

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

**THE GROWTH OF THE PROTESTANT CHAPLAINS' SERVICE
IN THE CANADIAN MILITARY**

1945 - 1968

THE PURSUIT OF ASSUMED STATUS

by

ALBERT G. FOWLER, B.A., M.DIV.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

10 July, 1990

copyright

1990, Albert G. Fowler



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-60528-6

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
THE GROWTH OF THE PROTESTANT CHAPLAINS' SERVICE IN THE CANADIAN
MILITARY 1945-1968

THE PURSUIT OF ASSUMED STATUS

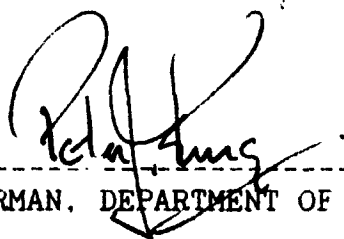
submitted by

Albert George Fowler. B.A., M. Div.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Masters of Arts



THESIS SUPERVISOR



CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Carleton University
July 1990

ABSTRACT

The whole development of the professional Protestant Chaplains' service in the Canadian military, after World War II, has been marked by the clergy's pursuit of status. During the war the chaplains had enjoyed their relatively independent status in Canada's three military services. The respect in which they felt that they were held and the manner in which they were treated reminded them of days gone by when the clergy of the established Churches had been a part of the nation's governing elite. In postwar years they discovered, to their dismay, that they were just one more part of the military bureaucracy. The chaplains' insistence on the appointment of an Honorary Chaplain to the Queen typified their pursuit of status.

PREFACE

Of the one thousand and eighty-four non-Roman Catholic chaplains who served in the Canadian military since 1939, only 440 are known to be living in 1990. Realizing that no one lives forever, not even an old soldier's chaplain, and aware that only small parts of the institutional history of the branch have been written, present day chaplains decided that an attempt should be made to capture the missing narrative. This thesis represents the first serious work on the history of Canadian military chaplains, attempted by an actual chaplain, in a number of years. It is hoped that oral history interviews will be added to this basic foundation. Ultimately, the need exists for the production of a definitive history of military chaplains in Canada.

This particular phase of the work covers critical years in the growth of the professional chaplains branch in the Canadian Forces: 1945 - 1968. Prior to this time, clergymen had responded to the needs of the military, mainly in times of war, and then had returned to their normal work in the civilian parish. Towards the end of World War II the decision had been made to establish a permanent chaplains' organization in the military. Over the next few years clergy representing the major Protestant denominations worked together and with their ecclesiastical and military masters to create a unique ecumenical organization. By 1968 the

chaplains' branch had evolved from being a wartime exigency into being a regular part of the permanent military forces of Canada. The chaplains seemed to be content with their service but wondered if they should not be accorded a higher status than was allotted to them by the government.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Acceptance Sheet	ii
Abstract	iii
Preface	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Introduction	1
Status Lost	2
Historical Background	6
The Canadian Context	21
The Post World War II Period	26
Chaplains and the Military	36
Chaplains and the Churches	55
The Roman Catholic Church	55
The Church of England	62
Chapel Construction	72
Naval Chapels	81
Political and Economic Limitations	88
Officers or Clergymen	90
Church Parades	96
Korean Frustrations	100
Chapel Construction	108
The Chaplains' Conference and Retreat	118
Bureaucratic Growth	129
Plans for Integration	132
The Church Responds	139
New Policies and Rules	146
Partial Integration	154
Continued Pursuit of Lost Status	166
Remembrance Day Parade Solution	171
Conclusion	177
Bibliography	182

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The evolution of a professional Protestant Chaplains' service in the Canadian military, 1945-1968, was marked by the chaplains' pursuit of status. Although the Protestant ecclesiastical elite in Canada had lost most of its political and economic power in the middle of the nineteenth century, it would seem that there were members of the clergy who had never come to terms with their new place in the cultural fabric. The chaplains felt threatened by the changes that were taking place in the military and in Canadian society after World War II and sought to maintain what they considered to be their exclusive place in the social system.

In the military, these men found a conservative sub-culture of Canadian society in which they might hold on to what they perceived to be the rightful place of the Church. As the political, economic and bureaucratic realities of the day crowded in, the seemingly privileged position of the chaplains in the military began to fade just as it had done in civilian life. By 1968, when the unification of Canada's three military services took place, the realities were such that the chaplains had been forced into being a more regular part of the military bureaucracy. In reaction to the pressures they perceived, the chaplains sought to maintain and then to

recover the cultural status that they felt was their right and the right of the Church.

Status Lost

In Canada, national affairs have always fallen under the control of a relatively small number of influential people. Until the mid-1800s, when a number of jurisdictions were transferred from religious to secular control, the ecclesiastical leaders of the Church of England were counted in this number.¹ The Church assumed to maintain some degree of control as time went on and the nation came to be controlled by the small group of men who sociologist John Porter refers to as "the economic elite".² These men were closely tied together by social background, joint social activities and a commitment to a "free enterprise" capitalist value system. Most of them were solid supporters of the Church of England.³ As the demands of war and increasing

¹ For a review of the Churches' fall from power in the nineteenth century, see William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario. Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, ed. George Rawlyk. (McGill-Queens University Press, 1989).

² John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1965), p. 183.

³ It should be noted that French Roman Catholic Church leaders were not without influence in government circles because of the control they exercised over the social life of their people. "The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec has always been French Canadian, and as an elite group it has worked with political leaders at the Federal and Provincial

government control of the economy pushed the growth of bureaucratic organizations in and out of the government, opportunities for influence and control became less exclusive. The power of the Churches seemed to fade. Then, as the Canadian bureaucracy grew in the twentieth century, greater control fell to a new bureaucratic elite. The bureaucratic way of managing the nation's business was expanded after World War II, when the main concern of Canada's politicians seemed to be to avoid the hardships, strikes and depression that had followed the previous war. Intense efforts were made to retrain the returning soldiers and to convert the war industry into peacetime production. Many of the Canadian industries were sold to American interests which promised to keep the plants running in some capacity and employ local Canadians for the next few years. But not all of the industrialized countries went along with "peacetime" concepts. William H. McNeill notes that, for the Americans and the Soviets, the methods that had created enormous numbers of weapons for war could still be used for the tasks of reconstruction.⁴ Managed economies became the norm in all of the industrialized countries of the world and this fitted nicely into the transnational economic and military designs

level." Porter, p. 92.

⁴ William H. McNeill, The Pursuit of Power (Chicago, 1982).

of the two new super powers.⁵ Canadians were saved from the possibility of suffering and set on the path of economic prosperity, but at the cost of increasing the size and the influence of the government bureaucracy.

The Canadian bureaucracy in the post war period may be approached through the work of Peter Blau⁶ and Denis Olsen.⁷ Blau's book reflects the analysis by Max Weber as he describes bureaucratic organization in classical detail. Of special interest is Blau's explanation of the way in which bureaucratic rules tend to acquire a significance apart from their functional value. Also, Blau notes how the ideal official conducts his office "in a spirit of formalistic impersonality, 'sine ira ac studio' without hatred or passion, and hence without affection or enthusiasm." He describes bureaucracies' tendency to monopolize information and how it develops an internal promotion system. Olsen examines the traditional descriptions of bureaucracy in the light of the

⁵ "The dysfunctions of prewar depression years vanished thanks to a happy collaboration between skilled large scale corporate management on the one hand and government fiscal policy on the other, enlightened by the new science of macroeconomics and backed by large expenditures for arms and welfare." McNeill, p. 365.

⁶ Peter Blau, Bureaucracy In Modern Society (third ed. New York, 1987).

⁷ Denis Olsen, The State Elite, (Toronto, 1980).

growth of the Canadian corporate and bureaucratic elites.⁸ He describes the way in which departures from the norm have helped Canadian bureaucracy to progress. An understanding of bureaucratic growth in Canada is essential to the understanding of the growth of the professional chaplain service in the Canadian military.

While the Canadian government bureaucracy grew, the Churches were undergoing tremendous changes. In the postwar years the Protestants seemed to experience a boom in religious interest and tolerance.⁹ However, new churches were not yet paid for when the forces of secularization and the development of fragmented thought and a "take it or leave it" consumer attitude amongst Canadians reduced church attendance and general support for religious things.¹⁰ Vatican II and the "Quiet Revolution" in French Canada had an even greater affect on the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant Church leaders discovered the need for bureaucratic efficiency, but seemed to have a difficult time accepting their new status.

The Chaplains found themselves in the middle of the continuum of Church and State confusion. As they evolved as

⁸ It is interesting that Olsen makes very little reference to the ecclesiastical elite in the context of the state.

⁹ "Between 1945 and 1966 the United Church alone built fifteen hundred churches and church halls, as well as six hundred manses." John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto, 1972), p. 160ff.

¹⁰ See Reginald W. Bibby, Fragmented Gods (Toronto, 1987).

a profession in the postwar years, they had to come to terms with the same financial and political pressures as the military, while undergoing the same roller coaster ride from popular acceptance to disinterest as the civilian Churches. Perhaps the greatest challenge to the chaplains came as they were moulded into the bureaucratic organization of the military and, in the process, were forced to face the realities of where they and the Church stood in the eyes of Canadian government bureaucracy.

Historical Background

The traditions of clergy and the Church working with and through the government goes back to the days of Canada's earliest French explorers¹¹, but the first Protestant military chaplains were British. A brief overview of Protestant

¹¹ In his book: The Winning of The Frontier, E.H. Oliver quotes Jacques Cartier who on reaching Gaspé erected a 30 foot cross and surrounded by native peoples: "...we all knelt down, with our hands joined, worshipping it before them; and made signs to them, looking up and pointing towards heaven, that by means of this we had our redemption." Cartier believed that "the Indians were people who would be easy to convert." Oliver also quoted Champlain's famous utterance that "the salvation of a single soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire, and that Kings should seek to extend their domain in heathen countries only to subject them to Christ." Oliver argued that it was the missionary ideal: the self-sacrificing love of Christ revelled in the cross that brought men of all kinds together and challenged them to go forth, risking life and limb, with little thought for themselves, into new areas of opportunity. E.H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier (Toronto, 1930);

chaplain history in Canada will provide the setting for the development of the professional chaplain after World War II.

Over the years British army and naval chaplains came and went, but it was not until October 10th, 1710 that an English speaking minister came to stay.¹² Some of the early military chaplains had a tremendous affect on the religious development of the new country and especially Nova Scotia.¹³ In those days most of the Protestant chaplains were Anglican, but there were exceptions. Among the forces that captured Louisbourg and Quebec were Scottish regiments. They had their own padres and so the first Presbyterian services began in 1758 at Louisberg and in 1759 at Quebec under the leadership of British military chaplains. The British began to consolidate

¹² On the date that Port Royal, the small fort near the town of Annapolis Royal, was captured from the French, one of the chaplains from the British expedition was commissioned to remain there as the garrison chaplain. He stayed for ten years, ministering to the military and civilian populations, and becoming the first resident non-catholic clergyman in Canada. John L. Rand "The Development of the Military Chaplain in Great Britain," The Chaplain, (June 1968), p. 16.

¹³ Another significant British chaplain in Canadian history was John Breynton. Breynton was present at the seige of Louisbourg in 1745 and remained there for four years. During this time he had a great influence on a young surgeon: Thomas Wood. Wood eventually went back to England and studied to be ordained. He then returned to become the first missionary among the Micmac indians, translated parts of the prayer book and the Bible into Micmac and compiled a Micmac dictionary. Breynton returned to Halifax in 1752 and remained there in a new chapel for 33 years. In 1783 he established the first Sunday School in Canada, only three years after the world's very first Sunday School opened in England. The churches on the east coast of Canada owed a great deal to the work of the British Naval chaplains. Rand, p. 16.

and to withdraw its troops from Canada in 1854, leaving behind a Canadian militia and a small training cadre of professional British soldiers whose numbers did not justify the presence of chaplains.¹⁴

It was not until the North West Rebellion that we hear of Canadian Protestant clergy serving as chaplains with the military. On 29 April, 1885, Principal D.M. Gordon of Queen's University received a telegram from the 90th Battalion, in the front lines of the Canadian west, asking him to come and be their chaplain.¹⁵ The very process by which chaplains were chosen established them as a part of the

¹⁴ At this time small militia groups or school corps were formed across the country, but there were never enough men to justify a full time padre. This in itself established the Canadian tradition of clergymen supporting the war effort and then being quick to return to their homes and normal duties in times of peace.

¹⁵ In the militia units, Clergymen were invited by Commanding Officers to serve with their units. With the exception of most of the chaplains who served in World War I, this practice continued until 1939.

controlling elite. Gordon's Diary,¹⁶ in the Queen's University archives, is an exciting account of a hectic trip west, of the battle of Batoche, the capture of Riel and a subsequent chase after the rebel indian "Big Bear".

Very little is known of the chaplains who served during the Boer War and the little that has been published is of small consequence.¹⁷ Canadian chaplains served on active duty in South Africa, but disbanded when it was over. A possible list of names has been acquired from Canadian military badge collectors and clearly more work should be done in this area.¹⁸ There was no "chaplains' service " as such or co-ordinating

¹⁶ Queen's University Archives, D.M. Gordon papers. Coll 1023, Box 12, Gordon's Diary during the North West Rebellion. Living in the field with the men, Gordon and his associate the Reverend Mr. Whitcomb of the Church of England, ministered to the sick and prayed with the wounded. Being with the battalion, Gordon was in the front lines: at one point standing next to a gattling gun that could fire 800 rounds a minute, he heard the whoop of rebel Indians in the woods near by. The sounds were silenced by the firing of the gun. Less than one hour later, when Gordon had retreated to care for the wounded, one of the men on the gattling was shot in the knee. Not only is this diary a first rate and first hand account of the battle, it is a good example of the Victorian way of thinking.

¹⁷ Walter Steven, In This Sign (Toronto, 1965), p. 6 ff.

¹⁸ There was J.C. Sinnett of the 1st Canadian Mounted Rifles, The Roman Catholic: P.M. O'Leary, VD, of the Royal Canadian Regiment, W.G. Lane of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, A.F. Howard, DSO (US Navy) and Royal Canadian Dragoons, J.F. Fullerton of the 4th Regiment Royal Canadian Artillery, Royal Canadian Regiment, W.J. Cox, invalided to England in 1900 and J. Almond who would lead the Chaplain service in the 1st World War. Letter from Mr. D.W. Love of Calgary to Chaplain's History project. Mr. Love did not reveal his sources.

body during the Boer War. These chaplains were in the militia and were selected and hired by their commanding officers.

In 1914 a Canadian contingent was quickly assembled at Valcartier to go to France. A tremendous number of Protestant clergy followed the men to Quebec and prepared to serve even before the Canadian government had decided to take clergy to war in any capacity.¹⁹ When the decision was made to take chaplains, only thirty-three clergymen were selected to sail with the contingent to France.²⁰ In true elitist fashion, the minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, appointed a

¹⁹ In times of war and of relative peace the best Protestant military chaplains have always been close to the men, travelling with them and risking much if not all, in the service of Christ. The first non-Roman Catholic Church service ever held in Canada took place in Baffin Bay, in 1576, by the chaplain of the Frobisher expedition. Captain George Best wrote of the Rev. Mr. John Wolfall "he refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the only care he had to save souls....." and also "partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage, so well begun, might be brought to perfection; and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole year, if occasion had served, being in every resolute action as forward as the most resolute man of all. Wherefore in this behalf, he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's Word, which for the profit of the fleet spared not to venture his own life." John L Rand, informal notes on the History of the Chaplain Corps, Chaplain General's Archives, NDHQ, Ottawa.

²⁰ Many who were not selected to go as chaplains volunteered their services as combatants. Of the 490 Methodist clergymen and probates who served in World War I a remarkable 90% did so as combatants. The story of the military contributions of Canadian clergymen as combatants in the wars of this century is yet another tale which cries out to be told. J.M. Bliss, "The Methodist Church in World War I" Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 59, no. 3, (Sept. 1968).

prominent Anglican clergyman from Ottawa: the Reverend R.H. Steacy, to lead the group.²¹

As the war progressed they were joined by more clergymen from Canada and organizational steps had to be taken.²² In 1915 a directorship was set up in London but there was still no felt need for a formal organization at home. The following year the position of Director was established in Ottawa and Padre W. Beattie was brought home to fill it. Beattie was given the rank of Honorary Colonel and had three men under him: two Protestants and one Roman Catholic, Lieutenant-Colonels. The major religious groups in Canada kept track of the activities of the war and of their clergymen through their respective war committees. While the growing organization was unquestionably military, the individual chaplains were able to retain a degree of clerical autonomy.

It may have been due to a lack of direction and experience in the early days of World War I that the chaplains

²¹ While Steacy was a friend of Hughes and a part of the Ottawa ecclesiastical establishment, he was later described as "...an Anglican clergyman of very little administrative talent or personal authority." Desmond Morton, A Peculiar Kind Of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry In The First World War (Toronto, 1982). p. 115. Steacy had to be replaced, and so was promoted and moved to England.

²² The story of the Canadian chaplains in World War I is best told by W. Beattie in his unpublished MS: "The History of the Chaplain's Service 1914 - 1921" to be found in the archives of the Chaplain General(P) at NDHQ, Ottawa. A Ph.D. thesis of the same title has recently been defended by historian D. Crerar at Queen's University, Kingston, and a book is being prepared.

were left more or less on their own. Often, religiously insensitive commanders put them in charge of entertaining the troops. When Padre J.M. Almond took over from R.H. Steacy as Director in the summer of 1915, he at least had some experience during the Boer War to fall back on. The clergy went into the trenches, far closer to the front lines than they were officially permitted, and left most of the entertainment and welfare to the Auxiliary Services. For those who were in the midst of death and destruction the cross took on a near mystical significance.²³ By the end of the war Canadian chaplains had a much better idea of their role and duties. Then it was over and everyone returned to Canada and lost interest in the whole affair.

Between the wars the army reverted back to its old system of appointing chaplains if and when needed by local commanders. Many of these men went to camp with their units in the summer and paraded with them when they had the opportunity. They rendered good service as they were able, but few were able to render a complete service. Writing later about the inter-war years, Padre Hepburn reported "that it was a definite weakness that there was no Chaplaincy authority in Ottawa to control appointments in consultation with Church Authorities and to direct and coordinate the

²³ A.G. Fowler, "Historiographical Survey of the Canadian Chaplain Service 1914 - 1918", unpublished essay, Archives of the Chaplain General(P), NDHQ, Ottawa.

activities of these chaplains."²⁴

Immediately, when World War II was declared, former chaplains and ministers wrote to the Minister of National Defence offering their services as Chaplains.²⁵ So great was the call to arms heard that on 16 September 1939 it was necessary for the Adjutant General to wire all District Commanding Officers: "Appointment Chaplains to CASF units mobilizing to be deferred pending organization of Chaplain Service CASF now receiving attention. In meantime Chaplains peace time establishment may be employed temporarily as required until further instructions."²⁶ Some of the chaplains brought in during the early days were experienced and rendered valued service in getting the department organized. On account of age or for other reasons not all of them remained in the army for the duration of the war.

The first Principal Chaplain of World War II was the Right Rev. G.A. Wells C.M.G., D.D. Wells had proven himself

²⁴ Canadian Forces Directorate of History (DHIST), Ottawa. "Technical Narrative by Directorates NDHQ, Canadian Chaplain Service (P), 1939-1945", prepared by H/Brig. CG Hepburn.

²⁵ In World War II, contact was again made with the government by the Churches through their war committees, with the Church of England leading the way. Letter from the Most Rev. J.C. Roper, Church of England ArchBishop of Ottawa to the Minister of National Defence, Hon Ian MacKenzie. 8 Sept. 1939. Referred to in J.C. Wells, The Fighting Bishop (Toronto, 1971), p. 393.

²⁶ DHIST Chaplain's History file: Message from the Adjutant General to all District Commanding Officers, dated 16 Sept., 1939.

as a member of the military²⁷ and religious establishments²⁸ and everyone knew that he was the right man for the job. He was assured of the fullest cooperation from the heads of the churches and the military.²⁹ Wells reported for duty in Ottawa as soon as he was asked, but that was over a month after hostilities had commenced.³⁰ Using his experience and notes from the First World War, Wells quickly pulled together a large corps of chaplains to serve the three services. Everything went smoothly for Wells until the fall of 1943 when an age limit was introduced in the Army.³¹ Wells, who now held the rank of Honorary Brigadier General, was forced to retire.³² He was replaced by another popular establishment

²⁷ Bishop Wells had served in the Boer War as a private and was the first Canadian Chaplain to go to France in World War I.

²⁸ At the time of his appointment Wells was the Church of England's Bishop of the Cariboo. Between the wars he had studied at the University of Chicago so as to qualify to teach at an exclusive boy's school in Winnipeg.

²⁹ The Reverend George Anderson Wells, Bishop of the Caribou and veteran of the Boer War and the First World War, was asked to establish the Protestant Chaplain Service. Letter of Adjutant-General, H.H. Matthews, to the Primate of the Church of England, Archbishop Owen. 7 Oct 1939. In Wells, The Fighting Bishop, p. 394.

³⁰ Wells reported to NDHQ on 21 October, 1939.

³¹ Government Order 256 was introduced in the autumn of 1943.

³² The Navy had no compulsory retirement age, so Wells went to Halifax to serve as the Chaplain(P) of the Fleet. There were chaplains serving in Halifax before Wells arrived there: between the wars there had been two unpaid Honourary Chaplains serving with the Navy. During 1940 Wells brought a

man and World War I hero from the Ottawa area: Canon C.G. Hepburn. Clearly, the Churches were making an effort to see to it that the men in the senior chaplain positions were those who were a trusted part of the Protestant ecclesiastical elite³³ and of the military establishment.

Mention should be made of the relationship between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic chaplains. While the Protestants were rejoicing in their togetherness, the Roman Catholics were doing their own, characteristically, impressive work. During the first World War the Catholics had been forced to serve under the same organization as the Protestants. There were some benefits but it was not always a happy situation. Poor leadership on both sides at the beginning of the war and the ecclesiastical arrogance of both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church led to separate Conferences, poor communication and many

few men into the Army Chaplaincy strictly for duty in the navy. In 1943, Wells took control of what had become a truly Canadian Naval Chaplains' Service.

³³ In Canada, John Porter found "an internally cohesive and concentrated corporate elite characterized by extensive interlocking directorships among corporations, recruitment on the basis of upper class family ties and exclusive private school education, common ethnic (anglo saxon) origins and religious(Anglican) affiliations, common membership in exclusive clubs and a common commitment to a 'free enterprise' capitalist value system. The political and bureaucratic elites were somewhat less exclusive in social backgrounds, although still drawn from a narrow middle class and excluded some 90% of Canadians." John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1965). p. 183. Porter did not describe the religious elite in such detail because they had largely disappeared from prominent influence in the previous century.

misunderstandings. Towards the end of the war the Roman Catholics were worshipping in the Churches of France, while the Protestants were not permitted to enter them. When the chaplains met to prepare "A Message to the Churches", the chaplains' impressions of what lessons the war should have taught Canadians, the Roman Catholics were not included in the meeting. The lack of religious sensitivity would not be forgotten.

At the beginning of World War II, Bishop Wells had been placed in charge of all of the chaplains in the three services, including the Roman Catholics, but this time the Catholics would not permit it to happen. It was only a few days before the civilian Roman Catholic hierarchy insisted on their own completely separate and parallel organization.³⁴

During the actual operations overseas both groups were given equally favourable consideration and every effort was made to ensure equality in rank and privileges. The chaplains themselves tried to accommodate each other and were very sensitive concerning attendance at worship. No one wanted to lead members of the other's flock astray. In Canada, the Protestant and Roman Catholic Principal chaplains

³⁴ Very quickly the Roman Catholic Bishops met, requested and were granted a separate service. Letter from J.F. Ryan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Hamilton, to the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. W.L. MacKenzie King. dated 16 Sept. 1939 in J. Castonguay, Unsung Mission (Montreal, 1968) p. 17. Bishop C.L. Nelligan of Pembroke was appointed on 21 Oct. 1939 to lead the Roman Catholic service. Castonguay, p. 18.

worked closely together on all administrative and social matters requiring joint action. The same was true overseas and in formations. In many cases chaplains of all religions travelled together on inspection tours and shared vehicles. This often gained them the advantage of discussing critical situations affecting both on the spot and, in the case of automobile travel, meant a saving in transportation.³⁵ The organizations were separate, but sound cooperation and friendship were maintained in most cases.³⁶ While every effort had been made to ensure religious freedom and sensitivity, at wars end it was still possible for a Roman Catholic or a Protestant to be ordered to a Church Parade of the "wrong" denomination.

Faced with the challenges of war there was a strong will for cooperation between all of the non-Roman Catholic religious groups.³⁷ Denominational sensitivity became a

³⁵ DHIST, Directorate of Chaplain Services. Liaison Letter, 1 Jul-31 dec 44.

³⁶ The separate Protestant/Roman Catholic relationship was one way in which Canadian military chaplains differed from chaplains of the British and American armies. In the British Army there was a Chaplain General, who was Church of England, and under him assistants representing the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and United Board. In the United States the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish arms of the Service also operated under one Director, who was sometimes Protestant and sometimes Roman Catholic.

³⁷ In each annual report and each summary of war activities there was always an entry on denominational balance. This was a sensitive issue from the very beginning and every effort was made during World War II to ensure that there would be a fair religious representation for the soldiers. Chaplains were appointed at the ratio of one

hallmark of the Canadian chaplain service. The sensitivity meant that all of the clergy were treated as being of equal status, although the Anglicans did seem to require some special consideration. When the number of clergy from the multitude of minor denominations in the Canadian religious mosaic began to grow³⁸, the situation seemed to demand the

chaplain per one thousand soldiers of that particular denomination. However, once in the formation the clergy served primarily as "Protestant" chaplains. This they managed to do with remarkable harmony as most recognized that while they represented a particular denomination, they also represented the whole Protestant Christian Church. The only real denominational difficulty encountered during the war was with the Greek Orthodox Communion. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, the Russo-Greek Catholic Orthodox, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America all wanted to be represented in the Chaplains' Service. In the end, one man was selected from the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church because it was the largest and the best organized. This was not a satisfactory arrangement for the others and a decision was made to take someone from the Russo-Greek Orthodox Church, however, this Communion was then not able to provide a suitable candidate. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox chaplains proved themselves to be well trained and a real asset to the service. They cooperated with other chaplains in so far as the rules of their religion would permit.

³⁸ With the large number of servicemen serving in wartime from all walks of Canadian life, there were sufficient numbers for clergymen from a wide variety of faiths. In September 1940 there were 65 Church of England chaplains, 35 from the United Church of Canada, 28 Presbyterians, 10 Baptists, one from the Standard Church of North America, one Salvation Army, and one Jewish Rabbi. (This man and other Jewish rabbis who served in the Army and the Air Force during the war fell under the Protestants for administrative purposes.) The Lutherans also provided excellent chaplains as time went on and towards the end of the war formed a committee that, after the war was in correspondence with the Council of Churches. A few chaplaincies were granted to the Salvation Army but difficulties were experienced. The Salvation Army officers were not ordained ministers in the ordinary sense and did not practice the Sacraments or the Ordinances of Holy Communion or Baptism. This made cooperative work difficult and it was felt that the Salvation Army more naturally filled its

establishment of a formal co-ordinating body.

On 6 June, 1941, Rev W. Harold Young of the United Church of Canada, wrote to the Minister of National Defence indicating that an inter-church chaplaincy committee had been established. It was made up of the chairmen of the four War Committees of the major Canadian Protestant Churches that supplied chaplains to the military.³⁹ Its purpose was to maintain a supply of clergy for the chaplaincy⁴⁰, and to "advise the Government and the Principal Chaplain on matters of common interest in connection with the three services".⁴¹

function through the Auxiliary Services where its officers did a unique and most valuable work. By the end of the war Padre Hepburn could write: "It is felt that on the whole the difficulties presented by the complex nature of the Protestant Communion have been happily overcome... The democratic right of every man to his own religion has been fully maintained by our service." DHIST, "Annual Report of the Principal Chaplain of the Army 1945-1946", prepared by Padre C.G. Hepburn.

³⁹ This committee was composed of the heads of the War Committees of the Church of England, the United Church of Canada, Presbyterian and Baptist denominations. Porter has noted that "nothing brings elites together so much as mutual respect which flows from sharing in the confraternity of power." Porter, p. 532.

