

Radical Discipleship in the United Church

A Presentation and Conversation

By Rev. Rob Crosby-Shearer, EC (admissions minister)

For Rev. Professor Hyuk Cho

DS523. UCC History and Ethos.

Vancouver School of Theology. January 12, 2023.

.....
...I want to begin my presentation today with a provocative image.

It's an image that predates the formation of The United Church of Canada by 6 years:¹



This is an image of striking workers, in the Winnipeg 1919 general strike, overturning a streetcar in resistance to the rise of capitalism – and more specifically, to protest working conditions. The strike brought out 30,000 workers and spread to other cities across Canada.

One Methodist minister, a leader of the Winnipeg All People's Mission was arrested and charged with seditious libel. The charges lodged against him included an allegation of him quoting the prophet Isaiah in protest writings: "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees"ⁱⁱ

The faith-based 'revolutionaries' (a term used by the press of the time)ⁱⁱⁱ who were part of the strike would not likely have been aware of the phrase "Radical Discipleship" – for that is much later terminology. However, I would like to suggest to you today that there are elements of their actions and ideologies that would resonate with that movement.

The Biblical scholar Ched Myers, writing on the Radical Discipleship webpage notes that:

Radical Discipleship is about nothing more and nothing less than laying bare the roots of the personal and socio-political pathologies of our imperial society and its dead-end history, even as we seek to recover the roots of our deep biblical tradition. And what tradition is that? It is the messianic movement of rebellion and restoration, of repentance and renewal, a "Way out of no way" that has been going on since the dawn of resistance to the dusk of empire^{iv}

I want to differentiate today between 'radical' and 'progressive' – even as I note that the two don't need to be mutually exclusive. It's sometimes difficult to generalize between those two approaches to faith; the 'progressive' and 'radical' within The United Church – especially when we are trying to survey a nearly 100+ year period. And, indeed, as we shall hear throughout this presentation, the two streams are often enmeshed – sometimes even within a single person or movement of an era of the church.

Nevertheless, I hope you'll humour me. today, with this simplified and generalized framework to help define the two streams:

[on a set of slides] **Progressive:**

- Tends to have an emphasis on a doctrine of progress and the human capacity to bring progress about (anyone remember that old song "*We're building the City of God*"?).
- Tends to emphasize the state as an instrument or means of progress – leans on the welfare state as both safety net and locus of change.
- Tends to emphasize education and democracy as instruments of progress.
- Tends towards state solutions around justice –letter-writing, legislation etc. become the locus of public engagement.

- Tends towards identity-based critiques of culture (ie race, gender, sexuality) – especially later 20th century onward. Emphasis on ‘inclusion’ and ‘diversity’ is increasingly common.
- Tends towards historical critical and deconstructionist forms of theology and engagement with scripture; heavily influenced by 19th-century German liberal theology.

Radical

- Tends to have an emphasis on a doctrine of collective and personal brokenness / sinfulness and grace and God’s agency for change (through ‘the beloved community’).
- Tends towards grassroots community as the instrument change – usually localized / smaller in scale than state.
- Tends to emphasize formation, discipleship, and life in community – including public witness and direct action flowing from that. Often takes a pacifist stance and may engage in active non-violent protest / public witness against injustice.
- Tends towards radical economic and structural critiques of culture (ie against corporate rule, advanced monopoly capitalism, war and structural injustices)
- Tends towards varied forms of theological orthodoxy and mysticism, prayer / contemplation as a foundation for direct action, public witness, and life in community.

Discussion Question: Can you think of any elements of the United Church of Canada as I’ve described as ‘radical’ in any way? If so, how? When?

Many folks in my circles who have been influenced by elements of radical discipleship, especially those who are younger than me, often tell me that they view the United Church as a comfortable, middle-class social club without much of ‘prophetic imagination’.

