

## **Ignorant Fundamentalists? Ministerial Education as a factor in the Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1927-1933<sup>1</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

The fundamentalists that left the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in 1927 have been labelled 'ignorant fundamentalists' because they allegedly possessed less formal education. Reprising Walter Ellis' 1974 research, a more detailed study of the education of those pastors who remained with the Baptist Convention and those who left shows little difference in qualifications. The 'ignorance' attributed to the fundamentalists by the modernists was illustrative of differing views of what Baptist higher education should be. While the course offerings at McMaster University represented a desire to promote Baptist social advancement and wider participation in Canadian society, the new fundamentalist school begun by the separatists - Toronto Baptist Seminary - explicitly rejected innovations in scholarly understandings such as the teaching of evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible. Although both modernists and fundamentalists retained their attachment to Baptist piety, their approaches to theological education demonstrate differing reactions to the social and intellectual changes of the early twentieth century in Canada.

Prior to the separation of the Regular Baptist Union from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, most English-speaking Canadian Baptists from Ontario and Quebec took training at McMaster University. In the United States, a variety of regional Baptist institutions provided

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choice for ministerial training. In Ontario and Quebec, over 90% of all degrees held by Baptist ministers were from McMaster. McMaster University's domination of Baptist ministerial education ended with the creation of Toronto Baptist Seminary by T.T. Shields (1873-1955) and his supporters in 1927.

Following the official expulsion of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, at the 1927 Convention of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, almost ninety churches across Canada joined the new denomination headed by Jarvis Street's fundamentalist pastor, T.T. Shields. The substance of the conflict among Canadian Baptists was theological disagreement, usually centring on the fundamentalists' desire to adopt a Statement of Faith at a denominational convention which would be binding on all Baptist churches and institutions.<sup>2</sup> It did not take long, however, for the theological controversy to become rife with politics, slander and campaigns to discredit the opposition.

The history of this controversy has been well documented, although sometimes from a partisan perspective.<sup>3</sup> Walter E. Ellis' 1974

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<sup>2</sup> In Western Canada the fundamentalists' effort to pass a 'Statement of Faith' at the annual convention was also combined with their desire to rid the denominational educational institutions of modernistic teaching. However, Brandon College (Manitoba) did not have a doctrinal statement as part of its charter, making the task more difficult. In Ontario, McMaster University did have a Statement of Faith, so efforts there were focused on ensuring that faculty subscribed to that charter. Margaret E. Thompson *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1975) 156-8; *Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec Yearbook 1924*.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie K. Tarr provides a rather uncritical perspective on the divisions in Baptist ranks in *This Dominion His Dominion: The Story of the Evangelical Baptist Endeavour in Canada* (Willowdale, ON: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches, 1968). See also Tarr's apologetic history of T.T. Shields, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967). Similarly, perspectives on the split written from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec or from McMaster University have tended to show bias towards these institutions. For example, Charles M. Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); W. Gordon Carder, 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928', *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* Volume 16 (1973; originally an unpublished B.D. thesis, McMaster Divinity School, McMaster University, 1960); J.E. Dozois, 'Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism' (unpublished B.D. thesis, McMaster Divinity School, McMaster University, 1962). More recently, Robert Wilson has surveyed the educational controversies among Canadian

Ph.D. dissertation argued that the modernist-fundamentalist controversies among Baptists in North America were fuelled by economic and class tensions that had developed between the urban bourgeois which had gained control of the denominational machinery (modernists), and the lower class rural and urban in-migrant populations which voiced their distrust of the denominational elite (fundamentalists). In order to test this thesis, Ellis evaluated social, economic, and educational data from Northern Baptists in the United States and from Canadian Baptists in Central and Western Canada. As Ellis pointed out, the records of ministerial education in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ) have special value for the study of the fundamentalist controversies among Canadian and American Baptist denominations because complete records of educational credentials do not exist for the Northern Baptist Convention.<sup>4</sup> This essay will examine more closely the educational aspect of this social division, specifically studying the educational qualifications of the ministers on both sides of the BCOQ split.

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Baptists, 'Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century,' *Baptist History and Heritage* 36 (2001): 35-40. For a portrait of Canadian evangelicalism and its schools, see John G. Stackhouse *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Stackhouse places Shields at the fundamentalist limit of Canadian evangelicalism, unrepresentative of the evangelical mainstream.

<sup>4</sup> Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1974) 29-30, 84. See also Walter Ellis, 'Gilboa to Ichabod: Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms, 1885-1934,' *Foundations* 20:2(1977): 109-126. Evaluating the socio-economic factors of a religious schism is a complex proposition. As Ellis notes, 'In America, schisms and revivals have always gone hand in hand' ('Gilboa to Ichabod', 124). T.T. Shields, along with many of the other separatists, was an active and effective evangelist, keen on growing and expanding the network of Regular Baptist churches. And because in any evangelistic effort new recruits were often disproportionately from the working classes, it is difficult to know whether any difference in class representation in the new Union of Regular Baptists was due to a fundamentalist approach, or simply to a greater fervour for outreach than was present in the Convention Baptists.

### **Ignorant Fundamentalists?**

One of the principal claims of the liberals was that the fundamentalists were less educated and a group whose ranks consisted largely of unlettered traditionalists from a rural background.<sup>5</sup> Modernism was the reasonable man's view, a scientific perspective of Christianity suitable for modern man. Norman Furniss, for instance, ridiculed the uneducated fundamentalists, characterizing them as men who were afraid of change, egotistical, violent, ignorant and illiterate. The fundamentalists were 'men whose principal assets were conviction and zeal, not erudition.'<sup>6</sup> In his history of McMaster University, Charles M. Johnston said of the dissenting McMaster graduates,

Many of these Alumni, as colleague G.P. Albaugh<sup>7</sup> has pointed out, may have been graduates of the English Theology course, a certificate program not leading to a degree. Billed in calendars as a 'substantial' course, it was designed for 'men of maturity and experience' who for one reason or another could not meet the more exacting admission requirements of the BD course.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, Gordon Carder suggested that the separatists were practically all from a Plymouth Brethren background. Further, those who remained with the BCOQ and the fundamentalists were of 'highly unequal in ability and training, but of equal voting power. To the side led

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<sup>5</sup> Modernists had no monopoly on derisive labels aimed at their opponents. Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921) scoffed at the intellectual abilities of liberal 'thinkers' and called them 'invertebrates' because of their accommodation of traditional Christianity to the spirit of the times. Others like the evangelist Billy Sunday (1862-1935) were even more defamatory, for example: 'Lord save us from off-handed, flabby-cheeked, brittle-boned, weak-kneed, thin-skinned, pliable, plastic, spineless, effeminate, ossified three-karat Christianity.' B.B. Warfield *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* 5 (July 1894) 188; William C. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) 175.

