served as a cabinet minister under Prime Ministers Borden, Meighen and Bennett. Under Borden he was appointed High Commissioner in London, 1914-22 and minister of the overseas military forces of Canada, 1916-17. It was in his role as High Commissioner that Shields first met him.

resolution of opposition to the measure before Parliament, a resolution that passed with “only one dissenting voice.” The correspondent also suggested that “the opposition to this measure is very pronounced in Dalesville, Harrington and Grenville, the locations of all the other Baptist Churches in the county.”¹⁷⁸ While Perley was not a member of the private bills committee, he did speak before the committee to give voice to the concerns raised by these protesting churches.

Perley, whose speech was recorded in the Hansard report of the proceedings, expressed his objection to the fact that there was no provision in the bill “for protecting the vested rights that have been acquired [by dissenting churches] previous to this date.” He read to the committee objections identified within the resolution of protest. According to these churches there were deep concerns that the act would be “destructive of the independence of Baptist churches”; that the denomination would be empowered to make declarations that were “entirely out of harmony with, and destructive of, the principles and doctrines held by the denomination”; and that it would jeopardise their vested interest by cutting their delegates off from the convention thus automatically nullifying “their interest in the said endowment and trust funds.”¹⁷⁹

Similar concerns were expressed by Urquhart and Shields. Urquhart immediately noted that the bill itself had never been put to the Convention and “had therefore not been approved.” He insisted that the executive had no authority to submit the bill to the House of Commons.” He, too, raised the serious issue of vested interests. However, when he began to identify the amounts held in various endowment funds, the committee members cut him off saying that “We are not interested in amounts. We are only interested in the principle.” Speaking of the McMaster endowment, Urquhart noted that the funds were currently not being used in “accordance with the trust.” Shields produced a telegram and letter from “Dr. C. J. Holman, K.C., the only surviving executor of the McMaster Estate.” In these communications Holman affirmed Urquhart’s contention and insisted that the whole bill was “iniquitous” and “a violation of trust.” Shields went on to note that the

¹⁷⁸ “Letter From Mr. G. F. Calder of Lachute,” *GW*, 5:49, 14 April 1927, 6.

¹⁷⁹ “Excerpt from Hansard: Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec,” *GW* 5:49, 14 April 1927, 7.

matter was of such serious import that it should not be a matter for this committee but should be “before the courts.”¹⁸⁰

Shields further deplored the fact that the bill “involved the powers of Parliament for the settlement of differences which were essentially religious.”¹⁸¹ In the coming weeks Shields would make much of the fact that this was a direct violation of the Baptist principle of separation of church and state even noting the sympathies of the secular press on the matter.¹⁸² In this venue Shields observed that “Parliament in this country recognized no religion.” He argued that the bill represented an act of desperation of a group of men within the convention who had imposed their will on the denomination through the extensive use of proxy votes. When asked by the committee “Were any of the members of last year’s convention proxy members?” Shields responded: “Hundreds of them.” On his side of the issue he noted that only four proxies were used. When asked if it was not appropriate that the denomination should have disciplinary powers in its constitution, Shields appealed to the example of parliament itself and noted that it would be akin to the “Government of the day” seeking “to exclude the Opposition from the House.”¹⁸³

Despite their vigorous opposition, and due in no small part to the lobbying efforts of Whidden and MacNeill, the bill passed. Shields once again promised war. His troops, he vowed, were on standby. “A small army of men will be ready to forego their vacations to carry this message to the churches.”¹⁸⁴ “If this is war,” he added “it is only beginning. We have only got as far as Mons. I would say this to the professors of McMaster University, they had better cancel their vacation arrangement, because they are going to be very, very busy this summer.”¹⁸⁵

The 1927 Convention convened October 12, 1927 in Temple Baptist Church, Toronto. Hostilities erupted from the outset with the Shields’ camp crying foul over the appointment of scrutineers. Not only were the scrutineers prearranged, which the

¹⁸⁰ “Hangman’s Gallows Erected; Who’ll Hang?” Asks Shields When Baptist Bill Passes,” *TTCF*, 31 March 1927, 42. (Hereafter “Gallows”).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² T. T. Shields, “The Secular Press on Drs. Whidden and MacNeill,” *GW* 5:48, 7 April 1927, 1.

¹⁸³ “Gallows,” 42.

¹⁸⁴ “Hoodlums,” 43.

¹⁸⁵ “Gallows,” 42.

fundamentalist faction saw as a violation of convention customs, but also the appointment of Rev. E. T. Newton was highly objectionable. In the 1925 Hamilton Convention Newton had read one of the ballots he was collecting and returned to the scrutineer's room and announced "Keirstead voted against us."¹⁸⁶ Finding his name again among the appointed officials, Shields objected. When the convention refused to allow Newton to retire from the committee, Shields' followers resorted to obstructionist tactics. The fundamentalist group rose and began to sing hymns until a compromise could be affected. In the end, three scrutineers from the fundamentalist camp were added to the Scrutineer's Committee, but despite vigorous objection to the extremely dishonourable conduct of Newton, he was retained. However, that was the last victory achieved by the group. Thereafter, the chair was shared by three men, and Shields objected that at every point of interaction the fundamentalist group was ruled "Out of Order."¹⁸⁷

Over the course of the next day-and-a-half, three resolutions were presented to the convention and adopted. Rancorous debates surrounded each one, but the fundamentalists were defeated on each measure. "Resolution I" had to do with the adoption of the Amending Bill. MacNeill moved, and Rev. R. R. McKay of Sarnia seconded the resolution that the Convention "hereby accept and approve the Act of Parliament of Canada, being Chapter 101 of the Statutes of 1927, entitled, 'An act respecting the Baptist convention of Ontario and Quebec.'"¹⁸⁸ The resolution was supported by a large majority: 648 to 269.¹⁸⁹

That evening Dr. Bowley Green moved "Resolution II" which provided for the exclusion of those churches in harmony with Shields. Shields characterized his speech as "explosive," and could not resist derogatory comment in his synopsis of the event: "Dr. Bowley Green was in fine fettle! He rather reminded one, as he came to the platform, of the carnivorous animals one sees in the zoological gardens just about feeding time! Brother Green has a habit of moistening his lips with his tongue, which is strikingly

¹⁸⁶ T. T. Shields, "A Canadian 'Harmony' Convention; Jarvis St. Church Beheaded by Herodias of McMaster – A New Convention, 'The Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec' Formed," *GW* 6:23, 20 October 1927, 1. (Hereafter "Harmony"). Note: "Keirstead was McMaster's professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics." Newton confessed to the charges.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸⁸ "Proceedings," *BYB*, 1927, 29.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

suggestive of a devourer anticipating the taste of his victim's blood."¹⁹⁰ The resolution provided for sweeping powers of exclusion:

BE IT RESOLVED that, in the opinion of this convention, such churches as have, by resolution or otherwise, identified themselves with such campaign [of 'division and discord'] or support the aforesaid organization [The Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society of Canada], should therefore be considered as being not in harmony and co-operation with the work and objects of this Convention.¹⁹¹

The vote was carried by a large majority and the scene was set for the final act. Rev. W. C. Smalley of Ottawa moved: "Be it resolved that in the opinion of this Convention the conduct and attitude of the Jarvis Street Baptist church, Toronto, are not in harmony and co-operation with the work and objects of this Convention, and that the said church shall cease to be entitled to send any delegates to the said Convention."¹⁹²

In the course of the following discussion an irony was noted by one delegate that clearly identified the modernist inclinations of the Convention. Jarvis Street Baptist Church was being thrown out of the Convention for its protest against modernism. However, at the same time another leading Convention Baptist Church in Toronto had, only a few Sundays before, welcomed the modernist George Cross to its pulpit. Noting that Cross had written: "And now after the lapse of all the intervening centuries it is still an open question whether after all it was not misleading to call Jesus the Christ," the delegate wondered whether, "that as a matter of fact, for its abandonment of the gospel, it was Bloor Street Baptist Church which should be excluded from the convention." Taking the delegate's suggestion as a cue, Urquhart proposed an amendment to the motion on the floor substituting the words "Bloor Street Baptist Church," for "Jarvis Street Baptist Church." The chair ruled the motion out of order.

Despite a last ditch effort to resolve the impasse with a compromise amendment, the motion eventually carried by a vote of 532 to 217.¹⁹³ On October 14, 1927, Jarvis Street Baptist Church was read out of the membership of the Baptist Convention which it had dominated for most of the Convention's history. In typical fashion Shields

¹⁹⁰ T. T. Shields, "Harmony," 3.

¹⁹¹ "Proceedings," *BYB*, 1927, 30.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 34.

summarized the significance of the motion. Noting the amazing successes enjoyed by Jarvis Street in the last six years he boasted of 1,237 baptisms and 688 additions by letter and experience for a total gain of 1,925 during that time. The total number of additions during his seventeen-and-a-half year pastorate was 3,246. Beyond that Shields observed that he had served as pastor of five other churches in the convention, thus ministering in convention churches for over thirty-three years. “And why do we write thus” he asked? “Simply that we may emphasize the appropriateness of the action of Mr Smalley of Ottawa!” Shields facetiously noted that Smalley had the “long and distinguished record” of about three-and-a-half years in the Convention and had baptized twenty-two. “But,” ridiculed Shields, “he moved a resolution for the exclusion from the Convention of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, the mother of all Toronto churches, now nearly one hundred years old, the church to which Senator McMaster belonged when he left his fortune for the establishment of McMaster University!” Shields went on to conclude that “by the leadership of a man of only forty-two months’ standing in the Convention, a mob of delegates, ... coming in many instances from churches that are all but empty, with dry baptisteries and diminishing memberships, excluded from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, the church that has made more Baptists, in the last six or seven years particularly, than any half a dozen others of the largest churches in the Convention combined.”¹⁹⁴ Indeed, even a casual reader of the 1927 year book had to be struck by the irony. Jarvis Street was listed as the member church posting by far the highest number of evangelical successes but was at the same time unceremoniously booted out of the Convention.

Despite the fact that Resolution II had provided for the removal of all the churches that supported Shields, Convention officials remained reluctant to move to judgment. Even after the reading of a letter from several of the offending churches demanding that they be dealt with in the same fashion as Jarvis Street, the Convention refused to act. Clearly the action taken in adopting the three resolutions had one goal and that was the removal of Jarvis Street and its pastor. There still seemed to be hope that with Shields gone a full scale schism could be avoided. The executive issued a recommendation that no further action be taken and that they invited “the churches to

¹⁹⁴ T. T. Shields, “Harmony,” 4.

determine their course of action in light of the resolution of October 13th, and assures them that if they desire to maintain their proper status in the Convention their co-operation will be welcome.”¹⁹⁵

Any hope that some sort of reconciliation with dissidents could be achieved was quickly dashed. Even before the Convention had concluded, a huge meeting of Regular Baptists convened in Jarvis Street. On Saturday night, October 15th, a lengthy resolution was passed by those in attendance denouncing the actions of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec as an act of “tyranny” and resolving to stand together “in the principles of the faith once for all delivered to the saints.”¹⁹⁶ An immediate call went out for the formation of a new convention. The following Wednesday “a great company” gathered in Jarvis Street for that purpose. Shields estimated that “the attendance at the morning session probably exceeded the attendance of the day sessions of the Old Convention after Jarvis Street had been excluded.”¹⁹⁷ All of the delegates enrolled under the following statement:

The undersigned, accepting the statement of faith of The Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society of Canada, and being in full sympathy with its work and objects, and being opposed to the action of the Convention of Ontario and Quebec in its endorsement of McMaster’s Modernism, and its adoption of an amendment to its Constitution enabling it to silence evangelical testimony, approves of the formation of a Convention of Regular Baptists, and desires to be enrolled as a delegate thereto.¹⁹⁸

The total registration for the inaugural meeting of the new Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec numbered 778. Shields further noted that the “total number of churches represented by these persons was exactly one hundred, of which about thirty churches, as such, have already declared themselves as approving of the new organization.”¹⁹⁹ Shortly thereafter the Union chose Shields as their new president, a position he occupied for the next two decades.

¹⁹⁵ “Proceedings,” *BYB*, 1927, 52-52.

¹⁹⁶ T. T. Shields, “Harmony,” 7.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Defections from what the fundamentalists now called the “old Convention” quickly multiplied.²⁰⁰ By 1930 Shields boasted of thousands who had left the Convention over the Marshall issue. When Marshall announced that he was returning to England, Shields could not miss his opportunity to say ‘I told you so.’ Insisting that Marshall was forced out because he was the primary cause of the Convention’s declining fortunes, Shields noted: “Twelve thousand Baptist church members at least have left the Convention because of his [Marshall’s] presence in it.”²⁰¹ A few months later, with the reports being presented in the annual Convention, Shields published in detail the declines in income across the various boards and the declining attendance figures in churches and Sunday Schools.²⁰² By 1930, the seat of Canadian Baptist Evangelicalism had in large part been removed from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec to take up residence in the fledgling Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec.

In Defense of the Faith.

The fundamentalist/modernist controversies of the 1920’s have gained a particular reputation for their extraordinary bitterness and acrimony. Historians have nearly all remarked on the excesses of language and gesture and they have almost universally adopted a hostile attitude towards the fundamentalist crusade. It is not at all surprising that for many of these historians the poster boy of their caricature was Shields. While in hindsight there can be little doubt of the legitimacy of Shields’ complaint, there is no question that the unrestrained character of Shields’ rhetoric came at high cost. Certainly his excesses can be accounted for in no small part by the magnitude of the issues contended over and the martial context in which they were waged. Nevertheless, throughout the decade Shields’ arsenal rapidly developed in a manner that arguably did him more harm than good. In no small part Shields was responsible for the collapse of the BBU campaign, and while many have credited him with salvaging a remnant in a faith-based evangelicalism, his objectionable tactics cost him all his influence both internationally and at home at McMaster University and the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ T. T. Shields, “Why is McMaster Sending Prof. Marshall Back to England?” *GW* 9:5, 19 June 1930, 4.

²⁰² T. T. Shields, “Gray Hairs are Here and There Upon Him, Yet He Knoweth Not!” *GW* 9:25, 6 November 1930, 3-4.

While it could be asked whether Shields shaped the controversy or whether the controversy shaped Shields, there is little question that the weapons of Shields' warfare greatly developed as the decade progressed. Though he could still boast of the spiritual weaponry that was his traditional heritage, Shields rapidly began to deploy "carnal" or worldly instruments of truly modern character.²⁰³ In his 1921 Jarvis Street crisis, he had largely depended upon prayer and evangelism, although his growing penchant for pulpit demagoguery was already manifesting itself. With his attentions turning toward convention battles he quickly learned the invaluable lesson of the powers of publication. His successful publication and distribution of *The Inside of the Cup* provided him a model that would serve him throughout the decade and beyond. Thereafter, his *Gospel Witness* became the primary tool in his arsenal of modernity.

It was this tool more than any other that earned Shields his notoriety in Convention circles. Had Shields limited his journalism to the spiritual edification of Biblical exposition, his impact would likely have never diminished. However, his journal quickly became the vehicle of blistering personal attacks. Shields made little attempt to apologise for the very personal character of his offensive. In this he deliberately contrasted himself with his hero Spurgeon. He had come to the conclusion that Spurgeon's efforts were undermined by his refusal to name names. Shields was determined not to make the same mistake. However, Shields quickly went far beyond the simple identification of his opponents. Instead, he insulted and demeaned them. Many complained of the subtle propaganda of insinuation. Friends and foes alike were shocked by his lack of grace in dealing with fellow ministers. Characteristically, he would begin his comments with insincere flatteries, but rapidly resort to insult and innuendo. In many cases his diatribe amounted to nothing less than out-and-out mockery. Where, for instance, Shields was highly critical of Vining's disparagement of dissenting delegates whom he compared to toads catching flies in a dunghill, Shields could see no inconsistency in publishing abroad the caricature of Bowley Green slaving as he thirsted for the blood of his victims.²⁰⁴ Shields was proud of his sharp wit and his command of the English language, tools which he regularly used to lampoon the objects

²⁰³ Cf. 2 Corinthians 10:4

²⁰⁴ T. T. Shields, "Harmony," 3.

of his spite. Above all else, it was this departure from Christian grace that alienated his following.

Though Shields was ostensibly “contending for the faith once delivered to the saints” there were many who wondered whether the contentious character of his verbal assault was not in violation of the Biblical faith he sought to defend. The Convention’s shock in 1923 was in part a reaction to the public airing of matters that should have been dealt with privately. For them a principle aspect of relational ethics rested in the Biblical injunction to deal with matters privately and in person, before bringing them to the church.²⁰⁵ Yet time and time again, convention officials and offended parties complained about Shields’ publication of offences before an extended audience that the accused could never give answer to.

A second aspect of relational ethics that Shields violated was the matter of Christian forgiveness. As was well documented in his encounters with the disenfranchised members of his own congregation in 1921, Shields held long grudges. Despite efforts to seek reconciliation with their pastor, both Merrill and Ryrie were coldly rebuffed. With the pages of *The Gospel Witness* as his sole domain, Shields took to vindicating himself publicly and taking his ‘pound of flesh’ whenever the opportunity afforded itself. Every convention debate found complete coverage in the first edition of the *Witness* after the Convention’s conclusion. In a couple of notable instances, publication occurred mid-convention. In these post-debate synopses Shields carried on the argument and lampooned his opponents. Any who dared to move amendments or motions that in any way deprecated his cause could be sure of a liberal dose of his wrath.

Shields also proved to have a long memory. Cameron could never be forgiven for seconding the compromise amendment in the 1919 Ottawa Convention and Shields regularly mocked him with the Convention’s shout, “Sit Down! Sit Down!”²⁰⁶ Nor was this an isolated instance. His favorite defence against the accusations of his enemies was character assassination. Shields was constantly on alert to find ‘dirt’ on those who had crossed him on the convention floor. A significant example of this occurred several months after the ‘excommunication synod’ of 1927. To his great delight Shields stumbled

²⁰⁵ Cf. Matthew 18:15, 16.

²⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, “How to Improve McMaster,” *GW* 1:22, 12 October 1922, 7.

upon a *Toronto Daily Star* editorial entitled “B.A.’s for Office Boys.” The article documented the comic attempts of one of the *Star*’s office boys to achieve “scholastic distinction.” George, their office boy, discovered a way to get “fixed up” with a degree without all the fuss of “lectures” and “examinations.” He just had to apply to “The People’s National University of Atlanta, Georgia.” The editorial staff stopped him after “fifteen dollars’ worth,” but for a bit of fun decided to pursue the application process and to report on their findings. What they discovered, of course, was a degree mill. For different amounts “‘B.A.’s’, ‘Th.D.’s’, ‘D.D.’s’ and whatnot” could be bought.²⁰⁷ Shields was almost euphoric to discover among the distinguished alumni of this bogus university, the names of several of his denominational adversaries. “Among those who have obtained the B.A. degree from the People’s National University,” trumpeted Shields, “we find the name of Rev. W. C. Smalley, of Ottawa.” This name had particular significance for Shields and he did not lose any time rubbing Smalley’s nose in the shame of his discovery. “Now we know what Brother Smalley’s degree is worth! The possession of such academic distinction may perhaps have given Brother Smalley the more confidence as he moved the resolution to exclude from the Convention of Ontario and Quebec the [Jarvis Street] church out of which McMaster University sprang.”²⁰⁸

One of the despised chairmen of that same Convention who regularly ruled the fundamentalist side “Out of Order,” also graced P.N.U.’s alumni lists. More recently Dr. W. H. Langton had been elevated to the presidency of the Convention. Shields could hardly contain himself and dedicated several pages of that week’s *Witness* to a mocking indictment of Langton and his P.N.U. doctorate. When the *Canadian Baptist* published an explanation of the Langton scandal, Shields dissected it *ad nauseam* and stirred the pot even more.

Also, to his delight, Shields discovered the name of an earlier denominational rival. In 1907 while Shields was in his London pastorate, he complained of the interference of Rev. J. J. Ross, then the pastor of Talbot Street Baptist Church. At that time Shields was quite gracious in his response to Ross. Twenty-one years later Shields

²⁰⁷ Charles Vining, “‘B.A.’s’ for Office Boys,” *TDS*, 7 March 1928, 1. Cf. “T. T. Shields, “More About ‘University’ Degrees,” *GW* 6:44, 15 March 1928, 3. (Hereafter “Degrees”).

²⁰⁸ “T. T. Shields, “Degrees,” 4

discovered his name associated with this same fraudulent university, and was quick to expose the whole sordid matter.²⁰⁹

According to his opponents not only was Shields' attack unbiblical, it was unjust, or as some of his British brothers would say, it was 'not cricket.' His handling of evidence was particularly offensive. Very early in his campaign Shields adopted the habit of publishing hearsay evidence as established fact. His published denunciations of Sanderson, for instance, nearly all hinged on a reported conversation of which other parties involved had no recollection. And yet, as late as 1953 Shields was still using that piece of evidence as his singular proof of Sanderson's modernism.²¹⁰ He was careless as well about substantiating his facts. In 1923 he had to apologize to Sanderson on the convention floor for publishing that Sanderson had voted against the 1919 protest. Sanderson was able to prove that he had already left the convention when the vote was taken. Yet in 1953 when retelling the story, Shields repeated the inaccuracy.

The way that Shields handled the Sanderson accusations greatly influenced the convention against him when he appeared to be doing the same thing with Marshall. Shields himself acknowledged that the Robertson letters were only hearsay evidence and yet he published them throughout the convention. As Chancellor Whidden pointed out to Shields, their publication "prejudices the whole case in so many minds."²¹¹ Yet Shields was unrepentant and never ceased to justify his actions.

Shields' willingness to publish his theories on solitary evidence often left himself open to the charges of misrepresentation. At numerous conventions Shields was left stumbling in self-justifications because he came armed only with his presumptions of guilt rather than concrete evidence. Though he often raised issues for discussion, he inevitably approached the question with prejudiced perspectives. When, for instance, he opened the discussion of nominations for the Board of Governors in 1923, he allowed personal grudges and prejudice to colour his reasoning and then he condescendingly expected his readers to concur.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Great Contention; Chapter XXVIII," *GW&PA* 32:6, 28 May 1953, 12.

²¹¹ T. T. Shields, "Capture," 8.

Shields' polemic was the stuff of innuendo, imputed motive, exaggeration and the inflation of minor issues into insurmountable obstacles, giving them a significance they did not deserve. He was too emotionally engaged in the process. Shields' message was lost in the noise of his demagoguery. His agitation left him looking unbalanced and paranoid.

There is real question whether with less offensive tactics Shields could ever have convinced the Convention of the truth of his allegations or overcome the dishonesty and covert machinations of his modernistic enemies. However, there can be no doubt that his resort to the weaponry of modern journalism only played into the modernists' hands. Yet Shields was never one to acknowledge defeat or to admit that he was wrong. Instead, as he exited the Convention under the ban of excommunication he was enlightened with a new appreciation of the Biblical injunction: "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you."²¹² Hereafter, the militant fundamentalist would be the denominational separatist.

As a direct consequence of the denominational debates of the decade and the machinations in which Shields played a part, by the end of the 1920's two separate Baptist denominations existed where one had stood before. For nearly a century the distrust and animosity born of that contention has kept them apart. As the decade came to a close Shields looked to a future where new enemies appeared on the horizon. Shaped by the war and the militancy of his fundamentalist stand and now an ecclesiastical outcast, he was ready for new challenges. Modern crises provoked by paradoxical ideals of social reconstruction redirected his restless energies towards civil and political engagement. Prohibition, collectivist models of social order, and Roman Catholic insurgency were about to become the consuming objects of his fundamentalist crusade.

²¹² 2 Corinthians 6:17.

CHAPTER 9

Fighting Demons: Social / Political Activist (1931-1955)¹

“This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come.”

2Timothy 3:1

In 1993 John G. Stackhouse published an important survey of Canadian evangelicalism.² Noting the prominence of Shields in the controversies at the beginning of the twentieth century, Stackhouse began his account with a discussion of Shields’ particular place in the Canadian evangelical scene. Stackhouse acknowledged that Shields occupied the central place in Canadian fundamentalism. “Church historians may debate definitions of fundamentalism,” he noted, “but standing squarely in the middle of anyone’s definition is Canada’s best-known and most influential fundamentalist, Thomas Todhunter Shields.” However, so far as his influence was concerned, Stackhouse argued that Shields marked “out the fundamentalist limit of Canadian evangelicalism” but sat well outside the mainstream of Canadian evangelical life.³

Historians have long debated the significance of Shields’ fundamentalist crusade. Little has been done, however, to evaluate the paradox implicit in Stackhouse’s observations. Shields, in his lifetime, was one of the most central figures in Canadian evangelicalism and by the end of it one of the most marginalized. Certainly the virulence of his attack upon modernism set the trajectory. In concert with many of the prominent fundamentalist leaders, Shields shared in ample proportions the stubborn and independent streak that ruptured the movement at critical points. The caustic tone of his rhetoric offended friend and foe alike. However, this trajectory into obscurity continued long after the fundamentalist campaign had faded in the annals of history. The last two decades of

¹ Sections of this chapter have been previously published in Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson, eds., *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*. (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012). Used by permission of Wipf and Stock Publishers. www.wipfandstock.com

² John G. Stackhouse Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). (Hereafter *Canadian Evangelicalism*). Cf. also J. G. Stackhouse Jr., “Thomas Todhunter Shields,” in Charles H. Lippy ed. *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989) also J. G. Stackhouse Jr., *Proclaiming the Word, Canadian Evangelicalism since World War One*. (Ph.D. Thesis for University of Chicago, 1987).

³ Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 34.

Shields' life witnessed just as much contention as had the decade of the twenties. Within his own church and newly formed denomination, schism and dissension were much in evidence. In the early 1930's Shields faced mutiny in Jarvis Street over demands for a pledge of loyalty.⁴ The denomination was wracked by Shields' contest with the Fundamentalist Baptist Young People's Association and the Women's Missionary Society, provoking the exodus of a large number of churches to form the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches.⁵ Over a decade later, one of the most painful divisions of his career came with his split with Dean Brown of Toronto Baptist Seminary. His seminary was left as a microcosm of its former self and Shields found himself and his church outside of the main body of evangelical Baptists. Shields was left at the helm of a small group of largely rural churches still loyal to the Shields tradition. This group existed for many years as the Association of Regular Baptist churches.⁶ While the causes of these disruptions had many sources, certainly the independence and stubbornness shaped and hardened by the fundamentalist/modernist controversies were prominent factors in Shields' ruptured relationships.

At least part of the reason for Shields' marginalization can be found in his exploits in the public realm. While the stories of Shields' ecclesiastical skirmishes are told and retold, little has been done to evaluate his role in public life. The historians' interest in Shields largely ended at the high point of the fundamentalist influence and the demise of the most prominent of the fundamentalist agencies with which he was affiliated. However, Shields saw himself as being engaged in the same fundamentalist struggle to the end of his life. His focus and methodology shifted in the years after the death of the Baptist Bible Union, and a defence of Western ideological forms, Protestant

⁴ "50 Jarvis St. Teachers Won't Sign 'Declaration,'" 12 January 1931, *TTCF*, 93. Cf. "New Church will Follow Jarvis St. Baptist Split," 17 January 1931, *TTCF* 95. Cf. "140 Dissentients Quit Jarvis Fold," *Mail* 17 January, 1931, *TTCF*, 96.