Many of these folks would regard the so-called historic ‘peace traditions’ (Quakers, Anabaptists, etc.) or radical Catholicism (Dorothy Day, the Berrigan Brothers, Thomas Merton) or the protest traditions of the historic Black Church (Rosa Parks, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., etc.) as holding more of a ‘radical’ ethos - while the ‘of Canada’ churches (United, Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, etc.) – the so-called protestant mainliners - to be more ‘progressive’.

I’d like to suggest today that, despite the dominant ethos of the United Church of Canada being one which I believe has often been slanted toward ‘progressivism’ – that even from the DNA of precedent denominations – especially the Methodists – there has been an element of countercultural Radical Discipleship in the denomination throughout its 100-year history which peaked in the 1930s in a critique of the interrelated cultures of capitalism and war-making.

Social Gospel Roots

Some of the roots of the political left of the church, both 'radical' and 'progressive', lie in the Social Gospel movement. A longer presentation would allow for a more comprehensive survey of the Canadian roots of this movement through (for example) a liberationist prairie impulse as well as Canadian theologians such as Salem Bland and into figures like Rev. J.S. Woodsworth and Nellie McClung, among many others.

McClung was, herself one of more well-known activists, politicians, and populist public speakers in the Methodist and, eventually United Church; a writer who had cut her teeth in the temperance, pacifist, and suffragist movements, before abandoning her pacifism in order to support her son who had been conscripted into World War One.^{vi}

Here, however, I'd like to tell a story from McClung's earlier life:

... Immigrant women made up a large portion of sweatshop labour in Winnipeg, toiling in inhumane conditions for hours on end. Determined to bring this to the attention of [Manitoba] Premier Roblin, Nellie... paid a call to the premier's office and insisted that he accompany them to one of the factories where women worked in noisy, dark, filthy rooms... Roblin went along... but apparently could not tolerate the environment for more than a few minutes before he fled from the building^{vii}

The Methodist minister I mentioned who was charged with sedition around the Winnipeg General Strike was none other than the Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, a Methodist / United Church minister who would later go into politics; himself being an integral part of forming the precursor to the NDP, the CCF.

But as we explore McClung and Woodsworth a very important note of caution: J.S. Woodsworth and McClung, both of whom certainly held embodied 'radical' actions and convictions – especially early in their lives, were also proponents of eugenics – as was, to a lesser extent, Woodsworth's friend and one-time parishioner, The Rev. Tommy Douglas. – In Woodsworth's case, he was a proponent of a hierarchy of races/ethnicities.^{viii}

A Witness Against the War

To the Editor of The United Church Observer:

Dear Sir,—Since our Church has officially recognized the legitimacy of the anti-war conviction as one which may sincerely and conscientiously be held by Christians, and as we know there is a considerable number of ministers and others who have come to this considered position, and believing that on the whole it would be better that a declaration of such conviction should be made now rather than later, we, the undersigned, present the following statement of our faith and commitment, with an invitation to any others throughout our Church who share our point of view and feel led to avow the same, to forward their names for later publication. Communications may be addressed to Rev. R. Edis Fairbairn, Bracebridge, Ontario.

We find ourselves, not without pain and regret, unable to approve of this war. We recognize that other ministers and church members, equally sincere, differ from us and feel in duty bound to participate in it. At the same time we know that we represent a body of conviction characteristic of the earliest Christian Church, and of many reform movements through the centuries, and strongly held by many groups in the Churches today. We take our stand upon the declaration of our own General Council in 1888, that "war is contrary to the mind of Christ," and "we positively reject war, because war rejects love, denies the will of Christ, and denies the worth of man." The Council endorsed the statement of the Oxford Conference of 1887 (the nearest thing to a pronouncement of universal Christendom that has ever been made) which, starting from the recognition that war is sin, agreed that the judgment of individual Christians may lead some to refuse all participation, while others may feel that they must participate when they think a given war to be "just," or when the state orders them so to do. In brief, some will say, "Yes, war is sin; therefore . . ."; while others will say, "Yes, war is sin; but . . ." While freely admitting the right of our brethren to choose differently, we confess that the following considerations appear to us to have decisive weight.

