THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY

PAPERS 1984 1985

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

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PRESBYTERIAN WOMEN AND THE FOREIGN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT, 1876 - 1914:

the Context of a Calling

by Ruth Compton Brouwer

When in 1875 the several strands of Canadian Presbyterianism put aside their differences and united to form The Presbyterian Church in Canada, it was agreed that existing overseas missions would be maintained and new footholds established. [1] The commitment was an ambitious one; but, like their brethren in other evangelical denominations, Canadian Presbyterian leaders had come to believe that their full-scale participation in the missionary enterprise was essential to the life and health of the Church. They had also come to accept the view that the involvement of single women workers was a desirable, even necessary, aspect of foreign missionary outreach. Such workers, it was believed, could bring the gospel to secluded Oriental women and, through the services they provided, attract a clientele that would not normally be drawn by the Christian message itself. Within a year of church union, therefore, women's missionary societies had been organized as auxiliaries of the foreign missions committees in the Church's Eastern and Western divisions to finance and publicize woman's work for woman. [2]

By 1914, as a result of these developments, more than one hundred women missionaries had been sent to overseas fields -- to India, Trinidad, China, Korea, and Formosa. [3] Most were from Ontario, though all provinces except British Columbia were represented. In many respects, the missionaries were a remarkably homogenous group. In their late twenties or early thirties as they began their service, they were unusually well educated by the standards of their time. Often, they had taught school for a number of years before preparing for a missionary career. They came, overwhelmingly, from rural communities or from small urban centres, and while, in economic terms, their backgrounds were only marginally middle class, they were members of respectable, church-going families and had themselves played prominent roles in church and church-linked organizations. [4]

In the present paper, I discuss what I have called "The Context of a Calling" in an attempt to cast some light on the question of missionary motivation among Protestant women such as these.

In an article entitled "The Woman for the Foreign Field," published in the Knox College Monthly in 1890, an unidentified writer addressed herself (?) as follows to missions-minded young women:

Dear Christian sisters, whose thoughts are turning towards

> the foreign field ... Think long and deeply over the matter ... Beware of being carried away by romantic or emotional feelings, let there be no lurking desire to get rid of duty which lies at hand, because it is irksome or dull ... The soul's unrest and love of change must have no part in this matter ... The hope of gaining a comfortable livelihood must not be allowed to weigh with you. If it is a livelihood that is wanted, the intellectual qualifications and professional enthusiasms needed to ensure success in the mission field, will earn you that in your own land, with far less weariness to the flesh and far more of the good things of this life. [5]

These words of warning, and others in a similar vein, reflected the writer's awareness of the fact that the desire for a missionary career could arise for a variety of reasons, not all of them pure and selfless. She went on, however, to express her confidence that the hypothetical young woman she was addressing was ultimately prompted by worthy motives and prepared to go "even unto the ends of the earth to serve her Lord". [6]

The data on which the present study is based suggest that, notwithstanding its metaphorical excesses, this article was substantially accurate in reflecting prevailing aspects of motivation. In choosing the role of foreign missionary, Presbyterian women seem to have been responding to a complex of factors, secular and spiritual: life in a foreign field provided opportunities for work experiences not available in Canada, and it did so within a context that also offered single women public approbation and a chance to participate in a way of life invested with romance and glory. The influence of personal example played an important part, supplemented to some degree by a diffuse imperialist sentiment. But beyond these aspects, and at the level of conscious motivation, the primary factor seems to have been a strong sense of Christian vocation: Presbyterian women left Canada to teach and heal abroad primarily because they regarded themselves as having been called by God to do so.

In the last half the nineteenth century English-Canadian women gradually gained access to higher academic and professional education. It was an education for which there were not corresponding opportunities in Canadian society. Professional teacher training was the first such avenue to open. While there were plenty of teaching jobs available, especially for

professionally-trained women, rates of pay were very low -- indeed, they were declining in comparison with salaries paid to male teachers -- and chances for advancement were few. [7] For the early women graduates of medical schools, prospects were also poor. Hospital facilities in which women could practise and develop their skills were often denied them. Male colleagues were frequently hostile and the general public sceptical. [8] For intelligent and ambitious women without professional training, career opportunities in post-Confederation Canada were even more limited. Given these circumstances, it was not surprising that women who had not found, or perhaps wanted, marriage partners should have looked for broader horizons.

At the same time, the Protestant evangelical churches, through their overseas missionary endeavours, were providing a vehicle through which new avenues could respectably be explored. Throughout North America, missionary advocates of both sexes were anxious to emphasize the acceptable new roles that had become available. Typical of their approach were several pieces in the Reverend B.F. Austin's Woman; her Character, Culture and Calling, an 1890 work that was meant to serve as both a tribute and an inspiration to the public-spirited "new woman". [9] The authors of the articles, Canadians and Americans representing different Protestant denominations, joined Austin in extolling the opportunities that existed for women to exercise their organizational and administrative talents in mission fields.

Within their own publications, Canadian Presbyterian spokesmen were eager to stress that the mission field -- as opposed to the pulpit -- was a place where talented, Godly women could acceptably exercise their gifts. The point was perhaps made most effectively by the Reverend J.A. Macdonald of the Knox College Monthly, who wrote as follows in 1888 following the designation of a trained nurse for the Church's mission field in North Honan:

> This appointment ... illustrates the prominence that must be given to women's work in the evangelization of the world. Here is a sphere less injurious to true womanhood than many into which women are clamouring for admission, more in harmony with her better nature and God's evident designs, in which her own long pent-up energies and powers may find full scope to her own advantage and the immeasurable blessi ng of humanity. [10]

Seeking new rights and roles for their own sake, clearly, would long remain unacceptable. But being a new woman for the extension of the Kingdom was a matter for honour and celebration. Women anxious for enlarged roles and

public approbation could scarcely remain insensitive to the opportunity available.

The precise nature of the new roles and opportunities was made widely known through church periodicals. Central India, the Church's first and most important field for woman's work, [11] seemed particularly rich in possibilities. There, native princes and other educated Indian men were beginning to seek the benefits of Westernization for their wives and daughters. Despite their continuing opposition to aggressive Christian proselytizing, they generally accepted and encouraged the educational and medical facilities that women missionaries offered. The address in which Dr. Marion Oliver welcomed the wife of the Governor General to the mission's new hospital for women in 1891 suggested the independence of action enjoyed by women medical missionaries and set forth in detailed terms the encouragement and facilities provided:

> We cannot omit to inform your Excellency, that in this work we have been ably seconded by our friends in India. H.H. the Maharajah Holkar has kindly granted us the magnificent site on which the building stands, together with the gift of Rs 750 towards the building, and the promise of a much needed addition to our grounds in the rear.
>
> The wife of the Minister of His Highness ... several of our Indore merchants and friends have kindly aided in the good work of rearing this "Hospital for Women"; and several of our Central India princes have likewise promised us their hearty aid.
>
> This building is in every way complete; private and public wards, dispensing and operating rooms all furnished with every needed appliance. [12]

Zenana visiting and evangelistic touring were not encouraged by Indian authorities in the same way as medical and educational work -- at times, in fact, they were actively discouraged -- and they did not enjoy the same prestige. [13] Nevertheless, even these activities had a certain appeal for Western women, not the least of which was their novelty. Moreover, they did not require extensive professional training, a fact that was evidently not lost on a number of Canadians of advanced age and limited formal education who volunteered during this period. [14]

By 1914, Canadian Presbyterian women in India and other overseas fields had become involved in a wide range of additional missionary

activities: training native Christian assistants, administering famine relief, operating orphanages and widows' homes, practising informal kinds of social work, even arranging marriages. In whatever capacity they worked, as Western women missionaries in Eastern lands they were able to exercise a remarkable degree of power and influence by virtue of their coveted skills, their relationships with "backward" or colonized peoples, and their access to institutions from which their Western male colleagues were barred. [15] While difficulties and frustrations clearly abounded, both the women in the field and their publicists at home were eager to emphasize the opportunities that existed. When, in 1894, Jean Sinclair, a harness-maker's daughter from Madoc, Ontario, home on furlough from Central India, was invited to address the Church's General Assembly, the nature and significance of the new opportunities was demonstrated far more graphically than reports from the field could suggest. [16]

Missionary careers offered the added attractions of an exotic setting and the chance to lead an adventurous life in a good cause. Commenting on this aspect of their appeal in the United States in the years before 1860, American historian Barbara Welter noted that "Mission boards ... were firm in ruling out 'adventuring' as a satisfactory motive." [17] While the Canadian Presbyterians who administered their Church's foreign missions in the period covered by this study were no more anxious than their earlier American counterparts to dispatch mere adventurers, they recognized that sheltered Victorian women, no matter how intense their evangelical zeal, were unlikely to take up the work unless they had some taste for the exciting and the unfamiliar. Hence, they joined other sending agencies and the popular press in acknowledging and even accentuating these aspects. Missionaries already in the field and anxious for new recruits co-operated readily in this approach. Indeed, an 1895 report in the Letter Leaflet, the periodical of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS), Western Division, seemed to epitomize what the "romance of missions" was all about. In it, two-year India veteran Mary Dougan described a trip she had made with colleagues to the city of Dhar to investigate the possibility of establishing a mission station there:

> The Maharajah invited us to be his guests for a few days [she wrote]. Two fine tents were pitched for us in the most beautiful garden I have seen in India. Bananas, papyias [sic], pomolas, peaches, oranges, lemons are growing in rich abundance and the dark green of cypress and palm is brightened by roses and tropical plants...
>
> On Monday last we were called to the palace ... A royal carriage came for us early in the afternoon and for an

> hour we had the privilege of singing the glad new tidings before His Highness, the Rani, and the Young Prince ... Before her own exit the Rani presented us each with a brooch of silver. Afterwards the Prince ... sprinkled us with perfume and strung garlands round our necks. [18]

The published reports of Dougan and other India missionaries told of a world where one was freed of mundane household chores through the use of domestic servants, where one travelled about for high purposes, receiving aid and respect from local dignitaries and the admiration and gratitude of their needy inferiors. To be sure, the writers of such accounts took pains to explain that their new experiences were marred for them by the black shadow of heathenism, but the vicarious excitement of reading about such a colourful life could not be entirely diminished by their care.

In 1908, in her classic novel Anne of Green Gables, author Lucy Maud Montgomery had her daydreaming heroine say to her dour caretaker, Marilla:

> Mustn't it be splendid to be remarkable and have compositions written about you after you're dead? Oh, I would dearly love to be remarkable. I think when I grow up I'll be a trained nurse and go with the Red Crosses [sic] to the field of battle as a messenger of mercy. That is, if I don't go out as a foreign missionary. That would be very romantic ... [19]

The Presbyterian Montgomery was here acknowledging another aspect of the romance of missions: the allure of becoming part of a company of men and women whose heroic lives were recorded in the denominational press and evenutally celebrated in missionary lore. In the early years of their participation in the movement, Canadian Presbyterians generally had to content themselves with reading accounts of missionary heroism produced elsewhere, usually in the United States. For women, there were biographies of such early American heroines as Harriet Newell and the three wives of Baptist pioneer Adoniram Judson, supplemented by group portraits such as Mrs. J. T. Gracey's Eminent Missionary Women. [20] By the early years of the twentieth century, the Church was able to produce two collections dealing with its own missionary heroes, Reapers in Many Fields and Missionary Pathfinders, both intended for use in young people's societies. [21] While these and later books focussed chiefly on male workers, [22] the WFMS, both through its own publications andthose it distributed from other societies, was able to give more continuous coverage to the accomplishments of missionary women. From 1897, the Society's

Western Division had a new periodical, Foreign Missionary Tidings, in which to honour the aspirations of newly-designated women as well as the achievements of workers already in the field. Supported by advertising revenue as well as subscription fees, this larger illustrated monthly represented an important advance in publicizing women's role in missions.

A prominent place in all of the Church's literature continued to be assigned to its "missionary martyrs". [23] While members of both the Foreign Missions Committee (FMS) and the WFMS liked to think of themselves as having moved beyond sentiment and as conducting their enterprise in a practical and "scientific" spirit, the reality was somewhat different. Ongoing efforts were made to discourage volunteers with a propensity for martyrdom and to maintain the health of workers already in the field. Yet these administrators were caught in the cross tides of the romantic missionary spirit in which they had been noursished and the businesslike attitudes towards which they were striving. It was thus not surprising that when death or disaster did occur in the field, they were tempted, or urged, to use the old formulas, especially since the romanticization of missionary deaths did seem to bring results. [24] The way in which the Western Division WFMS and its workers in the field publicized the death of India missionary Amy Harris in 1892 provides a good illustration of the pattern. Harris had been regarded as unusually gifted and therefore, despite her youth and uncertain health, she had been appointed to the headship of the new girls' boarding school in Indore. Before she could move into the school's new building, however, her health had worsened. She was ordered home and died en route. Subsequent issues of the Letter Leaflet contained extravagant tributes to the woman the WFMS now described as "our sainted missionary", among them one by a former co-worker, Dr. Margaret McKellar. McKellar concluded her tribute by speaking of "the good seed" her friend had begun to sow and called upon others to take up her work:

> Will not the young women of our Church come forward gladly to fill her place? She is our first maiden missionary who has died in the work. Will not ten, at least, at this time lay themselves upon God's mission altar and say, "Lord, here am I, send me"? [25]

In the wake of Harris's death, the number of women volunteering for overseas service showed a slight increase over that of the two preceding years. Notable among them was the late missionary's schoolteacher cousin, who had allowed herself to be persuaded that Harris's vocation should become her own. [26] As late as 1907, with the sudden death of Dr. Agnes Turnbull, a

recently-decorated India medical missionary, the church press returned, in poetry and prose, to the theme of missionary martyrdom, using it to call for volunteers to take her place. But it was perhaps a portent of changing times that, despite these efforts, no new medical women came forward to take Dr. Turnbull's place. [27]

The romantic aspects of a foreign missionary career undoubtedly contributed to the increased status and attention conferred on those accepted for overseas missionary service. A successful candidacy could effectively turn an otherwise anonymous woman into a local or denominational heroine. The rewards in one's own country could, of course, be enjoyed only briefly -- during the period prior to departure and while home on furlough. Nevertheless, the activities that took place during these intervals appear to have been exhilarating ones for those at the centre of attention, as well as sources of inspiration for young people with their own vague dreams of a missionary vocation. A tradition of dramatic send-offs took root at an early stage in the Church's involvement in foreign missions. The centrepiece was a solemn designation service, normally held in the home church and involving leading members of the FMC and the WFMS. Sometimes clergy from other denominations also participated in the event. Dr. Belle Chone Oliver, one of the Church's most eminent women missionaries from this period, recalled, near the end of her life, the powerful impression created on her when, at the age of fifteen, she witnessed such a service in Ingersoll, Ontario, for the departing Dr. Margaret McKellar. [28] In the diary which she began keeping at the time of her departure for North Honan in 1892, another medical missionary, Dr. Lucinda Graham, described a whole series of farewell occasions following her designation in a Toronto church. Friends, and members of her Sunday School class, accompanied her to the Toronto railroad staion. Later, in her old home-town of Dundalk, Ontario, she had a similar send-off from members of her former Christian Endeavour group, who bade her good-bye with the inevitable farewell hymn, "God be with you till we meet again". Two weeks after that, in Vancouver, where she joined some forty missionaries taking ship for the East, there was one final crowd and one final good-bye. [29]

When they came home on furlough after six or more years of service, missionaries could again enjoy the esteem of their fellow Presbyterians, and of the larger Canadian community. Particularly near the end of the period, their old-fashioned clothing and earnest ways made them objects of pity or amusement. [30] For the most part, however, they seem to have inspired a marked degree of respect and interest with their first-hand knowledge of

foreign cultures and their collections of esoteric artifacts. They might not be invited to address the Empire Club, as their male counterparts sometimes were, but there were plenty of other appreciative audiences, including, with increasing frequency, the members of the General Assembly. [31]
Celebrity status was usually greatest in the home community. There, the attention that briefly attached itself to anyone who had returned "from away" was augmented by the mystique of a period of foreign service. In 1899, when Rachael Chase returned to Orillia on sick leave from Central India, the interest was so great that her younger sister devised an amusing non-verbal means of dealing with enquiries -- a placard inside her coat with printed answers to the anticipated questions:

Yes, my sister from India is home.
Yes, we were glad to see her.
No, she is not in bed.
Yes, she can go out.
Yes, she will receive callers.
No, she is not very thin.
Yes, it is nice for me to have her home. [32]

A year later, in the tiny village of Alberton, Prince Edward Island, one woman was so proud of her community's record of producing missionaries that she wrote in some indignation to The Message, the Maritime WFMS periodical, to point out its error in identifying Halifax as the home of the Montgomerys, two sisters then serving with the American Presbyterians in Persia. [33]

As the foregoing anecdotes suggest, the attractions of participating in the foreign missionary movement were strongly reinforced by personal example and influence. Evidence for this may be found in the large number of missionaries who were linked by regional, institutional, and family ties. The regional patterns are particularly graphic. Especially when they came home on furlough, native sons and daughters were frequently able to arouse an interest in the work that resulted in new recruits from the home region. The large number of men and women who volunteered from Oxford County and other parts of southwestern Ontario following the early and successful example of Formosa pioneer George Leslie Mackay is perhaps the best illustration of this pattern. [34] Sometimes regional or institutional ties emerged, or were reinforced, as young women planned together for a missionary career. This was evidently the case with schoolteachers Jean Dow and Elizabeth McWilliams of Hespeler, Ontario, [35] and with Maritimers Catherine Mair and Edith Sutherland of

Dalhousie University. In the latter case, it seems clear, Mair's youthful commitment might well have been abandoned had it not been for the stimulus provided by her friend Edith, who preceded her to Korea as a missionary wife and from there wrote letters sustaining her interest and strengthening her resolve.[36]

The part played by family example and influence is also striking. During the period, an extensive network of brothers, sisters, cousins and other relatives found their way into foreign missionary service, though they did not necessarily serve in the same field, or at the same time. Mary Rodger went to India from a farm near Lachute, Quebec, in the early 1870s, for example; her cousin Dr. William McClure left that region for China about a decade later, while his son, Dr. Robert McClure, began work in China in the 1920s. [37] The idea of serving with another family member was obviously an attractive one for many volunteers, however, as the example of the Jamiesons in India, the McCallas in China, and the McCullys in Korea all indicate. [38] Finally, for missions-minded parents, the pride in having one child in mission service could not help but be increased by having two -- or more -- at work in the same field. [39]

Personal influences were demonstrably important, then, in the decision to become a missionary. It is much more difficult to assess the importance for women of a broad cultural factor commonly thought to have been associated with that decision: viz., the imperialist climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, it seems logical to enquire whether Canadian Protestant women participated in foreign missions in part as a means of associating themselves with British imperial enterprise.

While the kind of imperialist rhetoric described by historian Carl Berger in The Sense of Power [40] is largely absent from the application data left by the Presbyterian women who aspired to become missionaries in this period, there is no reason to believe that they were immune to its appeal. Certainly, as Canadian Protestants of the late Victorian era, they were exposed to frequent and extravagant claims about the providential role of the British Emprie in the spread of Christianity. Indeed, in 1876, in the first issue of The Presbyterian Record, Queen's College Principal and FMC member George Munro Grant made such a claim in the context of a review of his Church's missionary initiatives. Having outlined the pioneer endeavours of Maritime Presbyterians, he went on to speak of India and to endorse the view of his missionary brother in Madras that the conversion of the sub-continent was "the work given by God in a special sense to the whole British Empire."

[41] Some months later, focussing on the Church's new mission in Indore, Central India, WFMS Recording Secretary Mrs. Archibald MacMurchy was even more specific, depicting the work of evangelization as Canadians' distinctive contribution to imperial teamwork. "England has given the people of Indore an organized army, protection, wise administration of law, and education," she wrote. "To Canada is left the distinguished honour of sending the gospel." [42] Such views as these suggested a way in which women could participate in the work of Empire: even if they could not fight in Her Majesty's wars or take part in governing her dominions, they could help to carry out the Great Commission. That task was, in any case, in the eyes of Grant and many other influential Canadians, the Empire's principal duty. [43]

Yet it would be a mistake to associate the missionaries too narrowly with British imperialism. While they were proud of their links with the Empire, and while several of those in India would rejoice in close associations with the political and military agents of the Raj, they were conscious of the fact that British imperial policy did not always coincide with the interests of Christian missionaries. Indeed, in cases of conflict it sometimes seemed that British officials actually favoured "the heathen"! [44] At the same time, Canadian Presbyterians could not fail to acknowledge that American co-operation and precedent had been instrumental in shaping some of their early missionary endeavours. [45] American literature and contacts continued to be important, even decisive, influences in forming their understanding of the movement and enlarging the scope of their work. As a result of their exposure to these two strands of influence, then, Canadian Presbyterian women were led to regard the missionary enterprise as a joint Anglo-American responsibility, one in which, as Canadians, they unquestionably had a part. The imperialist ethos to which they responded was thus a cultural imperialism, one which reflected a strong belief in the superiority -- and the "peculiar burden" -- of the Anglo-Saxon "race". [46]

When Canadian Presbyterian women in this period volunteered for foreign missionary service, they did not usually refer, of course, to personal ambitions, romantic dreams, or a desire for the sense of power that came with shouldering the white woman's burden. The reasons they gave were almost invariably expressed in terms of a desire for Christian service, and often they drew upon scriptural imagery or that of well-known hymns. Margaret Jamieson of Quebec City was employing both sources when she wrote in 1889:

I have consecrated myself to God in the words of Miss

> Havergal's hymn, "Take my life, and let it be Consecrated, Lord, to Thee," and am willing to separate myself from home and all that is dearest of earthly ties to be buried as a grain of seed, in order to tell to the Heathen the wonderful love of a Saviour. [47]

Most successful applicants were not quite as given to self-dramatization as Miss Jamieson, but they generally expressed similar sentiments. Many cited Christ's last commandment. Others spoke of a desire to "liberate" their "heathen sisters" with the Christian message or to employ their talents where they would be of most value. They referred to a conviction that missionary work was God's will for their lives and emphasized that their candidacy had not been entered into lightly.

Such religious motives, however stated, cannot be neatly separated from the factors discussed above. A twenty-one-year-old applicant who would later become a successful China missionary acknowledged as much when she wrote in 1891 that, though she had aspired to the work "from early years", it was "probably from motives which required much pruning". [48] Yet it would be a mistake to interpret the women's formal statements of motivation as no more than rationalizations for secular or self-serving considerations, for to do so would be to ignore the intellectual climate in which church-going Protestant women of the era came to maturity. In such a climate it was quite natural that those whose spiritual and emotional sensibilities were particularly acute, and whose lives were without the domestic responsibilities that were always given priority, would feel themselves under an obligation to share their faith with the unchurched in distant lands.

Not surprisingly, the seeds that would mature into this sense of obligation and ultimately bear fruit in a missionary vocation were often planted in the home. Missionary propagandists were fond of reminding readers of the importance of home nurture in the vocations of past missionary heroes. [49] Within the Church, the example of the Nova Scotian John Geddie, "Canada's Pioneer Presbyterian Missionary", [50] became a kind of classic in its missionary mythology: at the time of his birth, it was said, while his frail life hung in the balance, his parents had dedicated Geddie to missionary service, and the end result of this faith and devotion had been a successful mission in the New Hebrides. [51] The influence of such stories may be detected in accounts written by or about several women missionaries of this period. Thus, in a memorial of another Nova Scotian, Dr. Mary Mackay Buchanan, her daughter explained that when Mary had been a small child, her

mother had asked God to accept one of her children for the foreign field. Mary, the gifted one, was educated accordingly and in due course sent to India as a medical missionary. [52] Whether or not these parental commitments took place in quite as formal and conscious a fashion as they were later represented is questionable. Moreover, such cases probably remained a minority, as did the number of men and women who took up missionary work solely because of them. But parents -- and particularly mothers -- who raised their children in a home environment that made missionary work familiar and attractive, and that made them sensitive to other signs of a calling, appear to have been the norm. [53] The letters written by or on behalf of applicants confirm such a pattern.

Even if they were not raised in homes that actively fostered a missionary interest, Presbyterian youth were exposed to other influences that did so. In Sunday schools and mission bands, very young boys and girls learned of the Church's work in foreign fields. Missionaries sometimes wrote directly to the children in these organizations, thanking them for their support and endeavouring to maintain and enlarge their interest. From 1892, the editor of The Presbyterian Record published a monthly called the Children's Record, specifically designed "to give missionary information to the young and to cultivate a missionary spirit among them". [54] Later, in Christian Endeavour and other young people's societies (which, in practice, were often young women's societies [55]), young Presbyterians were further acquainted with missionary work. And of course within WFMS auxiliaries, women were given a particularly thorough programme of missionary education and encouraged to consider a missionary career of their own personal circumstances permitted. Finally, at the congregational level, the role of the minister could be crucial. Besides preaching strong missionary sermons, he could keep his eye on the devout and eligible women in his congregation and speak to them personally about a vocation. While some clergymen seem to have gone about this task in an awkward fashion, engaging in crude and futile forms of spiritual impressment, [56] others were notably effective at turning a young church member's interest into a definite commitment. Thus, at St. John's Church in Toronto during the years between 1896 and 1909, no fewer than seven women from the Reverend J. MacPherson Scott's congregation and mission band went to Presbyterian fields overseas, while others found missionary careers wih non-Presbyterian boards or in the Canadian West. [57]

Supplementing the influences of the home and local church were those provided by missions-minded evangelists and by such interdenominational and

international agencies as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), and the Young People's Missionary Movement (YPMM). No evangelist was as closely linked to the late nineteenth-century enthusiasm for missions as the renowned American layman Dwight L. Moody. [58] In Canada, as in Britain and the United States, Moody appealed even to those who normally thought of revivals as somewhat shallow and sensational religious experiences and inspired them to think more deeply about their own personal responsibilities as Christians. Lesser revivalists also played an important role, however, especially in rural and small-town communities. Like Moody, they often created in young people the kind of intense religious experience that could subsequently lead them to seek a missionary purpose for their lives. [59]

Among the non-denominational agencies, the SVM, founded in 1886, came to have a particularly high profile as it worked to develop a missionary consciousness among college and university students across North American campuses. In 1920, its Executive Committee would claim, "Next to the Christian home the Movement has been the principal factor in influencing life decisions for missions." [60] The data on Canadian Presbyterian women do not sustain such a claim. Relatively few have been identified as formal Volunteers, and among those known to have been in this category were several who had already made firm commitments to the foreign missions cause before beginning their college careers. [61] Moreover, both contemporary and later references indicate that there was a good deal of "leakage" among Presbyterian volunteers; that is, significantly greater numbers were volunteering than actually made their way to a mission field. [62] Nevertheless, the Movement does seem to have been important for Presbyterian women in strengthening their identification with the cause. Certainly, the WFMS regarded its publications and activities as useful adjuncts to its own recruitment and educational work and encouraged young women to attend its conventions. [63]

WFMS and FMC executives were similarly enthusiastic about the conferences organized by the Young People's Missionary Movement and held each summer from the early years of the twentieth century at such places as Lake George, New York; Whitby, Ontario; and Knowlton, Quebec. [64] As with SVM volunteers, there was a disappointing gap between the number of young people who spoke at these gatherings about becoming foreign missionaries and the number that actually did so. [65] Yet several women who began their service during this period referred specifically to the importance of the conferences in quickening their interest in missions. [66] What needs to be stressed,

however, is that the young women who attended SVM and YPMM conferences had, for the most part, already demonstrated their interest in active Christian service through their regular congregational or YWCA activities. The conferences merely served to further that interest and sharpen its focus.

Reference has already been made to the importance of missionary literature in the recruitment of workers for the foreign field, and to the fact that an emphasis on the adventurous and romantic aspects of missions was a strong element in its appeal. But such literature was also capable of touching deeply-rooted religious currents. With respect to women, it did so by speaking to them of the intense need for their services in non-Christian countries and by endeavouring to convince them that, considering the blessedness of their own status under Christianity, they ought not to rest until they had done all that their circumstances would allow to bring the gospel to their less fortunate sisters.

The claim that women were under strong and peculiar obligations to promote Christianity had been associated with North American missionary endeavours from the early 1800s. [67] A century later, the notion was still very much alive, and, perhaps as a defensive response to the movement for woman's rights, it was often presented in a somewhat hectoring tone. [68] From the time of its inception in 1876, the Western Division WFMS had made the message its own, using it both to encourage support for its activities at home and participation in its work abroad. Readers of its Second Annual Report had thus been told:

> [A] grave responsibility is resting upon the privileged women of Christian lands if they fail to utilize or wield this power, and permit the last command of an ascending Lord ... "Go teach, or make disciples, of all nations", ... to fall unheeded on their ears. [69]

Given such injunctions, it was scarcely surprising that missionary applicants sometimes described their sense of vocation in terms that suggested both guilt and gratitude. As schoolteacher Agnes Hall wrote in 1909, "[W]henever I am tempted to take up any other line of work I feel as if I would not be doing my duty. Also Jesus has done so much for me." [70]

The more positive side of this message was, of course, that which emphasized need. This aspect, too, had been presented in considerable detail from the early decades of the nineteenth century as returning missionaries and their wives had explained that because of the custom of segregating women in Eastern societies, there was a missionary work among them that only women

could do. Active Presbyterian churchwomen were undoubtedly familiar with this rationale for female involvement even before their own church began elaborating it in the last quarter of the century. While male missionary publicists such as the Knox College Monthly's J. A. Macdonald became enthusiastic advocates of the need for women in missionary work, [71] it was appeals from women to women, through the vehicle of their own widely disseminated periodicals, [72] that became the norm. Recognizing that such appeals were particularly poignant and difficult to resist when they referred to specific situations and came directly from those in the field, the editors of WFMS periodicals made abundant use of missionaries' letters and reports. Thirty-seven-year-old applicant Jean Riddell was testifying to the effectiveness of such an approach when in 1892 she told the FMC that she had only thought of supporting missions at the home base until two missionaries, writing from India, had called in the Letter Leaflet for more workers, even those "with ordinary attainments". That aspect of their appeal had convinced her that even she had a role to play in the foreign field. [73]

Especially at times when the needs of the fields seemed urgent, executive members of the FMC and the WFMS sometimes made direct, personal appeals to likely female prospects. [74] They recognized, however, that missionaries on furlough were the most effective agents for presenting these needs and, thus, despite the complaints of those church members who regarded furloughs as one long vacation, they generally welcomed their workers home and put them to as much deputation work as their health and strength would permit. [75] It was taken for granted that in the course of such work missionaries would give numerous public addresses, but from the perspective of the FMC's longtime Secretary, R.P. MacKay, it was even more important that they seek out opportunities for speaking to individual young people about the possibility that they too might have a vocation. [76] Painfully aware of the immensity of the task they had left behind, furlough missionaries, for the most part, needed no urging to undertake both forms of recruitment.

By the end of the period under review, a variety of agencies was available to the missionary administrators of Canadian Presbyterianism for furthering the work of motivation begun in the missions-minded home. From the local congregation to the international missionary conference, an impressive number of concerned individuals, societies, publications and movements contrived to make known the needs and rewards of the foreign field. Ironically, despite the growth of these agencies, there were signs, even

before the First World War, that the magic of foreign missions was beginning to wane: home-base administrators began to speak of serious difficulties in attracting new recruits and to worry about their ability to expand the work abroad. [77] Considerable expansion would, in fact, take place in the years between the War's end and church union. Nevertheless, for the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the great era of overseas missions appeared to be in the past.

For almost half a century, the foreign missionary movement had been in the forefront of the Church's consciousness, and it had called with particular power to women. Like their counterparts in other mainline Protestant denominations, thousands of Presbyterian girls and women had been made aware ofthe attractions of a career in foreign missions, attractions whose secular and spiritual elements were undoubtedly more subtly blended than I have been able to suggest in this analysis. Responding to the appeal, a small but significant minority left Canada to become foreign missionaries. The conditions they found in the mission fields proved to be the litmus test of their motivation, for it was ultimately there, rather than in anything they had said or done as volunteers, that the greatest opportunities existed to demonstrate the importance and tenacity of their spiritual commitment.

NOTES

This paper is based on research for my dissertation-in-progress, whose working title is, "Canadian Women and the Foreign Missionary Movement: a Presbyterian Case Study of the Canadian Context, and Experience in Central India, 1876-1914".

1. Presbyterian Church in Canada, Acts and Proceedings of the First General Assembly, 1875, p. 6 (hereafter Acts, with year of Assembly); John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: a history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, n.d. [1974]), p. 145 and Chapter 8.

2. The Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, The Story of Our Missions (Toronto, 1915); The Woman's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Division) 1876-1926 (n.p., n.d.). The Foreign Missions Committee, Eastern Division, was responsible for missionary activities initiated by Maritime Presbyterianism, while the much larger Western Division represented Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba.

3. Lists of active and retired or deceased missionaries were printed annually, by field, as part of Foreign Missions Committee reports in Acts.

4. Information on missionaries' backgrounds was drawn from a wide variety of sources, of which the most important, for Western Division personnel, were United Church Archives (UCA); Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Missions Committee, Western Section, Applications for Mission Work (hereafter Applications); and Canada Census records.

5. Knox College Monthly (hereafter, KCM), XII (July, 1890), p. 160-1. For a somewhat similar piece, reprinted from an American publication, see "Am I Called to Foreign Mission Work?", The Presbyterian Review, V (October 3, 1889), p. 1571. Having stressed the continuing primacy of wifehood and motherhood as woman's true and natural vocation, its author went on to declare, "The earnest, consecrated woman with no detaining home ties can scarcely fail ... to find facing her the question at the head of this article."

6. KCM, XII, p. 161.

7. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845-1875," Social History/histoire sociale, 8 (May 1975), p. 5-20.

8. Carlotta Hacker, The Indomitable Lady Doctors (Toronto, 1974); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Women Doctors: Feminism Constrained," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s (Toronto, 1979), p. 109-129; Elizabeth Smith, 'A Woman with a Purpose': the Diaries of Elizabeth Smith 1872-1884, introduction by Veronica Strong-Boag (Toronto, 1980).

9. Principal B.F. Austin, ed., Woman; her Character, Culture and Calling (Brantford, 1890). A larger, deluxe edition of this work was later published by The Canadian Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses as Woman: Maiden, Wife and Mother (Toronto, 1898).

10. J.A.M., "A Trained Nurse for Honan," KCM, VIII (July-August, 1888), p. 179. See also William Frizzell, "Woman's Place in the Church," KCM, XIX (Oct. 1895), p. 201-09. Some ministers pragmatically argued that self-interest alone should lead the Church to sanction new roles for women, in missions and elsewhere; otherwise, they would abandon the Church altogether or adopt radical stances within it. For such a position in the context of a call for a Presbyterian deaconess order, see an article by Rev. L.H. Jordan, Presbyterian Review, V (Nov. 21, 1889), p. 1632.

11. Ruth Compton Brouwer, "'New Woman' for God: Marion Fairweather and the Founding of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in Central India, 1873-1880", paper presented to Canadian Historical Association Meeting, Guelph, Ontario, June 1984.

12. Letter Leaflet (February 1892), p. 200-1 (hereafter Leaflet).

13. The zenana was the secluded part of the household in which high-caste Indian women lived. Zenana visiting was initially seen as the most appropriate form of missionary work for women. Indeed, for many years the term "zenana worker" was practically synonymous with "woman missionary". In practice, however, over time, this aspect of women's work came to be de-emphasized. Evangelistic touring involved going outside the mission centre to outlying

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villages and towns, often for weeks at a time. It was a work in which missionary wives frequently played a prominent role.

14. See, for example, the reference to Jean Riddell, below (Note 73). From 1897, with the founding of the Ewart Missionary Training Home, even evangelistic missionaries were expected to undergo a period of formal preparation. In practice, however, many candidates did not take the full two-year course offered through the Home, for its Management Committee settled for a much briefer minimum-residency requirement. Se UCA, Minutes of Management Committee, Ewart Missionary Training Home, April 18, 1900 (hereafter Ewart Minutes).

15. In The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven, 1984), Jane Hunter deals with the usually unacknowledged but nonetheless real sense of power that American women experienced in their work among the Chinese.

16. Acts, 1896, p. 27; The Westminster, 1 (July 1896), p. 91.

17. Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800-1860," in Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner, eds., Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women (New York, 1974), p. 143.

18. Leaflet (April 1895), p. 319-320.

19. L.M. Montgomery, Anne of Green Gables (New York, 1976), p. 191-2; orig. ed., 1908.

20. For discussion of literature on Newell and the Judsons, see R. Pierce Beaver, American Protestant Women in World Mission (Grand Rapids, 1980), Chapter II, and Joan Jacobs Brumberg, Mission for Life: the story of the family of Adoniram Judson, the dramatic events of the first American foreign mission, and the course of evangelical religion in the nineteenth century (New York, 1980). Gracey's Eminent Missionary Women (New York, 1898) contained sketches of home-base workers as well as overseas missionaries and included a few non-Americans such as Charlotte Geddie, the wife of Canadian Presbyterianism's pioneer overseas missionary. The book was widely promoted by the WFMS. For reference to other group biographies of missionary heroines, see Clifton J. Phillips, Protestant America and the Pagan World: the First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860 (Cambridge, 1969), p. 313. Many of the women discussed in these works were also featured from time to time in Canadian Presbyterian periodicals. In 1888, for example, the Church's official organ, The Presbyterian Record, focused on women in its monthly "Missionary Cabinet".

