

METHODISM ON THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES, 1896 to 1914:
THE DYNAMICS OF AN INSTITUTION IN A NEW ENVIRONMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

From 1896 to 1914, the Canadian prairies experienced a great immigration and expansion of settlement. A study of prairie Methodism in this period reveals the dynamics of an institution in the process of transference to a new environment. This thesis examines the character of Canadian Methodism at this time, the manner in which it penetrated the prairies, the origin of its resources and the changes which it experienced in coping with new conditions.

The membership and polity of the Methodist Church were more Ontario-centred than was the case with any other major religious denomination. Ontario Methodists dominated the General Conference which determined policy for the entire Church, and officials in Toronto closely controlled church expansion. Stimulated by their evangelical traditions and by an aggressive nationalism, Methodist leaders wished to perpetuate on the prairies the Protestant culture of the eastern conferences. Conversely, they opposed the penetration of the west by rival cultures from French Canada and Europe.

To a large extent, the prairie conferences of the Church became vehicles for the Protestant culture of

eastern Canada. Most of the laymen were from Ontario, and prominent Ontario natives worked closely with officials in Toronto to raise missionary finances and to promote missionary education. The prairie clergy were less decisively the outreach of the eastern conferences since more than a third of those who can be identified were British-born. Nevertheless, a clear majority were from eastern Canada, including a great majority of the experienced clergy. The religious culture of prairie Methodism was derived from Anglo-Saxon Protestantism in general as well as from the eastern conferences. However, the Ontario conferences in particular provided the most immediate influences: the General Conference pronouncements, Methodist journals from Toronto and a continuing supply of clergy and laymen.

The essence of the prairie Methodist religious inheritance was a weakening of commitment to traditional forms of evangelism and a growing worldliness. The tradition of saving souls for the life to come had been eclipsed by the desire to Christianize earthly life--a trend hastened by Biblical criticism and other intellectual currents which were undermining the intellectual foundations of the "old time religion." Manifestations of the new orientation were missions among the heathen in China, attempts to legislate Christian asceticism and

efforts to grapple with emerging social ills in the cities. With warm support from the Ontario conferences, prairie Methodists also fought for English-language public schools in order to assimilate French Canadians and European immigrants. To Protestantize the Europeans, missions were established as well.

Prairie Methodism only partially recreated the social environment of Methodism in Ontario. Despite its three-fold increase in membership by 1914, Methodism on the prairies was proportionately weaker than in Ontario, as was Protestantism in general. Moreover, Methodist missions made little impact upon the European population. Methodist growth was limited partly by the patterns of immigration which favoured rival denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church. Methodist objectives were also hampered by inadequate resources; the eastern conferences gave too little to missions, and Asia remained their chief missionary interest. Finally, the Church's appeal in isolated, rural communities was reduced by its loss of the "old time religion." Conversely, Methodist success was largely confined to the Anglo-Saxon, urban middle class and to well-to-do farmers.

Spurred by disappointment with Methodist growth, the disgruntled prairie conferences won considerable autonomy in the administration of missions at the General

Conference of 1910. From a desire to use Protestant resources more efficiently, movements for co-operation and church union with the Presbyterian Church also emerged. Thus, Canadian Methodism was greatly modified by the encounter with the prairie environment.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian prairies experienced a great immigration and expansion of settlement in the period 1896 to 1914. With the influx of human and material resources from eastern Canada, Britain, the United States, continental Europe and elsewhere, the frontier area acquired a variety of cultural values, traditions and institutions. The Methodist Church on the prairies constituted an important cultural and institutional thrust from eastern Canada and especially from Ontario. Accordingly, a study of prairie Methodism in this formative period reveals the dynamics of an institution in the process of transference to a new environment. This thesis will examine the character of Canadian Methodism, the manner in which it penetrated the new region, the origin of its resources, the problems which it encountered and the changes which it experienced in the course of coping with new conditions.

Prior to 1914, the Methodist Church was more Ontario-centred than was the case with any other major religious denomination. Over 60% of Canada's Methodist population lived in Ontario in 1911, and Ontario men

dominated the highly centralized Church polity. The Ontario conferences of the Church dominated the General Conference, a national body which determined policy for the entire Church, and the executive of the General Board of Missions in Toronto held a tight control over church expansion. Predictably, Methodist leaders wished to perpetuate on the prairies the Protestant culture of Ontario and other eastern provinces.¹ To this end, they strove to make their Church as strong and influential in the west as it was in Ontario and to achieve the necessary growth with Canadian resources. Conversely, they resisted the extension of French Canadian culture beyond Quebec and reacted strongly to the rival customs, languages and religious traditions of the European immigration. The evangelical traditions which underlay this posture were reinforced by a strong English Canadian nationalism.

A weakening of commitment to traditional forms of evangelism and a growing worldliness was the essence of Methodist religious culture at the time of the Church's western expansion. The traditional goal of saving souls for the life to come had been eclipsed by the more immediate objective of Christianizing life on earth. To this end, the Church participated in a great invasion of Protestant missions among the heathen millions of Japan and China. At the same time,

Methodists promoted an ascetic morality in their homeland by exerting pressure for moral legislation and by grappling with social ills in Canadian cities. The progressively worldly orientation of the Church was accompanied by a deterioration of evangelical agencies such as the class meeting, a declining sense of sin and of need for Christ's atonement and a loss of spiritual introspection among church members. The spread of Biblical criticism and German materialism hastened these tendencies by undermining the intellectual foundations of the traditional evangelism.

To a large extent the prairie conferences of the Church became vehicles for an Ontario-centred Protestant religious culture. As far as can be determined, the Ontario conferences supplied most of the prairie laymen. In every western city, prominent Ontario natives co-operated closely with Methodist officials in Toronto in raising missionary finances and promoting campaigns of missionary education. Yet the prairie ministers were less decisively the outreach of the eastern conferences; despite great efforts by the General Board of Missions to meet western needs with Canadians, continuing shortages of clergy forced the Church to recruit extensively in Britain. Of the prairie clergy who can be identified, the Ontario men were a bare majority and British-born men were more

than a third of the total. However, due to the youth and inexperience of the British recruits, most of the veteran clergy and senior officials in the west were natives of eastern Canada. The outreach of the eastern conferences was also evident in the prairie theological colleges which were staffed almost entirely with graduates of Victoria College, Toronto and Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal.

The religious culture of prairie Methodism was derived from American, British and Canadian Protestantism in general as well as from the eastern conferences. Nevertheless, the Ontario conferences in particular supplied the most immediate influences: the General Conference pronouncements, Methodist journals from Toronto and a continuing supply of clergy and laymen. Moreover, some of the traditions which the prairie conferences inherited were peculiar to Canadian Methodism. Interestingly, Canadian Methodist traditions did not reach the west unaltered. Agencies such as the class and prayer meetings were too weak to become a significant part of Methodism on the prairies.

The response to the French Canadian and European cultures in the west became increasingly important in the period under study. With warm support from the Ontario conferences and the General Conference, prairie

Methodists fought for an English-language public school system which would assimilate the rival groups. To Protestantize the Europeans as well, missions were established among them. In Winnipeg, in the Austrian colonies of northern Alberta and in the Crow's Nest Pass, Methodist clergy worked to sever the immigrants from their old-world past. The outreach of Ontario Methodism was especially conspicuous during the northwest school crisis of 1905. The editor of the Christian Guardian and the Methodist General Superintendent fought more vigorously against separate schools than did the prairie conferences which were directly affected. However, Ontario Methodists reacted primarily out of fear that French Canadian culture might spread to the west. Western Methodists, on the other hand, were more alarmed by the European presence and by the possibility of a polyglot society.

The number of British-born clergy in the west, particularly in the Saskatchewan Conference, was a sign that Church leaders were only partially successful in making the prairie conferences vehicles for an Ontario or eastern Canadian Protestant culture. As vehicles, the prairie conferences were even less successful in recreating the social environment which Methodism enjoyed in the eastern conferences. By 1914,

Methodism was far weaker proportionately on the prairies than in Ontario, and so was Protestantism in general. Moreover, the prairie conferences commanded less loyalty from their membership. Finally, the Church made little impression upon the European immigrants, who were nearly a fifth of the prairie population. The European missions won only a handful of converts, and Methodist objectives in education were not fully realized in any of the prairie provinces.

Methodist growth fell short of the objectives set by Church leaders partly due to patterns of immigration. Approximately half the prairie population originated from continental Europe, Britain and the United States, lands in which Methodism was proportionately weaker than in Ontario. Conversely, the Roman Catholic Church gained heavily from the European and American immigration, and the Presbyterian and Anglican churches gained more than Methodism from the British immigration. Secondly, the Europeans would not have responded to Protestant proselytizing regardless of the size of the Methodist mission plant among them. In terms of contributing significantly to Methodist growth, the European missions were doomed to failure. Thirdly, the resources of the prairie conferences were inadequate to meet Methodist objectives. Throughout the period under study, Asia remained the

primary missionary interest of the Church, and money which was badly needed for prairie church expansion went regularly to the foreign mission field. Also detrimental to church expansion was the expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million dollars on the European missions prior to 1914, an outlay which yielded negligible returns. The most serious weakness of all was the failure of eastern Methodists to see beyond their own local needs and to contribute to missions what they were really capable of giving. A fourth limitation on Methodist success in the west was imposed by the decline of the "old time religion." This change was an asset in urban, middle class congregations which had a relatively high level of education. In the face of Biblical criticism, the discoveries of Darwin and a social climate which demanded rational explanation, they needed a theology and deportment which was intellectually respectable. However, the loss of the emotional, soul-saving evangelism was a liability among isolated, rural populations of the prairies which were less troubled by new intellectual currents. Similarly, the Church was unable to meet the religious and social needs of the urban working class. As in the east, the appeal of prairie Methodism was primarily to the urban, middle class and to well-to-do farmers.

Despite the shortcomings of Methodist growth on the prairies, the membership and the number of churches more than tripled in the period under study. In 1904, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference became three conferences; within a decade, each had become as strong as the original conference had been in 1896. With expansion of this magnitude and with even greater growth expected, conflict within the Church could scarcely be avoided. The highly centralized administration of missions came under fire after 1905. Prairie Methodists insisted that they were more familiar with the needs of their conference than were officials in Toronto, and a few westerners were especially critical of the General Board of Missions executive for not pursuing the European work more aggressively. Accordingly, the prairie conferences demanded and obtained more autonomy in the administration of missions at the General Conferences of 1906 and 1910. Movements for co-operation and organic union with the Presbyterian Church also emerged. In the former, Methodist and Presbyterian officials sought to eliminate wasteful competition through agreements to stay out of small prairie communities in which the other was established. Due to the atmosphere of rivalry between the two churches, the movement for co-operation was not very successful. Hence the support for organic

union of the two Protestant churches. So strong was the union feeling in the west that "local unions" were formed in several prairie communities when Presbyterian and Methodist officials were slow to achieve the marriage of the parent institutions. The consequence of the union and co-operation movements was a weakening of denominational loyalty in the prairie conferences--which was already weaker than in the east. Thus, Canadian Methodism was greatly modified by the encounter with the prairie environment.

Chapter II

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PRAIRIES

1896 was the beginning of a great period of growth for the Canadian prairies. After more than a decade of economic stagnation, farming in the west became profitable and attractive due to fortuitous changes in the world economy: a rise in the price of wheat, a decline in transportation costs between the west and its European markets and the exhaustion of cheap land of good quality in the United States. Thus began a great immigration which would last until the outbreak of World War I. Census statistics indicated the extent to which the west was transformed. In 1891, the prairies had supported a mere quarter of a million people, most of whom were in southeastern Manitoba. Winnipeg, with a population of 26,000, was the only centre of size. By 1911, the population had increased more than five-fold. 1.3 million persons were concentrated in a vast triangle which was bounded by Edmonton in the north and by Winnipeg and Lethbridge in the southeast and southwest. Winnipeg had become a city of 136,000, and Calgary (44,000), Edmonton (25,000) and Brandon (14,000) had grown from populations of less

than 4,000. In addition, there were entirely new cities such as Regina (30,000), Moose Jaw (13,000) and Saskatoon (12,000).¹

The Methodist Church was deeply involved in the settlement of the Canadian prairies. At the very least, the Church felt an obligation to provide religious services for its own people who had gone there to live.² More importantly, in concert with other Protestants, Methodists were the self-appointed guardians of Protestant Christian values in society, and they assumed that the perpetuation of Protestantism was vital to the nation-building process. An Ontario Methodist Member of Parliament, T.S. Sproule, expressed a widely held belief that

any nation goes up or down on the scale of civilization in proportion as that nation maintains the principles of the Christian religion and endeavours to have its citizens live as closely as possible to the principles set forth in the Christian religion as based upon the word of God.³

God was the God of nations as well as of individuals. Translated into the Canadian context, Christian values would be menaced throughout the Dominion if the west, with its enormous material potential, were not won for Christ. On the other hand, if prairie society were given Christian foundations, Canada could become a mighty base for exporting the Christian evangel on a global scale. In this way, Canada could participate

fully in the Anglo-Saxon mission to bring about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. As the General Board of Missions reported in 1908,

Increase the missionary force adequately in the West, spend \$500,000 annually in Canada, and the Methodist Church will soon have a force of 500 missionaries, and the annual income of \$1,000,000 which are needed for the proper discharge of our duty in the foreign field.

The mission of the Methodist Church is to save Canada, that through Canada we may do our part toward saving the world.⁴

In this respect, Methodist leaders were conscious of the prairies as being a Canadian responsibility. They were loathe to seek the aid of British or American Methodist resources which might otherwise go to the Asian field, especially since the work of their own Church in Asia would be thereby offset in value. Church leaders also believed that Canadian clergy were more capable than others in coping with the population and physical environment of the prairies.⁵

A degree of "ancestor worship" was intermixed with religious motivations. Many western clergy thought of themselves as repeating on the prairies what the "saddle bag" preachers had done for Upper Canada some two generations before. This feeling was heightened by admiration of the piety and evangelical power of their forefathers--strengths which were less conspicuous in the Methodist Church of the late nineteenth century.⁶ Presiding at the opening of a new

church in Manitoba in 1898, Rev. Thomas Argue, who had emigrated from Ontario in 1881, illustrated the reverence for the Canadian Methodist past:

Hearing such names in the country as Staples, Grandy, Darling, Matchett, Wilson, Sutton, Fallis, Richardson, Magill, etc., we are reminded of life in Cavan and Manvers . . . when the parents and grandparents of these people assisted in establishing Methodism in Cavanville, Bethany, Lifford, Newry, etc. Nor can we forget pastors Watts, Rolson, Pirrette, Tindall, Johnson, O'Hara, and others, who led the hosts of the Lord onward to glorious victory. Among the best Christian workers in this progressive and hopeful western country are the descendents of these early Methodists of Ontario. None succeed better than they, and we are always glad to welcome them to our churches, and to assist them in securing suitable locations.⁷

Finally, the westward expansion of Canadian Methodism was motivated by pride in the Church's size and influence.⁸ The Methodist Church was Canada's largest Protestant denomination in 1896, and it could retain this distinction only by matching the growth of Canadian society in general.