<sup>6</sup> Norman F. Furniss *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) 20, 23, 38.

<sup>7</sup> G.P. Albaugh was the professor of Church history at McMaster from 1943-1975. He was a graduate of Colgate Rochester Divinity School and the University of Chicago. Interestingly, Albaugh was the director of Gordon Carder's B.D. thesis, cited below. There was a considerable degree of in-circulation of the 'ignorant fundamentalist' proposition in liberal and institutional Baptist ranks.

<sup>8</sup> Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* 178.

by Dr. Shields flocked the majority of ministers without university training.<sup>9</sup>

But were the fundamentalists really less educated than the modernists? To establish the educational qualifications of those who remained with the BCOQ, I examined the formal educational qualifications of all practicing ministers (student, lay, licentiate, & ordained) from seven representative associations of churches in the BCOQ at the time of the split.<sup>10</sup> Of fundamentalists I have developed a list of names from two sources: (1) individuals who were dropped from the Baptist Yearbook 'List of Ministers' between 1925 and 1933 for joining the fundamentalists; and (2) individuals appearing in 1928 and 1929 records from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches which can be positively identified as originating in the BCOQ.

I will argue that it was divergent views attached to the pursuit of Baptist higher education, rather than the actual educational credentials of Convention and dissenting Baptist pastors, which has led to statements regarding the poor education of the fundamentalists. In short, the epithet 'ignorant fundamentalist' is less a statement of fact than it is a demonstration of the historical shift at McMaster University towards a more liberal and secular philosophy of education.

### **Educational Data Collected by Walter E. Ellis (1974)**

From a survey of 28 pastors from the ministerial lists of the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec and 278 from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Walter Ellis determined that **71%** of the separatists were without degrees and training, while **52%** of the Convention pastors would be found in the same category.

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<sup>9</sup> 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1929' (Unpublished BD thesis, McMaster University, 1950) 84. Carder's 1973 article, a modified version of his thesis, lacks the unproven assumptions cited above. 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928', *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* Volume 16 (1973): 355-76.

<sup>10</sup> Educational qualifications are available in the Yearbooks of the BCOQ.

**Table 1: Uneducated ministers (Walter Ellis)**

	Regular Baptist Churches (1928)	Baptist Convention (1928)
Trained without degrees or training less than equivalent to the graduate program in theology at McMaster without degree	20 (71%)	130 (52%)

This data would seem to reinforce the claim that the pastors who remained with the denomination possessed more formal education than their fundamentalist counterparts. However, four factors suggest that the conclusion may be premature. First, as Ellis himself noted, the newly formed Union of Regular Baptists was short on pastors from its inception. Ministers were recruited from independent and non-denominational sources.<sup>11</sup> Importantly, this means that Ellis' use of the 1928 list of pastors from the Union of Regular Baptists would include pastors *who did not come from the schism with the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec*, effectively skewing the results. In order to eliminate those Regular Baptist pastors who did not originate with the Baptist Convention, this present study compares only pastors who are known to have originated with the Convention, either as pastors in the BCOQ or as students at McMaster University.

A second problem with using the lists of ministers from the two denominations as Ellis did is that not all ministers were actively serving in churches at the time of the split.<sup>12</sup> A similar modification needs to be

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<sup>11</sup> Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1974) 89. Many of the new recruits to the Regular Baptists may have had dispensational tendencies. This was to have a role in the intra-fundamentalist schism of 1931 which led to the formation of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists.

<sup>12</sup> Separate categories for McMaster University Staff, Foreign Missionaries, Unclassified, and Retired pastors were used in BCOQ Yearbooks beginning in 1927. Including the degrees of these ordained people in the comparison would also skew the results in favour of the Baptist Convention. Degrees held by professors at McMaster University or at Toronto Baptist Seminary are excluded from this study, which focuses on the education of practicing pastors.

made to the data selection process in order to include the substantial number of unordained clergy serving in BCOQ churches whose names do not appear on the List of Baptist Ministers. These names can be found in the records submitted by BCOQ member churches, and include students, lay pastors, and licentiates.

Lastly, Ellis' sampled only 28 pastors from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. I have increased this number to 62 by including pastors who came from the Baptist Convention and entered pastoral ministry with the Union before 1932.

### Uneducated Ministers (new sample)

This revision of Ellis' educational data compares pastors from the Regular Baptist Churches with a representative sample from seven BCOQ Associations in 1932. There were seven English Theology graduates out of a field of thirty-eight pastors who left the BCOQ. One of these, C.J. Loney, went on to do graduate work. For those in the Convention, there were twelve graduates from the English Theology program. Three of these went on to obtain other degrees.

**Table 2: Comparison of Formal Education<sup>13</sup>**

Actual	English Theology	BA	BTh	BD	MA	DD	No Higher Education	Total Pastors
<b>B.C.O.Q.<sup>14</sup></b>	12	49	29	3	8	6	72	148
<b>Regular Baptists</b>	7	15	2	2	1	4	38	62

<sup>13</sup> The English Theology Course had lower entrance requirements than the B.A. and B.Th., and did not include any study of the Biblical languages. The course was developed at various institutions in the United States, where it was often called and 'English Bible Course'. 'No Higher Education' means that a pastor possesses high school graduation or less.

<sup>14</sup> BCOQ sample is taken from seven associations representing both rural and urban Baptist congregations: Canada Central, Guelph, Niagara & Hamilton, Ottawa, Oxford & Brant, Thunder Bay, & Toronto. Although smaller than Ellis' sample of 278 ministers, educational data on 148 pastors from the BCOQ is sufficient for a fair comparison of the two groups.