⁵ See for instance "The Woodstock F.B.Y.P.A. Convention." *GW* 10:2, 4 June 1931, 8-13. This is a discussion of the matter of the FBYP and the WMS. Cf. "Dr. Shields Splits Regular Baptists," *Mail*, 25 May 1931, *TTCF*, 101.

⁶ For an excellent discussion of the TBS schism and its aftermath see Paul Wilson, "Torn Asunder: T. T. Shields, W. Gordon Brown and the Schisms at Toronto Baptist Seminary and within the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec." in *T. T. Shields: Reflections on the Legacy of a Baptist Fundamentalist*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin and Paul R. Wilson. (Eugen, Oregon: Wipf & Sock, 2015 (projected publication date)).

liberties and evangelical hegemony became the stuff of his fundamentalist tirades. This chapter focuses primarily upon his social and political activism and the methodology associated with it. It is the story of the shift of emphasis from the spiritual weaponry that so characterized his early career to the “carnal” weapons of political activism and demagoguery. Ironically, the evangelical hegemony that he championed was the most conspicuous casualty of his misplaced zeal.

Shields first came to the attention of the Toronto media in 1912. Within two years of taking up his tenure in Jarvis Street Baptist Church he was already throwing in his lot with the city’s social reformers. As described in chapter 2, when the St. Clair affair erupted in September 1912 Shields was front and centre in the battle with city officials that ensued. Nearly thirty years later Shields was still fighting in the public forum. By his own admission, his militancy over the years had escalated and by 1943 he boasted “I have sounded no different note in my preaching or my writing the last few years than that which I have sounded from this pulpit now for more than thirty years. The only difference in the present situation is that the menace is more imminent, the gangsters are nearer to their prey; hence their description and identity meets with a more raucous response.”⁷ The “gangsters” Shields had in mind were the political leaders with whom he was wrestling. His two most notable political foes were Ontario Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn and Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

Premier Mitchell Hepburn

Shields’ controversy with Premier Hepburn was a particularly colourful affair. As Kenneth Johnstone of *The Standard* put it, “for once Mitch had met his match in the gentle art of invective. First [Shields] announced that Hepburn was a vulgarian demagogue. Then he noticed that Hepburn strongly resembled Hitler. He asked the pertinent question: Did Rome assist Hepburn? Finally he lit upon the golden phrase of “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome.”⁸ Hepburn in turn responded by labelling Shields “an offensive temperance crank.”⁹

⁷ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer,” in *Three Addresses* (Toronto: The Canadian Protestant League, 1943), 4.

⁸ Johnstone, “Toronto’s Dr. Shields,” *The Standard*, 1949, 11.

⁹ “Dr. Shields Should Not Be Surprised,” 14 September 1934, in *TTCF*, 113.

The Beer Parlour Question:

Shields was a firmly entrenched opponent of the alcohol industry and an outspoken prohibitionist. Some of his first public pronouncements on the issue surfaced in his public addresses concerning the First World War. Shields had traveled coast to coast sharing his personal observations of the war at the behest of the Borden government and the British Ministry of Information.¹⁰ His observations concerning the liquor trade were delivered with typical Shields' pugnacity:

Personally, I am a Prohibitionist. I would prohibit the Liquor Traffic everywhere, just as I would prohibit a man-eating tiger from wandering at large. I am not a chemist, but it seems to me that there is enough of the devil in whisky to afford material for high explosives of some sort; and I should like to turn the chemists of the Empire loose upon what supplies we have in stock, with instructions to convert them into stuff to blow up Prussianism with. I say this to make my own attitude unmistakable plain. The damning and damnable record of this traffic everywhere merits the unsparing, unmitigated, curse of earth and heaven.¹¹

Over the years Shields would continue to make headlines on the issue. He attacked the record of the Ontario government of Howard Ferguson in the 1929 election, because Ferguson in 1927 had replaced the *Ontario Temperance Act* with the *Act to Regulate and Control the Sale of Liquor in Ontario* creating the Liquor Control Board of Ontario. "Sweeping aside all camouflage and subterfuge," charged Shields, "the plain unmistakable matter of fact is that Premier Ferguson in this day has become the agent of the brewers and distillers and a reactionary measure has been forced upon this province that undoes the progress of 30 years or more."¹² It is not at all surprising that Hepburn's movement of the Liberal party away from a "Dry" platform had Shields up in arms.¹³

Shields' first attack on Hepburn over his alcohol policy came in 1934 after Hepburn's Liberal victory in the July election. Shields' editorial in *The Gospel Witness* was entitled "Modernism and Beer." Challenging the decline in liquor controls under the

¹⁰ T. T. Shields, "Letter to The Deacons of Jarvis Street Baptist Church." Cf. Tarr, *Shields*, 58. Some of these addresses included "England in Wartime," "Imperial London at War," "The Fall of Lucifer," and "The Sword of Victory", JBCA, Toronto.

¹¹ T. T. Shields, "England in Wartime," 6. This was an address first presented in Toronto, 29 September 1917. However, the last page includes a listing of 25 other locations in which it was presented. These are mostly in and around Ontario, but the list also includes Montreal, Jamestown, N.Y. and Saginaw, Michigan. Congregation sizes are also included and range from 150 to 1500.

¹² "Shields Lifts Voice against Ferguson Govt," *The Evening Telegram*, 28 October 1929, 15.

¹³ For a discussion of Hepburn's move away from the "Dry" platform see John T. Saywell, *Just Call Me Mitch*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), chapter 3.

law, Shields decried the “freer beer privileges” allowed through the opening of “beverage-rooms” all over the city. His concern was pastoral as he noted that “in the vicinity of Jarvis Street Church during the last few weeks we have witnessed such drunken orgies as were never seen in Toronto in the days of the open bar.”¹⁴ Shields’ opening salvo in his campaign protesting Premier Hepburn’s legislation amending the Liquor Control Act was fired from the pulpit of his church under the heading “Will Ontario Tolerate the Present Deluge of Liquor?”¹⁵ With the media broadly publicizing Shields’ demands, and Jarvis Street Church’s own advertising and circulation of “protest slips,” Shields delivered a second salvo the following Sunday evening entitled “Ontario’s Shame.”¹⁶ The church was packed, and it was estimated that over 3,000 people crowded into the auditorium, adjacent halls and grounds surrounding the church. By means of amplifiers the audience outside the auditorium was able to listen in. In addition to this audience, Shields estimated that further “hundreds of thousands” tuned in to the church’s regular Sunday evening broadcast on CFRB.¹⁷ Within weeks Shields had collected over 40,000 protest slips challenging Hepburn’s liquor legislation.¹⁸

Shields acknowledged that the legislation had been drafted by the previous Henry government, but he held the present administration responsible for its enactment. Premier George Henry had made the amendments conditional upon his return to office. However, the Henry government was defeated. Shields interpreted this defeat as a rejection of Henry’s government rather than as a vote for Hepburn. Shields maintained that he himself voted Liberal, not as a vote for Hepburn but as a vote against Henry. “I felt,” declared Shields, “the Henry government had grossly betrayed its trust and had outstayed its welcome.”¹⁹ However, Shields’ welcome for the new Hepburn government was brief, and Hepburn’s adoption of the Henry government’s liquor policies soon had him up in arms. “True,” said Shields, “the beer parlor legislation is the Henry Government’s baby that was left on Premier Hepburn’s doorstep. Notwithstanding, it is now apparent that

¹⁴ T. T. Shields, “Modernism and Beer,” *GW* 13:13, 9 August 1934, 5.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, “Will Ontario Tolerate the Present Deluge of Liquor?” *GW*, 13:13, 23 August 1934, 3.

¹⁶ “Dr. Shields Demands Closing of Jarvis St. Beverage Rooms,” 20 August 1934, in *TTCF*, 109. cf. “Shields Leads Drive to Cancel Licenses,” *Toronto Star*, 20 August 1934, 3; “Jarvis St. Baptists Protest Beer Parlors by Church,” *The Evening Telegram*, 20 August 1934, 11.

¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “More About Ontario’s Shame,” *GW* 13:16, 30 August 1934, 1.

¹⁸ “I’d Like to be M.P.P. To Whack Hepburn, Thunders Shields,” *The Globe*, 26 November 1934, 1.

¹⁹ “Attacking Administration Not Beer Law, Says Shields” *Toronto Star*, 30 Aug. 1934, 8.

from the moment he opened his official door and found the baby on his door step, Mr. Hepburn fell violently in love with it, as though it were his own child, and has, in fact adopted it as his own, and handed it over to Nurse Odette to bring it up for him.”²⁰ A few weeks later Shields openly questioned the “paternity of this supposed ‘child’ of the Henry Government.” “In fact,” argued Shields, “the more the child grows the more it resembles its foster-parents.” Clearly, the affection of the present government for the bill led to the determination “that the ugly child shall have full freedom to disturb the well being of the whole province.”²¹

For Shields, the disturbance of the province’s well-being was clearly illustrated on Jarvis Street. He identified a violation in the present governmental practice of the fundamental principle laid down in earlier legislation forbidding the sale of liquor within established limits around schools and churches. Pointing to the case of Jarvis Street, Shields was able to identify five educational institutions within two blocks of his church and nine licensed beverage rooms within three blocks. He charged that “licenses were scattered like confetti.”²² Even in the midst of a two month trip to England combining a honeymoon and a preaching tour arranged by the “Spurgeon Centenary Mission,” the Ontario liquor question filled his thoughts. Having spent weeks in London and various other cities across the United Kingdom, he wrote home: “In all that time I did not see as much evidence of drunkenness as I could see on Jarvis St. in two hours from the steps of Jarvis St. Baptist church. I am more convinced than ever that conditions in Ontario are such as to make every decent Canadian blush for shame.”²³

What is perhaps most surprising about the Shields / Hepburn controversy was the degree of personal invective hurled back and forth between the two protagonists. Both men were renowned for their provocative and controversial methods. Hepburn had earned quite a reputation for his “barbed-wire eloquence.”²⁴ However, it was Pastor Shields who kept the media entertained with the taunts and personal insults he directed at the Premier. Hepburn’s initial reaction to Shields’ attacks was to dismiss him “as an offensive

²⁰ “Would Kill New Beer Act Declares Doctor Shields,” 24 August 1934, in *TTCF*, 111.

²¹ “Alcoholic Foundling Looks Like Hepburn,” 14 September 1934, in *TTCF*, 113.

²² T. T. Shields, “Ontario’s Shame,” *GW*, 13:16, 30 August 1934, 2.

²³ “Shields Sees More Drunks on Jarvis St. Than on Trip,” *Toronto Star*, 13 November 1934, 23.

²⁴ Neil McKenty, “Mitchell F. Hepburn and the Ontario Election of 1934,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 45, no. 4 (1964) 303.

temperance crank.” Shields fired back that Hepburn’s way of dealing with his opposition had been simply to fire all those who did not agree with him. Those he could not fire he called names “in the manner of an angry schoolboy.”²⁵ However, rather than take the moral high ground, Shields was determined to meet fire with fire. He deliberately took a swipe at Hepburn’s barnstorming campaign in the recent election by suggesting he would match his efforts in the liquor fight. In 1934, he claimed that when he came back from his England honeymoon he would go from one end of the province to the other and “show Mr. Hepburn that I can speak as well as he can. I am not a reformer. Primarily I am a preacher, but I will take my hand at reform. You may nominate me for the Legislature if you like, but I promise you that they shall hear from me.”²⁶ He concluded: “So far as this ‘temperance crank is concerned, I am resolved to become even more offensive.”²⁷

When Shields returned home, the liquor fight was renewed with a vengeance. Hepburn’s curt dismissal of every delegation requesting a hearing on moral issues brought charges of insolence and arrogance from Shields.²⁸ Though his original intent had been to seek an audience with Hepburn armed with over 40,000 protest slips, Shields quickly abandoned that plan: “I have not yet presented them to Premier Hepburn, because I do not propose to expose myself to that gentleman’s insolence.” Shields went on to add, “If it were possible to reduce this remarkable person to a chemical analysis to show what he is composed of, I think we would find 5 percent ability and 95 percent conceit.”²⁹

Two major concerns occupied Shields’ mind: the morality of the province and the rule of law versus the arbitrary rule of Hepburn. Shields particularly feared the moral consequences of the beverage room provision and denounced the “debauchery, the whoring, and the demoralization of the young that had overtaken the province.”³⁰ Capitalizing on the sensational headlines of the previous week documenting the kidnapping and release of beer tycoon John S. Labatt, Shields with an ironic twist declared that the liquor business was a “kidnapper a thousand times more dangerous than any of the kidnapping gangsters of the United States or Canada.” “It tears the husband

²⁵ “Dr. Shields Should Not Be Surprised,” 14 September 1934, in *TTCF*, 113.

²⁶ “Rev. Dr. Shields Promises Cleanup On Beer Parlors,” *The Evening Telegram*, 27 August 1934, 21.

²⁷ “Alcoholic Foundling Looks Like Hepburn,” 14 September 1934, in *TTCF*, 113.

²⁸ T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW*, 13:43, 7 March 1935, 3.

²⁹ “I’d Like to be M.P.P. To Whack Hepburn, Thunders Shields,” *The Globe*, 26 November 1934, 1.

³⁰ Saywell, 175.

from the side of his wife,” Shields argued, “the son from his mother and alas, in many instances the mother from her children. It reduces the victim’s family to such a condition that none of them can by any means redeem his brother nor give any sort of ransom for him.”³¹

Shields, along with many others, including Prime Minister King, were aghast at the seeming sell-out to liquor interests. Hepburn’s first announcement to the press after his first cabinet meeting was that Henry’s liquor act had been passed and that “beer would flow on 24 July.”³² Having appointed his friend, the heavy-drinking Eddie Odette, to the position of Liquor Commissioner, 24 July witnessed the issuance of “authorities for ninety-nine standard hotels, three clubs, and two steamship companies with a thousand licenses to come.” From the outset the consequences were obvious. Beer sales were up 120 percent by the end of August, and over one million dollars had been paid or was immediately pending to the provincial treasury from the “issuance of authorities.”³³ Conversion of “tumble-down shacks” into hotels, some without any sleeping facilities, was rampant. The case of the Breadalbane Hotel became celebrated when its circumstances were publicized in the Toronto papers.³⁴

For Shields the situation was intolerable and made a mockery of Hepburn’s pretensions of a fiscally responsible government. Shields contended that despite Hepburn’s promises to cut government expenses by fifty percent, the auctioning of government vehicles, the closure of the lieutenant-governor’s residence and the slashing of unneeded public service employees, the social cost of alcohol consumption would be much more. Speaking of Hepburn’s refusal of an invitation to a state dinner at Government House,³⁵ Shields accused him of hypocrisy:

³¹ “Dr. Shields Demands Closing of Jarvis St. Beverage Rooms,” 20 August 1934, in *TTCF*, 109. For a discussion of the Labatt kidnapping, see Susan Goldenberg, *Snatched!: The Peculiar Kidnapping of Beer Tycoon John Labatt* (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2004).

³² Saywell, 170.

³³ “Profits made on Authorities and at Stores,” *The Globe*, 30 August 1934, 1.

³⁴ The Breadalbane was a “broken-down property” at the corner of Yonge and Breadalbane Streets which got a license even though it did not provide any rooms. With media attention the licence was temporarily revoked. Saywell, 175. Cf. “Breadalbane Hotel Case Examined by Commissioner,” *The Globe*, 30 August 1934, 1.

³⁵ Ever since the 1934 campaign Hepburn had promised to close Chorley Park the official residence of the Lieutenant Governor which Hepburn called “a haven for broken-down English aristocrats who should be paying for their rooms at the hotels.” Given his stance on Government House, Hepburn refused ever to take a meal there. Cf. Neil McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, (Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 1967), 139.

Personally, we have always had the strongest natural antipathy for that kind of Pharisaical hypocrisy, whether religious or political, which, “strains at a gnat, and swallows a camel”; and we have still less respect for that economic Pharisaism which strains at a dinner menu, and swallows an ocean of beer. If Mr. Hepburn were really bent upon economy, if he were really a friend of the common people, if he really had the moral and material welfare of the Province at heart; and if such benevolent attitude toward his fellows were accompanied by an enlightened judgment, can anyone suppose he would be willing to accept responsibility for the measure which takes an additional twenty-five millions of dollars out of the pockets of the people of Ontario - mostly of young people - by his beer and wine parlours?³⁶

A second ground for complaint was soon added to Shields’ hit list. When Hepburn governed for eight months by “order-in-council” and the legislature did not meet, Shields noted that “for eight months the electors of the Province of Ontario . . . have been disfranchised [sic].” With Hepburn’s refusal to attend the state dinner hosted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Shields denounced Hepburn’s “offence against good manners,” and he had further evidence of Hepburn’s disregard for legal authority.³⁷ In September of 1935, Shields accused Hepburn of defying a Supreme Court decision: “His government is continuing the sale of liquor in three counties where a judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada has said it cannot legally be sold. Mr. Hepburn openly defies the Supreme Court.”³⁸

As early as September of 1934 Shields had compared Hepburn to Hitler. Commenting on Hepburn’s “‘wholesale dismissals’ from the government services” Shields remarked, “The Premier of Ontario now speaks as though he is already dictator of Canada. I wonder who his political ideal is? I think it must be Adolph Hitler, and a little bit of Mussolini.”³⁹ The charge was repeated in March of 1935. Speaking of his refusal to seek a hearing with Hepburn, because of his previous refusal to give a fair hearing to various delegations seeking redress to the issues, Shields remarked: “But I shall not submit these names to the Premier, for what are forty thousand, six hundred and seventy-nine voters to this miniature, intellectually diminutive imitation of Hitler!”⁴⁰ This kind of

³⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Malady of Hepburnism,” *GW*, 13:39, 7 February 1935, 3.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ T. T. Shields, “A Canadian Menace,” *GW*, 14:17, 5 September 1935, 5.

³⁹ “Organ Plays to Drown Shouts of Combatants,” *Mail*, 3 September 1934, in *TTCF*, 112.

⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW*, 13:40, 7 March 1935, 3.

rhetoric would continue and escalate as Shields increasingly found grounds in Hepburn's actions to identify his leadership style as dictatorial and fascist. In the East Hastings by-election called for December 9, 1936, George Drew would echo these sentiments and with Hepburn's denunciation of an Ontario Court of Appeal decision as a "hollow verdict . . . a hog's head of law and a thimbleful of justice," Drew demanded his resignation for contempt of court.⁴¹ He asked: "Who is this Mussolini . . . ? This is Fascism. Mussolini has suspended the courts recently in his totalitarian State. Now this man says he will suspend Ontario's courts. He should haul down the Union Jack and hoist the Jolly Roger. He is a pirate."⁴²

Throughout the liquor controversy Hepburn's response was largely to discount the influence of Shields as too narrow-minded to have much influence. On the occasion that Hepburn was informed of some of Shields' more caustic remarks and the suggestion that Shields would like a seat in the Legislature to better confront him, Hepburn replied, "I don't think that any constituency would elect any man so narrow-minded as Dr. Shields."⁴³ Two years later his assumptions were indirectly put to the test in the East Hastings by-election and Hepburn would have cause to reflect on the consequences of underestimating Shields and his following.

The Separate School Question:

From early in the Hepburn regime, questions began to arise about reopening the separate school question.⁴⁴ By March of 1935 Shields began to express his concerns about a renewed attack upon the public school system.⁴⁵ Shields' fears proved prophetic, and in April 1936 an Act to Amend the Assessment Act was passed.⁴⁶ Shields reacted immediately. On April 14, 1936 he delivered an address in Jarvis Street Baptist Church entitled "The Hepburn Government's Betrayal Of Its Public Trust By Diverting Public

⁴¹ This is a reference to the November 19, 1936, decision of the Ontario Court of Appeals which declared the act cancelling the power contracts *ultra vires*.

⁴² Saywell, 272-3.

⁴³ "I'd Like to be M.P.P. To Whack Hepburn, Thunders Shields," *The Globe*, 26 November 1934, 1.

⁴⁴ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 76.

⁴⁵ T. T. Shields, "Hepburn's Alliance with Rum and Rome," *GW* 13:40, 7 March 1935, 2.

⁴⁶ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 76-81.

School Revenue To Support Of Roman Catholic Separate Schools.”⁴⁷ Two weeks later he addressed a larger crowd at Massey Hall under the heading *The Roman Catholic Horseleech*. In both of these addresses Shields professed that he was not attacking Catholicism as a religion but as a political system that was threatening to make Canada a Catholic nation. Shields argued that one of the primary strategies of Catholicism was to gain control over the educational systems of the country and use the tool of education for the propagation of their faith. Shields drew a parallel with the Irish situation. A guest of the Ministry of Information in 1918, Shields was given an extensive tour of Ireland during which he was able to meet representatives from all walks of Irish life. Concerning his experiences he boasted at the time “The Ministry of Information tells us that to no others have so many Irish leaders spoken, & so freely, as to us.”⁴⁸ At the conclusion of the trip he was invited to dinner with Lord Carson.⁴⁹ When Carson pressed him for his understanding of the Irish problem Shields professed to him that the matter was an educational one. He argued that the children in Irish schools were taught “to nurse the grievances of two hundred and fifty years ago.” Shields’ solution was “a system of purely secular education, making all religions equal under the law, and allowing all churches to teach with absolute freedom their own tenets - at their own expense.” Carson’s response was “you propose an impossibility. The Roman Catholic Church will never surrender its control of . . . education . . . for the reason that her very life depends upon it.”⁵⁰ It was Shields’ conviction that it was the Roman Catholic hierarchy’s goal to destroy all secular education in Canada and to replace the secular system with a Catholic educational program. In the present bill, concluded Shields, “The Roman Catholic hierarchy makes a raid upon the national revenue for the propagation of Roman Catholicism.”⁵¹

In the Assessment Act amendment Shields saw a blatant attempt by the Hepburn government “to secure a larger proportion of public funds for the support of Separate

⁴⁷ T. T. Shields, *The Hepburn Governments’ Betrayal of Its Public Trust by Diverting Public School Revenue to the Support of Roman Catholic Separate Schools* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1936). (Hereafter *Betrayal*).

⁴⁸ T. T. Shields to The Deacons of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 2 November 1918, JBCA, Toronto.

⁴⁹ Lord Carson was a leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and held many positions in the cabinet of the United Kingdom. The standard biography is Hyde, *Carson: The Life of Sir Edward Carson*. For more recent treatment see, John Hostettler, *Sir Edward Carson: A Dream Too Far* (Chichester: Barry Rose Law, 1997).

⁵⁰ T. T. Shields, *Betrayal*, 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

Schools.” The problem for Shields was that this funding was not to come from the “taxation of some virgin field,” but involved “diverting such funds from the treasury of the Public Schools.”⁵² As Shields understood the act, and he confessed that it was so confusing that even the men that framed it could not really understand it, this amendment provided for the taxation of corporations for educational purposes. The proportion of funds divided among Public and Separate schools would be according to “the shares held respectively by Protestants and Roman Catholics.” While this in itself might be fair, the problem lay in the fact that most corporations were so large and their shares were “so widely scattered through subsidiary companies that it would become impossible to ascertain the religion of each individual shareholder.”⁵³ The rule that was to apply in such circumstances was that the division of funds to Public and Separate boards would be based not on the faith of the shareholders but rather upon the faith of the inhabitants of the district in which the corporation primarily functioned. The ratio of Catholics to Protestants in any given district would be the determining factor for the allotment of tax funding to the respective systems. “Thus,” concluded Shields, “there is more than a probability that in the aggregate millions of dollars of property held by Protestants will be taxed for the propagation of the dogmas of Rome.”⁵⁴

Shields’ attack on Hepburn centred on his motives in introducing the bill. Shields noted that since the bill favoured the Roman Catholic constituents who were in a minority in Ontario there must be some particular reason that Hepburn’s government had introduced it. He could not find the answer in the constituency of the party, because Catholics were not in the majority. Nor was there particular evidence of religious zeal among Hepburn’s colleagues. He hinted broadly that the “House was dragooned into the passage of this Bill . . . for the sake of O’Connor’s friendship.” It is not entirely clear whether Shields was the first to make this connection, but hereafter George Drew would make large use of the O’Connor friendship in his own attempts to embarrass Hepburn.⁵⁵ Hepburn, for his part, declared that Frank O’Connor was a friend and that “he did not

⁵² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 24. Senator Frank O’Connor was a “candy millionaire” and close friend of Hepburn. Throughout the subsequent controversy George Drew would label Hepburn “O’Connor’s puppet.” Cf. McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 82.

intend to give up that friendship no matter what George Drew, Earl Rowe, and Toronto's Catholic-baiting Baptist minister, the Reverend T. T. Shields, had to say about it."⁵⁶ However, whether the legislation was the result of O'Connor's influence or not Shields asserted dogmatically,

Surely one can only conclude that Mr. Hepburn and his party were under some sort of compact to the Roman Catholic church to deliver the goods - and this, remember, is only the first installment. The circumstantial evidence in support of that assumption is overwhelmingly convincing. I think we must conclude that the present Government is under Roman Catholic direction and control.⁵⁷

With this assertion Shields clearly hit a sore point in Ontario politics. Anti-Catholic sentiment ran deep, and a perceived attack upon the province's educational system by the Catholic hierarchy was enough to stir up tremendous opposition. Shields played to this fear and declared "If Rome challenges us to battle in the political arena, let us respond to her challenge with a declaration of war."⁵⁸ With his declaration Shields also delivered a plan of attack:

To this end, *the public must be informed*. False statements must be corrected, and false impressions removed. Let us this evening highly resolve that we will enlist in this war. I suggest that meetings ought to be held all over this city, large meetings and small, wherever people can be assembled - in churches, in halls, and everywhere. Let us evoke such an expression of sentiment that Maple Leaf Gardens will not be large enough to contain the militant Protestants bold enough to declare themselves openly. And when we have done that, let us carry our message to every city, town, village, and hamlet - to every riding in Ontario, from one end of the Province to the other.⁵⁹

Unwittingly, Mitchell Hepburn soon provided the perfect opportunity for Shields to put his plans into action. When J. F. Hill, the Tory member for East Hastings, died on 15 October 1936, Hepburn ignored the advice of friends and associates and called a snap by-election for 9 December 1936. In his speech at the nominating convention on 6 November, Hepburn largely conceded that the real battle would surround the contentious issue of his separate school legislation. Arguing that the new tax would bring a measure of relief from cities and corporations to rural schools and that it would also bring a

⁵⁶ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 83.

⁵⁷ T. T. Shields, *Betrayal*, 26.

⁵⁸ T. T. Shields, *The Roman Catholic Horseleach* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1936), 18.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

“measure of justice to the Catholic minority,” Hepburn declared “If defeat is the penalty for doing what is right and just, then send us down to defeat.”⁶⁰ His opponents, with Shields prominent in the mix, were determined to do just that.