However, the prairies presented the Church with a formidable challenge. The volume of immigration and the enormous size of the area being settled--both of which were without precedent in Canadian history--promised to tax the Church's resources. The need for financial aid from the eastern conferences was especially obvious. Congregations in frontier areas were often

unable to pay their pastor a living wage, let alone build him a church and parsonage. A missionary in the Alberta Conference explained that

You cannot get blood out of a stone. The homesteaders have practically no income for the first three years & fearful outlay--houses and fences to be built--stock and machinery to buy and provisions expensive. Flour for instance [is] \$4.00 and \$4.25 per hundred pounds. Many of the people regard the preacher as a burden & will not come to Divine worship because they have nothing to put into the collection. I wish I had the means of giving them the gospel without burdening them with my support.⁹

Moreover, farms on the prairies were larger than in Ontario, and the population density in rural areas of the west was correspondingly lower. Thus prairie communities were less able to support religious institutions than communities in Ontario, and some were only prepared to support the first denomination to reach them.¹⁰

The financial challenge on the prairies was aggravated by population mobility which often brought about a wastage of resources. In 1882, for example, settlers flocked to Sheho, N.W.T., upon news that the railway was to be extended into this area from Yorkton, and a Methodist missionary and log church were duly established there; to the Church's misfortune, the railway did not materialize, and the settlers left one by one.¹¹ By 1905, parts of Manitoba were faced with

depopulation as well as with population mobility.

An exodus of church members reduced Austin from the status of a self-supporting circuit to a mission, and the same fate overtook Bagot, Macgregor and Sidney; the Lenora mission also encountered straightened circumstances when the entire membership at one of its appointments moved to Saskatchewan, and the church at Morris faced trouble when the original population was displaced by Germans and Mennonites.¹² Ironically, "acts of God" could also cause financial setbacks.

In 1907, a \$2,500 church at Grenfell, Saskatchewan was destroyed by fire, and only half its value was insured.¹³

In 1912, a cyclone completely gutted Metropolitan Methodist Church in Regina, an \$80,000 building, even though "not a hotel nor a theatre in the city suffered any damage;" allowing for insurance coverage, the congregation was saddled with a debt of \$30,000, just when it had been about to launch a major expansion program in the city.¹⁴

Finally, education made demands upon Methodist financial resources. Wesley College in Winnipeg, founded in 1886, was the first of five colleges in the prairie conferences which were established to train clergy and lay leaders. In 1903, Alberta College in Edmonton became the second institution to offer theological training, and secondary school education was

offered at Regina College and Mount Royal College, Calgary, which were founded in 1910 and 1911 respectively; a third institution to offer secondary school education, Strathcona College, was founded in Edmonton shortly thereafter.¹⁵ Aided by contributions from wealthy Ontario and prairie laymen, the colleges acquired a property value in excess of \$3,000,000 by 1914.¹⁶

Clergy as well as money were part of Methodist needs in the west, and the number of clergy required by the prairie conferences was always substantial. In 1901, Rev. James Woodsworth, the mission superintendent for the Manitoba and Northwest Conference, announced that 25 men were needed for the coming year, and more than 100 new men were sought annually after 1907.¹⁷ Since these requirements were far beyond the resources of the prairie theological colleges, mission leaders looked to the conferences of eastern Canada to make up the shortages. Unfortunately, the isolation, deprivations and demanding work loads of frontier missions made the recruiting of clergy difficult. The very size of some missions required exceptional energy to handle. In 1907, Rev. Frank Coop travelled fifty miles each Sunday to reach four preaching appointments in the vicinity of Wilcox, Saskatchewan; in the same year, Rev. Charles H. Hopkins was the lone Methodist

parson in over thirty townships which were being settled in Alberta's Peace River country--in the age of horse and buggy!¹⁸ Missionaries in frontier districts could also find that routine chores left them little time for preaching the word of God. The wife of Rev. F.W.H. Armstrong, a missionary in the Peace River country, wrote that

Mr. Armstrong has been compelled to work like any other homesteader from Monday morning to Saturday night. . . . For weeks at a time [he] has not had time to glance at a paper to say nothing of books. I wonder that he is not discouraged with the situation . . . but had he devoted his time to studying and preaching and visiting etc., we would have died long ago from either cold or hunger.

You cannot be of service to any community until you have a house to live in and food to eat. So far we have accomplished that much.

Mrs. Armstrong also described the isolation that a missionary could encounter:

We are seventy-five miles from a Doctor, and our letters are three weeks old before they arrive, and they don't often appear for six or seven weeks after they are mailed. . . . We never tasted butter, milk or eggs after October. . . .¹⁹

Mr. Armstrong was lucky: he had Mrs. Armstrong. Nearly all of his colleagues were bachelors because few stations had the financial resources and the accommodations for a married man. One can only speculate on how many single men like John W. Roberts, an English-born candidate for the ministry, fled God's calling

because of acute homesickness.²⁰

Like the settlers they served, the missionaries frequently faced primitive living conditions. Rev. W.T. Young of the Alberta Conference lived in a typical "preacher's shack," which in his case measured eight feet by fourteen, and the Christian Guardian described the typical interior:

An inventory of the furnishings of the shack revealed the following: some board bookshelves, a tin stove, with a pipe three inches in diameter, a home-made chair composed of birch limbs and twigs, an oil lamp and lantern, a few nails to hang clothes upon, a tin trunk, a box of Sunday-school papers, a box for a washstand, and a home-made bed. One window, along with many cracks, served to illuminate and ventilate the rooms. Yet in this humble abode the pastor spent the leisure hours of his life, and also did his studying.²¹

Nevertheless, Young's home compared favourably with his previous dwellings: a series of tents and granaries.²²

Finally, the missionary's loyalty to his calling was tested by the prairie winter. Death could be the price of inexperience with 40°F below temperatures and with the flooding spring rivers which followed. In April, 1905, a British-born candidate for the ministry, Fred Corry, drowned while attempting to cross the swollen Oldman River in southern Alberta.²³ In March, 1909, another young Briton, George Cook, fell victim to the Saskatchewan winter; his mission superintendent reported that he had

been very badly frozen. . . . He was stationed on the Richardson field . . . about 20 miles outside Regina. He was living in a shack. During the cold weather which we had in January he drove home from Regina; and on reaching the place where he lived he began to unhitch his horse, his hands being very cold; he tried to thaw them by rubbing them with snow, but seemed to make them worse. He then got excited and left his horse, and dropping his mitts started off for a house which was half a mile away. On reaching the place his hands were frozen solid. He was brought to the hospital next day, and has been there ever since; until last Saturday morning when he went back to his field. His right hand will be alright again, although all the fingernails came off. The Doctor had to take off four fingers from the left hand. . .

Incredibly, Cook got his feet wet three weeks later, contracted congestion of the lungs and typhoid fever, and died.²⁴

Regardless of the Church's success in supplying clergy and financial aid, another problem to surmount was the religious indifference which arose from the nature of prairie society. The foremost cause of irreligion was the rampant materialism which attended Canada's economic boom. A former pastor in the Alberta Conference explained that

People are coming to that country not to get educational advantages, not to get religious privileges, not to secure the comforts and sanctities of home; these things were found much more easily in the communities from which they have come; but they are coming to make money . . . and the material side of life is uppermost in their thought--wheat and lands, dollars

and acres, the thirst to have, the rush to get, these are the things that are absorbing the lives of men to the exclusion of other and higher things.²⁵

A Saskatchewan clergyman commented that the slogan of the prairie-bound appeared to be "Good-bye God, we are going West."²⁶ Religious indifference was also fostered by the relative lack of social constraints in the west, a characteristic of many new societies. N.W. Rowell, a Toronto corporation lawyer and one of the Church's leading laymen, found that "men were not forced by the time-honoured custom to attend divine worship on Sunday in the west, and in many instances did not go."²⁷ Rev. T.C. Buchanan, mission superintendent for the Alberta Conference made the further discovery that "people do things when they get into a new country that they would never dream of doing at home."²⁸ Age was a major constraint which was lacking in prairie society. Several Methodists noted the youth of western people and the "scarceness of old people."²⁹ Anonymity also facilitated an unhealthy liberty. Men and women who had been Methodist in Britain or in eastern Canada often were not known as such by the Methodist pastor in their vicinity. Finally, attendance at Church agencies such as the Sunday service and youth groups was discouraged by the distance of many rural families from church, in part a result of the low prairie population density.

In 1896, the Christian Guardian observed of the west that "many are located eight or ten miles from church and regular attendance at Sunday school is quite impossible."³⁰

Perhaps the greatest challenge of the prairies was that all of the problems had to be overcome quickly. If the experience of the American west was relevant, and Methodist leaders were convinced that it was, prairie communities would become hardened to the gospel message if neglected by the Christian church during their formative years.³¹ Moreover, Methodism faced strong competition from the Presbyterian Church in its efforts to reach villages and rural communities which could only support one denomination. The small communities were, in turn, important to capture not only because of their Methodist supporters but also because of the possibility that they would become large communities in the future.³²

Unfortunately, the prairies held two further challenges which demanded some of the Church's attention and resources. The first, and lesser of the two, concerned problems arising out of the growth of Winnipeg and other western cities. As in the older societies of Britain, the United States and eastern Canada, urbanization seemed to encourage secular thought at the expense of the religious. Rural dwellers could

feel close to God because they worked directly with nature, but, as a minister in the Montreal Conference observed "to-day men are living in highly complicated social, industrial and political conditions, and it is not easy for them to recognize the promptings of God in the new complex process."³³ The exceptionally high turnover of population in centres of immigration such as Winnipeg facilitated the secular drift by reducing contacts between the clergy and the people to a superficial and often impersonal level. Working class populations in particular avoided the Protestant churches, partly because the latter had the reputation of being middle class institutions. The more conservative church members were, in turn, alarmed at the appeal of secular socialism among the ranks of labour. In attempting to surmount its weaknesses in the working class districts of Winnipeg, the Church discovered un-Christian living conditions which were partly the result of environmental factors: high rents and land values, poverty and a lack of recreational outlets. In consequence, the Church was confronted with the issue of environmental reform.³⁴

The other major challenge emerged from the heterogeneous character of the immigration to the prairies. As the following tables show, great numbers of the new arrivals came from southeastern Europe, an area

considered by Methodists to be inferior to Canada in religion, progressiveness and education.

	<u>MANI- TOBA</u>	<u>SASKAT- CHEWAN</u>	<u>AL- BERTA</u>	<u>PRAIRIES</u>
Total population	455,614	492,432	374,663	1,322,709
European population	78,051	91,104	58,771	227,926
from Austria-Hungary	37,731	35,482	21,112	94,325
from Russia	16,375	23,084	10,011	49,470
from Germany	4,294	8,300	6,102	18,696
from Iceland & Scandinavia (including Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark)	11,179	16,680	14,740	42,599

Table 1: EUROPEAN POPULATION IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES IN 1911.³⁵

	<u>TOTAL POP.</u>	<u>EUROPEAN POP.</u>	<u>% EUROPEAN</u>
Winnipeg	136,035	26,320	19.3
Brandon	13,839	1,419	10.3
Saskatoon	12,004	738	6.1
Regina	30,213	5,216	10.6
Edmonton	24,900	2,464	9.9
Calgary	43,704	4,330	9.9

Table 2: EUROPEAN POPULATION OF PRAIRIE CITIES IN 1911.³⁶

Although Europeans also settled in eastern Canada, their numbers were more concentrated in the west. The Anglo-Saxon "host" population was much smaller on the prairies than in Ontario, society was newer and the "good things" of English Canadian culture were less firmly established. Statistics exposed the western weakness in the face of the ethnic onslaught. In 1911, the prairies had 227,926 inhabitants of European origin as compared with 86,967 Europeans in Ontario; however, the base population of the prairies (1,095,126) was less than half that of Ontario (2,436,307); thus, while Europeans

never constituted more than 4% of Ontario's population, they accounted for 16.3% of the prairie population in 1901 and 17.3% of the prairie population in 1911.³⁷ Small wonder that Rev. Andrew Stewart, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis at Wesley College, advised the General Board of Missions in Toronto that

the situation in the West is different to that in the East. There we have whole sections of the country settled by foreigners; that is not possible here in the East. There you go and get twenty-five thousand people of the same tongue, all with the same social customs. . .³⁸

It was an understatement to say that the southern European immigrants received a bad press in the publications of Canadian Methodism. Repeatedly they were described as being immoral, docile, ignorant people who were kept in their deplorable state by avaricious, mediaeval, authoritarian churches. Rev. Samuel East of Winnipeg wrote that

The foreigners have brought with them very low standards of morality, propriety and decency. We see sights every day, especially in warm weather, which cause us to blush. . .