⁴⁰ From World War I on it was decided that no Protestant clergyman should be appointed without the sponsorship of the appropriated constituted committee of his own denomination. Individuals writing to ask for employment as chaplains were referred back to the churches committee. Churches feeling that they had a special reason for the release of their ministers from the service have likewise been referred to the committee. William Beattie, "History of the Canadian Chaplain Service 1914 - 1921", p. 209.

⁴¹ National Archives of Canada(NAC), RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter Rev W. Harold Young to the Minister of National Defence. 6 June, 1941.

The new committee felt that one of the most notable matters for its consideration was the selection, from amongst the eligible Chaplains, of those who held high positions such as the Principal Chaplain(P) in Canada and the Principal Chaplain (P) Overseas. The Army saw no problem with the senior chaplains seeking the advice of the new committee and Bishop Wells welcomed its support. Wells wrote: "I feel quite sure that this committee will be of real value, not only in any approach which may have been made to the Government regarding the Chaplain's Department, but especially to the Principal Chaplain, whoever he may be, upon whose shoulder rests the responsibility of carrying on this work, as nearly as possible to the satisfaction of all concerned."⁴² Once established, this system proved effective and continued through the war years.

By the end of the Second World War over 800 chaplains had served in the Canadian military. In the main they were treated with the utmost respect and courtesy, usually being accorded a position in the Mess and in the Unit, generally beyond their rank.⁴³ Overall, the chaplains' service received

⁴² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter of G.A. Wells to the Rev. Harold Young, 24 June, 1941.

⁴³ Canadian chaplains were ordinarily appointed in the rank of Honourary Captain and received full pay and allowances for their rank. By the end of World War II, Brig. Hepburn felt that chaplains had been treated fairly in the matter of rank, although not without some struggles from time to time. The chaplains' position in this respect compared very favourably with that of the U.S. Army and was felt to be better than that of the British Army. DHIST, "Annual Report of the Principal

an exceptionally high ratio of decorations. The chaplains had established themselves as a great team performing ministry among thousands of men and women who needed it and who increasingly realized that they wanted it.⁴⁴ Signs of that effectiveness could be seen in the number of soldiers who went into the ministry after the war and in the attitude of the military towards the chaplains.

The Canadian Context

From 1945 to the present, the chaplains have faced the same cultural, military and religious changes as other clergymen. The religious boom and growth that took place in Canada in the early 1950s fuelled the fires of religious

Chaplain of the Army 1945-1946", prepared by Padre C.G. Hepburn.

⁴⁴ By the end of the war almost 600 chaplains had served with the army. Nine had died: six of them as a result of enemy action. Three had been prisoners of war. During battle, the chaplains gave aid to the wounded and helped to identify and to bury the dead. In his annual report for 1945, the senior chaplain of the third Division reported: "The fighting during October, as we concentrated on canals, dykes, etc was marked by extreme difficulty in handling the wounded and the dead. To hear chaplains tell how they would "cat walk" across canals and dykes, stealthily crawl to where a lad was lying wounded, dress his wound, help to load him, then crawl all the way back, made one feel that every last padre should be awarded a medal." DHIST, "Annual Report of the Principal Chaplain of the Army 1945-1946" prepared by Brig. Hepburn.

consumerism⁴⁵, until the political and economic realities of the day burst the unrestrained bubble of clerical optimism.

Perhaps it was the apparent growth and the popularity that left church leaders with feelings of importance that outweighed the power and influence accorded to them by the state. Canadian churchmen, including many military chaplains, assumed an elitist status that was not reflected by their place in the political or military power structure. Dealing with the growing government and military bureaucracy, especially on rank and integration oriented matters, accentuated the chaplains sense of frustration with their lack of status. Eventually, the chaplains themselves were forced to become a more regular part of the military bureaucratic structure. By 1968 the chaplains had become an established part of the Canadian military, but still had not come to terms with their new status.

The contextual challenge for any work of this sort on Canadian clergy is to choose from the multitude of published works on Canadian bureaucratic, ecclesiastical and military matters, the appropriate works that will shed light on the themes reflected in the growth of the professional Protestant

⁴⁵ "...religion, instead of standing over against culture, has become a neatly packaged consumer item - taking its place among other commodities that can be bought or bypassed according to one's consumption whims." Reginald W. Bibby, Fragmented Gods, (Toronto, 1987), p. 1.

chaplaincy. Many works are worthy of review, but some specific texts seemed to stand out.

For a general overview of the military, political and economic trends taking place in the world after World War II, reference was made earlier to William McNeill's book The Pursuit of Power.⁴⁶ McNeill describes the "commercial transformation" that took place in the world as the major powers returned to the concepts of command economics and societies that resulted in a larger degree of government control in the affairs of the nation.

Relating more specifically to the Canadian cultural scene, John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic⁴⁷ follows the major themes of social class and power in post World War II Canada. Porter describes the elite groups that have maintained control of Canadian institutions, the growth of the federal bureaucracy and some of the relationships that have existed between the "establishment" and the "power elite". Of particular interest is his realistic placement of the Protestant ecclesiastical elite as educators and as men who have an influence on the value system, but who are far away from direct political influence.

For an understanding of what North American bureaucracy is, reference has been made above to Bureaucracy in Modern

⁴⁶ William H. McNeill, The Pursuit of Power (Chicago, 1982).

⁴⁷ John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1965).

Society⁴⁸ by Peter M. Blau. Blau is a widely published authority in the area of bureaucracy and his work is based on years of study and teaching experience.

Any review of the Canadian Church in this period would not be complete without reference to John Webster Grant and then to the myriad of little books such as Berton's The Comfortable Pew,⁴⁹ the United Church's Why the Sea Is Boiling Hot,⁵⁰ Douglas J. Wilson's The Church Grows in Canada,⁵¹ and Rex R. Doland's The Big Change.⁵² A more recent book by Reginald W. Bibby, Fragmented Gods⁵³ was also of value for its description of the growth of the consumer attitude among churchgoers and its realistic appraisal of the changes which took place in the Church in the 1950s when the institutions only appeared to be growing.

For the military context Desmond Morton's book A Military History of Canada⁵⁴, is an essential introduction to all military matters during this period and D. J. Goodspeed's The

⁴⁸ Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York, 1956, 1971, 1987).

⁴⁹ Pierre Berton, The Comfortable Pew. (Toronto, 1965).

⁵⁰ Why The Sea Is Boiling Hot. (Toronto. 1965).

⁵¹ Douglas J. Wilson's The Church Grows in Canada (Toronto, 1966).

⁵² Rex R. Doland, The Big Change. (Toronto, 1967).

⁵³ Reginald W. Bibby, Fragmented Gods. (Toronto, 1967).

⁵⁴ Desmond Morton, A Military History of Canada (Edmonton, 1985).

Armed Forces of Canada⁵⁵ is also of value, as was the last chapter in George F.G. Stanley's Canada's Soldiers.⁵⁶ For more specific information on the period of integration one might turn to the works of Vernon Kronenberg⁵⁷ or of R.B. Byers.⁵⁸ Byers begins to trace the history of amalgamation attempts beginning with Sir Arthur Curries suggestion of a single Ministry of Defence in 1920.

With the exception of the occasional extraneous reference in Grant, none of the above work refers directly to military chaplains. However, they do describe the forces which helped to mould the Canadian military culture in which the chaplains' branch evolved. They describe the processes which led to bureaucratic development in all spheres of Canadian life, including the military, and which left the chaplains feeling that they were being treated in a manner not becoming their proper ecclesiastical status.

⁵⁵ D.J. Goodspeed, The Armed Forces of Canada 1867 - 1967 (Ottawa, 1967).

⁵⁶ George F.G. Stanley, Canada's Soldiers (Toronto, 1960).

⁵⁷ Vernon J. Kronenberg, All Together Now: The Organization of the Department of National defence in Canada 1964 - 1972 (Ottawa, 1973).

⁵⁸ R.B. Byers, "Reorganization of the Canadian Armed Forces" a thesis for the degree of PH D at Carleton University, 1970.

Chapter I'

THE POST - WORLD WAR II PERIOD

The professional chaplains' service in the Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force came into being on 1 October, 1945. Early in the second World War an establishment (serial 3886) had been prepared and printed for the Chaplains' Service, but no unit was ever called out on the basis of that establishment. Certain Districts and formations, such as the hospital ships, had shown Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains on their own home war establishment but the practice had been to post chaplains to "Chaplain's Pools" in the various Commands and Districts from which they would be sent to work in specific areas. This was not in order legally, but it served the needs of the day during the pressures of wartime. The administrative omission was discovered as it affected other services sometime during 1942 but it was only when a revision of the war establishments was undertaken in 1945 that the appropriate correction took place. This made very little difference in so far as operations were concerned, but it put the chaplains on a sounder organizational footing for post war years.

After World War II, everyone was anxious to get home to their families. For the clergy, who normally move from church to church during the summer, life was often confusing.

Many of them had arrived back in Canada in September, 1945, too late to get a job with their church. Some continued to work in hospitals and in release centres until they found employment, while others just went on rehabilitation leave.¹ Specific individuals were chosen by the Principal Chaplains to be their peacetime replacements, subject to the approval of the civilian Churches, who never seemed to disagree with the choices. Eventually, a small additional number of chaplains² were notified that their services were required and that they would be welcome to carry on as Canada's first permanent force military chaplains.

During the war the chaplains had been left pretty much on their own but now they would have to forge a place for themselves in peacetime military and ecclesiastical organizations. Also, with the additional pressures of having to serve the families of the servicemen, they would have to have suitable buildings from which to work. It would not be

¹ There has been no study of the activities of World War II chaplains who might have become disillusioned and left the Church after the war, such as the Methodists did after World War I, as referred to by David Marshall in "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I" in Notes and Comments, Canadian Historical Review, LXVI, (1985). p. 48 - 64. A cursory examination would seem to indicate the possibility of a similar exodus.

² The armies quota was set at twelve Protestant chaplains. The Naval was left with six Protestants and four Roman Catholics. A decision was made to leave the RCAF with an establishment of twelve Protestant Chaplains, all ranks, but there is no indication that their numbers ever dropped below seventeen.

long before they would come to an understanding of the financial, political, and bureaucratic realities of being a full time part of the Canadian military. As this happened the chaplains would be genuinely surprised to find that they were being rejected by some quarters of the Anglican Church³ and that the military did not always seem to give to them what they thought was their due. Chaplains, who had survived easily in the face of war, were now challenged to survive in peace.

For support in their dealings with the matters of church and state, the chaplains turned to the Inter-Church Advisory Committee on the Chaplaincy(ICAC) which had represented them in the past. Through the effective lobbying by the committee chairman, Dr. Young, who took the issue to the highest levels.⁴ By May 1947, the government had agreed that the special relationship that had existed between the chaplains, the churches and the military, could continue in peacetime.⁵ Before long, the civilian churches lost interest in the

³ See below: "Relationship With the Churches".

⁴ Dr. Young wrote to the Principal Chaplain of the Army: Colonel Stone on 21 February, 1947: "Furthermore, successive Minister's of National Defence, AG's, etc, have received us from time after time and recognized our voice as that of the non-Roman Catholic Churches....I have written to the Prime Minister asking for an interview on Thursday 27th to clear this."

⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. The "Inter-Service Combined Functions Committee" report was approved by the Chief of Staff on 1 May, 1947.

military and disbanded their war committees. When this happened the logical move for the chaplains was to turn to the Canadian Council of Churches for assistance. They were warmly welcomed and the Chaplaincy Committee of the Canadian Council of Churches came into existence as the umbrella organization of the military chaplains.

Even before the chaplains had turned to the Canadian Council of Churches, Dr. W.J. Gallagher, the organization's general secretary, had been lobbying the government on behalf of the Canadian Churches and clergy. Gallagher had written to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Chairman of the Canadian Council of Churches, Bishop Owens, to urge for the prompt release of ministers and theological students who had served as chaplains and as combatants. They urged the Prime Minister:

"...to expedite their release from the service so that they could resume their theological training this autumn and not lose another year. The Churches have given generously of their ministerial personnel for the Chaplain Services, and many young men, candidates for the ministry, have delayed their training in order to serve in the Forces. The result is a great shortage of clergy."⁶

At this time and for the next twenty years Jim Gallagher was the chaplains' friend. He advised the chaplains on ecclesiastical matters, constantly spoke to the government on their behalf and even defended them against the occasional

⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter Gallagher to Prime Minister MacKenzie King. 8 August, 1945.

attacking Church.⁷

One of Dr. Gallagher's first challenges was to convince the government that more chaplains were needed to minister to the servicemen and their families. The chaplain's primary duty was to the serviceman. The faithful conduct of services of worship, the administration of the sacraments, the visitation of the sick and dying, visitation of prisoners and religious instruction for the younger serviceman were the things that the chaplain was paid to do. With the men scattered across the country and a limited number of chaplains, a good deal of travel was necessary. In addition, to keep up morale it was necessary to accommodate the families of the servicemen and to establish all of the facilities that

⁷ The chaplains were an organization ideally suited to the character and designs of Dr. W. J. Gallagher. William James "Jim" Gallagher, M.A., D.D., was an ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church and had served pastorates in Harriston, Meaford and Guelph. While in Guelph he began to express a deep concern for Evangelism and Social Service, which led him jointly in 1942 and solely in 1944 to a unique ministry which became a consuming passion for the rest of his life. When he assumed the office of General Secretary of the Canadian Council of Churches, Gallagher was confronted with a complex, challenging and pioneering task. He was called upon to set up a co-ordinating organization for cooperation among the major Christian denominations in Canada. In addition, he was charged with promoting the then new and almost unknown Ecumenical movement. Gallagher laid the foundations of ecumenical work among the Churches, in the Armed services among the chaplains, and in all inter-Church endeavour, with skill and with scrupulous care. Until his death he was the main spring of the ecumenical movement in Canada and a world leader in Church cooperation. In a very real sense Jim Gallagher was the architect of the Canadian Council of Churches and a major influence on the development of the chaplains' service in the post-war Canadian Armed Forces.

one would normally find in similar civilian communities.⁸ Some chaplains were able to find unique solutions to the problems that confronted them.⁹ Chaplains were also in demand in the civilian community as speakers for a wide variety of occasions. With the ever-increasing demands and responsibilities it became evident that more chaplains would soon be needed¹⁰

Inter-service discussion had taken place as early as January 1946 to arrive at some agreement as to the actual number of chaplains and the rank structure which would be required. Considerable thought had been given at that time to adopting the Naval system of chaplains having no formal rank and a classification for pay purposes only. But the members of the Personnel Members Committee (PMC) could not

⁸ Elementary schools were developed for the education of the children. The chaplains set up temporary chapels where ever they could find a space and then found locations for related activities. Sunday schools, ladies groups, cubs, scouts, guides and brownies met on bases across the country in hangers, H-huts and warehouses.

⁹ A chaplain in Trenton in 1947, having found all of the service families suitable accommodation realized that he had none for his own wife and children who had been living in Ottawa with relatives. The Base Commander offered him the unused annex to the Base hospital, tools, wood and gyp rock. He immediately created a lovely three bedroom apartment for his family. Dialogue Vol 2, (1989). p. 8.

¹⁰ While more chaplains were needed on the bases there was no shortage of chaplains in Ottawa. The exigencies of the military and the complete duplication of Roman Catholic and Protestant services meant a high ratio of senior men to junior. At one point there were 12 Chaplain Colonels leading a total of 36 lower ranks.

agree on what to do. Finally, it was the decision of the Honourable Brooke Claxton, the Minister of National Defence, that the ranks would remain as they had been during the war, although individually reduced. Chaplains in the Army and the RCAF would continue to have Honorary rank and the Navy would continue with their system of classification.¹¹ This decision was based largely on representations by the Inter-Church Advisory Committee on the Chaplaincy (ICAC) and would have long range affects on the number of chaplains in the military and on their status.

Demobilization had meant reductions in rank for all servicemen including the padres. The military, traditionally conservative in outlook, had viewed the chaplains as above and beyond the issue of rank, but the chaplains had seen the question of rank as an indicator of status and of where they and the church stood, or were seen to stand, in the military structure. During the war this was not a problem¹² but, soon

¹¹ The PMC announced that chaplains would be classified as follows:

Chaplain rank	Navy	Army	Air Force
Chaplain I	Sub-Lieutenant	Lieutenant	Flying Officer
Chaplain II	Lieutenant	Captain	Flight Lieutenant
Chaplain III	Lt. Commander	Major	Squadron Leader
Chaplain IV	Commander	Lt Colonel	Wing Commander
Chaplain V	Captain	Colonel	Group Captain.

NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737, PMC 86, dated 19 July, 1946.

¹² By the end of World War II Brigadier C. G. Hepburn, the senior army chaplain, felt that chaplains had been treated fairly in the matter of rank, although not without some struggles from time to time. The chaplain's position in this respect compared very favourably with that of U.S. Army

afterwards, the chaplains began to worry about their place in the military.

In the new force the chaplains would report to the Personnel Members Committee,¹³ which was composed of the Chiefs of Personnel for each of the forces. This was a problem right away for the chaplains who always assumed that they worked for commanders and not for Deputy Commanders or for personnel officers. The Adjutant General of the Army, E.G. Weeks, knew that the chaplains felt that they should report directly to him and said that he was prepared to see them at any time, by appointment. But, normally, they would report to the PMC and to his deputy, like everyone else.¹⁴

The problems of rank and status brought traditional

chaplains and was felt to be better than that of chaplains in the British Army. Canadian chaplains were ordinarily appointed in the rank of Honourary Captain and received full pay and allowances for their rank. In the main they were treated with the utmost respect and courtesy, usually being accorded a position in the Mess and in the Unit, generally beyond their rank. Technical Narrative and Report of the Chaplain General, 1945.

¹³ When Mackenzie King appointed Brooke Claxton as Minister of National Defence, in 1946, Claxton had been directed to create a single defence policy. The new minister brought together the chiefs of the respective services and the Chairman of the Defence Research Board to form the Chiefs of Staff committee. Under these men in the new National Defence Headquarters organization, was the Personnel Members Committee and the Principal Supply Officers Committee.

¹⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Notes of the personal views of General E.G. Weeks on a number of matters raised by the Inter-Church Advisory Committee on Chaplaincy, item (e), 20 December, 1946.

church views of the place of its clergy in society into direct contact with the views of the growing military bureaucracy. The issues raised would continue for years to come.

As the years passed the military and eventually the bases continued to grow in size. Almost parallel to the growth of the suburbs¹⁵ was the growth of the living areas for military dependents known as Personnel Married Quarters or PMQs. Servicemen, who since the war had either been living apart from their families, or who had often found themselves in sub-standard or temporary buildings, now were able to move into new houses in planned communities. New schools and new chapels would soon appear on the bases. Along with the new PMQ areas came many of the same social situations that suburban dwellers had experienced.

Life in PMQs was a new experience in every way. There were no old families and no established way to do things. One person's word or idea was as good as another. Everything was new. People wanted new furniture for their new houses and new friends for themselves and their children. In spite of

¹⁵ There not being enough room in the centre of the cities for the growing population, it was necessary to start new communities on the edges of town. The suburbs started to grow in the early fifties. Those anxious for the city moved into the older areas of town that they could afford. Blue collar workers at the lower end of the pay scale stayed put while the slightly wealthier workers followed the business men into the new suburbs. See B.Y Card, Trends and Changes in Canadian Society, (Toronto, 1968), John English, Years of Growth 1948 - 1967, (Toronto, 1986) or for the affect on the Churches John Webster Grant, the Church in the Canadian Era, (Toronto, 1972).

some temporary disappointments due to things like muddy roads, lack of bus service and no mail, life was full of opportunities. As incomes and personal activities increased, not who a person was, but what he had, became more important. Just like in the new civilian communities, a man's possessions came to be indicators of his attitudes and status.¹⁶

Churches were quick to capitalize on the new civilian suburbs and vied for the best lots and locations for their buildings. The new churches were extremely well attended, as were the military worship services conducted by the chaplains. During this unsettled time of growth people found the churches and chapels to be centres for socialization. The many programs offered in them helped newcomers to integrate into the community. Sunday school and other children's programs experienced a phenomenal growth that left Church leaders with a positive vision of the future.

In this new context establishment problems faded into the background and the concerns of the senior chaplains turned to chapel construction. Plans for the ideal chapel that would be competitive with the best of the new civilian churches, were developed, but countless other construction projects on every base were competing for the same financial support.

¹⁶ Vance Packard, The Status Seekers. (Richmond Hill, 1959, 1961, 1970) p. 4. "...most of us surround ourselves with status symbols we hope will influence the raters appraising us, and which we hope will establish some social distance between ourselves and those we consider below us."

The chaplains came to realize that being a part of the military meant accepting the same economic and political limitations as its host organization. The chaplains discovered that the impersonal demands of the government bureaucracy had to be met and compromises would be necessary before the chapels could be built. When military planners forgot to include chapels in the plans of the Naval housing sites on Canada's coasts, the Navy was told that the proposed chapels would have to come out of their operational budgets.¹⁷ This raised the whole question of where chapels should be located and whether they, and their chaplains, should serve the needs of the men or of the families of the men. The discussion bogged down and in the end the chapels were built at the town sites only after the servicemen petitioned the member of Parliament for the Belmont Park area.¹⁸

Chaplains and the Military

No one else in the military is so sensitive about rank as is the chaplain. To the modern military, the rank awarded to an officer's position is that which is justified by the extent of the duties and responsibilities associated with

¹⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from C.M. Drury, Deputy Minister, to the Chaplain of the Fleet, dated 22 August, 1952, referred to in a copy of a Memorandum for Mr. Claxton from W.J. Gallagher, 14 October, 1952.

¹⁸ The Honourable George Pearkes.

that position. But, to chaplains, rank is of far greater importance. Writing on United States chaplains, Chester A. Pennington claimed that this excessive concern is caused by the noble purposes which the chaplains serve. "A chaplain bears rank," wrote Pennington, "not to exercise authority, but to serve people. He bears rank for others! It is an instrument by which he, not commands, but serves!"¹⁹ While this is true to an extent, there is yet another side to the story. To Canadian chaplains and to their civilian ecclesiastical masters, military rank was a straightforward indicator of the respect and status that was their due. After the war, the rank of the senior chaplains became the really big issue that pitted the old ecclesiastical way of getting things done against the new and growing military bureaucracy.

The whole manner in which the chaplains were controlled left them in a precarious position straddled between Church and State. They were required to be loyal to the military, with its growing bureaucracy and loyal to their denominational leaders, who held professional control over their every decision. When issues arose, letters and memos ricocheted like bullets off the inside walls of a box, with sparks flying at every hit. Always sensitive to political pressure and enquiry, the military, through the PMC, sought to accommodate

¹⁹ Chester A. Pennington, "The Ministry of Our Chaplains", THE CHAPLAIN (March/April, 1971).

the Chaplains' branch when bureaucratically possible. The Council of Churches Committee, for its part, did not hesitate to speak directly to the Minister of National Defence and on some occasions, even directly to the Prime Minister. It never occurred to the Churchmen that there should be any other way to make their point. Whether it was a simple request for the annual Chaplain's Retreat to be supported by the Minister of National Defence or a nomination for the position of Chaplain General, the Churches went straight to the political top and the chaplains seemed to be pleased to let them do it.

One might speculate that the problem, in the eyes of the chaplains, was that there was no one left in the peace time military who knew how to "play the game". Operational commanders, with whom the chaplains had gained rapport during the war, were either civilians now or had been reduced in rank. The men who had taken their place in the peacetime military seemed to be insensitive and uncaring for the church. They were not always prepared to give the chaplains the respect to which they had been accustomed. The chaplains did not seem to realize that they would have to struggle within the rules of the bureaucracy in order to retain the status that they had enjoyed during the war. In effect, the churches seemed to be fighting to recover the elite ecclesiastical status that they thought was their due, while not seeming to realize that the day of the ecclesiastical

elite had already passed.

The first shots were fired by the churches in an effort to correct what they thought must have been an over-sight of demobilization and reorganization. When the ranks of the senior chaplains had been reduced from their wartime levels, the Navy ended up with a man one rank higher than the other services. This was due to the rank structure of the different services at the time of reduction. The Principal Chaplain of the Canadian Army came to hold the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, while the senior Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) chaplain had become a Wing Commander. On the other hand, the Principal Chaplain of the Royal Canadian Navy had ended up being classified as a Chaplain V: one rank higher than the others. Of course the Inter-Church Advisory Committee pushed the government to give the Army and RCAF men their appropriate higher rank.

In response to the request, the Adjutant General, E.G. Weeks, was understanding but firm. Weeks explained that notwithstanding the rank of the Principal Chaplain of the Navy, given the peace time conditions, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel or equivalent should be sufficient for the Principal Chaplains. Weeks explained that the rank of Colonel was more appropriate for the head of a directorate, where duties were "more exacting and onerous," and that a chaplain "should rely more on personality than rank for the successful execution of

his appointment."²⁰ Being sensitive to the underlying concern of the chaplains with the question of their status, Weeks added that in his opinion: "the rank of Lieutenant Colonel for Principal Chaplains is in no sense any reflection on the authority and position of the various ecclesiastical authorities in Canada."²¹ Aware of the government's push to eliminate duplication and to combine or civilianize services where possible, Weeks concluded that if it were possible to amalgamate the chaplains' service of the three forces, then there would be a case for giving the senior chaplain the rank of Colonel or equivalent.

The idea of the possible amalgamation of various military services was long standing and had been re-established after the war by the Prime Minister who had directed his Minister of National Defence to make all necessary cuts in the military and to amalgamate as much as possible.²² In response, the Inter-service Combined Functions Committee (ICFC), composed of senior officers from each of the services, was established to examine all the functions performed by the military with

²⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-8 '167, box 7737. Letter from General Weeks to the Inter-Church Committee, dated 20 December, 1946.

²¹ *ibid.*

²² Prime Minister King wrote in his diary of November, 1946, that he was thinking of amalgamating "the three departments into one single Chief of Staff and three deputies." John Hasek, The Disarming of Canada (Toronto, 1987). p. 133.

a view to effecting an economy of manpower, by amalgamation or co-ordination. One specific task of the committee was to review the possibility of amalgamating the chaplain services²³.

The ICFC report²⁴ was approved by the Chiefs of Defence Staff and presented to Defence Council in April, 1947. The report recommended that the administrative services of the chaplaincy be combined and that the senior chaplain, who would remain in Ottawa and would be a civilian: "thus removing any feeling of discrimination that might be present in one service or another."²⁵

When the Personnel Members Committee(PMC) received information on the report, they were requested to review the feasibility of such an amalgamation. The PMC immediately requested the views of the senior chaplains of each service. They indicated that they did not like the idea of being controlled by one man from Ottawa. The PMC, however, did support the idea of one senior chaplain in Ottawa and over-ruled the chaplains. The chaplains, on the other hand, were willing to support the idea of more co-operation between

²³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of Defence Council, dated 7 March, 1947.

²⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. ICFC report, dated 2 March, 1947.

²⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memo from the Chair of Inter-service Combined Functions Committee to the PMC, dated 14 March, 1947.

chaplains of the different services and on a geographical basis.²⁶ Also, they insisted, and the PMC agreed, that should such a senior chaplain be appointed, then it should only happen in consultation with the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, and the appointment should be made from the three services and on a rotational basis.²⁷

When the plan returned to the military from Defence Council, in May, the PMC was directed to implement it. The chaplains were asked to give their views on the implementation, but things were moving too fast. They started to drag their feet, saying that the matter was one that must be referred for comments to the Council of Churches before any action be taken. The chaplains would not dare to act until their ecclesiastical superiors, to whom they felt responsible for the well being of the chaplain service, gave their approval.

General Weeks did not see it that way and was frustrated by the chaplains' arguments against any and all proposals that would reduce their number of senior officers. All that the chaplains wanted to do, said Weeks, was to "maintain the

²⁶ In June, 1947, before any firm decisions had been made, the chaplains of the three services began to co-ordinate their work on a geographical basis. Special attention was directed to Halifax, where the Naval chaplains would be asked to look after army personnel. NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Report of the PMC to the ICFC, dated 10 March 47.

²⁷ *ibid.*

status quo."²⁸ In their proposals there was no sense of economy and no possibility of amalgamation. Weeks was even willing to move the Principal Chaplains to other bases, from which they could maintain their ranks and control their chaplains while under the direction of a chaplain in Ottawa. This plan would at least reduce the number of senior men around National Defence Headquarters. But the chaplains then complained that these men would then find themselves wearing two hats and being expected to do the job of the area chaplains as well as maintaining command of their element.²⁹ Clearly, the chaplains did not want to reduce their number of senior officers.