The will and Kingdom of God must

take precedence over the national convenience or policy.

The nature of modern war is such that it is and must be incompatible with the Christian spirit and aims.

Beyond the immediate and apparent causes of war we have to take account of the historical causes, and when we do we find that no nation is black or white, but all share in responsibility for creating the situation which makes war inevitable.

Apart from religious scruples, and apart even from the specific teachings of Jesus, we agree with men like Baldwin and Chamberlain, who have said in effect that war is futile because incapable of achieving any worthy solution of international disputes, and can only bring general destruction.

We remember that the Churches lost heavily in spiritual authority because of their general surrender to the war spirit in 1914-18. We think it ought to be placed on record now, in view of the further loss of spiritual authority probable if the Church sanction this present war, that at least some representatives of the Christian Churches disapproved and uttered their protest.

It is generally agreed and confessed that Christendom has through the centuries sadly and seriously fallen short in faithfulness to Christ. We are convinced that at no point has Christendom departed so radically from the mind of Christ and its own original faith as in its acceptance of war.

We affirm that we are not seeking escape from the burden or sacrifice, and we profess our readiness to implement our citizen loyalty in some form of service equally as taxing, difficult, and dangerous as military service, providing it does not contribute directly to the war effort.

Signatories:

R. Edis Fairbairn, A. I. Manson, J. A. Dreckenridge, J. K. Moffat, W. R. M. Metcalfe, J. K. McKenzie, J. Lavell Smith, J. G. Gorrell, A. J. Lawton, J. E. Graham, J. Wisel, F. L. H. Stymiest, W. R. Clements, P. Mathams, C. O. Oke, J. W. E. Newberry, H. H. Eaton, M. N. Leonard, C. Halliday, J. M. Boyd, W. C. Rose, H. S. Belbin, T. F. Duncan, P. Caven, D. P. Hemmison, D. H. McFarlane, R. D. Smith, R. J. Irwin, C. E. Sylvester, Wray O. Mather, C. D. Farquharson, R. W. Street, W. H. Irwin, Stanley H. Knowles, L. G. Perkins, William Swan, Arthur Barner, Doyce H. Wallace, J. M. Finlay, R. G. Davidson, H. Howey, J. E. Griffith, Harold N. Watt, J. Blatchford Ball, N. L. Daynard, G. W. Tilley, B. L. Oaten, W. J. Huston, F. M. Young, Walter S. Cooke, G. A. Sauder, A. T. McIntyre, A. O. Dayfoot, R. D. Frank, Frank R. Harbeck, Ruth O. Harbeck, W. Howey, W. R. Walsh, C. E. Beacom, W. R. Welch, Fred Smith, Harold Toye, Gordon Lapp, R. J. Morrison, Wilfrid Gates, E. Leslie Taylor, Nelson Chappell, Walter C. Almack.

There will be a meeting in Carlton Street United Church, Toronto, Friday afternoon, October 20th, for the signatories of the statement, "A Witness Against War," within Toronto area.

The "of Canada" churches' genocidal participation in Indian Residential School system can, arguably, be viewed as an outgrowth our connection to progressive / liberal ethos (as described in my comparison above) - especially the elements of education as a foundation for social cohesion and in our collusion with the state.

In this sense, it's not all that difficult to draw a line between the repulsive eugenics views of Woodsworth and McClung with these projects of genocide, and which also, along with these figures' participation in the state system, make them a mix of 'progressive' and 'radical' streams of the United Church, and we need to take their contributions cautiously, to say the least.

Discussion Question: Is it possible to separate the more radical impulses in social gospellers like Woodsworth or McClung (pacifism, [proto-]feminism, economic socialism) with the more progressive racism? Can we continue to honour these folks given some of their repulsive views?