Percentage	English Theology	BA	BTh	BD	MA	DD	No Higher Education	Total <sup>15</sup>
<b>B.C.O.Q.</b>	8%	33%	20%	2%	5%	4%	49%	113%
<b>Regular Baptists</b>	11%	24%	3%	3%	2%	6%	61%	110%

A tabulation of English Theology graduates shows the two groups to have similar numbers, with a slight advantage for the Regular Baptist pastors. The most common degree held among the Regular Baptist pastors originating with the BCOQ was, in fact, the B.A., a general arts degree which included a substantial component of theology.

The choice of T.T. Shields as the leader of the dissenters was unfortunate from an educational standpoint, for Shields lived up to the modernist caricature of the fundamentalists as unlettered and combative. Although he received honorary degrees from McMaster and Temple University in Philadelphia, he never attended any theological institution.<sup>16</sup>

### **Preliminary Analysis**

While it is true that there were a number of English Theology graduates who sided with Shields, an almost equal number sided with McMaster. As the above data indicates, there were many university graduates among the Regular Baptists. The most important category for our study, those pastors without any formal education, shows only a twelve percent difference between the two groups. The fact that twelve percent more of the fundamentalist pastors possessed no formal education may have had some influence on the outcome of the schism, but it cannot be as great as assumed by Johnston and Carder.

This new sample demonstrates that, in terms of education, the fundamentalist pastors were not equal with those in the Convention. But neither were they completely lacking in formal theological education. The disparity between the groups is not so severe as to suggest that the education of pastors was a significant contributor to their leaving or

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<sup>15</sup> Percentages do not add up to 100% because many pastors possessed more than one degree. Sixteen churches in the seven BCOQ associations were without a pastor in 1932.

<sup>16</sup> *The Telegram*, 5 April 1955, 4. Stackhouse *Canadian Evangelicalism* 24.



remaining with the BCOQ. In addition, almost all the theological education of the pastors under study (modernists and fundamentalists) was gained from the same institution, McMaster University. One may assume, therefore, that all the pastors were under similar educational influences. Perhaps the most vital observation to be made is that there was a great deal of 'ignorance' on both sides of this Baptist dispute, both modernist and fundamentalist: 49% of active pastors in the Baptist Convention and 61% of those who left to join the Union of Regular Baptists possessed only high school education or less.

If there were no significant differences in formal education between the opposing groups, what was the controversy about? If Shields and his followers did not attack McMaster because they were 'ignorant fundamentalists', why did they oppose the school? Another step can be made towards answering these questions by comparing the *kind* of education supported by the rival Baptist groups.

### Two Views of Baptist Higher Education

The centre of Shields' dissatisfaction with the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec was McMaster University. With the establishment of his own school as the cornerstone of the new denomination, Shields was free to pursue his own educational agenda. Toronto Baptist Seminary (TBS) was Shields' alternative to the wrongs he saw at the University, and although TBS was clearly much narrower in its educational mandate,<sup>17</sup> it was established to be direct competition for McMaster.

Toronto Baptist Seminary offered only one program of study, the ministerial course. Three years in length, the course was open to men 'who have the Ministry of the Baptist Churches in view, or contemplate missionary work abroad.' Students were admitted upon the discretion of the faculty; neither Junior nor Senior Matriculation was required. In a rather progressive move, TBS did not separate women into a special course of study like McMaster's *Missionary Course for Women*, but rather opened up its regular ministerial course to women 'who have consecrated their lives to missionary service.'<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> TBS provided for ministerial education only; McMaster University provided a full range of degrees in arts and sciences.

<sup>18</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, printed in *The Gospel Witness* June 16, 1927, 34-48. *McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928*, 108. McMaster continued with specialised courses for women until 1968. The Women's

With only one course of study available at Toronto Baptist Seminary and several programs at McMaster University, there is the question of which McMaster course should be used for a comparison of the two schools. The B.A./B.Th. degree combination is a possibility, since that was the denomination's ideal educational qualification for pastoral ministry. But since this program would be at least four years longer than the Toronto Baptist Seminary course, the English Theology Course is the better choice. While the English Theology Course was not the ideal education for a minister in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, it was considered a sufficient preparation for ordination and pastoral ministry.<sup>19</sup> In addition, both programs were prepared to admit students who had not achieved high school graduation. A comparison of these two programs will demonstrate differences in educational emphasis between the two rival institutions.<sup>20</sup>

### **Common Features**

Both McMaster and Toronto Baptist Seminary were Baptist institutions: Baptist history and distinctives were emphasized in McMaster's theological courses and in the program at Toronto Baptist Seminary. Similarly, courses in mission work and evangelism figured prominently in the curriculum of the English Theology Course and the Toronto Baptist Seminary (TBS) ministerial course. TBS followed the pattern of McMaster University in sending students out during the summers to work in rural pastorates, preaching stations, or in travelling evangelistic ministries.

Personal faith in Christ was expected by students at both schools. In this both TBS and McMaster continued the revivalist and pietistic heritage of Baptists. The required daily Bible reading course at TBS and

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Leadership Training School was begun in 1949 with courses leading to a certificate. It ceased as a separate entity in 1968 with the development of a Bachelor of Religious Education degree, which, in turn, became the Master of Religious Education degree in 1969. Melvyn R. Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed., *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton, ON: McMaster Divinity College, 1982) 46.

<sup>19</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary was McMaster's rival, but the reverse cannot be said. McMaster's competition was with Baptist schools in the United States.

McMaster's summer home mission trips were practical outworkings of this heritage, a defining feature of Canadian Baptist identity.<sup>21</sup>

Since both McMaster's *English Theology Course* and Toronto Baptist Seminary's ministerial course were designed for students who may not have completed high school, both were obliged to include several courses on English Language and Literature. Courses on Old and New Testament Theology, history, and homiletics were dominant in both programs. Lastly, both schools included courses on comparative religions which read almost identically in their course descriptions: a survey of world religions with an emphasis on missionary evangelism and the supremacy of Christianity.<sup>22</sup>

### Differences in Outlook

The Statement of Faith from the Trust Deed of McMaster University was chosen to embody the beliefs of the Toronto Baptist Seminary. In so doing, the founders of TBS demonstrated their assertion that they were the veritable successors of the evangelical convictions which had given rise to the denomination's educational institutions. TBS did not represent a new kind of Baptist training school; rather, it was McMaster University which was moving away from historic Baptist beliefs and even from its own Statement of Faith.