Looking back on the argument it would seem that, in the effort to obey the will of its political masters, the fledgling military bureaucracy was attempting to reduce the number of senior chaplain leaders without much thought for the bureaucratic necessity of certain jobs being done, regardless of the over size of the organization. The chaplains, on the other hand, while elitist in desire, were professionally aware of what would or would not work in the leadership of a church organization.

After considering the arguments, the PMC requested

²⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memo from General Weeks to PMC, dated 31 January, 1947.

²⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memo from AB Conly to General Weeks, dated 5 June 1947.

approval by Defence Council for several recommendations. The PMC proposed "that there be a chaplain to the Forces appointed on a three year rotational basis and located at NDHQ" and that "he be granted the acting rank of Colonel or equivalent during the tenure of his appointment only."³⁰ Defence Council asked the PMC to reconsider the suggested rank³¹, but the PMC would not back down. The proposed "Chaplain to the Forces" would be granted the acting rank of Colonel or equivalent on a whilst so employed basis."³² The Chairman of Defence Council agreed that any decision of this nature should be first discussed with the Chaplaincy Committee and took steps to start that process in the following September.

At first Dr. Gallagher attempted to find a bureaucratic solution to the problem. He wrote that his committee felt that the proposed plan to have one senior chaplain would be more costly and less efficient than the present organization.³³ In an elitist tone, the Minister of National Defence replied to the effect that the policy of the department was one of consolidation, amalgamation and co-operation between the

³⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memo from PMC to Defence Council, dated 23 May, 1947.

³¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memo Defence Council to PMC, dated 39 May, 1947.

³² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a Meeting of the PMC, dated 12 June 1947.

³³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Dr. Gallagher to the Chairman of the Defence Council, dated 22 September, 1947.

services and therefore it had been decided to appoint one of the Principal Chaplains as Chaplain to the Forces³⁴. It was as though the Minister had not even bothered to read Gallagher's carefully prepared letter and Gallagher was not impressed. He wrote again to point out to the Minister how the practice of having one single head of the chaplains' service was not working in a satisfactory manner in England or in the United States.³⁵ No further action seems to have been taken on the issue until the next year.

Already offended by the manner in which his letter had been treated by the Minister of National Defence, Gallagher complained that the Principal Chaplains of the Army and the RCAF were not being placed on the same level as the officers heading up other directorates, and recommended that they be granted the rank of Colonel and Group Captain respectively, as was the case with the Navy. Gallagher claimed that it was the dignity of the senior representatives of the Churches in the Forces that was at stake. To give them the rank of Colonel would only be "befitting the importance of the Chaplain Service."³⁶

³⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Minister of National Defence to Dr. Gallagher, dated 9 October, 1947.

³⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter of Dr. Gallagher to the Minister of National Defence, dated 24 November, 1947.

³⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Dr. Gallagher to the Minister of National Defence, dated 28 January, 1948.

Responding on behalf of the Army, General Weeks noted that some Naval Chaplains were exceptions to the rule, for the time being, but that the Lieutenant Colonel rank was suitable and sufficient for the Principal Chaplains in the army. Weeks went on to point out that during the war the ranks were Honourary Brigadier at NDHQ Ottawa and Honorary Colonel at Canadian Military Headquarters in the United Kingdom. At Army Headquarters in the field there was an Honorary Lieutenant Colonel at Corps Headquarters and Honorary Major at Divisional Headquarters. With peacetime restrictions, Weeks felt that the Principal Chaplain had rank sufficient to carry out his duties quite efficiently. He noted that it had been previously suggested and turned down by the Council of Churches, that the Principal Chaplains not hold rank, but be classified for pay as in the case of the Navy. General Weeks went on to suggest that the status of some Naval Chaplains was an exception to the norm and that while it would be unfair to deprive them of the status which they hold, that when they retire, their replacements should be paid as per their peers in the RCAF and the Army.³⁷

The PMC was requested to reconsider the senior rank question and, again, agreement could not be reached. Once again Defence Council was called upon to solve the problem. Defence Council then confirmed that the ranks of the Principal

³⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from General Weeks to the PMC, dated 25 February, 1948.

Chaplains should be Lieutenant-Colonel or equivalent and that, for the time being, the status of the Naval Principal Chaplain would not be disturbed, but on his retirement, the ranks of his successor should conform with the Army and the RCAF.³⁸

At this point the Roman Catholic representative to the Forces, Archbishop Roy,³⁹ threw his support into the struggle and wrote to the Minister of National Defence with the reported concern of the Roman ecclesiastical elite.⁴⁰ Roy urged the Minister not to abolish the Army and RCAF Directorates, but to consider upgrading the appointments and adding a sufficient quantity of sub-staff. Roy concluded: "I am prompted to make these suggestions, Sir, because of severe observations from some members of the hierarchy and because, as it stands now, the Chaplain Service has the appearance of a "parent pauvre" when compared with other services."⁴¹

³⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of Defence Council, dated 18 March, 1948.

³⁹ His Roman Catholic chaplains would fall under the same rules as the Protestants.

⁴⁰ The Roman Catholic Chaplains had been dealing with the parallel issues but there is very little documentary evidence of their side of the struggle, beyond the impressive letters of Archbishop Roy. Canadian politicians were always sensitive to the wishes of the French Catholic Church because of the effectiveness with which it could control and direct the mass voting of its parishioners. See Robert Presthus, Elite Accommodation in Canadian Politics. (Toronto, 1973).

⁴¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from Archbishop Roy to MND, dated 22 March, 1948.

An official reply was dispatched advising Archbishop Roy of the decision which had been reached in Defence Council, and which was reaffirmed at a meeting on 28 May, 1948.⁴² Claxton reassured the Churchmen that while the Principal Chaplains were not Directors, they certainly has access to the Adjutant-General on any matters they wished to discuss with him. Claxton went on to say that he felt that the term "Principal Chaplain" was a much more appropriate designation than "Director". However, Claxton also noted that everyone from the chiefs of staff through Defence Council thought that the Lieutenant Colonel rank or equivalent was sufficient for the chaplains.

It was at this time, March 1948, that the Soviets decided to blockade the city of Berlin.⁴³ While Canada gave no direct support to the ensuing airlift, the government did begin to show some concern for the state of the Canadian military. In early June, Brooke Claxton wrote to Dr. Gallagher to

⁴² NAC, MG 32, B5. Notes of a meeting on 28 May, 1948, between Archbishop Roy, Dr. Gallagher and the Minister of National Defence, the Hon. Brooke Claxton.

⁴³ Just a month before, and long before political insiders had thought it possible, a Communist coup had taken place in Czechoslovakia. In the midst of a growing prosperity but having just reduced the military, Canadians were in no position to become involved in any military intervention. As the Americans flew endless plane loads of supplies into the besieged city, the Canadians made no offer of support. Canada felt that it should put its trust in the United Nations and in the imperialistic neighbour to the south who now seemed to be replacing Great Britain as the direction in which the free world must turn for defence.

reassure him that no amalgamation of services would take place⁴⁴ but instead there would be establishment increases to correspond with the growing size of the military. The Army would now have 19 Protestant chaplains, the Navy would have 9 and the Air Force 17.⁴⁵ The Principal Chaplains, as Claxton had previously told Archbishop Roy, should be Lieutenant Colonel rank or equivalent. The senior Navy chaplains could remain paid as Captains until the present incumbents retired, and then they would come into line with the other services. Again, the Council of Churches argued that the rank of Principal Chaplains in the Army and the RCAF was not in keeping with their status, and the Minister responded in the usual way.⁴⁶

Finally in December, 1948, both the Canadian Council of

⁴⁴ "It was thought some time ago that it would be for the best interests of the service to amalgamate the chaplain's services, and considerable study was given to the problem of how this could be best implemented across Canada. It has been decided that rather than have a complete amalgamation, it would be more desirable to develop a plan of fuller co-operation on a geographical basis which would adequately provide for the spiritual welfare of the services, and at the same time eliminate duplication and retain the identity of the chaplain branch within each service." NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter Claxton to Gallagher, dated 10 June, 1948.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ The Minister was "unable to alter the conclusion reached earlier that the rank and status were considered to be appropriate." NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter of MND to Dr. Gallagher. dated 20 September, 1948.

Churches⁴⁷ and Archbishop Roy pressed the Minister for reconsideration of the question of more senior rank for the Principal Chaplains, Protestant and Roman Catholic, of the Army and the Air Force. Roy's letter was a masterpiece. After praising Claxton for his support, Roy went on to write:

In peace time, the Principal Chaplain has in the normal discharge of his duties, to meet all the Bishops of the country. He is therefore one of the best ambassadors of the armed forces to the Hierarchy. The Bishops do not well understand why an officer with jurisdiction from one ocean to another is not of a higher rank than a Battalion Commander.

It is almost useless to say the within the Army and the Air Force, the authority of the Principal Chaplain of each Branch must needs be enforced by a rank proportionate to his trust.⁴⁸

The matter was then considered by a committee of senior officers who reexamined the entire subject of chaplains ranks. After careful reflection they recommended that the Principal Chaplains of the Army and Air Force be granted the rank of full Colonel and Group Captain respectively. They further recommended that the Army and the RCAF conform to the Navy and provide a similar proportion of Lieutenant Colonels and Wing Commanders in support of the proposed structure and in light of the strength and geographic distribution of the particular

⁴⁷ Letter from W.J Gallagher to MND, dated 13 Dec 48.

⁴⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from ArchBishop Roy to MND, dated 30 December, 1948.

service.⁴⁹ The Senior Officers committee had presented solid arguments but their recommendations were subsequently turned down.

Then, in what appeared to be a dramatic change of heart, the Minister gave in to the pressure. The senior chaplains would be appointed "on a rotational basis from each service for a tour of three years, on completion of which they would retire."⁵⁰ Subject to the approval of the Defence Committee of Cabinet, the rank of the new senior men would be Brigadier General. Persistence and working together with the Roman

⁴⁹ The Committees points were as follows:

- "a. all Principal Chaplains should be placed on the same basis immediately;
- b. the prestige which the appointment carries in ecclesiastical circles;
- c. The rank would be in line with the heads of other Corps in the Army and the same as other Directors in the RCAF;
- d. The organization compared favourably with the JAG and Dental organizations which are headed by a General and a Colonel respectively;
- e. It would offer the padres a fuller career for pension;
- f. Although the Principal chaplains will be Colonels, they might, in civilian life, have reached the rank of Bishop which is usually equated with a Brigadier or equivalent;
- g. these officer are enlisted after a lengthy education and experience in the Church - provision has been made to adjust the retirement ages to compensate for this fac'or;
- h. Their responsibilities are much greater than it would appear, since with the very large number of married personnel, there are dependents who require a great amount of attention (Sunday Schools, Women's Auxiliaries, etc)
- j. The serviceman's problems are usually very closely allied with the military administration and therefore a civilian clergyman usually prefers a chaplain to deal with him."

NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a Meeting of Senior Officers, dated 15 March, 1949.

⁵⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter Claxton to Gallagher, dated 12 April, 1949.

Catholics in the traditional ecclesiastical way, with the help of a world crisis, had won the day and some of the status which the clergy pursued.

The Minister of National Defence then asked the Council of Churches' Committee and the Archbishop if the appointments should be made immediately or if they should wait until 1953. Immediate appointments would mean the first Chaplain General would remain in that position until his retirement in 1957, a full seven years. The minister suggested that the Churches might wish to hold off making the appointment until 1953, when the present incumbent would be retired and the new man would only be able to serve for three years. In any case, the Minister indicated that nominations were open for the job. Claxton wrote:

"If the Canadian Council of Churches has any suggestion as to which serving chaplains should be appointed Chaplain General to the Forces (Protestant), I shall be glad to give your nomination careful consideration."⁵¹

The chaplaincy committee was delighted, but having achieved one goal in the quest for appropriate status, it was not about to give up. Even with a Chaplain General there was still the question of the rank of the Principal Chaplains.

Two months later Dr. Gallagher wrote to Claxton with the views of the Council of Churches. Referring to the above letter from Claxton, Gallagher wrote:

⁵¹ *ibid.*

Our committee appreciates greatly the consideration you have given our representations from time to time, and especially the desire that there should be no ground for any suggestion that the armed services are not fully conscious of their responsibility for the spiritual and moral welfare of their personnel.

In our discussion of this question of the rank and status of the Principal Chaplains, the members of our committee have expressed a strong feeling that the standing of these officers in each force should parallel that of the senior officers of other professional services, and that the lack of such status (1) hindered the full effectiveness of the Chaplain services and (2) suggested a lack of appreciation of the significance of religion and the Church.⁵²

Gallagher went on to point out the basic arguments that he had already put forth: that the idea of having only one Principal Chaplain had not worked in Great Britain nor in the USA, and the fear that waiting 4 years for a Chaplain of the Forces and then the problem of choosing the man for the job would create more problems than it would solve. Gallagher's committee was aware of the recommendations of the senior officers and added that, if accepted, they

...would offer a career in the chaplain services that would provide encouragement and incentive to all chaplains in the service and it would give an added inducement to prospective chaplains.⁵³

Gallagher concluded with two remarks:

...the fact that there is a dual chaplain service in each Force is a matter of policy based upon certain well-known factors of the Canadian situation for which, in our judgement, neither

⁵² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Dr. Gallagher to the MND, dated 17 May, 1949.

⁵³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Dr. Gallagher to the MND, dated 17 May, 1949.

the Protestant nor the Roman Catholic Chaplain Service should be penalized.⁵⁴

and

It is our view that the 'cure of souls' is of the highest value and importance, and that the Chaplain Services should be given whatever facilities are necessary to enable them to render the most effective ministry. We believe that both the military authorities and the people of Canada would support that view.⁵⁵

Gallagher then added one more argument from a former letter:

... the rank and status of the Principal Chaplain is not merely a matter of his personal standing, but has an important bearing upon the estimation in which his work is held, the staff and facilities provided for it, and the priorities that go with rank in any military establishment. These in turn bear upon the opportunity for effective service.⁵⁶

When still no change took place, Archbishop Roy wrote once more to the Minister of National Defence. Roy wrote:

But there is one point on which I feel that I must insist, namely: that a minimum rank is required in order that a senior staff officer be enabled to do his work efficiently. This I have learned thorough my own experience during the war, and I have seen more than confirmed by all that I know of the peace time force. In that respect I must say that the present set up does not give the Principal Chaplains a full opportunity of discharging their duties. Because of their rank, the Principal Chaplains practically are not considered as heads of services. At a parade or mess dinner, with regard to accommodation, clerical staff or transportation, which always follow rank automatically, they stand far behind the heads of other services, with relatively junior officers. That little touch of colour that goes with the

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

rank of Colonel is the borderline which, to all practical purposes, sharply distinguishes from a mere assistant an officer entrusted with a higher administrative responsibility. Whether there be a Chaplain General of the three services or not, the Principal Chaplain of each Service will always have difficulty in efficiently acting and being properly recognized as the Director of a service that functions all over Canada, unless he be at least a Colonel. This is not only felt among the members of the Forces: it is also very obvious to the civilians, who often wonder why the head of an important service should come after so many others when he attends a ceremony.⁵⁷

The chaplains, Protestant and Roman Catholic, were clearly concerned with their status in the military and they were not about to accept anything less than what they thought was their due. They had regained the wartime status for their most senior chaplain and now sought to set the rest of the Chaplains' Service right.

Chaplains and the Churches

The Roman Catholic Church

At the beginning of World War II, as noted above, the Roman Catholic Church insisted on being a separate organization from the Protestants. After the war they were determined to remain that way and to keep their parishioners free from Protestant spiritual influence. The obvious point

⁵⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Roy to MND, dated 3 October, 1949.

of contact was in the church parade. One might speculate that the Roman Catholics were not impressed with the cavalier attitude of the Protestants towards welcoming all worshippers.

Attendance at military church parades was always a problem. During the war, church services had been held when and where practical. Attendance at worship was optional, although there were times when men, by accident or by design, ended up at the "wrong" service. In the years that followed the war, rules were established and then modified until church attendance was so optional and legalistically bound that church parades were no longer practical. By the mid-1950s it was even difficult for the military to participate in the Canadian Legion's annual Remembrance Day services.

There was an initial enthusiasm when the war was over and 9,000 Canadian servicemen paraded in front of the Cenotaph in Ottawa on Sunday, November 11, 1945. It took two hours for the parade to pass the memorial. The parade then split into three sections with the Roman Catholics heading to St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church and the Protestants going to Landsdowne Park. Jewish personnel proceeded into a small building at the park ⁵⁸ From that time onward, Churches would plan special services of remembrance to be held on the Sunday closest to November 11. Special church parades of local military representatives and parades, separately organized by

⁵⁸ THE OTTAWA CITIZEN, 12 November, 1945.

the Royal Canadian Legion, would take place at local cenotaphs at 11 a.m. on November 11th.

On 5 July, 1946, the three Principal Chaplains of the Protestants met and suggested that King's Regulations(RCN) published in 1945 and based on the Navy Act of 1944, should be used as the basis for a revised set of peacetime military regulations for the army. Brigadier WHS MacKlin received the chaplains' request and noted that:

...the Naval Regulations are forthright and specific and in particular they require a church service for every ship or establishment every Sunday and compulsory attendance at same unless duties or weather prevents, or unless an individual has been granted permission to be absent.⁵⁹

MacKlin recommended use of the regulation, but noted prophetically, that "the vexed question of compulsory Church parades will probably keep cropping up, but I am inclined to think that we would meet with severe opposition if these were abolished."⁶⁰ The army gave the matter due consideration and decided to go with British Army regulations which seemed to be more flexible.

The British practice recorded in the British Armies King's Regulation 1605 read:

So far as the exigencies of the service permits,
Commanding Officers will afford facilities for

⁵⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Memorandum from Brigadier MacKlin to Adjutant General, dated 5 July, 1946.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

the attendance of officers and soldiers and their families at public worship, including celebrations of Holy Communion. Except as provide in paragraphs 1606-08, officers and soldiers will not be ordered to attend a religious service or to parade before a service or on returning from it.⁶¹

This meant that Commanding Officers could call compulsory Church parades only on occasions of national or local importance when religious services were required. It also meant that no officer or man would be required to take part in the service of any religion other than his own denominational group. The order added:

Arms or side arms will not be carried when attending divine service unless required in connection with other aspects of a day of national thanksgiving, or remembrance, or a military funeral. Under no circumstances will bayonets be drawn on such occasions."⁶²

Boys under the age of 17 1/2, at educational or training establishments, would be required to attend Divine Service as a part of their curriculum. Bands might be ordered to play at services and a suitable number of troops could be ordered to a funeral. The new order which permitted this limited amount of religious freedom in the military came into effect in November 1946.⁶³

⁶¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. British Armies King's Regulation for the British Army, 1605-1608, dated 4 September, 1945.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC meeting, 8 November, 1946.

In response to the Protestant initiative, the Roman Catholics agreed to permit their chaplains and personnel to participate in certain types of parades where prayers were said. Permission to worship together in any manner was seen as a real breakthrough. The type of parades permitted were those that were primarily and essentially of a military character and where the prayers offered were of a non-denominational nature and were offered only incidentally to the parade by the Commanding Officer, if there was no chaplain available, or by a service chaplain (RC) or (P), or both, in uniform and without any distinctly religious insignia or vestment usually reserved for Divine Service.

This seemed to quiet the concerns surrounding church parades for the moment, but they continued to be a sensitive issue. Almost one year later, in WJ Gallagher's first official letter as General Secretary of the new committee, he noted that "...a rumour exists that a change may be made in the regulations regarding Church Parades."⁶⁴ In the opinion of the Council of Churches Committee "it is not compulsory Church Parades that is objectionable, but the exacting demands by which they are sometimes surrounded;"⁶⁵ The Committee urged the Minister of National Defence to let Commanding Officers keep the discretionary power to order

⁶⁴ Letter from W.J. Gallagher to the Minister of National Defence, dated 22 September, 1947.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

Church Parades when appropriate. In response, Brooke Claxton wrote to Gallagher:

With respect to compulsory Church parades, while consideration was at one time given to instituting voluntary parades, which I believe is the British practice, it has now been decided that the present regulations should remain in effect."⁶⁶

Within two years the situation had changed again. Meeting together on 17 May, 1949, the senior Roman Catholic chaplains convinced the senior Protestant chaplains that all orders referring to combined divine services should be cancelled. The Roman Catholic authorities felt that the provisions of the order had not been observed in the spirit that they were written and that Roman Catholic personnel were still being required to take part in Protestant religious services. This was contrary to Roman Catholic Church doctrine and therefore unacceptable. At the next meeting of the Military Personnel Members Committee, to whom the Chaplains reported, it was agreed that the order should be cancelled.⁶⁷ The cancellation had the effect of leaving the only regulation referring to this matter as King's Regulation (Canada) 1149 which stated, in part, "...but no officer or soldier will be obliged to attend the services of any

⁶⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from the Minister of National Defence to W.J. Gallagher, dated 10 June, 1948.

⁶⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC meeting, 26 May, 1949.

religious body other than his own."⁶⁸

In the effort to cooperate with the Roman Catholic chaplains and to treat their followers with due respect, the Protestants had given up more than they had realized. Indirectly, they had given Protestant servicemen permission to avoid going to church except when they were absolutely forced to go.

In 1950 an effort was made to introduce a new order which would make it possible for personnel of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths to participate together in ceremonial parades such as those held on Remembrance Day. This order said that joint parades could be held providing that: the ceremony did not include prayer, the ceremony did not include hymns, or other forms of religious expression of a denominational nature, and the parade is entirely military in character. On such occasions, however, it would be appropriate for the officer commanding the parade to order the observance of a period of silence "in reverence for the dead."

As cancellation of the previous order for church parades was initiated by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, they were first requested to comment and the order was approved by the Roman Catholic Bishop Ordinary. The Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, on the other hand, declined approval on the grounds that, in any ceremony of this type,

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

the religious element was essential to the service. They did not consider the singular period of silence to be worship.

On 27 June, 1951, Brooke Claxton, the Minister of National Defence, wrote a personal letter to Archbishop Roy after having discussed the matter of the Remembrance Day parade with him in Quebec. There is no record indicating that Roy responded. The situation was left in 1951 with the military unable to put a formed unit on a church parade unless separate arrangements had been made for each faith. To the military mind, this was not a workable solution to the problem. Chaplains on both sides of the issue were frustrated by the impasse and, as will be noted in the next chapter, even the Canadian Legion was prepared to write off military participation in Remembrance Day parades.

The Church of England

During the war many of the chaplains had risked life and limb to do their job and afterwards they faced the stressful challenges of the peacetime military. They knew that they had their work cut out for them, but they never expected criticism from within. In fact, there had been a critical element from within the Church of England for many years⁶⁹, but

⁶⁹ Typical of the criticism was the concern expressed by Church of England clergymen in the Ottawa area about the cavalier ecumenical attitudes of Bishop Wells. On one specific occasion Wells was taken to task by the Bishop of Ottawa for preaching in a local Presbyterian Church without first gaining

they had been mostly silenced by the exigencies of the times. As peace came and the chaplain service expanded, old chains were rattled and questions which the chaplains thought had been long since put to rest, came to the fore.

The question asked was one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the fact that it was asked at all was an indication of way in which the old ecclesiastical elite was falling apart. The chaplains' service was seen to be a wartime exigency that tied denominations too closely together. Even when the Churches co-operated with each other in the postwar years, there was always a sense of competition.⁷⁰ Also, the chaplains were presumed by some clergymen to be too close to the government. The major Protestant Churches in Canada have always had a sense of power apart from the state and in some cases have preferred to have complete autonomy. There were those to whom it never seemed to occur that things should be otherwise and even after World War II their self-assurance had continued.

More specifically, in its dealings with military chaplains and with the government, it never occurred to some

his approval. The letter was only contemptuously polite for it was followed by a letter of complaint to the Primate.

⁷⁰ When new suburbs were being built in the early 1950s there was some evidence of practical consideration by the Churches but they always sought to save the best location for themselves. The new suburbanites found themselves selecting "religious outlets just as they did supermarkets." The main considerations would be location and range of facilities. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era. p. 169.

elitist elements, especially those of the Church of England, that their Church should be given anything less than preferential treatment. The government and the military tried to respect the position of all of the Churches but insisted during reorganization that the chaplains should fit into existing military organizations and structures. The Church of England soon learned that they would not have complete freedom in the military but would be tied, roughly, into the same bureaucratic organization as the other churches. As the awareness of this and the size of the peacetime military grew, it was the Reverend Harold Luxton, the Church of England's Bishop of Huron, who brought the matter to a head. Bishop Luxton looked upon the chaplains' service as a simple, military, wartime exigency that had no role or purpose in peacetime.

Partly because the Church of England represented the largest single group in the Army during World War II, and partly because of certain rules of this denomination which made cooperation more difficult, and also, perhaps, in part out of respect for the position occupied by the Church of England as the State Church in England, the Anglicans had enjoyed a rather special position in the wartime chaplains' service.⁷¹ Naturally, this privilege was forced to fade out

⁷¹ Wherever a Church of England chaplain occupied a senior position during the war, his assistant would be of any one of the other denominations. Wherever the senior was of some other denomination, his Assistant had to be Church of England. Similarly in hospital chaplaincies there were always three

during the demobilization period.

Before and during the war, Bishop Harold Luxton of Huron had been a staunch supporter of chaplains. He had encouraged several men to join the military, not the least of whom was Reverend Harold Appleyard, who would become, much later, the Anglican Bishop Ordinary to the Forces. But, after the war, this support stopped.

In December 1949, Bishop Luxton wrote to the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Brooke Claxton. Noting the growth of the two new Air Force communities of Centralia and Clinton, he requested a site in each of the communities for construction of a Church of England, which he would supply with his own clergy. He felt that a grant from public funds to help to build a parish hall would also be reasonable. Luxton noted that he was asking for no more than had been given to the Roman Catholic Church, who already building plans in progress. He realized the difficulty in dealing with the many divisions of the Protestant Church but protested against "...the war-time expedient in interdenominationalism being continued through the years of peace."⁷² He described the religion being offered by the chaplains as "...a vague conglomerate thing beaten up by the Air Force Chaplaincy

appointed, two of whom were Protestant. One of the Protestants had always been Church of England.

⁷² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter Bishop of Huron to the Minister of National Defence, dated 7 December, 1949.

authorities."⁷³ These authorities had decided that all Protestant enlisted men should be tossed together in one group and now they would go one step farther and apply the same program to the families. Bishop Luxton sought the same opportunity to minister to his people as had been so rightly granted to the Roman Catholics.

The minister received Luxton's letter and referred it back to the Personnel Members Committee who passed it on to the Joint Services Chaplaincy Committee to draft a reply. With the draft came a confidential note to the PMC. The Chaplains noted that Luxton was a newly appointed Bishop and was probably not aware of the development of the chaplains' service and of its ecclesiastical authority. The Church of England had been kept informed of the service in the peace time forces, had its own representative on the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee and even had its own denominational committee to deal with particular Church of England problems. They felt that once Bishop Luxton was acquainted with the facts his assessment would be altered in both tone and content. The JSCC(P) went on to speak highly of the chaplains who were serving on the two bases. Clearly, the JSCC thought that this challenge was no more than a case of an uninformed new Bishop.

The reply from the Minister of National Defence was dated

⁷³ *ibid.*

9 January, 1950, and Bishop Luxton was quick to respond.⁷⁴ Luxton acknowledged the courteous reply but complained that it only defended the chaplain set-up that he had criticized. He repeated his demand for a site on which to build churches in Centralia and in Clinton. Luxton's basic message was that the chaplains could minister to the men, but he would be responsible for the families. If all of this was not acceptable to the chaplains, Luxton was prepared to raise the matter at General Synod.

Meeting on the 26th of January, 1950, the Anglican Chaplaincy committee⁷⁵ was very concerned about Luxton's drastic proposal. There was a serious shortage of clergymen and of money in the Anglican communion. The Church of England could not afford to supply additional clergymen, nor did it want to upset the other non-Catholic denominations. They decided to write to Bishop Luxton and bring to his attention that the present policies and their committee had been established by the House of Bishops to deal with military matters. If Luxton wanted to change things he should have been communicating with the Bishop of Ottawa who had been designated by the House of Bishops to look after the

⁷⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter of Bishop of Huron to Minister of National Defence, 16 January, 1950.

⁷⁵ The Anglican Chaplaincy Committee was composed of Bishop Beverley, Rev. F.H. Cosgrave, Rev. Canon C.J.S. Stuart, Rev. Lt Col C.G.F. Stone. Regrets came from Rev. Canon Judd and regrets and a letter from Rev. Archdeacon Hepburn, the wartime Chaplain General.

chaplains' services, and not directly with the Minister of National Defence.