Into the Radical 1930s

Gwen Norman notes that "Christian Radicalism... emerged out of the disintegrating social gospel movement, [and] gained a stronghold within the United Church of Canada in the early 1930s."^{ix}

As we move through time here, I can't highlight ever figure and movement - so I'd like to leave you with some 'snapshots' of compelling figures, statements, and movements within The United Church of Canada or, indeed, perched uncomfortably on its edges.

A Witness Against The War, (see image) was published in the United Church Observer in October 1939 as pacifist document signed by 64 (eventually over 150^x) prominent clergy and laity - including Stanley Knowles, who would later become a notable New Democratic Party MP with a nuanced critique of the capitalist order.^{xi} The document was considered controversial enough that "the Attorney-General Gordon Conant began an investigation into whether or not it violated Regulations 39 or 39A of the War Measures Act."^{xii}

That document, itself, proclaimed:

The will and Kingdom of God must take precedence over the national convenience or policy. The nature of modern war is such that it must be incompatible with the Christian spirit and aim... Christendom [has] departed radically from the mind of Christ and its own original faith in its acceptance of war.^{xiii}

One of the main writers (possibly the writer of the entire text) of *The Witness Against the War* text was the Rev. R. Edis Fairbairne,^{xiv} who was a lifelong UCC pacifist minister. In a chapter of his book *Apostate Christianity*, he points out the 1939 Observer statement did not come out of a denominational vacuum, but, indeed, reflected the pacifist tone of the UCC General Councils all through the 1930's – and quoted from those councils (see image of his quotes from GC decisions, from an excerpt of his book, below).

1932. "The United Church of Canada, in General Council assembled, declares its unchanging conviction that war is contrary to the mind of Christ. . . . The General Council calls upon its Ministers and its Members to continue to bear witness to the sin of war. . . ."

1934. "We believe armed warfare between nations to be contrary to the spirit and teachings of Christ, and that it is the duty of the Church to promote a Christian public opinion in opposition to war. . . . (Pointing out that those who refuse military service must be ready to accept the civil consequences of disobedience, and declining to promote or approve the registration of such, the Council delivered itself of the following choice example of ecclesiastical verbiage—) We find ourselves unable to deny that this movement may be the agency through which war may be made impossible. . . ."

1936. "As Christians we reject war, because war rejects love, and because war defies the will of Christ, and denies the worth of man. We must be prepared to follow Christ in turning from war, because it is false and futile and destructive of human personality and spiritual values."

1938. "We reaffirm the stand taken by former General Councils of our Church relative to war. . . . We call the world to repentance and to acceptance of the Christian way."

Fairbairne, unlike most of the other UCC ministers in this presentation, did not concede to a statist solution for societal problems but, instead, "came to view Christian cooperative communities as the true revolutionary cells of a new world order"^{xv}

We could continue to write about the many WWII war resisters in the United Church of Canada from the era of the 1930s-1940s. One abstract of a recently published book highlights how some of these stories have been forgotten or repressed in our 'official' church histories:

In November 1941, Gordon Toombs was about to make one of the most important decisions of his life. The 21 year old was in the middle of a three year theological degree at St. Andrew's College in the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon when he and seven of his friends decided to take a stand against the bearing of arms as conscientious objectors in World War II. Five were candidates for the ministry, one was studying chemistry, one was a pre-med student, and another was an English major. The United Church archives has no record of their names nor what happened to them as they tried to make their objection known. Misunderstood and scorned, the defiant eight faced persecution and even jail, forcing some of them to make choices that were as untenable as the war.^{xvi}

To unearth and re-member these stories is important – as their stories and sacrifices hold an important counternarrative to the dominant "For God and King (Queen) and Country"

narrative that adorns so many of our church buildings and liturgies around Remembrance Day.