The Catholic churches (Roman and Greek), which have been the only religious institutions known to most of these people, have succeeded in keeping them in ignorance; consequently superstitions and superstitious practices abound. . .³⁹

According to Methodist accounts, Canada's "foreigners" not only came from inferior nations but came from the

lowest strata of society in them. As "An Old Timer" from Winnipeg remarked, every European community was made up of three classes, the last being "the lowest class," "the drinking class," "the rag-tag," "the criminals." "Somehow or other," he added,

We in the west have come to believe that the last class is the one we are being loaded up with. They come here full-fledged graduates of the habits mentioned, and almost at once they sign up with some department of the criminal record. If they "wager" in any matter "they bet the beer." At marriage "Festivals" instead of laying in stuff to eat, they stock up in things to drink . . . these people seem to carry an innate morbid passion to shed blood. Their bringing up, religion, education or lack of education, seems to generate an absolute disregard for human life. . . . They fight with anybody, fight without rules, and generally fight to a finish. . .⁴⁰

Methodists were confirmed in their dislike of southern Europeans by their evaluations of specific ethnic groups. Northern peoples such as Icelanders, Scandinavians and northern Germans were praised for their industry, thrift, intelligence, assimilability and Protestant religion. In contrast, southern Germans, Austrians (known alternatively as Bukowinians, Galicians or Ruthenians), Russians and Poles were condemned for servility, inveterate lying, illiteracy, unsanitary habits, allowing women to work in the fields, labouring on the sabbath, loving liquor and assimilating slowly. Conservatives in the Methodist Church also worried

that the European immigrants in the cities would break free of their mediaeval heritage only to fall into the arms of atheistic socialism.⁴¹

After 1905, the annual influx of Europeans to the prairies was quite substantial, and Methodist leaders were increasingly frightened of the consequences for Canada. To begin with, the Europeans were viewed as a menace to national morality. Principal J.W. Sparling of Wesley College warned that "there is a danger, and it is national! Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level."⁴² Rev. J. S. Woodsworth, the superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg, informed church members that the European immigrants were laying the groundwork for urban slums. Accustomed to low living standards in Europe, they willingly accepted low wages and overcrowded, unsanitary housing in Canada, and their competition on the labour market threatened Canadian workers with the same substandard living conditions. Moreover, the continuous arrival of newcomers prevented earlier immigrants from improving their lot.⁴³

Since aliens were eligible for Canadian citizenship and political rights after three years residence in the Dominion, Methodists also feared the "foreign vote." Temperance reverses in local option contests were the

first signs of European political muscle, and some church members came to regard the European vote as potentially a national emergency. In 1902, Rev. A.E. Smith warned the electors of the Colleston district, near Prince Albert, N.W.T., of a possible division of the northwest territories into two provinces along an east-west line; this, he was certain, would "throw the whole foreign population into the northern province, which would give the foreigners a controlling influence."⁴⁴ In 1908, the Christian Guardian gloomily predicted that

The party which gets the foreign vote will be the party which will sweep the west at the next Dominion elections. Not great moral issues, not questions of vital moment to the country . . . will decide whether the Liberals or Conservatives will carry the west, but simply which party is able to cajole into their ranks the vast army of foreign voters. . . . Over-anxious political partisans have seen that they have been made citizens, and have thrust into their hand the ballot. They are ignorant of our institutions, ignorant even of our language. Controlled by corrupt politicians, they can outbalance the thinking and intelligent electorate, hold a balance of power, and be a menace to our country.⁴⁵

In 1910, Rev. S.D. Chown, soon to be elected as the second General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, went further; his question was "how shall the foreigners govern us?"⁴⁶ In this respect, some Methodists linked European votes to Roman Catholic political power. From the Methodist viewpoint, the Roman Catholic Church was

already uncomfortably influential in government circles due to its strength in Quebec, and now Rome's ranks were being swollen by the immigration of papists to the prairies. Moreover, the Roman clergy were making serious efforts to proselytize non-Catholic Europeans such as the Greek Orthodox Austrians who had come to Canada without their priests. By 1910, seven Catholic priests had been trained in the Greek Orthodox rite and Ruthenian language of these people, and the Christian Guardian doubted that Protestant ideals could triumph west of the Great Lakes if the work of the seven proved successful.⁴⁷ The grim picture was completed by Rev. C.H. Lawford who was surrounded by Austrian settlers at his remote mission in northern Alberta: the capture of the west by Rome would lead to its conquest of the nation and to the collapse of Protestant liberty in Canada.⁴⁸

In addition to Romanizing Canada and to polluting Canada's moral climate, the European presence on the prairies threatened to sap the national strength by balkanizing Canadian society. In the opinion of Rev. John Potts, the secretary of the Methodist Educational Society, a fragmented, polyglot society was incompatible with healthy nationhood; Canada must, he insisted,

become one in language, in institutions, in manners and customs, and in political and industrial interests, and if not one in religious belief, at least one in that common Christianity which is the only foundation of true morality.⁴⁹

Any doubts concerning the seriousness of the ethnic problem were dispelled when Methodists cast their eyes south to the experience of the United States. The Americans had won only partial victory over their polyglot challenge of a generation before, even though, as the Western Methodist Times observed ominously,

never did the problem assume the same proportions as is found in Canada to-day. When the rush of immigration set towards the States the great confederation was already possessed of a population of over twenty millions, and at no time did the influx exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population. The immigration into Canada last year was over 4 per cent of the population, and of the 262,000 immigrants during the year ending March, 1908, 84,000 belonged to almost every country in Europe with contingents from Asia and Africa, over sixty nationalities being represented.⁵⁰

The Methodist Church developed a two-fold role in relation to immigration problems prior to 1914. Firstly, the Church exerted pressure upon the Dominion, provincial and municipal governments to Canadianize the immigrants through all possible means. The most urgent need was for an English-language public school system which all school-age children would be compelled to attend; Methodists also sought a more selective immigration policy, temperance and sabbath observance

laws and other moral and social legislation. Secondly, the Church tried to Christianize and Canadianize the Europeans by establishing missions among them. To some extent, Methodists rationalized this policy by pointing to the lack of priests from the traditional European religious denominations, but they also believed that true Christianity was synonymous with evangelical Protestantism. The European denominations were inadequate because of their elaborate ritual, superstitious practices and beliefs that church officials were empowered by God to grant forgiveness of sins; salvation was only attainable, Methodists insisted, through an individual's personal contact with God through Christ.⁵¹

In addition to smaller missions among the Europeans, two major mission complexes were eventually established: the All People's missions in Winnipeg and the missions among the Austrians of northern Alberta. Aside from their immediate impact, these missions were the Church's laboratories for the future. It fell to the Alberta missions to define the problems of working among Europeans in rural areas, while All People's familiarized the Church with the difficulties of work in an urban environment. Missionaries learned, for example, that Europeans were fairly approachable in the cities because their clannishness was eroded by the mingling of

nationalities. On the other hand, contact with urban-dwelling Europeans was often brief and superficial due to the high population mobility. Conditions in the country were very different. Europeans in rural areas settled in conservative, inward-looking colonies of homogeneous ethnic origin, and they were much harder to reach. However, the rural missionary could specialize in one nationality, and his proselytizing successes were more permanent due to the relative stability of the population.⁵² Notwithstanding the differences between rural and urban mission work, certain operating principles were found to be common to both. To begin with, the missionaries recognized that by proselytizing they risked offending the cultural conservatism of the European majority. Hence, as in the Asian mission field, they hoped to attract the Europeans to Methodism by offering some essential service. In Winnipeg, immigrants were lured through Methodist doors by the institutional building, which offered recreational facilities. In Alberta, Austrian conservatism was penetrated by medical missions. Also effective in reaching European minds were the educational services of the Church, and, in this respect, the juvenile work was of utmost importance. Immigrant children learned English quickly, they were less attached to old-world ways than adults and they provided a means

of contact with their parents.

The problem of discovering the best methods of work among the Europeans raised another difficulty: how was the Church to secure missionaries who were qualified for the European missions? The Church aimed high in the selection of its personnel. The ideal missionary was well versed in Canadian and Protestant social values, and he could address the "foreigners" in their own tongue. Usually, the Church settled for less. For example, the Alberta and Winnipeg mission complexes were both staffed with Canadian-born missionaries who communicated with the Europeans through interpreters, and the language barrier obviously limited their influence. Of course, this kind of missionary was not entirely without advantage: no less than three of the Austrian interpreters in Alberta were converted, largely because they had learned English from the missionaries via translations of the Bible! Methodist personnel requirements were also met through the recruitment of Protestant clergy from Poland or Austria. Three of the staff at All People's were imported Europeans, and Rev. C.H. Lawford, the founder of the Austrian mission work in Alberta, tried to tap this source for his missions.⁵³ Unfortunately, capable Protestants from southeastern Europe were hard to come by, and their unfamiliarity

with Canadian ways limited their value as Canadianizers.⁵⁴ Obviously the best solution was to send Canadian missionaries to Europe where they could learn a European language and at the same time learn something of the social and political background of the European peoples. Regrettably, this kind of training was expensive, and the Church received no return on its money for the two-year training period. Hence the popularity of a fourth approach: sending Canadian missionaries directly to the European colonies of western Canada; in this manner, the missionaries could learn a European language and at the same time make invaluable personal contacts among the people they would be cultivating in the future.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, the method sounded better in theory than it was in practice. Missionaries who had not been to Europe found it difficult to learn the social and economic background of their people because the ethnic colonies were not representative cross-sections of the old-world societies from which they had come. Rather, the colonies were the peasant fragments of those societies which had been ripped out of their original social context. Rev. Edmond Chambers, an All People's missionary who had been trained in Europe, indicated things which the Canadian-trained missionaries were likely to miss:

For instance, the knowledge of German is widespread among the Poles, but no one who knows the Polish people would venture to address them in that language, which is to them a symbol of a hated foreign domination. Better by far to address them in English. The same thing applies to other nationalities. Thus we see that each nationality requires the attention of those who have made that people and their language the object of their special study and care.⁵⁶

Another complaint of the Canadian-trained missionaries was the impossibility of obtaining room and board in an Austrian home which was "fit to live in."⁵⁷ Finally, local training was not suited to city missions. While in Edmonton, Rev. W.H. Pike found it virtually impossible to learn the language of the Austrians because of the extent to which they mixed English words with their Ruthenian vocabulary.⁵⁸ Ultimately, the Church hoped to develop a fifth source of personnel for the European work: the converts from the ethnic colonies. In Alberta, three Austrians became Methodist local preachers after having been converted by Rev. C.H. Lawford, and two of them were sent to Alberta College in Edmonton to prepare for ordination.⁵⁹

The extent of the Church's experimentation concerning methods of work and the recruiting of personnel illustrated the practical difficulties of proselytizing people who did not know English and who had been raised in vastly different religious and cultural traditions.

Several other problems with respect to the European work also emerged. Foremost of these was the enormous expense of the European missions. In 1909, the General Secretary of the Department of Home Missions, Rev. James Allen, shrank at the thought of the \$4,000 required to begin work in one European colony to the north of Winnipeg.⁶⁰ Unlike ordinary domestic missions, European missions were begun without church members and without prospects of immediate local revenue; of necessity, they were reliant upon outside financial help for years. Obviously, enormous sums of money were needed for a significant expansion of European mission work. However, even if the necessary monies and qualified missionaries were forthcoming, many Methodists doubted that southern Europeans would respond to Protestant preaching in meaningful numbers. Rev. Alexander Sutherland, the General Secretary of the Department of Foreign Missions, warned the General Board of Missions in 1909 that

We are not to suppose that we have many foreigners waiting and anxious for us to go among them. The people have a religion of their own, handed down through many generations. They do not want your missionaries. . . . You are not going to make Protestant Christians out of these foreigners by means of any aggressive proselytizing policy.⁶¹

George Moody, a Winnipeg barrister and a member of the General Board, expressed the logical conclusion of

such pessimism:

We have a large task in establishing our own mission work. Every mission grows into a big church and contributes liberally. The foreigners do not . . . I feel it would be foolish to go into the foreign, Chinese or any other work . . . while we have our own people neglected as they are, English speaking people who would rapidly develop into a great religious centre. I think it would be madness to sink money into such work and leave our own undone . . . I say as a citizen and a resident I would not touch these foreign people.⁶²

Regardless of the practical merits of Moody's suggestion, fear of the European immigration and of its potential social effects caused the Methodist Church to respond to the European presence. Administrative changes made by the General Board of Missions reflected the growth of Methodist concern for this area of work. In 1903, the General Board's "Committee on Home Work" gave birth to the "Committee on Foreigners in Canada," and, in 1909, a "Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada" met in Winnipeg to define the best policies for the Church; investigations of the "foreign problem" occurred annually thereafter.⁶³ As in ordinary domestic mission work, Church leaders were conscious of the need to act quickly; the "foreigners" could not be allowed time to reconstruct their old-world ways.

Clearly, the prairies confronted the Methodist

Church with a many-faceted challenge in the period 1896 to 1914. The simultaneous explosions of the English-speaking and European populations made unprecedented demands upon Church resources in men and money. N.W. Rowell, who was in many ways an archetypal Methodist for the time, warned that

Canada's supreme opportunity at home is not in the development of her resources, or in the regulation of her trade, or in the improvement of her political relations, or even in the establishment of a navy, or in all these combined--her supreme opportunity at home is in the making the religion of Christ a real and vital thing to all her people. . . . The supreme question in Canada to-day is, what will be the religious life of our new communities? The Churches must act now. Our whole future depends on what the Churches do now. Was there ever given to the Churches of any land a greater opportunity and a graver responsibility?⁶⁴

Rowell's exhortation, in turn, posed a final problem for Church leaders: could the Church at large be made aware of the western emergency? Hitherto, the congregations in eastern Canada had been primarily concerned with local needs and difficulties. Moreover, the missionary interests of the Church had been geared to Japan and China and, to a lesser extent, to Canada's Amerindians. Could the attention of Church members in the eastern conferences be sufficiently diverted to help the west in its period of need? Moreover, was Methodism in eastern Canada able to supply enough

resources to discharge obligations in both the home and foreign fields?

Ironically, the challenge of the prairies appeared to be greater than it actually was. To begin with, Methodists could not foresee the curtailment of immigration which was brought about by World War I, and they expected the immigration to continue indefinitely. Secondly, they held exaggerated notions as to the population potential of the prairie west. A seemingly inexhaustible supply of farm land lay beyond the Great Lakes, and, on the basis of population densities in eastern Canada, millions would come to live there. On the strength of the west's material promise, Rev. James Allen forecast a national population of from 75 to 125 million by the end of the twentieth century, and Rev. J.H. Riddell, the Principal of Alberta College, predicted 50 million for the North Saskatchewan valley alone.⁶⁵ Accordingly, prairie problems seemed to be merely the vanguard of greater problems to come.