On 18 April, 1950, the Minister received a petition from the Secretary of the House of Bishops of the Anglican Church in the Province of Ontario. It read:

That this house requests the authorities of the Department of National Defence to delay further action in the matter of building 'Protestant' Chapels for the two Air Force communities adjoining R.C.A.F. stations at Centralia and Clinton until the matter of Ministration to Anglican families in these new communities be reviewed by the House of Bishops in September.⁷⁶

This was the last of the matter, if one is to refer to military files; but turning to the Diocese Archives in Ottawa and to the papers of Canon Hepburn the story continues.

Bishop Luxton received a long letter from W. J. Gallagher, Chairman of the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee. Gallagher explained the chaplaincy arrangement with the government and the Churches in some detail. He noted the great sensitivity of the chaplains to the wishes of the Anglican General Synod that met in Winnipeg in 1946 and to the wishes of all denominations. Gallagher wrote that the chaplains "greatly resented" Luxton's previous suggestion that in their teaching they omit almost half of the New Testament. He noted that chaplains had been encouraged to make every effort to encourage the service families to preserve their

⁷⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter Bishop of Algoma to the Minister of National Defence. 18 April, 1950.

denominational affiliations and to provide the opportunity for them to receive the ministrations of their own Church. A note on the bottom of the letter, presumably a note to file from Hepburn reads:

Mr. Langford, Rector of Exeter which is the nearest parish to Centralia. Families living off the station in the town of Exeter are not visited by the incumbent and at the same time the Bishop is seeking entrance for his clergy into the Air Force establishment. This statement made by an official of the Parish and not from Air Force personnel! He says the clergyman has the wrong attitude to Air Force personnel.⁷⁷

On June 5th Luxton replied to Gallagher. The Bishop chose to put aside his comments regarding "the inadequacy of the present Chaplaincy Service." Luxton wrote: "If you, as members of different Christian Communions, do not see the inadequacy of our present approach to the men of the forces, when compared to the complete adequacy of the Roman Catholic approach, then I have little hope of arousing you to seek something better than the present watered-down 'Protestant' ministrations. For my part, I shall keep on pressing until we find a better system than the present one."⁷⁸

Luxton then went on to revive what he considered to be his main issue. He accused the committee of having "overstepped its rights" and of having "gone far beyond any

⁷⁷ Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, file of Canon Hepburn. Letter from W.J. Gallagher to Bishop Luxton, 15 May, 1950.

⁷⁸ Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa, file of Canon Hepburn. Letter from Luxton to Gallagher, 5 June, 1950.

terms of reference granted...by the Church of England."⁷⁹ Luxton's immediate concern was "to discover who holds pastoral authority over the Anglican families in these two new communities of Centralia and Clinton" in his Diocese. He said that he did not question the good intentions and the goodwill of the chaplains, but he regretted "that they have accepted limitations that they view as being necessitated by "practical politics". Luxton's conviction was that "These communities should partake of the normal Church life of a Canadian community and not have imposed upon them a Governmental 'Church union' that was a wartime expedient, limited solely to the Chaplaincy work in the Armed Forces."⁸⁰ He advised the chaplains to prepare a brief to justify their position to the House of Bishops at the bishops' next meeting in September 1950.

What transacted between this time and September 1950 one can only surmise. No such brief was prepared by the chaplains, but a paper was presented to the House of Bishops requesting that a man be appointed as Anglican Bishop ordinary to the Forces.

In the request the chaplains asked that a Bishop, who would be already ordained, might be designated to look after them. This, they argued, would maintain the proper Church

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

government, and was a system that was presently in effect in the Church of England in Britain and in the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. The Bishop so designated would be the Anglican representative on the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, would offer the proper ecclesiastical supervision to the young chaplains and would mean that the work of the Anglican Church in the military would receive proper and fitting recognition throughout the Church.⁸¹

In October the whole matter was put on hold as the Principal Chaplain of the Army: Colonel Cy Stone, fought desperately for Anglican clergy to go with the Special Service Force to Korea. Three months of searching had still left him short two Anglican chaplains. Stone felt that the problem of manpower "Was only part of the general picture of the lack of appreciation of the real work of the whole Church."⁸² He described a large service held in Ottawa to say goodbye to two battalions of the Royal Canadian Regiment as they left for Korea. Stone wrote:

I felt very sad because here is a regiment which all through its history has had none other than a Church of England Chaplain whenever it went on active service. It seems a pity both for the Regiment and the Church if we have to break that tradition."⁸³

⁸¹ Minutes of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 1950.

⁸² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, bcx 6582. Letter Stone to Primate, 27 October, 1950.

⁸³ *ibid.*

Bishop Luxton's Anglican bias came through in his arguments against the chaplains. He, quite obviously, did not give very much status to any of the serving chaplains. Perhaps even more important, was the way in which he perceived the Roman Catholic Church. He felt that the Roman Catholics had rightly received chapels on the new military bases, and now asked for equal and fair treatment for the Anglicans. Given the traditional rivalries, one might assume that Luxton perceived the Roman Church as having taken over the status that had traditionally gone to the Anglicans. Having to rely on the pluralistic likes of the chaplains' organization, a mere wartime exigency, had probably led to this unacceptable situation.

Chapel Construction

Being a part of the peacetime military meant that the chaplains had to permit themselves to be caught up in the same political and financial milieu as their host organization and it was not long before they found out what that implied. At first it looked promising for the chaplains when the plans that they produced to build new chapels in the accommodation areas of the bases were accepted, but military chaplains had to rely on the government to construct and pay for the chapels which then would become public buildings. Unfortunately, even as the plans were put to paper they had to be revised and

cut, and cut again, due to the government's financial limitations.

The presence of a permanent chaplain's organization in the Canadian Forces called for the development of permanent chapels on military bases. The chapels would be visible symbols of the presence of the Church. They would indicate that the Church and the military cared for the serviceman, his work and his family. Neither the chaplains nor the Churches were prepared for the struggle that ensued as the government worked to cut back the costs of construction.

During the war, many rooms and temporary buildings had been put to use as Chapels. As the number of military personnel in Canada increased and their families began to live on or near the bases, the need for new chapels became even more apparent. On the larger bases after the war, the chaplains used their initiative and took over what buildings they could for chapel activities.⁸⁴ The few permanent chapels that did exist in 1950 were far too small and, with one exception⁸⁵, in poor repair. If the Church was to display a

⁸⁴ At Camp Borden prisoners had constructed a small chapel in the detention barracks. Soldiers and their families made do with a former warehouse. Archives of Base Museum, Camp Borden.

⁸⁵ The chapel at HMCS Cornwallis, built during the war, was in good repair and was used in 1950 by Roman Catholics and Protestants. It seated 100 people at a time when the base trained all of the sailors for the Canadian Navy on the east coast. It is still in use as the CFB Cornwallis Roman Catholic Chapel. Historical Records file 5111-1, CFB Cornwallis.

caring presence in the military for all to see, then at the very least it would need well built, permanent chapels.

During the summer of 1950, the three Principal Chaplains submitted plans for the proposed new chapels to the military. These plans were tentatively approved and in November the requirements were passed to architects Marani and Morris of Toronto for preliminary sketches.⁸⁶

The construction engineers of the RCAF would be in charge of the building project and they received the first sketches in January, 1951. The chapels would come in Roman Catholic and Protestant models and be built in several different sizes. The Roman Catholic chapels would come in four sizes, ranging from 150 to 400 seats and having one to four classrooms depending on the chapel size. They would also have suitable living accommodation for the priest with kitchen, bathroom, living room, bedroom small office. The Protestant chapels would also come in four sizes. They would include a Sunday school hall and an office space as well as a club room and a kitchenette.

The plans were approved with minor modifications but the Director of Construction Engineering decided that the costs of construction were going to be far too high. As a result the Principal Chaplains were asked to cut the chapels down to what was "absolutely necessary" and a hold up design order was

⁸⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. As noted in the Minutes of PMC meeting, June, 1953.

sent to the architects.⁸⁷

After considerable discussion a letter was sent to Marani and Morris⁸⁸ saying that what was needed was a chapel to accommodate 250 people, with a chancel 25 feet deep and 40 feet wide. The nave of the proposed building should be capable of expansion to take 400 people. Behind the chancel there should be a vestry, sacristy, one office, and living quarters for the Roman Catholics: consisting of one bedroom, living room, kitchenette and bathroom. In the Protestant case these rooms would be used for classrooms or offices. In addition a large 30 by 40 foot meeting room and for the Protestants, three classrooms which were each 20 by 30 feet. These chapels could be planned with a basement if that would be more practical. The architects were asked to prepare another set of plans.

The architects complied and a second set of designs was submitted to the RCAF.⁸⁹ After minor changes and many consultations, the Joint Services Accommodations Committee(JSAC) approve the new designs.⁹⁰ Estimates for the

⁸⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC Minutes, June 1953. This took place on 14 February, 1951.

⁸⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter DCED to the firm of Marani and Morris, Architects, dated 19 June, 1951.

⁸⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter of Marani and Morris to DCED, RCAF, dated 14 August, 1951.

⁹⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Minutes of JSAC, dated 12 October, 1951.

cost of this new design ranged from \$118,000 to \$189,000 per chapel and the architects were advised to proceed. Further sketches were produced on 21 November, 1951, along with a schedule of completion dates.

Satisfactory progress with the construction project seemed to be reaffirmed during February and March 1952 when the Roman Catholics received the draft specifications and semi-final prints of working drawings for their chapels, but final government approval was still to come. It was at this point that the Deputy Minister of National Defence's office, through a Mr. Davis, intimated to the military engineers that unless requirements and costs were drastically reduced the whole chapel programme would have to be scrapped.⁹¹ The architects were again asked to stop work and to await further government approval.

The situation did not look good and at this time a survey of the available chapel space was done by the chaplains. It found its way, by unrecorded means, into the hands of the Minister of National Defence.⁹² The survey reported that in the Navy there was a good chapel at Cornwallis, although it was small and used by Roman Catholics and Protestants. There were chapels at Naden, Shearwater, Stadacona and Dockyard.

⁹¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC minutes, May, 1952.

⁹² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 5539, "Survey of Military Chapels", June, 1952.

All of these were in converted parts of old buildings. The Army reported a number of fairly good reconstructed huts but McGivney Junction did not have a chapel and was thirty miles from the nearest civilian church. The Roman Catholics were using an old powder magazine in Quebec City and the Protestants used a dental clinic in Ladner. There were no chapels at Ipperwash, Picton, Sunnybrooke, Shilo, Dundern, Carpiequet, Greisbach, Gordon Head, Work point or Vernon. But in Fort Churchill there was a new permanent church opened on 24 February, 1952. At the time there was a large American military and scientific presence at Churchill. Camp Wainright, which had been a training and staging base for Korea, reported a nicely reconstructed building. For its part the Air Force had converted canteens into chapels at Gimli and Winnipeg, and used a former link trainer building in Aylmer. Every base with married quarters complained of overcrowding and of inadequate space for Sunday School. The best complaint came from Chilliwak, British Columbia, where the Sunday School met in a theatre. The reporter noted: "a wet canteen abuts the end of the chapel - Sunday School accommodation grim, classes have to be held in washrooms."⁹³ Clearly, from the chaplains' point of view, something had to be done about the chapel situation.

At this point the Minister of National Defence seemed to

be quite sympathetic with the chaplains. He confided to the Defence Secretary that even the buildings described as adequate by the chaplains were not always suitable for worship.⁹⁴ Of the particular design of chapel that had a Protestant altar at one end and a Roman Catholic altar at the other, with pews whose backs could move so that parishioners could sit in the direction of their choice, the minister wrote:

The old wartime chapels were designed as a temporary measure but the experiment has proved unsatisfactory from both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant standpoint. Where this type of chapel is used by Protestants and Roman Catholics, it necessarily means considerable limitations in the services of both denominations. On units where there is a large number of dependents, this type is totally inadequate."⁹⁵

The memo went on to note that Sunday School accommodation was severely overcrowded. Meanwhile, the military bureaucratic wheels continued to turn as the Director of Construction Engineering: Mr. Baker, attempted to cut the costs below \$100,000. Several schemes were prepared and revised until a design estimated at \$85,000 was considered as suitable and was sent to the JSAC for final approval.

When the Principal Chaplains saw the revised plans they were furious. They complained that: "The attached plan which

⁹⁴ NAC, MG 32, B5. In appendix B of the memo of the Minister of National Defence to the Defense Secretary, 11 June, 1952.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

was submitted appears to be mischievous in that it provides one type of chapel for the Roman Catholics and another type for the Protestants which is totally inadequate, and completely ignored the recommendations that were forwarded to the JSAC by a full meeting of the JSCC."⁹⁶ The chaplains, Protestant and Roman Catholic, felt that the whole matter had gone beyond the discussion stage and called for action on the part of the services concerned. They suggested that the Personnel Members Committee "might wish to discuss this with the Deputy Minister concerned with a view to expediting the acceptance of a satisfactory plan and the expediting of the construction program in this fiscal year."⁹⁷ Reporting to the PMC on the complaint. Mr. Baker claimed that the plans had not been sent to the chaplains until 2 July 1952 and that they had been returned to him with the signed approval of Chaplains Foote and Bergeron.⁹⁸ This explanation covered Mr. Baker but contributed very little towards the fellowship of the chaplains.

Now it was decided that the architects would have to have all of the final drawings done within one month. Marani and Morris could not do it because their people were on

⁹⁶ NAC. RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581, Memo JSCC to the MND, 23 June, 1952.

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

⁹⁸ Chaplain Foote was the Chaplain of the Fleet and did not have the same interest in chapel construction as did the Principal Chaplains of the Army and Air Force.

vacation and they lost the contract.

A new contract was negotiated with Duncan N. MacIntosh of Hamilton who agreed to produce working drawings in 3 weeks if he could make use of the work already done for the Roman Catholic chapel. Plans were produced and received by the military about 16 August, 1952. Later the drawings revealed some discrepancies and these were corrected. Macintosh was specifically told to keep the price under 85,000, and he did.

The chaplains drew back and chapel construction began. A new complicated formula had been worked out to determine how large a chapel any base should get.⁹⁹ The Churches were delighted with the progress that had been made, but wondered about the cold and unthinking decisions to cut out parts of the buildings, especially the basements, that seemed so necessary to chapel operations. The Protestants were happy

⁹⁹ Some felt that there should be a joint service formula, but it was necessary to judge every case by its own merits. Factors were

1. Basic congregation size, based on 2.5 dependents per serviceman living on or off base and Roman Catholic or Protestant

2. At any one time it was assumed that 10% were leave, 5% on duty and 3 % sick (including dependents)

3. Distribution of faith Protestant and Roman Catholic

RCN	68%	32%
Army	61%	39%
RCAF	65%	39%
Valcartier	10%	90%

4. Also attendance at isolated posts: 25% of total population, semi isolated 13% and adjacent to larger churches 9%. Accessibility of PMQs and location in barrack lines or PMQ areas.

5. Chapels would come in three sizes: 250, 350 and 450 seats and they would not have basements.

to see the Roman Catholics being treated in a fair and reasonable manner, but wondered why the plans for the Roman Chapels were well presented while the Protestant plans were no more than four lines on a paper.

Naval Chapels

Care and concern for the dependents of Naval personnel, or the lack of care, was reflected in the struggle to construct chapels at the new Navy town sites in Halifax and Victoria. In 1950, when homes were being built for the families of sailors at Shannon Park near Halifax and at Belmont Park near Victoria, British Columbia, it was suddenly discovered that no space had been allocated for chapels. This meant that no funds had been allocated by the government contractors¹⁰⁰ for Chapels and that all costs, should chapels be built, would have to come from Naval operational

¹⁰⁰ Central Housing and Mortgage Corp.

estimates.¹⁰¹ This pleased some senior people in the government who noted that Navy chapels had always been and should remain in operational areas and be, primarily, for the sailors. The Naval chaplains noted that the Navy recognized the chaplains' duties with dependents and they urged that, even with operational money, the chapels should be built in the married quarters areas.¹⁰² When the new houses began to be occupied there were still no plans for chapels and the chaplains began to use their initiative. There were no civilian churches nearby and so chapels and Sunday schools began to meet in the public schools.¹⁰³

In a private interview with the Minister of National Defence, Dr. Gallagher noted that in the case of British Columbia the school was co-operative but was not happy with

¹⁰¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582 Letter from C.M. Drury, Deputy Minister, to the Chaplain of the Fleet, dated 22 August, 1952, referred to in a copy of a Memorandum for Mr. Claxton from W.J. Gallagher, 14 October, 1952. "While the minister is willing to facilitate and agree to the construction of chapels at locations where we have a deficiency in this regard, he does not feel that it is within departmental policy to extend these projects for the provision of chapels for dependents. He does not feel, therefore, that he can approve the recommendation for construction at Shannon Park and at Belmont Park as these are locations removed from service establishments and devoted entirely to dependents."

¹⁰² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. JSCC(P) Minutes, dated 8 May, 1950.

¹⁰³ Archives of the Maritime Museum, CFB Halifax. Shannon Park History file. Easter Sunday, 1952 was the date of the first service of worship in Shannon Park in the Shannon Junior School. The chaplain at the time was Rev Tom L. Jackson and later that year Reverend Gordon Faraday was appointed.

this arrangement. Apparently someone outside of the military was also objecting because provincial law forbade the use of schools for such purposes. In any case the whole situation was only possible at Belmont Park because it was taking place on federal property and it had the support of the school teachers, many of whom returned to teach their classes Christian education on Sundays. Also adding fuel to Gallagher's fire was the letter, mentioned above, that the Chaplain of the Fleet had received from C.M. Drury, the Deputy Minister. It indicated that the MND would not build chapels for any dependents. On the letter had been added a note that truly reflected the thought of an uncaring bureaucracy: "the government does not assume responsibility for the welfare of dependents, either spiritual or physical."¹⁰⁴

Gallagher argued that such a statement was contrary to Queen's Regulations, volume I, para 33.01 and 33.03.¹⁰⁵ In fact, argued Gallagher, the government has and does look after dependents with housing, schools, hospitals where necessary

¹⁰⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582 Letter from C.M. Drury, Deputy Minister, to the Chaplain of the Fleet, dated 22 August, 1952, referred to in a copy of a Memorandum for Mr. Claxton from W.J. Gallagher, 14 October, 1952.

¹⁰⁵ "a station shall...provide the opportunity for an officer or man or his family to attend religious services..." and the Chaplain "shall promote the moral and spiritual welfare of all persons on the station or unit..." Queens Regulations and Orders, Volume I, para. 33.01 and 33.03, DND, Ottawa.

and even chapels.¹⁰⁶ He urged that chapels be built quickly at Belmont and Shannon Parks.

Some cnapels were being built at this time. In a letter to the Minister, Gallagher noted that their were seventeen chapels under construction on November 8, 1952. He went on to wonder why sixteen of these were RCAF chapels. It might be of passing interest to note, although there is probably no connection, that the architects in the Canadian military were all part of the RCAF organization.¹⁰⁷ Chapels for places like Shilo had appeared in the estimates for years but had never been approved. In fact, the Army had only one permanent chapel.¹⁰⁸ By 31 December, 1952, the JSCC noted that many contracts had been awarded but most chapels were still inadequate temporary buildings.

In the end it was not the chaplains but the resident servicemen and their families who pushed for and got a chapel for Belmont Park.¹⁰⁹ They signed a petition and sent it to

¹⁰⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Notes on Dr. Gallagher's private interview with the MND on 14 October, 1952.

¹⁰⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to Claxton, dated 13 December, 1952.

¹⁰⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. JSCC memo to PMC, dated 29 December, 1952.

¹⁰⁹ In an oral interview the incumbent of that time admitted to driving young boys around the park in his sports car to hand out leaflets and petitions, but would say nothing more. Chaplain's History Project. Oral interview with Rev Harry Pike.

the member of Parliament for that area: George R. Pearkes. The parents of over 550 children and of all denominations had signed a statement saying that the facilities at John Stubbs Memorial School were far from satisfactory for religious uses. In addition, British Columbia law prevented religious groups from using the schools. While the practice had been overlooked so far, strong objections were being prepared by other groups. If Belmont Park were a civilian community the residents would arrange for churches. Pearkes added that the sailors were often away and that the government had provided facilities for the families: housing and schools. "May I strongly urge," wrote a supportive Pearkes, "that a Church be constructed in Belmont Park because I am sure that if the spiritual needs of their families are provided for, such action would do much to help maintain the morale of the servicemen themselves."¹¹⁰

The first breath of success finally came on 14 April, 1953 when the Chief of Personnel for the Navy presented the case for chapels at Belmont and Shannon Parks to the PMC.¹¹¹ The PMC noted that at this time the Minister of National Defence wanted chapels at units, not at housing sites, and therefore the request for any chapels had to be integrated into the whole service construction requirement. But, the

¹¹⁰ NAC, MG 32, B5. Letter from George R. Pearkes to MND Brooke Claxton, dated 20 February, 1953.

¹¹¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of the PMC, dated, 14 April 1953.

Navy argued, the two places in question were not comparable to other bases. Both were clearly too far from any operational part of the base where a chapel might be placed and too far from civilian Churches for the people to use them. The issue was put aside until the next meeting of the PMC when the decision was made to give the RCN first priority for chapel construction and to request that a review be made of all the chapel construction projects.¹¹²

Chapels were built at the two Naval town sites¹¹³, but it had taken a fight to get them. The new buildings were strategically located in the living areas and served as visible proof that the Navy was concerned about the spiritual care of the servicemen and their families. In the process of getting them built, Dr. Gallagher and the chaplains had learned the value of persistence and the use of outside political push. They had come to realize that they would

¹¹² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737, PMC meeting, 23 April, 1953. The subsequent study confirmed to the PMC on 28 May, 1953, that Air Force plans were well under way, while nothing had happened in the Army or the Navy. The PMC suggested that the latter two groups should be brought up to speed and that special emphasis be placed on Belmont and Shannon Park.

¹¹³ Maritime Museum Archives, CFB Halifax, Shannon Park history file. It was not until 30 April, 1956 that the sod was turned to officiate the building of a chapel at Shannon Park. According to a Vestry book, the first service was held on 1 January, 1958 and the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer took place on January 15, 1958. HMCS Bonaventure donated \$3000.00 toward a stained glass window. The remainder of the funds for the window were canvassed from PMQs and other ships' personnel. Chimes were made possible through a donation from the crew of HMCS Magnificent.

have to deal with a growing and seemingly unfeeling bureaucracy. The Naval housing issue had taught the chaplains that it was necessary to fight for their rights. The time had passed when the clergy could make things happen simply because of their special ecclesiastical status.

Chapter III

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS

The dwindling influence of the civilian Church in government circles was a theme reflected throughout the chaplains' services during the 1950s. To begin with, in 1950, the government looked upon the chaplains as members of the military first and as clergymen second. When changes to the Income Tax Act highlighted the issue and pressed the point, no one in the government seemed to understand the manner in which Gallagher reacted, taking the question all the way to the Prime Minister. To Gallagher it was a question of professional respect and the status of the Church in government eyes, while to the government bureaucracy it was a question of dealing with a group of officers whose professional specialty was that they were clergymen.

While the Canadian government seemed to be taking away the chaplains' status as clergymen, the Legion and the Canadian public were annoyed with the chaplains and the militaries lack of participation in annual Remembrance Day parades. Over-adherence to the rules and regulations of the growing military bureaucracy had dampened military enthusiasm for formal participation in any ceremony that might include a religious service of any kind.

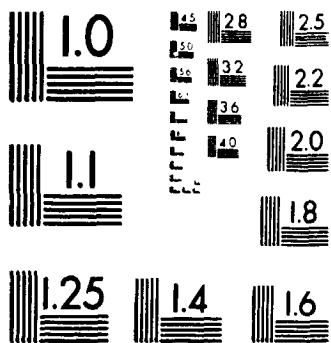
During the Korean conflict the government saw no need for ideological training in Canada such as existed in the United States

military at the time, but the Churches saw the need. Jumping off from the soldiers welfare system in Korea, which was controlled in part by other countries and appeared to be complete but morally relaxed, the chaplains attempted to establish the need for ideological missions. The notion was finally accepted with reservations towards the end of the conflict, but no financial support for the program was given.

Back in Canada, more chapels were coming into being, and the chaplains were coming to be recognized as a more permanent part of the military structure. Like the civilian population in the suburbs, the growing military population flocked to Church. The chapel and its programs were filled. Sunday schools were over crowded. But through it all was a growing feeling that there were people in the government and in the military who did not really care about the Protestant chaplains. Trouble with the allocation of the necessary funds for the new chapels frustrated the senior chaplains and led to the lack of basements and adequate facilities. Perhaps the churches did not have as much support in the government as they had first thought?

The lack of funds even subjected the chaplains' annual retreat to serious review. The informal relationships that had developed at the retreats were looked upon as essential features of the chaplains' organization. In fact, they were a vital part of the growing chaplain bureaucracy. Various alternatives were suggested, but by this time the retreat had

2



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

become institutionalized as a regular part of the chaplain program.

While the financial pressure was on, the government was also looking at the relationship of the civilian Churches with the chaplains. The influence of the Protestant Churches was fading out of the government.

By the late 1950s to be in the Canadian military was an exciting experience. When the Suez crisis of October and November 1956 brought the world to the brink of Nuclear war, Lester Pearson won the nobel Peace Prize for suggesting the use of a United Nations police force. Canadian soldiers served as peacekeepers in Egypt in 1956, Banon in 1958, the Congo in 1960, West Guiana in 1962, Yemen in 1963 and Cyprus in 1964. In 1957 the world was surprised as the USSR launched sputnik and 1958 the NORAD agreement was signed.

Officers or Clergymen

When the Income Tax Act was amended to allow clergymen to be exempt from paying income tax on the rental value of their residence¹, military chaplains found that the new rule did not apply to them. In the opinion of Dr. Gallagher, the language of the act was inclusive of all clergymen, including chaplains. For Gallagher and the chaplains, the income tax

¹ Government of Canada, Income Tax Act, Sect. 11(1)(0).

issue was not just a matter of dollars and cents, it was a question of status.

On 3 July, 1950, Dr. Gallagher wrote to the Minister of National Revenue, the Honourable James J. McConn, to clarify the status of the chaplains.² The chaplains, said Gallagher, are ministers in full status in their church, who come under the jurisdiction of the appropriate church authority and who serve only with the consent and the approval of their respective churches. Because the chaplains were recognized by the churches as having all of the rights and the responsibilities of ministers, they should have the same tax exemptions.

When nothing was heard on the matter by the fall, Gallagher sent a hastener.³ Now he would write to the Minister of Finance on the matter.

The reply from the Minister of Revenue arrived in December. He insisted that chaplains did not fall within the meaning of the Act. "It is our understanding that notwithstanding their calling and the religious duties required of them, all Chaplains are Commissioned Officers entitled to the pay and all allowances of their rank, to which

² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to McConn, dated 3 July, 1950.

³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to McConn, dated 23 October, 1950.

all other officers of that rank are entitled."⁴ The Minister of Revenue was not about to give in to the chaplains.

Undaunted, Gallagher decided that the Minister and his advisors could not have properly understood the position of the chaplains. He wrote again and at length explaining the duties and the status of a chaplain. The chaplains cared for the spiritual welfare of the personnel of the Armed Forces and the use of their residence in their work was no different from the manner in which civilian clergyman used their residences. Chaplains, wrote Gallagher, "should not be penalized for their willingness to exercise ministry among the Armed Forces."⁵ Gallagher went on to note King's Regulations, where it stated: "a chaplain is given a commission in order to establish his status in the service." "Any suggestion that his military status over-rides his position as a minister of religion can not be accepted."⁶ From Gallagher's point of view, the chaplain was primarily a minister of religion and the Commission was only incidental to his ministry.

The Minister of Revenue was quick to respond to Gallagher's attack.

...the opinion is held that it is not the

⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from McConn to Gallagher, dated 15 December, 1950.

⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to McConn, dated 3 January, 1951.

⁶ *ibid.*

legislative intent that the deduction should extend to Chaplains nor does a correct interpretation of the law warrant such conclusions....It is precisely his status in the service and the pay and allowances that are attached to that must determine the matter rather than the qualification required of the person to attain that status or the duties required of the officer.⁷

There would be no tax break for chaplains!