21. W.S. McTavish, ed., Reapers in Many Fields (Toronto, 1904), and Missionary Pathfinders: Presbyterian Labourers at Home and Abroad (Toronto, 1907). These books dealt with home as well as foreign missions.

22. The emphasis on manly heroes undoubtedly reflected the greater value the Church placed on the work of its male missionaries, who were, of course, usually ordained. But it may also have reflected the greater effort that was required to attract suitable young men to missionary careers.

23. In The Noble Army of Martyrs and Roll of Protestant Missionary Martyrs from A.D. 1661 to 1891 (Philadelphia, 1894), p. 13, former Presbyterian Record

editor James Croil explained that, technically, the term martyr applied only to those who had died "by violence at the hands of the enemies of true religion." Generally, however, Presbyterian missionary publicists used the term in a broader sense to include all those who had died prematurely in the course of propagating the faith.

24. For an example of an administrator's being urged to exploit the theme of martyrdom, see UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Mission Committee, Western Section, General Correspondence (hereafter General Correspondence), Box 2, File 32, John MacDougall to R.P. MacKay (hereafter RPM), 12 September 1900. MacDougall was critical of the FMC Secretary's treatment of the Honan missionaries following their flight from the Boxer Rebellion.

25. Leaflet (April 1892), p. 239. See also The Presbyterian Record (hereafter Record), XVII (April 1892), p. 89; Margaret McKellar, Amy J. Harris: the Story of her Life (n.p., 1937); Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Western Division, Sixteenth Annual Report (hereafter Annual Report by number of issue), 1891-2, p. 27-8.

26. See Applications, 1893, Box 1, File 7a, correspondence regarding Wilhelmina Jane Gordon.

27. Foreign Missionary Tidings (hereafter Tidings), XXIII (February 1907), p. 145-6, and (March 1907), p. 174-6; WFMS, Thirty-Second Annual Report, 1907-08, p. 26, and Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 19.

28. Undated autobiographical sketch written by Dr. Oliver; privately held.

29. Dr. Lucinda Graham, Diary, Sept. 5-18, 1892; privately held. See also Rosalind Goforth, Goforth of China (Toronto, 1937), p. 66, for an account of a railway-station farewell involving hundreds of well-wishers as the Goforths left Toronto for China in 1888.

30. "What You Can Do For Us," Tidings, XX (January 1904), p. 194-5; UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Western Division, Minutes of Board of Management and Executive Committee Meetings, vol. 21, p. 215, 220, Dec. 3, 1912. For reference to fictional images of missionaries as shabby, pathetic creatures, see Patricia Hill, The World Their Household: the American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor, 1985), p. 15, 21.

31. General Correspondence, Box 3, File 51, Rev. M. Macgillivray to RPM, Nov. 8, 1909, and RPM to Macgillivray, Nov . 9, 1909.

32. UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Missions Committee, Western Section, Central India Mission, General Correspondence (hereafter CIM Correspondence), Box 5, File 70, Rachael Chase to RPM, April 16, 1899.

33. Letter of Mrs. Elizabeth N. Putnam, The Message, VIII (March, 1900).

34. For an account of Mackay's career see Mary Esther MacGregor [Marian Keith], The Black Bearded Barbarian: the Life of George Leslie Mackay of Formosa (Toronto, 1912), and, for reference to his influence, UCA, W. Harvey Grant, "Honan Mission Chronological Record," typescript, vol. 2, p. 141. The region was also a fertile one for missionaries of other denominations,

including Baptists; see K.S. McLaurin, Mary Bates McLaurin (Toronto, 1945). Elsewhere, significant numbers of Presbyterian missionaries, and missionary aspirants of both sexes, came from the region roughly between Smiths Falls, Kingston and Brockville, in eastern Ontario, and from Pictou and Colchester counties in Nova Scotia. The presence of sizable Presbyterian congregations was obviously an important factor in these patterns.

35. Applications, Box 1, File 4, Lizzie McWilliams to Rev. Thomas Wardrope, Dec. 25, 1890, and Jeanie Dow to Wardrope, April 24, 1891. Both women wanted to take medical training and serve in India. Subsequently, however, only Dow received medical training, and she was sent to China rather than India.

36. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Maritime Missionaries to Korea Collection. MG 1, vol. 2257, Letters of Catherine Mair to Edith Sutherland (later Mrs. Duncan McCrae), especially #43, June 28, 1898; Feb. 16 [1901]; #45, Jan. 12, 1902; and #47, Nov. 16, 1903.

37. W. Harold Reid, The Presbyterian Church / St. Andrew's and Lachute, Quebec 1818-1932 (n.p., 1979), p. 43-5; Munroe Scott, McClure: the China Years (Toronto, 1977), Prologue and Chapter 7. I am grateful to the Reverend Howard Doig for informing me of the McClure-Rodger connection.

38. Maggie Jamieson served in India from 1889 to 1908, her brother Rev. William John Jamieson from 1890 to 1898. Dr. Susie McCalla Grant went to China in 1902 as the wife of Rev. Harvey Grant, following a brief period of service in India as a single worker. Her widowed sister, Jeannette McCalla Ratcliffe, joined her in China in 1911, serving first as matron in the school for missionaries' children and, from 1916, as a missionary in her own right. Louise McCully went to Korea, from China, in 1900 and was joined by her sister Elizabeth in 1909.

39. See UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, Western Division, "List of Applicants for Service in the Foreign Field, 1889-1899," for reference to a letter from Mrs. Russell, Winnipeg, June 1896, seeking an appointment for her daughter Jean, whose two brothers were India missionaries. Conflicts and jealousies could develop, however, when several members of a single family were posted to the same mission. The FMC therefore exercised some caution in this regard; see FMC General Correspondence, Box 2, File 30, Dr. Frederic Duval to RPM, Jan. 24, 1899.

40. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto, 1970).

41. Record, I (January 1876), p. 16.

42. ibid., II (July 1877), p. 189.

43. Berger, Sense of Power, Chapter 9.

44. This was a frequent complaint from the missionaries in Central India. See, for example, UCA, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Foreign Missions Committee, Western Section, Minutes, vol. 3, Feb. 14, June 3 and June 12, 1884, and, for similar complaints about British diplomatic representatives in China, Acts, Foreign Missions Committee Report, 1881-2, Appendix, p. lxxxi. For a recent broad discussion of the complex relationship between foreign missions and imperialism, see the collection of short articles headed "Evangelization

and Civilization: Protestant Missionary Motivation in the Imperialist Era," introduction by William R. Hutchinson, in International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 6 (April 1982), p. 50-65.

45. Regarding American aid in the founding of the Church's mission in Central India, see Brouwer, "Founding", p. 3, 4-5, 7 (see Note 11).

46. J.H. Brown, "Anglo-Saxon Supremacy and Missions," KCM, XIX (March 1896), p. 569-76 (quotations from p. 574). This broad view of Anglo-Saxon missionary responsibility was of course not restricted to Canadians. As Andrew F. Walls notes in "The British," International Bulletin, 6, p. 63, "[W]hile contemporary political writers on the empire were never quite sure what to do with the United States in the glorious Anglo-Saxon future, the missionary writers invariably saw America as the staunch ally and partner in the task of world evangelization." Nevertheless, situated as they were physically and culturally, Canadians had particular reason to develop this outlook.

47. Applications, Box I, File 3, Maggie Jamieson to Dr. Wardrope, Feb. 20, 1889.

48. ibid., File 5, Jeanie Dow to Dr. Wardrope, April 24, 1891.

49. See, for example, "Missionary Training in the Home," The Message, XII (October 1903), p. 9-10.

50. This was the title of the chapter on Geddie in Missionary Pathfinders, p. 159-71.

51. ibid.; Jesse H. Arnup, A New Church Faces a New World (Toronto, 1937), p. 37-47.

52. Ruth Buchanan, My Mother (Toronto, 1938), p. 1

53. Occasionally these influences reflected parents' own unrealized missionary ambitions. See, for example, UCA biographical file on Margaret H. Brown for an autobiographical sketch in which Brown speaks of the influence of her schoolteacher mother, who had herself dreamed of a missionary career. See also Florence J. Murray, At the Foot of Dragon Hill (New York, 1975), p. viii.

54. Record, XVII (April, 1892), p. 85.

55. For one complaint about the unequal sex ratio in young people's societies, see General Correspondence, Box 2, File 26, account by missionary designate Percy C. Leslie of visits to Toronto Presbytery societies, June 28, 1897.

56. See, for example, General Correspondence, Box 1, File 14, Rev. E.B. Chesnut to RPM, Nov. 21, 1892.

57. Tidings, XXV (January 1909), p. 138. This account failed to include a reference to Formosa missionary Jane Kinney, who was designated at St. John's in 1905. Further reference to missionary motivation in Scott's church may be found in Glenna Jamieson and Chone Williams, "Dr. Belle Chone Oliver, Woman Doctor: Healing the Whole Person, Body, Mind and Soul," unpublished MS based on B.C. Oliver papers; privately held.

58. Robert T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada

(Oxford, 1976), p. 275-7; UCA, Margaret H. Brown, "History of the Honan (North China) Mission of the United Church of Canada Originally a Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Canada: 1887-1951," unpublished MS, vol. I, chapter 1.

59. See, for example, Dr. B. Chone Oliver, Dr. Margaret MacKellar: the Story of her Early Years (Toronto, 1920), p. 16.

60. Executive Committee of the Student Volunteer Movement, The Achievements of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions During the First Generation of its History (New York, 1920), p. 5.

61. Margaret MacKellar, for example, was at Queen's specifically to prepare for missionary work when she joined the SVM during its first year of existence; Oliver, Dr. Margaret MacKellar, p. 25.

62. ibid.; General Correspondence, Box 4, File 65, A.E. Armstrong (hereafter AEA) to W.B. Smith, May 6, 1912.

63. Tidings, XXIX (March, 1913), p. 190; Ewart Minutes, Jan. 26, 1898.

64. While the primary function of the YPMM was to develop home-base support for home and foreign missions, its creators expected that, like the SVM with which it was closely associated, it would also lead to decisions for overseas service. Organized in 1902 by executives of the major denominational boards in the US and Canada, the Movement drew on Canadian Methodism's Young People's Forward Movement for Missions as its original model. Besides using summer conferences to inspire, recruit and train young people, the YPMM published and distributed a wide range of missionary literature. See General Correspondence, Box 3, File 43, Report of Whitby Conference and Conference on Missions and Sunday Schools, July 1906; C.V. Vickery, The Young People's Missionary Movement (New York, 1906), p. 12-30.

65. At least one missions supporter thought the problem resulted from the FMC's failure to do the follow-up work necessary to sustain the interest aroused at conferences; see General Correspondence, Box 5, File 75, Dr. A. Ross Alguire to AEA, Sept. 20, 1913.

66. See, for example, UCA biographical file for Jane Kinney, autobiographical sketch, and Applications, 1912, Box 3, File 26a, data on Esther N. Smith.

67. Beaver, Women, p. 32-3 (see Note 20). The claim rested on popular comparisons of the historic and contemporary lot of women in Christian and non-Christian societies and emphasized that women even more than men had benefited in spiritual and social terms from the Christian dispensation. Some writers linked Christian women's particular benefits and obligations to the privilege conferred on Mary as the mother of Christ; see, for example, William F. Bainbridge, Around the World Tour of Christian Missions (Boston, 1882), p. 56.

68. In 1890, in Woman... (see Note 9), B.F. Austin developed various aspects of the theme in a chapter ringingly entitled, "What Christ has Done for Woman, and What Woman has Done for Christ." Some years later, in a book prepared for the Young People's Missionary Movement, the American Presbyterian missions bureaucrat Robert Speer pointedly adopted only the first part of the same title for a somewhat censorious chapter directed to female readers;

see his Missionary Principles and Practice, 4th ed. (n.p., 1908), Chapter XL.

69. 1878, p. 11.

70. Applications, 1909, Box 2, File 23, response #15 on application form.

71. See, for example, Macdonald's "Canadian Women and Foreign Missions," KCM, VI (May, 1887), p. 42-6.

72. By the end of the period, Foreign Missionary Tidings had a circulation of 27,500, while in the Maritimes just prior to church union The Message was up to 8000. See Thirty-Eighth Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 76, and Presbyterian Church in Canada, Fifty Years of Woman's Missionary Work (n.p., 1926), p. 47. Letters and reports by or about women missionaries were also printed in other church periodicals.

73. Applications, Box 1, File 6a, Riddell to FMC, May 16, 1892.

74. See, for example, Graham, Diary (see Note 29), Sept. 5, 1892.

75. See "Miss Blackadder's Visit," The Maritime Presbyterian, II (Aug. 15, 1882), p. 227. The missionary's furlough was not a luxury, declared the author of this piece, but rather a necessity, both to the overseas worker and the Church. Furlough visits were seen, of course, as a way of stimulating fund raising as well as recruitment.

76. CIM Correspondence, Box 8, File 105, RPM to Dr. Elizabeth McMaster, June 21, 1910.

77. At the beginning of 1907 The Presbyterian Record referred to "brighter prospects than ever before" in foreign mission work and spoke of the previous autumn's missionary contingent as the largest ever sent by the Church; Record, XXXII (January 1907), p. 12. Yet just three years later the FMC's Associate Secretary, A.E. Armstrong, was speaking of a shortage of both male and female candidates. See, for example, CIM Correspondence, Box 8, File 105, AEA to Kate Campbell, April 14, 1910, and File 106, AEA to J.R. Harcourt, Aug. 27, 1910. By 1912 Armstrong was writing to Presbyterian mission boards in Scotland and England to see if they had a surplus of volunteers whom he could contact, and a year later, appealing to Queen's Principal D.M. Gordon, he described the shortage as "greater than at any time ... in [the FMC's] history" and spoke of the work in the fields as standing still or going backwards for want of staff. See General Correspondence, Box 4, File 68, AEA to R.W. Ross, Nov. 9, 1912, and CIM Correspondence, Box 10, File 115, AEA to William Dale, Nov. 9, 1912; General Correspondence, Box 5, File 77, AEA to D.M. Gordon, Dec. 191, 1913.

ECUMENISM IN CANADA -- "AN AFFECTION FOR DIVERSITY"

by Doug du Charme

Introduction

After forty years, ecumenism in Canada remains a fragile experiment. Once a pioneer in the Church Union movement, Canada now struggles to maintain the minimal ecumenical presence provided by the Canadian Council of Churches.

The ambivalence among the Canadian churches which has fed this pattern of growth and retreat has been convincingly portrayed by Charles Hendry and Janet Somerville in their 1973 report "An Affection for Diversity," which has provided the subtitle for this paper. In that report they describe the Canadian ecumenical experience as being characterized by "the popularity of the ecumenical idea alongside the (relative) unpopularity of the ecumenical structures." [1] Indications of this denominational reticence are plentiful within the records of the Canadian Council of Churches and are reflected clearly in its frequent structural reforms over the last forty years. The Council and its staff in turn repeatedly call the churches to move beyond mere co-operation, beyond the 'ecumenism of convenience' to the 'ecumenism of conviction'. [2] This appeal is repeated year after year, using every imaginable turn of phrase and biblical allusion, and always arising out of the persistent question: "What is the ecumenical spirit, which brought into being this Council? ... What is the Ecumenical Movement, and the Council of Churches?" [3]

This narrative of the 'ecumenical pilgrimage' [4] unfolds in three phases, focusing on the role of the CCC in the overall experiment. Other focuses are certainly possible, [5] but remain in the background for the purposes of this study. The first phase is the rise of the ecumenical idea, and of inter-church co-operation up to the formation of the CCC in 1944. This period is characterized by the appeal to organic church union, realized in the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. The second phase consists of the consolidation of the CCC under the leadership of Dr. W.J. Gallagher from 1944-1964, reflecting the development of a conciliar ecumenism in Canada. The third phase is the period of repeated structural change in the Council, resulting in its dramatic reduction in size, and the simultaneous rise of the coalitions, which brings us to the present day.

In order to deal with such a large slice of Canadian church history it has been necessary to paint in broad strokes. Almost no work has previously been done on the material. Consequently the present analysis may remain somewhat lean. Nevertheless some themes emerge clearly, and always around the

central conflict, or tension between the appeal of the ecumenical idea within the denominations, and the reality of ecumenical structures, which have been regarded as a threat by the denominations. This is the magnetic polarity around which the events persistently evolve.

Phase One -- THE PERIOD PRIOR TO 1944

The early phase of ecumenism among the Canadian churches is distinctive for its radical and unprecedented approach. Out of the fragmented diversity of the early colonial period, Canadian churches began to move toward denominational unity initially in the 1820s, the first "false dawn of ecumenicity." [6] After some further divisions throught the mid-century this development began to find its feet when the four Presbyterian denominations joined together in 1875, followed by the Methodists' union in 1884. Already, in 1886, a formal proposal for church union was made when the Synod of the Anglican Province of Canada in that year invited Presbyterians and Methodists to confer on the matter. A meeting took place in 1889 in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. [7] Interest abated, however, when it became clear that, arising out the the Lambeth Conference of 1888, the Anglicans would insist on the acceptance of the episcopate as a condition of union. After further unsuccessful attempts at discussions, an informal proposal made by Principal William Patrick, a Presbyterian delegate to the 1902 General Conference of the Methodist Church, led to a formal invitation from that Conference to the Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches to appoint committees to consider organic union.

In light of later developments it is significant that, arising out of the recent success of denominational unions, the only serious considerations of ecumenism at this point focused on organic union. A co-operative or federal arrangement, which was being pursued in the United States by Elias B. Sanford, was deemed not appropriate to the Canadian situation of sparse, widely-scattered settlements and an expanding western frontier. The radicalism of this phase of Canadian ecumenicity was primarily a result of the magnitude of the Canadian situation. Only a united church could pool the resources necessary to develop an indigenous and self-sufficient Canadian church experience. [8] It was a missionary logic that lay behind these early discussions, more than a consideration of purely political or economic factors. In the spirit of Prime Minister Laurier's assertion that the twentieth century belonged to Canada, the churches were seeking to respond to the demands of their mission to the Canadian environment.

Following the invitation of the Methodist Conference, committees of

the three churches met on April 21, 1904 and decided that organic union was 'both desirable and practical'. By 1908 the Basis of Union document was ready for submission to the negotiating churches. The process of formulating this document was surprisingly easy due to the pragmatic nature of the vision. Considerations of doctrine were not crucial. The desire was to preserve the identities of the uniting churches, not extinguish their inheritances in the shape of a new church. The method could be described as composite. The painful process of mutual questioning was avoided in this approach of self-realization rather than self-surrender. [9]

By 1912 both the Methodists and Congregationalists had approved the Basis of Union document. If the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1912 had also accepted the substantial majority of its Presbyteries and members who had declared themselves in favour of union, the consummation of union would have happened shortly thereafter. However, the Assembly decided to try to allow a little more time for discussion, with the result that the momentum in the Presbyterian church promptly began to move away from union. By 1925, when the United Church of Canada was finally formed, about one-third of the Presbyterians had decided to stay out of the new Church. Established on turn-of-the-century momentum, the story of Church Union in Canada was of a steady falling-off of popular support. [10] This reticence was the first sign of a change in the ecumenical spirit which began to move from conceptions of organic union towards co-operation.

We have outlined the Church Union movement in Canada in some detail, for it decisively characterizes the first phase of the journey. It is the culmination of the radical period of ecumenism in Canada, a period which was well ahead of its time in light of other world developments. Yet, radical though it was, even in the process of uniting, the focus was on retaining the distinctiveness of each of the uniting Churches within the new Church. That has not changed. However, increasingly the perception has been that the only way to retain one's denominational heritage was to remain separate. The Churches had become suspicious of the possibility of any continuing distinctiveness within an organic union.

The transitionary period of the Canadian ecumenical experience which would culminate in the formation of the Churches' definitive expression of ecumenical co-operation, the Canadian Council of Churches, in 1944, was already in place in 1907 with the establishment of The Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada. It brought together the Anglican, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches to be "the agent of the Churches

in the field of Social Welfare and Sociology." [11] In 1914 its name was changed to the Social Service Council of Canada, allowing various secular groups to join. However, soon after, it again became an exclusive Church organization and in 1939 it became known as the Christian Social Council of Canada (CSCC). The CSCC addressed most of the prominent moral and social issues of the day (gambling, lotteries, family life, social security, liquor laws and observance of the Lord's Day) and published the quarterly magazine Social Welfare.

In 1917 this Church council was joined by another, the Religious Education Council of Canada (RECC). This organization functioned with six departments and four regular publications within a broadly-conceived mandate of Christian education for all ages in the Canadian churches. This role was augmented in 1941 by the Inter-Church Committee on Mission Education which, as the name suggests, had a more specialized focus.

In 1919 the Conference of Secretaries of Foreign Mission Boards was formed, a loose fellowship of Mission Secretaries with a clearly pragmatic purpose, allowing co-operation in some matters of mutual interest. In the 1930s this was joined by the Canadian Home Mission Council which assisted the churches to co-operate in mission and service projects in Canada during the Depression, and the Second World War.

This collection of co-operative inter-church ventures was joined in 1938 by the World Council of Churches' Canadian Committee, which arose out of the Utrecht Conference, where the WCC Constitution was devised. Its focus was upon the promotion of the ecumenical movement in Canada, and upon Canadian involvement in the formation of the WCC, which would occur at its first Assembly in 1948.

Each of these six groups manifested the Churches' commitment to ecumenical co-operation in specific areas of common interest, without any desire to consummate this relationship through union. The logical result of this approach was prepared for in 1942 when Dr. W.J. Gallagher became the Joint Secretary for the CSCC and the WCC Canadian Committee, as well as for their joint Committee on Evangelism. Within six months after this was undertaken, formal consideration for a Canadian Council of Churches had begun.

Phase Two -- THE CANADIAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, 1944 - 1964

On November 11, 1942 an informal meeting of officers of the Canadian Churches was held in the office of the Rev. Dr. W.J. Gallagher in Toronto to discuss the co-operative work of the Canadian Churches and the then proposed North American Council of Churches (NACC). The result was a unanimous

decision to take steps towards setting up a Canadian Council of Churches, beginning with the presentation of a proposal to the Executive of the WCC Canadian Committee. This was done at the November 24 meeting of the Executive, which in turn appointed five of its members toward a conference on the matter. It invited the CSCC and the RECC to similarly invite five members each, along with five representatives of the missionary interests of the Canadian Churches, all chosen to be denominationally representative. As a result twenty-one church leaders met on January 20, 1943 to develop a formal proposal for a council of Canadian Churches.

Three meetings of this Conference were held, along with numerous committee meetings. In April, 1943 a group of Conference members met in New York with American representatives concerning the proposed NACC. It was decided that the US and Canada should have separate Councils of Churches, but that an NACC might be useful for purposes of consultation between the national councils.

On April 21, 1943 the results of all these deliberations were embodied in a resolution for the formulation of a Canadian Council of Churches, including a proposed constitution. Approval was received by all the main Canadian Churches and on September 26 - 28, 1944 the first Assembly of the CCC was held in Toronto. Dr. Gallagher became General Secretary of the new organization.

These were heady years for those involved in inter-church work. The formation of the CCC affirmed the new model of conciliar ecumenism which was about to become normative through the formation of the WCC. The possibilities of co-operation were endless, without the threat of union. Resources could be pooled, and common areas of concern for the Churches could be better served. The experiment of organic union in the United Church had by now been proven to be successful, but the theory seemed to have run its course as far as the other Churches were concerned. It remained to test the extent of the co-operative, conciliar model, its limits and its benefits. This was largely accomplished within the twenty-year tenure of Dr. Gallagher as General Secretary of the Council.

Early on, questions about the limits of the new ecumenical structure were already apparent despite the momentum surrounding the 1948 Amsterdam Assembly. These concerns are reflected in the reports to the annual Assemblies, especially in the General Secretary's report. Dr. Gallagher seems to have moved quickly to consolidate the council's work. By 1945 he was already appealing for more staff to carry the workload (a request that was

honoured by 1947). Between 1945 and 1947 the Council grew from three to five departments. As organizational matters became settled Gallagher began to spend time publicizing the Council to the Churches by means of trips throughout Canada and weekly radio braodcasts. There was also time for clarifying the mandate of the Council. His reports initially were advocative, calling the Churches to "really give themselves to ecumenical fellowship and to co-operative action ... There must be a will to more adequate and more effective expressions of our unity." [12] The spirit of the undertaking was stillfresh; all that was required was a periodic renewal of vision, and the commitment to pursue the possibilities afforded by co-operation.

By the Fifth Assembly, in 1949, the emphasis had shifted to a direct and repeated clarification of the relationship of the Churches to the Council. Denominational sovereignty was constantly reaffirmed over subsequent years, countering the mounting charge that as the CCC grew it began to threaten the indigenous work of the denomination. Mixed in with this was always a 'nevertheless,' a renewed call to the reality of the ecumenical idea among the Canadian Churches. The tone was set in 1949:

> ... This Council is the creature and the agency of the Churches. It is an extension of their own work. It is not to be regarded as an extra burden imposed upon them, but as an instrument which they have made for the furtherance of their cause, to be supported and used by them ... the churches which are members of the Council must take their membership seriously and must actually enter into this association with one another. [13]

Denominational loyalty is affirmed, but in the context of the greater call to unity in Christ. Therefore while "full respect for the complete autonomy of each member Church" is the "cardinal principle of our Constitution," [14] the ecumenical imperative was ever placed before the Churches. This imperative took an ever-changing form, but always showed that, for the ecumenical leadership anyway, co-operation was still only a partial realization of the vision. It was apparent, however, that for the Churches, co-operation was all that was desired. The inter-church committees, out of which had come the CCC, had gathered around specific matters of co-operation where ecumenism was in the denominational interests. The Council, it was intimated, was not to go beyond that in pursuit of grander ideals.

Nevertheless, by 1958 it had become apparent that "the growth and development of the work of this Council in its fourteen years has been

phenomenal." [15] Under the aggressive leadership of Gallagher the CCC was aware of the Churches' reticence, but nevertheless kept up the pressure for commitment to the venture. The various offices were integrated into one building in 1958. In 1960 the amalgamation of the CSCC was finally made complete. The offices were moved to their present location on St. Clair Avenue, Toronto, in the fall of 1961. In 1962 the General Secretary could state that the CCC represented the professed adherence of 46 per cent of the professedly Christian population.

The early 1960s were a period of tremendous ecumenical excitement. As we have tried to show, the CCC under Dr. Gallagher was firmly set within the context of worldwide ecumenism. This was not to be seen as an isolated Canadian experiment. It was part of the spirit of oikumene. By the first few years of the 1960s, the WCC had grown to a membership of over 200 churches, including the membership of the Orthodox Church at the New Delhi Assembly in 1961. Vatican II had signalled new hope for Christian unity, and a spirit of growth and openness was felt generally within the Churches and the society of western countries.

Nevertheless, in his final report to the 1962 CCC Assembly, Dr. Gallagher notes ironically that since "Denominationalism is stronger in every one of them [the Churches] than ecumenicity," the Council often demonstrates the disunity more than the unity. [16] Dr. Gallagher continued:

> Christian unity may mean Church union or it may not: we are not agreed about that. But we are agreed that Christian unity must be manifested in some way much more adequately than it is now. I think therefore that we are justified in asking why there is not more co-operation among our Churches and why there is not more effort to find the way to that manifestation of unity in Christ which we can believe to be in accord with His will for His Church. [17]

Dr. Gallagher then concluded his final report to the Council with these words:

> I want to repeat my personal conviction about inter-Church co-operation and Christian unity. I believe that inter-Church co-operation is good so far as it goes and so far as it can go. I believe that even with things as they are, it could go and it should go much farther. But I believe also that at its best co-operation is not enough. It is only an interim expedient. The nature of the Church

and the mission of the Church call for unity -- for some sort of visible, recognizable convincing unity. Nothing less than that can finally suffice."[18]

On April 3, 1964 Dr. Gallagher died, three months before he was due to retire. At the 1964 Assembly eight months after his death, the reconsideration of the style and structure began in earnest, in response to formal questions raised by the United Church of Canada, among others, which suggested that the Council was too compartmentalized, and was duplicating the work of the Churches. [19] After twenty years of growth and exploration, the experiment in conciliar ecumenism was to discover its limits and constraints.

Phase Three -- THE COUNCIL AND THE COALITIONS

In a rare moment of understatement, Dr. Gallagher noted that "There is a difference of opinion among us about how we should seek to express and manifest our unity." [20] Indeed there is a certain amount of irony in the fact that the United Church was among the most prominent critics of the CCC in the early 1960s. The first phase of ecumenical spirit in Canada, now in the form of one of the denominations, had come into conflict with the product of the second phase of Canadian ecumenism.

This initial period of criticism focused on the 'autonomy' of the Departments and Committees of the Council itself. Having been formed out of the active inter-church councils and committees which had existed prior to 1944, the Departments had indeed managed to continue with a certain amount of freedom within their areas of concern. However, while a great deal of frustration was expressed by the Churches, they had yet to think out together any expression of a new fellowship, a new medium for their work together.

A Study Committee was appointed at the 1962 meeting to discuss necessary changes. By the 1964 Assembly it had become apparent that the very purpose and structure of the Council needed serious reconsideration. However, no clear alternatives emerged from the Study Committee's deliberations. The impasse gradually began to break in the course of 1965 as a new sense of the ecumenical task began to emerge. Rather than co-ordinating or reflecting the departmental activities of the Churches, the Council started to base itself around the nature and needs of ecumenical encounter and action. Its staff was to remain a small and specialized group, not primarily concerned with administrative duties. As the new era of flexibility and response took shape, the Committee noted in retrospect that "The era just ended was given to co-ordinating the Churches, and a number of inter-Church Agencies, into a unified, functioning Council of Churches." [21]

The emergent new role of the Council required a radical simplification of the structures of the Council so that it could be a medium of encounter between the Churches. A new and experimental approach of openness and freedom from weighted organization was sought. Rather than Departments, the Council became organized around six Commissions. A new Constitution went through eight drafts. Finally a proposed new structure was brought before the 1966 Assembly for approval after four years of work.

The proposal was approved in principle, and referred to a Planning Committee, which became the Priorities and Development Committee in 1967, for further study, and implementation. This Committee quickly decided to reduce the number of Commissions to five, and organized them geographically (local, national, world), retaining the Commission on Research and Training, and the Commission on Services to the Churches. This revised structure was implemented accordingly. However, the report to the 1969 Assembly reflects a continuing deep ambiguity over the Council. There remained

> different understandings as to the basic role of the Council -- whether it should be to develop ecumenical programs independent of the church structures or to work primarily within the church structures; whether it should seek to build up inter-church programs under Council administration, or whether its role should be primarily catalytic -- i.e. to facilitate common action by the churches on the growing edges of the contemporary Christian mission, carrying out in its own name only such pilot projects as would promote this objective. [22]

Meanwhile the frustration of many over the process of re-organization was evidenced by the mass resignation of the Commission on Community Experiments. Their resignation was accompanied by a document which interpreted the action, and outlined criticisms of the Council's structure and ethos. The Commission's work was adopted by the Commission on Canadian Affairs, and Services to the Churches. The criticisms of the Commission's members were taken seriously, and were referred to a number of discussion groups. At the 1969 Assembly the new General Secretary, Rev. Dr. T.E. Floyd Honey, noted that even with its new structure, "the Council has now reached a point of crisis where its very survival on any worthwhile scale is in jeopardy." [23] As a result the ongoing question continued to be to "clarify our thinking as to the nature of a council of churches and its mandate, function and style of operation in relation to the member churches." [24]

While these developments were under way in the CCC, another strand of ecumenism was just beginning to hit its stride. As the initial momentum of conciliar ecumenism began to abate in the early Sixties, there was a move toward inter-church co-operation on certain specific matters of concern, not unlike the inter-church committees which had originally formed the CCC. As a result, while the CCC was undergoing a painful process of restructuring, there was a dramatic increase in ecumenical activity on other fronts. It has in fact been suggested that this "unprecedented explosion of ecumenical activity in Canada" in fact "led to the decline or transformation of older ecumenical structures and the creation of new ones." [25]

This burst of activity began in 1959 with the formation of the Religion-Labour Council (R-LC) which succeeded the Religion-Labour Foundation. The R-LC was a voluntary organization dedicated to the promotion of social and economic justice in the industrial life of Canada. It was an early opportunity for staff from the Social Action Department of the Canadian Catholic Conference to meet their counterparts in the Anglican, Lutheran, United, and Presbyterian Churches. The R-LC also had a number of labour representatives on its Board.

In 1965, at the R-LC Annual Convention, the churches' social action leaders held a separate meeting and agreed to set up an informal committee, parallel to the R-LC but separate from it. The new organization was called the National Committee on the Church in Industrial Society (CIS). The CIS performed an important role through the last half of the 1960s in promoting the friendships and mutual trust developed among church social action department staff. It also contributed to the demise of the R-LC.

After years of confusion on the relation of the CIS to the R-LC, the R-LC was phased out in 1970, to become the Religion-Labour Committee which met until April 1973. The CIS continued, reflecting the prevalent excitement of the period with the emergence of citizens' groups and organizations of the poor. Poverty, housing and development were the prominent focus of the work of the CIS. By its June 13, 1972 meeting, it had become clear, however, that ecumenical energies had begun to flow decisively into other channels. Therefore at the September 20, 1973 CIS meeting the decision was made to disband the Committee.

In the meantime, events such as the Biafran War in 1968 had begun to shift the focus of social justice attention from domestic poverty to world relief and development. In the fall of 1968 a joint CCC/Canadian Catholic Conference committee was created to formulate joint programs of publicity and

education on poverty and development. Initially called the Poverty Committee, it was to become Ten Days for World Development by 1972, a coalition focusing on development education in the Churches.

The next major step in the growth of the coalitions was the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee, Inter-Church Co-operation -- Development and Relief on October 28, 1971. A year later it became the Inter-Church Consultative Committee on Development and Relief (ICCCDR). The first meetings centred primarily on international development and emergency relief aid. Early questions about the relation between this group and the Joint Working Group of the two CCC's which had set up the Poverty Committee, and which was also looking at international development, were set aside. It was agreed that communications links should be kept open.

At the April 1972 meeting of ICCCDR it was reported that the Coalition for Development (soon to become Ten Days) had requested membership on ICCCDR. A liaison was appointed, and an observer was invited to ICCCDR's Sub-committee on Domestic Poverty. At the same meeting the Sub-committee on Joint Action for Emergency Aid announced the formation of a new coalition, Church Action for Emergency Aid (CAFEA). Further discussion continued around the relationship between mission and development. It was apparent that younger church members responded more readily to development projects, while the older generation still responded to, and thought in terms of, mission.

At its September 1972 meeting ICCCDR dealt with the churches' approach to corporations, and the proposed GATT-Fly Project. The matter of the approach to corporations had been discussed from ICCCDR's first meeting. It now referred the concern to the Joint Working Group, which brought back a proposal for the development of a Taskforce on Corporate Research and Action in 1973. In December 1974 a staff person was hired and the name changed to the Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility (TCCR).

When Canadian Church observers returned from UNCTAD III in Santiago in Spring 1972, a post-UNCTAD conference was held. At that conference a proposal to hire a research person to do research on GATT was circulated. This proposal was discussed further at ICCCDR's September 1972 meeting. There it was expanded to include animation and constituency building, and was approved. By February 1973, the two-year commitment to the program already seemed severely limiting and procedure to extend the mandate was undertaken.

The year 1973 saw the addition of three more coalitions to the ICCCDR family. Beginning in February, the Committee worked toward establishing a common facility for funding Third World Projects. Initially formed in

conjunction with CIDA as the Canadian Christian Service Fund, by November of that year the name had been changed to the Inter-Church Fund for International Development (ICFID). Whereas CAFEA dealt with emergency relief, ICFID was formed to focus on development. The Inter-Church Project on Population (ICPOP) grew out of a brief of Canadian Church leaders to the government, in March 1973. The brief itself had arisen from the Ten Days theme for 1973 which focused on trade and population issues in development. Finally, 1973 also saw the military coup in Chile which prompted the churches to launch a co-ordinated effort on behalf of the Chilean refugees. This Inter-Church Committee on Chile (ICCC) later broadened its scope and became the Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America (ICCHRLA) in 1977.

This flood of ecumenical activity in the first couple of years of ICCCDR's existence prompted it to open its September 1973 meeting with the question, "Where are we at in the life and work of ICCCDR?" It was unclear whether ICCCDR was itself one of the inter-church groups, or whether it was the umbrella organization. The relationship with the Joint Working Group was also discussed. However, it was agreed to resist any move toward a more formalized constitution for the time being. By this time the possibility of a new association of Christian churches in Canada was being suggested, and ICCCDR decided to await further developments before clarifying its own situation.

The domestic justice issue had not completely dropped from the churches' agenda with the demise of CIS. In April 1974 ICCDR approved plans to set up PLURA, an association to promote justice in Canada, which derived its name from the five sponsoring denominations. This domestic justice concern was further reflected in the formation of Project North in the fall of 1975 to co-ordinate the churches' efforts to support native peoples in their struggle for participation and justice.