But in a move which perhaps defined the theological aspect of the controversy, Toronto Baptist Seminary supplemented the McMaster Statement of Faith with the Confession of Faith of the fundamentalist Baptist Bible Union. This document rejected the theory of evolution and critical approaches to the Bible.<sup>23</sup> The significance of these doctrinal

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<sup>21</sup> William Brackney, ed. *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980: a source book* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1983) 149-153, 190-192; Barry M. Moody 'Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind: The Baptists and Acadia College,' in George A. Rawlyk, ed. *Canadian Baptists and Higher Education* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 10-15; Joseph D. Ban 'Canadian Baptists and Renewal,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed. *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton: McMaster University Divinity College, 1982) 152-165.

<sup>22</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 114; Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar, 44-45.

<sup>23</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, printed in *The Gospel Witness* June 16, 1927, 36. The Baptist Bible Union was strongly opposed to the teaching of evolution and biblical higher criticism at public universities. The Union also opposed open church membership (the reception of members

statements lies in the fact that Toronto Baptist Seminary required all faculty and staff to subscribe publicly to the statements on an annual basis.

### Differences in Course Content

Courses common to each year of both programs are listed first in the tables below, with different courses following in italics. In a few instances, similar courses are prescribed in different years.

Toronto Baptist Seminary	McMaster University
	English Theology Course
<b><u>First Year</u></b>	
English Language and Literature	English Literature
Church History	Modern History
Biblical Introduction	History of Old Testament Times
Bible Exegesis	History of New Testament Times
Systematic Biblical Theology	Old Testament Interpretation
Evangelism	Missions: Introduction; Home Missions
Homiletics	Public Reading and Speaking
<i>Bible Reading<sup>24</sup></i>	<i>Introductory Sociology</i>
<i>Pastoral Theology</i>	<i>Introductory Philosophy</i>
<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Biology: Botany and Human Physiology</i>
<i>Greek</i>	
<b><u>Second Year</u></b>	
English Literature	English Literature
Evangelism	Evangelism
Church History	History of Christianity
Systematic Biblical Theology	Systematic Theology
Biblical Introduction	Hebrew Prophecy
Pastoral Theology	New Testament Interpretation in English
Homiletics	Homiletics

from other Christian bodies without requiring them to be baptised by immersion), as proposed by Harry Emerson Fosdick and others. W.H. Brackney, ed., *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980: a source book* 256-259.

<sup>24</sup> In 'Bible Reading', TBS students were required from 8:30 to 9:00am to read the Old and New Testaments, so that they would be assured to have read the entire Bible by the conclusion of their three year certificate.

Toronto Baptist Seminary	McMaster University English Theology Course
<i>Biblical Exegesis</i>	<i>Christian Ethics and Sociology</i>
<i>Hebrew Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>Philosophy: Logic</i>
<i>Greek Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>History of Education and Education Systems</i>
<i>Bible Reading</i>	<i>Philosophy: Ethics</i>
<i>Missions</i>	
<i>Non-Christian Religions</i>	
<b><u>Third Year</u></b>	
Systematic Biblical Theology	Systematic Theology
Homiletics	Homiletics
Modernism and Modern Cults	Apologetical and Comparative Religion
<i>Biblical Introduction</i>	
<i>Biblical Exegesis</i>	
<i>Eschatology</i>	<i>History of Christianity</i>
<i>Evangelism</i>	<i>New Testament Interpretation in English</i>
<i>Christian Sociology</i>	<i>Pastoral Theology</i>
<i>Missions</i>	<i>Psychology of Religion</i>
<i>Greek Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>Public Reading and Speaking</i>
<i>Bible Reading</i>	<i>Christian Ethics</i>

There is significant variance in course content between the English Theological Course and the Toronto Baptist Seminary ministerial course. McMaster included courses in biology, philosophy, psychology of religion, and education as part of its program. Toronto Baptist Seminary did not include any broad training in Arts, selecting rather to provide three years of Greek language and two years of Hebrew

language instruction.<sup>25</sup> In this, the school neglected subjects relating to contemporary thought (cf. McMaster's inclusion of philosophy, sociology, and biology) in order to develop students who could master the Biblical text. Indeed, not Systematic Theology, but Systematic *Biblical* Theology was taught at Toronto Baptist Seminary. It was called 'Biblical' because at TBS theology was approached 'on the assumption that the Bible is really the Word of God; and is therefore specifically, on this subject, the sole authority'.<sup>26</sup> This emphasis was over and against the real or perceived encroachment of liberalism and higher critical studies of the Bible at McMaster. According to the forces which created TBS, McMaster's theological students were taught that the Bible was not really the Word of God or the sole authority for Christian faith.

The presence of McMaster's required courses on philosophy, biology and the psychology of religion were perceived by the fundamentalists as a threat to the authority of the Bible. Yet while McMaster's *English Theology Course* does not devote as much attention to Biblically focused courses, graduates may not have had a lesser appreciation for Scripture. The faculty at McMaster, unlike that of TBS, believed that students could be introduced to higher critical methods and modern theories of science while still maintaining a vital faith and a high respect for the Bible. The first part of the course description for 'New Testament Interpretation in English', a required course for *English Theology*, declared that, 'the main purpose of the course is to give the student such a knowledge of the contents, characteristics, purpose, and teachings of the Gospels as shall deepen his appreciation of them and condition him more effectively to preach Him Whose works and words they record'. This half of the description was similar to course descriptions found in the TBS calendar, but the second half was beyond the scope of TBS. It read, 'Another important aim is to give an introduction to the history of modern criticism and to the principles of interpretation'.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The absence of Greek and Hebrew in the English Theology Course at McMaster was the defining feature of the English Theology Course, and so is not significant for our comparison.