Gallagher was not about to stop here. On the 8th of February, 1951, he wrote to the Prime Minister: the Right Honourable Louis St. Laurent. Gallagher complained of "improper discrimination against clergymen serving in the Armed Forces."⁸ He quoted Hansard of Nov. 10, 1949: "so long as the clergyman's full time occupation is the ministry and he is engaged in full time religious work, he is allowed this deduction from taxable income." "Chaplains", proclaimed Gallagher, "are engaged in full time ministry."⁹

The last word, for the time being, fell to the Minister of National Defence: Brooke Claxton. The Prime Minister had given Claxton Gallagher's letter and Claxton was not impressed. It was as though Gallagher had gone outside of the department to solve an inside problem. Claxton wrote with the backing of the Personnel Members Committee that no

⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582, Letter from McConn to Gallagher, dated 8 January, 1951.

⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from W.J. Gallagher to Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, dated 8 February, 1951.

⁹ *ibid.*

one was going to deny that Chaplains were full time ministers of religion engaged in a full time ministry. The problem was that it was never the intention of the government to include chaplains in the income tax break. Gallagher could take it to the appeal board if he cared to but it might not be worth the effort. Having the tax break would "...give chaplains an advantage over other officers of similar rank and would not help the chaplain in establishing the relationship of trust and understanding they should be first to want to have with their comrades at arms."¹⁰

A battle had been lost but not the tax war. Gallagher waited for a year and raised the question again. In a brief to the MND on matters relating to Korea, Gallagher tied the whole question of taxes into the difficulty in getting chaplains to volunteer for service in the Forces. The chaplain, said Gallagher, was finding himself at a disadvantage compared with the men in the civilian parishes. "He has very little opportunity for promotion or advancement. He has been denied the income tax exemption on the rental value of his house which is allowed other ministers. He must retire from the chaplain service at a much earlier age than the Church requires."¹¹

¹⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Claxton to Gallagher, dated 6 March, 1951.

¹¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Brief of Dr. Gallagher to MND, dated 22 May, 1952.

Certainly there were some Chaplains who were at a disadvantage in comparison with other chaplains, who might have the good fortune to live in less expensive married quarters where even the income taxes were less each month.¹² Chaplains were also at a disadvantage compared to other officers who, entering at the rank of Second Lieutenant through the last year of their college course, may have had books and tuition paid by the government, have had more opportunities for promotion and at a younger age, and who may retire with a higher pension because of more years in the Service. Some of the others had even been given professional allowances in addition to their regular pay. The prospective chaplain, on the other hand, could not be subsidized during his college course, had few opportunities for promotion, and received no professional allowance. Because of the length of training and the required three years experience he had little opportunity to develop enough time in for a pension. Some of the conditions of service could be changed, but Gallagher felt that adjustments should be made with regard to the income tax exemption on the rental value of the Chaplain's residence and, if not there, then in the area of professional

¹² *ibid.* In permanent married quarters the chaplain paid \$74.00 per month for rent light and heat, and \$26.56 per month income tax. If he must find his own living quarters, he must almost inevitably pay a higher charge for rent, light and heat, and for some reason he becomes liable for a higher income tax on his allowances so that he must pay \$36.46 per month income tax.

allowances.

Dr. Gallagher did not win his case, but he did make a point. The Minister of National Defence at least heard the question and wondered if the chaplains were being treated fairly.¹³

Eventually, with persistence, the chaplains did win their tax deduction.¹⁴ The whole issue is an example of the extent to which Gallagher and the Council of Churches would go in order to make their point with the government and is an example of the obstructions they faced. The Protestant Church could no longer assume any position it might suppose itself to hold. It had to fight for its status.

Church Parades

In October 1953, all commands of the three services were informed by National Defence Headquarters that:

"In respect to Remembrance Day services no officer or man shall be ordered to attend services other than those of the group to which his own religious denomination is included(QR 35.05).¹⁵ If, however, the local Church authorities agreed

¹³ NAC, MG 32, B5. Note to file on Gallagher's brief to the Minister of National Defence, dated 22 May, 1952.

¹⁴ Income tax act of 1972, item 5.

¹⁵ "King's Regulations" had now become "Queen's Regulations" (Q.R.).

to hold a combined religious service, personnel may be required to participate in accordance with QR 33.01. If not, the services could mutually arrange commemorative services, preceded by separate Church parades for groups of denomination defined in QR 33.05. The intention of this order was not to prohibit personnel from taking part in Remembrance Day parades but to ensure that no Roman Catholic serviceman could be ordered to attend a combined ceremony which included religious elements in the service.

Considerable stir was caused in 1954 when the Edmonton Journal¹⁶ reported that, in spite of military threats to withdraw support for the annual parade due to its religious content, the Legion would keep a prayer in its November 11th services whether the Armed Forces attended or not.¹⁷ The Legion's decision related to the parade in Montreal in the previous year, where a prayer was dropped after Defence Headquarters said that the Armed Forces would not be permitted to parade if it were read. Apparently the prayer had been approved by the heads of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths in Montreal, but the military had been tied to a section of regulations stating that "No officer or man shall be required to attend a religious service other than a service of the group in which his denomination is included."

¹⁶ The Edmonton Journal, 5 August, 1954.

¹⁷ LEGIONARY, September, 1954. Report on the resolutions of the Fifteenth Dominion Convention, August, 1954.

In an editorial a week later, the Calgary Herald¹⁸ pointed out that the order had been intended to apply to Sunday church parades, but that interpretations placed on the order by forces outside of the military had chosen to make it apply to other services, including Remembrance Day. Objections had been raised to the prayers of consecration when the PPCLI had received its new colours in 1953, at The Royal Military College and even on Parliament Hill. It had been necessary to abandon the annual drum head service during the ex-cadets reunion at RMC. At the Coronation celebrations on Parliament Hill it had been necessary to hold two separate services, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic, before the main parade took place. The basic problem was that the Roman Catholic clergy would not take part in the multi-denominational services.

In Ottawa, the typical Remembrance Day parade organized by the chaplains for November 11th would see approximately 200 servicemen attend St. Patrick's and another 200 at either Dominion Chalmers United Church or Knox Presbyterian Church. The servicemen were Army and Air Force personnel from National Defence Headquarters and members of the Naval Reserve and Sea Cadets from HMCS Carleton. If November 11 fell on a Sunday, as it did in 1956 and 1962, the chaplain's Church parade was simply cancelled.¹⁹

¹⁸ Calgary Herald, 20 August 1954.

¹⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. JSCC(P) meeting, dated 21 September, 1962.

A minor but interesting irritant related to this annual use of the civilian churches and it brought the limiting economic realities of the modern world to the chaplains attention. The chaplains felt that it was reasonable, there being no offering taken at the service, that a small amount of money be given to the churches as a gratuity to cover the real expenses of opening the building and paying the organist. In 1960 they petitioned the Personnel Members Committee for the sum of \$50.00 to cover this expense. When the PMC turned them down flatly, they turned to the resources of the National Defence Headquarters Commandant's Committee. The Commandant was without funds and the chaplains were not impressed. The whole matter was finally referred to Defence Council who said no to the request for fear of establishing a precedent wherein every church in Canada would have to be paid for every military related service which they all had done, up to this time, for free.²⁰ Eventually funds were found in the Commandants Committee and records indicate that a \$50.00 honorarium was paid to the host churches in successive years.²¹

After the church parade, officials would hurry over to the war memorial where veterans of the Legion, government officials and the senior officers of the three services would

²⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Defence Council minute #104, dated 4 July, 1960.

²¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo from Wing Cdr. Mayo to Chap Gen (P), file AU 1110-3, dated 16 November, 1966.

lay wreaths. This Legion ceremony, organized with the help of the military Director of Ceremonials, included Navy personnel from HMCS Gloucester, Army personnel from Petawawa and RCAF personnel from Rockcliffe and Uplands. Different personnel had to be used because, to make it all happen on time, the parade had to form up during the church service.

Korean Frustrations

For the Americans, Korea represented a great ideological conflict and while Canadians did not share the fervour of this opinion, some American influence was inevitable. Early in 1950, Doctor Gallagher reminded the Canadian government that it would have to do something to counter the ideological deterioration of Canadian soldiers and that a training program might be appropriate.²²

No response was forthcoming and soon the Moral Rearmament Movement started to exert its influence on the civilian churches in Canada. Individual Christians were being challenged to exert political pressure whenever possible. To clarify the chaplains own thinking, the Joint Service Chaplaincy Committee decided that current affairs and spiritual direction were two different things and reaffirmed the Canadian Council of Churches decision that the chaplaincy

²² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from Gallagher to Claxton, dated 3 February, 1950.

was the only recognized channel for the spiritual direction of Armed Forces personnel.²³

The year passed without response from the government and the chaplains attempted to raise the issue again in January 1952. At a regular meeting the Joint Services Chaplaincy Committee considered the need for missions due to the alcohol problem and the moral laxity of the soldiers in Korea. They discussed "...the need for some positive action to counteract the ever increasing apathy towards the value of things spiritual."²⁴ As an example they referred to "materialism and communism from without and a general deterioration of morals from within."²⁵ Later that month the chaplains received a very reserved approval for such missions from the PMC.²⁶

The JSCC decided that at least one mission per base, per year, would be necessary to accomplish their ends²⁷ and requested funding from the PMC to pay for special speakers. Brooke Claxton responded to Dr. Gallagher saying that he had

²³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memorandum, Colonel Stone to the PMC, dated 25 May, 1951.

²⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Minutes of the 15th meeting of the JSCC, dated 16 January, 1952.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from the PMC to the JSCC, dated 28 January, 1952.

²⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. JSCC minutes, dated 4 February, 1953. A typical mission would be one week in length and would include senior chaplains, special speakers, members of the chapel congregations and all of the personnel on the base.

no intention to "curtail padres hours in any way",²⁸ and two weeks later the PMC turned down the request for money.²⁹ Later they clarified their decision, explaining that the cost of missions should be borne by the people to whom the chaplains ministered and not by the public.³⁰ While this process was taking place, the moderator of the United Church of Canada: Dr. C. M. Nicholson, and other Canadian Church leaders were visiting Canadian soldiers in Korea. Nicholson received a message from his Church headquarters in Toronto. The message said that concern was being expressed in Canada about the welfare of the soldiers in the Special Service Force.³¹

The situation in Korea was quite different from the previous two wars. The men who were there tended to look upon it more as a police action than as a war. Canadians were not on their own and so had taken no auxiliary services: such as the Salvation Army or the YMCA to care for the needs of the soldiers. Welfare needs were the responsibilities of the

²⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter Claxton to Gallagher, dated 13 March, 1952.

²⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memorandum, PMC to JSCC, dated 27 March, 1952.

³⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memorandum, PMC to JSCC, dated 2 April, 1952.

³¹ Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, Nicholson papers. Telegram from United Church Headquarters in Toronto to Nicholson with Canadian soldiers in Korea, (no date).

Americans and the British. Beyond them, the Canadian soldiers used their own ingenuity. This situation may have led to the suggestion that there was a problem with alcohol and that Canada needed its own leave centres in Korea. On his return to Canada, Nicholson sought to reassure the public that their sons and husbands were being cared for spiritually. In notes for a speech, Nicholson wrote:

For those whose own kin are in Korea, there can be the assurance that their spiritual needs are constantly remembered. Our Churches have carefully chosen men for the office of Chaplain, - men who have an easy approach to other men, and above all, men who have mature experiences of peoples troubles and hopes and trials. When I think, as I do tonight, of Padres like Roy Durnford, Chief Chaplain in Korea, and Padres like Roger Nunn or Alex Frishie, I can tell you that in war and the shadow of death, the promise of life more abundant in Christ receives its great witness. And the men I have mentioned are only three of an excellent company of men of all Churches who are with are troops every day every week.³²

In more private circles, Nicholson pushed for more adequate welfare facilities.

The minister of National Defence reacted strongly to the suggestions of inadequate care. Writing to the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, he assured Dr. Gallagher that Padres hours would be in no way curtailed in Korea and that canteens did exist to serve non-alcoholic drinks. Indeed, the minister had been there and had enjoyed

³² Maritime Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada, Nicholson Papers, "Our Korean Interest", (no date).

them. Also, Gallagher was assured that qualified and carefully selected officers were attached to units serving abroad and all possible facilities and equipment had been provided for their work.

The officers of this department and myself, who have been to Korea and looked into conditions there, do not believe that it is practicable at the present time to establish Canadian leave centres in Korea. There are a number of places back of the line established by various units where men have a bath, a change of clothes and some time off to enjoy their recreational facilities. There are also US and Commonwealth leave centres which are available to our troops. In Korea we have the advantage of everything available to the Americans and to the British and in addition, our own welfare services. We shall keep a close watch on conditions so as to improve the services.³³

In response to the Minister, the Council of Churches took up the fight with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ottawa and paid Mr. Claxton a visit. In their brief they wrote concerning leave centres:

With all deference, we feel bound to say, however, that reports regarding facilities for rest and recreation reaching us through responsible persons, including the Primate and the Moderators who visited Korea suggest very definitely that some further provision is necessary."³⁴

The Church representatives said that they were glad to hear about the welfare officers appointed for Korea, but would

³³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Letter from MND to Gallagher, dated 13 March, 1952.

³⁴ NAC RG32 B5 - Claxton. Notes of the minister of National Defence concerning the visit of 22 May 1952.

now like to hear more about their qualifications, equipment and facilities. Reports had reached Canada that alleged "that an oversupply of hard liquor is finding its way into illicit traffic in Korea."³⁵ The Churches had already asked for the same provisions to be made for non-alcoholic drinks as for alcoholic ones and now took advantage of the issue to renew their requests for an appropriate educational program might be conducted, under the direction of chaplains, on the effects of alcohol when used as a beverage.

The Minister of National Defence responded to the Churches by having a detailed report prepared on the welfare of the 25th Infantry Brigade in Korea. The report was dated 11 June, 1952.³⁶ It noted that each battalion in Korea had a welfare officer, accountant and projectionist. At the Brigade level was a Captain, a driver, a storeman and an accountant for a total compliment of 6 officers and 12 men. They had projectors, a jeep and seven 3/4 ton trucks.

Most of the films used by the welfare team in Korea were obtained through US and British sources. Field units always had their own supply of sports equipment. The Canadian Legion had provided 30 pocket books and 15 Digests per 100 men per month. In addition it provided 40 different magazines and newspapers, etc. The newspaper Japan News was provided

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ NAC, MG 32, B 5, Table 2 to Appendix "A" of memorandum to Defence Council, dated 11 June, 1952.

free at the rate of one copy per 3 men. Stationary, in addition to that supplied with rations, amounted to 3 envelopes and 6 sheets per man per week. Canteen supplies including beer and soft drinks were purchased from British, Australian and United States sources and were sold at minimum price. CNBC radio shows were broadcast and live shows were supplied in the form of United States and British concert parties. There were 20 free cigarettes per day per man and an additional 800 per month could be obtained through the paymaster.

British and American leave centres were available in Japan for the Canadians. The Commonwealth division operated a camp at Inchon which accommodated 750 at a time. The divisions entertainment group was at Inchon and Canadians could have 72 hours leave there every 100 days.

After 4 months in Korea a soldier was entitled to transportation by air to Japan for 5 clear days at Ebeau Camp, Tokyo. This camp was run by the Australians and accommodated a maximum of 150 Canadians at any one time. It provided reading rooms, an information service, arranged tours and helped soldiers to purchase gifts to be sent home.

Games such as cribbage and dart boards could be purchased through the NAAFI at very little cost. Special low rates were in effect for telegraph and cable services and the Legions educational service was available.

Nothing more was heard from the Churches on the matter

of welfare. They seemed prepared to accept what had been done and, in any case, the Korean war had settled down to being little more than a political confrontation along the 39th parallel.

With the cessation of hostilities the fourteen Army chaplains serving in the area organized a moral and spiritual training centre where troops went for a period of seven days for concentrated religious study and worship.³⁷ The soldiers in Korea were being cared for by their chaplains in the traditional ways. Back in Canada, a few missions were held as base wide chapel activities but these never amounted to the ideological missions that were first envisioned. This may be contrasted with the United States where the chaplains became a regular part of an ideological training program after World War II. All United States servicemen have been required to attend at least one highly structured padre's hour per month as a part of the Character Guidance program.³⁸

Here again was an example of where the Church stood in the eyes of the Canadian government. The clergy felt that they were entitled to speak on the welfare of the soldiers and that it was their responsibility to uphold the important function of character guidance. The Canadian government

³⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Report on the Chaplain Services(Army), 31 March, 1954.

³⁸ Rodger R. Venzke, Confidence In Battle, Inspiration In Peace. Vol V. (Washington, 1977), p. 42 ff.

accepted the Churches' concerns but suggested that everything that was necessary for the men's welfare was being done. Any missions or character guidance would be the responsibility of the churches, not the government.

Chapel Construction

By the end of May 1953, RCAF chapel construction was well under way but nothing had happened in the Army or the Navy. The Personnel Members Committee suggested that these two services should be brought up to speed and that a special emphasis should be placed on completion of the chapels in the Naval residential districts: Belmont and Shannon Park.³⁹

The pot having been stirred, chaplains Stone and Frayne wrote a letter to the PMC about the plan for the new chapels. They were still upset about Chaplain Foote's easy approval of the chapel plan from the previous summer. In summarizing the situation they reported that the very first plan had been adequate but had not been approved due to the expense. The next set of plans submitted to the JSCC, for the Roman Catholics, looked like a church but the Protestant version was just 4 lines: a rectangle of space with nothing else. It was not deemed worthy of consideration and so another was produced with some vestry and office space. Next, a small conference

³⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC meeting, 28 May, 1953.

room was added after much discussion. "The Chaplains reluctantly acquiesced in this plan on the basis that if this were not acceptable, none other would be forthcoming."⁴⁰ They noted that the whole matter was reconsidered in October, 1952, when the PMC prepared a statement for the Deputy Minister. It was pointed out that for a few thousand dollars more adequate accommodation could be provided. "It would seem, however, that this well-given advice of the PMC was disregarded and therefore the plan as it stands today for Protestant Chapels is not satisfactory and the responsibility for such is not that of the Chaplains."⁴¹

Feeling that they had a case, the three Principal Chaplains went on to write to the PMC with new requests. They recommended that the planned Protestant chapels should have Gothic windows instead of rectangular, an additional fire exit, and a spire of more ecclesiastical design to replace the proposed one that resembled a lightning rod. The chapels also needed a basement.⁴² The request was passed on to Mr. Baker, who wrote to the Air Member Personnel and noted that 31 chapels were being built of which 17 were Protestant. The final designs had been approved by JSCC, JSAC, PSOC and

⁴⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from Stone and Frayne to PMC, dated 30 May, 1953.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo from the three Principal Chaplains to the JSCC and the PMC, dated 26 June, 1953.

the Deputy Minister. Therefore, "any request for an increase in the facilities provided in the present chapel or major changes in the approved design, would very likely result in a complete freeze on chapel construction. He claimed that these authorities also felt quite strongly that any changes proposed by the chaplains should follow the proper channel which was from the JSCC, through JSAC, through PSOC, with final approval by the Deputy Minister."⁴³

Responding to the same memo, the Joint Services Accommodations committee considered the chaplains' requests and noted that there were 17 chapels under construction at the time. Of these, ten were 50% complete, and seven were 75% complete. The cost of an additional exit door at this stage would be \$100.00. If the chaplains wanted gothic windows or a spire, they would have to submit sketches of exactly what they meant. Concerning basements, the JSAC noted that

the standard Chapel was originally designed to include a basement, but this was omitted when the Chapel was redesigned at the minister's orders to cut down the construction costs of the building."⁴⁴

The cost of a basement was estimated at \$25,000.00 for chapels not yet constructed. If it was not already clear, it became abundantly clear to the chaplains that none of the new chapels

⁴³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 5539. Letter from DCED to AMP, dated 29 June, 1953.

⁴⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 5539. JSAC Minute 156/10, dated 24 August, 1953.

would have basements.

The battle was lost but not the war. Chaplains were able to make do but never did give up on the idea of having basements in their chapels.⁴⁵ In 1954, the JSCC wrote to the PMC to say that it has proven unsatisfactory to separate chapel activities from the chapels, and pointed out that civilian churches are all in the same building. Therefore, they requested permission to include basements in the construction of future chapels.⁴⁶ The PMC response was that this was just not a good time to ask for basements. It was suggested that they try for clothes checks and kitchens.⁴⁷ The chaplains did, and kitchenettes were installed in all of the chapels that did not already have them. A sceptic might call the kitchenettes "the spoils of the basements war." The chaplains had lost the battle, but they had learned one more way of coping within the military bureaucracy.

In early 1955 the appeal for basements went to the PMC again. Once again the PMC decided not to recommend basements for old chapels, but suggested that basements be included in all chapels yet to be constructed. They instructed designs

⁴⁵ There was always space on the larger bases for the chaplains and large Sunday schools met in Department of National Defence schools, many of which were built adjacent to the chapels.

⁴⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo from PMC to JSCC, dated 26 October, 1954.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

to be prepared and discovered, to their surprise, that the basement for a new chapel at Barriefield had a projected cost of only \$10,000.00. This was \$15,000.00 less than had first been predicted⁴⁸ and added considerable fuel to the fire. By January 1956 the basement debate had gone as far as the Minister of National Defence. It was agreed to put a basement in the new chapel to be built in Gagetown, where civilian Churches were requesting money to expand their own facilities, but no basement would be built with the new chapel at Camp Borden.⁴⁹ In the end, no Canadian Forces chapel was ever built with a basement.

While the status of the Protestant clergy seemed to be slipping, the Roman Catholic clergy seemed to be gaining in comparative prominence. While financial restrictions prevented the building and furnishing of satisfactory chapels for the Protestants, Roman Catholic chapels in the Montreal area seemed to be receiving preferential treatment.

The Canadian government had concerns beyond chaplains in 1952. The growing power in Quebec during the "quiet revolution" had resulted in, among other things, the construction of a new military college at St. Jean's d'Iberville sur la Richelieu. From the perspective of the

⁴⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737, PMC Minutes, dated 3 February, 1955.

⁴⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC minutes, 5 January, 1956.

Protestant Churches of the time it seemed that something was happening that just was not fair. Dr. Gallagher requested a private interview with the Minister of National Defence to discuss his concerns about the Protestant chaplain situation in Quebec.

Speaking privately with the minister on 14 October, 1952, Gallagher noted that while requests had been made for a chaplain at the Royal Military College in Kingston, there was none there for the 400 cadets, 80% of whom were Protestant. There used to be a chaplain at Royal Roads, Gallagher reported, with its 150 cadets, 80 % of whom were Protestant, but this position had just been removed from the college. On the other hand, at College Militaire Royale where there were only 125 cadets, of whom 38 were Protestant: provision had been made for two chaplains: one Protestant and one Roman Catholic. Gallagher did not consider this to be fair treatment.⁵⁰

By the end of the month the military authorities had reviewed the service college chaplain situation and the PMC recommended to the Deputy Minister that the three colleges be treated the same, each College should have its chaplains. Still, only the chaplains for College Militaire were approved because it was felt that the colleges should not take

⁵⁰ Archives of the Chaplain General(P), (Ottawa), Council of Churches Minutes file. Notes for a brief that Dr. Gallagher used in his interview with the Minister of National Defence on 14 October, 1952.

precedence over the camps where the need was greater.⁵¹

The issue was raised again in January 1953 by the Chaplain of the Fleet: Ivan Edwards, who requested that the PMC supply chaplains to RMC and to Royal Roads.⁵² The PMC observed that the requests had not come from the Commandants of the colleges and so decide to consult with them and with the Minister of National Defence.⁵³ For his part, the Minister wondered why they did not have part time chaplains at all of the colleges.⁵⁴ The Commandant of RMC in Kingston was quite happy with his chapel and chaplain situation. He was making use of two distinguished local churchmen who had been chaplains during the war. If anything, he would prefer another part-time man.⁵⁵ There was no response recorded from Royal Roads. In any case, the PMC had already decided that no changes would be taking place.⁵⁶

The chapel situation was even worse. Government

⁵¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a Meeting of the PMC, dated 31 October, 1952.

⁵² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Minutes of a meeting of the JSCC, dated 22 January, 1953.

⁵³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a Meeting of the PMC, dated 29 January, 1953.

⁵⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a meeting of the PMC, dated 19 February, 1953.

⁵⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from Commandant, RMC, to PMC, dated 20 July, 1953.

⁵⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a meeting of the PMC, dated 19 February, 1953.

building estimates for 1952-1953 had included chapels for College Militaire but a bias was detected by the Protestants. On the grounds of economy, Treasury Board had felt that it was necessary to drop the plans for the appropriate facilities to accommodate mid-week groups in the new chapels. This put the cost of the average chapel at \$80,000.00. Gallagher considered it reasonable for the Roman Catholic chapels to cost more in order to cover the addition of living facilities for the padre. However, the projected cost for the Roman Catholic chapel being built at St. Jeans was \$160,000.00. "Taking this with the fact that the requests regarding Kingston and Royal Roads have been rejected," wrote Gallagher, "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Department has one policy for the Roman Catholic Chaplain Service and another for the Protestant Chaplain Service. We do not like to think so, but we point out that the difference is rather glaring."⁵⁷

Even without the chapels, services were being held in St. Jeans. The Roman Catholics were meeting in the College administration building and the Protestants, for whom no accommodation could be found on the campus, were marching the cadets to the local United Church. The chaplain involved decided that it would be appropriate to offer the civilian

⁵⁷ Archives of the Chaplain General(P), Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee Minutes. Notes on Gallagher's brief to the Minister on National Defence, dated 14 October, 1952.

church an honorarium for its use and requested \$75.00 per month for this purpose. The request for funds was denied by the College and then by the PMC who argued that the Commandant could parade his cadets to any church in town. No one could recall a case where payment had been made for the use of a church and they were afraid of setting a precedent.⁵⁸ The chaplain could march his cadets to town, but he would receive no money for the church.

Quickly, the Joint Services Chaplaincy Committee took up the fight for fair treatment in St. Jeans. They started by pointing out that there was a precedent for this sort of payment as churches which had been used for chapel purposes had always received payment on a per capita basis prior to 1949. They also noted that the United Church civilians in St. Jeans had made the offer of the church as a gesture of assistance to the authorities at CMR. The JSCC concluded that the military should either pay for a building outside of the college or make the appropriate arrangements for accommodation within the grounds.⁵⁹ The PMC discussed the matter again but refused to bend to the JSCC's request.

In May, 1953, the dilemma was resolved by the Army. On the instructions of the General Officer Commanding Quebec

⁵⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of a Meeting of the PMC, dated 29 January, 1953.

⁵⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Minutes of a meeting of the JSCC, dated 16 February, 1953.

Command the chaplain had made arrangements to pay the United Church \$60.00 per month, beginning in September, 1952. Already the military was \$420.00 in debt. The chaplain submitted a claim, which reached the office of the Adjutant General, for a minimum fee of \$140.00 which would pay for the United Church organist. The Adjutant General wrote to the PMC explaining the situation and noting that while the process of designating garrison churches ceased in 1939, that there was no suitable military facilities available for the Protestants at CMR. On his own initiative he had authorized the payment of the \$420.00 and added that for the next year the cadets would be supplied with temporary accommodation or they could anticipate further payments of \$60.00 per month from him.⁶⁰

Along the same line of thought Gallagher brought to the minister's attention the controversy over the acquisition of chapel furniture.⁶¹ For several years a specific design of furniture, that was found to be acceptable to the churches and the chaplains, had been on the scale of issue. Everyone was happy with the design but permission to purchase it had recently been withdrawn on the grounds of economy. Chaplains

⁶⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from the Adjutant General to the PMC, dated 22 May, 1953.

⁶¹ Archives of the Chaplain General(P), Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee Minutes. Notes on Gallagher's brief to the Minister on National Defence, dated 14 October, 1952.

had been told that now they would have to order a new line of furniture, but it had proved to be of a lower quality and of a higher cost. The chaplains considered the new furniture to be unsatisfactory and attempted to continue to order the old. A stalemate developed and the Protestants were not permitted to buy the now unauthorized furniture. This meant that any temporary or new buildings designated as Protestant chapels would have no ecclesiastical furniture.

On the other hand, Gallagher had learned that the Roman Catholic chaplains had been permitted to order the old style of furniture for two installations: the new chapel at College Royal de St. Jeans and for another new Roman Catholic Chapel at the 25th Canadian Ordnance Depot in Longue Pointe, Montreal. Once again, the difference was rather obvious.

The Chaplains' Conference and Retreat

Conferences and retreats have always been popular with clergymen and an annual gathering to do the business of the church while enjoying the camaraderie of old friends has been the tradition in all of the larger churches of Canada. Naturally, military chaplains carried their desires for the special kind of fellowship so offered with them into the military.