Throughout the mid-Seventies the question of ICCCDR's nature and function, and its role as a co-ordinating body for the coalitions, continued to arise. Beginning in 1978 ICCCDR meetings began to be devoted to reports from development agencies, coalitions, the CCC and the denominations, as it increasingly fulfilled a role of co-ordinator. The October 1978 meeting focused on the future of ICCCDR, looking at various possible options for the organization. This discussion was continued at the next meeting in November 1979 where the additional question of the relation between the coalitions and the churches was raised. These discussions on structure and accountability were frustrating. Meanwhile the coalitions were moving toward greater

institutionalization. This frustration almost paralyzed the organization. ICCCDR did not meet in 1980. A small group of denominational staff, and denominational representatives from the coalitions and the CCC, met in June 1981. Ten items of concern were discussed at length regarding ICCCDR and the coalitions. A definition of what constitutes a coalition was adopted, and a proposal for an annual forum, with a three-year cycle for reviewing coaliion mandates, was accepted.

A clear policy shift had become evident by the June 1982 meeting of ICCCDR. The traditional role of ICCCDR had been exclusively consultative, with decision-making located in the sponsoring denominations. The new policy incolved consultation with coalitions and churches and a final decision by ICCCDR. As a result, the major question now focused on who attends ICCCDR meetings, and who could vote. This item has yet to be fully resolved.

In his conclusion, Hutchinson reviews the history of ICCCDR and notes that "When denominational and coalition reporting became routine and only indirectly related to the need to clarify and to share denominational intentions and policies, there was a noticeable increase in frustration" [26] with regard to the nature of ICCCDR. Practical issues became lost in general "unanswerable " questions.

Having traced the development of ICCCDR in some detail, it is time to pick up the discussion of the CCC where it was left off, in 1969, at the start of the explosion of coalition activity.

The structural changes effected by the Priorities and Development Committee to the CCC between 1966 and 1969 largely satisfied the criticisms which had existed. Even in 1969, however, suggestions were put forward that the number of Commissions might be further reduced. In October 1970 the Council received a report of a taskforce of the Anglican Church of Canada concerning the relation of that Church to the CCC. The report proposed further radical changes in the functions, structure and style of operation of the Council, and called for the complete integration of the CCC and the Ecumenical Institute of Canada.

Unlike previous occasions the discussion this time did not drag on indefinitely. A "Consultation on the Relation of the Churches to the Canadian Council of Churches" was held in Toronto, March 23-24, 1971. No firm consensus arose from that meeting, so a taskforce was set up to continue the study. The taskforce reported in November 1971 to the Executive Committee which forwarded the report to the Central Committee with approval. A slate of constitutional changes were then adopted. The Central and Executive

Committees were replaced by a Board of Directors, and the four Commissions were reduced to three (World Concerns, Canadian Affairs, and Faith and Order -- the last of these dissolved in 1979). The Triennial Assemblies remained the governing body of the Council, despite a recommendation that they become consultative in nature.

The issues in this study were "such questions as how much visibility the Council should have as an ecumenical structure, how far it should mount programs itself and how far it should confine itself to information-sharing and facilitating of inter-church action, how far it should take initiative and to what extent it should simply respond to requests from the churches." [28] What emerged from the study was the awareness that the Churches themselves again were not agreed as to what they wanted the Council to be and do.

The final instalment in CCC restructuring to date has been in the form of the Inter-Church Committee. This arose in the mid-1970s out of the Joint Working Group of the two CCC's, after the 1975 document from the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity called "Ecumenical Collaboration at the Regional, National and Local Levels." The proposal for a new ecumenical association for Canada came from the Roman Catholic Church. A Wider Ecumenical Fellowship Committee was formed in 1975 by the Joint Working Group to ensure that the result would not just be a bigger and better CCC. Church leaders then met in 1980 and again in 1981 to define the purpose and structures of the new association. In the spring of 1981 the formation of an Inter-Church Committee (ICC) was approved. The ICC was intended to take over the work of the Joint Working Group and ICCCDR, and to continue to work toward a new ecumenical association that would succeed the CCC. As such the ICC would have neatly tied together many of the concerns which have plagued ecumenism in Canada as shown in this paper: the desire for a wider and deeper ecumenical fellowship, the desire to bridge the distance between the Council and the Churches, and, as a committee of the Churches, the ICC would have answered the Churches' concern about ecumenical autonomy.

However, the ICC was not to be. At the 1982 CCC Assembly, Rev. Dr. Donald Anderson, the General Secretary, noted some of the problems attendant on the ICC. It had weakened and confused ecumenical engagement in Canada by creating a somewhat parallel inter-church body rather than a clear successor to the CCC. Further, the discussions around the ICC signified a retreat to the level of ecumenical conversation of 1944. There was a desire among many to build on the years of hard-won experience rather than to begin all over again. As a result of these and other considerations, the concept of an ICC

has been shelved. Application from the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB) for formal membership in the CCC as it stands was received early in 1984. Work is now under way to work out the implications of this move which would double the Council's constituency.

Conclusion

The future is not yet clear, but it would seem that ICCCDR and the CCC will continue to remain distinct from one another. There is still a great deal of debate between the two models of ecumenical association they represent: coalition-based, or conciliar.

The CCC's 1976 Assembly received two Secretaries' reports, the one outgoing and the other incoming. Both had challending words for the coalitions which they felt reflected an ecumenism of convenience, where Churches could work together easily on certain matters of mutual advantage. This was seen to be an important and productive association; however, they pressed also for an ecumenism of conviction which is more costly and engaging, and proclaims a deeper unity. Dr. Honey compared the coalition model to a business consortium where a number of corporations "pool resources for a particular project for their mutual advantage, without jeopardizing their basic position as competitors in the market." [29]

Dr. Anderson, while accepting much of his predecessor's re marks, took a more positive stand. He felt that while a coalition was a "temporary alliance of unlike parties formed to accomplish specific ends", this did not imply a call to a lack of commitment, "but a demand for a body capable of flexibility." [30] He felt further that "The Council should not attempt to force all ecumenical encounter into a single pattern, nor try itself to be the centre of that pattern." [31] This kind of sentiment would seem to be a direct inversion of the ecumenical style of the CCC as envisioned by Dr. Gallagher upon its inauguration.

The years have forced sweeping changes upon the shape of ecumenism in Canada since the Church Union movement at the turn of the cntury. The three phases we have sought to develop in this paper are themselves an over-simplification of many inter-connected developments over a great many years. Since much of the research which has gone into this paper has never been done before, necessitating careful work with original documents, the amount of detail may occasionally be excessive, and the degree of analysis weak. Certain themes do manage to surface with terrific clarity, however. These include the persistently pragmatic, non-idealistic approach of Canadian churches to ecumenism, which allows productive co-operative work for a time,

until general questions of structure and purpose bog the whole project down. These also include the parallel antipathy of the Churches to ecumenical structures.

The Canadian ecumenical experience, as was noted in the Introduction, remains a fragile experiment. There is a strong element of tribalism in the denominations. As the coalitions become more institutionalized they too develop a rigidity not unlike the denominations. The ongoing attempt of the CCC to adopt a flexible and responsive style in recent years has been a frustrating effort as a result. Indeed the overall content of this paper reflects a profound heritage of frustration. That which the Churches fear is, however, the beauty and skill of the Canadian Council of Churches: to be an association which is more than a reflection of the Churches that form it.

NOTES

1. Canadian Council of Churches, Assembly Minutes, 1976, p. 81
2. Minutes , p. 82
3.. Minutes , 1945, p. 26
4. The title of a reflection paper concerning the structure and function of the CCC published in April, 1983
5. One is provided by Roger Hutchinson in "Ecumenical Social Action in Canada: Selected Documents" (unpublished manuscript, 1983). This study focuses on the rise of the inter-church coalitions since the formation of the Religion-Labour Council in 1959.
6. J.W. Grant, The Canadian Experience of Church Union (London: Lutterworth, 1967), p. 10. See also, in general, G.C. Pidgeon, The United Church of Canada (Toronto: Ryerson, 1950), and C.E. Silcox, Church Union in Canada (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933).
7. T.R. Millman, "The Conference on Christian Unity, Toronto, 1889". In Canadian Journal of Theology , III/3 (July 1957).
8. Grant, op. cit., p. 22 - 24
9. ibid., p. 34
10. ibid., p. 55
11. Report of the Christian Social Council of Canada to the first CCC Assembly, 1944. p. 47
12. Assembly Minutes , 1948, p. 34
13. Minutes , 1949, p. 37
14. Minutes , 1950, p. 27
15. Minutes , 1958, p. 26

16. Minutes , 1962, p. 41

17. ibid.

18. ibid., p. 43

19. Minutes , 1976, p. 79

20. Minutes , 1960, p. 33

21. Minutes , 1966, Report of the Structure Committee, p. 51

22. Minutes , 1969, Report of the Priorities and Development Committee, p. 94

23. ibid., p. 7

24. ibid.

25. Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 1. The following outline of events in the rise of coalitions depends on Hutchinson. See also A. Chacon, "Coalition: A Model for Export?" in International Review of Mission LXXI, No. 283 (July 1982), p. 378-381; R. Hutchinson, "Ecumenical Witness in Canada: Social Action Coalitions" in the same issue of IRM ; and K. Hockin, "Mission and Liberation in the Canadian Scene," IRM LXIII, No. 250 (April 1974), p. 161-175

26. Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 46

27. Assembly Minutes, 1972, p. 63. The Ecumenical Institute, formerly The Canadian School of Missions, was renamed "Ecumenical Forum" in 1972.

28. Minutes , p. 10

29. Minutes , 1976, p. 83

30. Minutes , p. 87

31. Minutes , p. 88

ASSIMILATION, TRANSFORMATION, OR OPPOSITION?

patterns and models for the cultural integration of the Dutch Calvinist community in Canada

by Aileen Van Ginkel

Introduction

An area of study currently occupying many Canadian historians is the multicultural composition of the population of Canada. Questions under investigation relate to motivations for immigration to Canada, characteristics of various ethnic groups, and the effect of these groups on Canadian society. A major interest is that of cultural integration, raising the questions of: how did Canada's immigrant groups seek to become part of their host society? how were they affected by their new cultural surroundings in doing so? and how did the host society receive them?

This paper concerns itself with the related question of cultural integration, and reviews the process of integration displayed particularly by the Dutch Calvinist community in Canada.

In many ways the Dutch Calvinist community is defined more by its religious orientation than by its ethnic background. Although national origin tends to reinforce it, it is their Reformed traditions which tend to shape the identity of many of the Dutch immigrants who came to Canada. Primary attention is given in this paper to how the traditions embodied especially in the Christian Reformed Church influenced the ways in which the Dutch Calvinist immigrants sought to integrate themselves into Canadian society.

A. Patterns of Integration

Mapping the process of cultural integration in any immigrant community is difficult because the process occurs at various levels with varied patterns. At the levels of language and citizenship, for instance, Dutch Calvinists tended to acculturate readily, while at the same time they resisted structural assimilation of many kinds.

1) Language and Citizenship

Comparative studies of integration emphasize the point that Dutch immigrants have a low language-retention rate. Alan Rees-Powell's study of Dutch and Italian immigrants in Edmonton cites a report of the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1961) which ranks the Dutch third, after the English and the French, in "having little or no language difficulties." [1] A.A.C. Cavelaars notes that little Dutch was taught to the children of Dutch Catholic immigrants in lower British Columbia. [2] Rene Breugelmans cites Professor Watson Kirkconnell whose examination of Canadian

census figures revealed that in 1931 only 32.8% of the Dutch ethnic group still used their "ancestral" language as their mother tongue. This compares to percentages of other European groups as follows: German, 58.2%; Danish, 70.1%; Norwegian, 74.5%; Swedish, 75.8%; and all others over 85%. [3] Breugelmans asserts that the tendency of the Dutch to quickly use English did not reverse itself when the post-World War II immigrants arrived in Canada.

The religious separation of many of these immigrants did little, writes Breugelmans, "to counteract their readiness to integrate linguistically." [4] This accords with his statement that the Dutch consciousness of ethnic origin was rooted more in a "religious group identity than in a language-based nationalistic feeling." [5] The early adoption of the English language in worship services certainly underscores Breugelman's point. The Christian Reformed congregations established in Canada before the Second World War became English-speaking within one generation. [6] Although language became problematic again upon the arrival of the post-war immigrants, accommodations were made, and the congregation soon became English-speaking once more. [7] The churches had certainly not become bastions to protect the immigrants' mother tongue. [8]

Citizenship and allegiance were also not points of contention in the Dutch Calvinist community. Readers of Calvinist Contact, a Reformed periodical dating back to 1945, were encouraged to show allegiance to the Queen of England; "the thing that any immigrant must do," they read, "is not to resent this process of a change in nationality and allegiance of the heart, but to let God work by His Spirit in hearts which He, in His inscrutable providence, has already caused to love Canada as the second fatherland of ourselves, and the first love of our children." [9]

2) Social Integration

On the level of social integration, Dutch Calvinists were more reluctant to consider themselves to be "Canadians". They continued to forge their primary social ties within the Reformed community, and the entire family was involved in church-sponsored social activities. Although the immigrants did not tend to congregate physically in certain residential areas, and so had some social contacts outside of the church community, most Dutch Calvinists were more comfortable socially within the bounds of church membership.

Social interaction in the church as well as communal worship was encouraged as a means of fostering the religious identity and purpose of the Dutch Calvinist immigrants. Rev. Adam Persenaire in the "Young People's Page" of Contact wrote:

> Especially in this country we need to keep in contact with each other. We should seek each other's fellowship, however, not only because the Young People's Society offers us a welcome change from the drab and monotonous routine of our ordinary lives; but especially because we feel that, as young people, we must be well grounded in the principals [sic] of the word of God; so that, in the years to come, we may be able to take our places in the Church; and furthermore, as Christian men and women, may make a salutary impact upon our Canadian environment. [10]

Men's societies, young men's societies, ladies' societies, girls' clubs and boys' clubs appeared almost as soon as a church was organized; or, as was the case in Belleville, Ontario, where a ladies' society of the Trenton Christian Reformed Church met, they might be the centre for the organization of a new congregation. [11] Married women with families appeared to need this kind of social activity more than most other groups in the churches because they were tied to their homes, especially if they lived in rural areas, more than their husbands or children were, and they often suffered more from homesickness. [12]

K. Ishwaran's study of the Reformed community in Holland Marsh, Ontario, makes the observation, "Within the fold of their church, the Dutch find their family life institutionally embedded and secure." [13] Thus, as might be expected, marriage outside the Christian Reformed community was not encouraged.

The social importance of the church was not restricted to social fellowship alone. It also served as an unofficial business community for some, and officially as a source of social services for those in need. This latter function was at first undertaken directly by the immigration societies which provided jobs and housing for the immigrants. In 1952, the local Toronto immigration society converted a house into the Immigration Reception Centre, a place where new arrivals could stay if no housing had yet been provided for them. In the same year the Christian Immigration Council for Eastern Canada (made up of the local immigration societies) organized the Christian Reformed Immigration Co-operative Medical and Hospital Society to provide medical and hospital insurance to new immigrants. [14] As Christian Reformed congregations grew more financially stable, they were able to take on, through their deaconates, care for the financial and material needs of their members.

As some pastors surmised, the role of the institutional church in the lives of its members was greater than it had been in the Netherlands. The church, contrary to some clergymen's intentions, seemed to be more of a hindrance than a help when it came to social integration. The Rev. Henry Numan warned that the church was becoming an island for too many, a place where immigrants received plenty of comfort but not enough encouragement to fulfill their calling as Reformed Christians in Canada. [15]

3) Education

Of the various Dutch Calvinist denominations in Canada, the Christian Reformed Church experienced the most significant growth in the years from 1945 - 1985; at the present time its congregations number 250. In part because of their larger numbers, but also because of the particular set of dynamics in their denomination, members of the Christian Reformed Church were the most active among Dutch Calvinist immigrants in establishing the various structures associated with the Reformed community in Canada.

Next to the establishment of the churches, the immigrants' major concern was to set up Christian schools. Before 1945 three Christian schools had opened their doors to students: in Holland Marsh, Ontario; Lacombe, Alberta; and Vancouver, British Columbia. By 1960 the number of schools had increased to 33, and by 1985 114 schools have been established -- 68 of them in Ontario, 26 in British Columbia, 13 in Alberta and 7 scattered throughout the remaining Canadian provinces. [16]

In 1954 the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools, closely related to the National Union of Christian Schools (now called Christian Schools International or CSI) in Grand Rapids, Michigan, was set up to meet the common requirements of the schools, especially as they related to the Ontario government's Ministry of Education. Similar organizations were set up in Alberta (District 11 of CSI) and in British Columbia (Society of Christian Schools -- British Columbia).

By 1956, a small group of persons in Toronto, Ontario got together to discuss the possibilities for Christian higher education, and formed the Association for Reformed Scientific Studies. Their dreams of founding a Christian university in Canada were nourished and given shape under the leadership of Dr. Evan Runner, a professor of philosophy at Calvin College. Undergoing a name change in 1965 to become the Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship (AACS), the organization continued to sponsor study conferences and publications. In 1967 it established the Institute for Christian Studies (ICS), which offered full-time graduate-level programs and

continued to sponsor conferences and publications. When in 1983 ICS obtained its government charter allowing it to grant the Master of Philosophical Foundations degree, it merged with AACS into one structure which retained the ICS name.

Christian undergraduate colleges were established in Canada at a later date. The King's College began offering college-level programs in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1979; Redeemer College in Hamilton, Ontario first began teaching students in 1982.

Various journalistic endeavours were undertaken in the Reformed community in Canada. The Canadian Calvinist dates back to 1945 when it was first published in Edmonton. Contact's first issue came out in 1945 in Hamilton. The two periodicals merged in 1952 to become Calvinist Contact, which continues to be published, now from St. Catharines, Ontario. While operating outside of ecclesiastical auspices, Calvinist Contact came to function as the major newspaper for the Reformed community. Church and Nation, established in 1956, performed more like a journal and forum for opinion until it folded in 1970. The Christian Vanguard, an organ of the Christian Action Foundation, which was published out of Edmonton during the 1960s, changed its name to Vanguard in 1970. From that time on, until it folded in 1980, it was published out of Toronto, eventually under the auspices of Wedge Publishig Foundation. Vanguard's readership went further beyond Reformed circles than Church and Nation's did; as a journal for opinion it also went beyond theological/ecclesiastical topics to address a wide range of current issues. In the wake of Vanguard have come two more recent periodicals: Christian Renewal, published out of St. Catharines, Ontario, and Catalyst, a political affairs tabloid published by Citizens for Public Justice.

4) Economic Integration

Although the church community provided some economic benefit to members of the Christian Reformed Church, most people conducted their economic affairs outside it as well. The lack of evidence to the contrary indicates that, although they warned against the dangers of materialism, the clerical leadership of the Christian Reformed Church generally approved of the tendency of their parishioners to seek economic independence through owning farms and small businesses. One area of the Canadian economy which did receive comment, and much of it, was organized labour. [17]

Until the mid-1950s Dutch Calvinist immigrants migrated to rural areas. Using 1951 and 1961 census figures, Groenenberg calculates that 60% of

Netherlanders in Canada lived on farms or in small towns in 1951. Of the general Canadian population at the time, 38% lived in rural areas. After some immigration restrictions were lifted in the mid-1950s, many immigrants began to settle in cities, so that by 1961 only 44% of the Netherlanders lived in rural areas. [18] Many of the more recent immigrants came with industrial skills, and found jobs which often required union membership.

In 1952 the Christian Labour Association of Canada (CLAC) was organized in order to provide an alternative to what were called the "secular" Canadian unions. Thus the general picture of rapid assimilation into Canadian economic structures does not hold for all of the labour sector of the Dutch Calvinist community.

Although they were in a different predicament than their urban colleagues, agriculturalists also had their own organizations. By 1956 the Christian Farmers Federation had been established in Ontario; soon after, it expanded into Alberta.

5) Political Integration

A number of Dutch Calvinist immigrants were concerned with what they perceived to be their political task in Canada. Their intention was not to assimilate into Canadian political structures but to transform them in accordance with Christian principles.

Their objections to the Canadian political structures were based not on a rejection of freedom and democratic principles but on the perceived loss of the Christian belief which they thought ought to underlie such principles. An item in Calvinist Contact included the statement, "It is the Church's duty to tell the world that democracy only guarantees freedom if it is willing to acknowledge God's authority and the governing authorities, which govern in the name of God." [19]

Canadian citizenship entailed responsible political action. Dave Valstar wrote regularly in Calvinist Contact about Christian political responsibility. "It is unthinkable," he wrote, "that a Christian, standing in the expectant tension of his beliefs, does not become consumed by his zeal and make an effort to proclaim the meaning of God's law for political life." [20] The church and its members were, in this view, expected to give direction to the nation and to the government which ruled it. The Dutch Calvinist community was to influence theologically all Canadian Christians in order to awaken them to their political task. "Only in this way," stated a Calvinist Contact article, "is there hope that orthodox Christianity in this land, now bounded by the false nature-grace dilemma, will loose itself from its

unfruitful isolation and join with us in advocating the spreading of God's Kingdom throughout all areas of life." [21]

As some Dutch Calvinists saw it, the situation they found in Canada was not ideal. Canadian churches had abandoned, they thought, their task of giving direction to the state and the nation because they were content to have religion relegated out of the public domain to the private; the Reformed vision of the church's role in society was much greater than Canadian practice allowed for. The church was the guardian of the Christian gospel, wrote the Rev. Maarten Woudstra, and this gospel was the only means of fighting the unbelief which was undermining the nation's freedom. [22]

Christian political participation was the vehicle through which the church was to make clear the claims of the relevance of the Christian gospel to the nation's spiritual direction and identity and to the maintenance of true freedom and democracy. While the established Canadian political parties were discarded as possible avenues for Canadian political action, the formation of an alternative political party was an alternative which was discussed but not realized. Political action through means of various organizations was, however, a regular practice.

The Christian Action Foundation was set up in Edmonton, Alberta in 1962, in order to provided a Reformed voice on the Canadian political scene. It merged in 1971 with the Committee for Justice and Liberty, which was originally formed in 1963 to help the CLAC in its legal battles with the secular labour unions. In later years the Committee for Justice and Liberty (renamed Citizens for Public Justice in 1982) widened its scope of activity, taking up the cause for justice on behalf of not only the Reformed community but also various underprivileged groups in Canada, especially native people's groups.

The political integration of the Dutch Calvinists was both fostered and hindered by these activities. Although responsible citizenship was encouraged, assimilation into Canadian political structures as they were was unacceptable because of the pervasive church-state separation in Canada. As was the case with labour unions, total assimilation was blocked by the parallel political structures established by the Dutch Calvinists.

B. Models for Integration

Churches, schools and other various organizations all played a role in the manner in which the Reformed immigrants were integrated into Canadian society. Not only did they affect the degrees to which integration took place; they also reflected the models for integration which were at work in

the process.

The patterns of integration which were established by the first generation of Dutch Calvinist immigrants in Canada resulted as much from the pressures exerted by the world around them as it did from their own initiatives. For the purposes of this study, it is those initiatives directed from within the Reformed community which will receive attention.

The integration process now spans three generations of Dutch Calvinists in Canada. Each of those generations has dealt in different ways with the problems it poses, but the models for integration which they have worked with stem from those established by the first generation.

A helpful way for gaining understanding of the first generation's debate about integration is to focus on what was said by the clergy of the Christian Reformed Church during the 1950s. On the one hand were the American pastors and "Home Missionaries" who gave primary leadership to the fledgling congregations in the early years of Dutch Calvinist immigration. On the other hand were the Dutch pastors, themselves immigrants, who began accepting calls to the young churches in Canada from 1952 onwards.

The Christian Reformed Home Missions Committee, which had helped to establish fourteen Christian Reformed congregations between 1905 and 1940 had almost ceased its activity in Canada by 1945. [23] With the onset of the post-World War II wave of Dutch Calvinist immigrants, however, Home Missionaries again took to the Canadian field. The peak of Home Mission work in Canada occurred in 1954 at which time the Home Missions Committee reported to that year's synod of the Christian Reformed Church that the "emergency" was over. [24]

After they had become established congregations, a number of Canadian churches, especially those dating from before 1946, continued to call American pastors. These men were to be responsible in theory for only one congregation, but often in practice they carried out the church-extension tasks of the Home Missionaries and acted as "fieldmen" in the placement and settlement of the immigrants. [25]

American ministers and Home Missionaries generally promoted the process of indigenization of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada, but they did so more in terms of "Americanization" than of "Canadianization". (John Webster Grant suggests that there was no defined process whereby an immigrant church could become a "Canadian" church. That indigenization often took the form of Americanization was due, writes Grant, "not so much to a defect in Canadian hospitality as to the availability of an American formula of

religious acculturation to which no readily accessible Canadian counterpart exists." [26]) One of their aims was to make the Canadian Christian Reformed Churches English-speaking as soon as possible, thus helping them avoid the prolonged period of isolation experienced by the Christian Reformed congregations in the United States.

On the other hand, they promoted separation from Canadian culture through the establishment of church-sponsored social activities and clubs. Sunday School, choirs, youth groups, men's and women's Bible-study groups, church picnics and bazaars all took up much of the immigrants' leisure time. Church life and social life for immigrant members of the Christian Reformed Church were, in effect, one and the same.

Beyond social activities, however, few American pastors or Home Missionaries actively encouraged the establishment of non-ecclesiastical Christian organizations. Although they approved of Christian schools in principle, most were unwilling to push for their establishment in circumstances of economic hardship and small support groups. Limited funds and the scattered nature of immigrant settlements made Christian schools, much less Christian labour unions and political parties, a low priority for the American clerical leadership. Their efforts were concentrated instead on initial church establishment, on strengthening the ties among church members, and on urging them to quickly adopt the English language.

Although they genuinely appreciated the help which the American pastors gave them, some of the immigrants began to express dissatisfaction with their new church life. Their criticism tended to centre on the American ministers' sermons and leadership. Those who had immigrated to Canada after the Second World War had had an ecclesiastical and cultural experience different from those who had immigrated to Canada in the first decades of the twentieth century. The more recent immigrants had lived through the 1920s and 1930s in the Netherlands, decades which many Dutch Calvinists considered to be their moment of greatest prominence in Dutch history since the Dutch provinces had gained independence from the Catholic Hapsburg empire in the seventeenth century. [27] They had participated in the social and theological revival of Calvinism led by Abraham Kuyper towards the end of the nineteenth century, they had voted Calvinists, such as Hendrik Colyn, into positions of political power, and they were famililiar with the theological works of prominent Reformed thinkers. They were accustomed to Calvinist labour unions, political parties, social clubs, business organizations and above all to Calvinist schools and universities.

In their churches they expected to hear sermons which challenged their intellectual capabilities. [28] The North American brand of Calvinism with which the post-war immigrants were confronted appeared to some to be a weaker version of what they had experienced in the Netherlands. The preaching of the American ministers tended to reveal a strain of Methodism which was unfamiliar to them. The sermons generally lacked evidence of exegetical expertise, and tended to focus on moral applications of Biblical passages. Although some of the immigrants grew to appreciate this style of preaching, others grew impatient with it and with the efforts of the American ministers to slow down their push for Christian schools. Despite their continued appreciation for the American ministers' work in establishing orthodox Calvinist churches in Canada and in helping to provide for many of their their material needs, many post-war immigrants began to look for ministers from the Netherlands for more familiar sermons and for help in founding Christian organizations. In response to the objections raised by some of the American pastors against calling Dutch pastors, [29] A.D. Koens wrote:

> Shut the door tight (against the Dutch ministers) and then sleep and dream. Through sleeping the Christian schools in the States came decades too late, the Christian labour unions' existence became nearly impossible and Christian radio was nearly forgotten. But the nice dreams about the church with her preachers and leadership are also worthy. They bring wonderful rest in which nothing is disturbed. That is why the lay-members will be accepted but not the preachers who with their better leadership and knowledge of Calvinism would likely disturb our rest. [30]

The Dutch pastors who accepted calls from Canadian churches tried to make their sermons a "constructive whole", the points of which related to a central theme taken from a biblical passage. The sermon was to be focused on Christ's work and on the history of salvation. [31] There was less emphasis on personal salvation, and more on the "cosmological" significance of Christ and his work, that is, the significance of salvation for all of God's creation, for society, and for social structures. [32]

The leadership given by the Dutch pastors to the Canadian churches also reflected the changing cultural milieu which had been left behind. The social structure of the Netherlands, which organized all social, economic and political functions into parallel columns according to religion or ideology, [33] appeared to be breaking down after World War II.

Perceiving the role of orthodox Calvinism in the Netherlands to be dwindling, some of the Dutch pastors who were called to Christian Reformed churches in Canada immigrated there with a sense of mission. They hoped that their leadership, informed by their Calvinist theological and cultural backgrounds, would make Calvinism a major force in moulding Canadian culture. The following quote is but one example of statements which revealed their conviction that God had called Dutch Calvinists to establish a Calvinist presence in Canada. The Rev. Maarten Woudstra wrote in Church and Nation: "There are men and women who are on fire to attempt the Christianization of Canadian society ... when will God offer us another opportunity?" [34]

A significant debate between the American and Dutch pastors was carried out in church periodicals throughout most of 1956. The issue under discussion was presumably a question of nationality -- the Dutch ministers stressing the Americans' ignorance of the differences between Canada and the U.S., and the American ministers questioning the judgment of the Dutch. As some participants recognized, however, the "Canada-USA" debate disguised the fundamental source of division, namely that between two different understandings of what role the Dutch Calvinist community ought to have in North America -- in our terms, two different models for integration.

Typical of one side of the debate was Dr. A.H. Oussoren's caustic article complaining of American chauvinism as portrayed by the Home Missions Board, which, he said, sought to bring Dutch immigrants into an American church without understanding the task of Dutch Calvinists in Canada. "Our churches," he wrote, "must Canadianize immediately. But we do not want to Americanize -- not now and not ever." [35]

The American response in most instances was to downplay Canadian-American differences. The Rev. Leonard Verduin wrote that the American knows of "no 'great difference' between Canada and the United States." In his view the Dutch were more foreign to Canada than were the Americans. "The difference," he wrote,

> between Canada and the States is remarkably less than is the difference between Canada and the Netherlands. The Netherlands is still a part of the Old World; people there still feel the spirit of the Middle Ages. And Canada is a part of the New World, and gives evidence of a new cultural spirit. He who comes out of the Netherlands to Canada will have many more problems of adaptation than he who goes out of the United States to live in Canada. [36]

The issues of nationality and leadership were crucial to many Dutch ministers and post-war Dutch Calvinist immigrants because they were so closely related to what they thought to be the task of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada, a task they thought was complicated by the attempts to form the newly-established congregations in the American mould. The Rev. Henry Numan, for instance, wrote that the church could not fulfil its task in Canada if it carried with it an American character:

> We have all respect for what the Christian Reformed Church of the States has done in Canada. Yet surely they do not want and may not do this in order to make their own church bigger? ... The church is bounded by the borders of the nation in which it lives. And the church in Canada does not have the job of strengthening a foreign church in its actions and membership but of working to reform and enlighten its own society. People cannot participate in social, political and other functions within a nation and then lift church life out of it. [37]

The Rev. Henry Van Andel also complained in De Wachter about the Canadian congregations of the Christian Reformed Church being controlled from outside Canada. In his reply to the criticism he received over his article, he said that his "intention was to plead for the peculiar character of the Canadian churches, which ... must tune in directly to their call to the Canadian nation". [38]

Answering the call, reforming and enlightening the Canadian nation, and doing what was necessary in Canada eventually came down to the same thing -- instituting orthodox Calvinist churches and their allied organizations in Canada. A woman who sent in a letter to the editor of De Wachter wrote, in support of the Rev. Van Andel:

> We, especially our youth, are becoming not Americans but Canadians. And if you plead for our own style -- not American, not Dutch, but suited to Canada -- then we will stand behind you. Our own synod, Christian press, radio broadcast, schools, high schools, evangelism, women's societies, Christian labour unions -- that's how it must go. Then our youth will have in their own country an ideal before them for the upbuilding of God's kingdom. [39]

These Dutch Calvinist immigrants were willing to be Canadianized, but only on their own terms -- terms defined by themselves and their pastors and

not by the American ministers. Yet, those who wanted to establish a "Canadian" lifestyle such as that described in the quote above were in reality trying to transplant their former way of life into their new country. Mr. A. Oussoren's description of such a lifestyle is more obviously related to the Dutch culture left behind:

> We want our own lifestyle, built on the foundation of the confessional statements of our fathers. We want to work this out with God's help within the scope of what is held before us by the renowned universities of Kampen and Amsterdam. We do not wish to Canadianize indiscriminately, but we want to adopt, while preserving the character of our theology and Christian culture, that of Canada which the touchstone of Scripture can sustain. [40]

The Dutch ministers were trying to create, not so much a Canadian church as opposed to an American church, as a Dutch-Canadian church, that is, a church which would maintain Dutch orthodox Calvinism in a Canadian setting. Total assimilation into Canadian society was therefore out of the question.

This maintenance of Dutch Calvinism was to be undertaken not for the purpose of remaining isolated, but so that their tradition would remain effective. If it were to be lost, then the establishment of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada would be meaningless. The Rev. Klaas Hart wrote, "We want to fulfil our calling in this land and come to the Canadian people with the message of the Calvinist Reformation which we think they so bitterly need." [41] Discriminate integration, guided by their Calvinist experience and principles, was the watchword of the Dutch ministers' model of integration.

C. Postscript: Into the Second and Third Generations, 1960 - 1985

Questions related to the integration of the Dutch Calvinist community into Canadian life continued into the 1960s, but by that time the debate was being carried out by a new set of personalities. The Dutch pastors' concerns were voiced increasingly by laypeople, many of whom had attended Calvin College where they came under the influence of Dr. Evan Runner, a philosophy professor who had made it his mission to transmit the thinking of Dutch Kuyperian philosophers, especially that of Herman Dooyeweerd, to North America. The American pastors' arguments were in turn taken up by the intellectual element in the Christian Reformed Church which was represented by the Reformed Journal. [42]

The Canadians continued to push for the establishment of separate

Christian organizations which would parallel the educational, political, and economic institutions of North America. The Americans shunned the idea of separate organizations out of their own reaction to the isolation-mentality which they were struggling against in the American Christian Reformed community. [43]

The integration debate began to lose its Canadian-American flavour throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, as it took shape, and continues to take shape, within the very segment of the Dutch Calvinist community most influenced by the Dutch pastors' "cultural strategy" of establishing parallel Christian organizations in Canada. This cultural strategy drew increasing criticism from some who, in Reformed Journal style, wondered how Calvinists could effect change in Canada while maintaining strict separation from other more powerful groups which had similar goals. The push for a more ecumenical strategy has had its impact on the churches, many of which are increasingly involved in local social service projects with their Christian neighbours, and on the schools, many of which are becoming increasingly interdenominational. Of the non-educational institutions, Citizens for Public Justice reflects the ecumenical model for integration most clearly.

The separate organization model continues to have strong adherents. Representatives from the Christian Labour Associations of Canada, for instance, warn against the idea of participating with Canadian church groups to promote cultural transformation, pointing to the Social Gospel/left-wing orientation of many of the organizations with which Calvinists are asked to ally themselves.

Those who consider themselves to be ecumenically-minded are accused of watering down and abandoning Reformed principles, while those who fight to maintain the separate organizations are accused of being ineffectual and in some cases of displaying a "world-flight" mentality. John Bolt, in a paper given by him at a conference held at Redeemer College in May 1985, describes the polarization in the Reformed community in Canada as a struggle between those who emphasize "catholicity" and those who emphasize "truth". [44]

As a means of understanding the models of integration at work, the "catholicity vs. truth" dilemma can perhaps be better stated in terms of the Christian's attitude toward his/her surrounding culture. Using the categories of H. Richard Niebuhr's Christ and Culture one could say that the sides increasingly appear to stack up as those favouring a "Christ in culture" approach against those preferring a "Christ against culture" stance. [45] Neither of these models adequately measures up, however, to the expectations

which the first generation of Dutch Calvinists in Canada had for the parallel Christian organizations they established. Perhaps the tensions inherent in their "Christ transforms culture" strategy are ultimately unbearable, and demand a choice between ecumenicity and traditional identity. Or perhaps a new model for integration -- a new cultural strategy -- may yet be found. Such questions, however, tempt speculations beyond the limits of historical-sociological research, and are best left untouched by the study at hand.

In conclusion, the questions of integration as they relate to the Dutch Calvinist community in Canada must be examined from a variety of angles, and are not fully answered by an exploration of how that community viewed the integration process. This exploration attempt reveals a story of a certain group of Christians who consciously sought to understand their faith in terms of their new culture. The Dutch Calvinist immigrants were shaped in many ways by their traditions, but the patterns already present in the Canadian host society also influenced the paths they took in finding a place to stand in Canada. The story must continue to be told "from-the-outside-in".

NOTES

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CHARLES CHINIQUY'S THE PRIEST, THE WOMAN AND THE CONFESSIONAL: PROTESTANT "PORNOGRAPHY"?

by Paul Laverdure

This paper describes and evaluates some of the contribution of Charles Chiniquy (1809 - 1899) to Canadian religious life in the last quarter of the 19th century. Once a French Roman Catholic priest, Chiniquy converted to "Bible" Christianity while controversies over his financial and sexual dealings raged (1856). As a Presbyterian minister (1860), he became as well known for his anti-Catholic speeches as he had been for his temperance crusades while a priest. This paper examines the first of his works as a Presbyterian minister, The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional (1875), and explores the literary concepts of rhetorical repetition and expansion in order to understand more fully the anti-Catholic mentality within Protestant circles.