Revolution in the Social Order

In addition to its statements on war as well as pacifist resistance in the UCC in the 1930's we also see, what I believe are The United Church of Canada's most powerful statement which critiques the evolving capitalist order in the document *Christianizing the Social Order*, which states:

A society approximating to the Kingdom of-God on- earth should ensure:

(a) That honest, capable and industrious persons shall have the opportunity as well as the responsibility of earning for themselves and their families a satisfactory livelihood, which should include humane living and working conditions...

{f) That the possession of money shall not be regarded as an end worthy in itself, nor its possessor be held in respect by the community by reason of his riches. The person of true wealth will be he who serves the community with what he (sic) has.

(g) That sometimes for co-operation within the nation or among the nations, renunciation of one's own desires shall be called for, and, that exclusive privileges and economic advantage for one's self must yield to the common welfare, so that suspicions and animosities will be displaced by community of purpose.^{xvii}

With all the anti-capitalist and arguably related anti-war tone in the denomination at the time, perhaps it is then notable that there has arguably been no sharper mind in the 'radical' movement of the United Church than Rev. Richard Roberts - the 6th Moderator of The United Church of Canada from 1934-1936.

The entire book *Grace Unfailing: The Radical Mind and the Beloved Community of Richard Roberts*^{xviii} is worth a read in this respect. Roberts was, again, a pacifist – and his theology might today be called an orthodox radicalism; a blend of deeply credal and pious – even 'mystical'^{xix} spirituality with a radical political worldview.

In 1933, Roberts lectured at Emmanuel College in Toronto, and made this statement, which is quite typical of his social teaching and reflective of the tone of *Christianizing The Social Order*.

A society which permits overcrowding, sweating, unsanitary industrial or domestic conditions, the exploitation of the public by private corporations in the matter of the necessities of life, which consents to a greatly inequitable distribution of wealth, in which the balance of justice is loaded on the side of the privileged classes – that society is in no sense a Christian society^{xx}

Like many of the figures we've already discussed (Fairbourne being the notable exception), the 'radicalism' of Robert's critique is tempered by that he "never doubted that modern democracy was the only form of government consistent with Christian principles."^{xxi}

Still, it's interesting to note here that most of the main leaders of the more 'radical' elements of United Church discipleship became involved in mainstream politics, usually in the form of the left leaning (and occasionally radical) New Democratic Party (NDP) or its precursors such as the CCF.

Jumping Ahead

I don't want to ignore the 1950s to 1970s. There is much that can be said about that period – and some interesting articles in the Observer about countercultural impulses in the United Church. At the same time, I think it would be fair to say that the post-war era until the rise of the ecumenical justice movements in the later 1970s saw both a suburbanization and de-radicalization of The United Church of Canada, at large. Many of the more radical leaders either left ministry for party politics – usually the NDP – or grassroots activism – or passed the torch to another generation.

Regarding party politics, thus far we have mentioned McClung and Woodsworth – and I'd like to note other clergy in the so-called "God Squad"^{xxii} through the 20th and 21st century: United Church clergy such as Stanley Knowles, Bill Blaikie, Rob Oliphant, Cheri DeNovo, James Manley and others who began as grassroots ministers and or activists and became 'progressive' politicians^{xxiii}, even as many continued to hold more radical perspectives and even participated in direct action or public witness than was common for their office.

For example, the recently deceased Rev. Bill Blaikie, a politically nuanced and even centrist social democrat, also participated in the Quebec City and Seattle anti-globalization riots in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which for activists of my generation – the pre "September 11th" activist generation – was a watershed moment.^{xxiv} Blaikie wrote several books on the Social Gospel and said this:

Social gossellers shared a profound belief that the ideology of competition is a lie about the nature of a truly human society. They rejected the profit motive as a sanctification

of vice and a recipe for exploitation. They rejected the concentration of incredible economic powers in the hands of a commercial corporate minority, and the challenge to our democratic self-image and to individual freedom that it posed. They shared a belief in the value of economic co-operation as the true expression of our life together ... They were realists about the need for ... restraints on human selfishness.^{xxv}

A brief personal anecdote here: Bill was the speaker at UCC Toronto Conference gathering that I attended in the early 2000s as a youth chaplain. He did a memorable talk on Christ versus the Empire. I shyly approached him afterwards and asked him: *Is it possible to actually take on empire if you have a low Christology?* He responded to my question, saying that "...he didn't think so. And that's why the liberal mainline church is often in bed with empire rather than opposing it." Again, this could be seen an interesting expression of an orthodox radicalism.