Chapter III

THE CHARACTER OF CANADIAN METHODISM

The Canadian Methodist Church was a young institution in 1896. It was the product of the union of four separate and distinct Methodist churches just twelve years before, and denominational loyalty was still threatened by the ease with which church members could recall the days of the parent institutions. Nevertheless, centrifugal forces which might have existed were countered by the Church's highly centralized polity. Doctrine and administrative regulations were spelled out by the Church's national body, the General Conference, which met every four years and which was composed of equal numbers of lay and clerical delegates. Largely because it met so infrequently, the General Conference was of limited importance in an administrative capacity; however, it delegated important administrative functions to standing committees and also to the General Board of Missions, which controlled grants from the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church. Also active between the General Conferences was the General Superintendent, who was elected by the General Conference for an eight

year term. This official was the visible symbol of unity within the Church, and he acted as the Church's official spokesman; in addition, he was responsible for co-ordinating Church activities and for arbitrating disputes. As exercised by Rev. Albert Carman, the General Superintendent from 1884-1915, the position acquired many of the characteristics of a bishop's office.

Below the national level were regional bodies, the annual conferences, which met each June and were also composed of equal numbers of lay and clerical delegates. Notwithstanding the powers of the General Board of Missions and the General Conference standing committees, the annual conferences were the key administrative units of the Church. General Conference law, which was recorded in the Discipline, gave them jurisdiction over the examination and ordination of clergy, the creation of missions, the stationing of clergy and the compilation of statistical information. The stationing of ministers was a particularly important power because of the itinerant rule: with few exceptions, clergy were required to change congregations every three years. The prairie region was initially included in the Manitoba and Northwest Conference; in 1904, that conference was divided into three: the Manitoba, Assiniboia and Alberta conferences.

The Assiniboia Conference was renamed the Saskatchewan Conference in 1906 to coincide with the name of the province; however, conference boundaries did not coincide with provincial boundaries until 1910.

The annual conferences were subdivided into districts, which met just prior to the annual conference sessions. Each was presided over by a district chairman who acted as a court of first appeal, supervised the clergy in his district, co-ordinated district activities, recommended ministerial candidates to his annual conference and compiled statistical information for his district. Districts were, in turn, made up of individual churches and circuits which were administered by quarterly official boards in accordance with Disciplinary regulations. A circuit was, of course, two or more preaching places under the charge of a single clergyman whereas a church or station consisted of a single preaching place. A mission was a station or circuit which was not self-supporting and which consequently was dependent upon financial aid from the Missionary Society.

The strength of the Methodist Church was concentrated in Ontario. As the following table shows, Methodism was the largest denomination in Ontario, and it drew a higher percentage of its following from Ontario than either of its major Protestant rivals.

	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>
Methodist	654,033 (77%)	666,388 (73%)	671,722 (62%)
Presbyterian	453,147 (60%)	477,386 (57%)	524,704 (47%)
Anglican	385,999 (60%)	368,191 (54%)	489,704 (47%)

Table 1: NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE MAJOR PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS IN ONTARIO, WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF THE NATIONAL STRENGTH INDICATED IN PARENTHESES.¹

Slightly more than a third of the Methodist totals were church members, the remainder being adherents. In 1911, for example, church records showed only 231,031 church members despite a census total of nearly three times that number.² Many of the adherents were children, and others were adults who attended church infrequently or who lacked "a spiritual experience"--a prerequisite (although an increasingly nominal one) for church membership. Ontario Methodists could be found in five annual conferences. Four of these--the Toronto, Hamilton, London and Bay of Quinte conferences --were entirely within Ontario. The fifth, the Montreal Conference, lumped Quebec together with much of eastern Ontario. However, even this conference was oriented to Ontario problems, as the reports of its committees make clear;³ the reason was that six of its eleven districts were in Ontario, as were 69.6% of its church members in 1911.⁴

The membership strength and the wealth of the Ontario conferences and their geographical proximity to the west caused them to influence prairie Methodism

in a number of ways. To begin with, Ontario residents were always a majority at the General Conference which determined policy for the entire Church. At the General Conference of 1902, 184 delegates were from Ontario as opposed to 104 from other provinces; in 1906, 179 of the General Conference delegates were from Ontario as opposed to 123 from other provinces; and the General Conference of 1910 included 182 delegates from Ontario with 136 delegates from elsewhere in Canada.⁵ Ontario Methodism's domination of the Church's national body was much more complete than in the Presbyterian and Anglican churches. At the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1904, the 234 Ontario delegates were nearly matched by the 203 delegates from other provinces; in 1910, after another six years of expansion in western Canada, the Ontario delegates at the General Assembly were outnumbered by 286 to 240.⁶ Meanwhile, Ontario residents were never a majority at the Anglican General Synod. The General Synod of 1902 included 48 Ontario men and 73 other delegates, and the 96 Ontario delegates at the General Synod of 1911 were outnumbered by the 156 delegates from other provinces.⁷ The extent to which the Methodist General Conference was Ontario-centred was clearly unique. It was hardly surprising that Ontario men dominated the internal structure of the General

Conference as well. Of the 30 chairmen of committees at the General Conference of 1906, 19 were residents of Ontario, and another 2 chairmen were originally from that province.⁸

Power at the General Conference gave the Ontario conferences a firm control of missions in Canada. The headquarters of the Missionary Society, the Mission Rooms, was in Toronto, and Ontario men were a majority at the annual meetings of the General Board of Missions. Of the 44 members of the General Board in the Church year 1906-07, 23 resided in Ontario, and there is evidence to suggest that some of the other members, especially those from western Canada, were unable to attend the annual meetings.⁹ However, the real power of the Ontario conferences lay in their domination of the executive committee which exercised the General Board's authority through the year. "To save travelling expenses,"¹⁰ 12 of the 24 members of the executive lived in Toronto (including 5 of the 6 permanent officials), and Rev. James Woodsworth was the only member who did not reside in Ontario. The result was that Ontario men strongly influenced prairie church expansion. Although the prairie conferences could create missions, every request for a financial grant was processed by officials in Toronto; if approved, the grants were

distributed through prairie mission superintendents who were appointed by and responsible to the General Board, and the executive committee expected a full report of the subsequent expenditures by the recipient missions.

The Woman's Missionary Society, a separate and distinct organization which was not controlled by the General Board, was also heavily centred in Ontario. Despite the growth of the W.M.S. in the west by 1910, 76% of its members were from the Toronto, Hamilton, London, Bay of Quinte and Montreal conferences, as were 66% of its revenues.¹¹ However, the W.M.S. gave most of its attention to the Asian mission fields, and it was of much less importance than the Missionary Society in affecting prairie church expansion.

The journals of Canadian Methodism were a final manifestation of the Church's Ontario strength. With the exception of the Wesleyan, the weekly Church paper for the Maritime conferences, all of the official journals were published in Toronto. The most important was the Christian Guardian, a weekly publication for the Ontario conferences and the west; with a circulation of nearly 25,000 in 1906, it reached an average of one in nine church members in the conferences which it served,¹² and articles and letters to the editor from scores of individuals both moulded

and reflected a wide range of Methodist opinion. Other important journals included the Missionary Outlook, the monthly publication of the W.M.S.; the Missionary Bulletin, the quarterly publication of the Missionary Society; the Epworth Era and the Banner, the journals for the Epworth Leagues and Sunday schools; the Christian Steward, which was intended to stimulate systematic giving among church members; and the Methodist Magazine and Review, a monthly periodical with a circulation of about 5,000 which dealt with intellectual topics of relevance to the Church. These journals provided the means of communicating prairie conference problems to church members in eastern Canada; conversely, they were vehicles for imparting the religious and social ideals of the eastern conferences to the pioneer areas.

An active evangelism had long been the heart of Methodist theology and religious culture. Traditions drawn from Canada's past called upon the Church to be individualistic and otherworldly: anxious to save souls for the life to come. Although weakening, this orientation was still with influence in the 1890's, and, as in John Wesley's day, it rested upon a number of principles which were basic to evangelical Protestantism. First was the belief that salvation was only attainable by men who could offer their creator a

life which was perfect, according to His laws; unfortunately, due to original sin, man was defective and was incapable of resisting all temptation to sin; every man fell short of the exacting standards of Heaven and was deserving of eternal damnation. Thus a Methodist felt humble and repentent when reminded of his sinful state and of his utter helplessness before God. However, these emotions were superceded by love because God offered man exactly what he did not deserve : the promise of eternal life. Magnanimously, God had given His only Son, Jesus Christ, to pay for man's imperfection by dying on the cross; to become acceptable in the sight of God, man had only to accept the sacrifice which was offered on his behalf. If thus redeemed, the sinner was "born again;" he had recaptured the lost innocence of his birth, and the gamut of emotion through which he was saved constituted his conversion experience, the traditional requirement for membership in the Methodist Church.¹³ Following "second birth", it was incumbent upon redeemed men to strive for sanctification or Christian perfection. Although the joy of sins forgiven gave them the power to resist outward sin, their inward spirits could be cleansed only by a second visitation of the Holy Spirit which could be brought on by good works.¹⁴ Nevertheless, even after sanctification, faith in Christ had constantly

to be renewed lest a saved man "backslide" and lapse into his old state of sin.

However, a major change in Methodist evangelism by the 1890's was its emphasis on a worldly purpose. With the Upper Canadian circuit rider's passage into history, the Methodist mind had been captured by an optimistic post-millennialism: a belief that the Christian churches were, with God's help, bringing about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.¹⁵ "The message of today," asserted a correspondent of the Christian Guardian, "is wider than the narrow personal salvation of the past,"¹⁶ and leading Methodists anticipated the success of the new orientation in the near future. In 1901, Rev. Alexander Sutherland wrote that "we are entering, with the new century, the last decisive stages of the great world conflict."¹⁷ In 1913, Rev. S.D. Chown, who had been elected by the General Conference of 1910 to serve as the Church's second General Superintendent, seemed to agree with Sutherland when observing that "in the moral history of the world to-day . . . the world is marching forward, and . . . the upward angle of its advance has recently become more acute."¹⁸ Both men caught the spirit of the popular missionary slogan of the day: "The Evangelization of the world in this generation!"¹⁹

Most Methodists were confident that the new worldly focus of evangelism was bringing the Church closer to the true spirit of Christianity.²⁰ In effect, Methodism and the Christian world were reverting to first principles by realizing Christ's great commission to "Go . . . into the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature."²¹ From the wider secular notions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and the Anglo-Saxon's role as a civilizer of underdeveloped peoples, Methodists moved to the belief that the Anglo-Saxon race was God's instrument to prepare the world for the second coming of Christ. Why else had the United States and Great Britain been given enormous wealth and power, if not to carry out God's high purpose? As with the Jews of the Old Testament, God was the God of nations as well as of individuals. The following oration by a Methodist from Mount Forest, Ontario was one of several eulogies which left no doubt as to who were God's chosen peoples in the twentieth century:

The Anglo-Saxon race, composed of the most energetic and enterprising people on earth, is under God, the foremost among the Christianizing and civilizing influences of the age. Its instinct for colonization, its wonderful power of adaption to climatic, geographical and strategical conditions of the countries it occupies; its exceptional skill in developing the resources of the forest, field and mine, lake, river and

sea; its commercial activity, its faculty of controlling councils, influencing men in high places and low; and, above all, the practical and enlightened form of its Christianity, render it, notwithstanding many serious defects, the missionary race of the age.²²

Despite Canada's small population, Methodists expected their country to shoulder a substantial part of the "white man's burden." Canada was a young country with great resources which would soon be developed; the day would come when the northern dominion would take a premier place in the Anglo-Saxon sun and would rival its southern neighbour in wealth and power.

In the meantime, along with the churches in Britain, the United States, Canada and other Anglo-Saxon and Protestant countries, the Canadian Methodist Church participated in the greatest overseas missionary effort in modern times.²³ Its obligation was arrived at mathematically. Canada was responsible for about forty million of the world's estimated one billion unevangelized people, based on the nation's percentage of the world's Anglo-Saxon population. Accordingly, with a third of Canada's Protestant population, the Methodist Church assumed responsibility for fourteen million heathen in Japan and China--no small task for an institution with a scant 300,000 full members!²⁴ The Asian mission fields influenced Methodist religious culture enormously. More than

anything else they fostered a belief in moral progress and in the immediacy of the millenium; these assumptions, in turn, stimulated Canadian church life by giving it a global significance.²⁵ Less conspicuous than the post-millennial optimism, but nevertheless important, was an undercurrent of fear: if unevangelized, lands such as China could become a formidable menace to civilization.²⁶

Amidst the excitement of their chiliasm, Methodists were aware that providence was a two-edged sword. Their own country would forfeit God's favour if its people were allowed to "backslide" collectively. Accordingly, the Church had several agencies with which to save souls for the life to come and to strengthen Canada for the world missionary task.

The ministry was foremost among the regular, or day to day, agencies through which the Church reclaimed backsliders and converted sinners. In sermons and in visits to individuals, the clergy urged their constituents to embrace Christ as their saviour if they were not presently doing so, and they were assisted by lay helpers: local preachers and exhorters. Week-night prayer meetings supplemented ministerial efforts to deepen the spiritual tone of the membership. Even more important in this respect were class meetings which were intended for the mutual examination of souls.

Finally, the Sunday schools aided children and adolescents in their spiritual development and prepared them for church membership. Other institutions such as the Epworth Leagues also served youth, but their role seems to have been primarily educational rather than evangelical.

In addition to the regular agencies, the Church relied upon periodic "special services," which consisted of a series of evening meetings for a specified length of time. These revival gatherings were an annual occurrence in many rural and small town churches, and they were usually held during the winter months when farm work was less demanding.²⁷ Unlike their historical predecessors, the camp meetings, they were held in the church building. They were normally conducted by the local pastor, occasionally with the help of neighbouring ministers. However, since most clergy were overburdened with regular duties, professional evangelists were frequently engaged for the occasion. Most of these itinerants were Methodists who had been endorsed by the conferences in which they laboured, and they enjoyed several advantages. To begin with, the professional's very involvement in evangelistic work suggested that he had an above average talent for it, and sheer repetition of effort was certain to increase his skills

through time. Moreover, as a stranger, he was probably less inhibited than the pastor in making personal appeals to individuals. Finally, the itinerant enjoyed the economy of effort that comes with specialization; for example, A.H. Ranton, an evangelist who had formerly tended bar in Owen Sound, favoured several prairie communities with his lecture "From Bar-room to Pulpit;"²⁸ in contrast, a local pastor needed a number of lecture preparations to keep his message fresh.