1875 was a key year in Chiniquy's life and in many of the religious communities in Montreal. After almost twenty-five years of chaotic travelling, controversies, and ephemeral results, Chiniquy settled in Montreal. As the minister of the French Protestant church of St. Jean on Dorchester near St. Urbain, [1] he attracted crowds which made it necessary to move to the Craig Street Church. Disorders reappeared and Chiniquy was brought to the Côté Street Church, escorted by three hundred Protestants and students of Presbyterian College. [2] Of course, there were more troubles and more speaking tours, notably in California, in Australia (where martial law was needed to calm the people [3]), and in New Zealand, but Montreal became his home. Bishop Bourget recognized this by sending a circular to his clergy concerning Mr. Chiniquy and the Daily Witness. [4] The Witness and the French Protestant L'Aurore had begun to publish almost daily instalments about Chiniquy's activities.

1875 saw the appointment of Principal Douglas Harvey MacVicar, the founder of Presbyterian College, Montreal, as the Chairman of the newly-formed Presbyterian Board of French Evangelization. He brought with him several years' experience as an active member of the non-denominational French Canadian Missionary Society and, until his death in 1903, the "era of this leadership as Chairman ... covered the years of most vigorous, extensive, and successful French evangelization in the history of Canada." [5] L"Aurore kept box-scores of Chiniquy's converts throughout the end of the 1870s just as Les Mélanges Religieux had once kept score of his temperance pledges through the 1840s. [6] His notoriety was equal to his fame. He and MacVicar worked well

together. Later, Presbyterian College conferred on Chiniquy the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

1875 also saw the Presbyterian Union in Canada. Presbyterians and other Christians had previously found, as Professor John Moir wrote,

> a common and unifying cause in such issues as sabbath observance and temperance. This was producing a sort of "omnibus Protestantism," based on shared religious beliefs and social attitudes and on the abiding fear of Roman Catholicism. That constant fear of Roman Catholic domination, which had been at the root of so many of Canada's troubles in the 1850s and 1860s, was reawakened in the 1870s ... [7]

Though such ecumenical feelings had not caused the continuation of the inter-denominational French Canadian Missionary Society, it did signal the universal attraction to Protestants of Chiniquy's preaching. An ex-Roman Catholic priest was always welcome.

That year also saw the publication of his first book since the Manual of the Temperance Society (1847). It became one of the most widely known and translated books of the late nineteenth century in Canada, the U.S., and Europe. [8] Between 1875 and 1886, twenty-nine editions of The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional were published. [9] The Daily Witness published extracts and rebuttals of criticisms through 1875. [10] Catholic circles in New York labelled it "a mass of filth and falsehood from beginning to end. No respectable person in this country would consent to touch the book, although in the scum of the populace there will always be found scavengers ready to pick up and feast on offal." [11] In London, England, the Jesuit Sydney Smith said that "To write or to circulate such a work, which cannot fail to pollute the minds of its readers, is an outrage upon decency ..." [12] A bibliographic entry of that time names it as one of the most evil books published in Canada and apologizes for mentioning it. [13] At the centre of a great controversy, it excited the sectional and religious passions of Canadians in the 1880s. It sold edition after edition; Chiniquy's influence grew among French and English Protestants. [14] Marcel Trudel, Chiniquy's biographer (whose work, unfortunately, has never been translated into English), dismisses this book with a few words, denouncing it as the wicked production of a disgusting imagination. [15] It is necessary to review this important book to understand, in a more complete way, the religious mentalities and the attitudes of anti-Catholicism in th late 19th century in

Canada. To do so, this paper will first summarize under the headings of popular mentality, and of women and sexuality, the insights Chiniquy presents. Secondly, it will pursue the theme that Chiniquy developed the anti-Catholic genre through repetition and growth.

The Popular Imagination

The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional, which attempted to prove the evil effects of the confessional on morality and on society, affords several clues to the readers' world-view as well as some insights into Chiniquy's own mental landscape. His book refers to a world-view which encompasses Heloise and Abelard, the moral theologians, Dens and Liguori, Migne, Baronius, Pius IV, Innocent III, Father Gavazzi, St. Teresa, Savanarola, various encyclicals, the "Brahmin" religion, Mormonism, the Chicago fire, and the infallibility question. Of course, these references are Chiniquy's own, but they hint at a corresponding audience capable of appreciating such references. In one instance, Chiniquy refers to an obscure saint, Sainte Philomène, [16] who has since been dropped from the Catholic calendar. Pierre Savard, in his recent work, gives independent evidence of the great fame this now little-known figure had once enjoyed. Chiniquy is not an entirely idiosyncratic personality. His book was popular both for its subject-matter and its accessibility. It is now a storehouse of 19th-century attitudes towards various elements within the popular culture.

This suggests the relative homogeneity at that time of religious and secular culture in Canadian society. The subject-matter (an anti-confessional argument) and the form of this book (verbose anecdotes bolstered with profuse biblical quotations) [17] make for unusual reading material in the late 20th century, but it was a best-seller in its day. It speaks of a great interest in religious questions on the part of readers who had some familiarity with the terms of debate.

The level of debate was not high. When Chiniquy states that

> Every one knows that the Septuagint Bible was the Bible that was generally read and used by Jesus Christ and the Hebrew people, in our Saviour's days. Its language was evidently the one spoken by Christ and understood by his hearers [18]

one may assume, therefore, with Pierre Savard, that the clergy were little better trained than the people. [19] Chiniquy, of course, was in his sixties when this statement was written, so one may date its origin to the early nineteenth century, when Chiniquy was educated. Was this statement, however, challenged in the 1880s? Either educated people were not reading this book,

and this book then is an example of the reading materials of the lower classes, or educated people were not greatly separated from the rest of the population. This is evidence for the growing middle class in Canada. Both possibilities are probably correct and need further study. In any case, Chiniquy's popularity cannot be disputed. His book is representative of some of the reading habits of Canadians in the nineteenth century. Since he was an orator, one may also assume his influence on the illiterate.

Women and Sexuality

Besides accessibility, another reason for Chiniquy's popularity must be his liberal use of sensational innuendos of sexual misconduct throughout his book. Thes innuendos rest upon the assumption that women, innocent temptresses, are the property of their families. If they lead independent spiritual lives under the direction of their confessors, so that they are "at the feet of that spiritual physician showing him all the newly made wounds of her soul; explaining all her constant temptations, her bad thoughts, her most intimate secret desires and sins", they are bound to lead independent moral lives. "... A single word of those intimate conversations [in the confessional] would be followed by an act of divorce on the part of the husband, if it were known by him." Some women may even be led to love their priest " ... in a most criminal way ... too monstrous to be repeated." [20] Yet, the priest is usually an ugly beast who, nevertheless, has an irresistible attraction and power over the female penitent. [21]

As for the poor, wronged husband, the rightful proprietor of the object of these criminal attractions, he languishes, celibate, in order to curtail his wife's activities and to ascertain the paternity of ensuing children. The populations of Catholic countries, such as Spain and France, are, therefore, declining. This causes their weakness in international affairs. If the husband ignores his wife's infidelity, he becomes the bread-winner for someone else's family. [22] With over-population, Catholic countries, like Ireland, are poverty-stricken and weak in international affairs.

The picture Chiniquy draws, besides being disjointed in some places, is an instructive one. First, there is a tension between the independence of women as free individuals choosing their spiritual directors and their dependence on either the priest or the husband. As property, they are torn between the power structures of Church or family. In the 1880s, women were considered by men such as Chiniquy, and other anti-clericals, as objects fought over and won. (Could there be some inspirations from Chiniquy's

turbulent past?) Stories of women who dress as men and escape from their families [23] may be reflections of former female attempts at self-emancipation. Chiniquy, however, sees scandal in a woman dressing as a man.

Secondly, Chiniquy's emphasis on the sexual theme prompts some remarks on the psychology of the anti-clerical writer. Hofstader writes that "Anti-Catholicism has always been the pornography of the Puritan." [24] David Brion Davis has taken this idea further and suggested that writings of this kind were the "projection of forbidden desires." [25] The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional could be the product of a repressive, authoritarian, Victorian Canadian society fascinated and repelled by risqué insinuations, as well as the product of Chiniquy's mind. In accordance with the prevailing morality, the ugly priest and the fallen women could be self-righteously repudiated, but the books were bought, nevertheless. With a feeling of self-satisfaction, the late nineteenth-century reader safely indulged some vicarious escapist participation. It could be repudiated easily as monstrous, but it could also be read in the name of self-education against the errors of Rome. The reader united himself to such writings in order to denounce their subject-matter.

Repetition and Change

The anti-Catholic genre of writing is certainly not new; it was a standard element of 19th-century liberal culture with a long tradition behind it reaching to the Reformation and beyond. In 1849, "more than 2,200,000 pages of such anti-Catholic tracts were being circulated yearly ..." [26] Above all, far

> more attention, however, was paid the confessional as a means for priestly iniquity. A host of writers painted the clerical members of the Catholic church as lecherous rogues who used this instrument of their holy office simply as a device for the seduction and ruin of their fair penitents. To Protestants this conclusion seemed inevitable from the nature of the confessional. [27]

Chiniquy made a substantial contribution to this tradition with his many books and pamphlets. Is The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional anything other than another repetition of the anti-Catholic genre?

As John Higham says, the tradition does not greatly change from one generation to another. [28] Marcel Trudel's L'Influence de Voltaire au Canada makes a strong case that several of Chiniquy's themes and stock illustrations

are derived from Voltaire's writings. [29] In fact, Chiniquy's The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional, in a brief examination, shows the heavy debt it owes to previous authors.

In addition to the writers and theologians mentioned above, he alludes, consciously or unconsciously, to classical images in describing the conquering of women in France. [30] From early Church writers, he refers to Marcion's use of confession. This is probably a borrowing from the Middle Ages and the Reformation debates, since, later, he also revives the ever-popular identification of Rome with the biblical archetype of Babylon, "the mother of harlots," "that great enchantress of souls, whose sect is on the city of the 'seven hills'." [31] When Chiniquy approached his first confession, he "felt bordering on despair from the fear that it was impossible for [him] to remember exactly every thing, and to confess each sin as it occurred." [32] Though this must be proven elsewhere, it is possible Chiniquy turned to Luther for illumination in his anti-Catholic phase.

Chiniquy then revives old arguments from the Jesuit-Jansenist crisis as seen in Pascal's letters. In a reference to Ravaillac, he mentions that assassins are formed in the confessional. In a satirical reference to Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, he describes how the penitents become like corpses without will, thought, or power except that which is given them by a priest.

Chiniquy is also aware of more recent anti-clerical literature. The Priest, the Woman, the Family (Paris, 1845) by Jules Michelet, the famous anti-clerical French historian, may prove to be a great source of borrowings. Besides the similarities in titles, Chiniquy refers to it in denouncing the priest coming between the husband and the wife. [34] In other borrowings, Chiniquy acknowledges that his major stories come from Henrietta Carracciolo's Mysteries of the Neapolitan Convents and Miss Eliza Richardson's My Experience of the Roman Catholic Church. [35] Another story, that of the adultery of a rich man's wife with her priest, [36] which he states to be a Canadian example, seems to come from an American contribution, William Hogan's Auricular Confession. [37] There is a hint of indigenization of anti-clericalism, but Chiniquy, at this time, still faces Europe. In any case, Chiniquy seems to be merely repeating what he has heard or read.

A closer look at Chiniquy's language after some comparison of differing editions reveals some of the growth factors within this literary genre. [38] There are, at times, significant differences between the first French edition of Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal and the English

edition published in the same year. It is almost certain, though there are no indications on the title-page, that the English is the second edition and that it is a translation of the French. Four considerations lead to this conclusion. First, Chiniquy is a French writer. Though he began to preach more often in English, and his subsequent works are, for the most part, published first in English, in 1875 he probably had a translator as he did for his Manual of the Temperance Society. Secondly, Trudel proves that the French edition is a first edition, as mentioned in Gagnon's Essai de bibliographie, [39] so that the English one would be a contemporary or a second edition. Thirdly, there are textual considerations. French terms are used as italicized quotes in the English edition while they are clearly part of the normal narrative in the French. [40] Finally, a great many of the textual differences between the French and the English editions seem to be simplifications of difficult rhetorical passages in the French. [41] Chiniquy, it must always be remembered, was an orator. The important differences in the editions can be summarized under four main headings: the Roman Church, God, priests, and pollution. [42]

"Leur église" or "leur perfide église" becomes "their false religion" or "their cruel and perfidious Church". It is as if the English translator, not wishing at first to grant the title of church to the Romans, later concedes it but, in so doing, heaps an extra epithet as payment for the privilege. "Rome holds people in chains of dogma," the French edition explains, but, in English, the chains become "dark dungeons of her superstition"! [44]

God, in the French version, received comparatively fuller and more appealing descriptions than in the English. Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal, for example, says:

> Le Dieu qui a crée le ciel et la terre est tout puissant. Mais si sa puissance est grande, ses miséricordes le sont encore plus. Un de ses prophètes a dit: "Les miséricordes du Seigneur sont au-dessus de tous les ouvrages de ses mains." [45]

The mercies of God were entirely dropped from the English text. Furthermore, when Chiniquy emphasizes "l'idée d'un Dieu juste, saint et terrible, qui voit tout et pèsera tout dans la balance de la justice eternelle," [46] the English text also ignores the description. When God is mentioned, in English he is the one asked, "... wilt thou rebuke me?" instead of "... recevez-moi, dans votre miséricorde"! [47] Finally, early in the texts, "les jugements de Dieu"

become "eternal damnation," [48] leaving no doubt in anyone's mind at the outset about the uncompromising fierceness of the English God.

The description of priests underwent considerable variation and vagueness. "L'homme" became "confessor". [49] "Confesseurs" became priests. [50] "Ces théologiens" are "those shrewd casuists", practising not theology, "the art of arts," but the "secret art". [51] Finally, "le prêtre" became "the torturer". [52] It is quite a progression!

The "séduisantes paroles" of women's confessors were changed into the "diabolical machinations of their priests." [53] Here again one may see the relationship between seduction and something diabolical. Sexuality and hellfire were never far apart. These "diabolical designs" of the priests crop up again in the English text without any corresponding French original. [54] What are their designs? It is nothing less than to allow the priest to put to the woman "questions which the most depraved woman would never consent to hear from her vilest seducer..." [55] The priest, nonetheless, enjoys "the confidence of his superiors, the respect of the people, and the love of his female penitents," [56] of course, only in English. They must be pleasant tortures, indeed. This brings us to our final category.

In a passage which has no immediate counterpart in French,

> The Church of Rome, as if she had an evil conscience for allowing her priest to hold such close and secret converse with a woman, on such delicate subjects, keeps, as it were, a watchful eye on him while the poor misguided woman is pouring in his ear the filthy burthen of her soul. [57]

She speaks her "most intimate thoughts and desires, and [the] most polluting deeds." [58] She was prompted, naturally, not by ordinary questions, but by infamous and polluting questions [59] which drove her like a deadly poison to love the confessor "in a most criminal way." [60]

In summary, what do such revelations reveal to the reader? The same ideas are present, in essence, in both editions, but some are emphasized more or less. The second English edition emphasizes greatly the diabolical power of the confessing priesthood, forced by a cruel Rome to torture sordid confessions out of less-than-willing penitents who are then irrevocably chained to their priest-lover in degradation, vice, sin, and superstition. God above can only frown, condemn, and rebuke, instead of forgive. Such a frightening picture were the English readers seeing! Why were such additions made to the admittedly horrible original? Did English and mainly Protestant audiences expect, desire, and enjoy these details? Was the added invective

necessary to satisfy an already created expectation, or was it part of an unconscious ongoing process in the literature of anti-clericalism? Mistranslations have here led to a distortion and an addition to the anti-clerical genre -- an addition which continues in subsequent editions whereby whole chapters are added in repetition of the same accusations. [61] Perhaps it will be found that much of hate literature undergoes the same process of growth and intensification with time and transposition from one culture to another.

This leads to a consideration of the reality behind Chiniquy's development of his anti-confessional argument. His use of previous authors' arguments indicates that, indeed, Chiniquy is participating in a literary genre. The rules of this genre, naturally, do not exclude plagiarism, repetition, or even addition. The repetition of previous arguments was likely regarded as bestowing honour upon the arguments and style. It was less an academic defence than a literary reworking of old themes. Let us remember that Chiniquy was a powerful orator, educated in rhetoric; repetition is essential in that tradition. Let us also recall that Chiniquy won prizes in seminary in the classical subject of "amplification française." [62]

Furthermore, anti-Catholicism is a genre with which Chiniquy's audience was familiar. It is a genre from which certain arguments and a set rhetoric were expected. It presupposed a common education, common reading habits, or, at least, common stock images in the popular oral culture. Thus, Chiniquy could openly refer to Dens and to Liguori, to Baronius and to Michelet in acknowledgment of their pre-eminence as stock figures in a developing debate. Lesser authorities, such as Hogan, were probably cited anonymously, until their arguments became important or were classically stated by another writer.

The truth or falsehood of such statements, in an age of emerging modern historiography, could not yet be proven or disproven. That the tradition of anti-clericalism existed, especially in Canadian Liberal circles, and was hallowed by use, was sufficient proof of the truth of individual elements within the tradition. This attitude on the part of the authors and their readers grants the twentieth century a rare insight into the intellectual atmosphere of the 19th-century religious author-controversialist. The concept of truth was different. Tradition was an extraordinarily important concept in an individual's world-view. If one was dissatisfied with elements within one tradition of living or of thought, one repudiated the tradition and adopted another. Then, one trusted that tradition implicitly.

Chiniquy, then, becomes more understandable in his swing from an early Roman Catholicism to an anti-Catholicism. He also becomes understandable in his use of obviously contradictory elements within his adopted tradition. There cannot be a question of sincerity when one finds him contradicting himself to prove a point.

Chiniquy's The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional affords, therefore, considerable insight into the world-view of the late 19th-century North American reader. Particulars, such as individual saints, authors, or stock characters, as well as general ideas, such as tradition or the growth of anti-clericalism, can be illuminated with a study of such literature. Trudel and other authors, overcome by confusion or disgust, have too quickly dismissed this Protestant hate literature -- this Protestant pornography -- when it can reveal the source of prejudices in the use and belief of exaggerated statements on someone else's authority.

NOTES

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4. The Roman Catholic Archives of the Archdiocese of Montreal (AAM), file 402-102; Imprimés, Item: Montreal, 18 mars 1875
5. Robert Lindsey, "Evangelization of the French Canadians by the Presbyterian Church: 1863 - 1925," unpublished B.D. thesis, Victoria University (Toronto: 1956), p. 13
6. Trudel, op. cit., p. 92
7. Moir, op. cit., p. 181
8. AAM (402-102) Item: 14 juin 1889 letter from secretary-general Yoder of the Bishopric of Strasbourg. Also Imprimés, Item: Der Priester, die Frau und die Ohrenbeichte von Pater C. Chiniqui. Für Aufklarung! (c. 1888). A handbill warning against Chiniquy, quoting Bourget and Archbishop Corrigan of New York.
9. Trudel, op. cit., p. 247. We take this opportunity to point out that references to Chiniquy's The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional are from the F.E. Grafton, Montreal, 1875 first English edition, viii-184, or when specified from the French first edition of Montreal's Librairie Evangélique.

It, too, came out in 1875 as Le prêtre, la femme et le confessionnal, iv-337 p.

10. The Daily Witness, March 8, p. 1; March 9, p. 1; March 16, pp. 2, 4; June 3, p. 1, 1875, for examples

11. AAM (402-102) Item: December 6, 1888. Letter of Archbishop Corrigan of New York to Mr. Bachen of Cologne.

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13. Phileas Gagnon, "Chiniquy (Le Pere)" in Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne (Quebec: 1895), vol. 1, p. 115. "Ce livre est probablement le plus mechant qu'on ait publié au Canada. A raison de notre qualité de bibliophile canadien, on nous pardonnera de le laisser figurer ici dans notre collection. L'histoire aura besoin de connaitre ces ouvrages pour les fletrir."

14. Trudel, L'influence de Voltaire au Canada (Montreal: 1945), 2 vols. vol. 2, p. 150

15. Trudel, Chiniquy, pp. 247-8

16. The Priest..., p. 73. Pierre Savard, Aspects du Catholicisme canadien-français au XIXe siècle (Montreal: 1980), pp. 173-196

17. Ezekiel, Revelation, and Matthew, for examples

18. The Priest ..., p. 143

19. Savard, op. cit., p. 27

20. The Priest ..., pp. 61, 62, and 11, respectively

21. For example, one priest "was a man of about fifty years of age, very corpulent, with a rubicund face, and a type of physiognomy as vulgar as it was repulsive." The Priest ..., , p. 36

22. The Priest ..., pp. 81, 72

23. The Priest ..., pp. 49 - 57

24. Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," pp. 2 - 40 in The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: 1967), p. 21

25. David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter Subversion: an analysis of anti-Masonic, anti-Catholic, and anti-Mormon literature," pp. 205-224 in The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 47 (1960), p. 217

26. Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: a study of the origins of American nativism (New York: 1938), p. 247

27. ibid., p. 363

28. John Higham, "Another Look at Nativism," pp. 147 - 58 in The Catholic

Historical Review, vol. 44 (1959), pp. 150 - 1

29. Trudel, L'influence ..., vol. 2, p. 144

30. For example, compare: "But as the hardest granite rock yields and breaks under the drop of water which incessantly falls upon it, so that great nation ... " (p. 83) with Ovid's Ars Amatoria, Book I, lines 475-76: "Quid magis est saxo durum, quid mollius unda? Dura tamen molli saxa cavantur aqua." Ovid was quoting, of course, more ancient authors. The interesting fact remains that Chiniquy's classical education -- which may have included Ovid! -- remained with him.

31. The Priest ..., pp. 161, 117, and 69 respectively

32. The Priest ..., pp. 120 - 1

33. The Priest ..., pp. 113, 142

34. The Priest ..., p. 83

35. The Priest ..., pp. 37 - 41 and pp. 133 - 9 respectively

36. The Priest ..., pp. 65 - 72

37. Chiniquy writes, "After dinner the merchant asked his lady to call the children, that I might see them, and I could not but admire their beauty; but I do not need to say that the pleasure of seeing those dear and lovely little ones was much marred by the secret though sure knowledge I had that the three youngest were the fruits of the unspeakable depravity of auricular confession ..." (p. 72)

    Davis quotes (op. cit., p. 218) another anti-Catholic writer, Hogan, who wrote, "I have seen husbands unsuspiciously and hospitably entertaining the very priest who seduced their wives in the confessional, and was the parent of some of the children who sat at the same table with them ..."

38. Textual comparisons were made from the first French edition and the English second edition, published in the same year. An arbitrary choice of the respective first, fifth and tenth chapters was made out of a possible eleven. The eleventh chapter contains little more than extensive Latin quotations from Catholic moralists on matters of sexuality, theft, murder, regicide, and truthfulness. From one edition to another, this chapter does not vary. The French text pages are 1 - 52, 103 - 31, and 306 - 26. They correspond to the English pages 1 - 28, 58 - 72, and 167 - 79. The following double quotations list the French text pages first and then the corresponding English text (if it exists), unless otherwise stated.

39. Gagnon, op. cit., (see Note 13) vol. 1, p. 115

40. For example, "la sainte à la mode" (p. 25) and in English "Sainte à la mode" (p. 13); "ver solitaire" (p. 124) and "'ver solitaire'(tapeworm)" (p.

68); "le bon dieu" (p. 126) and "'the good god' (Le Bon Dieu)" (p. 68).

41. For example, in French, "souille mon âme" (p. 38) becomes "been destroyed" (p. 20); "brûlerait la cervelle" (p. 38) becomes the lack-lustre "kill" in English (p. 20); "Combien est amère la vie d'une foule de ses esclaves!" (p. 8) is reduced to the simpler "How bitter is human life." (p. 4); etc.

42. Other categories, such as the sacraments, women, theologians, etc. have less than three references each and, therefore, are not presented as such and were added to another category.

43. The Priest ..., pp. 8, 6 and pp. 4, 2

44. The Priest ..., p. 6 and p. 3

45. The Priest ..., p. 313

46. The Priest ..., p. 11

47. The Priest ..., p. 17 in English and p. 32 in French

48. The Priest ..., p. 6 and p. 3

49. The Priest ..., p. 20 and p. 10

50. The Priest ..., p. 9 and p. 4

51. The Priest ..., pp. 312 and 104 in French, with the English pp. 171 and 59

52. The Priest ..., p. 11 and p. 6

53. The Priest ..., p. 5 and p. 2

54. The Priest ..., p. 67

55. The Priest ..., p. 1

56. The Priest ..., pp. 70 - 1

57. The Priest ..., p. 173

58. The Priest ..., p. 172

59. The Priest ..., p. 26 and p. 14

60. The Priest ..., p. 18 and p. 11

61. Auricular Confession in Australia, by Pastor Chiniquy. And Chiniquy Vindicated (Melbourne, 1879), 16 p. This work figures in the New York: 1880 edition of The Priest, the Woman and the Confessional.

62. Trudel, Chiniquy, p. 10

HERMAN DOOYEWEERD IN NORTH AMERICA

by C. T. McIntire

When surveying the Reformed tradition in Christian thought, we quite naturally turn to theologians and theology. But, as in the Roman Catholic tradition, there is in Reformed thought a strong and vital tradition of Christian philosophy. It is here that we meet Herman Dooyeweerd (1894-1977) in North America. [1]

In this essay, I shall first examine Dooyeweerd's thought as introduced in North America, and then see what happened to his thought in the next generation in North America, especially in connection with a group of philosophers and philosophically-minded scholars influenced by Dooyeweerd and associated in one way or another with what is now known as The Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto. Our look will take us right up to the present day.

Dooyeweerd and The Institute for Christian Studies

Dooyeweerd was a legal scholar and philosopher at the Free University of Amsterdam from 1926 until his retirement in 1965. His most significant work was A New Critique of Theoretical Thought (4 volumes) published in its definitive form in English in North America between 1953 and 1958. [2]

Immediately after the publication of this work he travelled twice to North America, once in the fall of 1958 and again in the spring of 1959. The 1959 visit included a lecture tour of several universities and colleges, beginning with Harvard, as well as some public lectures for general audiences. The published result was the book based on his lectures, In the Twilight of Western Thought (1960), written in English. Twilight is probably Dooyeweerd's best introduction to his own thought. [3] The 1958 visit included a meeting with the Board of The Institute's ancestor organization, then only recently established in Ontario, known as The Association for Reformed Scientific Studies (ARSS). The result there was Dooyeweerd's suggestion to the ARSS that they write a new creed, an educational creed, which would affirm Christian principles directly germane to scholarship and higher education. [4]

Dooyeweerd's thought had been known in North America before the mid-fifties. Notably, he had published a brief earlier work in English, Transcendental Problems of Philosophic Thought (1948), [5] and Cornelius Van Til of Westminster Theological Seminary had spoken of Dooyeweerd's work to his students in the thirties. Eventually two North American philosophers, David Freeman and William S. Young, working with Dooyeweerd and a teacher of English from The Netherlands, collaborated to produce the new English version we know

as the New Critique. [6] This, together with his two visits, established Dooyeweerd's presence in North America from the fifties onward.

His thought became a noticeable element in circles associated with The Christian Reformed Church (CRC). At Calvin College, the CRC's official college, Professor H. Evan Runner became the able advocate of Dooyeweerd's thought. [7] Runner had gone to Holland at Van Til's suggestion and studied with Dooyeweerd and his colleague (and brother-in-law), the philosopher D.H.T. Vollenhaven. [8] Runner's channels at Calvin were his lectures to large classes in the Philosophy Department and his charismatic leadership of a student club, the Groen Van Prinsterer Society. Runner founded the club in 1953 and attracted mainly students whose families had recently immigrated to Canada from The Netherlands. Dooyeweerd's thought had strong supporters in two new independent colleges in the CRC orbit, Dordt College in Iowa, established in 1955, and Trinity Christian College in Illinois, founded in 1959. [9] Periodicals associated with the CRC took notice of Dooyeweerd, including the Calvin Forum and the Torch and Trumpet. The Reformed Fellowship, a CRC laymen's group which published Torch and Trumpet, sponsored Dooyeweerd's 1959 lecture tour.

The chief focus of interest in Dooyeweerd's thought, however, was the new Association for Reformed Scientific Studies (ARSS). It had been founded in 1956 by a small group of Dutch immigrants, both lay and clergy, in the CRC, for the purpose of establishing in Canada an institution of higher learning on the model of The Free University of Amsterdam. The educational creed which Dooyeweerd had suggested in 1958 appeared in 1961. It was written by Vollenhoven, Dooyeweerd's brother-in-law, together with Professor Runner. The ARSS sponsored student conferences starting in 1959 and published the lectures first in a series known as Christian Perspectives, and in later years in books. In 1967 the ARSS North-Americanized its name to The Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship (AACS), and founded The Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto (ICS). The Institute, modelled on the interdisciplinary Philosophical Institute of the Free University, offered seminars, gradually constructed a curriculum, gathered a small faculty of eight or nine members, named another seven non-resident fellows, and eventually awarded master's degrees in philosophy. In 1983, ICS received Royal Assent to a Charter from the Legislature of Ontario, and the AACS formally ceased to exist, leaving the ICS to carry on. [10]

Over the years since 1956, a sizeable body of books and articles for both scholarly and non-scholarly audiences appeared, written by scholars

associated with the ICS and its antecedents. Taken altogether, no one thinker emerged as predominant. Instead it added up to what might be called the workings of a community of scholars. As such, it comprised much of the next generation after Dooyeweerd in North America. [11]

This next generation of group scholarship has passed through three phases so far. [12] The first phase, during the fifties and sixties, consisted chiefly of translating Dutch scholarship into English, bringing Dutch scholars to North America, sending North American students to Amsterdam, and promoting Dooyeweerd's thought with the enthusiasm and aggressiveness that disciples have for their master. The second phase, from the late sixties to the late seventies, included converting the Institute into a serious academic community, taking the first important steps of independence from Dooyeweerd's thought yet in the tradition of Dooyeweerd, and opening up differences between conservative and progressive emphases among the broad group of scholars who related to Dooyeweerd's thought. The third phase, since the late seventies, has featured the production of new scholarship which in general terms continued the tradition of Christian thought identified with Dooyeweerd, while being fully involved in contemporary scholarship within the academic world at large. Often significant differences continued to appear among those who related to Dooyeweerd's tradition. Through this process of the transmutation of Dooyeweerd in North America, the scholarship of the broad group sought to sift the enduring from the ephemeral.

Dooyeweerd's Thought

Dooyeweerd presented the primary elements of his thought in _A New Critique of Theoretical Thought._ [13] That work itself was a revised edition based on a translation of his three-volume _De Wijsbegeerte der Wetsidee_ (The Philosophy of the Law-Idea) published in Holland in 1935-1936. Altogether Dooyeweerd published more than 200 books and articles in the fields of law, political theory, and philosophy. His thought touched a wide range of areas — ontology, epistemology, social philosophy, philosophy of history, aesthetics, philosophy of science, legal theory, political philosophy, the history of law, theology, and the history of philosophy. He was a comprehensive thinker with an encyclopedic versatility, and his ideas were capable of inspiring thought in almost any field of learning. As one who constructed a system of thought he may be compared with others in his day, like the philosophers Jacques Maritain and Bernard Lonergan, the theologian Paul Tillich, the historian Arnold Toynbee, and the social theorists Talcott Parsons and Pitrikim Sorokin. He sought to continue the Christian tradition

of the great Dutch thinker and prime minister (1901-1905) of the preceding generation, Abraham Kuyper.

Dooyeweerd claimed that he wrote not theology but philosophy which was informed by Christian insights. As such, he wrote not about God but about the general structure of the world and human existence, and theorized about them. The characteristic elements of his thought may be summarized according to these themes: 1. religion; 2. creation, fall, redemption; 3. modal theory; 4. individuality theory; and 5. the opening processes of history.

1. Religion. [14] Dooyeweerd understood religion to be the supreme motive of human existence by which we are related either to God in the totality of our being, or to an idol, an alternative to God whether transcendent or this-worldly. Accordingly religion is not a distinct department of life or something we can do without if we choose. Understood in this way, every human being is religious, and none of what we do in life is separable from religion. Because of this, all of life is meaning, i.e. from God and dependent upon God, and responsive back to God.

According to Dooyeweerd, religion is integrative and central within our life. Our religion is rooted in our hearts as the manifestation of our unity, what the Scriptures call our soul or spirit. He rejected all notions of a dualism between soul and body, and instead interpreted soul as the unifying totality of our being as related to God or a substitute.

Religion is the basic dynamic, the "ground motive" of our lives. God calls us in the make-up of our being and we respond, but not always in ways faithful to the will of God. Dooyeweerd, following St. Augustine, believed that there are two great types of this "ground motive" -- the Spirit of God or the spirit of the Evil One. In historical times in Western civilization he suggested that these have been translated into four specific ground motives -- the Greek-Roman pagan motive of form and matter; the Christian motive of creation, fall, and redemption; the originally medieval motive of grace and nature which seeks a synthesis between pagan and Christian religion; and the secular humanist motive of freedom and nature. Thinkers empowered according to this modern secular motive, like Immanuel Kant, are certain that "religion" is not relevant to theoretical thought and that reason is autonomous. The basic thesis of Dooyeweerd's "new critique" of theoretical thought is that belief in the autonomy of reason is a pretension which cannot hide the religious character of all thought.

2. Creation, fall, and redemption. This is the religious ground motive which is consonant with the Scriptures. Dooyeweerd explained its meaning in

this way: creation denotes that all of reality is God's, a disclosure of His will, and good; fall indicates our radical resistance to the love of God and love of our neighbour, because of which our existence as God's creatures is filled with suffering and evil; redemption turns us to Jesus Christ by whom we may be radically restored to God and our neighbours, and the whole creation may become as it ought to be, the re-creation of God.

Dooyeweerd regarded his whole philosophy as an attempt to manifest the dynamic of this Christian religious motive in theoretical terms. He conceived of theory as an explication of the law-structure of creation. He emphasized the conflict among the fruits of the two Spirits -- of God and of the Evil One -- as the "antithesis" due to the fall which divided thought from thought and persons from persons, even as it cut through the lives of Christians. He stressed that the structures of creation were norms by which God called us to do what is healthy and by means of human action to work out the redemption that Jesus Christ accomplished.

3. Modal Theory. [15] The first of two ways that Dooyeweerd conceptualized reality was his modal theory. In this he explicitly sought to expand upon the idea of "sphere sovereignty" put forward by Kuyper. Whereas in religion we tend toward the integration and unity of our lives, in the actual expression of our lives we manifest diversity. As Dooyeweerd depicted it, reality is temporal in which cosmic time, like a prism, refracts the unity of the one light into many diverse modes of existence. The modes are aspects of reality, the many different ways in which any whole entity exists or an act occurs. The modal aspects are, on one side, structures or laws of creation; on the other, they are the various ways in which we exist historically, no one of which is reducible to any other.

Dooyeweerd provisionally identified fifteen modal aspects of reality, including the numerical, biotic, psychical, lingual, jural, and pistical (faith) aspects. Each aspect revealed a law or norm which characterized the aspect. For example, the biotic law is organic growth, the lingual norm is symbolic signification, and the jural norm is justice. Dooyeweerd worked out a very elaborate system by which he explained how each aspect referred by analogy to every other aspect, networking the aspects of reality in a complex but magnificent integration. He showed how each special scholarly discipline pertained especially to a different aspect, like biology to the biotic, linguistics to the lingual, and theology to the pistical. Philosophy had the task of overall integration, such as by theorizing about the modes and their interrelations as a whole, while each science treated its own aspect within

the context of philosophical interrelations.

4. Individuality Theory. [16] While his modal theory looked at aspects of reality -- e.g. biotic, jural, pistical -- his individuality theory analyzed whole phenomena of reality -- e.g. trees, states, and churches. Whereas by means of modality analysis he identified specific kinds of aspects of entities, by means of individuality analysis he identified kinds of entities.

The important issue is to apprehend the unique and irreducible character of each modal aspect or each kind of entity. For example, in modal theory, faith (pistic) manifests a unique character according to the norm of faith (transcendental certainty) and may not be reduced to the social or psychic aspects of faith. In individuality theory, churches are communities properly characterized by faith and may not rightly be treated as merely social or economic in character, although those aspects are also present. Dooyeweerd was thus both a pluralist and an anti-reductionist; he accepted the diversity of created reality as basic.

His individuality theory enabled him to explain how there could be different kinds of entities, yet how each kind could exhibit every aspect of reality. For example, states such as France and Canada are characteristically jural communities united around the jural norm of justice. At the same time, states exhibit spatial, economic, social, and all the other modal aspects. They do so in ways that belong to a jurally-qualified institution. Thus, states do not exist to make a profit or to create friendships, but to maintain justice. In this light, Dooyeweerd regards it as proper for states in the name of justice to redistribute the wealth among the citizenry from the richer to the poorer members. Likewise, an industry such as General Motors Corporation rightly exists according to the characteristic norm of stewardly saving care for the human and natural resources of the creation. While GM needs to match income with expenditure, even here the aim should not be to make profit, but to act according to that norm of stewardship, in relation to all the other aspects of reality, including the aesthetic quality of the workplace, and the equity of the decision-making process.

According to his theory, people express their religion directly by means of their response to the norm appropriate to each different kind of entity.