<sup>26</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 40.

<sup>27</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 111-112; Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 119.

### Christian Faith and Modern Scholarship

While McMaster students were encouraged to integrate modern biblical scholarship with their faith, the statements of faith to which the students and faculty of TBS were to subscribe declared that higher criticism of the Bible was in direct conflict with the faith of Bible-believing Baptists. The originators of Toronto Baptist Seminary resolved the tension between the developments of modern scholarship and historic Christian faith by opposing evolution and biblical criticism in the school's Statement of Faith and curriculum. Toronto Baptist Seminary's inclusion of a required course on Modernism further illustrated this difference between TBS and McMaster. The course, 'Modernism and Modern Cults' explicitly rejected the possibility of the integration of scientific developments with Baptist faith.<sup>28</sup>

In the absence of courses on psychology and philosophy, Toronto Baptist Seminary's inclusion of a course in 'Christian Sociology' is notable. The course was to be a careful survey of 'the development of society from its primitive condition to its present complex state ... special emphasis will be laid upon present-day problems and their attempted solution'. The course description continued 'History discloses the fact that only the regeneration of the individual, and the reign of Christ, can remove the evils of society'.<sup>29</sup> No further indication of course content is given, and one might wonder about the degree of interaction with secular sociology. But why should Toronto Baptist Seminary include a course on sociology at all? Why not another Bible or theology course, or an advanced course on missions? The resistance of other fundamentalist schools like Moody Bible Institute to offer in their curriculum anything beyond Bible classes, mission courses and practical work makes a sociology course seem rather unusual.<sup>30</sup> While the content

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<sup>28</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 46. The course description states, 'While the Seminary has been established with a view especially to opposing Modernism, in the lectures of this subject an endeavour will be made to acquaint the students with the tenets of Modernism - with a view, however, to qualifying them to oppose it.' In addition to its opposition of higher critical methodology and evolutionary theory, this course opposed Christian Science and Pentecostalism.

<sup>29</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 45.

<sup>30</sup> George M. Marsden *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 130-32. The first exception was a writing course in English which appeared in the Moody Bible Institute curriculum in 1913.

of the Christian Sociology course taught at TBS was no doubt different in some respects from the course by the same name at McMaster (Year 2 of *English Theological Course*), the existence of this course in the curriculum of Toronto Baptist Seminary leads to the question of whether McMaster's approach had been totally rejected after all.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Goals of Ministerial Education**

While Junior Pass Matriculation was required for entrance into the English Theology Course at McMaster, allowances were made for mature students to enter the course without high school graduation. Showing somewhat lower educational standards, Toronto Baptist Seminary did not even expect Junior Pass Matriculation for entry. Rather,

The educational standard shall be left in each case to the decision of the Faculty, because the great aim of the Seminary is to produce preachers, and therefore its supreme concern is to be assured of a man's divine call to the work of the ministry.<sup>32</sup>

Essentially, this meant that for Toronto Baptist Seminary and its fundamentalist supporters, a broader background in Arts was of little importance to the ministry. What mattered most was training in the Bible and a personal call to pastoral work. Toronto Baptist Seminary was prepared to train for pastoral ministry persons who would normally be excluded from university studies. And while McMaster would accept students without Junior Pass Matriculation, such students were the exception to the rule. McMaster aimed to train scholars as well as pastors, so its programs had more rigorous entrance requirements and were necessarily broader in their contact with other secular academic disciplines.

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<sup>31</sup> Shields' borrowing from McMaster's curriculum should be no surprise. He was on the Board of Governors of McMaster University when he started Toronto Baptist Seminary. He would have had good opportunity to observe the content of courses. And despite his objection to McMaster's curriculum and staff, he had no difficulty accepting an honorary doctorate from McMaster in 1918, or using the accompanying initials to preface his name.

<sup>32</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 47. We should probably read T.T. Shields' own educational and pastoral experience into these comments. Despite his two honorary doctorates, Shields never attended a college or university.



At Toronto Baptist Seminary, the study of the Bible was central, and emphasis on the Biblical text was preferred to the broader exposure to arts and sciences offered at McMaster. This difference was Shields' principal reason for establishing his competing school and part of the fundamentalist opposition to Christian participation in the modern world.

### **A Quest for Respectability**

What Shields opposed at McMaster University was a trend in ministerial education that had begun much earlier in the nineteenth century. Although begun initially to provide a Canadian option to the ministerial training schools in the United States and in England,<sup>33</sup> the Baptists in Ontario and Quebec who were behind its educational institutions had consistently advocated high academic standards and promoted scholarly studies in disciplines outside the basic mandate of providing preachers and evangelists for the churches.

The Canadian Literary Institute, founded in July 1860, was the first venture of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec in the field of secular education. The school was to remain open until 1926. In 1881, with the help of Senator William McMaster (1811-1887) and John H. Castle, the theological department of the Institute (the name was changed to Woodstock College in 1883) was moved to Toronto and named Toronto Baptist College. Separate funding was guaranteed for Woodstock College. Included in the trustees of Toronto Baptist College were men who reflected William McMaster's religious, economic, and political perspectives. These included Alexander MacKenzie, the former Liberal prime minister of Canada.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> In 1837, John Gilmour of Montreal argued that the sending of missionary pastors from Great Britain was not sufficient to meet the needs of Canadian churches, and that a school should be opened with this in mind. Canadian Baptist College opened with two students in 1838 and closed due to financial difficulties in 1849. *Canadian Baptist Magazine* June 1837, 17.