The collegiality that has been spawned in the universities and theological colleges of the churches is one

of the strongest bonds of denominational ecclesiastical fellowship. The informal relationships so established between students over six or seven years of study and interpersonal examination stand the tests of time, trouble and distance. Over the years, the clergy have come to rely on this collegial network of "old boys" to help them come to decisions and to get things done in the church.

For military chaplains the same system, sometimes referred to as "the purple net", has proved to be most effective. It is then easy to understand why, in the highly structured military setting, clergymen have always felt the need to gather in denominational clusters to reflect on the common good and to maintain their sense of humour if not their sanity. It may also be easy to understand why the chaplains have made a fuss whenever their annual retreat has been threatened with closure.

During wartime there were several Conferences held overseas and in Canada. The basic *raison d'etre* of the Chaplains' retreat was established as being to bring together senior chaplains for "...consideration of their common problems and for mutual inspiration for their common responsibilities."⁶² Papers delivered at these Conference were circulated to all chaplains in the form of a small book

⁶² The first was held in Ottawa and on 14 and 15 January, 1942. It was for senior chaplains only and brought them together from across Canada. Walter T. Steven, In This Sign. p. 153.

and the whole event was looked upon as a matter of great value.

The first such conference that reached out beyond the leadership to all of the available chaplains, including part time men, was held on 6, 7 and 8 June, 1944 at Trinity College in Toronto.⁶³ It brought together 79 chaplains from MD 1,2,3,and 4 and from Camp Borden and Petawawa. This number included several naval chaplains, part-time chaplains and Jewish chaplains. The whole conference was in the nature of a refresher course for ministers. Theological subjects were dealt with by experts from denominational colleges in Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton and a fair amount of time was spent discussing "Peace, Reconstruction and Rehabilitation", "the Padres' Problems" and a new idea: the "Padres' Hour". "Some of the speakers were especially gifted in relating theological questions to modern life and to the problems of the post war world."⁶⁴ It was felt that in any future conferences a still larger place should be given to such discussions. It was noted that one of the most valuable features of the conference was the fellowship.

Later, in the same month, a similar conference was held in Halifax for chaplains in that geographical area. It was

⁶³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memo H/Brig Hepburn to Adjutant-General. HQ 54-27-68-26 f.d. 59, 15 June, 1944.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

under the leadership of Honorary Lieutenant Colonel H.F.C. Cocks, MC. At this conference a very special effort was made to balance the length of the lectures with the time provided for discussion. When the Principal Chaplain went west, Conferences were held in those districts.⁶⁵ The chaplains needed the time to be together to discuss the common challenges that they faced from day to day, but they also needed time to reinforce their feelings of denominational collegiality in the face of military rigidity and bureaucratic indifference.

The first chaplains' retreat in post war years was held at Cleveland House, Muskoka on 20 - 23 June, 1949. It was set up in response to a letter written by Dr. W.J. Gallagher, General Secretary of the Canadian Council of Churches, to the Minister of National Defence, the Honourable Brooke Claxton. Gallagher sought to bring together "...the chaplains of the active force and representatives of the churches for consideration of their work and ministry."⁶⁶ He proposed that DND should cover all costs of military and civilian attenders. Claxton referred the matter to the Personnel Members Committee (PMC) who, after due consultation with the Chaplains, agreed

⁶⁵ DHIST, Liaison letter, 1 July 44 - 31 Dec 44, Directorate of Chaplain Service (P).

⁶⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter, Gallagher to Claxton, 18 January 1949.

to support the conference.⁶⁷ As many chaplains as possible would be made available to attend at public expense, but no funds would be available to cover the costs of the civilian members of the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee. It was understood by the PMC that the Conference would be of a spiritual nature and would not be dealing with administrative problems.⁶⁸

The retreat was tremendous success and Gallagher was soon writing to Claxton again: to give thanks and to request that it become an annual event.⁶⁹ Now with the lacking of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the newly formed Joint Services Chaplains Committee⁷⁰ the retreat was approved, in principle, as an annual Conference.⁷¹

When the Liberal government fell to the Conservatives in 1957, further financial limitations were encountered. These were most apparent as they related to the costs of the chaplains' annual retreat. Government pressure was on to reduce expenses and a variety of solutions, ranging from

⁶⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Approved by PMC Meeting 212, item 12, dated 3 February, 1949.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*

⁶⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter Gallagher to Claxton, 15 November, 1949.

⁷⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Joint Services Chaplains' Committee(JSCC), dated 16 December, 1949.

⁷¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC 259, item 18. dated 22 December, 1949 and memorandum PMC to Defence Secretary, dated 30 December, 1949.

holding the retreat every two years to dividing it up between east and west, were considered. The final decision was to leave the retreat alone, and if anything, look for ways to improve it.⁷² The chaplains looked upon the retreat as an essential part of their institutional well being.

Dr. Gallagher strongly supported the retreat and attempted to explain its importance to the new government when he requested permission for 1958. Writing to the new Minister of National Defence, Gallagher said:

This annual chaplains retreat has been very profitable as a stimulus and refreshment of the spiritual life and ministry of the Chaplains and of the Chaplain Services. It has been greatly appreciated by them and by the churches, and has for several years been regarded as an essential feature of our years work.⁷³

When no response was heard to this request to hold the next retreat the chaplains sent hasteners, only to have the PMC pass the blame for tardiness to the JSCC. For the first time, the reason for having the retreat would have to be explained and justified in detail. This took some doing and in December 1957 Padre M.J.D. Carson wrote to Padre J.W. Forth noting that in the civilian church some kind of annual retreat is a requirement for clergy. This requirement was especially important for the clergyman in the Armed Forces where he is

⁷² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. JSCC minute, 2 March, 1957.

⁷³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Dr. Gallagher to the Minister of National Defence, Hon. George Pearkes, dated 18 November, 1957.

isolated from his church. The Roman Catholics were having retreats but preferred to do them alone. The Protestants, in contrast, were doing them all at once.⁷⁴ Colonel Forth passed this information on to the Chairman of the PMC.⁷⁵ Finally, in June 1958, the PMC recommended to the Minister of National Defence that permission be given to hold the retreat. In the letter of permission, Pearkes noted that after it was over, he would be wanting to know exactly how much it cost.

The retreat at Cleveland House in June 1958 for 114 chaplains cost \$16,796.00. Of this amount, \$3,370.00 was attributed to the RCN, \$7,050.00 to the Army and \$6,376.00 to the RCAF.⁷⁶ Brigadier Millar, the Principal Chaplain of the Army, realized that this cost would be seen as excessive and reflected on how hard it was to access the value of retreat in terms of money. News of the cost was followed by two letters to Dr. Gallagher. On 10 July 58, the Minister wrote to the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee asking if they could examine the economics of the retreat without affecting the value of the meetings. He suggested reducing the annual

⁷⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Carson to Forth, dated 20 December, 1957.

⁷⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memorandum, From Forth to PMC, HQ 2-70-57, dated 20 December, 1957.

⁷⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. JSCC(P) minute, dated 3 July, 1958.

attendance or meeting every two years.⁷⁷

In September, an angry Gallagher replied to the Minister. While he recognized the need of the government for examining every expenditure, he noted that the annual retreat was the only time when the chaplains could get together for fellowship and for consultation with the responsible members of their denomination. It was most important, Gallagher stated, for the chaplains to spend a few days together in worship and study. He noted that from the beginning the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee had borne the expense of organizing the retreat and most of the expense of providing leaders for it. The committee was prepared to continue and he hoped that the Government would continue to provide transportation and hotel expenses at the usually reduced rate. The Minister's request, said Gallagher, would be referred to the Committee for consideration.⁷⁸

In October, after meeting with the Council of Churches Committee, Gallagher again wrote to Pearkes.⁷⁹ He explained that the retreat was a needed spiritual exercise and an occasion of spiritual renewal for the chaplains. It was an intellectual stimulus for them, an opportunity for fellowship

⁷⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Pearkes to Gallagher, dated 10 July, 1958.

⁷⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to Pearkes, dated 10 September, 1958.

⁷⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Gallagher to Pearkes, dated 15 October, 1958.

and an opportunity to discuss their common problems and tasks. It was an occasion for them to have contact with the officers of their respective churches and so an opportunity for them to come into contact with the life and the work of their churches. The retreat was of first importance to these clergymen, who due to circumstance of service were unable to attend the annual meetings that the civilian Churches normally would require. The retreats must be annual, must be nation wide and all Chaplains must attend every year. To divide the chaplains up numerically or geographically would distract from the purpose of the retreat. Gallagher went on to suggest that Service Air might be considered to bring chaplains from east and west and that service busses might take them north from Malton. Not without some measure of compromise, he noted that retreat might be compressed "without loss of spiritual or intellectual values"⁸⁰ if chaplains arrived on Monday evening instead of Sunday, and left on Thursday evening instead of Friday morning.

The minister was quick to respond and ordered the PMC to investigate the transportation suggestion. Special aircraft could be laid on for the chaplains, but the cost of two North Star aircraft would be \$20,000.00, which was in excess of the commercial cost of the whole retreat. The PMC also noted that not all chaplains were available to attend retreats

⁸⁰ *ibid.*

because some were overseas. Chaplains should only have to attend subject to the exigencies of the Service. On 22 November, 1958 The Minister of National Defence gave Gallagher the approval for future retreats. The number of days would be reduced to three, as Gallagher had suggested, and travel would continue to be by the most economical means.⁸¹ The three day retreat was felt to be successful and was continued for the next few years. The chaplains were learning to live with government economic restrictions.

Gallagher continued to give sterling support to the chaplains over the years but as time went on less and less support was needed. When Gallagher's annual request to hold the chaplain's retreat went in for 1959, the chaplains were called in by their military superiors and corrected. It was explained that there was no need for the Council of Churches to involve the Minister of National Defence with such routine matters. If the chaplains wanted to have a retreat, then the official request should go from the Chaplain General to the PMC. This and all future requests should be submitted

⁸¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from MND to Gallagher, dated 22 November, 1958.

through the proper channels. This represented one more step towards the acceptance of the chaplains as a permanent part of the military bureaucratic structure and was one more step towards the fall of the civilian Churches from political relevance.

Chapter IV

BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH

The chaplains were among the first of the branches in the Canadian military to integrate their services. They were ideally suited for early integration because of the manner in which they had worked together from their very beginning. During the war, and afterwards, the natural collegiality of all clergy and civilian denominational ties bound the chaplains together in formal and informal ways that their military masters could not always understand or appreciate.

The idea of the unification of military forces in Canada was not new. R.B. Byers traced the history of the idea back to the early amalgamation attempts of Sir Arthur Currie who suggested a single Ministry of Defence in 1920.¹ In the Speech from the Throne in 1922 the government gave notice that "...with the object of promoting economy and increasing efficiency, a Bill will be submitted...providing for a Department of Defence, in which the various branches of the defence forces of Canada will be co-ordinated under one ministerial head."² At the same time a limited integration

¹ R.B. Byers, "Reorganization of the Canadian Armed Forces," unpublished PH D thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1970.

² Hansard, Debates of the House of Commons of Canada, Speech from the Throne, 13 March, 1922.

of military headquarters was attempted and it failed dismally.¹

In the late 1930's the integration question came up again, a possible bill was discussed and a Chief's of Staff committee was formed that included the Army and the Navy, but left out the Air Force. But the bill was never introduced and the whole discussion was put to rest in 1939 when war was declared. It was the wrong time to change the military organization and, instead of amalgamation, junior Ministers of the Army and the Navy were added to help the Minister of National Defence control the much expanded military.

When the war was over the need to explore all possible measures of manpower economy was recognized. Prime Minister King wrote in his diary of November 1946, that he was thinking of amalgamating "the three departments into one single Chief of Staff and three deputies."² As the post-war military was being formed every effort was made to avoid needless duplication. The actual unification of the Forces did not take place until 1 February, 1968, but the chaplains were integrated in 1958.

In reality, the chaplains had been working together since 1939. In the early days, Bishop Wells had given army

¹ Vernon J. Kronenberg, All Together Now. The Organization of the Department of National defence in Canada 1964 - 1972, (Ottawa, 1973), p. 10.

² John Hasek, The Disarming of Canada, (Toronto, 1987), p. 133.

uniforms and the rank of Major to the Church of England chaplains who were serving the "Naval" Churches in Halifax and Victoria.³ The RCAF, which was very small at the time, had declined chaplain support from the army and intended to continue with civilian clergy at Canadian training centres. They intended to use Army chaplains only if an expeditionary force was required.⁴ By early 1949 the chaplains' service had evolved into three independent elements but they still shared much in common, including the continued presence of their founder: Bishop Wells.⁵

After the war the Joint Services Chaplain's Committee (JSCC) had been developed to co-ordinate combined chaplains' activities such as the production of the chaplains' Divine Service Book.⁶

The chaplains were united as clergymen under the umbrella of the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee. On religious matters they worked in a common direction while

³ C. J. Wells, The Fighting Bishop, p. 404.

⁴ Archives of the Chaplain General(P), Minton Johnston, "Sky Pilots in Blue", unpublished paper on the history of chaplains in the RCAF during World War II. p. 8.

⁵ When Wells was forced to retire from the Army early in the war effort, due to his age, he switched to being the head chaplain in the Navy. At the end of the war there was the Chaplain General, the Principal Chaplain of the Air Force and as the Chaplain of the Fleet, Wells, who was also known as the "Chief Chaplain".

⁶ Padre Frayne sent 8000 copies of the Divine Service Book to Korea, although the Navy noted that the version was missing Lord Nelson's prayer.

maintaining their denominational distinctiveness. They sought a unified Canadian Sunday school curriculum to fulfil their most "obvious need".⁷ Each year chaplains from the three services joined together for their favourite experience: the annual chaplains' conference and retreat.

While the chaplains of all services had the above things and many others in common, the men in each force had developed their own unique approach to chaplain work. This meant that when actual steps began to be taken towards integration, service loyalties and different operating procedures had to be overcome. The process of integration had the potential of being a gigantic administrative nightmare. Emotions and branch ties ran deep but in the end military and government bureaucracy won out. By 1968 the chaplains would be one more step away from the control of the civilian Church and one step closer to being an regular part of the military bureaucracy.

Plans for Integration

On the 8th of August, 1957, the PMC was directed to prepare a plan for the integration of the Chaplain services and a committee was established.⁸ The goal would be a single

⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. JSCC Meeting, 3 November, 1954.

⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Minutes of the meeting of the PMC, dated 8 August, 1957.

Chaplain Service with two Principal Chaplains: one Roman Catholic and one Protestant. All chaplains on the integrated list would be employed at any place and in any of the three services. The RCN system of grading would be the basis of the study, and it was noted that integration would not cause anyone to loose rank. Over-all control of the chaplain service would be an RCN responsibility and the administration would be along the lines of the Royal Canadian Dental Corps organization, which was under Army control. Also, the integration committee was tasked to consider command and control in the field and matters of dress. The new service was to be in operation by 1 April 1958. Commander J. Plomer of the Royal Canadian Navy was placed in charge of the committee and he was told that there would be chaplain representatives.

Within a week, the Minister of National Defence wrote a letter to Dr. W. J. Gallagher advising him of the study. Pearkes noted that the dental service had been integrated since World War II and promised that there would be no decrease in facilities for spiritual care. The Naval system of chaplain rank classification would be implemented but serving chaplains would have nothing to fear. Those presently holding rank would be permitted to keep it, but in the future all chaplains would be graded for purposes of pay only. He went on: "It is considered that the efficiency of the Chaplaincy service would be increased and economy of

administration would be realized by the proposed integration."⁹

There was a tremendous sense of hurry and the report of the ad hoc committee was pushed through and was presented to the PMC on 27 August 1957. The Principal Chaplains signed the report but they felt as though they had been pressured into it. They had been embarrassed to sign without first having consulted the Chaplaincy Committee. They felt that the recommendations would have a tremendous impact on recruiting and on the morale of those now serving, and they felt that the changes would result in a loss of the long established confidence between the chaplains and the men. This, they said, would reduce effectiveness.¹⁰

Immediately, the Chairman of the Joint Services Chaplains Committee, Colonel John Forth, wrote to each of the members of the Council of Churches Committee. After stating the terms of reference that the ad hoc integration committee had been given and noting that their report was extremely bulky, he offered to have the three Principal Chaplains, who were now sometimes referred to as "Directors", meet with the Council for discussions. Forth "emphasized that the plan is only in the study phase at present, and no final decision has

⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from George Pearkes, Minister of National Defence to Dr. W.J. Gallagher and to Archbishop Roy, dated 16 August, 1957.

¹⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Minutes of the PMC Meeting, dated 27 August, 1957.

been arrived at."¹¹

The Directors had studied the report and compared it with the present system. They noted that the manner in which they had functioned was generally acceptable to serving personnel and that it had proven effective since the war. Over the past several years the Principal Chaplains were satisfied that adequate spiritual coverage had been given to Canadian servicemen. Of special significance was the way in which the present system afforded the opportunity for the identification of the chaplains with the troops they were serving. Wearing the same uniform and having the knowledge of the traditions, customs and organization of their particular service was important.

The Army chaplains enjoyed rank which made them a part of the service concerned. "The Geneva Convention", they noted,

...protects chaplains who presently carry rank in the event they become prisoners of war. If rank is lost, chaplains might not be recognized as such, or if they appeared to have no rank they might be considered as other ranks -that is to say, they might be forced to work at physical labour instead of being free to minister to the spiritual needs of their fellow prisoners of war of all ranks."¹²

The present system, with three Principal Chaplains, had

¹¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from the Chairman of the JSCC(P), Col. Forth, to each of the members of the Council of Churches Committee, dated 30 August, 1957.

¹² *ibid.*

made it possible to preserve the denominational balance at the top of the chaplains' service and had permitted adequate discussion of any theological points raised. The new system would have just one Chaplain General(P). It would be more bureaucratically efficient but less theologically sensitive.

On the other hand, the existing system was not without its problems. It had encouraged chaplains to develop particular loyalties and interests in their service as opposed to the corps. The present rank structure curtailed career possibilities and duplicated and handicapped the efficiency of the administration. Having six members on the JSCC slowed down administration. Service control had sometimes conflicted with the chaplain's functioning in his spiritual work and some Commanding Officers in the RCAF and the RCN had tried to employ chaplains as unit officers. This had never happened in the Army where the chaplains were a separate corps. It was obvious that some bureaucratic efficiency could only further the chaplains goals.

Advantages of the new plan would be that the proposed rank structure would increase the prestige and efficiency of the Chaplains' services. Unification, it was felt, would result in better denominational coverage in the field, improved administration and organization with fewer chaplains employed on purely administrative duties, and better leadership as all directives would come from one source. It should result in a common policy in implementing all

ecclesiastical directives, equivalent treatment of chaplains regardless of what service they serve in or work with. Loss of rank should silence those who feel that chaplains should not be mistaken for being regular military officers. All servicemen would recognize the common uniform of the chaplain and the autonomy inherent in the plan could add to the prestige of the chaplains. It could offer better career prospects and would stop competition for recruitment among the various branches.

The disadvantages would be the lack of close identity and relationship with particular Services. Service loyalty might be lost although the same would be hoped for in the larger Service. Some Army and Air Force chaplains would feel keenly about the loss of rank. Unless the Services recognized the prestige of the church, then for the chaplain the loss of rank could be significant: due to the rank consciousness of the Armed Forces and to the Geneva Convention as it affects prisoners of war. The chaplains' "old boy" net would disappear and administration would become less personal but, they added, "this result may be an advantage."¹³

¹³ Those chaplains who had served during the war knew most of the senior officers who had served at the same time. Because of the exigencies of wartime and the lack of regulations, much of the chaplain's success in doing their jobs depended on the chaplain's personality and on his personal contacts with his seniors. After the war, the "old boy" net continued. It reminded some of the elite relationships of the past, but bureaucratic progressives knew that it must end.

Loss of uniform may separate the chaplain from his flock although this may in part be compensated for by the use of "working uniforms" in the field. There may be the danger of the chaplains being regarded as "outsiders" to the Service such was then the case with the Commissionaires or has been with the Auxiliary Service. If economy resulted in a reduction in the rank structure, morale will suffer and recruiting would be more difficult. The balance of denominational power would be lost at the top but this might be resolved by a term limit for the Chaplain General with an opportunity for rotation according to denomination.

On 6 September, 1957, the Chiefs of Staff Committee met and agreed to the Ad Hoc Report, subject to review.¹⁴ Items to be reviewed were the command structure of the Royal Canadian Chaplains' service, the integrated gradation list, the manning of staff positions by civilians, uniform and the requirement for setting up a school for chaplains in Ontario. This was all referred back to the ad hoc committee.

The chaplains were quick to reflect on their need for a chaplains' school. Such institutions had proven their worth in the United States since just after the civil war and in Britain since the turn of the century. Canadian Chaplains had never had a "school" of their own.

It was soon discovered that they were not about to have

¹⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Minutes of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, dated 6 September, 1957.

their own school. A new Chaplain Qualifying Course would be held at the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps School at Camp Borden. This course would be given after completion of the regular RCAF Direct Entry Officers (DEO) Training. An additional 3 week course would be given to Chaplains before they were sent to the RCN. It was decided that the chaplain needed a basic understanding of the framework in which he would function and that there was a need to give integrated information to all chaplains. This was especially important with respect to personnel counselling. The chaplains needed a through understanding of the conditions of service and of the regulations of the organization in which the man served.

The Churches' Response to the Plan

The Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee responded quickly and met with the Minister of National Defence in Ottawa on 24 September, 1957. In their memorandum to the minister the Committee declared that they held the Chaplains' Service in high esteem and would be opposed to anything "which might appear to be a depreciation or demotion of them."¹⁵ The committee was pleased to be consulted at this time but in the light of their relationship with the chaplains felt that they

¹⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memo from the Council of Churches Chaplaincy committee to the Minister of national Defence, dated 24 September, 1957.

should have been consulted not at this late date but from the very beginning. "Even now", they reported, "the Committees in the various Churches, not just the Council of Churches Committee, were meeting to consider the documents."¹⁶

Of course there was the question of the whole wisdom of any form of integration, but it appeared that this question never had been put to the military. It had not even been included in the terms of reference of the ad hoc committee.

Because effectiveness, as well as administrative efficiency and economy, were necessary, the Council of Churches Committee felt that the chaplain must be able to identify with the congregation to whom he ministers. "He should share their life and be an integral part of the Force to which they belong."¹⁷ Also, the rights and privileges of all Churches must be recognized. "With the present system the three directors have been drawn from three denominations and this has led to considerable harmony. Provision for such denominational harmony must be included in any new proposals."¹⁸

It was difficult for the Chaplaincy Committee to conceive of the integration of the chaplains apart from the integration of the Forces as a whole: because each of the Services was so

¹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*

different.

"The proposed plan" they said:

...would seem to hinder Force identification. Rank should be retained because to take it away would have an adverse effect on Army and Air Force chaplains. We fear that in these forces the abolition of the Chaplain's rank would be regarded as a demotion and with his rank might go status, prestige, and facilities, the lack of which would handicap his ministry.¹⁹

If the aim of integration was to be greater economy and efficiency, the committee questioned these assumption. They argued that the total numbers of the chaplains service could not be reduced by very much because they were already under strength for doing their job. The Council of Churches Committee felt that more study should be given to the basic question of whether integration should take place at all.

Later, Chaplain Forth wrote to thank Young and the Council of Churches committee for their presentation and support. Forth agreed that an improvement in the rank structure was needed to attract acceptable recruits and to keep pace with the other professions. The biggest concern of the chaplains was that "the efficiency of a Chaplain is dependent in direct ratio to his identification with his congregation."²⁰ The senior chaplains recommended that "the present policy in respect to recruiting, Service affiliation,

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter of Col Forth to the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, dated 7 October, 1957.

and place of Service in the field be continued; and that integration, where required, be introduced only for purpose of administration and supervision."²¹ "These proposals", they claimed, "were compatible with the Minister's expressed desire for integration, and would, at the same time, preserve the well known values and loyalties and traditions which helped to identify the chaplain with his service congregation."²²

On 14 November 1957 a lengthy document known as the plan for integration was presented to the PMC by the Ad Hoc committee. The chairman of the committee, Commander J. Plomer, said that the basic problem with the plan was "the basic difference of organization requirements of the services."²³

The Council of Churches committee immediately questioned the effectiveness and the desirability of integration. They were concerned about the tri-service nature of the new force and the affect that would have on chaplain recruiting and the rank structure. The Churches felt that integration should proceed only if it did so in parallel to the integration of the whole force.²⁴ The PMC then informed the Chiefs of Staff

²¹ *ibid.*

²² *ibid.*

²³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo from Plomer to the PMC, 14 November, 1957.

²⁴ Memo from the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee to the Minister of National Defence, dated 18 November, 1957.

that it appeared that a combination of geographical and functional command would be the command structure that was going to work in the proposed structure. An integrated gradation list had been prepared and no sub-staff manning plans would be made until the matter of a command structure had been approved and put into operation. The wearing of insignia and uniform would remain on a voluntary basis for five years. A chaplain training school would not be established but something could be set up with an existing school. "It was ascertained, however, that it was virtually impossible to make an organization such as the Chaplain Services, responsible for the spiritual and moral welfare of the officers and men, fit in with an organization which is purely a technical corps.(like the dental corps)"²⁵

The PMC concluded:

Every effort was made reflect economy in the proposed integration of the Chaplain Services. The results may be considered disappointing, however, this must be weighed against the fact that the Chaplains services has always been economically staffed and that in presenting this new establishment it was not possible to reduce the number of chaplains required and still maintain the present standards attributed to the chaplain services."²⁶

It was not until December that the PMC considered the main points in the Council of Churches letter of the previous

²⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo from the PMC to Chiefs of staff, dated 22 November, 1957.

²⁶ *ibid.*

month.²⁷ The PMC wrote to the Chiefs of Staff with their response:

It is essential to have complete co-operation between the Church and the Military authorities if a proposal of this nature is to be successful. Therefore, in view of the unfavourable reaction of the Church authorities, it is considered that it would be inadvisable to proceed with integration of the Chaplain Services at this time."²⁸

They went on to note that it was not considered worth discussing rank increases until decisions were made on integration.

But the government seemed determined to make integration happen. In a memo to the Chief of Staff, George Pearkes wrote:

Considering all of the above, the following action would be taken. A Chaplain General with the rank of Brigadier General would be appointed to supervise all three services. There would be an assistant Chaplain General for each service. The 3 positions for directors of Religious and Moral Training would cease to be and would be replaced by one man. In the second step, Command chaplains would be appointed on the basis of the army commands, not functional commands. The command chaplains would allocate chaplains of the three services within their commands.²⁹ This plan would be in action by 1 April 1958."

Partial integration of the Chaplains would take place while

²⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC 40/57, dated 19 December, 1957.

²⁸ NAC, MG 32, Pearkes papers. Memo From the PMC to the Chiefs of Staff, dated 23 December, 1957.

²⁹ NAC, MG 32, Pearkes papers. Memo from George Pearkes to the Chief of Staff, dated 8 January, 1958.

the waiting for the rest of the military to follow suit.

In his response to the chairman of the Chaplains' Committee, Pearkes wrote:

I have carefully considered your comments and have decided not to proceed with a single chaplain service at this time but to provide for certain integration at National Defence Headquarters and in Commands. Accordingly, no changes will be made in the uniforms worn by Chaplains nor in the rank procedure or rank badges worn....the integration at National Defence Headquarters will provide for the appointment of two Chaplains General, possibly in the rank of Brigadier."³⁰

The PMC's plan to integrate the chaplain service was revealed on the 30th of January, 1958. Integration would proceed only with the concurrence of the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee and the Roman Catholic Bishop Ordinary. Each would be asked to nominate their respective Chaplain General. Authority was granted for the implementation of the Headquarters organization and the terms of reference for the Chaplain General were approved.³¹ A press release would be prepared³² and a letter would be sent to all chaplains

³⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from the Minister of National Defence, George Pearkes to the Chairman of the Chaplaincy committee, the Rev. Harold Young, dated 28 January, 1958.

³¹ There would be two Chaplains General at the Brigadier level, two directors of Religious and Moral Training who would be Colonels and several command Chaplains at the rank of Lt. Colonel. The Headquarters would be integrated first and then the Commands.