5. History. [17] Dooyeweerd's philosophy of history provided the invisible backbone of his whole system of thought. The elements of his philosophy of history were scattered, however. He regarded his theory of time

as the basis of his system. It was an unusual notion of time. He called it cosmic time which he identified as the pluriform diversity of the modal aspects. He contrasted it with the unity and coherence of reality as centered in the human heart which he treated as supra-temporal (beyond time). Time, thus, appeared in different ways -- as linguistic time, for example, astronomic time, or jural time.

What he called the historical aspect was merely one appearance of time as past, present, and future. The historical aspect he supposed was one mode among the fifteen he identified. It had to do with power, control, mastery, and he sometimes called it the cultural mode. He believed that historical study specialized in analysis of the historical mode of any thing.

This historical mode served as the foundation or starting point for a very complicated process called "the opening process" which swept through the modes in the actual course of any thing's history. By means of the opening process, static or closed cultures were made to develop by means of differentiation, individualization, and new integration. In this manner Dooyeweerd believed the world could unfold in fulfilment of the cultural mandate of Genesis 1. History would become a process of development led by faith. Dooyeweerd's vision of history was sweeping, and he linked it directly to St. Augustine's vision of the two cities in struggle for the course of history.

There are many other elements of Dooyeweerd's thought which we could mention, particularly in epistemology and philosophical anthropology, but perhaps these five are both central and characteristic enough to indicate the thrust of his work.

The Next Generation After Dooyeweerd

Dooyeweerd's work appeared in North America in the fifties, and a number of scholars took notice of it in books and articles. William S. Young, one of the translators of the New Critique, was the first, in his book Towards a Reformed Philosophy (1952). The second translator, David H. Freeman, completed a doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania partly on Dooyeweerd (1958), and he published Recent Studies in Philosophy and Theology (1962) in which he compared Dooyeweerd with Etienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, and Paul Tillich. Ronald Nash wrote Dooyeweerd and the Amsterdam Philosophy (1962), and Arthur Holmes included Dooyeweerd in Christian Philosophy in the Twentieth Century (1969). Rousas John Rushdoony discussed Dooyeweerd in several essays, including his "Introduction" to Dooyeweerd's In The Twilight of Western Thought (1960). [18]

These and many other writings contributed to an awareness of Dooyeweerd's thought. However, Evan Runner and The Association for Reformed Scientific Studies (ARSS) in Ontario sought to go the next step and act on Dooyeweerd's thougt. Runner and his Groen Van Prinsterer Society at Calvin College inspired Hendrik Hart, Bernard Zylstra, James Olthuis, and Arnold DeGraaff to go to The Free University of Amsterdam for their doctoral studies. Dooyeweerd supervised Zylstra's dissertation on Harold Laski's political theory. Hart went into general philosophy, writing on John Dewey's epistemology. Olthuis wrote on ethics and theology, and DeGraaff wrote on psychology and education. Calvin Seeweld, only indirectly influenced by Runner at Calvin, went to Amsterdam earlier on his own to work under Vollenhoven, completing a dissertation on Benedetto Croce's aesthetics. [19] These five became the first five members of the faculty of The Institute for Christian Studies after it opened in 1967.

The other avenue of Runner's influence was the series of annual student conferences begun by the ARSS in 1959 in Ontario. Runner's lectures at the first two were published separately by the ARSS in 1960 and 1961, and eventually put together as a book, The Relation of the Bible to Learning (1967). [20] Runner's themes were all Dooyeweerd's -- religion, the ground-motives and religious antithesis, sphere-sovereignty and the modal theory, the law of God in Creation.

But there were some recognizably new emphases in Runner's version of some of these themes. Chief of these was his stress on the Word of God, by which he meant the Bible. Dooyeweerd's stress, it may be said, was upon the Creation-Order as reality in the context of which the Scriptures were needed as a guide. Runner reversed the emphasis, in keeping with his North American Evangelical and Reformed experience, and made the Bible the centerpiece. Parallel with this, secondly, Runner stressed the religious character of everything under the new banner of "life is religion," and, by contrast with Dooyeweerd, he put less emphasis on the actual theoretical analysis of reality, of life. Thirdly, Runner accented the "religious antithesis," the utter opposition in thought and scholarship between the biblically spirited way of God and all other spirits. Dooyeweerd, by contrast, while working with the notion of religious antithesis in the sense of St. Augustine, had stressed creating his own system of thought in debate with other kinds of thought. Fourthly, Runner transformed the notion of working with Dooyeweerd's thought into a mission, a cause, that Dutch Calvinistic youth in North America should especially undertake. With this he reversed the trend in Dooyeweerd from his

accentuated Calvinism in the 1920s and 1930s to his ecumenical Christian thought based on the common Scriptural message in the 1950s -- Dooyeweerd desired to change the name of his thought from Calvinistic philosophy to the more general term "Christian philosophy". By means of these four new emphases, Runner helped to create a small movement possessing an elan and compelling purpose.

The founding of the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto implemented Dooyeweerd's thought in a most tangible way. His thought was not made official, so to speak, but it did serve as the unwritten basis for interdisciplinary scholarly discourse within the Institute. It offered a model with two applications -- one, for the intrinsic integration of Christian insight with scholarly thought, and two, for the identification and interrelation of all fields of scholarly study. The character of the Institute and its curriculum reflected both applications at once. [21] The Institute regarded itself from the start as a philosophical institute rather than a theological school. Following Dooyeweerd, the Institute regarded each field of academic study as resting upon a philosophical basis in which fundamental decisions were made about human nature, the purpose of life, and the character of reality. And such matters are the very ones that Christian insights directly illuminated. The Institute adopted Dooyeweerd's theory that philosophy by definition was an integrative endeavour, with respect to which Christian insights concerning the wholeness and integrity of reality were directly relevant.

In its curriculum, by the early 1970s, the Institute created two core courses -- biblical foundations and philosophical foundations. By this it stressed that the Scriptures were not the special document of theology and Biblical scholars, but the integrative and directive religious source for the insights basic to any field of study. Then philosophy, pursued according to biblical insights, served to ground and orient each academic field. For the rest, they added courses in the philosophy of as many fields as they could, given the limits of financial resources and personnel.

In the late 1970s the Institute faculty numbered nine scholars in philosophy, history of philosophy, theology, philosophical theology, philosophy of history, political theory, economic and social philosophy, psychological theory, and philosophical aesthetics. The curriculum was rounded out by means of a second-year interdisciplinary seminar which involved most fields, and by research on master's theses.

The Institute was founded with two clear mandates: to pursue the

religious reformation of various scholarly fields, and to pursue academic research into reality. [22] Both aims -- reformation and research -- were by definition inclined toward innovation. But both also required a stable institutional format and a stable relation with the supporting constituency. These innovating and stabilizing needs could -- and did -- often conflict. I have already referred to three phases in the Institute's history -- the aggressive, the settling down, the academically productive phases. These can now be paraphrased as the transition from being a movement to being a scholarly institution. Both founding mandates, actively pursued, were conducive to such a transition.

Included in the transition was a new relation with Dooyeweerd's thought. Whereas at the beginning the Institute depended on Dooyeweerd, by the late 1970s the faculty members of the Institute had each moved on to their own fresh terrain in various ways more or less reflective of Dooyeweerd's thought in the historical background. It is possible to review the five thematic elements of Dooyeweerd's thought surveyed earlier and observe what became of them in the teaching and writings of the Institute's faculty. The most important work for this comparison is a volume of essays entitled The Legacy of Herman Dooyeweerd: Reflections on Critical Philosophy in the Christian Tradition (1985). [23] The essays were written by six authors who were faculty members of the Institute. Of the many other writings by Institute scholars, especially notable are Hendrik Hart's Understanding Our World: an Integral Ontology (1984) and Calvin Seeweld's Rainbows for the Fallen World: Aesthetic Life and Artistic Task (1980) [24]

Two general observations may be made at the beginning. First, Dooyeweerd's system as a whole has not been carried over into the next generation. This may mean no more than observing that only Dooyeweerd could maintain Dooyeweerd's system, and that any subsequent thinkers who tried to do so would become scholastic disciples and not a group of scholars with their own contributions to make. Second, what did continue were some general orientations and some general themes and insights of a philosophically relevant kind concerning what was important and how to proceed in philosophy. Thes observations may become concrete as we review the five themes.

1. Religion. It would be granted that Dooyeweerd made his point about the religious basis of theoretical thought, indeed of all human activity. All humans are religious and as such their lives are oriented toward God or some substitute. Thus, the relation between religion and scholarship is intrinsic and integral.

It would even be granted that religion is a motivating power, but it appears that no Institute scholar continues to work with the idea of religious ground motives in Western civilization. None would carry on Dooyeweerd's extensive analysis of the polar tensions within the ground motives by which he interpreted the history of culture and philosophy. None would regard the heart as distinguishable from the whole of our person and our functioning; some have suggested that Dooyeweerd created a new dualist view of our human make-up, in spite of his best intentions.

2. Creation, fall, and redemption. All the Institute scholars would regard this as an insightful summary of the central theme of the Scriptures concerning the world. But they would differ about whether it should be treated as a "ground motive" as did Dooyeweerd in the 1950s, or merely as a theme, or triad of themes, as Dooyeweerd did in the 1920s and 1930s. They all would regard an understanding of reality as creation, structured and good, to be basic to Christian philosophizing. Likewise, they would work with the understanding of the work of Jesus Christ as re-creation and in principle potentially culturally pervasive in overcoming the effects of evil and suffering.

3. Modal Theory. All would agree that some sort of modal analysis is a useful and valid way to account for the constitutional diversity of reality. Indeed, it would be taken as the chief means of identifying and interrelating the various distinct academic disciplines. But they differ on what the modes may be, what their characterizing norms may be, and to what degree modal analysis is useful.

Some would regard modal theory as useful primarily merely as an indicator that there is diversity which is ontologically irreducible. Others actively pursue modal analysis. For example, Olthuis stays fairly close to Dooyeweerd's version of the aspect of faith as transcendental certainty, calling it simply certitude. He agrees that theology is a special theoretical discipline focused on the mode of faith (certitude). Seerveld thinks Dooyeweerd is right about an aesthetic mode and aesthetics as a special science, but he rejects Dooyeweerds understanding of aesthetics as having to do with harmony and beauty. He works instead with notions of allusiveness and imagination. Probably all would reject Dooyeweerd's proposal that there is a historical mode, and could work instead toward a more embracive understanding of history. Hart, following Vollenhoven, makes the move of conceiving of the modes, not as aspects, which has static and spatial connotations, but as functions, calling up active and operational suggestions. All could agree

that philosophy is best treated as an integrative as well as an analytic discipline, charged with conceptualizing the bases and the interrelations of all the scholarly fields.

4. Individuality Theory. Probably all would think that theorizing about the structure of individual entities is important. Hart calls such phenomena "functors" and discusses functions (modal) as what functors do. But he does not pursue the theme of functors as fully as he does modal functions. Seerveld distinguishes art works as individual entities that are aesthetic in character from the aesthetic aspect of other non-aesthetic entities (like someone's home.)

On the whole, the next generation of individuality theory is slight and not as well attended to as modal theory. All would, however, stress the importance of a pluralist social theory which honoured the distinctive yet inter-related character of each kind of social institution and relationship — churches, governments, colleges, neighbourhoods, cities, labour unions, families, and so on.

5. History. I have already mentioned that all would reject the notion that history could be accounted for by means of Dooyeweerd's historical mode. All would also reject Dooyeweerd's theory of the heart as supra-temporal, above and beyond time and history. They would disagree about whether time should be regarded as synonymous with ordered diversity (as in Dooyeweerd), or more pervasively identified as process and past-present-furture relations. And they would disagree about the value of Dooyeweerd's theory of the opening process. The judgment from the historian's angle has been that Dooyeweerd's theory wrongly elevates development above all other processes of history. What is needed is more theorizing about the great variety of temporal-historical processes, and this in a wide multi-cultural way. Dooyeweerd's relating of history to the cultural mandate of Genesis 1 would seem insightful as a way of identifying human responsibilities in history-making, but more subtlety and actual historical analysis would be needed in order to create a more flexible philosophy of history influenced by Christian insights.

Conclusion

There seems to be no doubt that Herman Dooyeweerd is the most creative philosopher in the Reformed tradition so far in the twentieth century. However, the barriers to recognizing his creativity and transposing his philosophy to North America were not small. His categories, special language, and method were shaped in a Dutch and European religious and philosophical

milieu which were very different from the North American counterparts. The prevailing North American traditions of Reformed theology and analytic philosophy were unsympathetic to his thought. The Dutch-Canadian community which has been the chief carrier of Dooyeweerd's thought was separated from the mainstream of academic discourse like any immigrant group. The early aspirations to building a movement with a unique and exclusive salvific message needlessly impeded normal discourse about Dooyeweerd's thought.

Nonetheless, the presence of Dooyeweerd's thought in North America has had much to offer. Once the effort is made to become acquainted with Dooyeweerd's work, the character of his creativity is evident.

The generation after Dooyeweerd has so far successfully made the transition to viable, innovative scholarship in full discourse with the North American academic community as a whole. Institute scholars meaningfully relativized Dooyeweerd while seeking to distil the more enduring legacy Dooyeweerd has to offer.

What may continue and hold merit for others is not Dooyeweerd's system or his specific formulations, but a type of approach to scholarship. That approach may perhaps be summarized in this way: the impulse to explore reality empirically and theoretically, so that the irreducible diversity, as well as the coherent integration, of reality is respected; the insights of the Christian religion may be intrinsic to the scholarship in full discourse with the academic world; and the results may be of service to God, to all people, and to the overcoming of evil with good.

NOTES

1. See "Christian Philosophy", Encyclopedia Britannica (15th ed., 1974), IV, 555-562; also George F. McLean, ed. Philosophy in the 20th Century: Catholic and Christian. 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Unger, 1967)

   We should note from the start that there is another strong tradition of Reformed philosophy in North America which emphasizes philosophy of religion and rational discourse about claims concerning God, and which has associated with the tradition of Anglo-American thought known as analytic philosophy. In spite of differences, there are nonetheless strong affinities between philosophies in that Reformed line of thought and Dooyeweerd, chiefly by way of Dooyeweerd's predecessor Abraham Kuyper. See Hendrik Hart, Johan van der Hoeven, and Nicholas Wolterstorff, eds. Rationality in the Calvinian Tradition (Washington: University Press of America, 1983); and Alvin

Plantinga and Nicholas Wolterstorff, eds. Faith and Rationality: Reason and Belief in God (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983)

2. Dooyeweerd, A New Critique of Theoretical Thought, 4 volumes (Amsterdam; Paris; Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1953-58). Hereafter New Critique

3. Dooyeweerd, In the Twilight of Western Thought (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1960). Hereafter Twilight

4. The text of the educational creed is published in the current Academic Bulletin of the Institute for Christian Studies.

5. Dooyeweerd, Transcendental Problems of Philosophic Thought (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948)

6. Freeman and Young collaborated on volume I, while Freeman and H. DeJongste collaborated on volumes II and III. Dooyeweerd went over the entire English version himself and revised and added sections.

7. On Runner, see John Kraay and Anthony Tol, eds., Hearing and Doing: Philosophical Essays dedicated to H. Evan Runner (Toronto: Wedge, 1979); and Henry Vander Goot, ed., Life is Religion: Essays in Honor of H. Evan Runner (St. Catharines: Paideia, 1981)

8. On Vollenhoven, see The Idea of Christian Philosophy: Essays in Honour of D.H.Th. Vollenhoven (Toronto: Wedge, 1973)

9. Two more Reformed colleges in the CRC orbit were founded in Canada, both with Dooyeweerd's thought as a factor: Redeemer College, Hamilton, Ontario (1982); and The King's College, Edmonton, Alberta (1979)

10. The history of the ARSS, AACS, and ICS has yet to be written. A special issue of the ICS Newsletter, Perspective, published in 1981 on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the ARSS, gives many interesting historical vignettes.

11. A partial list to 1975 is published in L. Kalsbeck, Contours of a Christian

Philosophy: an Introduction to Herman Dooyeweerd's Thought (Toronto: Wedge, 1975), 313-339

12. What follows is based on knowledge of countless documents and personal observations over the years since 1960

13. This treatment of Dooyeweerd's thought is based chiefly on the New Critique, his magnum opus. His published works through 1977 are listed in the back of a book which is an excellent scholarly introduction to his thought: Hendrik Van Eikema Hommes, Inleiding tot de wijsbegeerte van Herman Dooyeweerd (The Hague: Martinu Nijhoff, 1982). The book by Kalsbeck (see Note 11) is also good and very readable. Other books to consult are Dooyeweerd's Twilight, and his Roots of Western Culture: Pagan, Secular, and Christian Options (Toronto: Wedge, 1979).

14. Dooyeweerd treats religion, and creation/fall/redemption, in New Critique, vol. 1

15. He discusses modal theory in New Critique, vol. 2

16. Individuality theory is the subject of New Critique, vol. 3

17. Most of his philosophy of history is discussed in New Critique, vol. 2, but much is scattered throughout the whole work.

18. Young, Towards a Reformed Philosophy (Franeker: Wever, 1952); Freeman, Recent Studies in Philosophy and Theology (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1962); Nash, Dooyeweerd and the Amsterdam Philosophy (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1962); Holmes, Christian Philosophy in the Twentieth Century (Nutley: Craig, 1969); Rushdoony,"Introduction," Twilight, vii-xvi

19. Hart, Communal Certainty and Authorized Truth (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1966); Zylstra, From Pluralism to Collectivism (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968; New York: Humanities, 1970); Olthuis, Facts, Values, and Ethics (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968; New York: Humanities, 1969); DeGraaf, The Educational Ministry of the Church (Nutley: Craig, 1968); Seeweld, Benedetto Croce's Earlier Aesthetic Theories and Literary Criticism (Kampen: Kok, 1958)

20. Runner, The Relation of the Bible to Learning (Toronto: ARSS, 1967)

21. The Institute's statements of purpose and its curriculum have been presented in its Academic Bulletin, issued every one or two years since 1967.

22. These mandates are presented in the Preamble and the Educational Creed of the ARSS (now ICS), which are printed in the current ICS Academic Bulletin.

23. C.T. McIntire, ed. The Legacy of Herman Dooyeweerd: Reflections on Critical Philosophy in the Christian Tradition (Washington: University Press of America, 1985)

24. Hart, Understanding Our World (Washington: University Press of America, 1984); Seewald, Rainbows for the Fallen World (Toronto: Tuppence Press, 1980). A full listing of publications by members of the Institute's faculty and associates may be obtained from the Institute, 229 College St., Toronto, Ont. M5T 1R4.

25. What follows in this review is based on my reading of most of the publications by Institute scholars as well as first-hand knowledge of their teaching.

THE POLITICS OF RECORDS ACQUISITION:

a study of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives 1875 to the present

by Kim M. Moir

The Presbyterian Church in Canada has a rich and very bureaucratic history. In 1875 four regional synods were united to form a national body 600,000 members strong, representing the country's largest Protestant denomination. [1] The size of the church, combined with the multi-level system of courts inherent in the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government, has created a wealth of records that pre-date 1800. [2] These records have both a quantitative and a qualitative significance and are of prime importance to the social and religious historian. A core group of

church members realized the scholarly potential of these records as early as 1879 and wanted action taken towards their permanent preservation. The vast majority of the denomination, on the other hand, saw these records simply as an administrative function, and so for various reasons did not actively work towards attaining this goal. It was this conflict within the Presbyterian Church that dominated the nature, scope and overall development of records acquisition for the archives programme.

Records are generated by the four graded levels of Presbyterian government: General Assembly, synod, presbytery, and session. This system was designed to unify the workings of the church across the country, but also to stress the democratic ideal by having the control lie with the courts and not with a handful of elitist individuals. The entire membership of the Assembly exists as a unit for the duration of the annual general meeting only, whereupon they disband and a new group of delegates is elected by the presbyteries the next year. Representation fluctuates, based on the membership in each presbytery. All aspects of church business are discussed by the General Assembly, based upon reports delivered by the special committees appointed for that year, and these appear in the Acts and Proceedings, which are published annually, thus making this information widely available. Many other types of records are created by and for this court because of its involvement in virtually every aspect of church life. Petitions, overtures, appeals, general correspondence, and reports on disciplinary matters are just some of the records produced in the course of every year.

The second highest authority in the Presbyterian Church is the synod. Attended by the ministers and elders from the constituent presbyteries, the synod deals with any problems that had proved to be beyond the means of the lower courts. One of its more important functions was the task of promoting the interests of the Church-at-large in the presbyteries and sessions as a means of uniting membership. Due to the physical and 'legal' distance between synod and the various sessions, it was frequently difficult for this programme to be successful. Nevertheless, the annual reports that were required of the synods provide some indications as to how thoroughly directives from the General Assembly were followed in various geographical areas. Like the minutes of the Assembly, these reports also indicate the response of large segments of the Presbyterian Church to important social questions of the day, such as temperance, sabbatarianism, and the role of women in Canadian society.

Intimate knowledge of congregational life was more the responsibility of the court of presbytery. The duties of this body were wide-ranging, including the monitoring of personal worship, regulating the administration of the sacraments, and encouraging individuals through their ministers to conform to the requests of the General Assembly. Presbytery had, in theory, ultimate authority over the congregations, particularly as they ruled over the ministers' conduct. All congregations had representation in a presbytery. Despite this apparently ideal democratic arrangement, presbytery could hold an official meeting with a quorum of only three members. Possible limited attendance meant that important church recommendations could escape the attention and involvement of many congregations. This problem could be alleviated to some degree by the creation of detailed minutes. Each presbytery had a clerk, as did all the courts of the Church, in order to ensure that minutes were taken and records were maintained according to an established standard. In addition to these minutes, other records were created by the presbytery, such as reports, correspondence, and histories. Regular review of session minutes by the presbytery meant that presbytery was informed of congregational activities on a regular basis, and any challenges to their directives based on the entries could be quickly challenged and rectified.

Each congregation had its own session. The officers of this court included the minister and representative elders. They were the overseers of all the organized groups within the congregation that were sanctioned by the Church. In addition, the session regulated all individuals' behaviour to ensure that a proper moral and religious tone be maintained. Communication in this regard was a simple matter because of session's close physical proximity to its charges. The entire process of enforcing General Assembly directives was based almost completely on a chain-reaction effect from one court level to another. Those issues of concern which were relayed from presbytery to session would be the ones on which session would concentrate. Session, it is fair to say, had a more direct influence on a greater number of members than did the highest court of the Church.

Although session was ultimately responsible for all facets of congregational record-keeping, it was the session clerk who was the custodian of session minutes; baptismal, marriage, and communion registers; and correspondence relating to the congregation. As a whole, the congregation also produced a proliferation of varied record types in addition to these church registers. Other records ranged from board of

managers' minutes and financial ledgers down to single orders of service, but each record was required in order to get a complete picture of the life of the congregation. Unlike the higher courts which dealt with broad questions relating to church policy, the session records held a rich source of demographic information which could be especially valuable to the genealogist and the recent trends in history toward a broader examination of society. [4]

A handful of ambitious church members recognized the historical significance of the Presbyterian church records as early as 1879, as evidenced by the formation of the Historical Committee. As archivist Margaret Ray of Victoria University observed, "Presbyterians seem to have developed a strong historical sense. Many of these collectors lived and died in obscurity and would have been astonished, doubtless, to have heard themselves termed 'upholders of civilization'." [5] The author did overestimate the number of Presbyterians who were active in this cause, but she does indicate that those few concerned individuals did not need any form of policy directive to prompt them to action. Rather, they simply recognized that there had not been any steps taken to preserve church records up to that point. Similar causes in the past were initiated by very small minorities of the church membership, and the founding of the Historical Foundation in Montreat, North Carolina by the Rev. James Tenney was a good case in point. [6]

Despite the Historical Committee's interest, reports only appeared in the General Assembly's Acts and Proceedings for the years 1879 and 1880, and did not re-surface for several years. [7] This gap in time reflected the Committee's lack of organization and a general lack of interest. As well, the collecting policy that was originally published in the Acts and Proceedings as their entire basis of promotion was alarmingly vague:

> . . . to collect as they may be able such ... books and documents as may be of historical value in connection with any of the Presbyterian Churches of the Dominion ... and to report their diligence in the premises to the next General Assembly. [8]

These words left the congregations to their own devices with very little official impetus as to the urgency of the situation, especially when there were no follow-up procedures throughout this two-year period. Secondly, the one piece of specific advice they did provide actually advocated that the various theological colleges, such as Queen's in Kingston, the Presbyterian Colleges in Montreal and Halifax, and Knox College in Toronto (all having affiliations with the pre-1875 synods), still be supported as the appropriate

repositories according to the original roots of the congregation. [9]

Although it is not clearly documented, one does get the impression that records were being collected on a small scale throughout these early years, but the Historical Committee does not become active again until 1916. [10] This resurgence may have been because the Committee sensed the upcoming storm of Church Union, and wanted to establish clearly the Presbyterian identity. [11] The Committee boasted seventeen members, and a very detailed and ambitious mandate illustrating a perceptive view regarding what records should be preserved. Their broad mandate clearly denoted who they felt should be involved in this noble venture:

> To discover, grasp and portray the spiritual element in the church as exemplified in the Christian lives of her preachers and people whether hidden in the obscurity of humble service, or conspicuous in the noontide heat of the Vineyard, is the high aim and inspiration of the Committee though concurrently with this, data of a more concrete character must necessarily and incessantly form the most laborious part of its varied duties. To bring the Church as a whole into cordial sympathy with this aim would be of itself no fruitless achievement. [12]

It is evident that the Committee understood the magnitude of this task, but they did not seem to foresee the reality of what tools were needed to put into effect "systematic" record collection. [13] Church members-at-large required education regarding what materials to collect, how to organize them and the purposes for doing so. Another factor operating here, which completely escaped the Committee, involved the human tendency to procrastinate about what they knew they should be doing. James Geary, a religious archivist, pointed to the same attitude of indifference by recounting that when Pope Benedict XV ordered that his dioceses form archives, they "either ignored or paid lip service to the tenet." [14] The notion that church records, because they were created in the domain of a private institution, should forever be regarded as "private property" had to be changed. [15] The Historical Committee chose to take up this challenge, but the question remained whether having an enthusiastic group of individuals and the sanction of the General Assembly would be enough prompting to see a promising response in the near future. [16]

The convener of the Historical Committee soon answered this uncertainty when he claimed that "the proverbial modesty of the Presbyterian

ministry has never been more fully exemplified than in the hesitation with which this request has been received." [17] Even though the evidence does not point to any sign of modesty in the congregations, there was an attitude of reservation present which an ambitious public relations programme might have assuaged. A formal campaign of this nature involving the circulation of promotional literature conjures up visions of dollar signs, but even if the Committee had formulated such plans, their annual budget of $300 could hardly be used for this purpose. Some members did arrange to travel to congregations within a reasonable distance, with the intention of informing people about the purpose and goals of the Historical Committee. They also requested of General Assembly that all minsters across Canada should do the same from their pulpits each Sunday. [19]

At this point in time, the Committee simply wanted to see the Presbyterian annals and related historical materials preserved in select locations across the country. They had not begun to think in terms of a functioning central archives, although the Committee members were doing research for those requesting the service, using whatever material had been sent to them. The volume of correspondence was quite heavy, indicating a widespread interest, and this was certainly encouraged by the Committee, as it is today, by strongly stressing good public service. The Committee, however, mistook this development for a willingness to donate material at a subsequent date, rather than what it really was: the desire to take advantage of assistance that was provided free of charge and with no apparent reciprocal responsibilities.

General Assembly had approved a request by the Committee that all congregations, presbyteries and synods form their own historical committees. They were to encourage support at the local level and to report their progress on a yearly basis in a report sent to the General Assembly's Historical Committee. The minister was asked to submit biographies on the past ministers who served in their church as a way to view the overall congregational history. This indicated that the study of history, and church history in particular, was still largely concerned with the "leaders" in society, and not so much with the social interaction of the majority of church members within the denomination.

Just as it was the Synod of Toronto-Kingston that requested the formation of a Historical Committee back in 1879, the area of southern Ontario continued to be the Committee's most regular supporter. Accessions have reflected this from 1916 to the present day. By 1919 the Committee had the

use of Knox College vault to house its records. This made the donation process for Toronto-area residents more attractive than for those further afield. What was frustrating to the Committee was the tendency for many of the synods to not send historical reports for several years running, a complaint that regularly appeared in the Acts and Proceedings. The extension of this behaviour meant that many areas in Canada were not represented at all in any of the repositories housing Presbyterian materials, irrespective of the Committee making "appeal after appeal." [20]

Throughout its existence the Committee undertook to survey all court levels across Canada as a form of inventory for both parties, but also to act as a sharp reminder that the Committee required support in order to operate efficiently. Surveys enable the people involved to discover what material they have and where it is located, and this information could have been used by the Historical Committee to revise their mandate accordingly. [21] The survey does not just necessarily report records in terms of volumes and dates as one might expect, but it also frequently reveals the wide variety of types of historical objects in the possession of the respondent. [22]

One could not disagree that the information retrieved from an appropriately-designed survey is invaluable, but the surveyor must receive a significant number of returns to allow for a useful analysis of the data. Here again, the Committee's efforts did not reap the results they had hoped for, but the response rate for questionnaires has always been dismally poor. August Suelflow echoed the frustration felt by the Presbyterian Church upon receiving only 100 out of 486 replies to a survey done while serving as an archivist in the United States. He observed that only the conscientious and keen ones would tend to respond. [23] In the case of the early surveys done by the Presbyterian Church it was usually the prominent ministers, such as Robert Burns, who wanted to comply with what was expected of them with regards to General Assembly directives, as well as being the ones who tended to accumulate and maintain personal correspondence and related material. [24]

As political problems became more of a burden on Presbyterians with the imminent onset of friction over the contemplated union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches, further attempts by the Historical Committee to promote record preservation achieved very little success. Historical articles were placed in The Presbyterian Record during this period, but the results of this caused the Committee convener to remark that "we cannot but complain again about the neglect of many to do their share of this work." [25] Their gentle approach required more clout to be convincing. Transfer of church

records could take place under two different conditions, the first being voluntary transfer and the second, legally-required transfer. [26] Many of the court records had legal significance attached to them, and the owners were technically responsible for their proper maintenance. In view of the troubled times, however, there was a strong chance that a harder line taken by General Assembly on this matter would have created more problems than it would have solved.

In 1925 the Presbyterian Church in Canada and its records-collecting programme received a crippling blow. Church Union had arrived, much to the delight of the majority of Presbyterians, but it left the continuing Presbyterian Church with a severely depleted membership and little archival material that could be called their own. Under the United Church of Canada Act, the Dominion Commissioners ruled that the archives stored in Knox College would be removed and housed in the Archives of Ontario until the property disputes had been settled. They remained there until 1950, when the Legislative Assembly of Ontario decided that the records would become the property of the United Church of Canada in exchange for retention of the Presbyterian claim to Caven Library in Knox College, as stipulated in the Knox College Library Act.

Presbyterians were left to regroup completely, and it seemed that any progress that had been made for the cause of retaining historical records was removed from their care. Fortunately, this even did not daunt the new Committee on History. R.W. Dickie expressed the pride in the continuing church which would also have been felt by the Committee:

> If we are going to remain in the Presbyterian Church, let us be truly Presbyterian, and use this mighty force of our Church's tradition. There is nothing in it so far as I can see of which we need to be ashamed and there is much in which we have good reason to glory. [27]

Austin Budge became the Committee convener, and one of his first priorities was that all literature that had been printed as a result of the Union controversy should be hunted down and sent to the main deposit area for church archives -- the Knox College vault. Budge seemed to understand that the material accumulating there could be valuable for the writing of history not already documented. It was, after all, access to these primary sources containing information on the legal, fiscal and administrative life of the Church that led to learned histories, such as Ephraim Scott's History of Church Union. [28]

The years after 1925 saw a gradual upswing in the support and

awareness of church history by church members. By 1929 all synods and presbyteries had formed historical committees and more reports were forthcoming to the Committee because of this newly-found interest in the roots of Presbyterianism across Canada. Especially strong support continued to come from the Maritimes, Quebec, and Ontario. The Committee's workload became even more voluminous due to the great number of inquiries requiring research, augmented by a marked increase in donations. The ongoing problem plaguing the work of the Committee was that, although there undoubtedly was more support, it still came from a relatively small proportion of the church populace. The convener's comment in 1929 indicated a cautious optimism: "Nothing in the past year has come before your Committee to indicate lukewarmness, but rather a quickened interest." [29] A survey was sent out by 1934 to all presbyteries as another plea for action on the local fronts. There were, unfortunately, no indications of its success in the ensuing reports of the Committee.

Budge was an 'active' archivist and took it upon himself to lecture outside of Toronto on behalf of the Committee as well as to track down archival material for deposit. It seemed that if only the Church had provided greater resources to the Committee, educating the members on the intrinsic value of their records could be done on a grander scale, hence providing returns on the investment. As the appraisal process for archives involves evaluating the records' value with respect to their function in the institution, and also the significance the institution put on them while active, [30] his work was also able to call to the attention of congregations the administrative as well as the historical importance of their records.

Many issues had to be dealt with because of the huge volume of records generated by a religious institution, which in some areas of the country was second only to government documents. [31] In addition, many donors wanted a place to deposit not only their papers, but artifacts as well. At that point the Committee's mandate was wide open, as some archivists claim is best, so the necessary area to house and maintain these materials had to be found. [32] Good relations between the donor and the Committee were necessary in the hopes that patrons would spread favourable remarks about their work to others. This can be especially effective if the person had a high profile in his own congregation, even though this may mean that the institution may be offered a lot of ephemera over time. [33] Proper care and preservation measures had to be taken with the church records due to their unique informational value, pertaining to the records in repositories as well as to the vast majority sill in church cupboards or basements. [34]

Fire caused the destruction of many valuable documents throughout the decades. This problem was especially prevalent during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to the lack of fire-retarding measures in contemporary construction practices. The threat was alleviated to some extent by the desire of Budge to incorporate the growing collection into the library of Knox College to form an "historical library" collection. [35] This recommendation was realized in 1938. It was regarded as a great achievement, which to some degree it was, but the opinion of August Suelflow sheds light on the possible repercussions of such an arrangement:

> Though initially a collection may find a home in the hospitable quarters of a seminary library, the grave danger exists that the historical depository may become a stepchild, far overshadowed by other activities. Of course, this would still be superior to housing archives in a private home or in the basement or attic of a church-related building. [36]

Such pitfalls waited in the future if the Committee did not sufficiently cultivate an identity for its collection, but in the meantime it was a decided improvement over the College's vaults. The physical move triggered the Historical Committee to make a formal statement that from 1940 on the Knox College repository would be known as the Archives of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. [37]

Sessions were given special responsibility by the General Assembly to organize church records and to ensure their eventual deposit in Knox College. Although this move proved to show gradual returns, it was unfortunate that it took the Committee twenty-five years to see the necessity of regular reminders within the congregations. Despite the Committee's request, Presbyterian records were deposited in many other repositories across the country that frequently lacked any connection with the Church. Steps had to be taken to prevent this trend from getting out of hand, and to some extent the multi-faceted nature of the archival institution gave room to find possible solutions. Ideally, a religious archive, like any other archives, should participate in many functions:

> ... the archives system should integrate control over the management of current records, the provision of records centres for dormant records, and the operation of central microfilm services, as well as the conventional archival functions of acquiring, preserving, and making available for use materials which have permanent value as a cultural resource and national heritage. [38]

It is doubtful that any archivist would dispute this comment, but the reality of the situation for the Presbyterian Church Archives pales in comparison with this ideal. Severe budget restraints have prevented rapid progress in many of the aforementioned areas. Nevertheless, microfilming projects were undertaken on and off during the 1950s to the 1970s on behalf of the Archives by the Ontario Historical Society, the Church of Latter Day Saints, and the Presbyterian Church itself.

Duplication of church records by microfilming and photocopying has been a great asset in the area of public service for the Archives. Originals which would most likely have never been deposited in the institution became available on film, allowing the material to be preserved and kept secure as well as available for research purposes. Potential donors who feared that records might become lost or damaged if transferred to a central repository were possibly reassured by the chance to copy their papers locally. [39] This enabled those institutions with a legitimate claim upon records that more properly belong in the Presbyterian Church Archives to at least obtain a durable copy. Wanting to maintain "exclusive possession" at the risk of harming the records and hoarding information that need not be private -- with the possible exception of session minutes -- must be prevented. [40]

In some cases, however, the very nature of the Presbyterian church government has thwarted attempts to complete a comprehensive programme of duplication. Despite the generous offer from the Mormons in 1965 to film congregational records for the Archives, the Synod of Montreal-Ottawa refused to participate, for theological reasons. It is no secret that the Mormons have a unique use for these films as well, but the General Assembly had approved of the project whole-heartedly. This particular assertion of the court's independence from the advice of the General Assembly was most unfortunate, particularly as budget restrictions have forced the Committee to abandon plans for additional microfilming over the last decade. Despite appeals to the presbyteries from General Assembly to insist that congregations establish the microfilming of their records as a priority, the rate of success is far from impressive. Reasons for this involve the traditional concerns of limited finances and congregational procrastination, but additional factors have lately emerged to threaten the record-collecting policy of the Archives: competition from external institutions, and hostility towards the Archives for wanting to make church records accessible to people regarded with suspicion as being muckrakers rather than legitimate researchers.