The Liberal party entered the campaign with all they could muster. Even the federal minister from the Northumberland riding, William “Billy” Fraser,” moved his campaign machinery into East Hastings.⁶¹ Hepburn personally led the fight and by the end of the campaign was largely living in the riding. In the dead of winter he travelled from one end of the riding to the other, from one speaking appointment to another with an urgency born of desperation. He fought for his record and argued that the Assessment Act amendment was an economic issue and not a religious one.⁶² However, he could not overcome the religious prejudices that were endlessly exploited by the opposition. Earl Rowe, the leader of the opposition, suggested that the Liberals were “tools of Rome.”⁶³ George Drew, the future Conservative Party leader and premier of Ontario, argued that if the Catholics were going to “bring faith into politics” then the war was on. A “whisper campaign” suggested that Hepburn’s wife was Catholic, “crowns on the King’s Highways would be replaced by romish crosses,” and a “papal residence was being prepared at Casa Loma.” Some suggested that the candidates themselves were “drowned out by the strident oratory emanating from squads of outsiders pouring into every corner of the riding.”⁶⁴ While not the only one, the voice of Shields was prominent in the hullabaloo.

Shields gave at least three addresses in the East Hastings riding in the days leading up to the December by-election. *Globe* reporter Ralph Hyman spoke of meetings in Deseronto and Canniston where Shields’ speeches were described as “vigorous” and “aggressive.”⁶⁵ In Deseronto Shields’ claim that “no true, devout Catholic who follows the teachings of his church can be a loyal citizen of any non-Catholic government,” brought pandemonium as Catholics in his audience erupted in anger. News reports of the Deseronto address told of repeated heckling and an argument between Shields and the

⁶⁰ Saywell, 272.

⁶¹ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 82. Fraser was known as the “chief political ‘fixer’ for Central Ontario.”

⁶² McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 83.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁶⁵ Hyman, “Anti-Hepburn Vote,” *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December 1936, 3.

member of the legislature for Windsor, J. H. Clarke.⁶⁶ In Truro, which had the only separate school in East Hastings, Shields' speech was much more subdued and resembled "an academic address."⁶⁷ However, the chairman, Cecil Armstrong, identified later by Hepburn as "a Toronto civic employee,"⁶⁸ was greeted by "twenty minutes of terrific heckling."⁶⁹ Shields described the opposition as consisting of "about twenty-five small boys and girls" who were "from the one Separate School in the riding." These were reinforced by "about seventy-five of the roughest men I ever saw." When Armstrong tried to make his preliminary remarks, Shields noted that "these little children . . . began to make a noise, booing, hissing, and shouting; and the seventy-five men at the back joined them." The Truro meeting boasted a large contingent of police officers who separated the seventy-five men from the rest of the audience. According to the report made to Shields, a plot against him had been discovered and the Provincial inspector came "twenty-six miles to take charge."⁷⁰ At the conclusion of the meeting, fearing mob action after the dispersal of Shields' supporters, the police escorted Shields from the scene. Shields commented:

I went out, and was escorted to my car by two or three policemen. Police were on either side of the car. Opening the door on the driver's side, one policeman put down the window and then put himself inside the car while standing on the running-board. Policemen got on both running-boards, and then the officer-in charge said, "Drive on" - and we went off under police escort.⁷¹

In response to this meeting Hepburn complained that "every effort" was being made "to inflame the Protestants against the Catholics, who for years have lived here as neighbors and friends." He condemned Armstrong's involvement as chairman in Shields' campaigns: "Mr. Armstrong, I understand, . . . is drawing his salary while attending those meetings down here. I wonder if he has stopped to realize that while he is here attacking the Catholics so viciously his salary is being paid in part by the Catholic rate payers of Toronto."⁷²

⁶⁶ "You're Crazy' Yells Heckler as Shields Attacks Catholics," *The Globe and Mail*, 2 December 1936, 2.

⁶⁷ Hyman, "Anti-Hepburn Vote," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December 1936, 3.

⁶⁸ Oliver, "Tories Inflaming Religious Strife Hepburn Declares," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December 1936, 3.

⁶⁹ Hyman, "Anti-Hepburn Vote," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December 1936, 3.

⁷⁰ T. T. Shields, "The Menace of Present-Day Roman Catholicism," 4. cf. Fisher, "Police Guard Dr. Shields From Threatening Crowd," *The Evening Telegram*, 4 December 1936, 15.

⁷¹ T. T. Shields, "The Menace of Present-Day Roman Catholicism," *GW* 15:31, 10 December 1936, 4.

⁷² Oliver, "Tories Inflaming Religious Strife Hepburn Declares," *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December 1936, 3.

Despite Hepburn's protests, Dr. Harold Boyce, Hepburn's candidate for the East Hastings riding, went down to a "crushing defeat." The previous Tory majority of 418 strengthened considerably to 1,136. Hepburn complained that the by-election had been "fought purely on religious bigotry."⁷³ For the most part, Hepburn laughed off Shields' allegations "as the ranting of a lunatic fringe of 'sanctimonious, psalm singing preachers.'"⁷⁴ However, when looking for someone to blame for his East Hastings defeat, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Assessment Act, Shields was a handy target. On 24 March 1937, when Hepburn conceded the fight and accepted George Henry's motion to repeal the separate school bill, he accused the opposition of having "intimidated the small Catholic minority so much that they were afraid to vote." While Rowe and Drew were the primary targets of his hour long speech, Shields also was named. Hepburn deprecated Shields' insults of Catholic citizens and condemned Shields' questioning "of the loyalty of devout Catholics." He argued that the opposition had "opened up religious and racial sores which will not heal in the lifetime of this country." He concluded that "It is my responsibility to forestall the possibility of a religious war in this Province."⁷⁵ Shields, always the one to have the last word, responded:

When Mr. Hepburn accepted the proposal of the Opposition, that the Amendment be repealed, in his speech in the Legislature he did me the honour of blaming me, among others, for stirring up religious strife. I said, he did me the honour of blaming me - and it was an honour, for to be blamed by Mr. Hepburn for anything is tantamount to a certificate of character.⁷⁶

For some time Shields had publicly expressed his complete confidence that at the first opportunity Hepburn would be defeated at the polls. As early as March 1935 Shields predicted Hepburn's electoral demise. Expressing what he believed to be the electorate's exasperation with Hepburn's crudities Shields concluded: I can see nothing but for the Province, with what fortitude it can command, to resign itself to suffering the indignity of your premiership, until by the lapse of time the citizens of this Province, in the exercise

⁷³ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 84.

⁷⁴ Saywell, 407.

⁷⁵ "It is My Duty To Forestall Religious War," *The Globe and Mail*, 25 March 1937, 1.

⁷⁶ T. T. Shields, "What Ought Ontario to do With Hepburn?" *GW* 16:20, 23 September 1937, 9.

of their constitutional right, will be able to cast you into the political oblivion which your personal insolence so richly merits.⁷⁷

In his Massey Hall address about the Assessment Act, Shields expressed an increasing confidence that Hepburn's days were numbered: "I cannot believe that the Province of Ontario would ever again entrust the government of its affairs to a man responsible for the beverage rooms and their administration, and now for this iniquitous school law in the form of an amendment to the Assessment Act."⁷⁸ Late in 1936, Shields forcefully articulated his view that Hepburn would not survive another election: "And let me tell you friends, when the next election comes around Premier Hepburn will find that there are hundreds of thousands of dictators who will say in no uncertain terms: 'Get out'"⁷⁹ A month later Shields' optimism seemed to be confirmed by the results of the East Hastings by-election, and when Hepburn a year later announced a provincial election Shields enthusiastically predicted Hepburn's defeat. Noting the "40,679 signed protests" of the beer parlour legislation and the broad response to the broadcast of his addresses to "tens of thousands of people throughout the Province," Shields felt confident in his outlook. Despite being silenced for several months by a heart attack, Shields felt obligated to respond to the appeal of "the inquiring and expectant attitude of the tens of thousands" who now looked for his opinion on the subject of Hepburn's premiership.⁸⁰ He observed that there had to be some way by "which an outraged electorate could inflict punishment upon a Government that has betrayed its trust."⁸¹ His conclusion was simple: "There is but one answer to the question, What should Ontario do to Hepburn? *WITH BOTH HANDS AND A STRONG RIGHT FOOT, THROW HIM OUT!*"⁸²

Shields' prognostications proved to be as empty as his demagoguery was ineffective. For all his bravado about being tempted to run for office himself as another Cromwell "to drive out the Hepburn gang of outlaws,"⁸³ Shields was more demagogue than politician. Shields' reading of the political pulse in Ontario proved to be completely

⁷⁷ T. T. Shields, "Hepburn's Alliance with Rum and Rome," *GW* 13:40, 7 March 1935, 4.

⁷⁸ T. T. Shields, *Betrayal*, 31.

⁷⁹ "'Failed as Dictator' Shields Answers Charge," *The Evening Telegram*, 2 November 1936, 12.

⁸⁰ T. T. Shields, "What Ought Ontario to do With Hepburn?" *GW* 16:20, 23 September 1937, 6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 13.

⁸³ Anonymous, "Catholics Planning Move Dr. Shields Warns Voters," *The Evening Telegram*, 27 March 1937, 33.

incorrect. Despite his best efforts to remind the electorate of the moral ills brought down upon Ontario during Hepburn's tenure, Hepburn, the savvy politician, had in 1937 picked the opportune time to take his record to the voters of Ontario. Having just defeated the attempts of the CIO to infiltrate the Ontario labour scene, Hepburn sidestepped the opposition's defence of labour rights by boasting of his defeat of communist agitators.⁸⁴ Even Shields was a reluctant admirer of his handling of the Oshawa strike.⁸⁵ Hepburn's economic record was excellent. He had cut taxes, and at the same time brought about the first budget surplus in many years.⁸⁶ He was viewed as having defeated the power barons, and he alone was responsible for lower hydro rates. Hepburn was riding a wave of popular support. The election results were almost as strong as his first showing in 1934. He was down three seats from his previous total in 1934, but had managed to increase his share of the popular vote.⁸⁷ Shields' paper *The Gospel Witness* was silent on the matter. Except for the comment "there never was a time when organized religion was held in greater contempt than it is to-day" and an appeal for divine intervention, Shields offered no commentary on the election.⁸⁸

Another five years lapsed before Hepburn was driven from the political playing field, and even then it was another enemy that was the biggest cause of his political demise. Shields continued to snipe at Hepburn throughout those years, but by the first years of World War II, Shields' attention was diverted by a new and greater threat. Somewhat ironically, by the early 1940s Shields and Hepburn found themselves fighting the same adversary - Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

Prime Minister Mackenzie King

It is a matter of some historical irony that at a time when Liberal party fortunes were at such a high point in Ontario and with both the provincial and federal branches of the party in power, provincial-federal relations were at an all-time low. The cause of this political dysfunction was in large part the result of a personal animus directed towards Prime Minister King by Ontario's premier. McKenty has argued that nearly all of Mitch

⁸⁴ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 137.

⁸⁵ "Fight of Premier Hepburn On Union Stained by Blood," *The Evening Telegram*, 14 April 1937, 16.

⁸⁶ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 137.

⁸⁷ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 136.

⁸⁸ T. T. Shields, "Let God Arise," *GW* 16:24, 21 October 1937, 1.

Hepburn's policies in the late 1930's were directed by his personal hatred of Prime Minister King.⁸⁹ With the outbreak of World War II it seemed momentarily that the hatchet might be buried and that the two men would work together in pursuit of the war effort. Having returned from an Australian trip at the beginning of 1939, Hepburn arrived at home with the realization that international relationships were rapidly deteriorating and that it was time for Canada to arm itself. In the Ontario legislature Hepburn presented a resolution "petitioning the federal government 'that in the event of a war emergency, the wealth and manpower of Canada shall be mobilized . . . for the duration of the war.'"⁹⁰ The resolution passed unanimously. King was somewhat embarrassed by the event and responded by insisting that there would be no conscription for overseas service.⁹¹ Dissatisfied with King's response, Hepburn formed the Ontario War Resources Committee composed of himself, Lieutenant-Governor Albert Matthews, and George Drew. On 3 October 1939, the committee met with King for two and a half hours "in order to discuss ways and means by which Ontario can best serve Canada in this great crisis."⁹² King parted with them on good terms, thanking them for Ontario's cooperation. It looked as though in the national hour of emergency peace between the two men had been made. However, within days Hepburn was publicly expressing his exasperation with King's lack of leadership, because King had not immediately dropped everything else to embrace Hepburn's agenda. At the opening of the Ontario Legislature, 18 January 1940, Hepburn stunned the nation with a motion condemning the King government's war preparations. In introducing the motion Hepburn stated: "Let me say again that I stand firm in my statements that Mr. King has not done his duty to his country - never has and never will. I sat with him in the Federal House for eight years and I know him." The motion stated that the Legislature regretted that "the Federal Government at Ottawa has made so little effort to prosecute Canada's duty in the war in the vigorous manner the people of Canada desire to see." After a near revolt by Liberal party members, Hepburn

⁸⁹ McKenty carefully documents the development of the bad blood between the two men. Hepburn, disappointed with broken promises, formally broke with King in 1937. "I am a Reformer. But I am not a Mackenzie King Liberal any longer. I will tell the world that, and I hope he hears me." McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 125.

⁹⁰ McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 188.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 189.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 200.

was able to get the vote passed by a count of 44 to 10.⁹³ King's reaction was to prorogue parliament on the day it was assembled. In his throne speech January 25th King responded to the Ontario War Resolution:

That resolution was passed to start a political campaign, while this Parliament is sitting Already the leader of the Conservative Party in Ontario speaking at a political meeting, has said the election should be held. And he gives the slogan for the election: 'King must Go.' I am quite prepared to accept that slogan and go to the people.⁹⁴

On 26 March 1940, Canada went to the polls and renewed King's mandate. In what had to be considered a smashing defeat for Hepburn and Conservative Leader Manion's proposed National Government, the King government won 178 seats to 39 for Manion's Conservatives.⁹⁵

Throughout this national debate Shields was not silent and he did everything in his power to influence the outcome of events. Somewhat surprisingly Shields sided with King. Driven by an animus of his own against Premier Hepburn, Shields rejected Hepburn's accusations and praised the efforts of the King government. Shields clearly discounted Hepburn's concern for the Imperial cause, and he labelled Hepburn and Drew "axis-partners" in their joint attempt to bring down the King government:

I honour Mr. King and his government particularly for this one thing, that when Aberhart in the west and Hepburn in Ontario and Duplessis in Quebec were doing their utmost to effect the disintegration of confederation and to blow this Dominion to smithereens they wisely held the balance and by moderate control secured the unity of Canada for this great effort in the war. I believe he is a good man and honorable, an able man; that he is the experienced head of an experienced, aggressive, efficient, sane, stable, steady and dependable government, whose war effort thus far merits the confidence of the country.⁹⁶

At an address supportive of King given 11 March 1940 at Jarvis Street, over 1,600 people packed the auditorium to listen to Shields' message: "Hepburn - Drew - King - Manion - What shall we do with them?" Copies of the address were published ahead of time, and over 1500 were sold at the doors. The *Toronto Star* reporter noted: "They laughed at Dr. Shields' witticisms, heckled him several times and applauded vigorously when he urged

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 218.

⁹⁶ "Ontario 'Lunatic Asylum' if with Hepburn - Shields," *Toronto Star*, 12 March 1940, 3.

them to ‘join with me in voting for the government of Premier King.’”⁹⁷ He later made the claim to a Member of Parliament that copies of the speech were used by “various committees of the Liberal party in support of Mr. King and his regime.”⁹⁸

Shields interpreted King’s victory as a rejection of Hepburn: “The vote of Tuesday overwhelmingly supporting the King government surely constitutes an utter repudiation of Messrs. Hepburn and Drew. The King government was overwhelmingly endorsed in the province of Ontario, while Dr. Manion was left without one supporter in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Alberta.”⁹⁹ Shields, furthermore, was less than modest in his assessment of the role he played in the election:

The recent senseless fulminations of a certain Mr. Mitchell F. Hepburn were broadcast over the world as though they were the utterances of an authoritative voice, whereas his Hitlerian ravings has less effect upon the Canadian electorate than my own moderate and considerate counsel . . . For you see, Canada accepted my advice rather than Mr. Hepburn’s and elected Mr. King.¹⁰⁰

Shields also viewed himself as something of an authority on the matter when he took the *Toronto Telegram* to task for an editorial which interpreted the results of the election as an anti-war vote: “But for any responsible journal to suggest that the vote of yesterday indicated a desire on the part of Canada generally that the war should not be fought with the utmost vigor to the end, that it was in any sense an “anti-war” vote, is a slander which every loyal Canadian will resent. The *Evening Telegram* is a poor loser.”¹⁰¹ In his controversy with the *Telegram* Shields also weighed in on the conscription question. When the *Toronto Telegram* argued that Manion had lost because the people feared conscription, Shields responded that “No one could have spoken more plainly in opposition to conscription than did Dr. Manion.” Shields was adamant in his contention that “conscription was not at issue in this election; for both parties had most emphatically declared their opposition to it.”¹⁰²

⁹⁷ “Ontario ‘Lunatic Asylum if with Hepburn - Shields,” *Toronto Star*, 12 March 1940, 3.

⁹⁸ T. T. Shields, “An Open Letter to Mr. W. R. McDonald,” *GW* 19:45, 13 March 1941, 3.

⁹⁹ T. T. Shields, “Canada has Spoken,” *GW* 18:47, 28 March 1940, 5. The *Star* republished this editorial as “Hepburn, Drew Telegram Played and Unworthy Part,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, 29 March 1940, 6.

¹⁰⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Inept Speech of the Ontario Attorney-General,” *GW* 18:49, 11 April 1940, 5.

¹⁰¹ T. T. Shields, “Canada Has Spoken,” *GW* 18:47, 28 March 1940, 5.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 5.

Within weeks, however, the warmth of Shields' support for King had nearly dissipated. On Sunday 26 May 1940, Shields' evening sermon was entitled "How Can Canada Wake up Ottawa?" The sermon was a diatribe against the government's present war effort. He discussed in some detail the deficiencies of Canada's present contribution, including a discussion of its sixteen antiquated tanks, insufficient recruitment of manpower for the army and a paltry 169 airmen for what was supposed to be "the principal air training centre for the Empire." Shields commented that when he read the parliamentary discussion about the formation of a third Canadian division of fifteen thousand men he ran out of patience: "It was piffling stuff, worthy the discussion of a third-rate Ladies' Aid Society of a back-country lodge!" Shields noted that if "the Minister of Defence needs every Tom, Dick, and Harry to tell him how to get a unit from his neighbourhood, if he has no greater ability than that, he ought to be removed immediately, and somebody put in his place who knows how to organize men."¹⁰³ The record noted that this demand was met with "loud applause." In a move not far removed from Hepburn's recent "Ontario War Resolution," Shields now added his own voice to the "King must go" chorus:

I do not suggest that the present Prime Minister of Canada is incapable of the leadership Canada requires; but I do say that in the light of that which has transpired of recent weeks, the Prime Minister ought - and must supply leadership of a different and more aggressive quality, or else, in the same way as a change was effected in Britain he should be required to step aside and give the reins to other hands.¹⁰⁴

The *Toronto Telegram* was quick to note Shields' "awakening" and gloated in his reversal:

If it is any comfort to Dr. Shields, he had lots of company on March 26th and he has lots of company now. But what is expected of a man in his position is leadership and the ability to see beyond his nose. The time for that leadership and vision was prior to March 26th. Repentance at this time may be good for Dr. Shields' soul, but it doesn't do Canada much good.¹⁰⁵

Significantly, Shields' sermon of 26 May 1940 appealed for several actions which would be points of contention in the days to come. In the first place, he called for national

¹⁰³ T. T. Shields, "How can Canada wake up Ottawa?" *GW* 19:4, 26 May 1940, 3.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁵ "Rev. Dr. T. T. Shields awoke rather late," *The Evening Telegram*, 28 May 1940, 6.

unity in the struggle towards a total war effort. "How then is such effort to be made?" he asked. "I repeat, by avoiding everything that would make for disunion and by actually grasping at everything that will tend to unite us." A second appeal was one that at times almost seemed to describe his own attitudes towards his political opponents. He demanded that Canada pursue the war effort with "all our hatred:"

I stand in this Christian pulpit and offer no apology for saying it. I should question my relationship to Christ, I should question my own moral integrity, and even my right to a place in decent, ordered, society, if I did not hate Hitler and his gang, and all that they stand for, with the intensest hatred of which my soul is capable. I hate them as I hate the devil and hell; for I am sure they are the agents of both of them. And in reaction from that, I am prepared to love, or at least agree with, anyone who will help me fight them; to make every kind of allowance, to forget all grievances, all differences and join as one in this fight.¹⁰⁶

As the coming days would show the corollary was also true, and those who hindered his fight drew his deepest contempt and animosity.

The third appeal was for conscription. Perhaps remembering his appointed role as a champion of the Borden Government in the conscription fight of those years, Shields once again raised the mantra of mandatory enlistment.¹⁰⁷ Arguing that Britain "had adopted conscription at the beginning of the war," similar measures should be introduced in Canada. In a subtle jab at the King government, he suggested that perhaps the Canadian public should begin "by conscripting the government and the prime minister."¹⁰⁸

What began as a protest for Shields soon hardened into determined opposition. In less than a year his critique of King had turned into contempt. In exaggerated fashion he minimized his earlier commendations of King and passed off his vote for King as merely voting for the "lesser of two evils." In an editorial in February of 1941 entitled, "The Canadian Fuehrer Has Spoken," Shields spoke of his vote for King and quoted the Mayor of New York when he said, "When I make a mistake, it's a 'beaut'."¹⁰⁹ Later when King announced a plebiscite on the conscription question Shields' outrage could not be

¹⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, "How can Canada wake up Ottawa?" *GW* 19:4, 26 May 1940, 3.

¹⁰⁷ T. T. Shields, "The Censor and the Editor Exchange Letters," *GW* 19:35, 2 January 1941, 11. In 1917 Shields was invited by the Union Government "to deliver a number of addresses in support of the Government and its war measures."

¹⁰⁸ T. T. Shields, "How can Canada wake up Ottawa?" *GW* 19:4, 26 May 1940, 5.

¹⁰⁹ T. T. Shields, "The Canadian Fuehrer Has Spoken!" *GW* 19:43, 27 February 1941, 2.

contained: “I am of the opinion,” said Shields, “that the Government has been guilty of the grossest dereliction of duty in its handling of the whole military situation. I doubt whether in any administration of the past, Ottawa has ever known such an aggregation of governmental ineptitude as is represented by the King administration.”¹¹⁰

To the casual observer the intensity of Shields’ opposition to Prime Minister King in his handling of the war effort might be somewhat surprising. Shields’ British background certainly would have influenced his loyalties but that alone could not account for his fanatical denunciations of seemingly every action taken by the King government. When King refused to impose conscription, Shields voiced his vigorous opposition. When King indicated that he was prepared to reverse his stand and announced a plebiscite on the question, Shields was even more outspoken and his condemnations reached a fevered pitch. The key to understanding Shields’ opposition to King was not to be found in British patriotism, or in partisan politics, but in his religious convictions. Shields was a militant Protestant who was very quick to trace his religious lineage back to the great heroes of the Protestant Reformation: “I have only to say that I stand in a grand and glorious succession with . . . John Huss, Wycliff, Knox, Calvin, Luther; with Ridley, Latimer, and numberless others whom the Papacy did to death, and many thousands of others whose blood was shed by the Inquisition.” By Shields’ estimate, King, like Hepburn, had become a tool of Roman Catholic machinations. In a reference to “Popery in Quebec and Roman Catholic supremacy in the Canadian House of Commons,” Shields decried that “immutable Church which Premier King defends, and to whose will he is always subject.”¹¹¹

Anti-Catholic denunciations had always been part of Shields’ repertoire, but with the passing years this anti-Catholicism became more and more virulent until it became an almost singular fixation. Some might be inclined to see in Shields an increasing paranoia somehow related to his advancing years. While many of the claims Shields made at the time might seem to a twenty-first century audience somewhat bigoted and outlandish, it must be remembered that at the time fears of Catholic intentions for North America were

¹¹⁰ T. T. Shields, *Premier King’s Plebiscite Speech in Commons Analyzed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1942), 21.

¹¹¹ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 4.

not unique to Shields.¹¹² For instance, Paul Blanchard, who was for a time head of New York City's Department of Investigations and Accounts and later during World War II a State Department official in Washington and the Caribbean, wrote at length on such fears. In a book called "the most unusual bestseller of 1949-1950,"¹¹³ he examined the ramifications of "Catholic Power" for "American Freedom." He noted that "In many states our citizens have been compelled simultaneously to defend their intellectual freedom against Catholic censorship, their school system against clerical sabotage, and their public treasuries against financial raids." He added: "Millions of Americans who had never been aware of the issues involved in the struggle have now come to realize that the battle is one of the irrepressible conflicts of our time."¹¹⁴ As noted at the outset, Shields' own take on the matter was to observe that "the menace is more imminent, the gangsters are nearer to their prey; hence their description and identity meets with a more raucous response."¹¹⁵ The gangsters Hepburn and King, Shields charged, were guilty of selling out Ontario and Canada to Rome.

Where Hepburn was charged with selling out on the Separate School issue, King was charged with selling out on the conscription issue. Shields' almost frantic expostulations with the King government related directly to the fact that in Shields' mind Roman Catholicism represented a fifth column in Canada, and King was blindly selling out to the enemy. For Shields, Roman Catholicism was the antithesis of everything democratic and the avowed enemy of western liberties. As a religion, Shields argued that Catholicism should be respected and allowed its liberties like all others. What Shields confronted was the threat of Roman Catholicism as a political system:

But as all Christian history attests, and as the Roman Catholic Church, by its present profession and position must acknowledge, the Roman Catholic Church is not only a religious institution but is also a powerful international political organization. The Roman Catholic Church claims the right of temporal power. It claims that its Sovereign Pontiff, as it calls him, is superior to all the kings of

¹¹² T. T. Shields had a ready audience in the Orange Order and there are various references to cooperation between Shields' Canadian Protestant League and the Orange lodges in the Shields' literature.

¹¹³ John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), 166.

¹¹⁴ Paul Blanchard, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1949), cf. preface to 2nd ed. 1958, viii.

¹¹⁵ T. T. Shields, "A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics," in *Three Addresses*, 4.

earth, and, by implication at least, that any ruler holding office without his permission is a usurper.¹¹⁶

He saw Catholicism as a “malignant power that has ruined every state in which it has gained the ascendancy [sic] and will ultimately ruin us unless we check its progress.”¹¹⁷

With suggestive imagery he described a parasitic aspect to Catholicism that he graphically likened to a horseleech:

It fastens itself upon every state as a leech, and sucks its very life-blood. It infects the blood-stream of every political party, and, like a deadly bacillus, destroys the red corpuscular principles by and for which the party lives, and reduces it to an anaemic mass of potential corruption. Like a cancer, Roman Catholicism insinuates itself into every government, and wraps its parasitical and strangling tentacles about every governmental organ, converts it into a banqueting house for political buzzards, and makes it a stench in the nostrils of every lover of righteousness.¹¹⁸

Not only was this parasitic behaviour directed towards government, Shields contended, but also toward commerce, religion, education and every organ of public expression.

Catholicism was an wholesale subversion of individual liberties and rights which Shields claimed were the by-product of the gospel:

Anyone who really knows the gospel, who has really tasted of the liberty there is in Christ Jesus, must know that Romanism is anti-Christian, contrary not only to the gospel itself, but to all the by-products of the gospel. Our individualism and the free democratic way of life have grown out of the gospel. All that you and I enjoy as free British citizens, we enjoy, not because of our British blood of whatever variety, but because of the blood of Another [Christ].¹¹⁹

The fight against Catholicism then was the same fight that was going on in the war in which the world was presently engaged. It was a fight for liberty and freedom. In an address given as President of the Canadian Protestant League Shields openly wondered if Canadians were “losing at home the freedom for which they are fighting abroad.”¹²⁰

For Shields, evidence of Roman Catholic influence was written all over the government’s actions since the outset of the war, particularly in its resistance to

¹¹⁶ T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW* 13:43, 7 March 1935, 2.