Proof of the professional evangelist's popularity lay in the score or more itinerants who toured the Ontario and prairie conferences in the period 1905 to 1907 alone. The durability of some attested to their popularity as well; in the autumn of 1907, the team of Revs. H.T. Crossley and John E. Hunter were beginning their twenty-fourth annual campaign.²⁹ A few of the itinerants came from the United States and Great Britain; James Brown, "the giant evangelist," was a former New York City policeman, and "the girl evangelists," Miss Storr and Miss Brakenbury, were British girls in their teens.³⁰ However, most of the professional evangelists in the prairie and Ontario conferences originated in Ontario. Crossley and Hunter were born in York and Durham counties respectively, and both were graduates of Victoria College.³¹ Others

from Ontario who were active on the prairies included Rev. G.S. Hunt of Guelph; Rev. G.R. Turk, "the singing evangelist," and Rev. G.W. Kerby, the future pastor of Central Methodist Church in Calgary, who began their careers as evangelists in Woodstock, Ontario in 1901; Miss Millie Magwood of Brantford; and Revs. C.J. Atkinson and McHardy from Toronto.³²

In addition to the "special services," prairie Methodists occasionally held camp meetings. These gatherings were held outdoors in the summer months and were preceded by elaborate preparations. A typical turn-of-the-century camp meeting was the five day affair which was held in a local park at Souris, Manitoba in 1901.³³ To make ready for the event, the grounds were cleared, platforms for the speakers and a forty-voice choir were erected, seating for 1,000 people was arranged, extra eating and sleeping facilities were laid on and reduced railway fares were made available to persons from outside points. "Sunday school day" on Wednesday opened proceedings, and some 90 persons heard an address on the spiritual side of this work. Thursday and Friday evenings were given over to addresses and discussions on missions, although these parts of the program were forced indoors on account of rain. Fortunately, the camp ground was usable on Saturday, the most important day, and a

substantial crowd partook in vintage Methodist soul-saving, replete with "red-hot" gospel messages and aftermeetings. On Sunday, 600 persons attended morning services, and 43 gave testimony at the "love-feast" which followed;³⁴ finally, 1,000 persons attended a dramatic closing service in the evening.

However, the camp meetings were not a major part of Methodist religious culture. In the period 1896 to 1914, only a dozen or so of these gatherings were reported in the Christian Guardian,³⁵ and, in retrospect, they seem to have been pale imitations of the legendary camp meetings of the Upper Canadian frontier. They were not held to compensate for shortages of church buildings and clergy; rather, they were conducted in well-established areas which had plenty of both, and the camp ground merely duplicated existing religious facilities; in effect, the camp meetings were "special services" moved outdoors. Yet the gatherings were significant from a cultural viewpoint. Virtually all of them were held in the prairie conferences, and the very lack of necessity for them showed the extent to which prairie Methodists were attached to old Ontario patterns and were trying to accomplish on a new frontier what their forefathers had done on the old.

Finally, with respect to irregular evangelistic

agencies, large, multi-church revival meetings were in a class of their own. Usually interdenominational and almost always run by professionals, these gatherings dwarfed the ordinary "special services" in size and impact. For example, a Crossley-Hunter revival at Souris, Manitoba in 1906 reportedly drew people from 25 to 30 miles around, destroyed 60% of the bar trade and left one hotel proprietor ready to sell out.³⁶ Behind this success lay solid promotion by the Methodist and Presbyterian churches, the use of a rink which had been floored and seated to hold 2,000 people and "a large number of capable workers" who accompanied Crossley and Hunter.³⁷ A.H. Ranton's Zion Church revival in Winnipeg was just as impressive; his arrival was preceded by months of prayer and co-operation among all the Methodist churches of the city, and the campaign opened with a large choir and up to thirteen ministers on the platform at a time; enquiry services then harvested the grain which Ranton's efforts had sown, and Zion Church alone received 85 new members.³⁸

Although most of the professional evangelists were Canadians, the most spectacular of the big revivals were conducted by famous evangelistic teams from the United States. One such revival meeting was held in Toronto's Massey Hall in 1906 by Dr. Torrey and Charles Alexander, a team which had won the accolades of the

Anglo-Saxon world; its equally well-known successor, the Chapman-Alexander team, visited Winnipeg in 1907 and Toronto in 1911; in the meantime, a famous British evangelist, Gypsy Smith, stormed sin in Toronto in 1909.³⁹ The impact of the Torrey-Alexander mission in Toronto was felt throughout the Church. In Calgary, interest in the Massey Hall rally provided the springboard for revival services at Central Methodist Church; under the skillful direction of Rev. G.W. Kerby, a veteran of the sawdust trail, a seventy-five voice choir sang the world-famous Alexander gospel songs, and 12-14,000 cards imprinted with Torrey's motto, "Get right with God," were distributed among the 15,000 people of the city.⁴⁰ In Saskatchewan, Torrey's motto was paraded through the streets of Moose Jaw prior to three weeks of "special services," and the Grenfell Epworth League also

caught something of the inspiration of the Torrey-Alexander mission, and arranged for a Torrey-Alexander meeting. . . . The motto "Get Right With God," in large letters, stretched right across the room. The programme consisted of sketches of the lives of Dr. Torrey and Mr. Alexander: descriptions of their evangelistic labours during their world-wide tour and also of the mission in Toronto. A special feature was a message sent by Dr. Torrey, upon request, to the League . . .⁴¹

Doubtless Torrey's visit to Toronto was also what prompted the Protestant ministers of Winnipeg to

arrange the Chapman-Alexander mission for 1907.

Thus a variety of evangelistic agencies were imparted to the prairie conferences in the period 1896 to 1914. Some were developed in co-operation with other Protestant denominations, and some were distinctly Methodist. Unfortunately, the fledgling conferences in the west also inherited serious theological problems which damaged their evangelical power. To begin with, the Church's post-millennialism was a source of weakness as well as of strength. A few Methodists (most often the elderly) warned that the Church had become so intent upon saving men collectively that a critical neglect of individual salvation was resulting.⁴² From their viewpoint, church members admired the ethics which were exemplified by Christ's life on earth, but they had lost, or were losing, their conviction of sin and of need for Christ's atonement. As a Toronto Conference pastoral address lamented, "a mere change of purpose is too often taken as the equivalent of a change of heart; a mere reformation [of character] is dignified with the name of conversion."⁴³

However, the excesses of worldliness and collectivism were often the by-products of forces which were even more deadly to conservative evangelism: higher criticism of the Bible and the spirit of scientific enquiry. Higher criticism was the examination of the

Bible in the light of historical and archeological findings; coupled with the scientific discoveries of Darwin, this exercise suggested that much of the Bible was not literally true. The Old Testament was found to have been a collection of laws and literature which had been compiled by several authors over a considerable period of time. Consequently, the higher critics came to view the Old Testament descriptions of supernatural events--such as the taking of Eve from Adam's rib, the collapse of Jericho's walls at the blast of trumpets and Elijah's ascent to Heaven in a chariot of fire--as inspired legends rather than as actual occurrences.⁴⁴ In the meantime, Darwin's theory of evolution cast doubt upon the Biblical account of man's fall. Contrary to Genesis, man had not slipped from a state of perfection; rather, he had begun low down on the scale of animal life and had been rising ever since. The implications were enormous. If original sin was a myth, what need had man of a redeemer? Moreover, how could evangelism thrive when one of its major ingredients--acceptance of the supernatural--was called into question?⁴⁵ Questions of this nature were all the more compelling because of the prevailing spirit of scientific enquiry, in part an outgrowth of nineteenth century technological advances. Since men were taught to seek rational explanations

for phenomena which they encountered in their secular life, many found it illogical to embrace religious principles through faith alone, especially in view of the negative evidence provided by the higher critics.⁴⁶

Rev. Nathanael Burwash, Chancellor of Victoria University and Dean of the Faculty of Theology, exemplified the response of the Methodist theological colleges.⁴⁷ As the new intellectual currents from Europe penetrated Canada via secular magazines and journals in the 1880's Burwash tried to give his students a theology which could stand the test of rational analysis. He encouraged them to accept legitimate Biblical criticism (proven rather than speculative) and at the same time strove to make them aware of the limits of human reason. Hopefully, the students emerged with an intellectually respectable religion in which evangelical Christian values had a place.

Conservative literalists tried their best to ward off the "new theology." Fundamentalist tendencies remained strong in rural areas and among the elderly,⁴⁸ and elderly, high-placed officials such as Rev. Albert Carman, the General Superintendent, augmented traditionalist strength. The most spectacular confrontation over higher criticism came in 1909 when Carman

took to the pages of the Toronto Globe in an attempt to prevent the appointment of a modernist, Rev. George Jackson, to the Chair of Old Testament Exegesis at Victoria College; since doctrinal charges were normally considered in Church courts, the public attack on Jackson's views became front page news across Canada.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the Church at large had accommodated itself to the "new theology." Jackson received the appointment, and a motion to remove him at the Toronto Conference of 1910 failed by 185 to 84. Wealthy and influential laymen contributed to the literalist defeat. N.W. Rowell, Chester Massey, H.H. Fudger, A.E. Ames, Joseph Flavelle and Senator G.A. Cox were among the prominent laity of Toronto who accepted moderate Biblical criticism.⁵⁰

Conditions were similar in the western conferences. Amidst the Carman-Jackson controversy of 1909, a retired Winnipeg minister, Rev. Henry Kenner, warned Carman that Jackson's sympathizers included Rev. William Sparling, pastor of Grace Church, which had the largest and wealthiest Methodist congregation in the city; Rev. S.P. Rose, the pastor of Broadway Street Methodist Church, another prestigious Winnipeg appointment; and Rev. Salem Bland, who was Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History at Wesley College from 1903 to 1917.⁵¹ Significantly, when Kenner tried

to bring Bland before a Church court on a charge of unsound doctrine in 1910, he found that the young clergy around him were "full of Bland," so much so that he was unable to get Bland to trial.⁵²

Rev. Andrew Stewart, who was appointed Professor of Old Testament Exegesis at Wesley College in 1890, also accepted moderate Biblical criticism; J.H. Riddell, whose career included principalships at both Wesley and Alberta colleges, credited Stewart with keeping the west free of crisis over the "new theology" through his sane interpretations "of the Church's viewpoint respecting the Old Testament."⁵³

In deference to the scientific spirit which caused the growth of the "new theology," Methodist evangelism had undergone an important change since the days of Upper Canada: it had become less emotional and more rational. The transition was reflected in the reports of revival meetings in the Christian Guardian. Although one account claimed wondrous results at a rural revival meeting in the Toronto Conference in 1904, the reporter hastened to add that

While every meeting was characterized by great power, there was no unnecessary excitement, proving that "the spread of scriptural holiness" along old-fashioned Methodist lines does not imply or produce nonsensical rant nor unseemly behavior.⁵⁴

The tone of revival meetings in the prairie conferences was similar. Among many examples which might be cited

is that of Rev. G.S. Hunt, an evangelist from Guelph, who drew praise in 1905 for conducting services at Killarney, Manitoba without "fads or eccentricities."⁵⁵

Despite the adaption, the spiritual power of the Church was badly damaged by Biblical criticism and the popular hunger for rational explanation, and just at the time when the Church was faced with enormous physical expansion in the western conferences. Moreover, the materialism, urban secularism and the relatively weak social constraints of prairie society reinforced the challenge to the "old time religion." The softening of the Church's evangelical punch could be seen in the decline of the regular evangelistic agencies in the eastern conferences and in the failure of the Church to really establish those agencies in the west.

To begin with, the clergyman's effectiveness in saving souls was limited by the growing multiplicity of his duties, even if his spiritual outlook had not been altered by formalism or Biblical criticism. In addition to preaching the word, he was obliged to

meet Official Boards, attend trustee meetings, be present at social gatherings, League socials, Ladies Aid socials, Mission Band and W.M.S. socials, and he must deliver tea-meeting addresses. He must also raise church and parsonage debts, and take supervision of a dozen different church funds . . . he must take charge of the prayer meeting and not forget the Sunday school. He must be a prominent

figure at all kinds of conventions.
 . . . he must conduct Local Option
 campaigns, and must prosecute a canvas
 for his church paper. He must visit
 to the limit of his nervous exhaustion.
 He must keep abreast of the times by
 reading one or two daily papers, a
 Temperance paper, the Church paper,
 one or two theological magazines. . . .
 For the sake of his health, he must do a
 little gardening, a little cycling . . .⁵⁶

The distraction of the minister's attention from the spiritual side of his work might have been less serious had not lay preachers been declining in importance at the same time. As the following table shows, local preachers were not decreasing in number, but neither were their numbers rising, despite persistent increases in church membership.

	<u>CANADA</u>		<u>PRAIRIES</u>		<u>ONTARIO</u>		<u>CHURCH</u>
	<u>L.P.</u>	<u>EX.</u>	<u>L.P.</u>	<u>EX.</u>	<u>L.P.</u>	<u>EX.</u>	<u>MEMBERSHIP</u>
1898	2,352	1,031	268	82	1,768	435	280,537
1902	2,248	1,119	280	60	1,663	413	291,895
1906	2,416	1,190	441	86	1,642	442	317,717
1910	2,541	1,187	558	92	1,702	437	340,091
1914	2,586	1,021	556	57	1,631	321	368,992

Table 2: NUMBERS OF LOCAL PREACHERS AND EXHORTERS
 (LOCAL PREACHERS IN TRAINING) IN GENERAL
 CONFERENCE YEARS.