In spite of the Committee's continued efforts to urge the necessity of

putting a microfilming programme into effect across Canada, larger secular archives have effectively undermined this plan. Ambitious microfilming projects have been completed in recent years by the provincial archives of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, offering to microfilm religious records free of charge, with the copies going only to their repositories. Considering the many roadblocks that have hindered the Committee in the past, this one poses a significant problem. It is most difficult to convince church members to support the Church Archives if the congregations are forced to pay for microfilming when secular institutions offer the same services at no expense. A partial solution has been found in some instances through the exchange of one lot of information on microfilm for another, thus forming a valuable co-operative link between secular and religious repositories. [41]

Increasingly, there has been a need for "submerging the competitive spirit" between institutions. [42] Conflicts between archivists should be openly discussed. There is always the possibility that a difficult situation could have been misunderstood and that a compromise could have been reached. Such was the case between the Presbyterian Church Archives and the Public Archives of Canada regarding the records of St. Andrew's Church in Ottawa. This material was deposited with the latter repository prior to the time when proper archival facilities had been established by the General Assembly. St. Andrew's had approached the Public Archives on this matter because of a fire in the church, this forcing them to seek a secure facility for their records. Initially the Public Archives refused the offer as the collection was outside their mandate, but when approached a second time an agreement was struck. [43]

Based on a casual survey done in the course of this research, several very significant collections have passed into secular hands. Many of these were deposited during the early career of the Committee, and occasionally these unhappy events were caused by poor advice given by the Committee itself regarding the disposition of records. The Church's first archivist, the Rev. Neil G. Smith, actually suggested in a letter to a clerk of session in the process of deciding what to do with his records that, "If you have a safe storage place for your records in your own church there is no obligation to deposit them elsewhere." [44] At other times, the Church has had to contend with the independent spirit of its courts. By 1978, for instance, the Synod of Saskatchewan had entered into an agreement to house its records with the Saskatchewan Archives Board, an arrangement that placed restrictions upon access to the material and remained a source of concern to its own church archives for several years. [45] Such occurrences, however, are by no means

the rule. When McGill University first approached the Presbytery of Montreal for their records in the early 1970s, the court agreed to deposit their papers in this secular institution. After sustained pressure from the Committee on History, this decision was reversed and the presbytery agreed to support the Presbyterian Church Archives. [46] Sometimes pressure, if applied the right way, is more effective than endless appeals for donations.

While deposits to secular archives have been important to both the study of religious history and the nature of the collection in the Presbyterian Church Archives, they do not compare favourably with the amount of material that still remains in the hands of the congregations. A wide selection of these documents is necessary to provide the user with the spectrum of material needed for the formation of an accurate picture of the church's historical development. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the convener tried various ways of improving the Archives' profile in the hope of attracting additional donations, such as placing advertisements in _The Presbyterian Record_ outlining the Archives' services, pushing for a larger budget in order to improve facilities, and managing to get the Committee to meet in person at least once a year rather than communicating by correspondence only. Historical reports by the synods were being sent by the same four provinces year after year, and this trend varied only occasionally. This is not to say that material was not drifting to the Committee from across the country, for there were distinct areas that were more active in their efforts. Special events, such as Canada's centennial in 1967 and the Church's hundredth anniversary in 1975 created more historical interest. Each congregation was expected to acknowledge the anniversaries in some way, with the Committee stressing the need for historical writing by any church member, not necessarily the minister or clerk. These histories were to represent an objective view of church life, including the bad aspects with the good. This emphasis put many congregations into closer contact with the Church Archives, as their histories could only be written based on those records that were available.

While the increased use of its facilities has had many positive benefits for the reputation of the Church Archives, it has also raised some concern over the sensitive content of some church records. Archivists have been considered the purveyors of ultimate truth because they must never unwittingly censor material in their collections. The only exception to this rule is if the donor has placed restrictions upon the access to certain or all parts of a collection. The archivist is within his or her rights to refuse a

donation if the restrictions placed upon it are unreasonable, but recently the ability to carry out this role has been questioned by some prominent members of the Church. The Presbyterian Church Archives will never see, for instance, many of the files of one of the major figures in its history. The Rev. Dr. Louis Fowler indicated in 1976 that he had reservations about archives in general:

> There are few men left whose knowledge of the Church covers intimately 1925 to now, and very few have kept the files I have kept. I am in the process of examining over fifty years' correspondence. Much of it has been destroyed. Some will go into the Archives. [47]

Dr. Fowler was of a mind that sensitive material should not be kept for others to read. This attitude was greatly inflamed by a request that appeared in The Presbyterian Record for first-hand information relating to Church Union. Fowler quickly wrote to the editor in response to this inquiry by Professor Douglas Campbell of Erindale College, the University of Toronto:

> I am grateful ... to Dr. Campbell for making me re-think my attitude towards archives ... My decision was once to catalogue this tremendous amount of material, but I have now decided after abstracting some things of family interest to burn the rest and that I am doing forthwith. [48]

This was particularly significant since Dr. Fowler was Clerk Emeritus of the General Assembly. For a man once charged with the maintenance of the records for the highest court in the denomination, it was a stinging indictment of archives and the nature of religious historical collections. This attitude does not appear to be widespread among members of the Church, but it hints at the suspicion with which some Presbyterians view those who wish to investigate the true history of the Church, as well as those who wish to preserve its sources. The actual impact of this sentiment upon the willingness of congregations to deposit their records with the Archives is more difficult to estimate.

In spite of these pressures, the archival programme of the Committee on History has shown improvement over the past decade. New facilities for the Presbyterian Church Archives were completed in 1972 and officially opened in June 1973. This was the beginning of the next phase of development. By 1975 there was a full-time employee running the operation as opposed to the part-time staff that was used in the past. This enabled the Archivist to act as both administrator and scholar; that is, to work on developing the

collection as well as providing a reference service to an increasing number of users. [49] Greater opportunity was available to work at convincing the congregations and Church Offices in Toronto that records may originally have been created for a short-term administrative purpose, but many of them had long-term significance. The rate of donations increased steadily, and as the Archivist, Professor John S. Moir, observed in 1975, there was enough work for a full-time person in addition to a cataloguer. [50] Far more promotional writing was also done about the Archives during the 1970s than ever before. These efforts at public relations took the form of circulars, articles and brochures directed at the congregations and towards church officials. Several volunteers were directly involved in developing the Archives' profile, and all maintained a high level of enthusiasm. Professor Moir delivered a full presentation to the General Assembly in 1976 with high hopes that having a bona fide archives would prompt the delegates to even further action. The same year, Moir sent demanding requests to each clerk of presbytery asking when he could expect a microfilm copy of their minutes. [51] An additional tactic put into practice during this period was to send a congratulatory letter to congregations celebrating an anniversary, but always adding an appeal to share their historical records with the Archives. [52]

Attention was also devoted to the large amounts of records that were steadily accumulating at Church Offices. Through the years, the Board of World Missions had sent inactive records to the Archives for preservation. This office was the only regular patron depositing institutional records, and in 1977 the Archivist sought advice from the Public Archives of Canada concerning tools that might be used to educate church officials on the merits of records management. This was followed two years later by a detailed report by Alex Ross, a member of the Committee on History, which outlined the volume of records generated by head office and how they were being stored and used. He concluded that far too much valuable space was being taken up by ephemera which could be destroyed only if record scheduling were implemented. [53] The cost of such a programme was beyond the capabilities of the Church budgets at that time. This stalemate did not help the state of the Archives in the coming years. All the departments have been encouraged to make use of the Archives' services simply because the genus within a collection must be assured of protection. Weeding through the thousands of files annually imposes a crippling drain on staff time and money. Solutions for this serious predicament lie in the future, and efforts will have to be made repeatedly to convince Church Offices of the economy possible once an efficient records

system is implemented. Should these initiatives fail, the proper preservation of these lengthy runs of documents that are so important to an understanding of the Church's activities on a large scale will be unduly threatened.

The present collection housed in the Presbyterian Church Archives is representative of the diverse types of records that have been generated by the involvement of The Presbyterian Church with Canadian society for well over a century. Donations are still arriving on a regular basis, but many of the problems still remain. Congregational apathy is a particularly troubling one, as witnessed by the meagre response to a 1980 records survey conducted by the Committee on History. Out of approximately 1000 questionnaires, only 100 replies were received. [54] Interestingly enough, several of those that were returned had failed to answer the section requiring a decision regarding their willingness to deposit the original records of the congregation, or a copy of the same, in the Archives. The increasing commitment of the Committee to a professionally-run Archives, coupled with an improving reputation and higher profile within the denomination, will help to offset this problem to some degree. Much more could still be done to improve the communications network throughout the Church, and beyond it to other potential donors, through personal contact. A one-page report in the Acts and Proceedings, which is seen by relatively few people, is not sufficient to bring the Archives othe attention of many who are not adequately aware of its role in the religious and academic communities. Despite these factors, it is still difficult to get away from the fact that the Presbyterian Church Archives collection has largely been shaped by the historic development of the Church, and the relationship between the Committee on History and the Church courts.

NOTES

1. John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: a history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1975), p. 144
2. In most instances, the term "church records" is best applied to the documents generated by the denomination's courts, as well as those produced by administrative bodies within the Presbyterian Church; see The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives [hereafter cited as PCCA], John S. Moir, "For the Record: a brief introduction to definitions, policies and practices for the records of The Presbyterian Church in Canada" (Toronto, 1979), p. 3. In the context of this paper, however, the term has been broadened to include the wide range of textual and graphic materials that were sought for the Church's archives, such as clerical correspondence, photographs, and

congregational histories.

3. The bulk of this section on church government is based upon the General Assembly's The Book of Forms (revised ed.; Toronto, 1933).

4. David Gagan and H.E. Turner, "Social History in Canada: a report on the state of the art", Archivaria, no. 14 (Summer 1982), 29.

5. Margaret Ray, "The Presbyterian Archives Collection of Victoria University", United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, The Bulletin, no. 14 (1951), 7.

6. Mabel E. Deutrich, "American Church Archives -- an overview", American Archivist, XXIV (1961), 391.

7. PCCA, Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada [hereafter cited as A & P], 1879, p. 57; 1880, p. 58; 1916, p. 39.

8. ibid., 1879, p. 58

9. ibid.

10. Ray, op. cit., p. 8

11. ibid.

12. A & P, 1917, p. 256.

13. Kent M. Haworth, "Local Archives: responsibilities and challenges for archivists", Archivaria, no. 3 (Winter 1976-77), 33.

14. James W. Geary, "Catholic Archives in a Public Institution: a case study of the arrangement between Kent State University and the Diocese of Youngstown, Ohio", American Archivist, XLVI (1983), 177.

15. ibid.

16. August Suelflow, "Maximum and Minimum Standards for Religious Archives", American Archivist, XXXII (1969), 225.

17. H.W. Barker, "The History of the United Church Archives", United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, The Bulletin, no. 1 (1948), 34.

18. A & P, 1920, p. 285.

19. ibid., 1918, p. 253.

20. ibid., 1921, p. 265.

21. Francis X. Blouin, Mary Pearson, Andrea Hinding and John A. Fleckner, "Surveys of Historical Records", American Archivist, XL (1977), 304.

22. Linda J. Henry, "Collecting Policies of Special-Subject Repositories", American Archivist, XLIII (1980), 60.

23. August Suelflow, "Preserving Church Historical Resources", American Archivist, XXVIII (1965), 240.

24. Ray, op. cit., p. 8.

25. A & P, 1921, p. 267.

26. Jean Tener, "Accessibility and Archives", Archivaria, no. 6 (Summer 1978), 24.

27. R.W. Dickie, Presbyterianism: its Origins and Principles (Montreal, 1925), p. 143.

28. William Warren Sweet, "Church Archives in the United States", American Archivist, XIV (1951), 328.

29. A & P, 1929, p. 133.

30. Tom Nesmith, "Archives from the Bottom Up: social history and archival scholarship", Archivaria, no. 14 (Summer 1982), 26.

31. L.G. Thomas, "Churches and Church Records in the History of the Canadian West", United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, The Bulletin, no. 13 (1960), 19.

32. Terry Cook, "The Tyranny of the Medium: a comment on 'Total Archives'", Archivaria, no. 9 (Winter 1979-80), 142.

33. Suelflow, "Preserving ..." (see note 23), p. 251.

34. Archibald Bennett, "The Record Copying Program of the Utah Genealogical Society", American Archivist, XVI (1953), 229.

35. A & P, 1936, p. 110.

36. Suelflow, "Maximum and Minimum ..." (see note 16), p. 228.

37. A & P, 1940, p. 116.

38. Cook, op. cit., p. 142.

39. Geary, op. cit., p. 181.

40. Bennett, op. cit., p. 230.

41. Henry, op. cit., p. 60.

42. See Allen Turner's remarks in W. Kaye Lamb, et al., "Acquisitions Policy: Competition or Cooperation?", Canadian Archivist/L"Archiviste Canadien, II (1970), 29.

43. This information is based upon a conversation recently held between the author and Patricia Birkett of the Public Archives of Canada.

44. PCCA, Administrative Files, General Correspondence, Smith to the clerk of session of Knox Church, Milton, Ontario, 18 June 1965.

45. ibid., Synod Correspondence, 1976-77; Report of the Archivist, 10 March 1981, p. 2.

46. ibid., Administrative Files, General Correspondence, Rev. Wilfred Moncrief to Rev. John A. Johnston, 30 April 1975.

47. ibid., Fowler to Rev. John A. Johnston, 3 June 1976.

48. "Why recreate battles?", The Presbyterian Record, June 1981, p. 28.

49. Nesmith, op. cit. (see note 30), p. 6.

50. PCCA, Administrative Files, General Correspondence, Moir to Rev. John A. Johnston, 21 June 1975.

51. ibid., Moir's correspondence for 1976.

52. ibid., Rev. Fred Rennie to Rev. John A. Johnston, 25 February 1973.

53. ibid., Alex Ross, "Preliminary Report on Records Handling Procedures at the Presbyterian Church Offices" [1979].

54. ibid., Report of the Archivist, November 1981, p. 1.

N.B. A bibliography, listing primary and secondary sources of information useful to anyone interested in the subjects mentioned in this paper, is available from the author at Presbyterian Church Archives, c/o Knox College, 59 St. George St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 2E6.

"SATAN IN SOLUTION" [1]:
Presbyterians and the liquor traffic, 1895 - 1915

by Michael Owen

"There are some snakes whose poison is so deadly that the tiniest drop, if it gets into the blood, will cause great pain or death. Strong drink is like the deadly bite of such serpents." [2]

It is quite probable that no other issue of reform preoccupied the Canadian Presbyterian Church more completely than the temperance debate in the period 1895-1915. The Presbyterian Church branded both the liquor traffic and the drink habit as sins against the individual, the nation and God. Drink's consequences for individuals, families and the nation clearly identified the liquor trade as "our great national sin". [3] Presbyterian social reformers believed that this sin could be conquered with the conventional tactics used to banish other "modern day" social problems -- education and legislation. Education in the Sabbath school and constant moral suasion through the denominational press prepared Canadian Presbyterians to be receptive to the progressive Christian legislation and social reform programs advocated by Church reformers in the first decade and one-half of the twentieth century.

Rev. W.D. Reid, of Montreal, exhorted Presbyterians to "educate, educate, educate. Let education begin in the home. Educate in the schools. Educate in our Sunday schools. In our 'Junior Endeavor Societies', in our

'Bands of Hope', and in our 'Boys' Brigades', let us educate, educate, educate; show the sin and crime of drink and the drink traffic and we shall raise up a generation of men and women that will one day sweep aside the curse from our land." [4] Thus did Reid encapsulate Presbyterian temperance effort of the building up of a body of information on the physical, social, economic and moral effects of liquor; instructing church members and the public in the evils of the liquor traffic; and educating the children. Pamphlets, Sabbath School lessons, sermons and the denominational press enlightened church members and the rising generation and elicited from them pledges of abstinence.

Although an integral element of the secular prohibition movement, education dominated the Presbyterian temperance crusade, overshadowing the denomination's agitation for reform of liquor licensing laws. The Presbyterian temperance endeavours examined in this paper reflected that church's proclivities to study social problems and to instruct adherents in the necessity of social reform while integrating it with a traditional emphasis on individual moral reform. This study of the Church's crusade relies on the reports of church committees and boards, the church press and published pamphlets. Reports to the General Assembly, particularly those of the Board on Moral and Social Reform after 1908, reviewed official church policy, surveyed the provincial temperance fields and the progress of local-option plebiscites, and outlined further reform efforts to be undertaken. These reports mapped the path to individual and social salvation -- education and legislation. The press and pamphlets, while more polemical, focused the denomination's attention on its moral and civic responsibility. The pulpit and the Assembly's committees allied with the press to direct the war against drink and to criticize those human frailties and the power of Satan which prevented the achievement of the goal of national salvation.

The Presbyterian press constantly presented to subscribers, children, adolescents and adults alike, the contrast between the evils of liquor and the benefits of abstinence. This essay outlines the dichotomy between the use of liquor which undermined one's health, consumed one's wealth and destroyed one's family and the moral, social, physical and economic benefits of abstinence, as Presbyterian temperance reformers understood them. Abstinence and its logical extension, prohibition, promised nothing but good for men and women, their families, the church and the nation. Liquor delivered nothing but destruction and sorrow. The press underscored these divisions time after time.

* * * * * * *

The pre-war Presbyterian temperance campaign was primarily a moral crusade. In Social Movements, Paul Wilkinson argues that turn-of-the-century religious, reform crusades were "desperate" moral reform movements "built upon rational discussion, rational persuasion, and drafting of practicable ... programmes and legislative action." The temperament of such reformist movements was "dedicated and determined;" their methods were "outstandingly realistic, intelligent, practical and effective." [5] This describes the Presbyterian temperance campaign.

Other historians of progressive-era social movements have not been so understanding of temperance advocates or their motives. American historians such as Richard Hofstadter and Robert Weibe have focused on issues of social control and the middle class's search for order and presented the temperance movement as a perversion of the social reform impulse. [6] In The Symbolic Crusade, Joseph Gusfield has argued that middle-class Protestants, "unable to preserve the status quo," attempted "to impose at least one tenet of their personal morality -- sobriety -- on the larger society." [7] Gusfield portrays temperance as a crusade which seemed "at once naive, intolerant, saintly and silly," as evidenced by the "excessive moral perfectionism" of the "devoted sectarians" who were "unable to compromise" with human nature. Although these "sectarians" displayed "the reputed American faith in the power of the Law to correct all evils," such "moralism and utopianism [brought] smiles to the cynical and fear to the sinners."[8]

For Canadian Presbyterians there was nothing silly, naive or "peevish" about a movement to destroy the power of this "hydra-headed evil." [9] Canadian "saints" sounded intolerant because they had grown furious at the huge cost of the liquor traffic in human lives and to the economy. Their intolerance was tempered with a humanitarian appeal for the rescue of the fallen and their families and children. In his analysis of the Canadian prohibition between 1917 and 1926, Richard Allen claims that legislated prohibition was "a rational response to a genuine social evil" and reflected the Anglo-Protestant belief in the "efficacy of legislative reform for moral and humanistic purposes." [10] Early twentieth-century attempts to enact legal codes and to enforce liquor licence laws, prevalent among Presbyterians, mirrored this faith in the rule of law. The leaders of the Presbyterian temperance campaign, however, considered restictive legislation would complement, not replace, education as the primary means to eliminate drink. Yet, in the final battle to rid society of this evil, legislation became the

most potent mechanism to achieve the goal of a temperate society -- through strictly restrictive regulations and prohibitionary laws.

I

"A sufferer to be uplifted"

Since historians have portrayed the temperance movements of the Protestant churches and secular agencies as efforts by the middle class to secure its social station, it is most likely that the Presbyterian Church temperance crusade drew its support mainly from rural and urban middle-class congregations. The middle-class nature of the Presbyterian crusade is revealed in the portrayal of the working classes in the Presbyterian temperance literature in which "drinking was pictured as a major cause of the misfortunes of the ... poor. Temperance was described as a way to copy middle-class habits." [11]

Presbyterian advocates of temperance did not claim to represent the "workingman", but saw themselves as benevolent philanthropists, patriots and evangelical Christians. They believed that they acted in the best interests of the workingmen and their families when they proposed stricter licence laws and stricter enforcement of laws, and attempted to extract abstinence pledges from all classes. Presbyterian agencies, particularly Rev. J.G. Shearer's Board on Moral and Social Reform, endeavoured to ensure that the message of abstinence was understood by sympathetic officers of the Trades and Labour Councils. Presbyterian and labour temperance advocates appealed to the self-interest of the working class with the claim that abstinent workers found steadier employment, were less likely to be involved in industrial accidents, enjoyed greater prosperity and devoted more time to their families, thus improving their standard of living. Abstinent workers were hailed as good Christians and dutiful citizens. Temperance, therefore, held out to the working classes the greatest potential for economic and social improvement. [12]

Presbyterian temperance advocates argued that the economic threat of employers' sanctions against the intemperate or the moderate drinker (by preventing the consumption of liquor at the workplace or the employment of those who tippled) would prove to be a benevolent cudgel. Through threats of economic sanctions, Presbyterian temperance advocates attempted to transform temperance from a restrictive moral reform into a programme of orderliness and of self-improvement for the lower orders. [13] In addition to improved working conditions and home life, workers would be more alive to their own interests, their employers' interests, and those of the country. If labour

disputes did occur, the workers' cause would not be undermined by the tragedy of drink-related crime and riot. Harmony in industry, the workers were told, would benefit the whole of the nation. [14] The temperance advocates, as possessors of the truth, preached to the labouring classes to adhere to the principles of abstinence for the good of themselves and the nation.

The Presbyterian plea was directed more to the employers than to the workers. Presbyterian temperance advocates encouraged employers to enforce a strict code of abstinence upon their employees. Benefits to accrue to the entrepreneurs, the railroads and industrial interests if alcohol was eliminated from the work-place included improved worker efficiency, orderliness and productivity, reduced incidence of costly accidents and a more docile labour force. [15] It was in the employers' interest to support temperance movements and institute strict anti-drink regulations for their employees.

Temperance in Canada was a middle-class and, primarily, a Protestant phenomenon. [16] The religiosity and moralism of the temperance movement attracted the rising middle class and the progressive Christian who was "not for fundamental changes in the structure which produced the [social] conflicts. What he wanted was for institutions to be operated in a more moral manner. He wanted to ameliorate their operation when they proved harsh and unChristian. He was not looking for a new model on which to build a new order of things" but to the model of the second Kingdom. [17] The social gospel of an imminent Kingdom of God had reshaped traditional temperance programs of individual salvation into crusades for social and national salvation.

The temperance sentiment of Canadian Presbyterianism was closely tied to the turn-of-the-century progressive and moral reform movements. Gusfield claims for the United States that the "attempt to produce an abstinent society was based on a desire to enhance the moral character of self and others." Religion and individual perfection went hand in hand. So too did temperance and social salvation. If "the man of spiritual conviction [was] known by his style of living," so too the Christian nation. "Religious compulsion drove men to build a more perfect world because it was right" and demanded by the Lord Jesus Christ. [18] "Duty, not utility, played a major hand in [this] reformist upsurge." [19] Social utility, Allen argues, was also an important consideration for the ultimate success of the reform. [20] Social utility, since it was tied to social and moral uplift of all classes, enhanced the perceived efficiency of prohibition to social-reform-minded Presbyterians.

In Nova Scotia, argues E.R. Forbes, the prohibitionists' rhetoric

utilized the theology of the social gospel and as a result prohibition acquired "a much wider appeal particularly to the young and idealistic than under its previous image of a mere crusade against sin. ... If Christ died to save society, individual whims and wishes would have to be sacrificed for the same goal. The reformer only need prove that society was being harmed by a certain abuse and it was the duty of the Christian to support its removal." [21] Canadian Presbyterian youth were taught that liquor harmed society beyond computation. Drink was a curse to women, children and men. Therefore, Rev. R.H. Abraham urged youthful readers of The Dominion Presbyterian, it was "the duty of the patriot and the Church member to do all in their power to remove this common hindrance out of the way of national success and the path of the Christian Church."[22]

Temperance or total abstinence was the foundation for other social reforms as well. To rid society of drink was to go some way in combatting the evils of poverty, ill-health, ignorance, vice and crime. Progressive and conservative churchmen, as Forbes points out, emphasized the problem of intemperance. "Not only was alcoholism a serious social problem in itself, but it was ... an important contributory cause to a host of other ills, including poverty, disease, the disintegration of the family," and industrial accidents. [23]

Presbyterian churchgoers responded to the perceived decline in morals, social relations and religion by supporting temperance education and local option initiatives. On the ever-expanding urban and industrial frontiers liquor consumption and its ill-effects were sharply contrasted with the ideal Christian life. Transplanted rural Canadian Presbyterians decried the accompanying plague of social disintegration -- the decline of the family and Church, disrespect for the law and the desecration of the Sabbath. [24]

Intemperance, in fact, was believed to be the foundation for all forms of evil in society. The widespread conviction that slums, brothels, industrial accidents, crime and poverty were "caused" by liquor injected a militant tone into Presbyterian pamphlets, sermons, and lessons. While the "conversionist tone of the movement portrayed the drinker in the [sad] image of a sufferer to be uplifted," the "enemy to be conquered" -- the Liquor Traffic -- was portrayed as ravaging the family and society. Toronto cartoonist J.W. Bengough graphically portrayed the rapid decline of the "sot" from respectable status to the gutter and the grave. [25] Others taught that the saloon-keeper stole respectability from all classes. Anti-drink essayists complained that the "drink habit" kept food off the table and clothes off the

backs of the children and wives of inebriates. [26] "The effort to bring religion to social action [evoked] the sentiments of a [pious] middle class ... disturbed by the slums, the factory, and the multiple problems of an expanding industrial economny" [27] and the suffering of others. Yet, to classify temperance purely as a middle-class sentiment ignores the large lower-class following that temperance must have attracted. [28] Otherwise, temperance, in the form of restrictive bylaws, would not have succeeded in the electoral contests for local option.

Outraged at the cost in human lives, middle-class Presbyterian temperance crusaders sympathized with the victims of alcohol, especially those of the working classes (while at the same time blaming the victims for their condition), and directed their indignation against the manufacturers who prospered by drink. [29] Temperance reformers perceived the liquor distribution system as an octopus with its tentacles stretching into the rooms of the hotel owners and into the halls of legislatures. The "World's Temperance Lesson" in The Teacher's Monthly succinctly summarized the threat of the liquor traffic to Canada: "If the State does not control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State; words sadly true." [30] Although the ascendency of liquor interests may not have existed as potently in reality as it did in the minds of temperance reformers, historical evidence does suggest that manufacturers exerted tremendous influence over legislators and a degree of control over hotel bars. [31] Temperance reformers believed that bartenders encouraged "treating", the practice of the bar buying a patron a drink with the expectation that those "treated" would reciprocate, and thereby fostered the drink habit and contributed to poverty, immorality and crime. [32] Presbyterian temperance reformers believed they had a Christian duty and a democratic right to eliminate that Traffic. Changing these conditions was a most important call of the Presbyterian Church between 1895 and 1918.

II

"Unto the Third Generation"

Foreshadowing Presbyterian temperance sentiment for the next half century, Rev. William Ormiston's "Pastoral Letter" of December 25, 1869, to Canadian Presbyterians delineated the trials of drink:

> The vice of intemperance is alarmingly prevalent, and exerts its insidious and malign influence among all classes of society. Its baneful effects are seen not only among the poor, the ignorant, the degraded and immoral, but

> also among the wealthy, the influential, the respectable, and the professedly religious. Neither age nor sex, rank nor class, station nor profession, is exempt. It ruthlessly drags its hopeless victims from every quarter, and its malignant reign casts its shadow over all; no man is free from danger, no home secure from invasion. The vast army which, under its fatal spell, marches on through indigence, vice, impurity, profanity, recklessness and ruin to a dishonoured grave and hopeless future, is being ever recruited from the homes of the happy, the prosperous, and the moral, as well as from the hovels of the wretched, the outcast and the vile.
>
> It is utterly impossible to estimate the extent and magnitude of the evils -- financial, moral and spiritual -- which either accompany or flow from the use of alcoholic beverages. [33]

The causal relationship between the "traffic in intoxicating liquors" and "the loss of life, labour, capital, time and skill" and crime, pauperism, depravity and vice were repeated regularly in the Presbyterian press and the reports of the Committee on Temperance and Board on Moral and Social Reform. [34]

Both Rev. Ormiston and early twentieth-century Presbyterian reformers condemned the traffic in intoxicating liquors for its pernicious effects on the spiritual life of the people. The Liquor Traffic, Ormiston lamented, reduced the Church's "influence, by relaxing discipline, and lowering the tone and standard of vital piety."

> Its direct tendency is to prevent the diffusion of the gospel truth, and to diminish its power on the hearts and consciences of men, either by estranging them from the House of God and its ordinances, or by unfitting them for profiting by attendance. ... It is ever the bane of Sabbath observance, Church attendance, Sunday School and Bible Class instruction. It retards and counteracts the work of evangelization at home. [35]

The drink habit, Ormiston maintained, excluded men from the Kingdom of God. The intemperate man, claimed <u>The Dominion Presbyterian</u> of April 8, 1903, "had the gates of the holy city ... shut against him." [36]

Nothing was more ironic to Presbyterian crusaders than a Christian

society protecting with laws and licences the fountainhead of crime, poverty, misery and immorality that was the liquor trade. Presbyterian temperance advocates repeatedly cited the causal relationship between liquor and the evils of society. Rev. R.M. Hamilton, Presbyterian Field Secretary of the Dominion Alliance, asked Bible Class Magazine subscribers to "note well the fate of men who drink. ... Make a record of how frequently the daily newspapers, in recounting the crimes of a day, state that the suicide, murderer or embezzler had been drinking." [37] The saloon, Rev. P.M. MacDonald warned youthful perusers of East and West, "is acknowledged to be the chief cause of poverty, crime and the debasement of society." [38] Mrs. Edith Jacques stressed the urgency of establishing of White Ribbon Armies in Presbyterian Sunday schools with the claim that "84% of all criminal convictions are caused by drink." [39] The removal of the drink habit, Presbyterian temperance advocates argued, would eliminate much crime.

The Presbyterian Review of June 13, 1901, expressed confidence that "Temperance would Transform the Earth." "To inspire each of us to make some effort, make a list of the houses where the evil influence of strong drink has not been felt in any one member of the family. It will surprise us to find how few there are ... Prison houses and all asylums would be scarce were breweries and distilleries not so plentiful." [40] The link between the Liquor Traffic and crime and mental illness was evident in the statistical accounts of criminal courts, prisons and asylums which analysed the relationship of inmates' incarceration to drink. The rising maintenance costs of gaols and asylums enhanced the powerful moral and financial arguments against drink. The Presbyterian temperance pamphleteer, Rev. D.C. MacGregor, tallied up the "indirect costs" of Canada's Greatest Burden in 1913: "Hospitals, Asylums, Prisons, Costs of Justice $14,174,571 of which 50% was due to drink, or $7,087,285." [41] The financial and moral burden of the liquor traffic weighed heavily upon society. A more devastating list of marks against an economic and moral parasite would have been unlikely and few church members would have found its indictment unbelievable.

Presbyterian temperance advocates reasoned that, since crime was unacceptable, that which contributed to such a massive amount of crime must be eliminated. To underscore this message The Dominion Presbyterian drew the attention of Presbyterians to America's "fearful record" of homicide. [42] Nor did Canada want for examples of liquor-induced crime. Rev. Dr. W.A. MacKay of Woodstock, Ontario, decried the amount of drink-related crime in Toronto. "Drunkenness is on the increase ... The police say that cell accommodation is

entirely inadequate, even on an ordinary night." Police Magistrate Col. Denison was reported to have said: "We are having a carnival of crime through drink." All this in Christian Toronto! Again MacKay cited the irony of "bar-rooms, licensed and protected by a law made by a Christian people," destroying the peace and prosperity of that people. [43]

On February 8, 1905, editor C. Blackett Robinson praised prohibition Kansas where "forty counties ... do not have a single pauper. The jails in thirty-seven are without a single inmate." [44] Even closing saloons for one day in the week, especially the Sabbath, had a salutary effect. "Great good is resulting from the closing of saloons in St. Louis on Sunday," reported The Dominion Presbyterian. "Five of the twelve police districts did not have an arrest, and in general the result was a decrease of fifty per cent in arrests for drunkenness and assaults to kill." Sunday was a day which the working classes commonly spent in conviviality. The message was clear. If the saloons were closed entirely, the crime rate would plunge and the life of the working-class family would be enhanced immeasurably.

Canadian municipalities and counties which strictly enforced local option bylaws reported greatly reduced rates of crime. The Dominion Presbyterian had proclaimed the effectiveness of "the P.E.I. prohibitory law": Charlottetown's "peace and order and quiet ... are maintained by a much smaller police force than in the years of licence." [45] After 1908, the annual reports of the Board on Moral and Social Reform traced the salubrious relationship between prohibition or local option bylaws and their strict enforcement, and the reduction of crime, vice and pauperism.

In addition to linking crime to drink, Presbyterian temperance reformers advocated that drink would destroy the mental and moral character of the nation. Drink affected not only the imbiber, but also, if a man, the health of his wife, children, and grandchildren. The Presbyterian Review of 13 June 1901 informed subscribers that "in one home an accomplished daughter is hopelessly insane through the influence of strong drink; in another the youngest son is a victim ..." [46] The February 1905 Presbyterian Record described "How the Brain is Affected" by the "continuous use of alcohol." Liquor "so alters the texture of the brain cells the change in them can now be precisely demonstrated by our modern microscopic methods of examining them" after death. [47] T.S. Clouston, M.D., claimed that alcohol imbibed by the parent inhibited the child's defence mechanisms against disease and increased the tendency toward mental illness and breakdown. There is, Clouston divulged,

> an alcoholic risk which all men and women who have any love for their country and race should well ponder over ... the tendency to the transmission to unborn future generations of such lack of moral and physical fibre as results in mental and bodily degeneration and weakness. Few surer ways exist of killing all the strong, manly and healthy characteristics of any race than widespread alcoholic excess in its fathers and mothers. It may not take the exact form of alcoholic excess in the children -- it often does -- but general deterioration and decay is a certain result. How can it be otherwise, when the germ plasm is poisoned and the children neglected and allowed to grow up in an unfavourable physical and mental environment. [48]

The October 1905 <u>Presbyterian Record</u> warned its readers that the "son of a drinking man or woman has less a chance of health and active mental facilities than of total abstinence parents. Statistics show alarming facts in this particularity. Parents, give the boys a chance ... and a start without a hereditary peril." [49]

"The whole matter of using alcohol as a ... medicine is a fallacy," declared <u>The Dominion Presbyterian.</u> "Let it be understood that ... alcohol is the deadly poison." [50] When the British Medical Association endorsed temperance at its 1906 Toronto convention, its stand was praised by Presbyterian editors. C. Blackett Robinson reported that "these distinguished men gave surprising information as to the present trend of medical opinion respecting the uselessness, and indeed harmfulness, of the use of alcohol even in medicine and surgery." The value of alcohol "as a drug was practically nil." [51] This opinion of eminent physicians buttressed Presbyterian temperance enthusiasm. As late as 1913, Rev. D.C. MacGregor preached to church members on the medical consequences of drink, especially mental illness. [52] The Church could not in good conscience allow the Canadian people to continue to poison their children. Race suicide was the end of alcohol use.

Physical and mental deterioration caused by drink had been a controversial topic since the mid-nineteenth century. Encouraged by the findings of medicine, Presbyterian temperance reformers could assert with confidence that "science" was on the side of temperance. [53]

> The dictum of science on the subject of moderate drinking is by no means ambiguous, says a physician of wide experience.

> It cannot support the plea that alcohol is a harmless, pleasant beverage. It cannot support the plea of the moderate drinker that alcohol is an aid to health, but it does support the position of the total abstainer with an emphasis which is culpable to disregard. It shows that the abstainer can do more and better work, live longer and healthier than the moderate drinker. Science, in short, shows that the abstainer lives a normal life, while the moderate drinker lives the abnormal. [54]

The liquor traffic's most baneful impact was on the social relationships of the family. "The fearful effects of intemperance on the hopes and happiness of the family, who can depict?" Ormiston rhetorically queried. [55] The International Sunday School Lesson for November 16, 1895, portrayed how alcohol rent apart the natural relations of the family.

> Nothing about this curse of drunkenness is so sad as the home-coming. Children, that should rush with outstretched arms toward an eager loving father, shrinking away from him. No loving word for the pale wife and trembling mother. No cheery meal, no pleasant evening around the household lamp, nothing but growls and blows or driveling and sottishness... No man is so low but drunkenness can degrade him still lower. There is no sin so vile but drunkenness can add to its iniquity. Our tears fall thick when we think of the widow's broken heart and the orphan's cry, the blows, the curses, the fearful delirium, the dismantled home, the prison bars, the soul whirling madly down to hell. [56]

Intemperance destroyed the social and religious life of the family. Time after time, Presbyterian observers condemned the outrageous cost of drink to the family. Intemperance made even the mother misplace her priorities. In "What Whiskey Makes a Mother," the abuse of alcohol is succinctly stated: " Can a mother forget her child? Yes, when she is addicted to the habit of strong drink. Poverty cannot make her forget. Suffering cannot, but strong drink can." [57] Could there be a greater indictment of the use of alcohol?