<sup>34</sup> In an example of his influence, Senator McMaster provided the necessary financing to lure William Newton Clarke from his Montreal pastorate to McMaster University in 1883. While McMaster's theological views may have been in conflict with Clarke on a number of points, Clarke was the kind of scholar that McMaster believed could advance the fledgling Baptist University. McMaster also had a personal acquaintance with Clarke having worked with him on a number of denominational committees. Brackney

Because Woodstock College and Toronto Baptist College still lacked a complete arts programme, students were forced to take a portion of their studies at the University of Toronto.<sup>35</sup> There were Baptists who thought that the best solution was to affiliate Toronto Baptist College and Woodstock College with the University of Toronto; however Senator McMaster offered to provide the financial support for the transformation of Toronto Baptist College into an independent Baptist University. McMaster University obtained its university charter from the provincial legislature on April 22, 1887.<sup>36</sup>

While McMaster University was supposed to represent the wide-ranging needs of Baptist churches and to promote national Baptist interests, in many ways the school was the creation of one man, Senator William McMaster. McMaster was the president and founder of the Bank of Commerce and a leading politician. Like other successful Baptists of his generation, he was interested in promoting Baptist respectability and Baptist educational institutions.<sup>37</sup> Exactly five months after the incorporation of McMaster University, the senator died, leaving almost one million dollars to fund the school's future.

### **Essentials of Liberal Education**

In the early decades of the twentieth century, McMaster University's emphasis on education for the social advancement of Baptists was further expanded to promote a wider social and economic agenda. The 1920 *Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec* reiterated this dual focus of Baptist educational ventures. Young men and women were to be educated in secular subjects in a Christian environment, so that 'their theoretical and practical life is organically related to the creative personality of the Saviour of the world.'<sup>38</sup> Ministerial training was forced to share top billing with courses aimed at Baptist social advancement.

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'William Newton Clarke: A Canadian-American Cross Cultural Experience' *McMaster Journal of Theology* 3 (1993) 65-66.

<sup>35</sup> Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982' 42-44.

<sup>36</sup> Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* 1:3.

<sup>37</sup> Another way of promoting Baptist respectability was to finance, in 1876, the construction of a Gothic Baptist cathedral in Toronto, Jarvis Street Baptist Church.

<sup>38</sup> *Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec* (Toronto, McMaster University, 1920), 17.

It was with great difficulty, however, that Chancellors O.C.S. Wallace and A.L. McCrimmon maintained the Christian environment for secular studies. Increasingly, the school developed an educational agenda designed to make McMaster a modern university able to compete with its secular rivals. It was H.P. Whidden, chancellor during the conflict with Shields, who did more than any of his predecessors to develop the school along these lines. His inaugural address was not so much on Christian education, but on 'certain essentials of liberal education,' whose goal was to 'relate the individual to his universe.'<sup>39</sup>

Yet it would be incorrect to identify any of McMaster's leadership in the 1920s as thoroughgoing secularists. For during the same period and afterwards, the institution continued to demonstrate the pietistic and evangelistic fervour that had characterised all Canadian Baptist educational efforts. As we have already seen, students at McMaster University were active in summer mission programs and evangelistic endeavours as part of their training. While perhaps not demonstrating the overt Baptist pietism of his predecessors, Whidden continued to hold the way open for Christian ethics and spirituality:

We would go a step further and say very definitely that there should be included in a working programme of liberal education *recognition of the needs and possibilities of man's moral and religious nature*. The claims of Christian education were never more likely to be recognised than today. Even by some of those who are not identified with the programme of the Christian Church, there has been placed added emphasis on spiritual values.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> H.P. Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* 1(1924):39; *Canadian Baptist*, 22 November 1923; George A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University," 40-50, 52-53. Modernists subscribed to an ambitious methodology of inquiry which brought them not only to seek new understandings of Christian disciplines of study, but also into contact with other social and scientific fields of study. On the methodology of modernism, see Kathryn Lofton, 'The Methodology of the Modernists: Process in American Protestantism,' *Church History* 75 (2) 2006: 374-402.

<sup>40</sup> Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' 38, italics in original. Although Rawlyk cites from this speech, he neglects to mention Whidden's emphasis on spiritual values, Rawlyk 50-54. Whidden, although well acquainted with theological liberalism, was not entirely sympathetic either. He had written some years earlier of Chicago that, 'it is not exactly a hot-bed of Heresy, and yet pretty tall heretics have grown there and will continue to be grown there for some time. For a man who has thought through and around things a

### **The Culture of the Heart and the Discipline of the Mind**

Others at McMaster were much more overt in expressing their evangelistic and pietistic agenda. For Dean J.H. Farmer, ‘the purpose for which Christian schools are established is to win and train for Christ and His church the young men and women who are seeking a thorough education and who are, therefore, likely to occupy positions of commanding influence in the world.’<sup>41</sup>

Similarly, professor N.H. Parker wrote in a 1926 article, ‘The supreme task of the Christian Church has been, and is, to evangelize the world ... Today we are practically agreed that the educational feature in the church’s program is of fundamental importance [to the task of evangelism].’ Parker argued that Baptist educational ventures should be conducted with a view ‘to the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind’.<sup>42</sup> Baptist educational institutions should encourage an atmosphere where the ideals of young people are shaped according to the person and values of Jesus Christ. For Parker, this spiritual transformation should take place not only in the lives of individuals, but in broader society as well. In this kind of Christ-filled environment,

It will be natural not only for Christian students to develop strength of character and robustness of faith, but it will be equally natural for those not yet committed to live the Christian life to make in calmness and quietness ‘the great surrender’.<sup>43</sup>

The battle between modernists and fundamentalists at McMaster was very much a battle flowing from tensions which had been present for years in the denomination. There were those who supported, in Parker’s words, ‘the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind’, both inside and outside McMaster University. But those who believed that pietism and secularism could coexist in a Christian university had to manage not only the unstoppable advance of secularism

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little it is not a very dangerous place; but I am quite satisfied that I did not take my regular Theological Course there.’ H.P. Whidden to O.C.S. Wallace, 21 January 1897, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>41</sup> J.H. Farmer ‘Education and Denominational Life,’ *Canadian Baptist* July 1, 1926, 6.

<sup>42</sup> N.H. Parker ‘Education and Evangelism’ in *Canadian Baptist* July 1, 1926, 6. Parker was at that time Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at the University.

<sup>43</sup> Parker ‘Education and Evangelism’ 6.

in the early twentieth century but also a long-standing Baptist resistance to long, academically oriented courses of ministerial preparation.