Ecumenical Justice

Another era, or stream of radical discipleship in The United Church is found in its involvement is the ecumenical justice movement, a topic which deserves a presentation unto itself.

The movement thrived from the 1970's to 1990's in many coalitions - and had precursors before that in organizations such as the Student Christian Movement, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship For A Christian Social Order – among others.

A snapshot from the 1980s peace movement, which many in the United Church, via the various ecumenical justice coalitions, were a part of. There was a call from peace activists to participate in a flotilla blockade, protesting nuclear submarines in the pacific northwest of the USA:

The powers that be in the United Church made the decision that the United Church's west coast mission boat, the Thomas Crosby V, should join the blockade. So it was that the Crosby, festooned with banners proclaiming the church's support for world disarmament, set sail for Bangor with a contingent of church members on board, including the newly-elected Moderator of the United Church, the Right Reverend Clarke MacDonald.^{xxvi}

Speaking of blockades, and the like, one snapshot of another of the “God-squad” who was heavily involved in the ecumenical justice movement was The Rev. James Manley who was an NDP from 1980-1988. Some of the more radical elements of his life come clearer in his post-parliamentary work, as summarized on his Wikipedia page:

James has remained active in peace and social justice issues and has engaged in Central American solidarity work on behalf of the United Church. ... He also served as a member of the United Church's British Columbia task force on residential schools and recommended that the church apologize to aboriginal Canadians for its role in the institutions...On 20 October 2012, Manly was arrested by Israel for trying to breach a blockade of the Gaza Strip on the ship Estelle. He was released on 25 October, saying that he suffered only minor indignities.^{xxvii}

Another United Church minister involved in nonviolent direct action is the Rev. Barry Morris who works with the Longhouse Council of Native Ministry in Vancouver. In the image below, Rev. Barry is being arrested in the Burnaby Mountain Pipeline protests after Indigenous elders called on religious leaders to seek arrest^{xxviii}.

Another personal anecdote: After this arrest and conviction Barry set up a meeting with the Executive Minister of the Pacific Mountain Regional Council [formerly BC Conference]. In that meeting, which I was present as a fellow arrestee, Barry shared a loneliness around the being in the more radical stream of UCC clergy – a fact compounded, he noted, by the weakness of the ecumenical justice movement, which had been strong decades earlier.



Problematizing the Scope of these Snapshots

There are a number of problems with this talk I'm giving today.

Most of these stories are of male-identified individuals and all, or most of them are of European descent. One could say – 'those were the times' – but I'm not convinced. Part of the job here is to recover radical voices from many ethnic, cultural and gender positions in the UCC.

For example: We could likely have a complete other paper on radical indigenous perspectives, such as from the Chief Rev. John Snow Sr (Stoney-Nakoda) and his activist resistance to colonialism on behalf of his people^{xxix}.

We could also explore more radical and embodied activism from environmental and/or disarmament or global solidarity movements as a whole topic.

Then there's our 'activist' origins in the Lord's Day, temperance, anti-gambling and other movements that are only touched on here – as well as some of the more radical elements of pre-Union Social Gospellers and Prairie politics.

With this, I realize that I'm just beginning to touch on both the radical past – even with its problems (such as the Woodsworth and McClung stories attest to) - even as I point toward reclaiming the radical possibilities within the denomination.

Finally, one might critique my approach here by saying that I'm creating a false dichotomy between 'radical' and 'progressive' in this presentation.