Editorials which caricatured wives pleading with husbands, children with fathers as the latter entered the tavern to spend their wages, lampooned any suggestion that the saloon was a workingman's club. [58] Money that should have been expended on food, clothing and rent was misspent in the saloon, grog-shop or liquor-selling grocery store. Reports from Ontario's Houses of

Refuge, Rev. D.C. MacGregor revealed, "showed that in 61.3 per cent. of the cases on inmates, drink was the cause of poverty." [59] Although "it is doubtless true that there are many other causes leading to poverty," MacGregor acknowledged, "anyone who fails to see intemperance [as] one of the contributory causes, closes his eyes to facts plainly visible in every community." The Committee on Church Life and Work between 1895 and 1907 revealed that presbyteries believed that intemperance was a major cause of poverty. The Board on Moral and Social Reform, after 1908, etched this belief in stone. [60] In summary, the Presbyterian reformers argued that drink created a continuous breeding-ground for criminals and future degenerates. Drink debauched family life and with it religion and the nation. Home missionaries on the urban, industrial and agricultural frontiers confirmed that nothing so much as drink contributed to irreligion and hindered the Church's progress. [61] Drink was the cause of societal suicide!

III

"The Plan of Work"

If drink caused such havoc in the cities and frontier towns, why had the legislatures and the churches done so little to solve the problem? The answer, Presbyterian temperance supporters claimed, was power and money. The Liquor Traffic corrupted voters and politicians with bribes and drink. In addition, alcohol debauched the young men and prevented them from forming favourable opinions. Finally, the church's educational campaign had not yet produced overwhelming results, despite the proliferation of temperance pamphlets and sermons.

Presbyterians who demanded that these conditions be altered gained confidence and strength after 1895. The in-house press, the Assembly's Committee on Church Life and Work (C.C.L.W.) and Board on Moral and Social Reform, and the Sabbath Schools were the Presbyterian educational agencies in the battle against the liquor traffic. The reports from the sessions and synods to the Committee on Church Life and Work claimed "a very general conse nsus that Temperance principles [were] making headway among our people." Conviction "that the liquor traffic is an unmitigated evil, and that the fidelity to Christian duty, and compassion for men, forbid any compromise with a foe so terrible, or any method of settling the controversy short of its utter extermination" deepened within the Church. [62]

While the Committee on Church Life and Work was assured that the moral aspects of temperance were never "relegated to a subordinate place by our

ministers and people," many presbyteries apparently did not support the temperance reformers' initiatives to introduce public school students to compulsory scientific temperance instruction. This ambivalence of the presbyteries testified to sharp divisions within church memberships' attitudes toward temperance. [63] The C.C.L.W. convenors failed to offer explanations for the contradictory opinions of the presbyteries presented in its reports.

By 1897, Presbyterian Sabbath Schools and Christian Endeavour Societies had been organized for aggressive temperance work. The "Plan of Work" directed by Rev. D. Stiles Fraser called for the distribution of pledge cards, books and manuals, and the creation of Bands of Hope and juvenile Total Abstinence societies. His reason: "With a generation of total abstainers the liquor traffic will die for lack of customers, and there will spring up a society that will know nothing of the drinking customs that still have so strong a hold on the social life of many people." [65] Prophetically, Fraser claimed that the rising generation would enact prohibition laws and enforce stringent regulations. The "Plan of Work," apparently the Church's most successful educational project, proved that the Church knew where and how to influence the future history of the nation -- through the children. [66]

The Presbyterian plan of work may be found in the church's periodicals. These publications printed the temperance lessons of the International Sunday School Committee for use in Sabbath Schools, Christian Endeavour Societies, Bands of Hope and the home as well as articles on the progress of temperance and prohibition. The most fascinating aspect of these lessons was their didacticism and the many scriptural excerpts, which often appeared without explanation. Both lessons and scriptures were intended to form strong attitudes in the children against drink and equally strong predispositions for prohibition. In Sabbath School classes these scriptures were embellished, but their message remained stark. Drink led to Hell. The 31 January 1903 Y.P.S.C.E. lesson in East and West, "Benhadad's Defeat," taught that "many penalties" followed "in the train" of intemperance. "Some affect the body, others the soul. Some belong to time, others are eternal." [67] Lessons on the Children's Pages of denominational journals strengthened the message that alcohol wreaked destruction on the body, the character and the soul. [68] The 15 July 1895 "International Sunday School Lesson" in The Presbyterian Review had as its central truth "Total Abstinence." The "Golden Text" was Lev. X, 9: "Do not drink wine or strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee," and Presbyterian young people were informed that:

No stronger prohibitive language could be used than that of

our lesson ... If we must abstain from wine or strong drink when going into the tabernacle, how much more necessary is it that we should abstain from taking into these sacred temples of God the forbidden thing? ... Drink darkens the mind, clouds the conscience, unsettles the judgment, and dulls the moral sense; therefore abstain ... A clear mind, and a good example are two essentials of successful teaching that strong drink ruins.

What Can I Do?

BE A TOTAL ABSTAINER ...

BE A PROHIBITIONIST. -- Nothing short of total prohibition will ever solve the liquor problem ... Many of us are ... trying to regulate the traffic, to mop up the evil, to carry it away in a pail, when the solution is 'turn off the tap'. [69]

In March 1895 the Review editor had recited verse after verse outlining the damning consequences of, and the scriptural prohibitions against, drink. "Scriptures are the Truest and Best Upon Which to Teach Total Abstinence" and made unnecessary "the many debatable arguments upon which temperance teaching is often based and disputed ... Do not let us forget that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, liberty not to be used as an occasion to the flesh, but, in regard for bodies which God has made the Temples of the Holy Ghost." [70] The message to Presbyterian children, youth and adults was: do not desecrate these holy "temples".

Six years later, in "For Our Young People," The Review condemned as the causes of intemperance the treating practice and the unsatisfactory example of elders. "Nine-tenths of the drink appetite ... had its origin in the example of some other man ... It was awakened by the invitation of a companion to take a glass, or by the offer by some fair hand of the pleasant wine, and from this beginning it grew till the man or woman has become a wreck." The body and spirit proved to be easy prey for the corrupter. The lesson then provided statistics on the destruction of families, the rise of crime and the increase in the number of gaols and asylums as a result of drink. [71] Rev. W.J. Clark, of London, prepared the "World's Temperance Sunday" lesson for The Dominion Presbyterian of November 16, 1906, using Isaiah 28: 14-15. Citing God's wrath for those who defied his commandments, Clark reviled drink: "Here is a power that is constantly destroying the

fairest and noblest work of God, does it not deserve to be hated by us with a holy, burning, undying hatred?" The key to reform, Clark asserted, was "Precept ... upon precept ... Impressions are deepened by repetition." [72] Thus did temperance advocates keep the issue before the children. Repetition of temperance principles and scriptural prohibitions was the plan of action. The issue was not allowed to die.

If youthful church-goers were taught that total abstinence was in accordance with the word of God, more often were they instructed about the destructive power of the saloon. "The saloon is the most terrible of sins against the brotherhood of man ... As the only permanent cure for poison is no poison, so the remedy for the saloon is no saloon." [73] That Christians were their brothers' keepers was another temperance lesson. "During the year ending June 30, 1905, the amount spent on intoxicants, throughout the Dominion was $54,547,382. In the manufacture of liquor, 3,700,000 bushels of grain, which might have gone to feed the hungry, were destroyed. At a very low estimate the loss of 4,000 human lives ... can be traced to the drink traffic. $3,534,608 of the amount spent in caring for the neglected, helpless, insane and criminal classes may be fairly charged to the traffic in drink." [74] Much expense and misery could be avoided if Christian Canadians were more concerned about the welfare of their fellow citizens and abolished the traffic in drink. From an economic viewpoint, illustrations of the human cost of the traffic in drink were very powerful.

"Why Not Stop It[!]" the editor of The Presbyterian Record demanded poignantly in September 1914. "The great cause of social crime is drink. The great cause of poverty is drink. When I hear of a family broken up, I ask the cause -- drink." [75] The young people were instructed how to rid the society of this evil -- through total abstinence. Since "patriotism should be a part of your religion," and since drink destroyed the nation by degrading its families, disrupted the economy and disturbed church missions, its removal was portrayed as a patriotic Christian duty. In the November 1913 Presbyterian Record, Rev. D.C. MacGregor, bonding together patriotism, religion and temperance, once again decried the cost in lives, social relationships, religion and lost production to the Dominion. [76]

It is in the youth, Rev. D. Stiles Fraser had claimed, that "the hope for the future success of the Temperance effort" lies. [77] The 1899 C.C.L.W. was of the opinion "that in training the young, self-control requires to be strenuously insisted upon in regard to ... sinful tendencies." In some presbyteries, the Quarterly Lesson was the only opportunity embraced to

instruct the children in temperance principles, in others Bands of Hope exerted "a wholesome influence among the children." In others, the Temperance Committee of the Y.P.S.C.E. did "good work among the young." This 1899 report of the Committee on Church Life and Work claimed that "the rising generation in the Church is being diligently taught by parents, pastors, and Sabbath School teachers, on the subject of 'Temperance'." Apparently, continued convenor Rev. Robert Wright, the Church's efforts to inculcate the principles of temperance "have not been put forth in vain."

> Should the same rate of progress maintained in recent years be continued, the day is not far distant ... when our country ... will not depend on the favour of the government to protect the people from this great evil. Defence will be found ... in an enlightened public conscience. [78]

Wright's prophecy that the temperance ideal would "inevitably find expression in such wise and righteous law as the country requires," was fulfilled two decades later.

In 1900 convenor Rev. John Pringle demanded that the "work of educating our young people in the principles of temperance should not be allowed to relax. While we may strive for the best laws to suppress the sale of liquors, the work of education must continue with zeal." Why? Since the saloon was "ever busy making recruits for the ranks of drinkers and drunkards ... it is of greatest importance that our children and youth should be well instructed in the principles of temperance as based on the teachings of the Scriptures" and science. [79] Pringle and his colleagues realized that governments would not enact laws which preceded public opinion, but usually lagged far behind that opinion. The country would be made safe only through strong temperance opinions and habits among the rising generations. Although the pro-drink forces had attempted to contradict the prohibition sentiment in the scriptural lessons, by the reference to other scriptural passages, the Sabbath Schools and youth-oriented columns ignored these challenges and continued to marshal evidence against drink, scriptural in most instances but also scientific, moral and economic.

Presbyterian publications, especially the Sabbath School Publication Board's East and West, supported local option and prohibition. This support was demonstrated clearly in three forms. First, "stories" with lessons on the tragic consequences of liquor on individuals were regularly featured. Secondly, we find biting editorials on the saloon, intemperance and the effects of alcohol on labour, the individual and society. Thirdly, the

Y.P.S.C.E. lessons preached political purity, civic responsibility and patriotism alongside of temperance. It was the responsibility and civic duty of every elector to vote and to vote in the right manner. The right and responsible way of discharging one's civic duty was to vote for righteousness and the best man. Corrupt men and policies did not deserve the support of the Christian citizen and responsible electors. Men who refused to do the will of the people, those that refused to consider the public good, i.e. temperance policies, did not deserve to be voted into office. [80] The disappointment of the Church with the failure of the Dominion Government to act upon its prohibition mandate of 1898 and the provincial governments to stringently enforce local option by-laws was clearly registered in the denominational press. [81] Editorials and morality stories such as "The House that Jack Drank" and "Licensed to Destroy" embellished the prohibition sentiment and affirmed the crusaders' commitment to prohibition. The lesson for the youth of Christian Endeavour Societies and the Sabbath School was that liquor must be eliminated from Canadian society. [82]

The temperance campaign's focus on the children created a bounty of instructional materials. The Church's faith in education as the panacea for society's ills complemented the growth of public schools during this period. [83] The 1901 Committee on Church Life and Work, however, did not portray this work as promising. Fifteen sessions regarded the cause of temperance "as stationary or declining," while seventeen regarded temperance "as making progress." The Committee claimed that "in the older sections of the country and in the rural districts, there is a strong temperance sentiment ... a continuous protest and agitation kept up against any increase in the traffic, and a steadily growing restriction of it." [84] It was in the urban centres and the newly-settled frontier districts, with their large foreign and non-Protestant populations, that sentiment unfavourable to the Church's message was most often registered. Therefore, the greatest impact of the Church's message of education and temperance was on the "converted." Those adults and children who, from the Church's perspective, most required temperance education and other forms of religious and cultural training, did not receive the Church's instruction. "It cannot be expected that in these newer districts the same views and customs should be found, as in these localities where people have undergone a long process of education on the subject," the Committee explained. "This unfavourable condition is temporary." [85] Evidently the Committee believed that as the public school and the Church missions began to make their presence felt more among these

peoples, the sentiment for temperance, even among the foreigners, would rise. [86]

Rev. D. Stiles Fraser criticized presbyteries and the Sabbath School for not presenting temperance issues except through unimaginative quarterly temperance lessons. Critics demanded, however, that these lessons ought to be revitalized, not abandoned. As late as 1912, the Board on Social Service and Evangelism demanded that "total abstinence should be constantly taught and practised, especially among the girls and boys in the Sabbath School." [87] The problem in 1912, as in 1901, was inconsistency of effort among all congregations. In 1905, several sessions had reported that some members, including children, were involved in outside temperance activities and organizations, especially the W.C.T.U. and the Knights Templars. Yet within the Church, the temperance advocates argued, the Bands of Hope and the Christian Endeavour Societies did not receive enough direction from the elders and the pastors.

Rev. A. B. Winchester, pastor at Knox Church, Toronto, criticized the congregations in the 1904 report of the Committee on Church Life and Work. Winchester asserted that while "all are united in faithful testimony against the accursed drink traffic, yet no very aggressive work, certainly no organized work within the Church, is matched against it ...'The congregation[s] seem content to express [their] disapproval of the evil, without doing anything to suppress the cause'." [88] Why did the congregations do no more than express their "disapproval of the evil"? Perhaps the inertia of the presbyteries represented the true local opposition to this reform within the Church. Congregational leaders, while they recognized the importance of the young people of the Church as the future leaders of the temperance campaign, seemed, therefore, to disregard the potentially most powerful force in the temperance crusade. "The training of a pledged band of young children and youth as an army of abstainers enlisted to exemplify and extend the blessings of sobriety and godliness would be more effective in one decade than the preaching and teaching of an occasional sermon or Sabbath School lesson would be in a century." [89] Despite the apparent lack of impact that a decade of temperance sermons had had for the cause, in future battles victory would be achieved through the "dedication" of the children and youth educated at this time.

The Board on Moral and Social Reform re-asserted the church's languishing temperance education effort. The Board, keenly aware that the anti-temperance opposition had not faltered, did not doubt that temperance

principles eventually would be enforced by the children and young people as they entered "upon the responsibilities of political life." [90] In the 19 November 1896 Presbyterian Record Rev. David James Burrell, of New York, spoke for all temperance reformers when he claimed that: "an army of young citizens is pushing to the front ... Their attitude with respect to current questions of public morality will largely determine the character of our ... Commonwealth for the next hundred years." The Church, therefore, had to be certain that "all young Christians should stand in readiness to serve the commonwealth ... in respect to the dram-shop. We may differ as to the best method of dealing with intemperance, but all right-minded people are agreed as to the saloon. It is an unmitigated nuisance and abomination: it has done evil and only evil all the days of its life." [91] The Dominion Presbyterian provided an appropriate epitaph for the would-be drinker: "How to ruin your hope of eternal life -- Inquire of the nearest saloon-keeper." [92]

One temperance paper, Rev. Winchester reported, "says pithily, "The Bar would abolish the Church if it could, and the Church could abolish the Bar if it would.'" [93] The Church could abolish that "whole viper-brood of which the accursed drink evil is the undoubted parent," [94] if it instructed its children in good hygiene, the effects of alcohol and the "result of abusing it." [95] Such a claim focused the crusade on the future political action of the youth then being educated in the Church.

Did the lessons in the Sabbath School and Christian Endeavour Societies have any impact on the children and youth of the Church? Juvenile pledge-signings in the Sabbath Schools and Bands of Hope were reported by the Board on Moral and Social Reform. Did the educational efforts contribute to the progress temperance made in Ontario? Which of the provinces and territories were hindering the forces of reform through political intransigence? What evangelical efforts had advanced temperance? These broad outlines of "temperance intelligence" presented in the denominational papers and the reports of the Board on Moral and Social Reform contributed to the formation of positive attitudes toward prohibition and political action. By the outset of the war in 1914, the temperance forces were well placed for the penultimate struggle with the liquor traffic and seemed poised on the edge of certain victory. A question which remains to be answered is, how much of the success of the temperance cause may be traced to the Church's pre-war educational efforts? [96]

The issues and the momentum were in place long before 1916. Years of educational effort had prepared the minds of the public and the "enlightened"

electorate for the great sacrifice. To many within the church, the elimination of liquor from society would not have been a sacrifice, but the will of God and a necessary change to ensure the health and prosperity of many thousands of children. The one campaign that did much to shape the minds of the public, including the women and children, was the annual local option debate. Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick led the country into the battle. [97] The Presbyterian press heralded the phenomenal progress of the local option in all Canadian provinces after 1902 as vindicating the allegiance of the majority of the Canadian public to the Christian ideal of temperance. Since only men voted in these elections, and the electoral base had been broadened in the late nineteenth century, we can submit that temperance was a majority-held attitude in many regions early in the twentieth century. Each year, usually at the time of the municipal elections, a ward or municipality could vote to eliminate licences or reduce the number of licensed establishments in that ward or municipality. This yearly contest gave the temperance forces in the Church the opportunity to reiterate before the public the scientific, social, moral, economic, political and religious polemics against licences. "BAN THE BAR, SAVE THE BOY!" [98] was the most powerful indictment of the liquor traffic by the Church in the local option campaigns. Predictably the liquor traffic provided financial and moral, as well as liquid, support for the opposition.

By 1915-1916 the electorates of Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Maritime Provinces had converted to temperance. Quebec, British Columbia and Manitoba were moving rapidly in a similar direction. The public, exposed to nearly two decades of annual battles over temperance locally, royal commissions, provincial and federal plebiscites and discussions pro and on in the public and denominational press, was ready. Each year the temperance forces claimed greater victories. Each year more municipalities voted to be dry. Abuses, although numerous, were surpassed by the benefits. The dire predictions of the anti-prohibitionists did not bear fruit. Statistics demonstrated that crime and poverty were reduced through temperance. Despite occasional setbacks (and there were the few municipalities that repealed local dry laws once they were voted in), the movement toward a dry society steadily marched on. Victory, however, was not savoured by all. The "unenlightened" struggled to maintain the forces of evil. Democracy, they said, was not served through electoral restrictions. Should a study of the voting pattern be completed, we may well discover that by 1914 an overwhelming majority of the electorate, even more of the population, had rejected the liquor

manufacturers' plea. Clearly, the Church, as a major force in the temperance coalition, could accept some credit for the success of the issue.

* * * * * * *

The Great War rapidly pushed the interests of temperance ahead. R.C. Brown and R. Cook argue that the war "provided a new impulse for the enemies of alcohol ... Repeatedly the prohibitionist groups appealed to the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice: liquor production did nothing for the war effort; it consumed products better used for food; drink reduced industrial and military efficiency ... By 1915 these arguments were having a wider public impact than any prohibitionist plea before." [99] This is an exaggeration of the truth. The prohibitionist plea of sacrifice and patriotism had been employed by the Presbyterian temperance party for over a decade. What is more likely is that the effect was merely incremental and rose to its height at this time. Brown and Cook give too much credence to the rhetorical questions of the Toronto journalist H.F. Gadsby, who wanted to know whether prohibition was a "mood -- all blue", or a matter of conviction. Did Canadians give up drink because "giving up things was the fashion" or "because it was the easiest, long-distance way of martyrizing ourselves -- of suffering somethng for th war which implied persenaldiscomfort?"

The argument of Brown and Cook that the answer was "probably yes" under-estimates the power of the temperance sentiment of the pre-war period and the impact of educational campaigns carried out by the schools, secular temperance societies, and the churches. Children who were educated in the "evangelistic" temperance campaigns of the first decade of the twentieth century, especially women, acquired the vote at precisely this time. Moreover, the appeal of the "mission" of temperance -- the establishment of a 'brave new world', or, in the Presbyterian vision, His Dominion -- was great. Richard Allen captures the commitment of temperance workers to this vision.

> Prohibition in America in fact has been the direct outcome of the recognition ... of the insistent injunction of the Man of Galilee himself to the effect that the social order was his objective and the changing of that order through the establishment upon earth of a Kingdom of righteousness and peace was the mission whereunto he was sent. The effect of such a movement as that of prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic on that kingdom of righteousness among men cannot be adequately measured or even estimated. [100]

It was known, however, that "prohibition" did, in fact, deliver on its

promises. [101]

The efforts of the temperance forces did not end with the introduction of prohibitionary laws and regulations. The men and women behind the drive to temperance knew that the enemy would not rest his efforts to subvert the law and to re-establish Satan's sway. Temperance advocates accepted that education and evangelism would have to continue. These were the efforts that won the battle, that advanced righteousness. Favourable sentiment would be curried continuously. If not, the true kingdom of righteousness, both religious and social, would never be ushered in. In 1910, 1917 or 1921, the 1906 message in The Dominion Presbyterian still rang true:

> The Church of God and the drink traffic have nothing in common. Instead they are dramatically opposed to each other. The church stands for righteousness, is to bless men and promote every good and pure things. The liquor traffic is the enemy of all righteousness, is the enemy of God, debauches all on whom it can lay its cruel hands, and is the master curse on humanity. It is the church's duty to make unceasing war on the liquor traffic, to smite it in the name of the Lord, and to destroy it. "There is no discharge from this war." [102]

Yet temperance was but one front of this all-inclusive war against evil. "In the wise fight against other evils -- Sabbath desecration for instance -- the same principle is to work in practical ways along the line of least resistance, making one piece of success the stepping stone for the next," C. Blackett Robinson of The Dominion Presbyterian insisted in 1904. "We do not see that the fight against the evil of intemperance differs in principle from any other moral fight ... its prosecution needs as much self-restraint, coolness of judgment and common sense, as any other part of the general warfare against evil." [103] The prize was the same: the salvation of society and the souls of man. This was not a battle for the weak nor the peevish. It was the fight of the committed, those committed to the establishment of the Kingdom.

The Kingdom, founded upon the saving of souls, was the ultimate goal of the Presbyterian temperance campaigners.

NOTES

1. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 21, 1906, p. 3

2. The King's Own, January 31, 1903, p. 19

3. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 21, 1906, p. 3

4. Rev. W.D. Reid, "How May We Help Abolish the Saloon," Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, October 31, 1903, p. 351. Also see "Temperance Work in the Church," Presbyterian Review, January 16, 1896, p. 666; Professor G.C. Pidgeon, "Problems of Moral Reform," in Rev. W.R. MacIntosh, editor, Canadian Problems (Toronto: Rev. R. Douglas Fraser for the Committee on Young People's Societies, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1910), pp. 64-6, and Rev. G.A. Woodside, "The Liquor Traffic: a Study," in Rev. W. R. MacIntosh, editor, Social Service: a Book for Young Canadians (Toronto: Rev. R. Douglas Fraser for the Committee on Young People's Societies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1911), pp. 65-72

5. Paul Wilkinson, Social Movements (London: Pall Mall, 1971), pp. 29-31

6. Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in the United States, 1860-1915 (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1945); R.H. Wiebe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967)

7. Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 5

8. ibid., p. 1

9. "How Our Bodies Influence Our Souls (A Temperance Topic)," The Presbyterian Review, March 11, 1897, p. 779

10. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914 - 1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 264-283

11. Gusfield, op.cit., p. 79

12. ibid., pp. 45-7, 81-2

13. See Pidgeon, "Problems ..." (Note 4 above), pp. 64-6
James Timberlake, in his analysis of the economic motivations behind labour's support of temperance in the late nineteenth century, drew attention to labour's attraction to middle-class ideals of social mobility. "Wage-earners still aspired to rise into the middle class by becoming independent businessmen, farmers, or professional men. Since they were at the bottom of the economic and social scale, they realized that they would have to cultivate the virtue of sobriety if they were to succeed." Prohibiton and the Progressive Movement, 1900 - 1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 80-93

14. See Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Temperance Talk to Young People (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.), p. 4; and Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol: Labour's Worst Enemy (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.)

15. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol and Accidents (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.), p. 3

16. Gusfield, op. cit., pp. 7-8, 36, 83-5

17. ibid., p. 73

18. ibid., p. 57
In "Problems ..." (see Note 4) Rev. G.C. Pidgeon argues that "Christianity could not be true to itself without seeking an outward form that would embody its peculiar nature, and the very effort to realize its principles in action touched every side of life. It is this same spirit, working itself out in the same way, that moves present day Christians to fight against the veils that confront them. It moves every believer to abstain from sin ... The main reason, however, for the success of the temperance cause, is the ethical revival that is sweeping over the Anglo-Saxon world. Men are supporting causes today simply because they are right ..." pp. 61-3, 66

19. Gusfield, op. cit., p. 57

20. Allen, op. cit., (see Note 10) p. 270

21. E.R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," Acadiensis, 1:1 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 14-5

22. Rev. R.H. Abraham, "Church Members and the Bar-rooms", The Dominion Presbyterian, May 3, 1905, p. 5

23. Forbes, op. cit., p. 15

24. Gusfield, op. cit., p. 15

25. J.W. Bengough, The Gin Mill: a Book of Easy Reading Lessons for Children of All Ages, Especially the Boys Who Have the Vote (Toronto, 1889); "Thy Bottle: from a Speech by John G. Wooley, Illustrated by J.W. Bengough", Campaign Leaflets, 4-page series, No. 5. (Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, n.d.)
"Drink and Crime in Canada," Campaign Leaflets, 4-page series, No. 2. (Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, n.d.)

26. "Thy Bottle," p. 3; "How the Question Came Home," Campaign Leaflets, 2-page series, No. 5. (Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, n.d.); "That's All," The King's Own, June 15, 1901, p. 94

27. Gusfield, op. cit., p. 73

28. Timberlake, op. cit., (see Note 13) p. 84-96

29. A&P, 1914, Appendices, "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," pp. 308, 323-4

30. "World's Temperance Lesson," The Teacher's Monthly, p. ?

31. "Banks or Bars?" East and West, February 13, 1904, p. 52; John L. Labatt, To the Hotelmen of this Province (London, Ont., 1919(?)); Ontario: Six Dry Years (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, Ontario Branch, 1922), pp. 24-7; "Bars Not Required," The Dominion Presbyterian, August 29, 1906, p. 9

32. "The House that Jack Drank,' The King's Own, December 6, 1902, p. 198; "It

Takes Two," East and West, April 25, 1903, p. 134; John Koren, Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem (1889; reprinted, New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1981), pp. 236-9; and S.C. Mulhall, "Facts for Temperance Electors" (n.p.: Social Service Council of Manitoba, n.d.)

33. Rev. William Ormiston, A Pastoral Letter Addressed to the Members of the Canada Presbyterian Church (Hamilton, December 25, 1869), pp. 3-4

34. ibid., p. 4

35. ibid., p. 5

36. "The Law of Love -- Temperance Lesson," The Dominion Presbyterian, April 8, 1903, p. 197

37. Rev. R.M. Hamilton, "How the Organized Bible Class Can Help," Bible Class Magazine, May 1910, pp. 138-9

38. Rev. P.M. MacDonald, "The War Against the Saloon: Enlist!" Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, October 29, 1910, p. 351
Everywhere, the Methodist prohibitionist, the Rev. W.H. Withrow, cautioned, the Liquor Traffic "creates and fosters crime and pauperism; irreligion and vice; causes physical and mental disease; shortens life, and often sends the soul into the presence of its Maker by an act of self-slaughter, or crimsoned with the guilt of murder." W.H. Withrow, The Liquor Traffic (Toronto: S. Rose, n.d.), p. 2

39. United Church Archives, Temperance Pamphlets, Miss Edith Jacques, "Temperance in the Sunday School."

40. "How Temperance Would Transform the World", The Presbyterian Review, June 13, 1901, p. 16. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 1, 1905; February 15, 1905, p. 3; January 10, 1906, p. 3

41. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Canada's Greatest Burden (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, 1913)

42. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 15, 1905, p. 3

43. Rev. W.A. MacKay, "The Temperance Question in Ontario," The Dominion Presbyterian, January 4, 1905, pp. 743-4

44. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 8, 1905, p. 3

45. The Dominion Presbyterian, September 13, 1905, p. 3; April 11, 1906, p. 846; February 1, 1905, p. 3

46. "How Temperance ..." (see Note 40), p. 16

47. "How the Brain is Affected," Presbyterian Review, , February, 1905, p. 88

48. T.S. Clouston, "Effects of Alcohol on the Brain," Presbyterian Review, , February 1905, p. 88. See Timberlake (see Note 13), Chapter II: "Scientific and Social Arguments."

49. "Boys of Drinking Parents," Presbyterian Review, , October, 1905, p. 432

50. "Concerning Temperance," The Dominion Presbyterian, July 11, 1906, p. 6; August 30, 1905, p. 8; and May 24, 1905, p. 8

51. "Liquor Versus Science," The Dominion Presbyterian, August 29, 1906, p. 8

52. Rev. D. C. MacGregor, Alcohol and Heredity = Unto the Third and Fourth Generation (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.); MacGregor, Canada's Greatest Burden; "Is Canada to Lead?" (Toronto: United Church of Canada, n.d.)

53. Rev. W.H. Smith, "Legislation as a Means for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 259

54. Dominion Presbyterian, May 24, 1905, p. 8

55. Ormiston, p. 5 (see Note 33)
"What scene more appallingly desolate than the drunkard's home? What condition more piteously hopeless than that of its wretched and unhappy inmates? -- physical destitution, domestic misery, social degradation, moral pollution, and spiritual darkness and death -- all so rayless and hopeless to the anguished, broken-hearted wife, and despairing mother, and her neglected, abused, demoralized children, because of the constant temptations and fatal facilities everywhere presented by the practices and regulations of so-called Christian society."

56. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, November 14, 1895, p. 444

57. "What Whiskey Makes of Mothers," Presbyterian Record, January 1903, p. 42

58. "How the Question Came Home;" Bengough, The Gin Mill.

59. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Presbyterian Record November 1913, p. 506; MacGregor, Alcohol and Heredity.

60. See Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," 1896-1905

61. Acts and Proceedings, 1901, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 241-2; Rev. John Pringle, 'Church Life and Work," in Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 238-9.
Also see Rev. W.D. Reid, "How May We Help Abolish the Saloon," p. 351; Rev. E.A. Henry, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress, (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913), p. 255-6; and Rev. W.H. Smith, "Legislation as a Means for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 255.

62. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265-6; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 285-6

63. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 285-7; Acts and Proceedings, 1895, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265

64. Acts and Proceedings, 1897, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work,", p. 267; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, p. 285-7; Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, p. 265

65. Acts and Proceedings, 1897, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 267; Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, pp. 231-2; "Temperance Work in Canada," Presbyterian Record, 1896, p. 666

66. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 285-8

67. "Lessons from Benhadad's Defeat," Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, January 31, 1903, p. 39

68. Dominion Presbyterian, September 20, 1905, p. 11.
Rev. C.P.T. Merrylees, "A Slippery Place for Boys," Presbyterian Record, December 1907, p 554-5; "A Temperance Lecture," Presbyterian Record, January 1908, p. 25

69. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, July 15, 1895, p. 12

70. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, March 14, 1895, p. 799

71. "How Temperance Would Transform the World," Presbyterian Record, June 13, 1901, p. 16

72. "Temperance Lesson," Dominion Presbyterian, November 16, 1906, p. 6

73. "Our Young People: Am I My Brother's Keeper?" Dominion Presbyterian, January 4, 1905, p. 744; Rev. P.M. MacDonald, "The War Against the Saloon: Enlist!" East and West, August 29, 1910, p. 351; Rev. P.M. MacDonald, "The Case Against the Saloon," East and West, October 29, 1911, p. 343

74. "Temperance Lesson," Dominion Presbyterian, September 23, 1906, p. 6

75. "Why Not Stop It," Presbyterian Record, September 1914, p. 420

76. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Presbyterian Record November 1913, p. 504-8

77. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265-6; also Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 232-4

78. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 285

79. Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265

80. See "The Temperance Issue," The Dominion Presbyterian, November 3, 1904, p. 665; "Montreal Notes," The Westminster, May 18, 1899, p. 309; "Ballot Against the Bar," East and West, December 30, 1911, p. 412; F.S. Spence and J.J. Maclaren, "A Prohibition Law," 1899, p. 4

81. "After the 29th, What?" The Presbyterian Record, October 1898, p. 253; "Outlook from the Plebiscite," The Presbyterian Record, November 1898, p. 281; "A New Step in Prohibition," The Presbyterian Record, February 1900, p. 35; The Presbyterian Record, May 1902, p. 196; "Another 'Question of the Hour'," The Presbyterian Record, October 1902, p. 433-4; Editorial, "Plebiscite in Ontario," The Presbyterian Record, November 1902, p. 481-2

82. "The House that Jack Drank," The King's Own, December 6, 1902, p. 198; "That's All," The King's Own, June 15, 1901, p. 94; Margaret McK. MacTavish, "Licensed to Destroy," The King's Own, October-November 1902, pp. 166, 172, 175

83. "Temperance Lesson," The Bible Class Magazine, May 8, 1910, p. 144-7; "World's Temperance Lesson," The Teacher's Monthly, November 1901, p. 431-7; Rev. F.H. MacIntosh, "Painting the Provinces White," Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, March 25, 1911.
On the place of temperance in the public schools see Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 175-8; Nancy Sheean, "Temperance as Child Rescue: The WCTU and Education," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the History of Education Society, Portland, Oregon, October 1980; and Acts and Proceedings, 1913, Appendices, "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," p. 281-2.

84. Acts and Proceedings, 1901, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 241

85. Acts and Proceedings, 1901, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 241

86. Acts and Proceedings, 1912, Appendices, "Report of the Board on Social Service and Evangelism," p. 307; Acts and Proceedings, 1913, Appendices, p. 281-2

87. Acts and Proceedings, 1912, Appendices, "Report of the Board on Social Service and Evangelism," p. 307

88. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 263

89. Acts and Proceedings, 1905, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 242

90. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 263

91. Rev. David James Burrell, "The Claims of Citizenship on Young Christians," The Presbyterian Record, November 19, 1896, p. 393

92. The Dominion Presbyterian, September 20, 1905, p. 11

93. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 263

94. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work", p. 263

95. "The Child's Rights," The Presbyterian Record, December 1905, p. 517; The Dominion Presbyterian, November 15, 1905; and Rev. J.W. MacMillan, "The Cries of the City Child," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 157-61

96. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol and Efficiency: Facts from the Army and Navy (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, n.d.). Also see Rev. E.M. Howse, Booze Exploits the War (Toronto: United Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, 1942) and Rev. E.M. Howse, The Trade is the Enemy (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1944).

With the war clouds looming on the European horizon, after 1913 the wet canteen became an important issue. The question of giving the Kaiser an advantage or the defenders of the Empire and the Church the best possible conditions in which to train and fight necessitated the elimination of the wet canteen. Indeed, how could Canada claim to be fighting the forces of evil when the demon drink was debilitating the soldiers in the field and the efficiency of the home effort? The experience of the Boer War had taught British army recruiters about the physical destruction to the combatants caused by drink and the reduction of possible recruits because of the debilitations of drink. Pamphlets such as MacGregor's portrayed the destructive power of alcohol on the fighting forces.

97. See Gerald A. Hallowell, Prohibition in Ontario (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1972); "Report of the Operations of the Liquor Licenses Act," Ontario Sessional Papers, 1917, p. 118-125; Canada, Department of Agriculture, Statistical Yearbook, 1900, 1915; Canadian Annual Review, 1900-1915.

98. "The Bar or the Boy," Presbyterian Record, April 1915, p. 146; also see Rev. C.P.T. Merrylees, "A Slippery Place for Boys," Presbyterian Record, December 1907, p. 554-5; and S.C. Marshall, Facts for Temperance Electors (n.p., n.d.), p. 7

99. R.C. Brown and R. Cook, Canada 1896-1921: a nation transformed (Toronto, 1974), p. 300

100. Allen, op. cit., p. 267 (see Note 10)

101. Ontario: Six Years Dry (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, 1922)

102. The Dominion Presbyterian, July 4, 1906, p. 3

103. "The Temperance Question," The Dominion Presbyterian, November 16, 1904, p. 636

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES OF THE SCOTCH BLOCK, ESQUESING TOWNSHIP IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by Richard E. Ruggle

Esquesing township, in the north eastern corner of Halton county, was opened for settlement in 1819, after the Mississauga Indians surrendered their lands at the mouth of the Credit River to the crown. The land was better suited to farming than that in neighbouring Nassagaweya township; the Credit offered an abundance of potential mill seats; the nearby port of Oakville provided a market for crops; and the township was close to the administrative centre of York and the growing mercantile metropolis of Hamilton. With these advantages, the population grew quickly.