¹¹⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Menace of Present-Day Roman Catholicism,” *GW* 15:31, 10 December 1936, 5.

¹¹⁸ T. T. Shields, *Horseleech*, 5.

¹¹⁹ T. T. Shields, “Canada’s Invasion by Roman Catholic Amalekites,” in *Canadians Losing at Home the Freedom for Which They are Fighting Abroad* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1943). 9.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

conscription for overseas service. Quoting Quebec Premier Godbout after the “no-conscription for overseas service Act had been passed,” Shields repeatedly referred to his remarkable assertion: “A little handful of French-Canadians led by M. Ernest Lapointe dictated its will to the country.”¹²¹ Shields’ fundamental conviction was that political subservience to Quebec was at its heart a sell-out to Catholicism. Shields felt that devout Roman Catholics necessarily faced a dilemma of divided loyalties: “The Roman Catholic Church in Canada is virtually a colony of a foreign kingdom; and the devout Roman Catholic owes a primary duty of obedience to the Church as being an authority superior to that of any merely human government.”¹²² This was the same allegation he had made in the East Hastings by-election and which had aroused Hepburn’s particular contempt.

Now Shields pointed to this issue of divided loyalties as the underlying factor in Quebec’s resistance to conscription and its general lack of support for the war effort. Complicating matters for the devout Catholic, Shields argued, was the fact that the Vatican had achieved formal statehood under Mussolini and was ostensibly allied with the Axis cause.¹²³ Formally, the Vatican maintained neutrality, but Shields spent a great deal of time demonstrating the Vatican’s support of Mussolini and the Axis powers. Foremost was the Vatican’s recognition of the Petain government, a government now openly hostile to the Allies. Shields was dumbfounded at the King government’s decision to allow “French Minister Rene Ristelhueber, representing the Petain Government to remain in Ottawa as a diplomat accredited to the Canadian Government,” even though the government he represented had “severed diplomatic relations with the Government of Great Britain.”¹²⁴ The ramifications for Shields were profound:

Britain has severed diplomatic relations with Petain, but Canada maintains those relations notwithstanding Petain handed over four hundred German aviators whom our men were largely instrumental in shooting down; and did his best to

¹²¹ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 12. Lapointe was the leading French Canadian in federal politics during the King period and served as minister of justice and King’s Quebec lieutenant. Betcherman notes: “When Ernest Lapointe was on his death bed, Mackenzie King told him, ‘But for you, I would never have been Prime Minister, nor would I have been able to hold the office, as I have held it through the years.’ ... King was dependent on Quebec. He was elected time after time because Quebec as a bloc voted for him. Yet he understood neither the province nor its language. He left that to Ernest Lapointe ‘as a kind of local governor, almost autonomous in his powers.’” Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King’s Great Quebec lieutenant*, ix.

¹²² T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW* 13:43, 7 March 1935, 2.

¹²³ T. T. Shields, “The Pope’s Fifth Column - Everywhere,” *GW* 19:14, 8 August 1940, 4.

¹²⁴ T. T. Shields, “An Amazing Decision,” *GW* 19:14, 8 August 1940, 2.

hand over the French fleet to Germany - and has been manifestly anti-British throughout. Yet . . . the representative of a Government that is no friend of Britain, is at Ottawa enjoying 'diplomatic immunity', free to correspond with the Government at Vichy, and with the Pope, without let or hindrance. I say that ought not to be!¹²⁵

The matter for Shields was simple: the Roman Catholic Church in Canada was a Fifth column simply because "the Roman Catholic church is just as much at war with the British Empire as Hitler or Mussolini"¹²⁶

Shields' paranoid suspicion of a government sell-out to Roman Catholicism kept him fixated on every new policy King introduced. The vigor with which Shields evaluated King's every action could have led some to believe that Shields somehow imagined himself to be the Leader of the Opposition. Throughout the period of the war nearly every edition of his weekly magazine *The Gospel Witness* contained a "war sermon" which attempted to assess the progress of the war and particularly Canada's role in it.

A notable example of Shields' critique of government policy came in reaction to the government's presentation of the Rowell-Sirois Report.¹²⁷ "I spent weeks of study day and night on the Sirois Report" claimed Shields. The product of that gruelling work was an address entitled, "Shall the Dominion of Canada be Mortgaged for the Church of Rome? The Religious Aspects of the Sirois Report as Symptomatic of Dangerous Trends in Canadian Life." Shields boasted that his own knowledge of the report surpassed that of at least one of the premiers who had voted against it: "When I was at the coast last summer I found that the Premier of British Columbia had frankly admitted that he did not know what was in it. I met Premier Aberhart, of Alberta, and talked with him. He said he voted against it. He did not say he had not read it, but I fear he had not." Shields' simple assessment of the report was "it is the most wicked document that ever was produced for the economic enslavement of free men. It proposes to mortgage the entire Dominion of

¹²⁵ T. T. Shields, "More About the Pope's Fifth Column," *GW* 19:18, 5 September 1940, 1.

¹²⁶ T. T. Shields, "A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics," in *Three Addresses*, 27.

¹²⁷ "The Rowell-Sirois Commission, appointed to examine the financial structure of Canadian Federalism, had recommended sweeping changes in the taxing relation of Ottawa and the provincial administrations. In return for assuming provincial debts and responsibility for unemployment relief, the federal Government would acquire sole taxing authority in the personal income, corporation, and inheritance fields." McKenty, *Mitch Hepburn*, 225.

Canada in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.”¹²⁸ Shield’s evaluation seemed to turn every paragraph inside out to consider every possible advantage this new constitutional arrangement would give to the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. “The indisputable fact is that the Roman Catholic Church, like a malignant parasite, has fastened itself upon the body of Quebec and is draining it of the last drop of its blood, reducing it to something little better than an emaciated political skeleton; and the Report appeals to the other eight Provincial members of the Dominion family to donate a blood transfusion, and generous food supplies, to maintain this parasite still further.”¹²⁹

Shields, like his nemesis Premier Hepburn, castigated King for introducing a debate on constitutional change in the middle of war. The consequences he felt could be nothing but destructive to the cause of Canadian unity. The irony of this rebuke was that Shields seemed impervious to the charges that he himself was causing deep rends in the fabric of Canadian unity. He was well aware that he was stirring up a storm of controversy in Quebec and boasted “Now, of course, there is scarcely a paper in the Province of Quebec, either in the English or French language, that is not discussing it, [the religious aspect of the Sirois Report] and blaming me for raising the issue.”¹³⁰ His excuse for violating his own call for national unity was that “It is necessary . . . that we should be on our guard always lest in seeking the removal of one evil we throw wide the door to another.”¹³¹ Clearly, the threat of Catholic subversion trumped concerns about national unity. Defending himself against charges of stirring up religious controversies, Shields explained to one Member of Parliament why his support of King had been removed and the price that could not be paid for Canadian unity. Acknowledging that he had initially supported King, Shields expressed his disillusionment over “the price Mr. King intended to pay for this so-called ‘unity.’” He concluded that “My eyes have been opened, and I have learned, as I shall proceed to show, that such unity as now obtains, has been effected only by complete submission to Quebec - and to Quebec as controlled by the Roman

¹²⁸ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 26.

¹²⁹ T. T. Shields, “Shall the Dominion of Canada be Mortgaged for the Church of Rome?” in *Three Addresses*, 62.

¹³⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Abiding Menace of the Frustrated Attempt to Sell Canada ‘Down the River,’” *GW* 19:39, 30 January 1941, 8.

¹³¹ T. T. Shields, “The Pope’s Fifth Column - Everywhere,” *GW* 19:14, 8 August 1940, 3.

Catholic Hierarchy.”¹³² Shields professed that they would never surrender to Catholicism but would fight it to their dying breath. Arguing that “because those things we believe are so precious to us, we must defend them,” he insisted “there are hundreds of people here to-night who would rather die than surrender to Popery.” He noted that “It is the testimony of all history, and of recent history, that the insidious approach of these enemies of our glorious gospel need to be watched. The proper time to put out a fire is when it begins.”¹³³ In a matter of this gravity even civil war was not out of the question for Shields. While Canada could not afford to allow itself to be dictated to by Quebec, neither could it allow Quebec to secede. Alluding to the American experience he noted: “The Civil war was not fought primarily to liberate the slaves, but for the preservation of the Union; and if I were Prime Minister of Canada, I would preserve the unity of this Dominion at all costs, no matter what Quebec might say.”¹³⁴

For those who dared to disagree with him or to challenge his right to address these issues he reserved great contempt:

There are not a few who would appear very superior, saying “What does Dr. Shields know . . . about such a matter as that?” I know a little - more than the Roman Catholic politicians like me to know. Sometimes people say I speak strongly. I do not know whether you think I do, or not, but if you knew how much I restrain, you would admire my moderation. And when these little intellectual pygmies some of them call themselves preachers affect a superior air - to me they are about as dignified and impressive as “President Andrew H. Brown of the Fresh Air Taxi Company”. “Intellectual”? “Intelligentsia”? Ah me! I could eat a dozen of them for breakfast and not know I had eaten.¹³⁵

In the best of times Shields’ fulminations could have been expected to provoke strong reaction. This, however, was a period in which Canada and its government were embroiled in a world war. It is not surprising that Shields’ militant diatribes against Catholicism came to the attention of governing authorities and even evoked serious questions of censorship.

The first indication of official reaction came from the National Press Censor, W. Eggleston, complaining about the 5 December 1940 issue of *The Gospel Witness*. This

¹³² T. T. Shields, “An Open Letter to Mr. W. R. McDonald,” *GW* 19:45, 13 March 1941, 2.

¹³³ T. T. Shields, “The Protestant Samson and the Papal Delilah,” *GW* 19:37, 16 January 1941, 14.

¹³⁴ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 28.

¹³⁵ T. T. Shields, “The Abiding Menace,” 9.

issue featured two inflammatory articles. The first, “A reply to Father Lanphier’s Broadcast in Criticism of our Exposure of the Pope’s Fifth Column,” was a defensive reaction to Lanphier’s comment: “Those who attempt to set religion against religion and Catholic against Protestant by talking about the Pope’s fifth column are beneath contempt.”¹³⁶ In this article Shields added even more allegations of fifth column activity claiming that every Papal representative by virtue of “diplomatic immunity” was in effect spying for the enemy. He also charged the Quebec hierarchy with treason: “Call me what you will, the Hierarchy of Quebec is not loyal. It is anti-British, and Quebec is made disloyal by the Roman Hierarchy that rules her.”¹³⁷ A second article was entitled, “Sundry Quotations on the Papacy and the War.” It brought together quotations from many sources attempting to demonstrate “the machinations of the Pope’s Fifth Column in Canada and elsewhere.”¹³⁸

Eggleston expressed serious concerns about Shields’ comments citing the “damaging effect which certain passages in your sermon as reported here may have on Canada’s war effort.” In a seemingly reasonable request Eggleston asked Shields to exercise restraint. Acknowledging Shields’ “loyalty and zeal for victory,” Eggleston asked Shields to consider “the damage which may be unwittingly done ... by expressing strong views on controversial subjects in these difficult times.” He appealed to their policy as press censors “to extend and maintain the freedom of the press to the greatest possible extent, consistent with the maintenance of Canadian war morale,” but he concluded that “we do not feel that it is unreasonable to ask our public to refrain from strong expressions, which may be perfectly legitimate in peacetime but which may, on the other hand, do great damage in wartime if allowed to develop unchecked.”¹³⁹

Always sensitive to criticism, Shields reacted strongly to the implied rebuke. His unhesitating response comprised five pages of the 2 January 1941 edition of *The Gospel Witness* where he published the full correspondence. With a condescending air, Shields cited his credentials for his public discussion of these national issues. Noting his thirty-one year pastorate of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, he wryly commented that he might

¹³⁶ T. T. Shields, “A reply to Father Lanphier’s Broadcast,” *GW* 19:31, 5 December 1940, 6.

¹³⁷ T. T. Shields, “A reply to Father Lanphier’s Broadcast,” *GW* 19:31, 5 December 1940, 8.

¹³⁸ T. T. Shields, “Sundry Quotations on the Papacy and the War,” *GW* 19:31, 5 December 1940, 11.

¹³⁹ T. T. Shields, “The Censor and the Editor Exchange Letters,” *GW* 19:35, 2 January 1941, 10.

“therefore be presumed to know something of the responsibilities of public speech.” Concerning his support of the war effort he noted the 290 men he had sent from his own church in the previous war “and not a conscript among them.” As to understanding the conscription question he boasted, “In the General Election of nineteen hundred and seventeen I accepted the invitation of the Union Government Committee to deliver a number of addresses in support of the Government and its war measures.”¹⁴⁰ His loyalty to the British cause, he bragged, was so well known that he had been granted significant privileges by the British government. He reviewed his experiences with the British Ministry of Information including his tour of Ireland and his discussion with Lord Carson concerning the “Irish problem – especially in relation to the Papacy.”¹⁴¹ Whether the Censorship committee was cowed by their treatment as “intellectual pygmies,” or whether they quickly recognized that efforts to silence Shields were going to have the opposite affect and only served to add fuel to the fire, the committee replied in a somewhat subdued fashion: “We have been extremely interested in learning your views and are glad to have these on record. May we thank you for so carefully and comprehensively reviewing your stand.”¹⁴² Shields was quick to publish what he called “the censor’s very courteous, and shall we say exonerating? Reply!”¹⁴³

Open condemnation on the floor of parliament finally gave the matter the national attention that Shields felt it deserved. Twice in two years the Prime Minister expressed his personal contempt for Shields’ behaviour. On 4 March 1941, W. R. McDonald (Pontiac) rose to speak to a resolution concerning the suppression of newspapers and pamphlets subversive to Canada’s war effort. In that context he then proceeded to read excerpts from a number of Shields’ publications which condemned Catholicism: “Speaking in this house as a humble member of that church,” asserted McDonald, “and, I believe, speaking in the names of four million Roman Catholics throughout this country, I protest with all the vigour of my manhood against the publication and circulation of such material.” McDonald concluded his remarks with an appeal to national unity. Appealing to Shields to refrain from publication “for the sake of the cause which he

¹⁴⁰ T. T. Shields, “The Editor’s Reply,” *GW* 19:35, 2 January 1941, 11.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² “The Censor’s Reply,” *G*, 19:37, 16 January 1941, 16.

¹⁴³ T. T. Shields, “Wake Up Protestants!” *GW* 19:38, 23 January 1941, 5.

claims to have at heart,” he concluded with a recommendation in the case of Shields’ refusal: “I would suggest that the Minister of Justice, who is charged with the enforcement of the defense of Canada regulations, that THE GOSPEL WITNESS be suppressed for the period of the war, on the ground that the articles published therein are subversive of national unity.”¹⁴⁴ Shields’ response was to publish the Hansard report of the debate and “An Open Letter to Mr. W. R. McDonald, M. P., Pontiac.” Copies of the issue were sent to all the Members of Parliament. A copy was also sent to A. Belanger who was a member of the provincial legislature for Prescott because of similar discussion in the Ontario Legislature.¹⁴⁵

A more serious challenge arose in 1943 when Prime Minister King himself entered into a parliamentary discussion of Shields. Responding to an amendment by J. S. Roy castigating Shields and calling for suppression of “anti-Catholic propaganda,”¹⁴⁶ King commented: “Speaking here as a member of a Protestant church, I wish to say that I have utter contempt for Dr. Shields and his unworthy utterances.”¹⁴⁷ *The Globe and Mail* was undoubtedly right in its assessment of the event:

It is astonishing that Parliament would spend time debating Rev. Dr. Shields’ crusade against the Roman Catholic Church and make it an issue for a vote. This is the greatest publicity the Toronto pastor and his Protestant League have ever had, and the Parliamentarians who worked themselves into a heat over the subject can be assured it will be put to full use, Dr. Shields being Dr. Shields. Moreover, Mr. King is likely to be reminded often and vigorously that it was the Prime Minister and party Leader, and not a private citizen, who poured out contempt for the clergyman and all his utterances. Such is the penalty for mixing religion with politics.¹⁴⁸

King noted in the course of the two-hour debate the folly of making a martyr of Shields by prosecuting him. He asked the House what might have been the consequence if “the government at Ottawa, which had a large following from the province of Quebec, at the instance of its following from Quebec province, through its new Minister of Justice from Quebec province had started a prosecution on religious matters in the province of Ontario?” He concluded, “If you want to start a religious controversy in this country that

¹⁴⁴ T. T. Shields, “*The Gospel Witness* is Discussed in Parliament,” *GW* 19:45, 13 March 1941, 1.

¹⁴⁵ T. T. Shields, “In the Ontario Legislature,” *GW* 19:45, 13 March 1941, 8.

¹⁴⁶ *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates*, Vol. 1, 1943, 656.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 664.

¹⁴⁸ “Religion in Parliament,” *The Globe and Mail*, 25 February 1943, 6.

it may be impossible to control, just begin having matters of the kind affecting race and religion dealt with as between one province and another.” King’s advice concerning men of Shields’ kind was “to ignore them and treat them with contempt.” He also noted that “laws of libel and slander exist and to these laws recourse for address may be had by churches as well as other institutions and by individuals.”¹⁴⁹

Dr. Shields “being Dr. Shields,” did indeed make the most of the opportunity that had been afforded him. On 25 February 1943, Shields discharged his first salvo in an editorial entitled, “Reply To Premier King And Other Parliamentary Critics,” a title emblazoned in large bolded and capitalized print. Herein he announced his intent to speak to the issue the following Sunday evening and to publish a special issue of *The Gospel Witness* and to place a copy of it “in the hands of every member of Parliament, of every member of all the Legislatures of the country, of the Prime Minister himself - and of thousands of others.”¹⁵⁰ Making good on his promise, the following issue of *The Gospel Witness* ran to forty-eight pages, three times its normal length. If the Prime Minister was going to treat him with contempt Shields was determined to respond in kind. Referring back to King’s broadcast of his decision to read the lesson in St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church at the time of the celebration of the Roman Catholic Mass on Parliament Hill, Shields brought his own charges of contempt:¹⁵¹ “He has honored me by saying that he has only ‘a supreme contempt for Mr. Shields and all his utterances.’ I would not say that of the Prime Minister because he is Prime Minister; but I must say that in this particular instance, in using the Word of God, the house of God, and the day of God, to play party politics, the Prime Minister acted contemptibly!”¹⁵²

In the manner of a modern day Luther, Shields resolved to “stand.” Despite the concerns raised about the hurtful character of his diatribes against Catholicism, Shields appealed to his rights: “I stand on my rights as a British citizen, and contend that it is an element in the principle of religious freedom that I have a right to believe in and to proclaim Jesus Christ as Lord, and an equal right to denounce the blasphemous

¹⁴⁹ *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates*, Vol. 1, 1943, 664.

¹⁵⁰ T. T. Shields, “Reply to Premier King and other Parliamentary Critics,” *GW* 21:43, 25 February 1943, 2.

¹⁵¹ The Celebration of the Catholic Mass on Parliament Hill in September of 1941 caused a storm of protest and was the occasion of the founding of Shields’ Canadian Protestant League.

¹⁵² T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 10.

presumptions of the Papacy as representative of that ‘continuous person,’ the Antichrist.” With an obvious allusion to Luther’s famous “stand” at the Diet of Worms, Shields declared: “For that I stand, and shall continue to stand; and I challenge the Premier of Canada, his minister of Justice, and the Attorney-General of the Province of Ontario, to dare to try to stop me.”¹⁵³ With defiance matched only by his arrogance Shields challenged the Prime Minister to public debate in any forum suitable: “I do not count it a display of any particular courage, nor even an example of audacity, to say that I will, singlehanded, take them all on at once - with Mr. Hepburn thrown in.” His frustration at their lack of response was also evident:

But unless and until I obtain some such consent to public debate from the bachelor hermit of Ottawa, I must waste my polemical sweetness on the desert air of this despised conventicle, or dictate my ‘contemptible’ utterances to the pages of THE GOSPEL WITNESS. In this one-sided gladiatorial contest, in the absence of the inspiring presence of my opponent, the Right Honourable, the Prime Minister of Canada, I cannot be expected to reach the maximum of my logical assault.¹⁵⁴

In a second expression of contempt for King, Shields charged the Prime Minister with behaviour violating the laws of the land: “The Premier then stooped, I think I may properly say, to a piece of “contemptible” conduct. In his privileged position in Parliament Mr. King basely insinuated that I had committed some offence which might render me liable to prosecution under the Criminal Code. If that does not involve defamation of character I am greatly mistaken.”¹⁵⁵ At the same time Shields dared King and the Attorney-General of Ontario to press charges: “If they want to bring this matter of my exposure of the Roman Catholic church into court, I shall be well content. I will promise to defend myself in open court. I shall have the privilege of calling witnesses, and of cross-examining witnesses that are put in the box against me.”¹⁵⁶ Wisely, no action was ever taken. Despite Shield’s boast that he would make himself hard to ignore, the best response was to give him no added forum that could further publicize his claims.

¹⁵³ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 6.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, “A Challenging Answer to Premier King and Other Parliamentary Critics,” in *Three Addresses*, 33.

Throughout the duration of the war Shields continued to snipe at King. However, one last controversy is worthy of note for its impact upon the King government. In 1944 a second conscription crisis rocked the King Government. J. L. Ralston, the Minister of National Defence, after a visit to the war front became convinced that the voluntary system of recruitment could no longer meet the need for reserves, particularly for the infantry divisions. Several other cabinet ministers soon supported Ralston in his demand for conscription, and King faced the spectre of several resignations which would have left the Liberal government in shambles. King's attitude throughout the war had been that to invoke conscription would be to destroy Canada's unity and perhaps even incur civil war. By every means he fought to avoid conscription. With Ralston's resignation imminent King asked General Andrew McNaughton to replace Ralston as the minister of national defence. Having become suspicious of a conspiracy within his own cabinet, on 1 November 1944 King acted pre-emptively and demanded Ralston's resignation.¹⁵⁷ It was a risky move and could have resulted in the resignations of all the conscriptionist members. However, McNaughton had made the claim that he could find the necessary recruits without resorting to conscription and the decision was made to give him time to do so.

From the outset McNaughton faced setbacks. In his first public speeches he was jeered and heckled. English Canada appeared increasingly restive under the government's continued subservience to Quebec. The press was particularly vocal in its demands for conscription. Furthermore, McNaughton's hope of raising volunteers from among the men mobilized by the National Resources Mobilization Act proved to be fruitless.¹⁵⁸ Three weeks later it had become evident that Ralston was right and King was forced finally to introduce conscription for service overseas. It was only by very skilful management of his cabinet and a three-hour speech to Parliament that King was able to survive a vote of confidence on the issue. Remarkably, nineteen French-speaking

¹⁵⁷ Granatstein, *Canada's War*, 356.

¹⁵⁸ NRMA men were those drafted for home defence in accordance with the National Resources Mobilization Act of 21 June 1940. Under the terms of this Act, the draft was limited for purposes of home defence and was not for "overseas service." NRMA men were known disparagingly as Zombies. The Act was a compromise between national demands for the draft and Quebec resistance to the draft. By November of 1944 approximately 40% of the NRMA men were French Canadian. For a full discussion see J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), 201-248, 333-381.

members of parliament voted with King.¹⁵⁹ However, the danger was not yet over, and King feared the consequences of the deep divisions within his party over the issue. As illustrated by a note in his diary, his hopes for healing rested on General McNaughton and the by-election in Grey North that he anticipated would give McNaughton a seat in parliament:

On top of all, there is the division that has grown out of Ralston's action in precipitating what was a real crisis in the party and might have split it for good. Altogether the whole business is little short of a tragedy for I fear it may mean a situation at the end of the campaign where no party will have a majority over all and where we may have a very floundering condition at a time when the most difficult of all the problems will arise. The one hope on the horizon is McNaughton. If he wins North Grey, it will galvanize life into the whole party. He has the personality which would help in binding the party together.¹⁶⁰

However, once again Shields proved to be a thorn in King's side. Upon hearing of Ralston's "forced resignation" Shields was again on the warpath. With the announcement of his topic for Sunday evening 5 November 1944, the church was unusually packed. According to reports, Jarvis Street's auditorium "was crowded in every part, with people sitting down the aisles in the gallery, down the gallery steps to the platform, on the Communion platform, and a fair number of chairs . . . put in where . . . safe to put them."¹⁶¹ The title of the address was posed in the form of a question: "Will 8 Provinces Consent to Bear Quebec's Blood-Guiltiness?" His address evaluated recruiting records, health standards, the Zombie army and the Zombie 'King'. He attempted to demonstrate that present recruiting methods significantly favoured Quebec's non-participation and suggested that government policy was dictated by fear of open revolt in Quebec. The record of the address was published in the following week's *Gospel Witness*, of which an extra 13,000 issues were printed and distributed. Furthermore, *The Gospel Witness* of that date outlined plans for a preaching tour across Canada for the purpose of "rousing public sentiment in such a way as to bring increased pressure to bear upon the Government, to pass the Order-in-Council which would make nearly eighty thousand trained men

¹⁵⁹ Granatstein, *Canada's War*, 373.

¹⁶⁰ J. W. Pickersgill and D. F. Forster, *The Mackenzie King Record*. Vol. 2. 1944-1945. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 289.

¹⁶¹ "Last Sunday Evening in Jarvis Street," *GW* 23:28, 9 November 1944, 2.

immediately available for reinforcements.” This tour was to take in all nine provinces and thirty-six cities.¹⁶²

Shields also opened up an attack on General McNaughton. Dismissing the media hype for McNaughton’s war service, Shields penned an editorial entitled “General McNaughton Surrenders Unconditionally to Quebec!” His immediate observation was that of all the “idiotic drivel” he had heard from politicians “not one has surpassed General McNaughton.” Shields observed, “If he had no more sense as a soldier than he has manifested as a politician within less than a week of his appointment, it is an unspeakable mercy to the Canadian army that circumstances forced his resignation as their commander.”¹⁶³ In attempting to assess McNaughton’s apparent sell-out to Quebec, he of course had to examine the Roman Catholic connection. Having heard rumours that McNaughton had converted to Catholicism Shields wired McNaughton asking for clarification. Suggesting the matter was a question of great public interest, Shields asked if he was “identified with [the] Anglican Church.” He noted that “My statement as above is disputed by many who insist that you are now a member of the Roman Catholic Church.”¹⁶⁴ As the case soon proved, McNaughton unwisely replied and with too much information: “Your telegram eleventh November (stop) I am and have always been Anglican (stop) My wife is and has always been a member of the Roman Catholic Church.” Shields was courteous in reply, but he immediately went to the presses with the charge that McNaughton’s wife was a Roman Catholic. Shields commented that “the information given by the General on that matter was wholly unsought, though very significant.” It was significant because of Catholic Church policies relative to accepting mixed marriages and the arrangements the non-Catholic partner had to make. His rather tenuous conclusion was “it is neither unfair nor unkind to assume that the Roman Catholic Hierarchy well knows how to register its will effectively in the Department of Defense.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² “Dr. Shields Projected Tour,” *GW* 23:28, 9 November 1944, 8.