LEGEND: L.P. = Local Preacher; EX. = Exhorter.⁵⁷

To appreciate the full extent of the local preacher's irrelevance in Canadian Methodism, other considerations must also be made. Firstly, many of the prairie local preachers were British immigrants rather than indigenous products of the Canadian Church.⁵⁸ British Methodism was heavily reliant upon local

preachers, and Methodist immigrants from Britain naturally brought this tradition with them. Secondly, Rev. Charles Bishop of the Alberta Conference maintained that most local preachers were licensed as such after deciding to enter the ministry rather than before;⁵⁹ this suggests that lay preaching was of little value as a nursery for clergy and that the institution was of little strength on its own. Finally, many local preachers performed none of the duties of their office and were local preachers in little more than name. In 1896, Rev. A.C. Courtice, the editor of the Christian Guardian, estimated that local preachers would cease to exist if the Church chose to revoke the licences of those who had not preached in the preceding year.⁶⁰ The same conclusion was reached in 1906 by a committee of the General Conference.⁶¹ Ironically, the malaise of lay preaching came when the agency could have compensated for a serious shortage of ministers in the west, as several Methodists noted.⁶² However, the membership at large was prejudiced against lay preachers, and those from Britain consistently found that their services were not in demand.⁶³

What accounted for this state of affairs? In the prairie conferences and in eastern Canada, committees were appointed to find an explanation. To the same end, a spirited correspondence entered the pages

of the Christian Guardian. Some students of the problem suggested that the educational level of the average congregation had risen over the years and that church members had come to regard the local preacher as an unlettered amateur.⁶⁴ Others attributed the disrespect to the practice of licensing local preachers as a mark of honour or as a means of qualifying a man to sit on his Quarterly Official Board rather than on the basis of his teaching ability;⁶⁵ such men were often unwilling or unable to preach, even if called upon to do so. Another factor was the growing affluence of the Methodist membership, which facilitated a trend from circuits to stations.⁶⁶ Congregations had become increasingly able to afford a full-time ordained clergyman, and the trend towards stations was encouraged by the growing numbers of married men who were unwilling to accept the hardships of circuit life. In these circumstances, the need for local preachers had lessened, and church members developed a bias in favour of professional clergy which they would not surrender even when local preachers could have been useful again. Although the decline of the circuit organization had taken place earlier in American methodism, the change was hastened in Canadian Methodism by a development which was unique to Canada: the Methodist union of 1884. Especially in Ontario, the

union had created such a surplus of ministers that small uneconomical circuits and stations had been kept open merely to employ them.⁶⁷ This too made local preachers superfluous and vulnerable to disdain from the membership, even when the expansion of the prairie frontier made them potentially useful again.

The demise of lay preaching was accompanied by a sharp deterioration of another evangelistic agency: the class meeting. As the following table shows, the Church suffered dramatic losses of class leaders in the period under study.

	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>PRAIRIES</u>	<u>CANADA</u>
1894			7,753
1898	5,781 (37)	356 (50)	7,309 (38)
1902	5,193	314	6,791
1906	4,307	248	5,611
1910	3,552 (68)	180 (239)	5,464 (62)
1914	2,571	168	3,511

Table 3: NUMBER OF CLASS LEADERS IN THE ONTARIO AND PRAIRIE CONFERENCES IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS, WITH THE NUMBER OF CHURCH MEMBERS PER CLASS LEADER INDICATED IN PARENTHESES.⁶⁸

With so few leaders, the class meeting was unavoidably ineffective, and few church members bothered to attend it. Abstentions were particularly marked in urban areas. In Hamilton, a survey found that only 15% of the church members were enrolled in classes and that only half of these attended.⁶⁹

A number of factors explained why the institution had fallen upon hard times. To begin with, the class

had been stripped of many earlier functions.⁷⁰ No longer was the quarterly class ticket--once the principal credential of Methodism and a sign of the holder's spiritual health--a test of church membership. The class had also ceased to be the key unit of organization for the raising of church finances, and its educational functions had been usurped by newer institutions such as the Epworth Leagues, by the spread of literacy and by the multiplication of universities, religious periodicals and forums. In short, new Church machinery had made a shell of the old. Nevertheless, the decline of the class meeting was related to the increasingly worldly orientation of Methodist evangelism as well. A committee of the General Conference which was investigating the problems of the class meeting observed in 1910 that "introspection, with the object of saving the soul of the subject, has in these days, to an almost universal extent, given place to earnest activity for the salvation of one's neighbour."⁷¹

Having lost their penchant for self-examination, Methodists felt uncomfortable giving or listening to testimonies, and those who gave them were accused of talking in platitudes rather than specifically of their experiences during the previous week.⁷² Finally, as was to be expected, young people were alienated from the class meeting because of its inability to attract

young class leaders.⁷³

Since the class meeting was ceasing to be an integral part of Methodism in eastern Canada, it did not become established in the west. As table 2 shows, the ratio of class leaders to church members became so low in the prairie conferences as to be meaningless, and entire districts were without these officials.⁷⁴ To the misfortune of the "old-time religion," the elderly were the strongest supporters of the old ways, and they were less likely than young people to emigrate to the prairie west. For the same reason, the week-night prayer meeting also declined. In 1910, a committee of the Alberta Conference estimated that only 10% of the membership attended this means of grace regularly.⁷⁵

Of all the regular evangelistic agencies, only the Sunday schools were in a healthy physical state. However, even this agency was less firmly established in the prairie conference than in eastern Canada, in part because of the distance of many rural children from the church buildings. In 1903, a veteran Manitoba Conference pastor, Rev. Henry Lewis, warned that Sunday schools were only half as numerous as preaching places and that they were growing more slowly than the Church as a whole.⁷⁶ Methodist statistics bore him out. As the following table shows, the number of Sunday schools was smaller in relation to the number of preaching places

than in Ontario; moreover, the prairie conferences were more dependent upon "union" Sunday schools (more than one denomination) than the Ontario conferences, and denominational loyalty was weakened accordingly.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>PREACHING PLACES</u>	<u>SUNDAY SCHOOLS</u>	<u>UNION SCHOOLS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT UNION SCHOOLS.</u>
Toronto	55	445	43	796
London	453	442	32	492
Hamilton	417	397	42	640
Manitoba	352	187	97	1,430
Saskatchewan	630	258	115	1,724
Alberta	585	246	67	846

Table 4: PREACHING PLACES, SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND UNION SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN 1914 IN THREE ONTARIO CONFERENCES AND IN THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES.⁷⁷

Despite the physical problems of the Sunday school system in the western conference, conservative church members could find internal changes which were more disturbing. Throughout the Church, the theory of "Christian nurture" was displacing the traditional view of the child and altering the purpose of the Sunday school in the process. To the traditionalist, the child was a little savage who bore the curse of Adam's fall, and the proper function of the Sunday school was to prepare the child for his conversion experience in order that his sins might be forgiven.⁷⁸ In contrast, the Christian nurturist believed that the child was born into God's house and that the Church's function was merely to keep him there through proper education.

Rev. Robert Milliken, Principal of Regina College, argued that "Christianity is really an educative process whereby the spirit of man may be trained into the hatred of sin and into a corresponding love of righteousness."⁷⁹ If "salvation by education" was successful, the child would never be out of the church of God, and the conversion experience would be unnecessary.

Christian nurture inevitably had attractions in a church in which the sense of sin was low and in which many had become skeptical of the supernatural, an integral part of the conversion experience. Thus Milliken's address in support of this philosophy, given at a Manitoba Epworth League convention, was reprinted in the Christian Guardian by popular request.⁸⁰ The same fate befell a similar address which James Speakman gave to a convention of the Alberta Conference Epworth Leagues.⁸¹ Another symptom of the growing popularity of Christian nurture was a resolution of the Moose Jaw District in 1905 which recommended that "all children baptized by our ministry be accepted as church members."⁸²

The growth of the Epworth League movement, which was primarily educational in purpose, was a final manifestation of the retreat of old-time values within the regular agencies of the Church. For thousands of

Methodist young people, the Leagues took the place of the class meeting. By 1904, only a decade after the General Conference had imported this institution from the United States, its membership totalled 45,000, principally in Ontario but also in the west.⁸³ Young men's clubs also became popular. After the founding of the first clubs in Toronto, urban congregations throughout the west came to form them; in 1908, the Christian Guardian reported that the young men's associations had become as permanent a part of the Church as the Epworth Leagues and that every western church of consequence would soon have one.⁸⁴ Central Methodist Church in Calgary had typical facilities for its young men: a parlour, waiting room, games room and sitting room.⁸⁵ Hopefully these attractions would keep young Methodists out of pool rooms and dance halls.

Canadian Methodism had become very inward-oriented by the 1890's, notwithstanding its aggressiveness in the foreign mission fields. Partly because its soul-saving power was waning and partly because most Canadians had a formal religious affiliation, the Church had largely ceased to proselytize. Increasingly, Methodist growth depended upon the children of church members rather than upon unchurched adults. For example, the "special services" were not successful in reaching the unchurched. This failing was seldom articulated, and

it was obscured by the clichés of the evangelistic trade; reports of revival meetings invariably recorded that numbers had "accepted Christ as their Saviour," or had "accepted the right hand of fellowship," but the origins of the "seekers of a new life" were seldom specified. Yet there is little evidence to refute the opinion of an editorial in the Christian Guardian that the "special services" were "composed almost entirely of those already directly interested in the Church."⁸⁶ Certainly the evangelistic clichés are too vague to warrant the assumption that all who "took a stand for Christ" had just experienced conversion, and many were undoubtedly church members who were reaffirming their faith or were "backsliders"--church attenders whose faith had briefly lapsed.⁸⁷

The greatest number of revival converts were the children of church members who had been groomed for their decision by the Sunday school. The importance of children was certainly evident in the more explicit descriptions of revival meetings. As a report of "special services" in the Saskatchewan Conference exclaimed, "it did our hearts good to see the boys and girls, members of Christian households, and our Sunday schools, stand up and declare themselves on the Lord's side. . . ."⁸⁸ Methodist leaders who held aloof from Christian nurture assumed that conversion

would occur by the late teens or not at all. A committee of the Manitoba Conference reported that the "natural crisis" usually took place at about twelve years of age; Rev. C.H. Huestis, a Methodist youth expert, anticipated conversion at "the dawn of puberty;" during his years as an evangelist, Rev. G.W. Kerby published a chart which suggested the improbability of conversion after age 20; finally, an anonymous veteran minister in an eastern city fixed the average age of decision at sixteen years and three months for boys and a bit younger for girls.⁸⁹ "After that age," he continued, "conversions become less frequent, until, in maturer years . . . they almost cease." The problem with adults, he concluded, was that

Their notions are set, their ideas formed, their habits settled. . . . If they are not already Christian . . . it is against the law of averages, that anything you say . . . will influence them savingly and lead them to religious decision. They have become, many of them, Gospel hardened.⁹⁰

As the following tables show, Church and Sunday school statistics bore out opinions concerning the relationship between children and conversions.

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>ONTARIO CONFERENCES</u>	<u>PRAIRIE CONFERENCES</u>
1898	40.5	47.7	36.0
1902	51.0	52.0	51.7
1906	52.0	54.6	46.7
1910	60.0	64.0	54.0
1914	60.0	no data	no data

Table 5: PERCENTAGE OF CONVERTS (CHURCH MEMBERS WHO WERE RECEIVED ON TRIAL) WHO CAME FROM THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS.⁹¹

	<u>CANADA</u>	<u>ONTARIO CONFERENCES</u>	<u>PRAIRIE CONFERENCES</u>
1898	23.5	24.0	19.6
1902	24.6	24.6	25.4
1906	30.4	30.0	26.4
1910	30.7	31.6	27.9
1914	no data	no data	no data

Table 6: PERCENTAGE OF SUNDAY SCHOOL MEMBERS WHO WERE ALSO CHURCH MEMBERS IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS.⁹²

As can be seen, the dependence upon the Sunday schools for growth was increasing throughout the Church in the period under study. The Sunday schools were slightly less important in the prairie conferences than in Ontario partly because the prairie Sunday school system was less well established. Moreover, numbers of adults from other denominations attended Methodist churches in areas which their own church had not reached. In 1912, an Alberta Conference pastor remarked that many of the people on the circuits of the conference had never been associated with Methodism before.⁹³ Nevertheless, the role of children in western Methodist growth was substantial and increasing, in accordance with growth patterns in the east.

Throughout the period under study, the membership of the Canadian Methodist Church remained predominantly rural, despite the urbanization which was overtaking Canada and especially Ontario. Although the Methodist Church was the largest Protestant denomination in the Dominion in 1911, Anglicans and

Presbyterians were more numerous in the nation's five largest cities--Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Ottawa--and in Calgary, Regina and Edmonton as well. Methodists were also outnumbered by Anglicans in medium-sized Ontario cities such as London and Kingston; only in Brantford were they as strong proportionately as they were in English-speaking Canada as a whole.⁹⁴ Moreover, Methodism was less of an establishment church than its Anglican and Presbyterian rivals. For example, the 28 deputy ministers of the federal civil service included 11 Anglicans, 9 Roman Catholics and 5 Presbyterians--but not a single Methodist.⁹⁵ Similarly, Methodists were under-represented in political life; although 30.5% of Ontario's population was Methodist in 1901, only 21% of the Ontario members of Parliament whose religious affiliation is identifiable were Methodist, and Anglicans in particular were heavily over-represented.⁹⁶

However, the sociological make-up of the Methodist Church was becoming more like that of its Protestant rivals. By the 1890's, the urban membership was growing proportionately, and a remarkable number of laymen were successful in business. Moreover, urban church members were busily accommodating their Church to comfortable, middle class values and were becoming less "a peculiar people" in the process. The

decline of the class and prayer meetings was most pronounced in city churches, and costly buildings and pew rents were more conspicuous than soul-saving. The prestige which was once reserved for religious officials such as the local preachers was now given to trustees and other organizational officials.⁹⁷ City churches also led in the erosion of principles which had ensured a self-sacrificing ministry: equal pay among the clergy, a three year pastoral team and the placement of clergy by impartial conference stationing committees. Urban clergy now commanded higher salaries than their country colleagues; repeated attempts were made to extend or abolish the pastoral time limit; and the stationing regulations were regularly circumvented by the "invitation system"--in which strong congregations negotiated directly with the most desirable clergy.⁹⁸ No longer did each clergyman have a turn at undesirable locations.