³² The PMC suggested that a press release soon be issued because "Rumour on the integration is presently circulating among Service personnel and in the press."

stressing that no one would lose his rank or his job because of integration.³³

General Foulkes, now Chief of Defence Staff, cautioned everyone to not act too fast. Before the Church authorities nominate the Chaplain General, that nomination should have the approval of the rank structure committee and the Minister of Finance.³⁴

New Policies and Rules

In the highly stratified structure of the military an officers rank and the rank of the senior officer in a branch of the service is of tremendous importance. While the popular image of the Canadian clergyman would have him treating Privates and Generals alike, not really caring about such seemingly mundane trappings as rank, in fact the chaplains have been especially sensitive about competitive self-advancement.

During World War II the senior Army chaplain had held the rank of Honorary Brigadier General. During demobilization everyone in the military was reduced by two or three rank levels and the senior chaplain became an Honorary Lieutenant

³³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memorandum from the PMC to the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, file HQ 2-177-2, dated 7 February, 1958.

³⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo from the CDS to the chairman of the PMC, dated 12 February, 1958.

Colonel. In 1952 the term "Honorary" was dropped as the result of confusion over the treatment of chaplains who had been prisoners of war in Hong Kong.³⁵ But as early as 1955, The JSCC proposed that the directors of the newly planned service should be Commodore, Brigadier and Air Commodore, respectively.³⁶ No action was taken. In 1957, the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee requested the JSCC to prepare recommendations with respect to rank of chaplains as compared with other branches of the service.³⁷

Responding to this proposal, the JSCC spoke of the need for a high standard of ministry in the Forces by chaplains. They went on to develop the idea that, because of this standard, the chaplain's career opportunities should compare favourably with their civilian counterparts and with other Service officers. In this development the JSCC integrated the whole rank structure of the chaplains' branch with the possible upgrading of the directors and the deputy directors.

³⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memo from DPC to AMP, dated 26 September, 1951. Chaplain rank became temporary or substantive. Chaplains held the same rank as others but were not permitted to command men. Archives of the Chaplain General(P), War Diary of James Barnett. See this for an explanation of the confusion that developed over the "honourary" rank term.

³⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. JSCC Minutes, dated 10 November, 1955.

³⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memorandum, Council of Churches Committee to the JSCC, dated 16 May, 1957.

This was all referred to the PMC.³⁸

At their next monthly meeting, in August, the JSCC noted that in comparison with other branches, chaplains were older in rank and a higher percentage were lower in ranks and that meant lower status in the eyes of the military. It also meant more limited career opportunities. The rank of the chaplains was "a reflection of the importance of religion to the armed forces and of the responsibilities of the Director and Deputy."³⁹ The JSCC conclude that the new directors rank should be Brigadier or equivalent.

The military bought the JSCCs argument and it was decided to give the Chaplain General the status but not the rank of Brigadier.⁴⁰ The reason given for this decision was that Navy chaplains had no rank. No objections were raised in Council and so the subject was closed. The decision meant that the Chaplain General would have a commission and be appointed the position with all of the status and privileges, but would have no rank or power of command. On termination of employment he would revert to the rank previously held. On 8 July 1958 the Minister of National Defence submitted the order to the Governor in Council that permitted him to appoint a Chaplain

³⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738 PMC meeting, 4 July, 1957.

³⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. JSCC Meeting, 1 August, 1957.

⁴⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Minutes of the 82nd meeting of Defence Council, dated 5 May, 1958.

General (P) and a Chaplain General (RC) to be paid as applicable and to wear chaplain insignia in lieu of rank badges.

The Protestants seemed to accept this solution,⁴¹ but Archbishop Roy of the Roman Catholics was not impressed. Roy went on the attack and while there is no record of his argument, there is evidence that he won his point. In his letter from the Minister of National Defence, Roy read: "...in view of your comments I would be prepared to consider the establishment of the position of chaplains general with the rank of Brigadier and with the permission to wear the rank badges."... but, he added, "integration must continue at the command level."⁴² A clue to what was behind the Minister's remarks could be found in a notation that he had made on a letter received from General Foulkes, a month previous. The Minister had written: "If chaplains feel very keen about the rank badge I suggest we let them have it. The important thing is to make a start on the policy of integration... Someday, I hope, they will do away with all badges.

⁴¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. JSCC meeting, 4 July, 1958. The Chaplaincy Committee recommended the appointment of the next Chaplain General to the Minister of National Defence, noting that he will be a Brigadier but will wear chaplain insignia rather than rank.

⁴² NAC, MG 32 B19 - DS Harkness. Letter from Minister of National Defence, G.R. Pearkes, to Archbishop Roy, dated 8 August, 1958.

[signed]GRP"⁴³ On 28 August, 1958, the Minister of Finance wrote to the Minister of National Defence giving him the permission to give the Chaplains General their rank.⁴⁴

With the senior men clearly entrenched in the new unified structure, it was time to give some attention to the other chaplains. It was first necessary to clarify just how promotions would be recommended. The Chief of Staff wrote to the PMC:

All recommendations for promotions and appointments within the chaplains service should now be made by the Chaplains General, after consultation with the appropriate Church authorities, to the chief of staff concerned. For appointment of the rank of Colonel or equivalent, and above, which require ministerial approval, the recommendation should be forwarded through the chairman Chiefs of Staff.⁴⁵

The discussion in the JSCC next turned to who should be promoted, to what rank and when. There was some discussion of automatic time promotion from the Captain to the Major rank, but it was put aside in favour of "selective promotion", which meant promotion on the basis of seniority when vacancies occurred. Directions were then received by the chaplains to do the inevitable study.

⁴³ NAC, MG 32 B19 - DS Harkness. Letter from Foulkes to MND dated July, 1958.

⁴⁴ NAC, MG 32 B19 - DS Harkness. Letter from the Minister of Finance to the Minister of National Defence, dated 25 August, 1958.

⁴⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. A letter from the Chief of staff to the PMC, dated 24 September, 1958.

The study completely broke down the three Services and gave information on time in rank, average age on promotion, and on the possibilities of retirement without promotion due to the system. It indicated that the average chaplain came into the service at age 35, with three years experience and having been trained by the Church or at his own expense. He could not take advantage of training plans such as ROTP⁴⁶, because of the requirement for working experience after formal training and before becoming a chaplain. The report noted: "It is in the interest of both the Church and the Services that the most promising and capable clergymen should be selected."⁴⁷ It had become "...increasingly difficult to get this type of clergymen the prospects for advancement in the Armed Forces being not as favourable as those offered in many civilian pastorates. For men who have been professionally trained, it is reasonable that their long training and experience should be compensated by some advancement in status."⁴⁸ Chaplains would remain as Captains for an average of 12 years compared with 8.5 years for other branches of the

⁴⁶ The Regular Officer's Training Plan (ROTP) required young officers to serve for a minimum of three years following graduation with an undergraduate degree. During the same period clergymen would be required to complete three years of theology and two summers of on-the-job training. The two systems were not compatible.

⁴⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. Memo CG(P) 26-6-1 to PMC, dated 24 September, 1959.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

Army and their average age as a Captain was 44.4, compared with the average 36.5. The report forecast that in 1961-70, seventeen chaplains would be retired after ten to fifteen years, without promotion.

In the army the proportion of Majors to Captains was .58 Majors per Captain, while in the Chaplain corps it was .26. In the RCN the ratio overall was .68 Majors per Captain, while the Naval chaplain ratio was .14. In the RCAF there was a ratio of .41 Majors per Captain as compared with the chaplains .23.⁴⁹ In order to provide a rank structure for chaplains that would compare to other branches the report recommended that 25% of the chaplains at the rank of Captain be given the rank of Major. They would be eligible for this promotion after eight years of service. The report went on to note the precedent that during World War II just such an increment had been granted.⁵⁰

Reviewing the report the PMC agreed that the chaplains might have a case, but it would have to be worked out in terms of establishment and positions. The PMC noted that some of the chaplains' figures were wrong and that the whole matter should have been reviewed by the sub-committee on Pay and Allowances.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. PMC meeting, 8 October, 1959.

It was not until April 1962 when the chaplains attempted, once again, to increase the number of majors.

They wrote:

To sustain an effective chaplaincy, it is imperative that the Armed Forces employ the most outstanding clergymen of the calibre who in civilian life would rise to key positions, pastors of large churches, deans of cathedrals, etc. When a chaplain leaves the Armed Forces after lengthy service, and having received no promotion, there is an unfortunate reflection put upon him in the civilian community. It is assumed that there must be something wrong with any professional man who can go through ten or more years service, and never be recognized by one step up in rank. The purpose of the Chaplaincy is the care of souls. Every individual chaplain is first a priest or minister, and his primary purpose is to influence the lives committed to his care. This is his vocation and his life's training. The whole organization of the chaplaincy exists for that clergyman and his personnel who serve at the unit level....The problem is not the number of administrative positions, but rather the inability to promote chaplains of long service, and whose continued contribution is most needed at the unit level of employment.⁵²

It was further noted that this was not automatic, but was selective promotion that they sought. Various unavoidable factors such as age, lack of time, early retirement, and illness, would preclude the promotion of all chaplains.

After a continuation the lengthy consideration of the number of majors the PMC decided to act.

Considering the essentially different nature of the chaplain's service as compared with other lists and branches, the relatively late age when chaplains join and that they are considerably

⁵² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Memo CG file 15-1-1 to PMC, dated 9 April, 1962.

more mature than other junior officers, the service attrition, morale and difficulty finding suitable candidates, (and) the need for adequate career progression compared with civilian life..."⁵³

...the PMC agreed to submit a proposal to the Rank Structure Committee. A formula was proposed that would grant selective promotion to chaplains of Captain or equivalent rank up to a ceiling of 40% of the combined number of Captains and Majors, of the chaplains of each Service. Such promotions, except for special cases pertaining to established senior positions, would be restricted to those chaplains who have served a minimum of nine years in the rank of Captain.⁵⁴

Supporting their argument, the PMC wrote to the Rank Structure Committee that:

It is considered that the proper development of the Chaplaincy, and its consequent effectiveness, is of far reaching importance to the Armed Forces and also to the nation. To sustain an effective Chaplaincy, it is imperative that the Armed Forces employ outstanding clergymen who in civilian life would rise to key positions in their respective Churches.

At the present time the only avenue open for the promotion of Chaplains is restricted to administrative positions at military echelons above the unit level....it is considered of utmost importance that a means be found to promote Chaplains of long service, and whose continued contribution is most needed at the unit level of employment.⁵⁵

⁵³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. PMC meeting, dated 3 May, 1962.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. PMC file 33-1-1, dated 11 May, 1962.

The recommendation was for selective promotion up to a ceiling of 40% of the combined numbers of Captains and Majors in each Service, restricted to chaplains who have served a minimum of nine years. Approval of the recommendation was granted in June 1962.⁵⁶

The Chaplain General was able to announce the new promotion policy at retreat in 1962. Promotion time would count from the day the chaplain began working in the permanent Force. In as much as Army and Air Force chaplains were never granted time towards promotion for previous service, Naval chaplains would have to be brought into line with this policy. Promotion was not automatic but was by selection. The promotion board would meet once per year and chaplains within the zone (9 years) would be considered for advancement. The whole plan meant that there would be a considerable increase in the number of chaplains in the rank of major.

Partial Integration

The integration of the chaplains' service was announced to the House of Commons at 11 am on 2 Sept 1958. It was complete with a press leak that resulted in a letter in the Ottawa Citizen of 19 August, 1958.

On 23 September, 1958, a day after integration officially

⁵⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. Chiefs of Staff memo to PMC, NS 1700-922 TD 2129, dated 5 June, 1962.

took place at NDHQ, a letter went out to all chaplains from the new Chaplain General: Brigadier Forth. Forth explained that the Chaplain General at National Defence Headquarters would be responsible for the policy, organization, supervision and administration of the three branches. There would be three assistants, one for each branch, and they would be called Deputy Chaplains General. Filling the new positions would be chaplains Foote, Browne and MacLean. Also, there would be five tri-service commands and one other command overseas. They would follow "the Army system of geographical areas but would incorporate the functional aspects of the RCAF in so far as that Service is concerned. Area and unit chaplains would not change. Rank and uniforms would be retained and no one would lose their rank or be released."⁵⁷

On 24 September, 1958 the chairman of the Chiefs of Staff wrote to the Chief of Naval Staff, the Chief of Air Staff and to the Chaplains General. All recommendations for future appointments and promotions would now be made by the Chaplain General after consultation with the appropriate church authorities, to the Chief of Staff concerned. "For appointments to the rank of Colonel and above, which requires ministerial approval, the recommendation should be forwarded

⁵⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from Chaplain General(P) to all chaplains, dated 23 September, 1958.

through the chairman of the Chiefs of Staff."⁵⁸

Now it was necessary to work out practical matters. Decisions had to be made about the headquarters organization, the location of office space, the appointment of directors of Religious and Moral Training and the provision of sub-staff. The new Command Chaplains would have to be appointed and decisions made about uniforms and rank insignia. The future status of the JSCC was a question. New orders and terms of reference would have to be promulgated. Most of all there would have to be assurances that no chaplain would be released because of integration.

At the next PMC Meeting it was declared that the RCN would assume housekeeping duties for the new Chaplains General. The Chaplains General would brief the PMC at the regular Tuesday meetings. They would prepare a letter for the new Command Chaplains outlining the new chaplain organization and they would prepare a Joint Organization Order for the PMC. They would evolve the new orders necessary for the reorganization. After some consultation with Church authorities they would submit recommendations for Directors of Religious and Moral Training and they would consider the future status of the JSCC.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter from the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff to the Chaplain General, dated 24 September, 1958.

⁵⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC Meeting, dated 25 September, 1958.

There was some scepticism to the new move from the public. In an editorial from the Ottawa Journal the question was asked "Is This Integration? Or is this the creation of two new senior posts and no reductions in administration and personnel?"⁶⁰ From Winnipeg a Mr. Tomkin wrote to the Minister of National Defence urging him to make some real savings by cutting the whole chaplain service.⁶¹ In a reply to a Ministerial enquiry on the subject it was reported that the chaplains' service had gained 2 Generals, lost four Lieutenant Colonels and freed eight Command Chaplains for other duties. Partial integration had resulted in a better disposition of manpower.

At the last JSCC meeting on 30 September, 1958, the planned integration was hotly discussed. The PMC had proposed that the new organization would come into effect on November 1st. The two Chaplains General had been directed to meet alone with the PMC to work things out, until a Joint Organization Order had been completed. On 1 October, 1958, the JSCC was replaced by a new Chaplains General committee.

In November the new Command Chaplains were named. They would be chaplain BA Peglar in Eastern Command, Wing Commander W. Rodger for Quebec, Central Command would be Lt Colonel Rusty Wilkes, Prairie would be Wing Commander AR MacIver, and

⁶⁰ Ottawa Journal, dated 29 September, 1958.

⁶¹ NAC, MG 32, Harkness chaplain's papers. Letter from Mr. Tomkin to MND, dated September, 1958.

Western was Lt Col MJD Carson. Padre E.S. Light would look after Europe. The three most important functions of the Command Chaplains were: spiritual leadership, to ensure that chaplains were placed to the best advantage and to co-ordinate the work of the chaplains in accordance with the policies of the Chaplain General. Integration became official at the Command level in December 1958.

It was soon clear that there was a need for some fine tuning in the implementation of command and control of the new structure. The old Principal chaplains and in particular the R.C.A.F. representative, was functioning as if the integration had never taken place.⁶² The ad hoc committee was reactivated to review the apparent inconsistencies in Joint organization Order 24. It would be necessary to change the designators that denote positions, to establish clearly the channels of communication on administrative and ecclesiastical matters, to recognize the need for Command Chaplains conferences and for the chaplains general committee to represent the three services.

There was one other problem concerning the new Chaplain General's powers of command and control. When the Chaplain General arranged to travel to Europe, he discovered at the last minute that there were no travel funds left in his

⁶² Basically, the now Deputy Chaplain General R.A.F. had been unwilling to make certain transfers within the RCAF as required by the Chaplain General.

budget. The PMC informed him that he would have to co-ordinate his plans with the three deputies, two of whom had just visited Europe without letting the Chaplain General know.

In spite of the above difficulties, it was the general consensus at a Command Chaplain's Conference, 29-30 October, 1959, that while no particularly beneficial results had been apparent to date, the work of the chaplaincy had not been adversely affected. Personal relationships between Command Chaplains and members of other Services had generally been good. The implication was that partial integration seemed to be working within the limits imposed by its partial nature.

The chief problems were to do with senior staff officers not understanding the function of the Command Chaplain in the new plan and poor communications between Command Chaplains and other Services. The Command Chaplains required more information regarding postings and promotions of chaplains in Services other than their own. The duplication of function and responsibility as between Command Chaplains and assistant Command Chaplains was confusing. At this time the overall feeling at NDHQ was that partial integration had been a good, although sometimes confusing, thing.

At this point Archbishop Roy was again writing to the Minister of National Defence concerning rank and status. After praising the Minister for his consideration and admitting that the chaplaincy was in its infancy, Roy wrote: "It had to mushroom into formation to meet the demands of war.

The governing principle then was the rule of expediency to meet the emergency."⁶³ He went on to speak of the "universal consciousness" of rank:

The thinking and attitude of the serving man is influenced by the emphasis given to rank; and the relative importance many men attribute to a department is usually measured by the rank and status held by the head of the Department. While this is psychological it does apply to every department; but it is especially true in the Chaplains' department where the cause, benefits and effects are so intangible. The status given the head of the Chaplain Department of the Canadian Armed Forces is of the utmost importance."⁶⁴

The Bishop then concluded with an appeal to elevate the Chaplain General to the rank of Major General, just like the Surgeon General.

The Chaplains General wrote to the PMC:

Organization Order No. 24 does not provide the Chaplains General with sufficient authority to function effectively. While the Order in question makes the Chaplain General responsible for policy, the existence of the Chaplain's committee implies that it is this Committee, rather than the Chaplain General, who carry the ultimate responsibility. Repeated requests from deputations for definition of the authority of the Committee seem to affirm this view as prevalent among the Deputies in general. When decisions were made by voting in committee the Deputies were in a position to negate the opinions and recommendations of the Chaplains General, placing the latter in a position that

⁶³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846. Letter of Archbishop Roy to The Honourable George Pearkes, MND, dated 4 January, 1960.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

was most awkward and embarrassing.⁶⁵

The chaplains felt that the same precepts should apply for the chaplains as for the rest of the Service. Thus came a recommendation:

That the present Chaplains' Committee should be dissolved. Each Chaplain General has access to his respective Deputies. Co-ordination or rank structure, staff visits, leave, recruiting, releases, transfers, postings and appointments, would be affected at the Chaplains General level."⁶⁶

In response, the PMC clearly established that the Chaplains General were the only advisors to the PMC, and that the Deputy Directors General were both under their own services for certain administration and under the Chaplain General for other matters. It was decided that in order to clarify things, the name of the Chaplains' committee should be changed to "The Chaplain General's Advisory Committee". This committee would advise the Chaplain General on all matters pertaining to spiritual and moral welfare of the military and would offer advice on policy affecting organization, supervision and administration of the service. It would meet only when required to do so by the Chaplain General.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo from CG(P) to PMC, file 26-4-2, dated 21 July, 1960.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of PMC meeting, dated 3 November, 1960.

The PMC then went on to spell out the areas of responsibility in more detail. Staff visits would be the responsibility of the Deputy Chaplains General, but the Chaplain General would be permitted comment. Leave of the Deputy Chaplains General would be referred to the Chaplain General. Postings to integrated positions shall be made by the recommendation of the Chaplain General to the PMC. Postings to non-integrated positions shall be made by the deputies in consultation with their own Service and without necessarily having to obtain the permission of the Chaplain General. It would be the responsibility of the deputy Chaplains General to nominate suitable men for appointment. Releases will be permitted only with the permission of the Chaplain General. Joint Organization order 24 indicated that the intention was "to effect a partial integration of the Chaplain Services at NDHQ and at Commands whilst leaving the three branches of the chaplaincy to function within each of the services as much as heretofore."⁶⁸

In December 1962, the Chaplains could report that NDHQ had been integrated as requested, although there were problems.

In the commands the scheme has prove to be premature, unworkable, and has caused much confusion. Notwithstanding early attempts to establish Integrated Tri-Service Command Chaplains, the new scheme exists only on paper. Hence, for four years the so-called 'Integrated tri-service Command Chaplain' structure has been

⁶⁸ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC Minute, dated 10 December, 1962.

ignored; while the intra service, herein called 'Individual Service Command Chaplains' have continued to function as before. In this way the chaplains work has been competently supervised and effectively carried out.⁶⁹

The chaplains went on to suggest that efforts, to make integrated Command Chaplains, cease until such time as the armed forces reached a stage of greater integration generally.

In a Parliamentary Return dated 24 January, 1963, a question was asked about the chaplains service.

It is observed, however, that while integration did not result in substantial savings of dollars and personnel, it achieved its primary purpose in promoting complete unification of policy, as well as an effective and efficient so-ordination in the organization and administration of the chaplains services....interpretation was effected at some locations and resulted in a substantial reduction in the number of COCs employed. The overall reduction of two senior positions resulted in no financial saving."⁷⁰

The report went on to note that each chaplain had been able to retain his individual Service affiliation and that prior to integration the chaplains' service had cost the tax payer \$1,999,805.36. After integration it cost \$1,967,997.20, but the efficiency was greater.⁷¹

In September 1964, plans were announced for the phasing out of the PMC as it handed over the reigns of responsibility

⁶⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo from the Chaplain General(P) to the PMC, file CG(P) 26-4-2, dated 10 December, 1962.

⁷⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. This is from a background paper presented by the PMC, dated 10 June, 1963.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

to the chaplains new military master: the integrated division of the Personnel Branch. Unification of the Armed Forces formally took effect on 1 February, 1968.

During the process of unification the chaplains' branch had become a more regular part of the military bureaucracy. It moved away from the collegial control of the JSCC and became a branch of the Canadian Forces with its own Chaplain General and with a much larger degree of autonomy than it had seen since the end of World War II. The massive input from the civilian churches would no longer be required but the input of the Church representatives seemed to be accepted by the government more out of antiquarian respect than out of necessity. Before 1946, the Chaplain General had been under the close control of senior Canadian ecclesiastics. After 1968, the Churches retained their right to appoint the Chaplain General, but they always chose their new man from a list of those who had progressed through the bureaucratic system.

The chaplains did not seem to understand the bureaucratic growth that was taking place around them, as every hint of the old ecclesiastical elitism was being replaced by modern bureaucratic military efficiency. The extent of the change and its nature seemed to lead to an odd request for the times. In their assumption of the status of earlier times and the desire for tangible evidence of their rightful place in Canadian society, the chaplains began to pursue the

appointment of an Honorary Chaplain to the Queen.

The Continued Pursuit of Lost Status

It all started in 1957, Dr. W. Harold Young of the United Church of Canada and Chairman of the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy committee, asked the military to appoint one or more of the three Principal Chaplains of the Canadian Forces to the honorary rank of Chaplain to the Queen.⁷² The head medical doctor in the military and the head nurse had already received the honour and, to some in the military, it seemed like a reasonable suggestion.

At the request of the Defence Secretary, the Personnel Members Committee (PMC) considered the possibility and requested more information from the Army member of the Joint Staffs Committee in London England.⁷³ London reported that, with the exception of Canada, the Commonwealth countries had no regular chaplain establishments similar to the British Army and no Honorary Chaplains had ever been appointed. However, in Britain, a number of Service chaplains from the major denominations had held the appointment of Honorary Chaplain to the Queen and the British Chaplain General saw no objection

⁷² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from Rev. Young to Chairman PMC, dated 18 April, 1957.

⁷³ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. PMC minutes, dated 2 May, 1957.

to the proposal.⁷⁴

The PMC accepted the report, but expressed concern about limiting the appointment to just one religious group, there being no established Church in Canada. So it was decided "to stay in line with other Commonwealth Countries and thus avoid embarrassment to both church and State."⁷⁵ On 3 July, 1957, the PMC wrote to the Minister of National Defence explaining their negative response.

Informal and unrecorded discussions at the time must have indicated that the problem was with a fear of offending the Roman Catholics and so the senior Protestant chaplains were quick to move. On 24 October, 1957 the JSCC, which included the top Roman Catholic chaplains, wrote to the PMC indicating that while the Roman Catholic chaplains were not in a position where they could accept such a job, still they had no objections to the Protestants doing so. The letter was signed by the Principal Roman Catholic Chaplain.

But at the PMC meeting in November that considered the additional endorsement, it was felt that while the senior chaplains might not object, that there were junior chaplains through-out the Service who certainly would object. It was decided that no recommendation would be made at this time

⁷⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Letter from Staff Officer, JSC London to PMC, dated 27 June, 1957.

⁷⁵ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC minutes, dated 27 June, 1957.

because there was no established Church in Canada and such an appointment would necessarily limit the honorary appointments to one religious group.⁷⁶

The issue came up again in 1960. At the PMC meeting dated 14 July, 1960, reference was made to another memo from the Canadian Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee to the Minister of National Defence, suggesting the appointment of the Chaplain General as an Honorary Chaplain to the Queen. Air Force and Navy members of the PMC recognized that there was no state religion, but noted that there were state supported chaplains! If a chaplain was appointed, they felt that it would present a minimum of embarrassment to other religious groups. In their opinion "...such an appointment would strengthen the Canadian Council of Churches in somewhat the same way that an honour, recently conferred on the Chaplain General (RC) had done for those of the Catholic faith."⁷⁷ Following this meeting the Minister of National Defence was informed that due to their divergent views the PMC was not able to make a recommendation. The Minister then informed the Churches that such an appointment would not be appropriate to recommend at this time because, since there was no established Church in Canada, it might be construed as

⁷⁶ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC minutes, dated 7 November, 1957.

⁷⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC meeting, dated 14 July, 1960.

showing favouritism to one religious group.⁷⁸

The issue would not just go away. In response to yet another letter from the Council of Churches, it was reconsidered at a PMC meeting in March, 1961. Once again the Air Member Personnel and the Chief of Naval Personnel supported the proposal while the Army member adhered to his original stand. The old views were reiterated: that recognition of one group could cause embarrassment to others.⁷⁹

One last effort was made to appoint a Chaplain to the Queen in January 1964. The Acting Air Member Personnel (AMP) wrote a memorandum recommending that the Chaplain General be made Honorary Chaplain to the Queen. The AMP made four points. Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Chaplains had all held the position in England where the Church of England was the established Church. He noted that the Church of England was not the established Church in Scotland, nor in Wales, and therefore was not the established Church of the United Kingdom. In Canada, the Roman Catholic Church had for many years been able to recognize the contributions of its chaplains to the Forces by elevating several of the senior men to the position of monsignor, a title and office conferred by the Holy See. The Protestant section of the Chaplaincy had not been able to give similar recognition because of its

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC meeting, dated 2 March, 1961.

varied denominational groups. The position of Honorary Chaplain to the Queen would be one avenue of recognition. The senior Medical Officers and Nursing Sisters had held honorary appointments to Her Majesty the Queen for a number of years which gave good precedence for the Council of Churches' request. Her Majesty is Queen of Canada and it seemed only fitting that she have Honorary Chaplains who represent our country.

This time the Navy member expressed considerable sympathy but indicated that he held reservations on several points. The Army member said that his concern was that no cause be given for denominational friction or for the Minister of national Defence to be open to possible criticism. He recognized the arguments and went on to note that over the years the Anglican Church had, on occasion, recognized their chaplains' contributions by granting the ecclesiastical rank of Canon or Archdeacon. He did not believe that it would be sound to support a course of action which excluded a major religious denomination. When the AMP pointed out that the Roman Catholic church had just appointed a Roman Catholic chaplain: Wing Commander Gallagher, as Auxiliary Bishop, the Army member replied that the inability of the Protestant chaplaincy to grant similar titles was inherent in the nature of some Protestant denominations. He wondered whether Honorary Chaplain to the Queen should be regarded as a Protestant equivalent.

The final decision was made and recorded.

After further considerable discussion the Members agreed the Minister be informed that, after a review of all the factors involved, the members of the PMC were of the opinion that an appointment of this nature to the Chaplain General (P) would imply a favoured position for one religious group, a situation that should not obtain in Canada where there is no established Church, and under the circumstances therefore, it would be inappropriate to recommend such an appointment."⁸⁰

In so far as the PMC was concerned the chaplains had their place in the military structure and, by implication, in Canadian society. The Protestant chaplains' circumstance was such that they would not be granted the possibly equivalent honorary status to the Roman Catholic chaplains and they would not have the status of the senior officers of the Medical and Nursing branches of the Canadian military.