I'm willing to hear that – and I think that this view could be supported by the complex stories of the figures I've highlighted here – especially for those in the 'God-Squad' who demonstrated both radical and progressive tendencies.

And I will also concede that these paradigms don't need to be either-or – there is something exciting about being progressive and radical that is an important part of our story.

Having said that, I do believe there is a strength in highlighting such a distinction, especially as we look to the past, as well as some of the possibilities of the future to reclaim some of the more radical critique and public witness that has happened in the first century of The United Church of Canada.

Concluding Words

I will suggest today that we need to both re-member and build on some of the more radical DNA of The United Church of Canada.

We live in a time where Christendom and state structures are disintegrating, and Canadian nationalism is suspect – in part due to libertarian movements. This is a time when the church and state genocide of Indigenous folk has become headline news. Is it, then, a time to reclaim a different posture outside of the dominant nationalist ethos of the United Church of Canada?

At a time when singing “O Canada” or portraying a flag in a Christian church are increasingly suspect, what does the posture of The United Church *of Canada*, become?

Put another way: Are there elements in our *radical* history which could be a counterpoint to the more *accommodationist* parts of our colonial history?

Could there be a way for the United Church to be a spiritual home for those who hunger for a way of living faith that is both mystical and ‘rooted’ (notably the origin of the word ‘radical’ means rooted) - while it embodies public witness such as non-violent direct action and a solid critique of capitalism through small countercultural communities of faith? I would suggest we need to do this alongside the more progressive impulse around diversity and inclusion – but build upon that with a more robust and embodied engagement against capitalism, and war.

I suggest today that such an ethos is in our DNA – and that The United Church could – and indeed, should be a place that fosters such a ‘prophetic imagination’

Question: With the connection of Residential Schools to a doctrine of progress - as well and the church-state collusion in genocide, as well as the recent White Nationalist anti-government protests (as embodied in the so-called 'truckers' protest), what are we to do do with the 'of Canada' part of the United Church?

Question: Is there a need for a recovery of Radical Discipleship within the United Church? What would be the pros and cons of an 'unearthing' of this emphasis? How might you see yourself or your community of faith living into a more 'radical' way of being?

Endnotes

ⁱ Image Source <http://heritagewinnipeg.blogspot.com/2018/09/the-streetcar-and-strike-reflection-on.html> original photo by L.B. Foote, notably a member of Fort Rouge United Church (see [here](#)). retrieved Jan 8, 2022

ⁱⁱ Penner, Norman (1973). *Winnipeg 1919*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company. pp. 207-215

ⁱⁱⁱ *The Winnipeg Citizen*, that claimed that "the so-called general strike is in reality revolution – or a daring attempt to overthrow the present industrial and governmental system." D.C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 66.

^{iv} <https://radicaldiscipleship.net/2015/03/05/what-is-radical-discipleship/> retrieved Jan 8, 2022

^v A term attributed to Walter Brueggemann who is, perhaps ironically for our purposes here, a United Church of Christ minister.

^{vi} See Smith, Barbara and Nellie McClung *The Valiant Nellie McClung - especially the prologue pp 15-29*. Heritage House, Toronto: 2016

^{vii} Smith and McClung (2016) p. 20

^{viii} For more on the varied eugenics / racist / sterilization of McClung, Woodworth and Douglas, see <https://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/tree/512fa68b34c5399e2c00000f> retrieved Jan 9, 2022. There is a difficult paradox in these positions, given that McClung and Woodsworth both fought for the dignity of foreign workers and against forms of racism, all while being unable to look beyond the doctrine of racist progress so popular amongst 'progressives' of their time. For a source document on Woodsworth's views, see his 1909 book "The Stranger Within Our Gates" <https://archive.org/details/strangerswithino00wooduoft/page/n383/mode/2up>. Retrieved Jan 9 2023.