Although the tendency to formalism and faltering spirituality was less pronounced in rural areas, the urban congregations exercised a disproportionate influence upon the culture and the organization of the Church. For example, the Victoria College Faculty of Theology had been formed in the 1870's because of an urban need for an educated clergy; subsequently, the B.D. degree became a prerequisite for ordination, even

though a college degree was hardly necessary for work in rural congregations.⁹⁹ Similarly, all recruits for the ministry were trained to cope with Biblical criticism and other intellectual challenges even though many rural congregations were happily content with old-time religious principles. Perhaps the greatest irony in the urban bias of Methodist education for ministerial recruits was that most of the recruits came from rural areas to begin with. Finally, the influence of wealthy, urban laymen in the Church grew during the period 1896 to 1914 because church expansion in the west increased the need for their organizational skills and financial contributions.¹⁰⁰

The character of Canadian Methodism had important consequences for the Church's growth in the prairie conferences. Although the Church's appeal suited middle class congregations in western towns and cities, it was no more successful in attracting working class support in Winnipeg and Regina than had been the case in Toronto. Similarly, joint Methodist and Presbyterian surveys of rural Manitoba in 1914 found that pastoral visits were largely confined to older, established families which were already supporters of the Church; tenants, newly arrived families and other economically insecure persons were neglected and unreached.¹⁰¹ The discovery of these rural surveys

supports the more recent conclusions of W.E. Mann with respect to religious behaviour in Alberta: namely that denominations such as the Methodist Church were culturally unsuited to many rural dwellers in the west precisely because they were too influenced by the urban middle class and had lost their evangelical fire.¹⁰² Numbers of these rural peoples had been reared in evangelical backgrounds in eastern Canada and the United States and were shielded from change by their remoteness from urban intellectual currents. Unlike the young clergy who were graduating from Methodist theological colleges, they retained a belief in a literal hell, a preference for enthusiastic religion and a personal conviction of sin and need for Christ's atonement. The lonely prairie environment also made them hungry for social outlets which the Methodist Church, with its declining class and prayer meetings and thinning ranks of local preachers, was unable to supply. This partly explains why an unusually high proportion of the prairie population which claimed to be Methodist in the census did not become church members.¹⁰² As Mann has shown, many Alberta Methodists eventually left their Church in favour of fundamentalist sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals and Disciples of Christ.

Much of the character of Canadian Methodism prior

to 1914 was not unique. The American Methodist Episcopal Church and the British Wesleyan Methodist Church were also middle class institutions which were losing evangelical power and which were unable to attract support in urban working class areas. The similarities between the Canadian church and its British and American counterparts were predictable; urbanization, controversies over Biblical criticism and other intellectual and social phenomena had much longer histories in Britain and the United States than in Canada and had troubled most Protestant denominations, irrespective of whether they were Methodist.¹⁰³

Not surprisingly, Canadian Methodism was greatly influenced by developments in the United States and Great Britain. To begin with, the older countries presented Canadians with a host of examples of what to avoid. Leaders of the Church were especially aware that the American churches had been unequal to the task of Christianizing their west and that the United States had been only partially successful in assimilating its European immigration.¹⁰⁴ In addition, shocking slum conditions had arisen in British and American cities. Nevertheless, Canadian Methodists were willing to learn from the mistakes of others. Accordingly, ideas, methods of work and institutions were freely imported, especially from the United States.

Although Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, the superintendent of All People's Mission in Winnipeg was the most widely-read author on problems of urbanization and immigration in Canada, his two books--Strangers Within Our Gates (1909) and My Neighbour (1911)--were little more than mosaics of opinion from American and British sources. Moreover, reference works by American authors such as Josiah Strong, Walter Rauschenbusch, Jacob A. Riis and many others were made available to young people's groups through the Mission Rooms in Toronto.¹⁰⁵ Common hopes as well as common problems made Canadian Methodists receptive to outside influences. Church members were aware that their post-millennial ambition to evangelize the world could only be realized in concert with other Anglo-Saxon Protestant nations. Accordingly, the Church encouraged the reading of missionary literature by American authors such as J. Campbell White, Robert E. Speer and John R. Mott, and educational campaigns, such as that launched by the big, interdenominational Laymen's Missionary Movement in 1909, were offshoots of American parents.¹⁰⁶

Notwithstanding the importance of outside influences, Methodism on the Canadian prairies evolved within the context of a Canadian church and a Canadian point of view. Again it is useful to recall that the General Conference determined policy and doctrine for

the prairie conferences and that the General Board of Missions exercised a close control over western church expansion. Moreover, American and British ideas most frequently penetrated the western conferences through Methodist periodicals and journals which were published in Toronto. Books by Canadian Methodist authors were also important. Although neither of Woodsworth's books was very original, both presented British and American ideas in relation to Canadian needs, and books by Rev. G.J. Bond, the editor of the Christian Guardian from 1902 to 1906 (Our Share of West China) and N.W. Rowell (Will Canada Evangelize Her Share of the World?) did the same in the field of missions.¹⁰⁷ With respect to the manner in which outside ideas reached the west, it is significant that serious interest in the famous American evangelistic team of Torrey and Alexander developed on the prairies when the Torrey-Alexander mission came to Toronto. The resources for Methodist growth in the west were also primarily of Canadian origin, including all of the financial resources and most of the clergy and laymen.¹⁰⁸ Significantly, only one clergyman who served on the prairies in the period 1896-1914 can be identified as having been born and raised in the United States, Canadian Methodism's greatest outside influence.

Church leaders were determined to meet the needs of western church expansion with Canadian resources partly so that British and American resources would not be diverted from China and other overseas mission fields. More important, they were motivated by a fierce national pride. Like other Canadians, Methodists drew enormous satisfaction from their country's great material growth and sang praises of Canada for its enormous size, great resources and promising future. Although most church members esteemed the British connection, their loyalties were increasingly to the Dominion rather than to the Empire.¹⁰⁹ In this respect, the Alaska Boundary Award of 1903 was a catalyst for nationalism within the Church as well as within the country at large; in a lengthy article in the Christian Guardian, a Manitoba pastor concluded that Canada must have more control over its own affairs.¹¹⁰ The Church was susceptible to nationalism because, as Canada's largest Protestant denomination, it was regarded by the membership as an integral part of the national heritage. Conversely, the Church promoted nationalism by bridging the major regions of the country; as Rev. W.B. Creighton, the editor of the Christian Guardian, observed in 1907,

It is not so long since the national ideal first took possession of our Dominion. National sentiment is of slow growth, and

the very vastness of our area has tended to separate us into provinces and weaken the national tie. We are glad to know that the day of Provincialism is slowly passing. . . .

Our churches are a distinct help in this regard. We have, thank God, no provincialism in religion. Perhaps few of us realize how much it means to have a Presbyterian General Assembly or a Methodist General Conference at Halifax, Winnipeg or Victoria; but there can be no doubt that it means more than some imagine in the development of the national idea.¹¹¹

The prairie west was the most vital ingredient in the nationalistic expectations of the time. The image of vast, scarcely tapped resources on the prairies gave Methodists not only their optimism but also the idea that their country was young. Whereas Britain and the United States were matured and past their glory, Canada's day was still to come.

Nevertheless, the "nationalism" to which Methodists subscribed was largely an expression of "Ontario first." Methodist expressions of patriotism usually ignored the French Canadian presence, and the Church's subsequent involvement in the schools questions of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and Ontario made clear that, while providence had cast French and English together in the same country, the culture of the former was to be confined to Quebec.¹¹² Nor would the cultures of the European immigrants have a future in the country, if the Church had its way. At the same time, an English-language culture for the

prairies meant for the most part the extension of the social patterns of Ontario. Although the Maritimes and English-speaking Quebec were also interested in the western frontier, Ontario was the most populous region of English-speaking Canada. Moreover, unlike the Maritimes, Ontario was geographically adjacent to the empire beyond the Great Lakes.

Chapter IV

CONCERN FOR PERSONAL ETHICS AND THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

In addition to its traditional emphasis on saving souls for the world to come, Methodism had long striven to Christianize its environment on earth. However, Methodist priorities were changing by the 1890's. The emphasis on the life to come, once the major concern, was declining, and the orientation to life on earth had come to the fore. The evangelical campaigns remained important in that they promoted the salvation of society through the mass regeneration of its individuals. Two further aspects of the Methodist task on earth must be considered as well. First was the Church's promotion of ascetic Christian ethics, through the education of its membership and through attempts to obtain moral legislation. Second was the growth of the social gospel within the Church: the belief that repressive moral legislation alone could not preserve ascetic values, especially in Canada's newly emerging cities, and that environmental reform, based upon the principles of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, was needed as well. The ascetic morality

and the variety of attitudes concerning environmental reform constituted an important part of the religious culture which was imparted to prairie Methodism.

With respect to Christian ethics, total abstinence from alcohol and observance of the Lord's Day were the most conspicuous requirements for church members, but the Methodist Discipline provided a host of other rules as well. Paragraph 31 forbade brawling, unclean literature, gaudy dress, needless self-indulgence, slander or malicious gossip, revenge and usury, and paragraph 35--the famous Methodist "Note"--banned "dancing, playing at games of chance, encouraging lotteries, attending theatres, horse-races, circuses, dancing parties, patronizing dancing schools . . . [and] taking such other amusements which are obviously of a questionable or misleading moral tendency."¹ These recreations were instrumentally evil, even if not intrinsically so; in the words of a Christian Guardian editorial, "they bring you into undesirable associations, make dangerous acquaintances, stir up evil passions and lead to sinful and dissipated habits."² In addition to the specific vices which the Discipline enumerated, Methodists frowned on the tobacco habit, fought prostitution and, as mentioned, became increasingly concerned with the unchristian living conditions which arose out of

urbanization and capital-labour relations.

Methodism spoke with authority on such issues, especially in Ontario; according to the Dominion census of 1901, nearly one person in three in that province was Methodist. Not only was the Church the province's largest denomination, but it acted in concert with a community which was overwhelmingly Protestant and which shared many of the same values.³ A measure of Methodist and Protestant influence was the volume of moral legislation in Canadian politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In federal politics alone, a plebiscite was held on the prohibition question in 1898, a bill to prohibit cigarettes was passed by the House of Commons in 1904,⁴ the Lord's Day Act became law in 1906, and the House of Commons came to within one vote of outlawing race-track gambling in 1910. This intermixture of morality and politics was largely attributable to Protestant pressure, centred in Ontario and expressed through a number of interdenominational organizations: the Dominion Alliance for the liquor question, the Lord's Day Alliance for sabbath observance; the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) for cigarette legislation; and the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada for legislation on race-track gambling.⁵ In contrast, Roman Catholic French Canada provided a

consistent core of opposition to such legislation, and significantly Henri Bourassa, the great defender of French Canada's cultural heritage, interpreted the Lord's Day bill as an attempt by Ontario to impose its morality upon Quebec.⁶ It was inevitable that Canada's largest and most populous English-speaking province would become a symbol of the militant Protestantism which confronted French Canada. Nevertheless, Protestant members of Parliament sought legislation more for the west than for Quebec. Moreover, the Methodist Church and other Protestant denominations helped to mobilize prairie Protestants behind the same legislative goals.

Most of the intellectual authority for Methodist ethics lay in two concepts which had developed from Britain's evangelical thrust of the eighteenth century, the spearhead of which had been English Methodism.⁷ The ascetic tradition was the first of these. From the belief that salvation was attainable only through the exercise of free will, the evangelical movement inferred that salvation could be obtained only by a denial of temptations to deviate from the righteousness which had been founded on the New Testament moral code outlined by Christ and Paul. Paul's first letter to the Christians at Corinth established the principle that the human body had been given to man to use for

God's purposes, and that to harm the body or to subject it to habit constituted a refusal to glorify God.⁸ Thus cigarette smoking, the intemperate consumption of alcohol and gambling were evil: all three could become degrading habits, and the first two might harm the body as well. Moreover, as forms of idleness, such activities violated a related concept which the evangelical movement had drawn from the New Testament morality: the belief that hard work was a virtue, a means of distracting idle impulses, and that laziness was a source of evil impulses since it reflected a lack of self-discipline.⁹ This idea, taken together with Christ's condemnation of the pursuit of earthly treasures, surely made gambling doubly damned: in addition to being the conscious pursuit of earthly treasures, gambling was an attempt to get life's goods without hard work.¹⁰

The second major concept drawn from Britain's eighteenth century evangelical movement was the post-millennial belief in the attainment of the Kingdom of God on earth. Christ had commanded the evangelization of the world, and John Wesley had claimed the world as his parish. It was but a small step to move from post-millennialism and Christian asceticism to demands for moral legislation from the governments of Canada and its provinces. As Rev. S.D. Chown, the General

Secretary of the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, reasoned, the "criminally disposed" could not be legislated into heaven, but laws could at least "safeguard the welfare of those who desire good order."¹¹ From the post-millennial viewpoint, good laws would also provide a minimum standard of righteousness in a society which was considered already Christian, while at the same time maximizing the society's strength as a base of support for missions in heathen lands.

In the broadest sense, the morality of Methodism on the Canadian prairies represented the outreach of a Protestant religious culture which was common to Anglo-Saxon populations throughout the western world. In fact, all of the major temperance fraternal societies in Canada had American origins, and the Methodist "Note" had been imported from the American Methodist Episcopal Church in 1886.¹² Nevertheless, Canadian Methodism had some distinguishable characteristics within the broader Protestant context. Canadian Methodism was more concerned with urban social problems than was American Methodism and was less tolerant of the tobacco habit than was Methodism in Britain.¹³ Within Canada, Methodism was more zealous than the Anglican Church on nearly all moral issues, and its enthusiasm for temperance exceeded that of the

Presbyterian Church as well.