Spiritual renewal has been a continual feature of Canadian Baptist educational ventures,<sup>44</sup> and yet there were always those who protested against the rigors of institutional training. Whether it was the confidence of some early Maritime Baptists that the Spirit of God would inspire the preacher even if he didn't know his sermon text when he entered the pulpit,<sup>45</sup> or Alexander Grant's demand for pastors, 'arts or no arts, graduates or no graduates' who could endure pastoral ministry in Western Canada,<sup>46</sup> there had always been some suspicion among Canadian Baptists as to the value of higher education for ministers. A Baptist pastor could do without extended formal training. He could not do without a giftedness, call, and passion for pastoral ministry. Those who tried to encourage *the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind* at McMaster University were not successful in allaying the fears of those who saw the advances of secular education taking place at the expense of personal faith in Christ.

### Ministerial Education, Pietism and Social Advancement

The fundamentalist-modernist controversy at McMaster University developed in an era when influential Baptists longed for their denomination to be awarded greater social respectability. Some Baptists, however, were suspicious of this social and commercial agenda. Their main interest was the education of pastors and evangelists for their Baptist churches.

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<sup>44</sup> Joseph D. Ban 'Canadian Baptists and Renewal: Some Movements Deserving Historical Consideration,' 154-156.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Manning Saunders *History of the Baptists in the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902) 180-184. Hillmer suggests that although there was an opposition to an educated Baptist ministry, the main trend was towards the establishment of Baptist schools and institutions. Melvyn R. Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed., *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton, ON: McMaster Divinity College, 1982) 40.

<sup>46</sup> *The North-West Baptist* 9, no. 8 (November 15, 1893) 2; Walter Ellis "What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Baptist Higher Education in Western Canada," in George A. Rawlyk *Canadian Baptists and Higher Education* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 67.

The trend toward secularism at McMaster was part and parcel of the identification of Baptist advancement with the social and economic progress of the nation. Between 1885 and 1889 Acadia University, the sister Baptist institution in the Maritimes, entered into an agreement with McMaster in which Acadia stopped its own training of ministers altogether. Although ministerial training could be sacrificed, the liberal educational agenda could not, and with the deal Acadia was freed to develop a full arts program in its undergraduate programs.<sup>47</sup> While Brandon College in Manitoba was originally founded in order to train pastors and missionaries to meet the urgent needs of the Baptist churches in Western Canada, the first school calendar shows that the equivalent of two years of university study was required for entrance into the theology program.<sup>48</sup>

Thus when the fundamentalists objected to the development of a modern liberal arts and scientific education at McMaster University, they were interfering with the social advancement of Baptists and the development of progress in Canadian society. The institution and denomination were compelled to act to protect their educational agenda. In this context, therefore, when the content of ministerial training at McMaster University in became suspect to T.T. Shields and others, the fundamentalists were able to build their opposition to liberal, secular education on an established Baptist suspicion of higher education.<sup>49</sup>

### **Fundamentalism, Education and the Protestant Social Agenda**

Toronto Baptist Seminary was developed as the fundamentalist option to studying at McMaster University. As De Ruyter notes with regard to fundamentalist educational practices,

The first characteristic of fundamentalism is an opposition to modernity, especially to the developments in science, growing

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<sup>47</sup> Brackney 'William Newton Clarke' 68.

<sup>48</sup> Walter Ellis 'What the Times Demand' 69-73. H.P. Whidden accepted the presidency at Brandon in 1912 based on a commitment from assurances that the Arts department would be continued. Minutes, Brandon College Board, 7 March 1912, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>49</sup> As we have seen from Shields' founding of Toronto Baptist Seminary, their opposition was not to ministerial education *per se*, but to a particular kind of ministerial higher education which, they believed, was in opposition to the personal faith and conviction which Baptists had always expected of their pastors.

individualism and the significance of autonomy, and liberal morality ... fundamentalism is a strong defense or opposition by people who feel their identity threatened by the dominant modern culture.<sup>50</sup>

Models of fundamentalist education are designed to insulate fundamentalists from the world, and since McMaster University had apparently abandoned the ideal of being a Baptist Bible college in favour of becoming a modern University, this separation needed to be enabled through another institution like TBS.

Walter Ellis was right when he argued that the fundamentalist reaction to the modernism at McMaster was part of a larger set of social and economic forces affecting Baptist churches at the beginning of the twentieth century. Baptists interested in preserving their social advancement and legitimizing their faith were opposed by those who saw modernity as a threat to their pietistic and evangelical beliefs.<sup>51</sup> Yet fundamentalists were not the only ones drawing from the revivalist Christian heritage. Christie and Gauvreau argue persuasively that the Protestant promoters of social reform in Canada were deeply rooted in the pietistic tradition of evangelistic activity and personal conversion. What the reformers rejected was an over-articulated theology of the academy that was out of step with the religious needs and experiences of ordinary Canadians. According to Christie and Gauvreau, Protestant interest in human social experience encouraged the development of the social sciences in Canada and ultimately contributed to the development of the Canadian welfare state.<sup>52</sup>

In order for Canadian Protestants to influence the social and moral development of the country, the role of ministers needed to be

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<sup>50</sup> Doret J. De Ruyter, 'Fundamentalist Education: A Critical Analysis,' *Religious Education* 96 (2001): 195, 197-122. In fairness to the modernists, however, it should also be noted that the theory of evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible were not alone in their novelty. The doctrines of inerrancy and the eschatological interpretations of the fundamentalists were recent innovations as well. Walter E. Ellis, "Gilboa to Ichabod" 122.

<sup>51</sup> Lifestyle issues, such as the willingness of some Baptists to engage in card-playing and dancing, were crucial in determining the identities of both fundamentalists and modernists. Robert Wilson 'Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century,' *Baptist History and Heritage* 36:1-2(2001): 70-79.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity : The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*, (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion 22. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996) 3-74, 224-243.

revised, with the accompanying changes in the teaching of the theological colleges:

Where before 1900 biblical exegesis provided the intellectual foundation of a ministerial authority that remained largely confined to the institutional church, in the twentieth century the new ideal of the minister stressed his wider cultural role as a community leader. This necessitated the introduction of a new form of intellectual sustenance for Christian faith, modern social science.<sup>53</sup>

McMaster University was part of this Protestant social agenda, with evangelical Chancellor A.L. McCrimmon teaching courses in economics and sociology from the beginning of his tenure in 1905, many years before the conflict with Shields.<sup>54</sup> Educational institutions such as McMaster University were crucial to the social aims of both modernists who embraced the scholarly advances of the twentieth century and of fundamentalists who resisted them. In short, the control of a Baptist educational institution like McMaster meant the freedom to pursue a Baptist social agenda.