^{ix} Norman, Gwen R. P. *Grace Unfailing: The Radical Mind and the Beloved Community of Richard Roberts*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1998 p 232

^x R. Edis Fairbairn Fellowship New York Vol. 13, Iss. 8, (Sep 1947): 133-134. Found <https://www.proquest.com/openview/1250cd05498d44bcd33ed3d44d619081/> retrieved Jan 9 2022.

^{xi} See http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/36/knowles_sh.shtml#52 for an overview of Knowles' thought. Retrieved Jan 9 2023.

^{xii} Irreconcilable Differences: Wartime Attitudes of George C. Pidgeon and R. Edis Fairbairn, 1939-1945 GORDON L. HEATH <https://churchhistcan.files.wordpress.com/2013/06/1999-2-heath-article.pdf> Retrieved Jan 11, 2023.

^{xiii} A Witness Against the War," *United Church Observer* October 15, 1939, 21

^{xiv} R. Edis Fairbairn Fellowship New York Vol. 13, Iss. 8, (Sep 1947): 133-134. Found <https://www.proquest.com/openview/1250cd05498d44bcd33ed3d44d619081/> retrieved Jan 9 2023.

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- ^{xv} Josephson, Harold (1985). *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders*. Connecticut: Greenwood. pp. 272-3 found
https://archive.org/details/biographicaldict0000unse_q1j1/page/272/mode/2up retrieved Jan 10 2023
- ^{xvi} <https://www.mcnallyrobinson.com/9781772802580/gordon-toombs/174298> - I received this tip from the United Church archives who are currently indexing Toombs' papers. Retrieved Jan 9 2023.
- ^{xvii} The United Church of Canada, "Christianizing the Social Order: A Statement Prepared by a Commission Appointed by the Board of Evangelism and Social I Service," (1934), 3-15. [section. 49 is quoted]
- ^{xviii} Norman, Gwen R. P. *Grace Unfailing: The Radical Mind and the Beloved Community of Richard Roberts*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1998
- ^{xix} Roberts was reading the mystic Evelyn Underhill – see Norman p. 185
- ^{xx} Roberts quoted in Norman (1998) p 169.
- ^{xxi} Norman p. 272
- ^{xxii} See <https://www.peacequest.ca/bill-blaikie-was-part-of-parliaments-god-squad/> for a bit more on this idea. retrieved Jan 9 2023.
- ^{xxiii} For a more comprehensive list of the so-called God-squad, see here:
https://ndp.fandom.com/wiki/History_of_Christianity_and_the_NDP-CCF. Retrieved Jan 9 2023.
Notably, Rob Oliphant is one of the few who are not affiliated with the NDP/CCF in my list – Rob is a Liberal MP – and, notably, in my story, a friend who also informed me that I needed to submit to a Presbytery trial under section 363 of the United Church Manual of that time when I was arrested protesting once of the Iraq conflicts in 2001.
- ^{xxiv} <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ndp-leadership-candidate-aims-to-heal-party-wounds/article1024198/> for more on Blakie's politics and presence at the protest/riots. Retrieved Jan 9 2023.
- ^{xxv} Quoted in <https://www.peacequest.ca/bill-blaikie-was-part-of-parliaments-god-squad/> Retrieved Jan 9, 2023.
- ^{xxvi} Taylor, Jim, ed. *Times and Tides: BC Conference- An Overview 1970-2017* 2017 : BC Conference, The United Church of Canada
- ^{xxvii} https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Manly. Retrieved Jan 9, 2023.
- ^{xxviii} <https://broadview.org/the-kinder-morgan-protest-in-photos-and-song/> has this photo as well as a photo of myself being arrested at the protest. Thanks to Kimiko Karpoff, a diaconal minister in the United Church for the photos. Retrieved January 11, 2023.
- ^{xxix} See Snow's excellent book *These Mountains Are Our Sacred Places*. 2005: Fifth House - for more on this.