¹⁶³ T. T. Shields, “General McNaughton Surrenders Unconditionally To Quebec!” *GW* 23:28, 9 November 1944, 6.

¹⁶⁴ T. T. Shields, “Premier King Calls Parliament. Protestants - Beware,” *GW* 23:30, 23 November 1944, 3.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Prime Minister King's first awareness of the impending storm was recorded in his diary upon reading the days' news account of Shields' address to the Canadian Protestant League in Owen Sound, 5 January 1945, King noted, "I felt incensed when I read, in this morning's paper, the account of an address by Shields at Owen Sound, raising, in the most crude and cruel fashion a religious cry." It was clear from King's comments on the matter that he held Shields responsible for setting the tone of the election and blamed him for the manner in which the Tories subsequently waged the campaign. Upon reading of Shields' comments King commented, "It made me definitely determined to see that there will be a dissolution of Parliament before the election in North Grey takes place." Though King ultimately relented on this determination and held the by-election he was appalled at the Tory strategies: "The whole attitude of the Tories," he reflected, "is the most unpatriotic thing I have known in my experience in public life, encouraging class hatred, race hatred, religious hatred - everything that can make for intolerance and this while we are in the midst of war and men are sacrificing their lives to save the freedom of the world. I must get out and speak to the Canadian People fearlessly on the significance of all this."¹⁶⁶

Assessment of the whole situation led King to believe that a McNaughton victory was almost a foregone conclusion. Placing his hopes on a McNaughton win King determined to go ahead with the election. However, as the 5 February 1945 election date neared, King began to express fears concerning the effects that Shields' propaganda would have: "So far as the Tories go, I have been fearful of the Orange complexion of the constituency and the use that may be made of the Orange crusade against the French and the Catholics. The fact that Mrs. McNaughton is a Catholic would be used for all it was worth among Orangemen"¹⁶⁷ King's fears proved to be prophetic, and McNaughton went down to defeat to the Conservative candidate.¹⁶⁸ Shields' attitude in the days leading up to the election was well-expressed in his delight at the report of a Quebec newspaper: "Le Devoir of Montreal" he noted, "prints the following note in a front page feature column."

¹⁶⁶ Library and Archives of Canada, *The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*, 5 January 1945 <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nb=20&PHPSESSID=jh7dn6d8mgh73c260agf9td1>.

¹⁶⁷ Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record*, 290.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 292.

“The intervention of pasteur Shields in the campaign in North Grey must have put General McNaughton out of countenance. No doubt he would have preferred to measure himself against Field Marshall von Rundstedt on the battlefields of the Low Countries.”¹⁶⁹

Assessment

Nearly three quarters of a century later it is a little hard to know how to assess Shields’ social and political activism. T. T. Shields was the product of two world wars, and his attitudes were shared by great numbers who lived through those times. Shields often expressed confidence that history would vindicate him. There is little doubt that Shields was right about many of the events that he reported. His work ethic was impressive indeed, and his research into matters that concerned him made him a dangerous foe. Few if any ever tried to dispute with him simply on the basis of facts. Even fewer could hope to best him in the art of invective. In the field of moral reform many remembered another time and saw in Dr. Shields a champion of a more righteous society. As a critic of governmental subservience to Quebec, Shields exploited resentment from broad segments of the Canadian public and found wide support for his assertions that Canada’s total war effort was being compromised. With a conscription question that threatened even to split King’s own cabinet Shields had stumbled upon an emotional issue that was easy to assail. Undoubtedly, religious and ethnic factors lay behind Quebec’s resistance to aspects of Canada’s war effort. However, aggravating those differences with suggestions of a Papal plot rightly merited the condemnation of the governing authorities. Perhaps the greatest challenge King faced was the thorny issue of Canadian unity. In his expressions of “contempt” for Shields, Prime Minister King was a model of self-restraint. Shields’ determination to find Catholic machination behind every action taken by the governments of Premier Hepburn or Prime Minister King spoke of a deep seated paranoia born of his own antagonism towards the Papacy, a paranoia akin to what would be seen later in the McCarthy anti-communist purge. Though an anachronism, perhaps the best descriptor of Shields’ behaviour could be termed an “anti-Catholic McCarthyism.” Where Roman Catholic leaders felt they were fighting a losing

¹⁶⁹ “General Shields vs. General McNaughton,” GW 23:38, 18 January 1945, 5.

battle to protect their rights and their culture, Shields saw a deliberate attempt to subvert or subordinate all Canadian rights to ultramontane rule.

Not only has history failed to vindicate Shields' interpretation of events, circumstances also have demonstrated quite clearly that Shields methods' were counterproductive. Shields may have armed himself with many facts and figures but in the end he always resorted to denigrating personalities. With an inflated view of his own abilities he belittled his opponents, often judging and imputing motives. Comments about Hepburn, King and McNaughton were unkind, disrespectful, and insensitive. Furthermore, his judgments were too often untrue, because he was completely oblivious to the very real and complex political pressures that these men faced. He may have had a textbook understanding of democratic forms, but in practice his attitude to dealing with political matters was simplistic, unrealistic and autocratic. He was quick to condemn governmental action as dictatorial, but his own recommendations belied his democratic pretensions. It is surely significant that, though his tirades often came to the attention of governing authorities, no suggestion or recommendation coming from his soap-box ever merited serious consideration in political circles or produced anything other than open contempt and settled opposition.

Biblical imagery uses the preservative and savouring effects of salt as the defining characteristic of the Christian's role in society.¹⁷⁰ Few would suggest that Shields did not pursue that goal with unusual vigour. As a pastor and evangelist Shields saw years of unparalleled success. As a moral reformer his record was far more questionable. He fought to preserve the moral hegemony evangelicalism once enjoyed in the broader social context. He fought valiantly against the rising tide of secularism. However, while maintaining a very outspoken voice in Ontario society, Shields' desperate fight to shape a moral consensus in the province was doomed by the lack of restraint in the manner of his struggle. Shields more commonly resembled salt rubbed in a wound than salt which savours the meat. To the end of his life, Shields made "good copy." However, while his outbursts were entertaining and provocative, his efforts in the social context were counterproductive. Secularization was advanced not hindered. As Charles Adler recently

¹⁷⁰ Matt 5:13.

observed, “Too much sanctimony in the market place of ideas, renders a person and/or institution less than relevant.”¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Charles Adler, “Jesus had a Human Face Too,” *Toronto Sun*, 24 May 2006, 21.

CONCLUSION

Warrior of Christ

Towards An Interpretative Model

Loved and hated, scorned and revered, adulated and vilified, Dr. T. T. Shields, in death as in life, was a deeply polarizing individual. Historical opinion has ranged as widely as contemporary judgment. For the historian, Shields has always been something of an enigma. A man of extremes, Shields always seemed to stand out larger than life. No matter what viewpoint historians have adopted, Shields' record seemed to provide ample proof of their contentions. The result has been widely divergent perspectives on his character and legacy. Other than acknowledging the polarities in his own character, few have been able to account for the complexity of the man. Most historical analysis has been too simplistic and has in many cases amounted to little more than caricature. This was particularly true of the earliest historical evaluations which too often reflected the biases arising out of the fundamentalist/modernist contention. More recent historiography, however, has begun to look for a more balanced perspective. Since the seminal work of John Dozois, historians have largely rejected the "patronizingly critical" views that "originated in the academy."¹ Dozois initiated this re-evaluation of Shields by differentiating between positive and negative fundamentalism. As he identified features of both aspects of fundamentalism in Shields, he set a trajectory towards a less biased perspective. Subsequent historians have contributed to this process by challenging the approach that simply viewed Shields' involvement in the fundamentalist/modernist controversy as a product of one man's pursuit of privilege and power. Far too much historiography has simply looked at the man without any reference to context. Failure to evaluate impartially the substance of the contention, or the context in which it was fought, has seriously prejudiced the conclusions. Without that context, it has been an easy matter simply to dismiss Shields as a power hungry bigot. Certainly the fact that contemporary judgments were warped by "the trap of his [Shields'] own militancy"

¹ John G. Stackhouse Jr., "Thomas Todhunter Shields," in Charles H. Lippy ed. *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989) 400.

cannot be overlooked. However, historians must also recognize the “dense fog of untruth” generated by his modernistic foes as they evaluate his historical significance.²

Not only has historical interpretation ignored the question of the legitimacy of Shields’ complaint, but also it has failed properly to assess his relative importance. Where early historians of the fundamentalist/modernist controversies tended to treat Shields as something of a marginal figure, more recent writers have come to acknowledge Shields’ integral role. George Dollar, Allyn Russell, John Stackhouse and George Rawlyk have all acknowledged Shields’ significant place in the fundamentalist movement across the American continent. From Russell’s claim that Shields left an indelible mark on the shape of North American religious conservatism to Stackhouse’s identification of Shields’ central role in the Canadian fundamentalist movement, Shields’ significance has been underscored.

Other historians such as Mark Parent, Walter Ellis and Paul Wilson have made huge contributions to the study of Shields by introducing an attempt to see him in his socio-cultural context. Considerations of class conflict and cultural liberalism have provided a useful counter-point to the study of the theological modernism emanating from the academy. Though many of the observations made concerning Shields over the years have merit, it is only in this latter effort to place him in his socio-cultural setting that a more realistic assessment of the man can take place.

In nearly every historical treatment of Shields it was the negative side of Shields’ record that predominated the assessment. Yet no satisfactory attempt has yet been made to account for the paradox implicit in his historical record. Over against those interpretations that simply viewed Shields as a hate-ridden man is the evidence of Shields’ formative years in rural ministries where the warmth of his evangelical fervour shines clearest. Shields’ passion for lost souls so consumed him that he sacrificed everything in his zeal for the kingdom of God. His love of those over whom he exercised pastoral oversight was indisputable. His commitment to otherworldly values was unparalleled. Prayer, preaching, evangelism and teaching were his greatest passion.

² Clark H. Pinnock, “The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887-1927,” in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman, (Burlington: G. R. Welch Co. Limited, 1980), 202.

Nowhere was he at home so much as in the “anthracite” prayer meetings that elevated him and his fellow believers into the celestial delights of divine communion.³ Any discussion of Shields must account for this pietistic aspect in Shields’ construct, or what S. D. Clarke has identified as “sect” type Christianity.⁴ It was this aspect of Shields’ ministry that Tarr focused on in his hagiographic overview of his life where he could rightly identify Shields as “The Man of God.”⁵ But herein lay the great enigma. Shields did not evolve from a spiritual man of God into a hate-ridden militant fundamentalist. Throughout his ministry, even in his darkest days, this “enthusiastic” or spiritual aspect of his character never disappeared and, it could be argued, never diminished. In a dying address to his grieving congregation, taped on his deathbed, Shields professed in a halting voice, “And I do not boast when I say that as long ago as I can remember, I cannot recall having missed one opportunity of attending the house of God as was possible. I have loved the habitation of God’s house and place where his honour dwelleth.”⁶ No one who knew him intimately or who has studied his work carefully could dispute this claim.

However, as this work has clearly demonstrated, there was indeed another darker side to the man. Russell, Dallimore, Dozois and some of Shields’ opponents have pointed to psychological influences that they believed contributed to his belligerence. Among these were a sensitivity to his own lack of a formal education, a bitterness over his father’s mistreatment by McMaster influences and his own failure to receive a call to Spurgeon’s tabernacle.⁷ Russell saw in him a self-understanding as an *Athanasius contra mundum*.⁸ While there was clear merit in this latter observation, this study has demonstrated that these supposed grounds for his bitterness were not true.

Certainly Shields was often attacked for his lack of formal education, but he was never ashamed of it, much in the manner of Spurgeon before him. He disparaged the

³ T. T. Shields, *Plot 215*; “Church Prayer Meetings,” *GW* 2:21, 4 October 1923, 8-9; cf. *GW* 6:36, 19 January 1928, 8-9.

⁴ S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948).

⁵ Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967) 176-184.

⁶ T. T. Shields, “New Year’s Motto” Taped message, Jan., 1955, JBCA, Toronto.

⁷ C. Allyn Russell, “Thomas Todhunter Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist” in *Ontario History* vol. LXX, Number 4, Dec. 1978, 276. cf. also Arnold Dallimore, *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalist* (Leamington: unpublished manuscript, c. 2001), 29; John D. E. Dozois, “Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism” (B. D. Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1963), 64-65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 277. Note: The phrase, “*Athanasius contra mundum*,” or “Athanasius against the world,” can be taken as an expression of the need to defend one’s ideas, no matter the cost.

attempts of the formal educational bodies to acknowledge his academic accomplishments through honorary degrees. Any who entered into debate with Shields on academic grounds soon learned never to underestimate their learned opponent. His record shows a deep commitment to higher education, and, while rejecting modernism's license in the matter of Biblical interpretation, Shields always tried to avoid the opposite extreme of "the 'intolerance' of 'static' minds."⁹ Where many of his contemporaries retreated from an emphasis on academia into the practical theology of training institutes, Shields looked for a blend of intellectualism with practical application in evangelistic outreach.¹⁰ For the last three decades of his life he was actively involved in providing higher education to others as a professor and president of a leading Baptist Seminary.

This thesis has also demonstrated that Shields did receive the call to Spurgeon's Tabernacle, and that he turned it down to take upon himself Spurgeon's mantle in fighting Canada's "down grade" controversy.¹¹ Rather than being embittered by his Tabernacle experiences, Shields always reflected fondly on his experiences in London and his interaction with the Spurgeon family. He was proud of the Spurgeonic heritage he embraced and his self-understanding as a fundamentalist was modelled after Spurgeon's down grade controversy. As Spurgeon had to pay the price of standing for the truth, so Shields willingly embraced the sacrifice involved in turning down his lifetime dream of pastoring this famous church.

Discussion about Shields' resentment of McMaster's sphere of patronage has also been addressed. There is also little doubt that Shields felt that, due to McMaster influences, his father never found appropriate recognition within the denomination. However, the attempt to find in this a psychological influence that shaped him into the belligerent controversialist is to misread seriously both the man and the nature of his relationship with McMaster. The question of McMaster patronage was a minor irritant

⁹ T. T. Shields, "Dispensational Intolerance," *GW* 14:36, 16 January 1936, 5. For an interesting discussion of the dilemma facing Evangelicals on the question see Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1994).

¹⁰ See for instance W. B. Riley, "Breaking the Bible School Defense Line," *The Christian Fundamentalist* April 1928. Evidence of the emphasis on practical training is provided in Shields' file on BIOLA in the Jarvis Street Archives. Shields' own Seminary provided high standards of academic training in Biblical exegesis along with practical training in evangelistic endeavour. That tradition was still strongly present in the mid-1970s when the current author attended the school. Railway ministries, street ministry and door to door evangelism were prominent aspects of this evangelistic training.

¹¹ Cf. T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 110.

compared to the pressing question of the dissemination of modernism throughout the convention. In point of fact, Shields' record for years shows clearly a true dedication to denominational interests, including McMaster. He proudly believed that McMaster was a direct product of the ministry of the church he pastored. Senator McMaster was a member of Jarvis Street when he donated the money for the school's establishment, and he borrowed the doctrinal statement of Jarvis Baptist Street Church for the Trust Deed of the University. Rather than being shaped by bitterness against McMaster from the years of his father's ministry, Shields, as pastor of Jarvis Street, tended to view McMaster somewhat proprietarily.

Dozois and Rawlyk have accounted for the apparent bifurcation in his character as a kind of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde quality." This would assume some sort of psychosis that produced fundamental inconsistencies within himself. This work also challenges that particular evaluation of Shields' character. In Shields' self-understanding and in the opinion of his avid and dedicated followers there was no self-contradiction in his love of the gospel on the one side and his hatred of the distortions of that gospel on the other. What is needed then is an interpretative model that takes into account his socio-economic context and gives a viable account of the extremities in his character.

What is interesting to observe about Shields is that while he was always alert to temptations from within and without the church, his earlier periods of ministry demonstrated a fairly balanced response. In light of his subsequent contentiousness and belligerence, the fact that he was once used as a denominational conciliator is somewhat surprising. What is even more remarkable was the fact that until 1918 there was not a hint of complaint about the caustic side of Shields' character. Yet after that point, there was a relentless campaign of hostility against his "knocking" and denunciatory ministry. Clearly, the period from 1918 to 1921 marked the crucial juncture in Shields' ministry and is critical to understanding the development of his militancy. It is the argument of this study that two factors combined in that time frame to reshape Shields from the denominational conciliator into the fighting fundamentalist.

The first element in his transformation was his gradual realization of the subtlety of modernity and the blight it was causing in the modern evangelical church. Suddenly awaking to the insidious infiltration of cultural liberalism into his own church, Shields

reacted. There is little doubt that suspicion of this truth had been developing for some time. Diaconal rule in Jarvis Street seemed to have always been a sore point with Shields but more so as it safeguarded a carefully crafted culture of respectability. Integral to this culture were the vested interests of the business concerns within the church. The deacons' board provided a kind of bastion from which war was waged against any threat to "dear Old Jarvis Street" and their privileged position in it. As Wilson noted, and as Shields discovered, these men increasingly "forsook separation from the world for socio-cultural integration with it and in the process sacrificed their commitment to stewardship, moderation, and sometimes honesty."¹²

The demands of respectability weighed heavily upon Shields. The first casualty had been the evangelistic campaign which was so central to Shields' vision of ministry. His complaint of having to wait eleven years for his full liberty to preach the gospel reflected something of his growing frustration with diaconal restraints.¹³ When his pulpit ministry was further compromised by diaconal determinations of appropriate subject matter for his sermons and the subordination of the pulpit to a professional choir, war was inevitable. In Shields' protest of the restraints he faced during those years he complained of having "a cabinet called Deacons." He went on to boast "I got rid of those Deacons."¹⁴

Shields' attitudes toward this socio-cultural integration with the world were further refined by his involvement in the Forward movement. The repeated testimony of pastors concerning the plague of modern amusements and societal addiction to them quickly convinced Shields of the growing threat to Christian spirituality and commitment. His response was to call for "entire separation" from the world and its modern social amenities.¹⁵ The church's growing resistance to Shields' counter-cultural message and its horror at his demand for the immediate and utter dismantling of its socio-cultural integration with the world, soon put the whole congregation on a war footing. With his spiritual perspective and his whole ministerial construct under direct attack Shields was

¹² Paul Wilson *Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and The Secularization of the Businessmen at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1996.), iv.

¹³ T. T. Shields, *Plot*, 196.

¹⁴ T. T. Shields, "The British Government's attempt to 'Appease' Hitler and Mussolini," *GW*, 16:43, 3 March 1938, 12.

¹⁵ T. T. Shields, *The Plot That Failed* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1936), 41.

driven into increasingly militant reactions. The more desperately his secularized opponents fought to drive him out, the more belligerent Shields became. As the battle heated up, Shields increasingly contextualized this struggle as a local manifestation of the war of the worlds. Modernity's assault on the spiritual underpinnings of the Church of Jesus Christ constituted nothing less than the age-old struggle between the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness. No longer was he fighting for survival as the pastor of Jarvis Street, but as an Athanasius *contra mundum*, he was valiantly contending for "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints."¹⁶

The second factor in the emergence of the militant fundamentalist was Shields' traumatic experiences on the war front during the First World War. During his four months as a guest of the Ministry of Information, Shields was confronted with scenes that would forever scar his memory. If there was any psychosis in his character it would have come from the traumatic shock of the scenes that he could only describe as the work of "wrathful spirits inspired with a fiery indignation hot enough to challenge the penal powers of Hell."¹⁷ Here, face to face with human depravity in its vilest expression and the fearful fruit of modernity's first mechanized war, Shields learned to hate. Perhaps as a mark of his own depravity, Shields' discovered within himself the allure of war and the dark appeal of a primal warrior instinct. The sense of danger on the high seas exhilarated him, and the heroic effort to hurl back the invader piqued his imagination with scenes of heroism and valour. As much as he idealized the brave defenders of liberty, he demonized the enemy. Bitter recrimination and denunciation coloured every observation of the satanic blight that was Germany. Shocked by the brutality of the modern war it had spawned, a hardening of his own spirit ensued. Herein lay the birth of bitterness, paranoia, and an unforgiving spirit. As he more and more began to view himself as a direct participant in the war, Shields' Athanasius *contra mundum* outlook took shape. This was nurtured by an inflation of his perspectives on several significant issues.

The first of these was an inflated view of himself. Three times he visited England in the context of the war. Even before his experiences with the Ministry of Information, Shields had been a keen observer of the war effort. He made every effort to visit the

¹⁶ Jude 1:3.

¹⁷ T. T. Shields, "The Sword of Victory," early 1919, "Miscellaneous Lectures," JBCA, Toronto.

servicemen he had sent from his church in their camps around England. He mingled with officers and gained an enriched understanding of the attitudes of the men who would serve in the trenches in Europe. He interviewed soldiers who had returned and observed the struggles of the walking wounded. He quickly imagined himself something of an authority on the war in general and the Canadian war effort specifically. This perspective was further encouraged with the invitation of the Borden government to serve the cause of conscription at home by presenting his observations in a series of addresses across the country.

The sense of entitlement only increased as his experiences increased. He was recognized by men of prominence in the British government as a “distinguished Canadian” and was afforded honors in accordance with his standing. He was a privileged visitor at the Guildhall where Sir Robert L. Borden was to be presented with “the freedom of the City”¹⁸ and was given preferential seating in the great ceremony “commemorating the commencement of the war” to be held at St. Paul’s Cathedral August 4, 1915.¹⁹ In the concluding months of the war, as a guest of the Ministry of Information, Shields toured Ireland, and was given a breadth of exposure to popular factions that he felt was unparalleled in modern times. His self-confidence was so heightened that he boldly lectured Lord Carson on the nature of the Irish problem and its solutions.²⁰

With an inspection tour of the great war machine that Britain had developed by the end of the war, Shields was supremely confident of his prerogative to speak of the immense cost by which “the Sword of Victory was forged and fashioned and how it was skilfully [sic] wielded until it was driven with fatal force to the heart of tyranny.”²¹ His visits to the vast factories and the grand fleet along with his interviews with key players in the war effort only enhanced his sense of self-importance. He began to believe that there were few on the North American continent who could rival his understanding of the forces at work in the war.

¹⁸ T. T. Shields, “1915 Letter Diary,” 15 July 1915.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 August 1915.

²⁰ T. T. Shields, “Hepburn’s Alliance with Rum and Rome,” *GW*, 13:43, 7 March 1935, 1.

²¹ T. T. Shields, “The Sword of Victory,” 1.

Awash in the glow of his imagined prestige in the civic realm, his self-aggrandizement was rounded out with the honors afforded him in the ecclesiastical realm. It was this same time-frame in which Shields achieved his greatest goal: preaching in Spurgeon's famous Metropolitan Tabernacle. His correspondence with his family during the period showed him reveling in the honors of preaching in the tabernacle and the adulation he received from the congregation. He was soon contrasting his own abilities with those of the present incumbent in the Tabernacle's pastorate, Dr. A. C. Dixon. He also speculated openly about the call that he was confident would be extended to him. Though he did not talk about it for several years afterward for reasons of pastoral etiquette, that call was made to him in 1919 after Dixon's resignation.

Shields' experiences in England during the war years directly impacted his interactions with his congregation at home as the contest over competing views of Christian ministry began to develop. As the diaconate attempted more and more to assert its ancient privileges, Shields appealed to a new more modern ideal of authority. He now argued that "if there be any precedence in rank in the Christian church, it must be attributable solely to a superiority in spiritual quality. He who serves best will thus become chiefest of all."²² For Shields, the church had become a meritocracy in which he, and not the deacons, enjoyed pre-eminence.

Not only was there an inflation of his self-image during those years, but also there was an inflation of his understanding of the evolving struggle between fundamentalism and modernism. In Shields' mind no longer was this merely an intellectual debate waged among elites in the halls of academia; it was a matter that had thrown the whole world into disarray. By situating the fundamentalist struggle within the context of the First World War, Shields imagined a universal campaign being waged against the cause of righteousness and morality on earth. For Shields, modernism's assault on the foundations of orthodoxy and the World War shared the same genesis. This Shields saw as the rationalistic revolt against authority. "What is Modernism?" he asked. "In principle, it is a religious revolution; a rebellion not against human authority, but against the authority of God."²³ If modernity could be defined as "the rationalization of all fields of human

²² *Ibid.*, 168.

²³ T. T. Shields, "The World-Wide Revolution Epidemic," *GW* 10:44, 17 March 1932, 1.

endeavour” then in every sphere, for Shields, there was an exclusion of the fear of God and all moral consequence.²⁴ The temporal source of this modern rationalistic revolt, Shields insisted, found its centre in Germany and not surprisingly the roots of the modern revolt against Biblical orthodoxy, he found, had the same origin. In 1918, as he returned home from the traumatic scenes of war, he arrived with a grim determination to wage war against the rationalistic remnants of “Germanism” that continued to threaten both church and society.²⁵ The alternative for Shields would have been the surrender of every principle of supernatural religion.

There was also in Shields’ thought an inflated view of western ideological forms. The fight for liberty clearly was a central concern during the war years, but Shields’ conflation of modernity’s rationalistic assault on authority with Germany’s war on the Western powers accentuated the importance of Western liberal ideology. Britain, for Shields, was the champion of truth, righteousness and justice while Germany was “Diabolos,” the living incarnation of everything Satanic. While Shields’ identification of Britain with the cause of righteousness, and Germany with the cause of evil and anarchy was a false dichotomy, to Shields’ way of thinking, Britain and the empire had become “the bulwark of the world’s liberties.”²⁶ His reflections on the war became increasingly jingoistic, and his attitude of belligerent patriotism soon translated into a morally confrontational evangelicalism. In years to come, this would translate into militant fundamentalism, social activism, religious nationalism and even anti-Catholicism.

The impact on Shields’ ministerial outlook of World War One can hardly be overstated. It provided a new defining metaphor for the Christian faith, led to a deepening of the connection between spiritual and physical realms, established a trajectory towards military and political involvement by elevating the significance of contemporary events, illustrated a vital interconnection of forces operative in both physical and spiritual spheres, and justified hatred as he equated spiritual and carnal enemies. It is not

²⁴ See for instance: Stephen Toulman, *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 3.

²⁵ T. T. Shields, “England in Wartime,” 1917, “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto. Note: This theme is discussed more fully in an address delivered in many Canadian locations in 1919, and then late that year in Spurgeon’s Tabernacle. It was published years later in *The Gospel Witness*. Cf. T. T. Shields, “The Fall of Lucifer,” *GW* 20:16, 21 August 1941.

²⁶ T. T. Shields, “Imperial London At War,” 8 April 1916, “Miscellaneous Lectures,” JBCA, Toronto.

surprising that with a changing outlook the war would evoke in Shields practical and significant changes in the manner of his ministry and personal deportment. These could be summarized as a new military leadership model, a new military operational model and a new military service model.

While Shields himself never used this exact terminology, there is overwhelming evidence that the application of the military metaphor impacted his ministerial outlook at each of these points. In the first place, Shields understood the military command structure. This structure coincided well with his understanding of the minister's role as a prophet of the Lord. As the military chain of command moved down through the ranks via clearly defined officials, so in the church divine authority rested primarily with the official that God had anointed: the Prophet. No military personnel would ever challenge or question the authority of his superiors and Shields, appealing to the Biblical injunction "touch not mine anointed," expected the same respect.²⁷ Hereafter he would never consider any challenge to his authority from a subordinate. Even friendly advice could be considered blatant insubordination. Not only did he claim prophetic status, so far as he was concerned God had clearly marked him out through his experiences of the war years to lead the campaign against modernity's incursions into the evangelical church.