In some of the new townships, the government dispensed with its normal procedure of assigning lands by lot, and allowed groups to be settled together. Esquesing became the home of three such groups. The Irish and Irish-American section in the southeastern corner was made up of the overflow of a group from New York city, with their families and friends, whose first wave had been located in the adjoining corner of Toronto township (Peel county). Many of these Irish settlers had become Methodists in New York or in Ireland; some retained their older Anglican affiliation; and one even arrived with letters of commendation from his Anglican rector and from his Methodist class leader, who each claimed him as a key member of his church. The Baptist Block, as W.L. Mackenzie described it, near the village of Norval comprised a small contingent of Scotch settlers who later became Disciples. The largest and most homogenous

group came to the Scotch Block, in the southwestern quarter of township. The settlers here were almost all farmers: there were no villages or hamlets within the Block, although it would be close to the future county seat of Milton. They were almost exclusively of Scotch ancestry. And though the block during the last half of the 1840s and early 1850s boasted four adjacent congregations--these were all Presbyterian churches.

Some of the settlers came almost directly from Scotland, especially from Perthshire (which also supplied settlers to the Baptist block) and the border country of Roxburghshire.[1] The Laidlaws, who would be leaders in the local congregations, came from Ettrick Forest in Selkirkshire. James (1796-1886) had come to Nova Scotia in 1817, and wrote to advise his father to settle in western Canada. The following year, the elder James (1763-1829) set out, bringing more of the family with him. They wintered in New York state, then came to Little York to apply for the lands they would obtain in the Scotch Block.[2]

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[1] Tombstones provide an indication of the origins of many early settlers, and the Scots were more apt than their neighbours to indicate these. More native shires are recorded in Boston cemetery than anywhere else in the township. Those natives of Scotland whose birth places are noted came from the following shires:

Perthshire	26	Morayshire	2
Roxburghshire	26	Selkirkshire	2
Argylshire	10	Stirlingshire	2
Aberdeenshire	5	Glasgow	2
Kirkcudbrightshire	3		

and one each from Greenock, Peebles, Berwickshire, Inverness-shire, Dumfriesshire, Nairnshire and Rossshire. See Alex Cooke and Elaine Robinson Bertrand, 'Boston Presbyterian Church Cemetery....' Halton Peel Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, c1983.

[2] Obituary of James the younger, copied from the Montreal Witness in the Canadian Champion, Milton, 26 May 1887.

From York, he wrote home lamenting the religious state of the town:

> there is no Presbetaren minister in this town as yet, but there is a Large English Chapel, and a Methidest Chapel; but I do not think that the Methidests is very Sound in their Doctrine; ... and the English Minister reads all that he Says, unless it be his Clark Craying always at the End of Every period, good Lord Dliver us. [...The Methodist] minister prays as Loud as Ever he Can, and the people is all doun on there knees, all Craying, Amen; So that you Can Scarce hear what the prest is Saying; and I have Seen Some of them Jumping up, as if they ould have gone to Heaven, Soul and Body--but there Body was a filthy Clog to them, for they always fell down again, altho crying, O Jesus, O Jesus, Just as he had been to pull them up through the Loft.[3]

James might listen to a Methodist, but he was unlikely to become one.

Another who sought to escape the depression of post-Napoleonic Britain was John Stewart of Perth. Stewart was in York at the same time as Laidlaw, and his son recalled the town as 'such a miserable hole that if we had money enough we would all go back to Scotland again'.[4]

The northern states were experiencing a similar depression, and many Scotch settlers, attracted by the land available in Upper Canada, resolved to start life anew there. James McNab (1787-1866) was instrumental in promoting the emigration of a large number of settlers from Barnet, Vermont. Barnet and the

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[3] <u>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</u> (March 1820), 630-2. James' correspondence had a way of ending up in print against his wishes. This letter found its way into the hands of a relative, James Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd), who could not resist sending it to <u>Blackwood's</u>. In a covering note, Hogg said that when Laidlaw first heard of North America some twenty years before, 'he would not believe me that Fife was not it; and that he saw it from the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.'

[4] The <u>Paisley Advocate</u> published Stewart's recollections when he was 82, and reprinted them on 14 May 1924.

neighbouring town of Ryegate began as tracts purchased by two Scottish emigration societies for their shareholders: the Scotch American Company of Inchinnan, Renfrewshire bought land in Ryegate in 1773, and The United Company of Perth and Stirling which bought land in Barnet the following year.[5]

McNab's father had taken up land in Barnet in 1786. Like many of the settlers, he had belonged to the Associate Church in Scotland, and the McNabs signed the call to the Reverend David Goodwillie to minister to the Associate church in 1790. James had moved to Upper Canada in time to serve during the War of 1812, and settled in Toronto township. In 1819 he petitioned on behalf of 30 Scotch families then residing in the United States who were anxious to obtain a block of land to settle near one another. The Executive Council first thought of placing them in Caledon, then decided to locate them in Esquesing and possibly Chinguacousy.[6] To this block came such Barnet and Ryegate families as the Crosses, Goodwillies, McLarens, McNabs and Moores. James McNab himself took up a mill seat in the opposite corner of the township, where he founded the village of Norval.

The lack of a Presbyterian minister in York, noted by Laidlaw, was soon remedied. In his new home in the hinterland, however, he would have to depend on the rare visits of travelling

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[5] Frederick Palmer Wells. History of Barnet, Vermont From the Outbreak of the French and Indian War to Present Time. (Barnet History Association, 1923), 22-3,ff. Edward Miller and Frederick P. Wells. History of Ryegate, Vermont, From its Settlement by the Scotch-American Company of Farmers to Present Time. (St Johnsbury, Vt: The Caledonian Company, 1913), 14ff.

[6] Archives of Ontario. Minutes of Executive Council, 5 May 1819.

clergy for religious services. William Jenkins of Markham was the first minister to visit Esquesing, in June of 1820. The congregation gathered at the farm of old James Laidlaw and, seated on logs where the land was being cleared, listened to Jenkins expound at the large maple root which formed his pulpit. The Markham minister's apt text assured them: 'They shall dwell safely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods.'[7]

In the summer of 1821, the Reverend Abner Wright of the Niagara district preached near the house of James Laidlaw, Sr and dispensed the sacrament. Wright briefly served the church at Stamford, and does not seem to have belonged to any Canadian presbytery.[8] At that time a session was chosen, which seems to have been a requirement for the proper observance of the sacrament.[9] The next year, Andrew Glen of Richmond, Upper Canada, stopped at the Scotch Block on a missionary tour through the Canadas. Glen had studied theology in Scotland under Professor Lawson of the Associate Synod, and been ordained in 1818 by the newly formed Presbytery of the Canadas, though two of its members had declined to take part, since Glen had not received a call to a congregation.[10] Though the Presbytery of

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[7] Ezekiel 34.25. Presbyterian Church Archives, Knox College. Boston church congregational minutes, 1. The archives contains two boxes of records relating to the Church of Scotland, Seceeder and Free Church congregations which became part of Boston Church.

[8] W.A. Lorne Robinson, History of Stamford Presbyterian Church, 21. He is not mentioned in William Gregg's History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada, From the Earliest Times to 1834... (Toronto 1885).

[9] Events preceding the advent of Peter Ferguson are recorded in an introduction to the minute book of the session, 1832-57. This book had been in the possession of Judge Miller of Milton

the Canadas had reversed its original intention to be connected with the Associate Church in Scotland in an unsuccessful attempt to become a unifying body for Presbyterians in the Canadas, it was during the twenties the most active Presbyterian body in the Canadas.

In 1824 the congregation decided to erect a meeting house (they used the American term) and school house, and to lay out a burying ground. Until it could gain a minister of its own, the congregation was reluctant to commit itself to any of the branches of Presbyterianism from which its members came.

One of these branches was the American Associate Reformed Church, to which the Barnet settlers had belonged.[11] Clergy from this church (perhaps Wright was one) came to Canada because of a misunderstanding. A Scotchman named Orr, who had lived in New York and moved to Stamford, wrote to Alexander Bullions, a member of the presbytery of Cambridge, New York, asking him or one of his brethren to visit on way to a meeting of the Associate Synod in Pittsburgh, to preach and administer baptism to members of his family. The letter was misinterpreted as suggesting that a mission field might be available in Canada, and the synod (May 1822) appointed Bullions, Thomas Hanna and Thomas Beveridge to itinerate three months each in Canada. Bullions was unable to go

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and thrown out after he died. A neighbour's child picked it up to play with, and it was eventually returned to the congregation.

10 Gregg, 207-8; Isabel Skelton, A Man Austere: William Bell, Parson and Pioneer, 188, 193-4.

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11 The Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania had been organized in 1733, and grew large enough for a synod to be formed in 1782.

until 1824, but the other two proceeded to Stamford. When Orr explained the situation, they journeyed to Galt, where they started up a congregation, and to Esquesing. Here they found

> a Burgher minister among them, engaged in dispensing the sacrament of the Supper. We had arrived on the Thursday, which had been observed as a fast-day; and the minister who was preaching for them lodged with us that night at the house of Mr. Laidlaw. He invited us to stay and to take part with him in the services of the occasion, which we declined to do. And we found afterwards that our refusal was much wiser than would have been our compliance. The preacher, like too many who were itinerating through the country at that time, proved to be a very worthless character. Having dispensed the sacrament of the Supper, and received a few dollars, which, no doubt, the poor people could ill spare, he took his departure, and stopping at the first public house on the road, remained there drinking till his money was all spent. The people finding what kind of a man they had been employing, and that two missionaries from the States, with the connexions of one of whom some of them had been acquainted in former years, had been hindered from preaching to them by this worthless vagabond, were much chagrined, and their attention was soon afterwards directed to the Associate Church for misionary aid.[12]

That the Americans should have singled out Esquesing as one of their few points of call in Upper Canada is probably explained by their ties to the Vermont people who had come there. Beveridge's father often visited Barnet, and was buried there after catching dysentry, when he had gone to assist David Goodwillie at a communion season. Bullions married one of Goodwillie's daughters, so he would have been related to some of the Esquesing settlers.[13]

Bullions came up in 1824 and assisted the Reverend William

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[12] Thomas Beveridge, 'An Account of the First Mission of the Associate Synod to Canada West', transcribed and annotated by Andrew W. Taylor, Ontario History, L, 2 (Spring 1958), 101-11. First published in The Evangelical Repository, XVIII, 6 (November 1859).

[13] Wells, Barnet, 340-1, 456.

King at a communion service. King came up from Nelson township, where he had arrived two years previously, to organize a congregation, and to which he was ordained by the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas. With first hand experience of the church in Ireland, Scotland and America--he had been a licentiate of the Synod of Ulster, was educated at the University of Glasgow, and came to Nelson by way of Pennsylvania--he would know something of the diverse backgrounds of his Esquesing congregation. They engaged him to preach every fourth Sabbath for a year. Thereafter he stopped coming, because of his own poor health and the country's poor roads. He did continue to visit on occassion, and in 1829 joined Andrew Bell at the Esquesing communion.[14]

In the autumn of 1826 Beveridge returned, and provoked some division in the community by requiring unqualified assent to the synod's tenets or Testimony before allowing particpation in the Lord's Supper.

The congregation organized a Sabbath School, which seems to have faltered until John Carruthers reorganized it in August 1828. Carruthers was a common school teacher, who planted Sabbath Schools in the Home and Gore Districts. The Esquesing

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[14] Gregg, 368-9, 379. John McColl, Records and Memories of Boston Chuch in the "Scotch Block" ... 1820-1920 [Georgetown 1920] 19, suggests that about this time the Esquesing congregation, which had until then been independent, was received into communion with the Associate Church. But as they just then this would be just when they had contracted with King to visit monthly, this is unlikely. About 1825 the residents of Toronto Township, describing their needs to the newly formed Glasgow Colonial Society, mentioned that Nelson and Esquesing shared a minister. A. Neil Miller, Background and History of Brampton Presbyterian Church 1847-1940 (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1940) 14.

school grew from 34 to 80 scholars during its first two years. Stress was laid on the committment to memory of scripture verses, and to this end bibles were required. As a result of an appeal, to which John Strachan and the Governor subscribed, the testaments were obtained and a small library begun.[15]

One of the earliest attempts to find a minister of their own is found in an undated petition addressed to Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada from 1818 to 1828. The 131 petitioners, primarily from Esquesing, but also from Traflagar and Toronto townships, bemoaned their plight:

> Their Sabbaths are silent, and in danger of being forgotten--The sound of the gospel very seldom reaches their ears--But, in a land of Strangers, they are wandering like shiip, without a Sheepherd, and their rising generation are in danger of sinking into a state of barberous ignorance.

During this first decade of settlement, before voluntarism had become an issue, they felt it natural to request state assistance to provide their religious wants:

> at present they have the hardships of the wilderness to encounter--their little money is mostly spent, so that they feel unable to support a minister of their own denomination to preach the gospel amongst them. Therefore, we ... humbly pray, that your Excellency would be graciously pleasd to lay our situation before the Government in our Parent Country, and interceed, in our behalf, that a small pecuniary assistance might be granted to us, for the purpose of assisting us to support a minister ....[16]

The appeal may be one reason why Esquesing was singled out as a potential recipient of aid. The Glasgow Colonial Society

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[15] United Church Archives. Glasgow Colonial Society, II, 136. Carruthers to the Reverend Robert Burns, Esquesing, 27 February 1830; appeal of the Committee of the Sabbath School Esquesing, 4 May 1829.

[16] Public Archives of Canada. Upper Canada Sundries. 150-2.

had been created in 1825 under the patronage of Lord Dalhousie to promote the interest of the Kirk in the colonies. Early in 1830, William Morris informed the Society that one of the five stations which had been promised a share of public money, Bytown, was about to be supplied, and that the four remaining places--Perth, Guelph, Belleville and Esquesing--looked to the Society for ministers in the spring.[17] At the end of the year, he noted that Mr Ross, who had been sent out by the Society and stationed at Aldborough, was receiving a portion of the public allowance. In consequence,

> either Guelph, Bellville, or Esquesing will be struck off, of course the one which may be last in getting a minister.[18]

Yet three Kirk ministers who surveyed the needs of the western Districts for the Society, writing after Ross had arrived, still indicated that Guelph and Esquesing would be entitled to their ₤57 share. To this they felt that the congregation, which would probably exceed four hundred souls, might raise an additional ₤30 and furnish him with a manse.[19]

Despite the drying supply of Secession ministers coming to the Canadas, and despite the indication of probable support for a Church of Scotland minister, the Esquesing congregation decided to lay aside party divisions and apply to the United Secession Church in Scotland for a minister, as the most likely means to

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[17] UCA. Glasgow Colonial Society papers, II, 134. William Morris to Rev. D. Welsh, York, U.C., 9 February 1830.

[18] _Ibid._, Morris to Welsh, Perth, U.C., 10 December 1830.

[19] _Ibid._, Fifth Annual Report, Appendix (printed in Gregg, 399). Belleville, which lay outside their scope, remained vacant until the Reverend James Kechan was sent there by the Society the following year.

unite the congregation. Shortly thereafter, however, the Reverend Peter Ferguson preached in Esquesing, and was extended a call. He had just come out in the autumn of 1830, after being ordained by the United Associate Presbytery of Falkirk and Stirling. He became a member of the United Presbytery of Upper Canada in April 1831, and soon after was inducted to West Gwillimbury. The Presbytery did not sustain the call, but a second call, signed by a large majority of the congregation was accepted when the Presbytery met in Streetsville in April 1832.

Efforts were being taken to bring about the union of United Synod with the Kirk Synod which had just been formed (1831) after the Church of Scotland began to be active in the Canadas. In December 1833 the congregation resolved to seek membership in the Kirk synod, in anticipation of the union (and perhaps to assure their allocation of the grant available to Church of Scotland ministers, although the United Synod had just that year won a grant of £700 to be divided among its eleven ministers) and appointed representatives to the Presbytery of York. Presbytery willingly accepted the congregation, but some of the members of the synod soon raised qualms about the minister.

In Scotland, the General Assembly had made a Declaratory Enactment prohibiting the reception of any minister not ordained by the Kirk, partly in order to maintain its tradition of an educated ministry. Although the Synod of Canada was prepared to waive that requirement for a time in the interests of union, it lacked the will to accomplish such a union speedily.[20] The

[20] John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. [Toronto 1975] 83.

1834 Synod of Canada, adjourned because of the cholera, met in Montreal in October. Some of the members questioned the right of Ferguson and three other ministers who were formerly members of the United Synod to be regarded as ministers of the Synod. Since they had not been ordained by the Church of Scotland, a committee was appointed to enquire whether the laws and practice of the Church of Scotland in such cases had been attended to. A technical ammendment allowed Ferguson's name to remain on the list.

As the Scotch Block worked at sorting out its affiliation, other congregations were springing up elsewhere in the township. Near what would become the hamlet of Limehouse, land was deeded to a Calvinistic Presbyterian church in 1832. It appears that the property was used only as a burying-ground until 1858, when a union church was erected with the assistance of local Anglicans and Episcopal Methodists. On the northern boundary of the township, Frazer's church was organized in 1833, served by Thomas Johnston of the United Presbytery. James Frazer had been one of the original session members of the Scotch Block congregation; and his offer of land may reflect a dissatisfaction with its entry into the Church of Scotland as much as a desire for a church closer to his home.[21] About 1835 services began in Norval as an outpost of Frazer's church. A church in Hornby was built in 1838, and in Acton, services began in 1845.

Some missionary endeavours do not seem to have had lasting

21 It was later known as Union Church, though whether that term refers to the 1840 union, or to the fact that it drew members from Chinguacousy as well as Esquesing, or to some other cause, is uncertain.

results. Samuel Sessions of the Niagara Presbytery arrived in Oakville in December 1833. From here he worked five congregations:

> In Esquesing, also, Mr. Sessions labours occasionally in two neighbourhoods, six miles apart. In all these places of his labours he meets large and waiting congregations. .... Some females walk seven miles to hear the Gospel preached. The people are calling for protracted meetings. They seem hungry for the bread of life.[22]

I have not located Sessions' preaching points or discovered how long they lasted. But the American roots of the Niagara Presbytery made it suspect after the rebellion of 1837, and most of its work was then curtailed.

The arrival of David Coutts in Esquesing prompted the first continued local division of the congregation. Coutts (1801-66) was a native of Stirling, educated at the University of Edinburgh and Selkirk Seminary. He was licensed to preach by the Secession presbytery of Edinburgh before coming to Canada in 1836. At that time there were two main secession groups at work in Upper Canada: the native United Synod of Upper Canada (to which the Esquesing congregation adhered during the first years of Peter Ferguson's ministry, 1831-4), and the aggressive Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas, connected with the Secession church in Scotland, which William Proudfoot had been instrumental in organizing on the last day of 1834.

The leaders of the Missionary Presbytery expected that Coutts, educated and sent out from Scotland, would join with them. But in March, the Reverend Thomas Christie (who was based

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[22] Gregg, 544-5, quoting from an 1834 narrative by the Reverends A.K. Buell and Edward Marsh, and Mr Oliver Phelps.

at Flamborough) wrote to Proudfoot that Coutts had elected to work with the Reverend J. Strang of Galt, and was soon to be settled in Esquesing.[23] Strang belonged to yet another secession group working in Upper Canada, the American Associate Synod. It was this church to which many of the Esquesing settlers from Barnet, Vermont had belonged, and which had sent missionaries to Esquesing in the 1820s. Strang was a member of the presbytery of Stamford, which had just been set apart the previous month from the presbytery of Albany of the American Associate Synod. Coutts had come from Scotland by way of the United States, and his brief stay there may have predisposed him to work with the American church.[24] In June, Coutts was ordained by the presbytery of Stamford for Esquesing. In the year that he arrived, the congregation, known locally as the Antiburgher church, claimed a membership of 55; growing to 95 over the seven years he laboured there.[25] Then, in 1842, he fulfilled the earlier expectation that he would join the Missionary Presbytery. He had been a popular minister, and shortly thereafter, the

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[23] 23 March 1836. Enkindled by the Word: Essays on Presbyterianism in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1966), 37.

[24] Coutts' obituary in the Presbyterian Record (1884), 152 indicates that he went to the United States in 1835, the year before he arrived in Canada. W.M. Glasgow, Cyclopedic Manual, 86 is confused about Coutts' career.

[25] UCA. 'History of the Presbytery of Stamford'. The membership figure of 95 is given for 1843, but Coutts, who left in 1842, is there listed as the minister; so the figure presumably reflects the size of the congregation before the 1842 split. Though the history refers to the charge as Esquesing and Milton, there is no other evidence of a separate congregation in that town, and the name may simply reflect the fact that it drew some of its membership from the older people who had retired there.

majority of those present at a congregational meeting resolved to adhere to their minister and consider themselves connected with the Missionary Presbytery. Approving their action, the presbytery's new magazine commented

> Few things are more fitted to injure the interests of truth, and to give her enemies ground for rejoicing, than the keeping up of unnecessary divisions.[26]

Thus, with either unwarranted optimism or conscious doublespeak, The Presbyterian Magazine applauded the action which would increase the number of congregations in the Scotch Block from two to three. For the minority held to their American roots, and the Antiburgher congregation continued along side the new Seceeder church. In the neighbouring township of Chinguacousy, a congregation under the United Synod had been active during the thirties. In 1840, however, they felt that the union between their Synod and the Church of Scotland was an unequal one, stating that 'for conscientious reasons they cannot follow that Church into the Kirk of Scotland' and petitioned the Missionary Synod to be received as a congregation.[27] Coutts had been supplying them with sermons, and in the fall of the year of the Esquesing split, he moved to Chinguacousy as their pastor.[28]

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26 The Presbyterian Magazine, London, C.W., I, 2 (February 1843), 47.

27 Missionary Synod minutes, 14 October 1840, quoted by Miller, 15, 26. Though the Centre Road (Derry West) congregation in the south part of the township was received at the same time, Coutts' flock at Mayfield were designated the First U.P. Congregation. In 1850 a second station, which became the Claude church, was opened. Coutts remained until retiring in 1868 to Brampton.

28 Presbyterian Magazine, I, 12 (December 1843), 307-8.

In Esquesing, the Antiburgher church remained without a pastor for two years, until a young American, J.D. Cunningham, was ordained and installed (1844). With the notable exception of John Gillespie, an Irishman who served Esquesing for thirty-three years after his appointment in 1851, the clergy who served the congregation from Cunningham in 1844 to G.E. Henderson in the 1920s all came from Pennsylvania or Ohio, where the American Associate church had its strength.

The Seceeder congregation received an acre of land from John Stewart for a church and burying ground, and at the first congregational meeting (1843), 'members, hearers and all who wish well to the Secession cause' were invited to join in clearing it. Within a year, the Esquesing meeting-house had been erected.[29] The congregation sought support far beyond the local area: from Hamilton, Guelph and Eramosa, from Toronto [township] and Streetsville. But they felt keenly 'their destitute situation for want of a fixed Pastor.'[30]

John Moir has compared the American and Scottish Secession clergy of the period, suggesting

> Like the American missionaries the United Secession missionaries were voluntarists and temperance supporters, and evangelical Calvinists if not revivalists. Unlike the Americans, however, they had unimpeachable British origins.[31]

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[29] PCA. Records of the Secession Congregation of Esquesing, 1843-62, 14 October 1843, 14 October 1844.

[30] Ibid., January 1848, 8 June 1845.

[31] Moir, Enduring Witness, 84-5; drawing from John Banks, 'American Presbyterianism in the Niagara Peninsula 1800-1840', OH, LVII, 3 (September 1965), 135-40. Banks' article is based on the American Home Missionary Society sponsored presbytery of Niagara.

His characterization of the Americans is based on John Banks' examination of the Niagara Presbyery, to which Samuel Sessions belonged. Though he associates the presbytery of Stamford with that group, there seem to have been differences, at least in Esquesing. There is no evidence that Sessions' enthusiasm for protracted meetings was shared by the Stamford group. Nor did the Stamford churches feel the backlash after the rebellion as did those of the Niagara Presbytery, though they would later feel themselves an alien presence.

The Vermont settlers had enjoyed, or endured, town support for their congregations which must have been more galling for a minority than the more diffused support which some church bodies received in Upper Canada. Yet, though they did not themselves benefit from such aid, neither did they, or the Antiburgher church, seem to oppose it.[32]

The voluntarism of the Missionary Presbytery was one of its

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32 The General Assembly of Vermont in 1787 'enacted that whenever any town felt able to build a meeting house or support a minister, they could levy a tax upon the inhabitants for such purpose, the denomination to be chosen by a majority vote, and all the tax-payers were required to support such services unless they could produce certificates of membership in some other church. There seems to have been little dissent here in Barnet from the Presbyterian form, as only a feew such certificates are recorded, before 1797.' Wells, Barnet, 116. Similar provisions were made in New Hampshire, and in Suncook Deacon James Moore (1701-79?) protested that the Congregationalist minister appointed in 1738 would not give a satisfactory account of his faith, would not join the Presbyterians, and held that the Church of Scotland was not agreeable to scripture. His son Ephraim (b1734) crossed the Merrimack before 1762, when Suncook Presbyterians were exempted from supporting the Congregationalist minister. 100 Acres More or Less (Np, nd), 70. Perhaps this was the move in the colonies motivated by religious reasons, to which family tradition attests. Ephraim's son David (1775-1848) moved to Ryegate, where he was a member of Goodwillie's congregation; and came in 1819 with a large family to Esquesing.

conrnerstones. Jenkins of Markham, the first of the Presbyterian clergy to visit Esquesing, had objected to the United Synod accepting a grant from the government, and in protest joined the Missionary Presbytery. By contrast, other visitors like King and Andrew Bell, and the township's first resident Presbyterian minister, Peter Ferguson, gladly accepted their share in the grants.

How much the temperance issue inflamed people is uncertain. It is said that Mr Ferguson liked to fortify himself before preaching. But his congregation frowned on excess, and disciplined some of its members for drinking 'more ardent spirits than necessary'.[33] That same year a charge of drunkenness against Mr Creighton was withdrawn, but Creighton withdrew as an elder 'on a certain ground which he stated' but which the secretary unfortunately did not record. Creighton later became a leader in the Secession congregation, and the personal slight was probably a factor in his leaving.

However unimpeachable the British origins of the Secession clergy may have been, the church's voluntarism put it on the radical end of the political spectrum. Jenkins continually denounced the government from his Markham pulpit, and Mackenzie saw in him a kindred spirit, deferring the baptism of his two sons while he was in exile after the abortive rebellion, so that Jenkins could officiate on his return to Upper Canada.[34]

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[33] PCA. Session minutes, 1 April 1837.

[34] Muriel Jenkins, 'Grace Seasoned with Salt: A Profile of the Reverend William Jenkins, 1779-1843', OH, LI, 2 (Spring 1959), 95-104. In Queenston, Mackenzie had affiliated himself with the Stamford congregation.

During the thirties, Mackenzie had won a number of sympathizers in Esquesing, and the Scotch Block was 'considered the strong hold of radicalism in this township'.[35] In the summer and fall of 1831, the firebrand was travelling through the province, denouncing the recently elected conservative Assembly's 'Everlasting Salary Bill', and collecting grievance petitions to embarass the government. Among the farmers who joined his political following were the Esquesing inhabitants who met at Thomas Thompson's inn to declare their support.[36]

As the passing years brought little of the change they sought, both Mackenzie and his supporters became more strident. Thompson's inn was the site of another meeting, in 1835, at which a branch of Mackenzie's Canadian Alliance was formed. It condemned corrupt office-holders who had fattened on the good things of the province for half a century, denounced the Common Schools as a mere sham, and demanded as farmers that a duty be laid on imported American produce.[37]

Nothing was said in its original declarations about the church. But at this juncture a missionary of the Glasgow Colonial Society, Angus Mackintosh, preached a sermon in Esquesing in which he attributed some of the opposition to the national support of Christianity to ignorance and irreligion. His voluntarist listeners took issue with him, in the name of the Esquesing Alliance, in a lengthy letter of rebuttal. They did

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35 The Patriot, Toronto, 22 August 1837.

36 Colonial Advocate, Toronto, 1 Septmeber 1831.

37 Correspondent and Advocate, Toronto, 12 March 1835.

not see any advantage that can be derived from establishing a church, if it be not in supporting an unpopular Government....

...there has been no class of men in the world, so famous for tyranny and rapacity, and we may add, inhumanity, as the clergy of established churches. .... They have been the greatest scource of the human family. If any man doubt, let him look to their conduct in poor Priest-ridden Ireland at the present time, ... or let him even look to England, and his doubts will disappear....[38]

The secretary of the branch was John Stewart, Jr, the agent in the Scotch Block for the Advocate, and Mackenzie's confidant. On one of his twice-yearly visits to Toronto, in June 1837, Stewart was told by the Reform leader that if a final effort to change the government by constitutional means should fail, they would summon their friends to arms and depose the ruling power. Stewart was entrusted with marshalling and rousing the Reformers of Esquesing and neighbouring townships to the cause. When a series of meetings were held at harvest time to voice the Reformers' concerns, a large crowd gathered at Stewart's farm to listen to Mackenzie. Magistrates from the surrounding townships gave the conservatives a bare majority over the reformers present (112 against 109), but after they defeated the reform resolutions and departed, a reform rump remained to carry out the original business of the meeting. The next gathering, at Churchville, was disturbed by a Tory mob; and Stewart only escaped a pursuing crowd by plunging into the Credit river. When the call to arms did come in December, some sixty men assembled at his house, though after various encounters along

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[38] Ibid., 14 January 1836. Mackintosh claimed that his Esquesing hearers had unfairly represented him. At the time of the disruption, Mackintowh entered the Free Church.

the way, only five achieved their destination. In the rout of the march on the capital, Stewart was captured and held for trial, but escaped to New York.[39]

Stewart acted as clerk of the Seceeder congregation throughout its existence, and his father gave the land on which the church was situated. Other members linked the causes of seccesion and reform: Allan MacPherson marched on York and corresponded with Mackenzie when both were exiles; John Fisher (c1792-1871) was treasurer of the Esquesing branch of the Canadian Alliance, Thòmas Hume (b1814) was secretary and Duncan Stewart (1804-87) a manager of the branch; John McNaughton (who belonged to the church building committee and in 1847 presided over the annual meeting) was the original reform candidate to chair the 1837 meeting at Stewart's farm; and Alexander Bowman was called to the chair after the Tories had departed. An occasional listener was Hugh Black (1792-1854), a Deputy Provincial Surveyor who had contributed articles to the Colonial Advocate. At the time of the rebellion he was living in Norval, where, on the plea of searching for Mackenzie, a party of men entered his home and, to prove their loyalty, damaged his furniture and threw the clock out of doors.

By 1843, then, the Esquesing congregation had divided into

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[39] The Patriot, Toronto, 22 August 1837; Brockville Recorder, 24 August 1837; Paisley Advocate, 14 May 1924.

[40] A native of Kilmartin in Argylshire, Black had attended lectures at Edinburgh university and spent time in the West Indies before coming to Canada. In 1820 he was appointed a Deputy Provincial Surveyor, following the trade he had practiced in Scotland. McColl, Records and Memories, 43-4; Verna Restall in Halton Peel Newsletter, June 1976. Hugh was brother to Elder James Black of Everton, a prominent Disciple missionary.

three parts, affiliated with the Church of Scotland, with the Presbytery of Stamford, and with the Missionary Presbytery. These seemed only to be a prelude to the Great Disruption of the following year.

The Canadian church was beset by emisaries of the Free Church of Scotland, like Robert Burns, who had been the secretary and driving force behind the Glasgow Colonial Society. Their mission was to persuade Canadians to disown the established church (though not necessarily the idea of establishment), as they had done; and they were particularly successful in the developing western part of the province. At the session meeting in October 1844, Alexander Laidlaw said he could no longer remain as an elder in connection with the Church of Scotland, and resigned. The session divided, and though both parties claimed the meeting house, arrangements were made for both to use it, at different hours on the Sabbath. Dr Burns, who had remained in Canada, occasionally came out from Knox Church in Toronto, as did a number of students from Knox College, to take services over the next three years.

William Rintoul of Streetsville suggested the name of Boston church, in honour of Thomas Boston, whose writings had done much to nurture the popular piety of Presbyterians. At the same time the name honoured the Laidlaws, who were so instrumental in promoting the original congregation in the twenties and the Free Church congregation in the forties, who came from the parish of Ettrick, where Boston had ministered from 1702 to 1732, and who were distantly related to the divine.

At least one Free Church supporter shared the pronounced

Reform background that was so typical of the Seceeders: John McColl (c1780-1854), who was town clerk and collector in 1831 when he was asked to preside over the local Reform meeting.[41]

Members of the Free Church were given a strong sense that they were taking part in a grand cause. At the start of the congregational minute book were summarized the principles for which the 'Free Protesting Church of Scotland' contended: the Royal Prerogative of the Lord Jesus Christ as Head over all things to His Church, that the Scriptures are the great Statute book, that His system of laws must be preserved entire, that Office bearers in His Church have not a legislative but only a ministerial and administrative power, that it belongs to the people and congregation to elect their own minister, and none are to be intruded against their will.[42]

There was nothing there which should have divided them from the remainder of Ferguson's congregation. But there was a momentum, and an implied virtue, that made the division irresistable. When Burns preached in the block in 1845, he chose a text which declared,

> Yet you have still a few names in Sardis, people who have not soiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy. (Revelation 3.4)

When he returned years later, he was still a warrior, though now an ancient one. The silent graves that surrounded the church led him to appeal to an ancestral faith that had withstood the tyrant

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[41] PCA. Session minutes, 1832-57. McColl is listed as belonging to the Church of Scotland congregation in 1842, but not in 1848. His family were active in the Free Church congregation.

[42] PCA. Boston Church congregational minutes, 1851-99, 2.

grace, causing divisions among relatives and in neighbourhoods.

They were aware of the limitations of the voluntary fact, however strongly they felt the voluntary principle. While Boston had to share with others to obtain a minister, the Seceeder church also had problems. In 1858 their minister, James Caldwell, withdrew his resignation only on condition that his arrears in stipend soon be paid.[45] When Caldwell moved the following year, the union of the two synods into the Canada Presbyterian Church was about to become a reality, and no successor was appointed.

After the disruption, Peter Ferguson and his remaining congregation began to turn their eyes toward the nearby county seat of Milton. A new church was opened there in 1847, as an outstation of the Esquesing congregation. The session alternated its meetings between the two places until 1855, when their last gathering in Esquesing was recorded. When Ferguson retired two years later, his Esquesing congregation ceased to meet.[46] The Milton congregation would remain aloof from the union of 1875, continuing in to the first decade of this century.

The Tories, like the Reformers, had a local organization, the British Constitutional Society. Its membership when it was formed in 1835 was more representative of the township geographically and denominationally. Most of the few Scotch Block Presbyterians who can be identified (Adam Sproat, who was

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[45] PCA. Boston church, Session Book of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Esquesing, 16 March 1858.

[46] The Halton Journal, Milton, 3 July 1857; McColl, 46-7.

Secretary; Robert Ruxton, who was Assistant Secretary; Thomas Chisholm; and David Carradice [printed as Carraden]) remained on the roll of the Church of Scotland congregation in 1848.[47] For the Kirk as well as for the Seceeders, political and religious outlooks joined hand in hand.

It was the Antiburgher church which continued, almost against its will. A paper delivered to the presbytery of Stamford in 1876 outlining its history was perhaps intended as a sort of swan song, noting the natural prejudice against connexion with a foreign church, and remarking that the standards and form of church order of the new Presbyterian Church of Canada were almost the same as its own. In later years, its conservatism gave it a sense of identity: about 1913 its minister stated that 'the U.P. is one of the few Churches who believe the Bible is inspired.'[48]

After the presbytery was dissolved, the remaining Canadian congregations again became part of the presbytery of Albany. But in Esquesing it was thought that the deed contained clauses that prevented union with another congregation, and the Antiburgher church continued its independent existence into the 1920s.[48]

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[47] The reports of the Reform groups only identify officers and speakers; of these, Samuel Watkins (a Methodist from Stewarttown) and W.A. Stephens (the Disciple poet from Norval) were the only obvious non-Scotch Block Presbyterians. The account of the Constitutional Society in The Patriot, Toronto, 2 June 1835 lists the membership, which included Anglicans (Joyces, Standishes, Cookes) and probably Methodists (Reids) as well as Presbyterians.

[48] UCA. 'History of the Presbytery of Stamford', mfm, attributed to John Gillespie, though it is simply signed by him as clerk of session, but written in another hand. The restrictive deed is alluded to in the Georgetown Herald, 9 November 1921; the 1846 deed (Halton Registry Office, instrument 7A) seems unexceptional; a lease of 14 May 1858 contains a clause to prevent litigation in the event of disruption.

When the Scotch Block folk approached Peter Ferguson to be their minister, they expressed an intention to co-operate for the sake of their common Presbyterianism. That resolve was tested, and broken, when people appealed to the things that divided them: to the family ties that bound the Vermont settlers of the Antiburgher church, to the radicalism of the Seceeders, to the memory of persecution in the old land and the zeal of a new cause of the Free Church. But the distinctions were not enough to sustain separate churches. There had been little rancour in the separations: where the Free Church in Scotland made a point of erecting a rival building as close as it could to the parish church, in the Scotch Block they shared the church. Constant dialogue, fraternal visits and links of family and friendship helped to ease the pain felt at the divisions. Besides the weakness caused by their divided state, all the congregations faced new pressures: the tempting ease of modern life against which Burns warned, liberal ideas which questioned old assumptions, and the growing importance of the towns of Milton, Acton and Georgetown. In response to these pressures, they rediscovered--sometimes swiftly and sometimes glacially--the Presbyterianism which they held in common.

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restrictive deed is alluded to in the Georgetown Herald, 9 November 1921; the 1846 deed (Halton Registry Office, instrument 7A) seems unexceptional; a lease of 14 May 1858 contains a clause to prevent litigation in the event of disruption.