### **What is Baptist Higher Education?**

The TBS calendar described this ideal of Baptist higher education: '[Paul] esteemed the knowledge of Christ to be the most excellent of all sciences, and tells us that it had become the rule of his life to subordinate every consideration to this one supreme end, to count everything 'but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.' Shields and his followers thought that the personal faith of students at McMaster was placed at risk by McMaster's greater openness to secular science and other disciplines. The faculty of McMaster University believed that openness to the conclusions of science and biblical criticism need not rob students of their faith.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity* 76, 75-131.

<sup>54</sup> Even fundamentalist TBS was not immune to the Christian interest in sociology in Canada. As mentioned above, TBS offered a course in sociology, in contrast with likeminded schools south of the border. In the United States, the social sciences had their beginnings in the universities in the 1890s, whereas in Canada their initial development was sponsored by theological colleges. Christie and Gauvreau *A Full-Orbed Christianity* 75-130.

<sup>55</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 34. The perceived threat of modern science and religious studies to piety was addressed by fundamentalists banning those subjects from the fundamentalist curriculum,



McMaster University's situation was complicated. Other Baptist schools such as the University of Chicago looked at McMaster as hopelessly conservative, but conservatives in the denomination saw the school as a strong proponent of liberalism. In 1927 Chancellor Whidden wrote, "There is a touch of irony in the whole situation that an individual as conservative as myself and a university that has always been charged with obscurantism should become the special objects of fundamentalist attack."<sup>56</sup>

What Whidden faced was an intra-denominational battle for the control of McMaster between fundamentalists and modernists. And there was a third party to the power struggle: McMaster University itself. Shields himself recognised the independence of the university in the conflict, quipping rather famously: 'McMaster imagines that the Denomination exists for McMaster - not McMaster for the Denomination.'<sup>57</sup> Whidden and his successors advocated greater autonomy for the university and freedom from *both* liberal and fundamentalist Baptists in the denomination. McMaster University's independence from denominational politics grew after the 1927 split in the Baptist Convention and the 1930 move of the university from Toronto to Hamilton. This process of devolution at McMaster mirrored what was happening in other Baptist schools in North America such as Brown University, Colby College, the University of Chicago and the University of Richmond, as the Baptist identity of the schools receded to

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a part of what Mark Noll calls the "intellectual disaster of fundamentalism." Mark A. Noll *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 109-145.

<sup>56</sup> Whidden Papers, Letter Whidden to Rev. R. Edward Sayles, First Baptist Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, February 22, 1927, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934' 60. Despite the fact that he still considered himself a conservative in 1927, Rawlyk suggests that by the 1920s Whidden had discarded his earlier conservatism in favour of a more liberal viewpoint. George A. Rawlyk, 'A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University' 51. A thorough study of Whidden's theological convictions has yet to be undertaken.

<sup>57</sup> *The Gospel Witness*, 4, no. 28 (11 May 1925), 13. Contra Shields, it can be forcefully argued that the denomination was organised to support the educational aspirations of Baptists generally, and the establishment of McMaster University specifically.

make way for modern non-sectarian universities.<sup>58</sup> Under Whidden, the pursuit of the newer sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology and geology became the new aim of McMaster.<sup>59</sup>

The openness of McMaster to other fields of study was a foretaste of what was to come for evangelical institutions across Canada, many of which did not even exist at the time of the controversy. The tension over the inclusion or addition of liberal-arts, science and social science courses to the curricula of evangelical schools and colleges was to continue well into the twentieth century, with even the most conservative Canadian schools on the Prairies eventually conceding to join the university system in the 1980s and 1990s. Like the conflict over education at McMaster in the 1920s, behind this inclusion of courses aimed at more than Bible study, Christian ministry and personal holiness lay another goal: a commitment to participate in the shaping of Canadian culture rather than simply opposing it.<sup>60</sup>

### Conclusion

The extent to which the issue of higher education is related to Walter Ellis' thesis of social and class divisions needs further exploration in other denominational conflicts between fundamentalists and modernists. Questions also remain as to the impact of the non-Convention pastors who joined Shields on the tensions that beset Shields' Union of Regular Baptists after 1929. After the split with the BCOQ, did the Regular Baptists attract large numbers of pastors lacking formal education, as the difference between my results and those of Ellis would seem to suggest? Did TBS really become a training ground for these men as Shields intended, or did they eschew formal education altogether, trusting in their divine call and natural ability as Shields himself did?

There was little difference in the educational qualifications of the pastors who left the BCOQ to follow Shields and those who stayed with the denomination. Many an educated man supported the aims of the fundamentalists in their struggle against modernity. The educated separatists were from rural as well as urban Ontario. The fundamentalists did not leave because they were more ignorant or less educated than

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<sup>58</sup> William H. Brackney 'Secularization of the Academy: A New Challenge to Baptist Historians.' *Baptist History and Heritage* 39, no. 1 (2004): 69-73.

<sup>59</sup> H.P. Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* 1 (1924):39; *Canadian Baptist* 22 November 1923.

<sup>60</sup> John G. Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* 191-198.

those who remained with the establishment. As is demonstrated by the course offerings of the Toronto Baptist Seminary, they left because they had different views about what Baptist higher education should be. The appellation 'ignorant fundamentalists' brandished by the modernists functioned as a convenient and derogatory short-hand to express the resistance of the fundamentalists to the modern university education that was being promoted at McMaster.

Shields' new school, Toronto Baptist Seminary, was under the direct control of the Deacons' Board of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. At TBS Shields could train young pastors to oppose modernism and evolutionary teaching, while at McMaster the tension between Baptist piety and secular advances in biology, psychology and religious studies would continue for years to come. For the modernists, the young men and women who studied at TBS would remain 'ignorant fundamentalists', regardless of the number degrees they acquired from TBS or other similar institutions.

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