So entrenched was Shields' mind in the martial elements of life which had so dominated the world during these years that it was almost second nature to conceive of the church itself according to the military model. The congregation he viewed as a spiritual army valiantly contending for the faith. The organization of every aspect of ecclesiastical life took on military overtones; from the Sunday School, to the *Gospel Witness*, to the Seminary. As he was vaulted onto the international scene with the presidency of the BBU, the same military organizational model applied, and Shields conducted all BBU business as a military campaign waged with desperate intensity. Shields' disdain for the pacifist, or the non-militant who desired détente with the world outside the church's doors, was patently evident. Much of Shields' belligerence in his denominational conflicts was driven by this thinly veiled contempt.

This latter perspective reflected, too, his expectations for the soldier of Christ. In the battle for souls no less commitment should be expected of the Christian than that

²⁷ I Chronicles 16:22; Psalm 105:15.

which was demanded of those called to arms in the service of their countries. In Shields' military service model everything had to be sacrificed to the cause. Citing the Biblical injunction: "Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier," Shields demanded entire separation from the world and all its modern attractions.²⁸

Fundamentalism and its Trajectory

Not only does this biographical study provide insights into the interpretation of Shields the man, but also it provides an enlightening window into the nature and trajectory of the militant fundamentalism he represented. The serious attempt to place him in his proper historical context provides a useful instrument to evaluate previous understandings of the fundamentalist phenomenon. For some, Shields merely provided a convenient caricature of the movement. A serious consideration of his record provides a much more nuanced portrait. In the first place, Shields' record demonstrates the fact that militant fundamentalism represented broad currents of reaction in North American life that defied simplistic or monistic explanations. The fundamentalism that Shields embodied flowed from the merging of a number of streams which found their headwaters in the late 19th century and were channelled by the turbulence of socio-cultural forces in the early 20th century. By way of example, Sandeen traced the beginnings of the movement to the premillennialism of the Niagara Conference movement.²⁹ Marsden discovered the "primary seedbed of American Fundamentalism" in "revivalism."³⁰ Ellis has identified "tensions of sociological origin" that he said "lead to schism when covert socio-economic strain is fought out in doctrinal and theological terms."³¹ Each of these historians has made valuable contributions to the understanding of fundamentalism, but

²⁸ 2 Timothy 2:3-4.

²⁹ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Origins of Fundamentalism, Toward a Historical Interpretation*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968); also, *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970).

³⁰ W. V. Trollinger, *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 29. Cf. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 224.

³¹ Walter E. W. Ellis, "Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934" (Ph.D. dissertation University of Pittsburgh, 1974), 25.

the study of Shields creates a kind of “fly in the ointment” for those who have developed comprehensive frameworks categorically defining the movement.

Sandeen’s study, for instance, has identified an extremely important component in the fundamentalist backlash and identified some of the key players. However, Shields’ election as president of the BBU was a strange anomaly for the Sandeen thesis. Shields represented a very different tradition, yet one that found resonance with many of his fundamentalist followers. Though premillennialism dominated many parts of the movement, and in the end helped define it, Shields himself stood well outside the dispensational perspective predominant among his premillennial associates. He repeatedly cautioned against dogmatism on the matter. Shields moved in his career from a moderate historical premillennialism towards an amillennial interpretation. By the mid-1930’s he was openly ridiculing and rejecting the term premillennialism.³² Yet despite his divergence from many of his closest allies on eschatological issues he was given the most prominent place within the militant wing of fundamentalism.

While Marsden’s discovery of revivalistic roots of fundamentalism would resonate with the discussion of Shields’ early evangelistic fervour, it does not take much investigation to discover that Shields’ revivalism had little to do with the American phenomenon that Marsden described. Shields’ revivalistic sentiments evolved in the rural settings of south-western Ontario and were shaped by his reading of Charles Haddon Spurgeon. It was the great revivals of this Romantic hero that fired Shields’ imagination. Though Kruppa has argued for Spurgeonian influences upon the Moody/Sankey branch of American revivalism, Shields’ perspective throughout was much more connected to the Romanticism of late 19th century Britain and reflected more closely the Spurgeonian tradition.³³ Certainly, in time Shields did adopt elements of contemporary American revivalism as he found them in Norris and Riley, but the origins of his own revivalism were anything but American. The self-conscious source of Shields’ fundamentalism was

³² For a good summary of Shields’ developing eschatological ideas see his own description: T. T. Shields, “Dispensational Intolerance,” *GW* 14:36, 16 January 1936, 5-6.

³³ For a discussion of the Romantic elements in the Spurgeonian Tradition see: Doug Adams, *Charles Haddon Spurgeon: Romancing The Gospel; A Nineteenth Century ‘Puritan’ Response to Evangelical Decline*. (Unpublished Ph. D. paper, 2004).

Spurgeon and he viewed his fundamentalism as a direct continuation of the “Down-Grade Controversy” waged in England in the latter part of the 19th century.³⁴

Ellis, too, has provided an important perspective on the struggle, especially as it developed in Jarvis Street Baptist Church. With his detailed examination of the statistics available, Ellis was able to demonstrate the development of a social divide that clearly contributed to the schism. However, Ellis’ study ignores other significant factors in the schism such as the reaction of the church to Shields’ attempts to expose theological modernism in McMaster, the divergent perspectives on Christian ministry, personality conflicts and the increasingly denunciatory tone of Shields preaching. There is little evidence in the records of any consciousness of a social divide until after Shields’ sermon on amusements. It was Shields’ call for a commitment to the other-worldly values of Christianity and the appeal for entire separation from the world that provoked the social divide. The wealthy business interests of Jarvis Street found the message distasteful and could not accept the disparagement of their earthly treasures or the abandonment of their carefully crafted culture of social respectability.

In the second place, a careful consideration of Shields’ story does shed significant light on the aspect of fundamentalism’s militancy and ominously suggests a troubling trajectory for it. Shields did seem to bring a peculiar belligerence to the movement and opened his presidency of the BBU with a dramatic declaration of war. Consideration of the socio-cultural aspects impacting his life can perhaps suggest some of the factors in the broader phenomenon of fundamentalist militancy.

The significant thing to notice is that the militancy of Shields’ fundamentalism was in fact an integral part of the dialectic process that characterized the phenomenon of Modernity. In the context of his discussion of the fundamentalist divide, Marsden introduced an important element into the discussion of the militancy that branded so many fundamentalists. He noted that “the remarkable shift from moderation to

³⁴ cf. T. T. Shields, “Why I am Not a Modernist, But Believe the Bible to be the Word of God.” *GW&PA* 29:12, 13 July 1950, 12. Here Shields challenged some of Spurgeon’s methods but clearly identified the Downgrade Controversy with the Fundamentalist/Modernist controversy of his own period. See also Erroll Hulse, “Charles Haddon Spurgeon and the Downgrade Controversy,” in *Acorns to Oaks: The Primacy and Practice of Biblical Theology*, ed. Michael A. G. Haykin, (Dundas, ON: Joshua Press, 2003) 169 – 186; Saxon, 1-39.

militancy,” was a product of “cultural crisis.”³⁵ From his early efforts at social reform, to his reflections upon the devastation he had witnessed in the fields of France at the conclusion of the Great War, to his observations during the Second World War, Shields’ militancy was increasingly defined by his growing convictions concerning the great crisis that threatened to destroy civilization. With the outbreak of World War Two he wrote: “The crisis we face is a moral and spiritual one. ... Civilization is threatened with destruction; and Christianity with the vilest and fiercest persecution hell has ever devised.”³⁶ Shields increasingly became fixated on the looming crisis.

Many scholars of modernism have identified a dialectic component of paradox and moral contradiction in the process of modernization.³⁷ Modernity according to Peter Childs reflected “paradoxical if not opposed trends towards revolutionary and reactionary positions, fear of the new and delight at the disappearance of the old, nihilism and fanatical enthusiasm, creativity and despair.”³⁸ Reflecting his Marxist leanings, Marshall Berman identified in modernity a process of change through the conflict of opposing forces: “... it [modernity] pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, ‘all that is solid melts into air.’”³⁹

Fundamentalism’s militancy could be considered as but one expression of the tension involved in the dialectic process of modernity wherein paradox and moral contradiction are characteristic; where opposite forces have been seen to work against each other to produce change towards a new social, cultural and political order. In fact, Shields’ involvement in the fundamentalist/modernist controversy illustrated well many of the paradoxes of the modern dialectic process: the paradox between modernism’s

³⁵ George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 141.

³⁶ T. T. Shields, “How Can Canada Wake up Ottawa?” *GW* 19:4, 30 May 1940, 2.

³⁷ Cf. for instance from the discipline of Geography: Timothy Oaks, “Place and the Paradox of Modernity,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87, no. 3 (Sept. 1997), 509-531; Sociology: Margarita Alario and William Freudenburg, “The Paradoxes of Modernity: Scientific Advances, Environmental Problems, and Risks to the Social Fabric?” *Sociological Forum* 18, no. 2, (June 2003), 193-214; Philosophy: Wolfgang Schluchter, *Paradoxes of Modernity: Culture and Conduct in the Theory of Max Weber* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996).

³⁸ Peter Childs, *Modernism*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2008), 19.

³⁹ Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 15.

optimism about human potential and fundamentalism's identification of the utter depravity of the modern "superman"; the paradox between modern ideals of progress and development and fundamentalism's documentation of modernity's legacy of violence and destructiveness; the paradox between modern collectivism, reflected religiously in modernism's championing of the Social Gospel, and politically in Socialism, Communism, Nazism, and Fascism, and fundamentalism's appeal to the individualism of western ideology; and finally the paradox between modernism's confidence in the liberating potential of modernity and fundamentalism's paranoia about modernity's erosion of human freedom. Shields' record demonstrated his ability to exploit modern counterpoints to modernists' claims. Paul Conkin correctly identified the defensive element that crept into evangelicalism with fundamentalism and the dialectic component implicit within it: "I would restrict the label "fundamentalist" to those evangelical Christians who became aware of, even obsessed with, doctrinal compromises or biblical deviations or moral laxity among other Christians, those whom they often called 'liberals' and 'modernists.' As I define fundamentalism, it had a dialectical content, for it was shaped by its opposite. Before modernists, there could be no fundamentalists."⁴⁰ David Saxon has noted that Marsden and Beale argued for a fundamentalism which was "more than merely a reaction against liberal theology," but he himself demonstrated that "anti-modernism" was "the key defining factor for Fundamentalism."⁴¹

Shields' militant fundamentalism, then, was not the militancy of anti-intellectualism. Furniss' depiction of fundamentalists as "a disgruntled and backward people who could not keep up with the culture of their time," demonstrated little understanding of the dialectic dynamics of modernity.⁴² Rather, Shields and many of his fundamentalist allies represented an era of strong-minded men shaped by a world in turmoil. In the uncertainties of a world caught in the vortex of modernity's cycle of disintegration and renewal, the appeal of the self-confident demagogue and the role of his demagoguery found ready acceptance. The virulence of the fundamentalist/ modernist

⁴⁰ Paul Conkin, *When All the Gods Trembled: Darwinism, Scopes, and American Intellectuals* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.), 54.

⁴¹ Saxon, 4.

⁴² Mark Parent, "The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism" (Ph.D. Thesis for McGill University, 1991), 60.

clash was itself evidence of the polarities intrinsic within the modern experiment. In the face of modernity's optimism about the rationalization of all fields of endeavour, the progress suggested by scientific and industrial advances and the liberty promised by new prosperity, Shields and his militant allies merely had to appeal to the legacy of modernity's first war. Theirs was not an anti-intellectual reaction to rationalism's domination, but a devastating disclosure of the moral price to be paid for modernity's neglect of the spiritual element in the human condition.

Perhaps no era in human history could so well illustrate Burman's conjecture of a "maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish" as that through which Shields lived. Shields experienced two World Wars and the economic collapse of the Great Depression. It was the dynamics of the modern dialectic that more than any other thing shaped the militancy of his fundamentalist response. Shields' early warring was of a distinctively spiritual character. In his evangelistic ministry he self-consciously struggled against spiritual powers in his pursuit of the Kingdom of God. His weapons were spiritual and came to manifestation in preaching, evangelism and prayer. As he encountered the dialectic realities of modernity in a modern urban centre his weaponry changed. Perhaps without even realizing it, he was drawn into the vortex of a struggle that was foreign to his nature, but was at its heart truly modern. Modern weapons of publication, mass meetings and demagoguery soon displaced his earlier dependence upon Biblical exposition and spiritual communion. Clearly his observation of the war, combined with the tactics of his ecclesiastical enemies, shaped the new trajectory of his struggle. Seeing the cultural crisis everywhere escalating, not only did his weaponry change but also the end for which he contended. His diligent pursuit of the otherworldly realities of God's kingdom was diluted by a growing fixation on societal decay and threats to western ideological forms. Not surprisingly, as the danger increased so also did the manner of his response. In each of the major confrontations of the fundamentalist/modernist controversy, Shields' reactions were more intense and drastic and were marked by a growing sense of desperation. With the collapse of the fundamentalist crusade in the late twenties, his attention turned increasingly to the cultural crisis. The trajectory of that escalation drove him into an ever increasing radicalism and an escalating dependence on the "carnal" weapons of

modernity. By the 1930's Shields' militancy gained a political component as he increasingly badgered political leaders to address the cultural crisis that threatened all civilization. He became active in political campaigns and even flirted with the idea of establishing his own political party. By the 1940's he was loudly proclaiming the necessity of defeating and annihilating ideological enemies with military methods and hardware. Most shocking of his proposals was his appeal to the atomic annihilation of Russia and the Vatican:

I read a letter in one of our Toronto papers just last week which was very much to my mind. I wondered for a moment what the author was driving at, and at last he said he thought the world's stock-pile of atomic bombs should be divided fairly among the United Nations, and Russia's share should be delivered with precision from a height of thirty thousand feet. I thought it was well said. I should not have the slightest hesitation, were I in any Governmental authority, and had the power to do so, to take from my surgical kit the keenest and most effective weapon or instrument I could get, and use it. I wish they would drop nearly all the bombs they have on Moscow and Vladivostok, and North Korea, if necessary. They might save one or two for the Vatican, because we shall have the same trouble there that we are having with Russia; the ideology of both are precisely the same - rule by hierarchy, enslavement of the multitude, obedience compelled by force. I do not see anything to do but stand against it, do you? So far as I have any influence I shall exert it in that direction, however terrible it may be.⁴³

Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism

In the end, the militant aspect of Shields' fundamentalism made significant adjustments to the traditional evangelical model. For many in the 1920's the designations "Evangelicalism" and "fundamentalism" were largely synonymous. Conkin discovered broad use of the term in that period. He noted that "For journalists in the twenties, such as H. L. Mencken, the word 'fundamentalism' was almost as inclusive as the word 'Christian.' Anyone who affirmed the traditional doctrines of the Church, in any denomination, was for him a fundamentalist."⁴⁴ The term "Evangelical" was one that could be traced back both to Puritan traditions and the ideals of the Great Awakening. "Conkin has identified four emphases used by "self-proclaimed evangelicals" to distinguish themselves from other Christians since the time of "the 1740 Awakenings in

⁴³ T. T. Shields, "Would it be Christian to Drop Atomic Bombs on Moscow?" *GW&PA* 29:14, 27 July 1950, 5.

⁴⁴ Conkin, 50.

America and the Wesley revivals in England.” “First and foremost,” he indicated “was their insistence upon a climactic and crisislike [sic] rebirth experience.” In the second place, he identified “their effort to cultivate affectionate and Spirit-filled forms of worship and devotion.” Thirdly, Conkin pointed to “their strong commitment to spreading the gospel and saving souls both at home and abroad, often through new revival and missionary institutions; and fourth was their demand for a very austere and nonworldly moral stance.”⁴⁵ A similar list was provided by David Bebbington several years earlier. He distilled the basic character of historic Evangelicalism into four essentials, “conversionism, the belief that lives need to be changed, activism, the expression of the gospel in effort, biblicism, a particular regard for the Bible, and ... crucicentrism, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.”⁴⁶ He also argued that the early period of 18th century evangelicalism concurred with the Puritan divine, Matthew Henry. Henry summarised the evangelical component in terms of the “three R’s: ruin, redemption and regeneration.”⁴⁷ This was, in fact, central to the Spurgeonian tradition embraced by Shields. Spurgeon demonstrated that at its heart evangelicalism had a common denominator throughout the years from the Puritans to the Victorian era: “But while all things in God’s Word are important,” explained Spurgeon, “*all are not equally important*. There are certain fundamental and vital truths which must be believed As a sort of digest or summary of the great things of the law, I remember an old friend of mine once saying, ‘Ah! you preach the three R’s, and God will always bless you.’ I said, ‘What are the three R’s?’ And he answered, ‘Ruin, redemption, and regeneration.’ ... These things contain an epitome of the gospel.”⁴⁸ With Spurgeon’s insistence on “fundamental and vital truths,” we can discover something of the traditional definition of evangelicalism as well as the genesis of Shields’ fundamentalism.

Bebbington also noted an adjustment to traditional evangelicalism in the 19th century that helps identify some of the well-springs of fundamentalism which would have resonated with Shields in his allegiance to the Spurgeonian tradition. Bebbington identified

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁶ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980’s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ C. H. Spurgeon, “The Bible” in *The New Park Street Pulpit* Vol. 1, in *Ages Digital Library The Spurgeon Collection* (Rio, WI: Ages Software, 1998-2001), 211, 212.

the shift in the evangelical intellectual mood of the early nineteenth century most significantly with the person of Edward Irving. Irving was best known for introducing distinctive prophetic beliefs and speaking in tongues. Bebbington, however, considered Irving's primary importance as being his "capacity for blending Evangelical religion with the latest intellectual fashions." "Irving" he notes, "was a Romantic."⁴⁹

The chief explanation for the transformation of evangelicalism in the years around 1830, maintained Bebbington, was the spread of Romanticism. "The gospel was being remoulded by the spirit of the age."⁵⁰ This came to expression in a "new appreciation of the dramatic, the extraordinary and the otherworldly element in religion." This he called a "heightened supernaturalism."⁵¹ Architectural style and ritualism were the most visible manifestations of the trend. Heightened supernaturalism also came to expression in a renewed expectation of the immanent bodily return of Christ. Premillennial ideas of Christ's Second Advent looked for His return to earth to establish an earthly millennium. It was based on a literal rather than a symbolic reading of the apocalyptic texts within scripture. With the return to premillennialism came an emphasis on biblical literalism, verbal inspiration and inerrancy, the later hallmarks of fundamentalism. Bebbington argued that this heightened respect for the text of scripture was itself an expression of the "intensified supernaturalism" of the Romantic influence. He suggests that it was wrong to attach the idea of inerrancy to pre-nineteenth century ideas of inspiration; "this conviction was a novelty, a Romantic innovation."⁵² While Shields would undoubtedly have contested this latter observation, discovering it rather in earlier Reformed and Calvinistic traditions, certainly his high regard for supernaturalism and verbal inspiration, and even his early premillennialism may have reflected an affinity with these Romantic impulses.⁵³

Despite Parent's mistaken claims that Shields departed from evangelical orthodoxy in his insistence on creedal definitions and an unbalanced Christology, there is really no question that Shields embraced the traditional theological perspectives of

⁴⁹ Bebbington, 80.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 91.

⁵³ For a discussion of Calvin's appreciation of the doctrine see: Roger Nicole, "John Calvin and Inerrancy," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (December 1982), 425-442.

evangelicalism and saw himself as standing well within their parameters.⁵⁴ However, as his fundamentalism matured and became more and more militant, he made adjustments to the traditional social perspectives of evangelicalism that in the end left him a marginal figure, at least on the Canadian evangelical Baptist landscape.

Theologically, Shields remained characteristically evangelical until the end. However, he soon distinguished himself and his following from other evangelicals who shared his doctrinal distinctives but who were unwilling at one level or another to engage the enemy. As we have seen above there was an escalation in Shields' militant response to the modern world that was manifested in his evangelical mix.

The first aspect of this divergence was the universal application of his militant metaphor to traditional evangelical constructions. Understandably, it was a natural way of defining the church and its relationship to the world for a generation so deeply immersed in the shocking realities of two World Wars. However, as he pressed the metaphor, the unfortunate consequence was to conflate the spiritual and material worlds in such a way as to drag evangelicalism into ever more temporal endeavours. Traditional evangelicalism focused on the activism of soul-winning with the expectation that the transformation of lives would, like salt, have a curative effect on society.⁵⁵ However, with this more militant model, Shields began to champion a direct activism that increasingly entangled him and his following in the affairs of civil and political and international life.

The most obvious expression of this came in his wholehearted support of the two World Wars. His personal observations of the First World War, his abhorrence of modern totalitarian threats, and his fixation on the cultural crisis provoked by the modern dialectic, drove him to the expectation of, and practical support for the "righteous war." The Second World War he defined as a "Christian crusade" in which "everything that is of value in life is at stake."⁵⁶ Despite the fact that there existed within the history of

⁵⁴ Parent has tried to find in Shields a cold rationalism that displaced the authority of Christ with Bible and creed. He has also found in Shields' defence of the Infallibility of Christ a rejection of the true humanity of Christ and hence a monophysite understanding of Christology. Parent also erroneously suggested that Shields abandoned his evangelistic impulses during the war. This paper everywhere disputes these findings.

⁵⁵ Cf. Matthew 5:13.

⁵⁶ T. T. Shields, "Why Hitler's Oration Must be Answered with Fire," *GW* 19:12, 25 July 1940. (Hereafter "Hitler's Oration").

evangelicalism a kind of crisis of conscience between the competing claims of pacifism and militarism, Shields was influential within early 20th Century evangelicalism in his insistence that pacifism was both philosophically and religiously wrong.⁵⁷ In his own church he insisted on enlistment for all the able-bodied men under his pastoral oversight. He became an agent of the government in fighting for conscription in the First World War, and argued with Prime Minister King during the Second World War over the issue. Pursuit of the ideals of the Kingdom of God were increasingly circumscribed by his militant pursuit of the welfare of the British Empire and the survival of the western model of civilization.

As the First World War ended and its horrors faded in the public mind, the focus of Shields' evangelicalism again shifted. The direct activism of Shields' militancy came to expression anew in the paranoia of social activism. A wide range of social issues made growing demands on his attention. His earliest introduction to social reform came in the context of the St. Clair affair, at the beginning of his tenure in Jarvis Street Baptist Church. His experiences on the Committee of Forty in the fight against growing signs of corruption in Toronto were but a foretaste of his activities after the war. On one notable occasion Shields took issue with the findings of a Royal Commission called to investigate corruption on the Toronto police force. The Report acknowledged that a "'Gang' of thieves was operating in No. 1 Division over a period of at least 10 years prior to 1933."⁵⁸ Shields reflected the city's outrage when P.C. Michael O'Shea, one of the thieves, instead of being incarcerated, was reinstated to the force. Shields took it upon himself to rent Massey Hall and to deliver an address in which he lambasted the Police Commission and Chief Constable Draper for their actions. One news report entitled "Strong Public Sentiment Demands Thorough Clean-Up" noted that "Massey Hall was packed to the roof and hundreds were turned away."⁵⁹ Shields' justification for his actions was that he spoke "in the interests of civic righteousness and liberty."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See for instance, T.T. Shields, "My Sword Shall be Bathed in Heaven," *GW* 18:17, 31 August 1938, 4.

⁵⁸ "Draper, Police Board and Royal Commission Castigated by Shields," 28 March 1936, *TTCF*, 128.

⁵⁹ "Strong Public Sentiment Demands Thorough Clean-Up," 30 March 1936, *TTCF*, 133.

⁶⁰ "T. T. Shields Urges Voters Elect a Mayor Resistant To City Hall 'Influences,'" 28 March 1936, *TTCF*, 128.

One of his greatest struggles came in the contest over prohibition and Shields became a thorn in the side to a number of prominent politicians who supported relaxed views on the distribution and sale of alcohol. He contended with Ferguson but reserved most of his fire for Hepburn. The fight over prohibition was significant because it introduced him to the political realm. While he would long protest that “politics is not our interest,” it increasingly became a chosen vehicle in his modern arsenal as a means to “maintain our liberties.”⁶¹ Obsession with social and political issues more and more defined the character of his fundamentalism and thereby refined his perspectives on the evangelical mission. For Shields, Gospel ministry now clearly included a socio-political component. The politicization of religion and his attempts to use his religion to influence politics marked the birth of a religious nationalism⁶² that defied traditional evangelical Baptist assumptions concerning the separation of church and state. The cheeky reaction of one of his *Gospel Witness* readers captured something of the irony in Shields’ new evangelical framework:

I am informed that no later than last Sunday, morning and evening, your entire sermon was devoted to politics, and to telling the Government how to run the country, and your determination always to preach the gospel was laid aside for this more important task of keeping the Government informed as to its duty. Your *Gospel Witness* of this week contains the two so-called sermons, and are gems of evangelicalism. I am wondering what kind of Christians you will be turning out in future, Liberals or Conservatives?⁶³

Central to Shields’ political and social activism was his agitation over ideological concerns. Modernism, for Shields, was informed by evolutionary presuppositions. “Evolution is a philosophy of Collectivism,” he observed. “It assumes that the individual is but an atom in the mass, and must be sacrificed to the general progress with a view to effecting, in the dim and distant future, an ideal race. That strange principle is applied to social life; hence we hear much of sociological evolution. The individual is again merged in the mass.”⁶⁴ At the heart of modernity Shields discovered an intrinsic threat to

⁶¹ T. T. Shields, “The Menace of Present-Day Roman Catholicism,” *GW* 15:31, 10 December 1936, 2. (Hereafter “Menace”).

⁶² Religious nationalism refers to the relationship of nationalism to a particular religious belief both in the politicisation of religion and the influence of religion on politics.

⁶³ “A Friendly ‘Review’ from an English Reader of Sermons in ‘Gospel Witness’” Anonymous letter file, Shields’ Correspondence, Box 1, JBCA, Toronto.

⁶⁴ T. T. Shields, “Menace,” 2.

individualism and individual rights and liberties. In the midst of the Second World War he noted: “We have been warned by very many, including the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, that our British-Canadian liberties are little by little being filched from us. Freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of worship, are freedoms which British subjects have long cherished.”⁶⁵ To the aforementioned liberties he would elsewhere add the fundamental principles of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience, the national right of self-governance, the rights of private ownership, and most basically, the right “to do the will of God.”⁶⁶ For Shields, it was an essential part of evangelical Protestantism’s responsibility to “guard very jealously” the “privileges” enjoyed as “British citizens.”⁶⁷ He decried the “type of religious isolationism” that constituted “a rejection of the responsibilities which are inseparable from membership in organized society.”⁶⁸ He demanded that Christian Ministers “endeavour to create ... a healthy public opinion ... to influence the opinion of the public at large in the direction of righteousness.” “Vices of selfishness, dishonesty, untruthfulness, and general lawlessness,” he observed “grow without cultivation like thorns and nettles and thistles. They are indigenous to the corrupt soil of this sinful earth.” He warned of the consequences of “carelessness and neglect” on the part of the evangelical ministry when the “stone walls of law and order, designed for the protection of society, may be broken down by erosion” Christian ministers needed to be actively involved in planting and cultivating the “delicate exotics” such as “truth, righteousness, equity, and justice, lawful order, and equitably adjusted lives” in the social construct.⁶⁹ This insistence that the evangelical ministry should set aside, or even complement, their reliance on the regenerative power of the gospel for educational and political activism stood in bizarre contradistinction to his Calvinistic insistence on total depravity and the assumption that these ideals are “spiritually discerned.”⁷⁰

⁶⁵ T. T. Shields, “Is Canada a Free Country?” *GW* 21:37, 14 January 1943, 1.