Remembrance Day Parade Solution

While being forced to come to terms with their bureaucratic status, some of the chaplains started to develop a managerial sense. When enthusiasm for the annual Remembrance Day church parade began to wane during the early 1960s, they took the initiative and proposed a workable solution.

As far back as 1963 the chaplains thought that they had

⁸⁰ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. PMC meeting, dated 13 February, 1964.

held their last service at Dominion Chalmers Church. As attendance dropped it was hard to find sufficient personnel to maintain both the church service and the Legion ceremony. The services were still happening in 1965 when Vice Admiral KL Dyer, the Chief of Personnel, appealed to his branch for good attendance at the annual church parade. Personnel not detailed for the parade were encouraged to attend the church service. Dyer went so far as to note in his memo that Chalmers United Church had sufficient seating capacity to accommodate approximately one third of NDHQ personnel with their families.⁸¹ The appeal was not sufficient motivation for the men who were not on duty and the church was only half filled.⁸² Because it was becoming so difficult to organize a suitable attendance at both events, the Chief of Personnel, with the support of the Chaplains General, decided that Remembrance Day church parades should cease and that all efforts would be put into the Cenotaph ceremony.⁸³

The Protestant Chaplain General, Brigadier ES Light, suggested that in addition to the wreath laying, the Last Post and the Reveille, that an appropriate scripture lesson could

⁸¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo from Chief of Personnel to HQ Staff, Ottawa, file P1110-4, dated 8 November, 1965.

⁸² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo from Base Commander NDHQ to CG(P), file AU 1110-3(CAU), dated 20 September, 1966.

⁸³ *ibid.*

be read and prayers included. A Jewish Rabbi might be included in this part of the service and the religious parts could be organized by the Chaplains General if the Legion wanted it to be that way.⁸⁴ The Roman Catholic Chaplain General agreed but noted that it was a civilian activity and therefore, for that, fell under the bureaucratic jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Ottawa.⁸⁵ With the above in mind, the military approached the Legion.

The matter was considered by the Legion at the next regular meeting of their National Ceremonies Committee⁸⁶, but after a lengthy discussion of a positive nature, the committee came to a negative conclusion. It was too late to do anything to change the 1967 ceremony, but they would invite the Chaplains General to attend. If they considered it appropriate, the chaplains could dress in their ecclesiastical robes. A short ecumenical service would be considered for 1968 but concerns were expressed. The Legionnaires worried about the question "...of other religions...which has caused the Legion embarrassment in the past."⁸⁷ They noted that the length of the ceremony was directly related to the cold

⁸⁴ *ibid.* minute #1.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* minute #2.

⁸⁶ Held 6 October, 1967 and related to in NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo P5111-5-12 TD (DGPS), dated 11 October, 1967.

⁸⁷ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6581. Memo P5111-5-12 TD (DGPS), dated 11 October, 1967.

weather that was always a feature of Ottawa on November 11. Perhaps the service would be of "inordinate duration, unless special arrangements were made, such as annual rotation of religious representation."⁸⁸

While not ruling out a simple religious service at the Cenotaph, the chaplains noted the cold weather solution of the Legion in Calgary. In Calgary they coped with the cold weather by holding the ceremony inside a large Provincial auditorium. The Ottawa service, the Chaplains suggested to their military superiors, might be held in the auditorium of the soon to be completed National Arts Centre, followed by a simple cenotaph ceremony.⁸⁹

Another solution might be to change the date of the Remembrance ceremony. Already, in June of 1967, a special memorial service had been held on Parliament Hill. The Anglican Chairman of the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee: Bishop Ivor Norris, and the former Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop to the Armed Forces: Bishop Norman Gallagher, had jointly conducted a service to remember the Normandy landings. The 25th anniversary of the Normandy landings would be in 1969, and that would be a good time to establish a "Memorial Day" on the 1st Sunday of June. It would become the national occasion for the paying of tribute to all of

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Memo P5111-5-12 DEGA(P), dated 15 October, 1968.

those who had served their country in past wars. By coinciding with the normal June Armed Forces Day this would eliminate one more Ottawa parade. It would also provide a balance with the Battle of the Atlantic celebration held in May and the Battle of Britain celebrations held in September.⁹⁰

Taking these suggestions under consideration, the Chief of Defence staff wrote to the Canadian Legion in November 1967. He urged them to consider a short service of scripture and prayer that would take less than five minutes. The service would be ecumenical in nature and would include Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen and a Jewish Rabbi. He recognized that the Legion had their own chaplains, but volunteered the services of the Chaplains General, if needed.⁹¹ This led to the present day ceremony.

In the process of the evolution of the Remembrance Day service the chaplains were learning how to deal within the bureaucratic system. They had learned that neither they nor the military had the last word on these services of public remembrance. As Canon Scott had found out long before them:⁹² in war time a chaplain may be highly respected by all

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7738. Letter CDS to Commandant, Canadian Legion, file P1110-4-1(DC), dated 15 November, 1967.

⁹² During the First World War Canon Scott was the nearest thing to a popular hero that the Canadian Division had. Afterwards, he went to the Winnipeg strike to calm "his boys down" and was booed and ignored.

concerned, but in peacetime he is just another clergyman. Also, the Protestant chaplains had demonstrated that they had learned how to take the initiative and to solve the problems of the day by using the formal military bureaucratic system and to effect change by using the informal system: when Norris and Gallagher worked together on the solution to the joint worship problem.

When the Protestant Chaplain General of the day, Brigadier Light, retired from the military, he was immediately employed in the civilian Church as General Secretary of the Anglican Church of Canada. Perhaps this was an indication of the formation of a new bureaucratic elite of which Light was a part.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

As the time of unification of the Canadian Forces approached, the Chaplains' branch was well on its way to being a regular part of the military bureaucracy. The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic chaplains were coming around to a more flexible position and the Protestants seemed happy to think that they were taking the lead in resolving problems such as those surrounding the annual Remembrance Day parade. On the surface the chaplains seemed to be happy, but one issue in particular seemed to indicate that something was missing. The Protestant chaplains had never been able to obtain the honorary appointment of a Chaplain to the Queen.

This unresolved issue reflected their continuing pursuit of the status that had once been theirs and which had been a major theme in the administrative development of their profession.

Using classical bureaucratic theory, Donald Harmon Akenson described the Church of Ireland as a network of participants related to each other by function.¹ He described the Church in terms of groups of specialists, a coordinating hierarchy, a system of rules applied to work and behaviour and as having an important informal network.

¹ Donald Harmon Akenson, The Church of Ireland, (New Haven and London, 1971).

Similar categories could be applied to the structure of the chaplains' service described above to further illustrate its bureaucratic growth.

Various groups of clergymen who had responded to the wartime call to serve their country, now looked upon themselves as Army, Navy or Air Force chaplains. Each took pride in the uniform of his service and in his groups own peculiar way of operating within his environment. Not only were the clergy able to specialize in Army, Navy and Air Force chaplaincies, but opportunities existed for them to specialize in pastoral activities. Some developed their skills with families while others worked with the single men. Some had reputations for excellence in padre's hours, while others became known as alcohol counsellors.

Over the years the coordinating hierarchy of the chaplain's service had become more complicated and bureaucratic. The single control of Bishop Wells at the beginning of World War II soon became the collegial control of the three Principal Chaplains. Care was taken that they were representative of the three major denominations: Anglican, United Church and Presbyterian. During the uneasy transition period of partial integration, the bureaucratic structure of the chaplaincy evolved to be more in line with the military bureaucracy of the day. A Chaplain General (Protestant) was appointed and an advisory board was established. The new chaplains' branch still came under the

umbrella of the Canadian Council of Churches, but the influence of the Council of Churches committee was greatly reduced. The Chaplain General was assisted by a Director of Chaplain Administration and by a small bureaucratic staff of chaplains and secretaries who worked to prepare chaplain's manuals and to rewrite the Queen's Regulations and Orders for the combined chaplains' branch.

Informal relationships had always existed between chaplains, especially between those who had attended the same colleges or had served together during times of strife or hardship. Strong bonds were formed between the men who had been on active service during wartime or in Korea. The annual retreat fanned the old informal relationships and encouraged new ones to develop.

While the ecclesiastical hierarchies of the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches had worked together before on several occasions when they had perceived threats to the chaplains' service, the mid-1960s witnessed cooperation such as was never before possible. At the working level there had always been a fair degree of cooperation between the clergy of both communions but as matters rose in prominence the separation of the two sides had always become very distinct. It was only when the Protestants seemed to take the initiative in working out a solution to what might be termed the Remembrance Day parade crisis, that a corporate solution was found. The Protestants were delighted with their self-

perception of ecclesiastical leadership, which they had clearly forfeited after the war but had quietly assumed all along. Perhaps they had regained something of what had seemed to be their rightful status in days gone by, or was the new cooperation more a product of Vatican II and the radical changes that were taking place within the Roman Catholic Church?

By unification everything seemed to have fallen into place for the chaplains. They had been moulded into being a part of the military bureaucracy, but having the Chaplain General position, which went with that process, meant that they had regained the control of their branch that they had enjoyed during wartime. Matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and military command and control had been worked out. New rules and regulations had clarified their working relationships and increased efficiency. On the surface everything seemed to be in place but one issue had remained unsatisfied. The Protestant chaplains and their civilian Church superiors, had longed for the establishment of the honorary position of Chaplain to the Queen.

While the real reasons for this pursuit were never written down or even verbalized, it would be fair to assume that the chaplains were still in pursuit of the status that had once belonged to the established Church and the ecclesiastical elite.

The chaplains' pursuit of the appointment of an Honorary

Chaplain to the Queen was the key to the branches' most dominant theme: the pursuit of the clergy's former status. Rank issues had been resolved and under their own Chaplain General the chaplains could feel that they were at least trusted to run their own branch. In the midst of growing bureaucracy, and faltering elitism, not to mention secularization, the chaplains and their ecclesiastical superiors continued to seek to fulfil their long lost need for, what they considered to be, their proper status.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

Resource Review

Military and Church historians have written very little that has been specifically about Protestant military chaplains who have served in the Canadian military forces¹ and this is especially true of the post-World War II era. Even the official military histories pay only cursory notice to this peculiar group of clergymen and many times forget to mention that they were even in the military at the time of the action, let alone that they were on or near the battlefield.² Perhaps the reason has been the small size of an organization that has functioned at its best only in the shadows of national glory or disaster. Another reason might be that the chaplains were just not seen to be important enough to demand the attention of anyone. Traditionally, when the war was over, the chaplains have returned with their parishioners to civilian life and have faded into the national fabric. It was only after World War II that a small core group of the clergy

¹ However, a considerable body of popular literature and a few more serious pieces of work have been produced concerning the military chaplains in England and the United States.

² Herbert Fairlie Wood, Strange Battle-Ground, (Ottawa, 1957). The official history of the United Nations Operations in Korea is a good example of the way in which the chaplains have been totally ignored in some historical accounts.

stayed on to form the permanent force chaplains' services in the three Canadian military forces.

In Canada, the main source for chaplain materials is the National Archives, with the back up resources of the Canadian Forces Directorate of History.¹ Other valuable resources may be found in the archives of the Protestant Chaplain General at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. A Protestant Chaplains' History Project involving acquisition of oral interviews from serving and retired chaplains is currently under way.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES CHAPLAINS MATERIAL

Military Files After 1945

In the Canadian military structure, from 1944 until the 1967 unification, the chaplains reported to their immediate military commanders and, at the highest levels, to the Personnel Members Committee (the PMC). The PMC, which came under the Defence Council, was composed of the heads of the personnel divisions of the Navy, Army and Air Force, with representatives from the Defence Research Board and the office of the Deputy Minister. It was created on 28 April, 1944, "...to deal with all matters of policy which may affect

¹ Directorate of History materials are filed according to topic.

personnel with the objective of maintaining uniform practices throughout the three Armed Services."² As the military institution evolved and grew, during the Cold War, and as the Canadian military marched towards integration, the PMC became more of a decision making body than a regulating body. All of the major administrative decisions of the chaplains could be made only with the approval of the PMC.

There are fifteen volumes of PMC chaplains files³ that cover the period from 1945 until 1967. Their contents are arranged in typical, military chronological order. They were acquired as a part of the routine acquisition of Department of National Defence materials and are of particular value because of the quality of their presentation. They seem to be fairly complete and from time to time contained summaries or collations of documents relating to specific chaplain issues.

Very early in the process the PMC realized that it had neither the time nor the expertise to deal with some of the more mundane matters of the chaplains' branch and so brought into being the Joint Services Chaplaincy Committee.(JSCC) As a sub-committee of the PMC the JSCC would "...advise the PMC on all matters pertaining to the spiritual welfare of the

² National Archives of Canada(NAC) finding aid 24-111.

³ NAC RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, boxes 7737-7738, file 33-1-1.

members of the Armed Services."⁴ The JSCC was composed of the Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains of the Fleet and of the Principal Chaplains of the Army and the RCAF. At the initial meeting the JSCC decided to break itself into two sub-committees which would follow the basic organizational division of the branch.⁵ The JSCC (Protestant) was a very active sub-committee.⁶ The JSCC (Roman Catholic) was more private concerning their affairs and have left a limited trail of records.⁷ The JSCC minutes, while now available, are cluttered with extraneous material but do reflect the Chaplains' point of view.

When the integration of the chaplains took place in 1957 the committee was disbanded and the Chaplain General's committee was formed. After a brief power struggle between the Principal chaplains, who continued to function as before

⁴ NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 7737. Minutes of PMC Meeting 223, 28 April, 1949.

⁵ The JSCC gathered for its first meeting in room 3128 of "B" Building on the 17th of May, 1949 at 1515 hours. "Under the interim chairmanship of the Principal Chaplain (RC), Army and interim secretaryship of the Principal Chaplain(RC) Air Force, it was agreed that the appointment of the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee should be by Seniority of service and change every four months. Accordingly the Chaplains of the Fleet (P) and (RC) were appointed Secretary and chairman respectively. It was further agreed that there would be two sub-committees; Namely: JSCC(P) and JSCC(RC).

⁶ RG 24, acc 83-84/167, box 6582, file 2-70-57-1, pts. 1-3 is more of a duplication than a supplement to the files of the full committee.

⁷ RG 24, acc 83-84/167, box 6582, file 2-70-57-2.

and the new Chaplain General, whose role during partial integration was not entirely clear⁸, the name of the committee was changed again. From 1964 until 1968 it was called the Chaplain General's Advisory Committee. After order had been restored a single office was established in Ottawa to be the headquarters of the integrated chaplains. At this time a fair amount of housekeeping was done and many records were lost. Some additional files were retained in the homes of Principal chaplains, especially of those who were of the Navy tradition, and these files have since been lost.⁹ Other material was put in the garbage as a new broom swept clean. Until 1989, the chaplains thought that the JSCC minutes and all other records of the period had been discarded. Actually, they had routinely found their way to RG 24 of the Public Archives of Canada.¹⁰

Ecclesiastical decisions concerning the military chaplains were made in a different manner. The chaplains were individually responsible to their own Church courts on

⁸ Partial integration had created a Chaplain General who could hire chaplains, but who had no executive power over the organization. The Principal chaplains still had control over all chaplain movements and functions within their respective services.

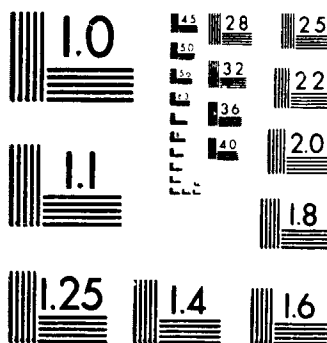
⁹ E.G.B. Foote, the Chaplain of the Fleet (RCN) kept his files at home. He died within a year of retiring from the forces and his widow passed away soon after. The family sold the files to an Ottawa antique dealer with other memorabilia and all trace was lost. Chaplain's History project interview with Miss Helen Bayne, past secretary to the Chaplain General(P).

¹⁰ RG 24, acc 83-84/167, boxes 6581, 6582, 6846, 7737 and 7738. The PAC has now been renamed the National Archives of Canada(NAC).

3

of/de

3



MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

matters of moral and spiritual significance.¹¹ Collectively, they were responsible to their parent Churches through the particular representatives of their Church.

During the War, these representatives, appointed by the War Committees of their respective churches, formed the Inter-Church Advisory Committee on Chaplain Service in the Forces.(ICAC) Records of the War Committees still exist in national church archives.

After the war, the churches decided that the proper place for the ICAC was as a committee of the Canadian Council of Churches. On 22 September, 1947, the Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, received a letter from W.G. Gallagher, General Secretary of the Council, announcing the formation of the Canadian Council of Churches Committee on Chaplain Service. The new committee would be "...the recognized agency of the churches in this council for the consideration of all matters affecting the chaplain services which are of common interest to the Communions".¹² It would "exercise a general oversight of religion in the Forces," would "act as a link between the chaplains and the churches" and would "serve as the common channel of communication

¹¹ The present Chaplain's History Project has started to study personal records and memorabilia that have been placed in places such as the various Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada and the Conference Archives of the United Church of Canada.

¹² NAC, RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6582. Letter W.J. Gallagher to Hon. Brooke Claxton, 22 September, 1947.

between the churches and the government with regard to the chaplain services."¹³ All of the major ecclesiastical decisions made by the chaplains could only be made with the approval of the Council of Churches Committee. The ecclesiastical masters of the chaplains had always been sensitive about matters of denominational balance and so were delighted at the conciliar nature of the JSCC. Files of the Canadian Council of Churches are in the NAC but are inaccessible at this time. Apparently they are sporadic and contain very little if any chaplain related material.

There are other chaplain files in the National Archives: labelled "Religious Administration - Integration of Chaplain Services 1957-1960".¹⁴ These are the minutes of the ad-hoc committee on the integration of the chaplain service. They contain very little that is not otherwise available in the JSCC files.

One other file is on the construction of various chapels.¹⁵ It contains several lists describing the conditions of chapels in use and the need for additional buildings. Blueprints of several chapels are included in this file, although they are not controversial plans or reflective of the struggle for a specific plan or chapel. These are simple

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, box 6846, file C2-177-2, pts. 1-3.

¹⁵ RG 24, acc. 83-84/167, boxes 5539-5540, file block 5100.

technical files and do not include debates on related issues.

Minister of National Defence Chaplains Files

One other source of information for this thesis has been the chaplains files of the Minister of National Defence. When available, they have been most valuable for the notations on documents that represent "the other point of view".¹⁶

OTHER ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Directorate of History

Chaplain files at the Canadian Forces Directorate of History (DHIST) are diverse and, sometimes, cover information that may not be of lasting significance outside of personal interest from within the chaplains' branch.¹⁷ Other historical materials such as annual reports of wartime activities are of considerable interest and significance. Most of the historically significant information located at the directorate: such as the Joint Services Chaplaincy

¹⁶ NAC MG 32/B5 - Claxton and MG32/B19 Harkness cover the period from 1945 to 1963. Files from the Hellyer era are listed as being still in process. (MG32/B33)

¹⁷ For example: the returns of a 1938 survey of militia chaplains on the details of changes to the chaplain's mess kit. DHIST, 325.009(D189) MD 2 correspondence re dress regulations for chaplains.

Committee files, has been passed on to the National Archives. Some chaplain information can be found in the records of specific battles and operations.

Chaplain General's Archives

The Chaplain General's archives contains a diversity of files, books, manuals and general memorabilia. Some war diaries of specific chaplains and Colonel Beattie's unfinished manuscript on World War I chaplains are included. The most significant materials for the purpose of this thesis were the minutes of the Council of Churches Chaplaincy Committee, 1947 to the present, and the minutes of the Command Chaplains conferences, beginning in 1958.

Naval Museum Archives

The Naval Museums on either coast are repositories of memorabilia, although the Halifax Naval Museum has a considerable naval military library. Some local Halifax and Victoria chaplain material is contained in their repositories, but this is more for the realm of popular history.

Civilian Church Archives

Across the country civilian Church archives vary

considerably in size and quality. Records of the War Committees of the major Churches are contained in their national archives, but most of the applicable post-war material can be found only in more regional archives. The archives of the Anglican Church of Canada in Victoria, British Columbia and in Halifax, Nova Scotia, revealed interesting but limited material.

The most helpful and best organized of the Anglican archives is the one in Ottawa. Files on Canon CG Hepburn, Bishop Clarke and Bishop Wells provided valuable insight into the ecclesiastical jurisdiction issue. Most Anglican archives retain correspondence files and some newspaper clippings on all of the clergymen who have served in that diocese.

Of some interest was the file of material on Bishop Luxton that was forwarded from the Archives in London, Ontario. The information so obtained reflected a positive attitude towards the military and contained no indication of any conflict over jurisdiction.

United Church of Canada archives also vary in quality and size and often have been limited to local church records. The most valuable of those visited was the Maritime Conference archives in Halifax, where the memorabilia of Dr. C.M.

Nicholson has been a recent acquisition.¹⁸ As moderator of the United Church during the Korean crisis, Nicholson visited the servicemen in the far east and returned to ask critical questions about their welfare.

MANUSCRIPTS

Anonymous, "Chaplain's Handbook", unpublished MS circa 1958, updated nominal role to 1977, other possible changes. Archives of the Chaplain General (Protestant) Ottawa.

Beattie, William. "The History of the Chaplain Service", unpublished MS. Archives of the Chaplain General (Protestant), Ottawa. dated 1921.

Johnston, M.C. and Porter, Gordon H. "Sky Pilots in Blue". A presentation of the organization and work of the Protestant Chaplaincy Service of the Royal Canadian Air Force, 1939-1945. Unpublished MS in the archives of the Chaplain General (Protestant). (no date).

Rand, J.L. "The Background of the Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps", unpublished MS circa 1960. Archives of the Chaplain General (Protestant). From this MS Rand derived several articles published in the US Army Chaplain's Periodical: THE CHAPLAIN.

BOOKS-PRIMARY

Castonguay, Jacques. Unsung Mission. Montreal: Institute de Pastorale, 1968.

Steven, Walter T. In This Sign. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965.

Wells, J.C. The Fighting Bishop. Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971.

BOOKS-SECONDARY

¹⁸ Indeed, some of the material referenced below: correspondence from his time as Moderator of the United Church, was only discovered by this researcher in an old box in the basement of the Atlantic School of Theology, where it had been placed when Dr. Nicholson retired as the President of that institution.

Akenson, Donald Harman. The Church of Ireland. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971.

Berger, Peter L. The Sacred Canopy. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969.

Blau, Peter. Bureaucracy in Modern Society. third ed. New York, Random House, 1956, 1987.

Bibby, Reginald. Fragmented Gods. Toronto: Irwin Publishing Co., 1987.

Brodie, M.Janie and Jensen, Jane Crisis, Challenge and Change: Party and Class in Canada. Toronto: Mentha, 1980.

Berton, Pierre. The Comfortable Pew. Toronto: Anglican Church Publishing House, 1965.

Clark, S.D. Church and Sect in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Consumerism. ed: Aaker, David A. & Day, George S. New York: The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc., 1971, 1978.

Creighton, Donald. The Forked Road. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Doland, Rex R. The Big Change. Toronto, The United Church Publishing House, 1967.

Featherstone, Joseph. "John Dewey and David Reisman" in On The Making of Americans. ed: Herbert J. Gans, Nathan Glazer, Joseph R. Gusfield, and Christopher Jencks. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979.

The Culture of Consumption. ed. Fox, Richard Wightman and Lears, T.J.Jackson. New York: Panteon Books, 1983.

Goodspeed, D.J. The Armed Forces of Canada 1867-1967. Ottawa: Directorate of History, 1967.

Granatstein, J.L. Canada 1957-1967. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

Grant, John Webster. The Church in the Canadian Era. Toronto: McGraw, Hill, Ryerson, 1972.

Hasek John, The Disarming of Canada. Toronto: Kay porter Books, 1987.

Johnstone, Ronald L. Religion in Society. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975, 1983.

Keegan, John. The Face of Battle. New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1976, 1978.

Kronenberg, Vernon J. All Together Now. The Organization of the Department of National defence in Canada 1964 - 1972. Ottawa: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1973.

Lears, T.J. Jackson. The Culture of Consumption. Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd., 1983.

Mahatoo, Winston H. The Dynamics of Consumer Behavior. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1985.

McCracken, Grant . Culture and Consumption. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

McNeill, William H. The Pursuit of Power. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Morton, Desmond. A Military History of Canada. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985.

Oliver, Principal Edmund H. The Winning of the Frontier. Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930.

Olsen, Dennis Charles. The State Elite. Toronto, McClelland, 1980.

Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Presthus, Robert. Elite Accommodation in Canadian Politics. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada Ltd., 1973.

Riesman, David. The Lonely Crowd. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.

Smythe, Sir John. In This Sign Conquer. London: A.R. Mowbray, 1968.

Stanley, George F.G. Canada's Soldiers. Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1960.

Stark, Rodney. and Glock, Charles Y. Religion in Sociological Perspective. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

Webber, Max. The Protestant Ethic. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958.

Westfall, William. Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario. Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, ed. George Rawlyk. Kingston: McGill - Queens

University Press, 1989.

Wilson, Douglas J. The Church Grows in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966.

Wood, Herbert Fairlie. Strange Battle - Ground. Ottawa: Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, 1966.

Zahn, Gordon C. The Military Chaplaincy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

BOOKS - OTHER

Browne, Ray B. Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture. Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1980.

Card, B.Y. Trends and Changes in Canadian Society. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968.

Culture and Social Character. ed. Lipset, Seymour Martin and Lowenthal, Leo. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1951

Davis, Kingsley. Human Society. New York: The Macmilland Company, 1949.

English, John. Years of Growth 1948-1967. Toronto: Grolier Ltd., 1986.

English, John and Bothwell, Robert. Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Ferguson, Marilyn. The Aquarian Conspiracy. Marilyn Ferguson, Los Angeles: Torcher, 1980.

Fraser, Blair. The Search for Identity. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1967.

Honeywell, Roy J. Chaplains of the United States Army. Washington: Department of the Army, 1958.

Introduction to Canadian Society. ed. Ramu, G.N. and Johnson, Stuart D. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976.

Johnstone, Ronald L. Religion in Society. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975, 2nd ed: 1983.

Pearson, Lester B. Mike Volume 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Religion, Culture and Society. ed. Schneider, Louis. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1964.

Religion in Sociological Perspective. ed. Glock, Charles Y. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1973.

The Religious Situation - 1969. ed. Cutler. Boston: Donald R. Beacon Press, 1969.

Ross, Alexander. The Booming Fifties. Toronto: Jack McClelland, 1978.

Venzke, Rodger, R. Inspiration in Peace: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1945-1975. Washington: Department of the Army, 1977.

Wilson, Bryan R. Religion in Secular Society. London: C.A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1966.

Years of Promise 1945-1963. ed: Bondy, Robert J. and Mattys, William C. Scarborough: Printice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1980.

OTHER PUBLISHED LITERATURE AND ARTICLES

Bliss, J.M. "The Methodist Church and World War I". in Canadian Historical Review. Vol. 59, No. 3, (Sept. 1968).

Campney, The Honourable Ralph Osborne, Selected Speeches 1952-1957, Toronto.

Chaplains Handbook. Ottawa: a limited edition. Army Headquarters, 1957.

Clifford, N.K. "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis". Church History. Vol. 38, (1969).

Colling, J.M. "The Canadian Chaplain Service" in The Legionary. Ottawa: Canvet Publications Ltd., (Dec. 1946).

Gavreau, Michael. "War, Culture and the Problem of Religious Certainty: Methodist and Presbyterian Church Colleges, 1914-1930". Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society. Vol XXIX, No. 1, (April, 1987). p. 11-31.

MacLean, John. "True Canadian History..." The Legionary. Ottawa: Canvet Publications Ltd., (October, 1973).

Marshall, David B. "Methodism Embattled: A reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I" by David B. Marshall Notes and Comments, Canadian Historical Review, LXVI 1,

(1985).

Pennington, Chester A. "The Ministry of Our Chaplains" in The Chaplain. (March/April, 1971).

Protestant Chaplain's Manual, R.C.N. ed: Edwards, Ivan R., Ottawa: Department of Naval Service, 1951.

Rand, John. "The Development of the Army Chaplain in Great Britain", The Chaplain, (June 1968). p.16.

UNPUBLISHED THESIS, ARTICLES AND PAPERS

Byers, R.B. "Reorganization of the Canadian Armed Forces", unpublished PH D thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1970.

Fowler, A.G. "Historiographical survey of the Canadian Chaplain Service 1914-1921." an unpublished paper located in the archives of the Chaplain General (Protestant), Ottawa. dated April 1989.

Marshall, David B. "Secularization in the Church", unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, 1986.

END

1|5|04|9 1

FIN