⁶⁶ T. T. Shields, “The Inept Speech of the Attorney-General,” *GW* 18:49, 11 April 1940, 2; Cf. T. T. Shields, *The Devil’s Peace Offensive* (Toronto: The Gospel Witness, 1924), 4; T. T. Shields, “Mr. Millard’s Union supports Stelco Statement” in file “Comments on the Stelco Steel Strike” JBCA, Toronto.; T. T. Shields, “Lawless Labour Violence and ‘Union Security,’” *GW* 25:14, 1 August 1946, 2. (Hereafter “Labour Violence”).

⁶⁷ T. T. Shields, “The Pope’s Fifth Column – Everywhere,” *GW* 19:14, 8 August 1940, 3.

⁶⁸ T. T. Shields, “Hitler’s Oration,” 1.

⁶⁹ T. T. Shields, “Labour Violence,” 1.

⁷⁰ I Corinthians 2:14.

Shields, however, justified this call to social activism within evangelicalism upon his understanding of the fruits of the gospel. While he would readily acknowledge that the gospel had primary application to the individual human heart and that its content was primarily spiritual, he did, nonetheless, argue that civil liberties and even democracy were by-products of the gospel: "I believe myself that the democracy of this country, and of Great Britain, and of the United States, in their principle of popular government, are direct products of the Gospel. It is the teaching of Scripture that attaches value to the individual, and puts responsibility, upon the individual, and hence democracy."⁷¹ For Shields, even civil liberty was an appropriate expectation of Christ the liberator. He spoke of Abraham Lincoln as a "great emancipator" but immediately contrasted his record with that of Christ. "The great emancipator is our Lord Jesus Christ, Who came to 'proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' He came to set men and women, made in the image of God, free, free as air; albeit free to do the will of God, as the servants of God."⁷²

As an evangelical minister Shields was convinced that it was his ministerial responsibility to be diligent and alert to every threat that could erode Canada's civil liberties. Perhaps due to the deep paranoia bred by his observation of two world wars, he was quick to find much evidence of subversive elements in Canadian society. Illustrative of Shields' fixation was the perceived threat of trade unionism. Shields became very vocal in his opposition to its development in Canada. He opposed it on several grounds. For Shields trade unionism was collectivist and fascist: "Do you notice how East meets West? A company of men are cajoled and cudgelled into putting all authority into the hands of one man. Then you get Hitler or Mussolini, or Stalin, or John L. Lewis, or Philip Murray, or C. H. Millard – whichever you like."⁷³ Trade unionism represented a repression of the individual's right to work: "I insist that no Union has any right to prevent other people from working, either by force, or by the threat of force. ... I think the men of the Steel Company of Hamilton who are continuing to work, instead of being

⁷¹ T. T. Shields, "Why I am a Baptist: Lecture to the Students of TBS 28 March 1940," *GW* 18:40, 4 April 1940, 6.

⁷² T. T. Shields, "Labour Violence," 2.

⁷³ T. T. Shields, "Labour Violence," 7.

‘scabs’ are heroes, and I congratulate every one of them.”⁷⁴ Trade unionism represented a violation of the right of private ownership: “No union has any right to deny the possession of, or the use of, property to its legitimate owner.”⁷⁵ Fundamentally, trade unionism was subversive and anarchistic: “What do we have today? Unionism, a Fascist state within a State, arrogating to itself the functions of government, and defying the legal Government to its face. It is sedition, absolute rebellion, and whether they are right or wrong, the methods employed should never be tolerated in a free country like ours.”⁷⁶

Ultra-Fundamentalism

Shields, too, was alert to the advance of socialism and communism: “I hate Communism, and all that belongs to it. I am not a Socialist, or a near Socialist. I am, in the deepest conviction of my soul, an individualist, as opposed to every brand of collectivist; and I believe the highest form of government is that which makes possible the fullest development of an intelligent, moral and spiritual individual”⁷⁷ It was somewhat ironic that Shields made this comment concerning the actions of General Draper, the head of the Toronto Police force. Draper was renowned for his own hostility to communism. He organized a “red squad,” also known as “Draper’s Dragoons” to suppress strikes, demonstrations and left-wing political rallies in the 1930’s. However, Shields discovered in Drapers’ policy an expression of communist repression which he found “positively asinine and criminal.”⁷⁸

Shields’ concern about the threat of communism was best exhibited by his alliance in 1949 with Carl McIntire to establish the International Council of Christian Churches. Shields first met McIntire in January 1942. Spending two weeks together with him in ministry in Collingswood, New Jersey, Shields confessed that he could not “recall meeting anyone with whom we felt in more perfect accord that we found ourselves to be with Mr. McIntire.” He noted: “We found both Mr. McIntire and his people ‘our sort....’” Their connections deepened in the following years and Shields became very interested in the work McIntire was doing in the related organizations. The ICCC itself was a

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁷ “Draper, Police Board and Royal Commission Castigated by Shields,” 13 March 1941, *TTCF*, 130.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

deliberate response to the formation of the World Council of Christian Churches and what these men saw as the apocalyptic threat of “a world superchurch.”⁷⁹ A brief consideration of the roots and origins of the ICCC demonstrates that a significant component of ICCC dogma was anti-communism.

Erling Jorstad, in his troubling book, *The Politics of Doomsday*, has located the genesis of this organization in the context of emerging American “ultra-fundamentalism” and its eventual alignment with “the political ideology of the far right.” Jorstad, examined roots of this movement in the work and ministry of McIntire, whom he regarded as its “prime mover.”⁸⁰ In 1941, finding apostasy running rampant across America and blaming the hegemony of the Federal Council of Churches, McIntire founded the American Council of Christian Churches on “an anticouncil foundation.” This was the beginning of what McIntire billed “The Twentieth Century Reformation” in which he “cast himself as a reformer in the Luther-Calvin mold.” He drew up a bill of charges against the FCC and prominent in that list was his accusation that “the council gave aid and comfort to communism.”⁸¹ In a meeting at First Baptist Church, New York City, in September 1942, the ACCC adopted the following resolution:

The American Council of Christian Churches pledges its undying opposition to all forms of Totalism, whether they be Nazi, Fascist, or Communist, and affirms its allegiance to the principles of democratic, representative government as expressed in the Constitution of the United States.⁸²

In May of 1944, Shields hosted the annual convention of the ACCC in Jarvis Street. Once again by resolution, the ACCC expressed its opposition to collectivism and called for the preservation of “freedom of conscience, freedom of the press, and freedom of private enterprise and ownership” in the “post-war era.”⁸³

Though the ICCC was not officially aligned with the ACCC, there was certainly a clear link. McIntire was the moving force in both organizations, the two groups ended up

⁷⁹ Carl McIntire, “Presidential Address; Seventh World Congress, International Council of Christian Churches,” *The Reformation Review* XVI, no. 2, (January 1969), 70.

⁸⁰ Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Doomsday: Fundamentalists of the Far Right* (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1970), 14.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁸² Carl McIntire, *Twentieth Century Reformation*, (Collingswood, New Jersey: Christian Beacon Press, 1944), 116.

⁸³ T. T. Shields, “American Council of Christian Churches,” *GW&PA* 23:3, 18 May 1944, 13.

sharing the same statement of faith, and the ICCC was established to “harass and oppose the World Council, just as the American Council existed to oppose the Federal Council of Churches.”⁸⁴ The ICCC proved to be as deeply concerned with the ideological issue as the ACCC before it. Indeed, over the years, much of the ICCC polemic surrounded its contention that communism was deeply entrenched within the WCC. McIntire and Shields were convinced that American Protestant clergy aligning with the WCC were communists. McIntire even became active in the McCarthyite offensive by providing the senator with documentation of “Reds in the Churches.” McCarthy provided the ICCC with a measure of respectability and publicity by announcing that the ICCC was a “militant anti-Communist group” whose ministers were “usefully serving the interests of America and God.”⁸⁵ Further publicity was gained in 1952 when the press reported that “the ACCC-ICCC found Communist conspiracies at work in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.”⁸⁶

Shields’ polemic against communism never reached the same virulent pitch as that of his American ICCC associate. For Shields, the threat of fascism in Canada lay with the Catholic Church, and most of his vitriol was reserved for the ecclesiastical manifestation of the threat to liberty. However, there was a clear sympathy of ideological and theological perspectives. It was not insignificant that at much the same time Shields was recommending the use of atomic weapons McIntire was openly expressing similar sentiments: “For us to have the atom bomb, and in the name of a false morality, born of a perverted sense of self-respect and pacifist propaganda, to await the hour when Russia has her bombs to precipitate an atomic war, is the height of insanity and will, when the fateful hour comes, be a just punishment upon us. We believe that Almighty God holds us responsible.”⁸⁷

The two men worked together for several years in close communion. In November 1949, when Shields was 75, the two men embarked on a world tour on behalf of the ICCC. They travelled together for three months. They went as far afield as the

⁸⁴ Jorstad, 41.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 50.

Netherlands, Rome, Egypt and Indonesia.⁸⁸ In 1951 Shields accompanied him again, this time to South America where they helped form “The Latin American Alliance of Evangelicalism.”⁸⁹

This alliance marked the maturation of Shields’ religious nationalism, the revelation of his sympathy with emerging American “ultra-fundamentalism” and his alignment with the political ideals of what would materialise as “the far right.” Further study is warranted concerning the degree to which this was a convergence of like-minded branches of fundamentalism, or to what measure Shields may have exercised influence over the trajectories entertained by “ultra-fundamentalism.” What is known is that Shields was largely responsible for drawing up the ICCC’s doctrinal statement, a statement embraced by a wide range of associated organizations, and that Carl McIntire acknowledged publicly the profound impact Shields had made upon his life. McIntire preached Shields’ funeral sermon and on that occasion identified Shields as “the greatest single champion of our evangelical doctrines and faith” Looking down upon his deceased comrade in arms he said: “I see his leadership, and I see the ministry he has had throughout the whole earth, and every section of the world where men have recognized in him a Moses, an Elijah, a champion of our day and age in the Old Testament tradition who defended the faith alone.” McIntire professed that their relationship was like that of a father and son, and that the training he received at Shields hands was not that in the seminary but that of “intimate close fellowship.”⁹⁰

To the degree that Protestant evangelicalism can trace its roots back to the Reformation, a certain irony existed in Shields’ and McIntire’s appeal to Reformation traditions. The “Twentieth Century Reformation,” while protesting against modernity’s threats, advocated at the same time a very modern conception of freedom. Martin Luther’s revolutionary sentiments could hardly be linked with the modern republican impulse they championed. Reformation ideals of liberty were of a fundamentally different character. In the face of Catholic domination Martin Luther celebrated true

⁸⁸ Carl McIntire, “A Day of Triumph,” in ...*Yet Speaketh ... Present With the Lord* (Collingswood, N.J.: Christian Beacon Press, 1973, 85.

⁸⁹ Tarr, 137.

⁹⁰ Carl McIntire, “A Day of Triumph,” in ...*Yet Speaketh ... Present With the Lord* (Collingswood, N.J.: Christian Beacon Press, 1973, 85.

freedom with the publication of the *Freedom of the Christian Man*. Unlike his erstwhile modern counterparts, Luther revelled in the spiritual liberty he discovered in Romans 8:28: “All things work together for good to them that love God.” In face of certain bondage and repression Luther remarked: “... every Christian is by faith so exalted above all things that, by virtue of a spiritual power, he is lord of all things without exception, so that nothing can do him any harm. As a matter of fact, all things are made subject to him and are compelled to serve him in obtaining salvation.”⁹¹

Anti-Catholic McCarthyism

Nothing characterized the public ministry of Shields in the last two decades of his life so much as what we have called his “anti-Catholic McCarthyism.” Through the pages of *The Gospel Witness*, in public addresses, Orange parades, radio discourses and from his pulpit he regularly declared: “That implacable enemy of liberty is the Church of Rome”⁹² Though he was constantly alert to the threat of socialism and communism, for Shields, the real threat to Canada’s freedom was an internal conspiracy of Roman Catholic origin. “All the communists in Canada put together will never do the harm the Roman Catholic Church is doing every day.” The threat of ultramontane rule consumed him. Pausing in his 1936 campaign against Hepburn’s liquor acts, Shields noted “The Roman Catholic Church hates the British Empire as I wish it could learn to hate the devil”⁹³ At the end of the Second World War he reflected: “The enemies of our liberty have been overthrown in Germany, Italy and Japan, but the most persistent and perhaps the most powerful enemy of liberty still carries on its nefarious work of destroying all we have sought to gain by the blood, tears and sweat of the last six years.” He asked rhetorically: “... are there actually Canadians who are so wilfully ignorant or wicked as to favour the suppression of British liberty?” After the national and international sacrifice that had just been given in defence of liberty, it was surely beyond belief that there would be any Canadian who would openly repudiate that liberty. Nevertheless, Shields was

⁹¹ Martin Luther, “The Freedom of the Christian Man,” in *The Protestant Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York : Harper & Row, 1968), 13.

⁹² See for instance: T. T. Shields “Our Liberty Threatened,” *GW* 24:23, 4 October 1945, 3.

⁹³ “Hepburn Denounced for School Levy By Orange Orators: Premier Branded as ‘Tool of Rome’” *Globe* 13 July 1936, 9. Cf. John T. Saywell, *‘Just Call Me Mitch’: The Life of Mitchell F. Hepburn* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 271.

quick to discover such treachery in the person of “Cardinal Archbishop Villeneuve, the primate of the Roman Church in Canada.” In the first week of October 1945, Shields referenced the Cardinal’s use of the Papal Encyclical *Libertas Praestantissimum* as the official “guide” of the “Social Study Week” from the previous week in Montreal. He quoted the Cardinal who reflected the words of the Encyclical: “It follows then that it is never permissible to request, to defend, or to grant liberty of thought, of writing, of teaching what each wishes, right or wrong, nor the indiscriminate freedom of worship, as so many rights nature had given to man.”⁹⁴

When, in the early years of the war, the Canadian government announced that there would be the celebration of a Roman Catholic mass on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, September 14, 1941, Shields was almost apoplectic. With his announcement there would be a protest meeting in Jarvis Street Baptist Church on September 16 for Protestants of “All Denominations,” the response was overwhelming. Jarvis Street was packed “almost as soon as the doors were open.” Every available seat was taken and hundreds were turned away. A series of resolutions were passed objecting in the strongest terms to the “Roman Catholic violation of our national unity by utilization by the Roman Catholic Church of the entrance to the Canadian House of Commons, which place is supremely representative of all of Canada, for the erection of an altar” With repeated warnings of the threat to Canadian unity through “the Ottawa Government’s subservience to Roman Catholic demands,” the congregation expressed its boisterous condemnation of the government’s action.⁹⁵ Out of that meeting “The Canadian Protestant League” was proposed, coming into being October 16, 1941.⁹⁶ The official organ of the League would be *The Gospel Witness*, which was now renamed *The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate*. Hereafter, weekly denunciations of Catholic threats were published far and wide.

By 1951 his paranoia on the matter had developed to the extent that he believed that Roman Catholic infiltration was occurring at almost every level of Canadian society.

Little by little the Roman Catholic Church is insinuating itself into the control of every Department, and section of Canadian life. In some places they almost

⁹⁴ T. T. Shields, “Our Liberty Threatened,” *GW* 24:23, 4 October 1945, 3.

⁹⁵ T. T. Shields, “Pontifical Mass on Parliament Hill: A great Protest Meeting of All Denominations,” *GW* 20:20, 18 September 1941, 2-3.

⁹⁶ Tarr, 134.

monopolize the Police Force, and the Fire Brigade. We are reasonably certain they are largely in control of telegraphs, and telephones, and radio. They are established in official positions in the railways. The Roman Catholic Church is mobilizing an army, as Lord Bennett warned us, to take over the Dominion of Canada, sever it from the Empire, and make it a Roman Catholic Republic, in preparation for the day when the battle will be set in array, - whether by ballots or bullets, we are not sure which. The Roman Catholic Church is establishing itself in control of all communications, and of all revenue, and we doubt not, actually, of all defence, so that all will be in readiness when the day for the trial of strength shall come.⁹⁷

Shields began his own investigation into the extent of Catholic infiltration of government offices at all levels: "We ask Gospel Witness readers all over the Dominion, to send us information, authentic, verified by signature, but which signature will not be disclosed, of Protestants who have been displaced from their positions, or of positions vacated by Protestants legitimately, by resignation, or death, which have been filled by Roman Catholics."⁹⁸

Shields' belief that he was fighting an important battle for Canadian liberty was affirmed to him by a visit from a former Prime Minister: Viscount Bennett. Shields recounted Bennett's words to him:

You are doing now, though a thankless task, the most important piece of work being done by any man in the Dominion of Canada, and upon the success of the movement you have inaugurated, whether carried on by yourself, or your successor, will depend the continuance of Canada as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations; for to my certain knowledge there are subversive forces at work in this country which are aiming to alienate Canada from the British Crown and to sever all connections with the Empire, and to make it a separate, independent republic which shall be absolutely dominated by the Roman Catholic Church.⁹⁹

Regardless of the question of the legitimacy of Bennett's fears, Shields' efforts on behalf of the new Protestant league were tireless. Though he was 70 years old at the time, he held meetings across Canada. In one western tour in 1942, he spoke to over 30,000 people in 46 meetings.¹⁰⁰ The League membership grew rapidly and he soon had a coast-

⁹⁷ T. T. Shields, "Scandalous Manipulation of Canada's National Revenue Department," *GW&PA* 30:23, 27 September 1951, 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Tarr, 134.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 136.

to-coast following. With this kind of backing, Shields soon proved to be more than a minor irritant to Prime Minister King. King expressed his contempt from the floor of parliament and viewed Shields himself as one of the worst threats to Canadian unity.

Shields' Fundamentalist Legacy

Spiritual Legacy

In his own church and through countless evangelistic campaigns across the continent, Shields reaped a rich spiritual harvest. Thousands of converts embraced the spiritual gospel that Shields presented and many of those embraced whole-heartedly the military service model that Shields championed. Their commitment to entire separation from the world and consecration to the spiritual values of prayer, Bible study and evangelism resulted in years of revival blessings in the various communities he impacted. This was Shields' greatest legacy. The establishment of evangelical churches in Quebec and denominations of churches in both the United States and Canada are a remarkable testimonial to the power of his message.

Indeed, Shields' greatest contribution to spirituality came in this insistence upon entire separation. So long as Shields insisted upon that in his own life and ministry, he saw years of unparalleled spiritual success. From the spiritual perspective Shields was right to bring the question of social pastimes under scrutiny and to insist upon separation from worldly amusements. Separation from the world to the ministry of prayer and evangelism was a distinguishing characteristic of the revivals of the 1920s. Shields was amazingly successful in instilling such ideals into his congregation. However, the other-worldly focus that he achieved there was undermined in his own life by his militant response to the world in which he lived. The social distractions Shields condemned in the social elite of his congregation paled into insignificance beside the social and political morass in which Shields ultimately found himself entangled. His intentions were honourable, but in the end Shields' spirituality suffered from the violation of the very principle that had generated such spiritual power and vitality. Entire separation, by its very definition demands application in every sphere of life.

Legalism and Rigid Separation

Despite the rich spiritual harvest Shields enjoyed for years, many of the bi-products of his fundamentalist/evangelical construct were not so positive. One of the

unfortunate consequences was the development of legalism and rigid separatism in ecclesiastical life.¹⁰¹ Inherent within Shields' appeal to entire separation was the expectation of strict compliance to an arbitrary list of activities that by his own admission were not inherently evil. In Shields' military model there could be no détente with the world. As the chief commanding officer bearing responsibility for his charges, he was too quick to dictate the exact shape of their spiritual response. Spirituality, by its nature has to do with individual submission to God and not loyalty to a man. By prescribing a set of specific parameters for separation from the world, Shields ultimately undermined the spiritual integrity of his following. For those who first responded to Shields' invitation, the ideal of entire separation proved to be a powerful tool in the propagation of the gospel. In the immediate aftermath of his pivotal sermon on amusements, his followers understood the dynamic of separation unto the gospel. For them it simply meant giving themselves over completely to spiritual and evangelistic activity. In time, however, that dynamic faded and both he and they would forget its power. The focus shifted from the object to the means. Separation became less about consecration to Godly pursuits and more about the pseudo self-righteousness of conformity to a list of strictures. By the 1930s new worldly entanglements awaited Shields, and the legalistic mind-set born among his people in this period would harden, leading to the inevitable fruit of division and discord. One of the earliest and most tragic fruits of Shields' new legalistic outlook and rigid separatism was the rupture of his relationship with one of his most significant allies, William Bell Riley. This shameful estrangement, as much as anything, identified the sad concomitant of rigid separatism: second and third degree separatism; brother separating from brother. Christ himself observed: "And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."¹⁰²

Evangelical Impact

While there is merit to Stackhouse's claim that Shields marked out "the fundamentalist limit" of evangelicalism in Canada, and while he was certainly right that by the end of his career Shields had become a marginal figure in evangelical Baptist

¹⁰¹ A sad illustration of Shields' rigid separatism was the rupture of his relationship with his friend and ally Riley.

¹⁰² Mark 3:25.

circles, he is wrong to minimize the impact that Shields exercised over evangelical Baptists in Canada. It would be more accurate to say that Shields created the twentieth century Canadian evangelical Baptist movement. After Shields' departure from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec the "Old Convention" quickly became a byword for liberal defection from traditional Baptist orthodoxy. For the better part of a century, evangelical Baptists have looked at the "Old Convention" with deep suspicion. The evangelical remnant that came out in 1920 was largely gathered together in Shields' new denomination: the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. Though that denominational grouping has been variously divided and reunited over the years, it eventually re-emerged as the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches. That Fellowship was indelibly marked with evidence of Shields' early evangelical perspectives. For the first twenty years of the Union's existence, Shields exercised oversight and served as the president. His seminary trained a large percentage of the pastors. In a relatively recent publication, a three volume set of books entitled *Fellowship Baptist Trailblazers* appeared as a collection of the "Life Stories of Pastors and Missionaries." Of the 160 Fellowship pastors and missionaries listed, over one-third of them were graduates from Toronto Baptist Seminary, or its spinoff, Central Baptist Seminary. For many of those graduates, Shields was a President, lecturer and mentor. Shields' *Gospel Witness* was the denomination instrument throughout those years and was read faithfully by pastors and their congregations. Judging by the substantive content of the correspondence extant in the archives of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Shields' ministry through this venue had an inestimable impact upon evangelicals across the whole continent and around the world. He was indeed the pastor's pastor.

Further study is warranted concerning Shields' legacy among the Baptist evangelicals of Canada. A more in-depth evaluation of how Shields' experiences in the 1920's gave shape to the denomination would be useful. Areas for consideration might include a comparative analysis of "Old Convention" and "Fellowship Baptist" distinctives in such areas as Christian higher education and ecclesiological definition. Certainly among those evangelicals departing from the Convention, deep suspicion was bred concerning Baptist involvement in the teaching of the secular arts. A narrowing of focus to theology and practical training for evangelical ministry seems to have occurred.

In the ecclesiological realm, while it might be something of an over-generalization, Convention Baptists seem to have favored a diaconal structure while Fellowship Baptists reflected a more congregational form of government. Some Convention churches seem to have had a deeper respect for ritualistic observance in their celebration of the ordinances and worship forms, although this varied widely in both denominations. In Shields' tradition, resistance to machine rule in the fundamentalist controversies seems to have produced a heightened respect for local church autonomy and limitation upon the administrative authority vested in denominational structures. In addition, it should be noted that the high standards of Biblicism characterizing all of Shields' ministry have left their mark on his denomination. Shields' revolutionary approach to church building through the incorporation of Sunday Schools into the mainstream of Sunday morning ministries was almost universally applied in the denominational churches of his tradition.

The Secularization Question

Historians such as Richard Allen, A. B. McKillop, Ramsay Cook and David Marshall have theorized that the twentieth century decline in evangelical fortunes and the rise of secularization were directly attributable to evangelicalism's socio-cultural accommodation to the world's values.¹⁰³ As Shields watched the demise of evangelical fortunes in the decline of Methodism and the rise of the United Church, to say nothing of the theological deviations of his own denomination, he would have agreed with their assessment. Throughout the years of his ministry, Shields witnessed first-hand the secularizing forces of modernity. Shields strongly believed that a church that had surrendered its spiritual gospel for a sociological message had lost its regenerative power and would soon lose its influence. Shields clearly longed for a return to the Victorian model of evangelical hegemony enjoyed by his hero, Charles Haddon Spurgeon. Though others have challenged the accommodation thesis of these historians,¹⁰⁴ Shields own

¹⁰³ See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith; Canadian Protestant Clergy crisis of belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c1992).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind; Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century; College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great*

record should provide grounds for revision. The militant fundamentalism of Shields and his followers made its own contribution to the decline of evangelical fortunes. Though Shields energetically crusaded against the forces of secularization, the intemperance of his crusade did more harm than good. While he was a media favourite and made “good copy,” his apparent fanaticism and social paranoia alienated his audience and offended his opponents. In the end, his efforts in the socio-political sphere were largely counter-productive, and his militancy left him marginalized.

The War of the Worlds

More than any other thing, Dr. T. T. Shields was a man who was characterized by the warrior motif. His motto in life seemed to be the oft repeated text of Scripture: “Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you that *ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints*.”¹⁰⁵ He felt nothing but contempt for the coward who would not stand upon his principles or fight for his conviction. To the end of his life he fought as the words of one of his poems illustrates:

...I have seen a Warrior take the field alone,
 Unsheathe His sword against infernal foes,
 And with undaunted soul, cut through the serried ranks
 And, though forsaken of the men He came to save,
 Pour out His blood to win for them the victor's crown.
 That Warrior is the Captain of my soul,
 And I, though I should stand alone, like Him, -
 I must fight on.¹⁰⁶

Early in his career Shields expressed the principles contained in the scriptural passage “For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.”¹⁰⁷ There seemed to be a clear understanding that his battle

Depression (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Phyllis Diane Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); John Webster Grant, *A profusion of Spires; Religion in Nineteenth-century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁵ Jude 1:3.

¹⁰⁶ T. T. Shields, quoted in Leslie K. Tarr, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967) 164.

¹⁰⁷ 2 Corinthians 10:4.

was of a spiritual nature and that his weapons were of a spiritual character. However, during the formative years of the First World War a shift began to appear and by the end of his career Shields had morphed into a warrior fighting modern “carnal” battles with increasingly modern and “carnal” weaponry.

The consequences of this shift are both ironic and tragic. Shields fought to maintain a voice for evangelicalism within society at large. However, instead of resisting the rising tide of secularization, Shields in many ways contributed to it. With his almost rabid denunciations of every manifestation of social evil Shields was viewed by many as the “hatingest man in all of Ontario.”¹⁰⁸ Evangelicalism’s 19th century hegemony was finally erased, and some of the blame for its marginalization can likely be laid at Shields’ door. Shields also fought to preserve a particular kind of evangelicalism, an evangelicalism that stood solidly on the fundamentals, the orthodox principles expounded by the likes of Spurgeon and the Puritans before him. However, once again his vitriol and demagoguery served only to marginalise his fundamentalist orthodoxy within the broader streams of Canadian evangelicalism.

In the Canadian Baptist evangelical scene, despite the spiritual triumphs of former decades and rich spiritual harvests, in the end, as his poem suggested, Shields stood nearly alone. Where once he had commanded respect in a growing and influential denomination, where he had exercised profound influence upon the educational institutions connected to that denomination and thus its future direction, at his death his influence was diminished to a few small churches. As Russell rightly noted, “Among Baptists, Shields’ opposition and methods contributed much to a religious conservatism and timidity, what W. Gordon Carder has called a “don’t rock the boat mentality.”¹⁰⁹ Canadian Baptists seemed to have exhausted their patience with Shields’ militancy and his ultra-fundamentalism. As Parent has suggested, there was an irony in Shields’ fundamentalism. While clearly not the doctrinal deviation that Parent envisioned, nevertheless, there was a deviation from the spiritual mission that should have occupied Shields’ energies. The irony of Dr. T. T. Shields lies in his legacy to the denomination he

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth Johnstone, “Toronto’s Dr. Shields” *The Standard*, 1946, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Russell, 277; cf. ¹⁰⁹ W. Gordon Carder, “Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928” in *Foundations* 16 (1973) 375.

served. His was a legacy, not of the spoils of fundamentalist militancy, but of disengagement. In the war of the “Two Worlds,” Canadian Baptists have largely given up the fight. Theirs is a disengagement from the social activism that consumed too much of Shields’ energies, and his rigid separatism that divided brother from brother. Concerning the war of the worlds as Shields perceived it, Shields was clearly the loser. Despite his most frantic efforts, evangelical hegemony was in tatters and fundamentalism was in large part discredited. Perhaps in his manner of contending for the “faith once delivered to the saints” Shields might have reflected on Christ’s words: “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight”¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ John 18:36

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

PRIVATE MANUSCRIPTS

Archives of Ontario

Mitchell F. Hepburn Papers

Canadian Baptist Archives

McMaster Monthly Files

Jarvis Street Baptist Church Archives

Jarvis Street Baptist Church Minute Book, 1892 – 1910.

Jarvis Street Baptist Church Minute Book, 1918 – 1939.

Jarvis Street Baptist Church Deacon's Minute Book, 1920 – 1921.

Shields, T. T. "Correspondence."

---. "Letter Diaries."

---. "Miscellaneous Lectures."

---. "Papers."

---. "Publications."

---. "Sermon Manuscripts."

University of Western Ontario

Fire Insurance Plan London, ON, 1892 [rev. 1907]

Toronto Telegram Clippings Files (microfiche)

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

“Ages Digital Library: The Spurgeon Collection.” Rio, WI: Ages Software, 1998-2001.

Library and Archives of Canada, *The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*.

http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nb=20&PHPSESSID=jh7dn6d8mgh73c260agf9td1

T. T. Shields’ “Thirty-fifth Anniversary address,” May 1945, audio tape, Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto.

GOVERNMENT RECORDS

Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates in the House of Commons; Fourth Session – Nineteenth Parliament. Vol. 1, 1943.

The Canada Year Book. Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1912.

INTERVIEWS

Bob Shaker (with author and Paul Wilson)

Geoff and Betty Adams (with author)

Jim Thomlinson (with author)

Victor Fry (with author and Paul Wilson)

NEWSPAPERS AND RELIGIOUS PAPERS

The Canadian Baptist (Toronto)

The Christian Guardian (Toronto)

The Globe (Toronto)

The Globe and Mail (Toronto)

The Gospel Witness (Toronto)

Hush Free Press (Toronto)

Knox Weekly Letter (Toronto)

Maclean’s Magazine (Toronto)

McMaster Monthly (Toronto, Hamilton)

Mail (Toronto)

Simcoe Recorder (Simcoe)

The Standard (Montreal)

The Times (London, UK)

The Toronto Daily Star (Toronto)

The Toronto Telegram (Toronto)

The Watchman-Examiner (New York)

PRINTED SOURCES

Baptist Year Book for Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and the North-West Territories.
Toronto: Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1890 – 1927.

Blakeney, R. P. *Manual of Romish Controversy: Being a Complete Refutation of the Creed of Pope Pius IV.* Toronto: The Gospel Witness, n.d., [written 1851].

---. *Popery in its Social Aspect: Being a Complete Exposure of the Immorality and Intolerance of Romanism.* Toronto: The Gospel Witness, n.d., [written 1854].

Bunyan, John *The Holy War.* London: The Church of England Book Society, n.d., [versified, 1857].

Driver, Samuel Rolles. *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.* New York: Scribner, 1898.

McIntire, Carl. *Twentieth Century Reformation.* New York: Garland Publ., 1988.

---. *Modern Tower of Babel.* Collingswood, New Jersey: Christian Beacon Press, 1949.

Norris, J. Frank. *Inside of the Cup or My 21 years in Fort Worth.* Fort Worth, Texas: n.p. c. 1929.

---. *Inside History of First Baptist Church Fort Worth and Temple Baptist Church Detroit: Life Story of Dr. J. Frank Norris.* Fort Worth: *The Fundamentalist*, c. 1938.

Riley, William Bell. *Breaking the Bible School Defense Line.* Minneapolis: *The Christian Fundamentalist*, n.d.

---. "The Baptist Bible Union of America." In *Religious Herald*, 96, 26 April 1923, 5-7.

Shields, Thomas Todhunter. *The Doctrines of Grace.* Toronto: n.p., n.d.

---. *The Baptist Message.* Toronto: Baptist Forward Movement, Baptist Church House, 1919.

---. *Canadians Losing at Home the Freedom For Which They are Fighting Abroad.* Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1943.

---. *The Devil's Peace Offensive.* Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1924.

---. *Does Killed in Action Mean "Gone to Heaven?"* Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1944.

- . *The Hepburn Government's Betrayal of Its Public Trust by Diverting Public School Revenue to The Support of Roman Catholic Separate Schools*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1936.
- . *How to Receive Eternal Life*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1951.
- . *The Inside of the Cup, An Address by T. T. Shields delivered October 14, 1921*. Toronto: Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1921.
- . *Other Little Ships*. Toronto: The Hunter-Rose Company, Limited, 1935.
- . *The Necessity of Declaring War on Modernism*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1925.
- . *The Papacy in The Light of Scripture*. Toronto: The Canadian Protestant League, n.d.
- . *The Plot that Failed*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1937.
- . *Premier King's Plebiscite Speech in Commons Analyzed*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1942.
- . *The Prodigal and His Brother, or The Adventures of a Modern Young Man*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, n.d.
- . *Revelations of the War: Eight Sermons*. Fifth edition. Toronto: The Standard Publishing Co., c. 1915.
- . *The Roman Catholic Horseleach*. Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1936.
- . *Russellism or Rutherfordism*. 4th ed., Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1946.
- . *Will Manitoba Taxpayers Consent to Pay for Roman Catholic Separate Schools?* Toronto: *The Gospel Witness*, 1952.
- . *Three Addresses*. Toronto: *The Canadian Protestant League*, 1943.
- Spurgeon, C. H. *John Ploughman's Pictures*. London: Passmore & Alabaster, Paternoster Buildings, 1906.
- Strong, Augustus Hopkins. "Our Denominational Outlook," *Miscellanies*. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1912.
- . *Systematic Theology*. Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1947.
- Torrey, R. A. "Preface," In *The Fundamentals*, edited by R. A. Torey. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, reprint 1980 from 1917 edition.

Trumbell, Charles G. *Victory in Christ: Messages on the Victorious Life*. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1923.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

Adams, Dr. G.A. ed., *By His Grace to His Glory, 60 years of Ministry; Toronto Baptist Seminary and Bible College, 1927- 1987*. Toronto: Bryant Press, 1987.

Airhart, Phyllis Diane. *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

Allen, Richard. *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Battis, Emery. *Saints and Sectaries*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962.

Beal, David O. *In Pursuit of Purity: American Fundamentalism Since 1850*. Greenville, South Carolina: Unusual Publications, 1986.

Bebbington, David. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980's*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.

Berman, Marshall. *All that is Solid Melts into Air*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Betcherman, Lita-Rose. *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King's Quebec Lieutenant*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Blanchard, Paul. *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1958.

Bochkareva, Maria. *Yashka: My Life as Peasant, Exile, and Soldier*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1919.

Boswell, James. *Life of Samuel Johnson*. New York: The Modern Library, 1931.

Burkinshaw, Robert K. *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

- Childs, Peter. *Modernism*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Clark, S. D. *Church and Sect in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.
- Cole, Stewart G. *The History of Fundamentalism*, New York: Harper & Row, 1931; reprint, Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963.
- Conkin, Paul, K. *When all the Gods Trembled; Darwinism, Scopes, and American Intellectuals*, Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.
- Cook, Ramsey and Réal Bélanger directors, *Canada's Prime Ministers – Macdonald to Trudeau*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Cook, Tim. *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916*. Vol. 1. Toronto: The Penguin Group, 2007.
- Dallimore, Arnold. *Thomas Todhunter Shields; Baptist Fundamentalist*. Leamington: unpublished manuscript, c. 2001.
- Davies, Horton. *Worship and Theology in England: From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1962.
- Doherty, Robert. *The Hicksite Separation, a Sociological Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967.
- Dollar, George Dollar. *A History of Fundamentalism in America*. Greenville, South Carolina: Bob Jones University Press, 1973.
- Douglas, J. D. ed. *Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974.
- Farrell, John. *Paranoia and Modernity*. London: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Finney, Gail. *Women in modern drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theatre at the Turn of the Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Fountain, Andrew and Glenn Tomlinson. "From Strength to Strength," *A Pictorial History of Jarvis Street Baptist Church 1818-1993*. Toronto: Gospel Witness Publications, 1993.
- Fuhrmann, Paul T. *God-Centered Religion*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1942.
- Furniss, Norman. *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

- Goertz, Donald. *A Century for the City: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1889-1989*. Toronto: Walmer Road Baptist Church, 1989.
- Gilliland, Captain H. G. *My German Prisons: Being the Experiences of an Officer During Two and a Half Years as a Prisoner of War*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918.
- Goldenberg, Susan. *Snatched!: The Peculiar Kidnapping of Beer Tycoon John Labatt*. Toronto: Dundurn Group, 2004.
- Granatstein, J. L., and J. M. Hitsman. *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Granatstein, J. L. *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Grant, John Webster. *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Greenlee, James G. *Sir Robert Falconer: A Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.
- Haykin, Michael A. G. *Acorns To Oaks: The Primacy and Practice of Biblical Theology*. Dundas, ON: Joshua Press, 2003.
- Heath, Gordon L. and Michael A. G. Haykin, eds. *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s – 1990s*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2015.
- Heath, Gordon L. and Paul R. Wilson, eds. *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012.
- Heath, Gordon L. ed. *Canadian Churches and the First World War*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014.
- Hostettler, John. *Sir Edward Carson: A Dream Too Far*. Chichester: Barry Rose Law Publishers, 1997.
- Hyde, H. Montgomery. *Carson: The Life of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Carson of Duncairn*. London: William Heinemann, 1953.
- Jorstad, Erling. *The Politics of Doomsday*. Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Kruppa, Patricia Stallings. *Charles Haddon Spurgeon; A Preacher's Progress*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982.

- Lumpkin, William L. *Baptist Confessions of Faith*. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1983.
- Marsden, George. *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Marshall, David. *Secularizing the Faith; Canadian Protestant Clergy crisis of belief, 1850-1940*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c1992.
- May, Henry F. *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963.
- McGreevy, John T. *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2004.
- McKenty, Neil. *Mitch Hepburn*. Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 1967.
- McKillop, A. B. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- McNeill, John T. *The History and Character of Calvinism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- McBeth, H. Leon. *The Baptist Heritage*. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987.
- McKillop, A. B. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979.
- Meisel, Joseph. *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Murray, Iain. *Revival and Revivalism: the Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism, 1750-1858*. Edinburgh; Carlisle, Penn.: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1954.
- Noll, Mark. *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994.
- Ogborn, Miles. *Spaces of Modernity: London's geographies, 1680-1780*. New York: Guilford Press, 1998.
- Orr, J. Edwin. *The Second Evangelical Awakening*. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1964.

- Osterhaven, M. Eugene. *The Spirit of the Reformed Tradition*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971.
- Pickersgill, J. W. and D. F. Forster. *The Mackenzie King Record*, Vol. 2, 1944-1945. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Poole-Connor, E. J. *Evangelicalism in England*. London: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1966.
- Prestwich, Menna. *International Calvinism 1541-1715*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Priestly, David T. ed. *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1907
- Rawlyk, George A. ed. *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- . ed. *The Canadian Protestant Experience*. Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Co., 1990.
- . *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism, and the Maritime Baptists*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- . *Wrapped up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists*. Burlington: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988.
- Ray, Charles. *The Life of Charles Haddon Spurgeon*. London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1903.
- Renfree, Harry A. *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* Mississauga: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988.
- Rudnick, Milton R. *Fundamentalism and the Missouri Synod*. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966.
- Russell, C. Allyn. *Voices of American Fundamentalism*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1976.
- Sandeen, Ernest R. *The Origins of Fundamentalism, Toward a Historical Interpretation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968.
- . *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.

- Saywell, John T. *'Just Call Me Mitch.'* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Schluchter, Wolfgang. *Paradoxes of Modernity: Culture and Conduct in the Theory of Max Weber.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Scribner, Robert W. *For the sake of simple folk: popular propaganda for the German Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Shaker, R. *Auto-biographical Glimpses of T. T. Shields.* Toronto: Reformation Book Services, c. 1996.
- Shaw, Amy J. *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada during the First World War.* Toronto: UBC Press, 2009.
- Stackhouse Jr., John G. *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Socknat, Thomas P. *Witness Against War: Pacifism, in Canada, 1900-1945.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Stoff, Laurie. *They Fought for the Motherland: Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I and the Revolution.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.
- Tarr, Leslie K. *Shields of Canada.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1967.
- Tomlinson, Glenn. *From Scotland to Canada, The Life of Pioneer Missionary Alexander Stewart.* Toronto: Joshua Press, 2008.
- Toulmin, Stephen. *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity.* New York: Free Press, 1990.
- Thompson, Austen Seaton. *Jarvis Street, A Story of Triumph and Tragedy.* Toronto: Personal Library Publishers, 1980.
- Trollinger, William V. *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Van Die, Marguerite. *An Evangelical Mind; Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada. 1839-1918.* Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.
- Vance, Jonathan F. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.
- Vaughn, Fred. *Fellowship Baptist Trailblazers: Life Stories of Pastors and Missionaries.* 3 Volumes. Belleville, Ontario: Guardian Books, 2001.

- Waites, Aline and Robin Hunter, *The Illustrated Victorian Songbook*. London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1984, 180-184.
- Wallace, W. Stewart. *The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster*. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., at St. Martin's House, 1933.
- Walzer, Michael. *The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Calvinism*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1930.
- Westfall, William. *Two Worlds; The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.
- Wilson, Allan. *John Northway: a Blue Serge Canadian*. Toronto: Burns and MacEachern Limited, 1965.
- Wolfe, Janet. *Feminine Sentences: Essays on Women and Culture*. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 1990.
- Zeeman, Jarold K. *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*. Burlington, Ontario: Gr. R. Welch Company, Limited, 1980.

ENCYCLOPEDIAS

- Cross E. L. and E. A. Livingstone. eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. London: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Douglas J. D., ed. *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978.
- Harrison Everett F. et al. ed. *Baker's Dictionary of Theology*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 197.

ARTICLES IN DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

- Burns, Harold B. "Fundamentalism," In *Bakers Dictionary of Theology*, edited by Everett F. Harrison et al. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1978, 234.
- Norman, J. G. G. "Jowett, John Henry," In *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* edited by J. D. Douglas. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978, 551-552.

Sellars, Ian. "Keswick Convention." In *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by J. D. Douglas. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978. 564.

Thorne Jr., C. G. "Trumbull, Charles Gallaudet (1872-1941)," In *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by J. D. Douglas. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1974.

ARTICLES IN EDITED BOOKS

Airhart, Phyllis D. "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914." in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, edited by George Rawlyk. Burlington: Welch, 1990, 98-138.

Elliot, David. "Three Faces of Baptist Fundamentalism in Canada: Aberhart, Maxwell and Shields." In *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, edited by David T. Priestly. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1996, 171-182.

Heath, Gordon L. "The South African War as Prelude to the First World War," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, edited by Gordon L. Heath. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014, 15-33.

Kilbourn, W. N. "The Fifties." In *The Canadians 1867-1967*, edited by J.M.S. Careless. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967, 309-343.

Klempa, William J. "War and Peace in Puritan Thought," in *Peace, War and God's Justice*, edited by Thomas D. Parker and Brian J. Fraser. Toronto: United Church Publishing, 1989, 81-103.

Pinnock, Clark H. "The Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887-1927." In *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, edited by Jarold K. Zeman. Burlington: G. R. Welch Co. Limited, 1980, 193-207.

Price, Richard N. "Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Class Patriotism, 1870-1900" In *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* edited by Geoffrey Crossick. London: Croom Helm, 1977, 89-112.

Saxon, David L. "The Downgrade in North America: The Fundamentalist –Modernist Controversy 1873-1930." In *T.T. Shields: Reflections on the Legacy of a Baptist Fundamentalist* edited by Michael A.G. Haykin and Paul R. Wilson. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2016 projected publication date.

Stackhouse Jr., J. G. "Thomas Todhunter Shields." In *Twentieth-Century Shapers of American Popular Religion*, edited by Charles H. Lippy. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989, 393-401.

Traxel, David "Henry Ford and the Peace Ship." Chapter 11 in *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War*. New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 2007, 193-210.

Wilson, Paul. "Caring for Their Community: The Philanthropic and Moral Reform Efforts of Toronto's Baptists, 1834-1918." In *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, edited by Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012, 219-160.

---. "Torn Asunder: T. T. Shields, W. Gordon Brown and the Schisms at Toronto Baptist Seminary and within the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec." In *T. T. Shields: Reflections on the Legacy of a Baptist Fundamentalist*, edited by Michael A. G. Haykin and Paul R. Wilson. Eugen, Oregon: Wipf & Sock, 2015. (Projected publication date).

JOURNAL ARTICLES AND ACADEMIC PAPERS:

Adams, Doug. *Charles Haddon Spurgeon: Romancing The Gospel; A Nineteenth Century 'Puritan' Response to Evangelical Decline*. (Unpublished paper Ph. D. paper, 2004).

Alario, Margarita, and William Freudenburg, "The Paradoxes of Modernity: Scientific Advances, Environmental Problems, and Risks to the Social Fabric?" *Sociological Forum* 18, no. 2, (June 2003), 193-214

Bliss, J. M. "The Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (1968), 213-233.

Ellis, Walter E. "Gilboa to Ichabod: Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Canadian Baptists, 1895-1934." *Foundations* Vol. 20 (1977): 109 - 126.

Campbell, Lyndsay. "A Slub in the Cloth: the St. Clair Affair and the Discourse of Moral reform in Toronto, 1912-1913." Paper presented at the 1996 Annual Meeting of the Canadian Law and Society Association, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario (June 1996).

Carder, W. Gordon. "Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928." *Foundations* Vol. 16 (1973), 355-376.

Clements, Keith W. "Baptists and the Outbreak of the First World War," in *The Baptist Quarterly* no. 26, (1975-1976), 74-92.

Haller, William. Untitled review. *The American Historical Review* Vol. 71, no. 3 (April 1966) 953.

Leighton, Doug. "The Compact Tory as Bureaucrat: Samuel Peters Jarvis and the Indian Department, 1837-1845." *Ontario History*. Vol. 73, no. 1 (March 1981), 40-53.

McKenty, Neil. "Mitchell F. Hepburn and the Ontario Election of 1934." *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 45, no. 4 (1964) 293-313.

Nicole, Robert. "John Calvin and Inerrancy." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Vol. 25, no. 4 (December 1982), 425-442.

Oaks, Timothy. "Place and the Paradox of Modernity," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 87, no. 3 (September 1997), 509-531.

Parent, Mark. "T. T. Shields and the First World War." *McMaster Journal of Theology*, Vol. 2, no. 2, Fall 1991, 42-57.

Roberts, Mary Louise. "Gender, Consumption, and Commodity Culture" *The American Historical Review*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 10:3, 1998.

Russell, C. Allyn. "Thomas Todhunter Shields, Canadian Fundamentalist." *Ontario History* Vol. LXX, Number 4, Dec. 1978, 261-280.

Sandeen, Ernest R. "The Princeton Theology: One Source of Biblical Literalism in American Protestantism." *Church History* 31 (September 1962), 307-321.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES

Anglin, Gerald. "The Battling Baptist," *Maclean's Magazine*, 15 June 1949, 15, 50-52.

Johnstone, Kenneth. "Toronto's Dr. Shields" *The Standard*, Montreal: c. 1946, 3, 10-11.

West, Bruce. "Shields vs Satan," *Globe and Mail*, 10 February 1975, sec. 3, 25.

UNPUBLISHED THESES

Carder, W. G. "Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1929." B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1950.

Delnay, Robert George. "A History of the Baptist Bible Union." Ph. D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, May 1963.

Dozois, John D. E. "Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism." B. D. Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1963.

Ellis, Walter E. W. "Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalism-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934." Ph. D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1974.

- Heik, Welf H. "The Lutherans of Waterloos County, Ontario, 1810-1959: A Historical Study." MA thesis, Queen's University, Kingston, 1959.
- Opp, James William. "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada." M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994.
- Parent, Mark. "The Christology of T. T. Shields: The Irony of Fundamentalism." Ph. D. diss., McGill University, 1991.
- Stackhouse Jr., J. G. "Proclaiming the Word, Canadian Evangelicalism since World War One." Ph. D. diss., for University of Chicago, 1987.
- Swatsky, Ronald George. "Looking for that Blessed Hope: The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1978-1914." Ph. D. diss., University of Toronto, 1985.
- Wicks, Donald A. "T. T. Shields and the Canadian Protestant League, 1941-1950." M.A. Thesis, University of Guelph, 1971.
- Wilson, Paul. "Baptists and Business: Central Canadian Baptists and The Secularization of the Businessmen at Toronto's Jarvis Street Baptist Church, 1848-1921." Ph. D. diss., University of Western Ontario, 1996.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

- Ayer, Albert Azro. *Historical Sketch of The Grande Ligne Mission* (Grande Ligne, Quebec: 1898) <http://www.archive.org/details/cihm_05846> (11 January, 2010).
- Bible Support*. "Neighbour, Robert E - Wells of Living Water (14 volumes)," <<http://www.biblesupport.com/e-sword-downloads/file/7468-neighbour-robert-e-wells-of-living-water-14-volumes>> (26 June 2014).
- The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.dfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=U1ARTU0003440>>
- "Carmania" <<http://www.chriscunard.com/camania.php>> (8 June 2010).
- Carrol E. Perry "The Influence of Daniel Brink Towner (1850-1919) on the Development of Southern Baptist Music during the Early to Middle Twentieth Century. (A Paper Presented to The Colloquium on Baptist Church Music, Baylor University, 24 September 2009.) <<http://www.baylor.edu/content/services/document.php/100426.pdf>> (8 April, 2015)

- Crickenberger, Heather Marcelle. "The Flaneur," *The Arcades Project Project* <<http://www.thelemming.com/lemming/dissertation-web/home/flaneur.html>> (13 April 2015).
- "Firstworldwar.com." <<http://www.firstworldwar.com/atoz/oldcontemptibles.htm>> (July 2, 2010).
- Hunt, Jonathan. "Did AC Dixon Jump or Was He Pushed?" in *Met Tab CH Spurgeon* <<http://charleshaddonspurgeon.wordpress.com/2006/07/12/a-short-history-of-the-met-tab/>> (9 April 2010).
- "Jingoism." *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2011. Web.. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/303992/jingoism>> (31 Oct. 2011)
- Kingdom Baptist. "R. E. Neighbour: Premillennialism: A Fundamental of the Fundamental Movement." <<http://www.kingdombaptist.org/tag/r-e-neighbour/>> (June 26, 2014)
- Library and Archives Canada, *The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King*, 5 January 1945, <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/king/001059-119.02-e.php?&page_id_nb=20&PHPSESSID=jh7dn6d8mgh73fmc26oagf9td1.>
- "MI5." *Britannica Online*, <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9052422>> (29 July 2009).
- Richardson, Kurt A. "Augustus Hopkins Strong," *The Reformed Reader*, <<http://www.reformedreader.org/strong.htm>> (8 August 2014)
- Sandeem, Ernest R. "Christian Fundamentalism." In *Encyclopaedia Online*, <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/222234/Christian-fundamentalism>> (18 August 2014)
- Sense and Sensation* [video recording]: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century. Written and presented by John Brewer; producer, John Wyver; director, Ian Leese.
- "Southern Baptist Convention Annuals; Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1925," 71 <<http://digitalcollections.baylor.edu/cdm/ref/collection/ml-sbcann/id/20431>> (10 October 2014).

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name:	Douglas Allan Adams
Post-secondary Education and Degrees:	<p>Toronto Baptist Seminary Toronto, Ontario Canada 1973-1977 M.Div.</p> <p>The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 1977-1980 B.A.</p> <p>University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 1987-1990 M.A.</p> <p>University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2003-2015 Ph.D.</p>
Honours and Awards	<p>The Province of Ontario Graduate Scholarship 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006</p> <p>United Empire Scholarship for Local History 2004-2005</p>
Related Work Experience	<p>Pastor East Williams Baptist Church 1982-2002</p> <p>Professor of Church History/ Director of Admissions The Toronto Baptist Seminary & Bible College 1984-2003</p> <p>Teaching Assistant (History) The University of Western Ontario 2003-2006</p> <p>Teaching Assistant (Management and Organizational Studies) 2006-2010</p> <p>Part-time Professor (History) University of Western Ontario – Huron College 2010-2011</p>

Publications

“Dr. James Pyper, Pastor 1848-1855” *The Gospel Witness*, Vol. 72, No. 9, Sept. 16, 1993.

“Fighting Fire With Fire: T.T. Shields and His Confrontations with Premier Mitchell Hepburn and Prime Minister Mackenzie King, 1934-1948,” in Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson, editors. *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012, 53-104.

“Thomas Todhunter Shields: The Spirituality of Separation.” In G. Steven Weaver Jr. and Ian Hugh Clary, *The Pure Flame of Devotion: The History of Christian Spirituality*. Kitchener, Ontario: Joshua Press, 2013, 469-495.

“The Call To Arms: Reverend Thomas Todhunter Shields, World War One, and the Shaping of a Militant Fundamentalist.” In Gordon Heath and Michael A. G. Haykin eds., *Baptists and War: Essays on Baptists and Military Conflict, 1640s – 1990s*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2015.

“To the Glory of the Sovereign God: An Assessment of Dr. T. T. Shields’ Calvinism.” In Michael A.G. Haykin and Paul R. Wilson, editors. *T.T. Shields: Reflections on the Legacy of a Baptist Fundamentalist*. Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2016 (projected publication date).