When legislating policy for the west and east, the General Conference gave temperance top priority among many ethical problems. The reports of the General Conference committees on temperance were exhaustive: they reviewed progress in liquor legislation, originated pledge signing campaigns among youth and adults, and urged Methodist adults to vote in municipal, provincial and federal elections for candidates who were committed to legislating the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of alcohol.¹⁴ The word "temperance" was really a misnomer in Methodist circles; church members made the assumption that men could not be depended upon to drink in moderation and that total abstinence alone could save men from the drinking habit. The heavy emphasis on abstinence was, in fact, strong enough to distinguish Methodism from its major Protestant rivals. The Presbyterian Church, for example, officially condemned "demon rum" in language similar to that of the Methodist Church, but the Presbyterian membership included--at least by reputation--many who were not adverse to moderate consumption and who in Methodist eyes "loved whiskey".¹⁵ Unlike the General Conference, the Presbyterian General Assembly never took the liquor question seriously enough to form a

separate temperance committee, and the General Assembly apparently had difficulty attracting laymen to the committees which were charged with the liquor question.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Anglican Church was openly for temperance rather than abstinence; the General Synod of 1902 specifically opposed Anglican involvement in politics for the purpose of securing prohibition, and the Church's most advanced position prior to 1914 merely called for close government regulation of the liquor traffic.¹⁷

Although a minority, prairie delegates nevertheless served on the General Conference temperance committees, and included among them were prominent figures such as J.W. Sifton of Winnipeg, A.B. Cushing and W.G. Hunt of Calgary, and Rev. George W. Kerby of the same city.¹⁸ More important, actions by annual conferences, districts and individuals indicated that the prairie conferences were solidly en rapport with General Conference postures. Temperance committees of the prairie conferences worked for effective temperance legislation just as tirelessly as the Church's national committee, and temperance committees frequently operated at the district and congregational levels as well. For example, the Quarterly Official Board at Medicine Hat, Alberta, was quite active on the liquor question; in 1894 it exerted pressure on

Medicine Hat's member of the Legislative Assembly to end the sale of liquor by drug stores; in 1897 it asked the Manitoba and Northwest Conference to oppose the rumoured appointment of the Duke of Leeds as Canada's Governor-General, on account of the Duke's "wet" sympathies; in 1905, in response to Rev. S.D. Chown's general appeal, the Quarterly Official Board named a committee to seek effective liquor legislation from Alberta's first provincial government; and on two occasions delegates were sent to represent the congregation at temperance and moral reform conventions.¹⁹ Many examples of aggressive temperance activity by individuals could be cited. A Methodist pastor, D.R.L. Howarth, led the "drys" when the possibility of a liquor license was raised at The Pas, Manitoba; in a similar situation at Wilcox, Saskatchewan, a Methodist pastor ruefully observed that "only my own people will stand by me in the fight."²⁰ Elsewhere, Rev. H.S. Magee, Field Secretary for the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, reported that several people had settled at Neepawa specifically because it had no bar; just three years later, Rev. A.E. Smith of the Neepawa Methodist Church was determined to keep the town dry in a local option contest, despite receiving "an anonymous letter signed 'Railroad Boys' giving him notice to get out of town and threatening

him with bodily harm if he does not desist from taking part in the campaign."²¹ Somewhat similar was the fate of C.B. Keenleyside, who had emigrated from London, Ontario to become secretary for the Saskatchewan Moral and Social Reform Council; responding to his leadership of a local option campaign in 1910, his opponents allegedly spread rumours that Keenleyside was an ex-convict, had left Winnipeg in debt and had been previously exposed for immorality.²²

Not surprisingly, Ontario frequently gave prairie Methodists a basis for comparison in their war against the licensed victuallers, and especially in the Manitoba Conference, which included part of northern Ontario and which was directly concerned with Ontario's liquor legislation. In 1903, for example, the temperance committee of the Manitoba and Northwest Conference censured the Ontario government for its failure to act energetically upon the "dry" majority recorded in the provincial plebiscite of the previous year; in 1906, the temperance committee of the Manitoba Conference lauded the Ontario branch of the Dominion Alliance for inspiring Manitobans with its efforts on behalf of local option; finally, the temperance committee and the Laymen's Association of the Saskatchewan Conference cited successful temperance hotels, including the one in Owen Sound,

Ontario, to counter allegations that hotel accommodation could not survive without income from liquor sales.²³ Several factors encouraged temperance bonds between the Ontario and prairie conferences, aside from the Ontario origins of many western church leaders. Both in the east and in the west, Methodists were forced to consider temperance progress in areas other than their own because prohibition was a national, as well as a provincial and municipal, issue; Methodist involvement in the interdenominational Dominion Alliance, a national organization, also encouraged a broader view. Similarly, Rev. S.D. Chown's Department of Temperance and Moral Reform bridged regional attitudes to the liquor question, as did the conference news columns of the weekly Christian Guardian.²⁴ Finally, Ontario and prairie Methodists shared a common anxiety about the European immigration partly because the "foreigners" were reputedly lax in their drinking habits.²⁵

Next to temperance, sabbath observance was the most important moral issue before the General Conference when it was legislating for the connexion. Following the lead of the Ontario annual conferences, the General Conference committees assaulted the enemies of the Fourth Commandment: the pleasure seeker; the sabbath labourer; foreigners who were "coming from

countries where the Lord's Day was not observed at all, and bringing their habits with them"; the industrial corporation which forced its employees to work seven days per week and injured their health and their chances of attending church in the process; and the courts, which undermined existing sabbath legislation by adverse interpretations and rulings as to constitutionality.²⁶ The most dangerous enemy of the sabbath was industrialization, and the most outrageous in Methodist eyes were the railway and steamboat excursions which required some to work so that others could have pleasure. Most immediately discouraging, however, was "the seeming decay among Christian people of that regard for the sacredness of the day which ought to mark its observance, and the apathy with which they view the many encroachments made upon it."²⁷ Unlike temperance workers who strove for progress, sabbatarians were on the defensive, and in 1896 the sabbath observance committee of the Toronto Conference caught the sadness with which the old generation viewed the age of the new:

Cycling has grown to larger proportions than ever, and connected with it are greater evils and dangers than ever. In the villages of resort near Toronto hundreds of wheels whizz along, young men and maidens congregate and saunter; the hotel-keeper does a lively business, and the sweetness and holy calm of the Day of God is broken.²⁸

Individually and collectively, Methodists did their best to stem the tide. In an 1897 plebiscite which was widely regarded as a test case for sabbath observance in the nation's cities,²⁹ the local Methodist churches and the Christian Guardian put up a strong fight against Sunday street cars in Toronto. When the Methodist cause was narrowly beaten by the votes of "money forces . . . the foreign element to some extent, and . . . young men panting for 'faster life' to some extent,"³⁰ the sabbath observance committee of the Toronto Conference suggested undoing the damage by pressing for provincial legislation which would remove sabbath laws from the hands of the municipalities--"as in the case of the Province of Manitoba."³¹ Meanwhile, the General Conference gave warm support to the inter-denominational Lord's Day Alliance in its efforts to maintain home and family as centres of sabbath activity.³² While Methodists wanted as perfect a sabbath as possible, many nonetheless recognized that the nation's growing economic complexity made perfection elusive. Consequently, the Lord's Day Act of 1906 held especial interest in that it expressed many of the tensions between the ideal of the Fourth Commandment and Canada's economic and social realities. The Act outlawed ordinary work and labour on Sunday,

but exceptions were made for work of "necessity" or "mercy," terms which were so defined as to give numerous exemptions to industry; commercialized recreation was forbidden, but not all recreation; finally, the Act bequeathed certain problems of enforcement due to pressure from French Canada.³³ At least one Methodist member of Parliament, George Taylor of South Leeds, voted against the legislation because of its leniency with respect to recreation, but most of the Methodist members felt that the bill represented progress and voted for it.³⁴ The General Conference agreed with the majority view but shared Taylor's dissatisfaction. In the years that followed, it strove to eliminate loop-holes in the law and to secure the enforcement of the Act's provisions.³⁵

As with temperance, fervour on behalf of sabbath observance distinguished the Methodist Church from its Anglican rival. The General Synod did not recognize sabbath desecration as a problem until 1902, years after the General Conference, and not until 1905 did the General Synod link this issue with the activities of the industrial corporations. Although the General Synod of 1908 accepted the Lord's Day Act, it was not eager to plug loop-holes in the legislation; W.G. Hanna was permitted to address this General Synod on behalf of the Lord's Day Alliance

only after opposition to hearing him had been defeated by a close vote.³⁶ However, Methodist sabbatarian fervour was shared, and possibly exceeded, by that of the Presbyterian Church. The General Assembly gave the sabbath observance problem large committees which were laced with prominent laymen, in contrast to its action on the liquor question.³⁷ Perhaps the greatest Presbyterian contribution was Rev. James G. Shearer, co-founder and secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, and the founder and editor of the Lord' Day Advocate.

Prairie Methodists inherited the same concern for the Lord's Day. In 1896, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference named a standing committee to resist sabbath desecration, and the committee was soon urging church members to petition their Legislative Assembly members for improvements to Manitoba's existing legislation.³⁸ In 1901, the committee warned of the occurrence on Sunday of worldly conversation, unnecessary work, pleasure visiting, neglect of church services, unnecessary freight train runs, harvesting, the repairing of separators and desecration by "foreign immigrants" who came "from countries where there prevail very lax ideas."³⁹ Interplay between Manitoba and the eastern conferences developed over the issue of Sunday street cars. In 1897, the

year of the Toronto plebiscite, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference endorsed a Regina District petition which asked the Manitoba legislature to keep Manitoba free of the offending vehicles, and, in 1902, the Manitoba Conference reacted anxiously to rumours that a street car plebiscite would be held in Winnipeg.⁴⁰ Somewhat hopefully, the Manitoba correspondent of the Christian Guardian asserted that "the young west" would not "imitate Toronto," and encouragement for this position came from the front page of the Christian Guardian and from the General Conference of 1902, which met in Winnipeg.⁴¹

Manitobans were not the only defenders of the western sabbath. In 1904, Rev. G.W. Kerby denounced sabbath baseball games and golf matches in Calgary, even though he incurred considerable opposition in doing so; six years later, the sabbath observance committee of the Alberta Conference complained of Calgary's acceptance of Sunday street cars, the freighting of settlers' effects, ball games, concerts, harvesting and threshing.⁴² In the same vein, the Assiniboia Conference committee joined with the Alberta Conference committee in 1906 to warn against legislative concessions to Seventh Day Adventists and Saturday rest keepers, and it welcomed the appointment of a western field secretary of the Lord's

Day Alliance, "realizing the unsettled condition of the country and the many conflicting opinions and customs prevailing in our western provinces."⁴³

Sabbath observance and temperance were the only moral issues which were given separate committees by the General Conference and the annual conferences. Other "evils" such as dancing, smoking and gambling were not elevated to committee status until 1902 when the General Conference lumped them together under the heading of "Moral Reform" and appended them to the committee on temperance and prohibition. Further evidence that these other issues were less important than temperance or sabbath observance were the attacks on the "Note" at the General Conferences of 1898 and 1902, and the elimination of the "Note" at the General Conference of 1910. Henceforth, section 35 of the Discipline did not condemn specific amusements; rather, church members were enjoined to avoid amusements and practices which "their enlightened Christian consciences" interpreted as being "injurious to their spiritual life."⁴⁴ At the same time, temperance and sabbath observance survived as qualifications for church membership in section 31. Finally, the arguments against the "Note" suggested that amusements were in a lesser category of evil than "demon rum" or the profanation of Sunday.⁴⁵ The alleged difficulties in enforcing the "Note" in many

districts indicated that the practices of Methodist laymen often lagged behind the ideals of Methodist preaching, especially in urban congregations.

Moreover, opponents of the "Note" reasoned that amusements did not inevitably lead to spiritual danger; hence the "enlightened Christian conscience" was best left free to judge on the particular circumstances which might arise. Still another consideration was that amusements did not necessarily exclude a person from salvation; hence the "Note" was criticized for alienating persons who otherwise could derive spiritual benefit from the Church.

However, while amusements were less important as issues, they were not unimportant. Far from it. Many elderly Methodists disagreed with the decision to remove the "Note" from the list of qualifications for church membership. Moreover, the critics included many who valued the "Note" as a spiritual guide (as opposed to a test of membership), and Rev. Fred C. Middleton, a Manitoba Conference pastor, anticipated that the "enlightened Christian conscience" would prove more restrictive than the "Note" had been.⁴⁶

Finally, of the issues other than temperance and sabbath observance, prostitution, obscene literature and gambling were in a category of evil somewhat above that of amusements.

Methodist attitudes to tobacco illustrated the seriousness with which church members viewed the "minor" issues. At the very least the smoking habit was considered filthy and noxious to others, and Rev. W.B. Creighton, editor of the Christian Guardian, felt it to be selfish as well;⁴⁷ as an unnecessary luxury, tobacco possibly offended his Methodist sense of thrift. More serious was the harm wrought upon God's temple--the human body. Dr. A.D. Watson, a Toronto physician and the treasurer of the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, warned that tobacco contributed to "cancer, heart trouble and eye disease," and a less authoritative source, Rev. Richard Hobbs of Exeter, Ontario, attributed "no less than eighty-seven diseases, mostly common" to the habit.⁴⁸ Mental damage was also obvious. A layman from Tillsonburg, Ontario, insisted that tobacco was a narcotic which dulled the mind, and the Methodist member of Parliament for West Huron, Mr. Holmes, informed the House of Commons that smoking was a stepping-stone to "opium, morphine and cocaine."⁴⁹ M.K. Richardson, another Methodist member of Parliament from Ontario, reported that the outcome of the Spanish-American War had been ascribed to the "widespread, excessive use of tobacco" in Spain, which had robbed the Spanish youth of their "manhood, vitality

and courage;" he added that many businessmen would not hire smokers for fear that they "might give way at a critical moment."⁵⁰ Finally, smoking brought about moral decay. M.K. Richardson thought it significant that 92% of the boys in a Chicago reformatory had been "cigarette fiends at the time they committed their crimes," and Rev. Richard Hobbs quoted "Our own late Dr. Lavell, warden of Kingston Penitentiary for over twenty years" to assert that "tobacco and not drink was the real fountainhead of crime."⁵¹ Hobbs' extreme views inspired him to found an anti-tobacco league in 1911. While Methodists were opposed to smoking in general, they were especially convinced of its harmful effects upon youth; thus, failing a law to prohibit cigarettes entirely, they sought prohibition of sales to minors.⁵² Protestants of other denominations shared these legislative goals, but Methodists were probably more zealous in their pursuit than were Anglicans or Presbyterians. When the House of Commons considered a bill to prohibit cigarettes in 1904, not one Methodist member of Parliament from Ontario voted against the measure, whereas four Presbyterian and three Anglican members of Parliament from that province did cast "nays".⁵³

Western Methodists fought the cigarette just as vigorously as those in the east. In 1900 the Winnipeg

District asked the Manitoba Conference to seek the elimination of sales to minors, and the president of the Manitoba Conference, Rev. William Somerville, was among those who urged Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior and a Methodist layman, to support the anti-cigarette bill of 1904.⁵⁴ In Alberta, a medical assistant at the Pakan medical mission, Dr. Chris Connolly, was fired by his superior for smoking and playing cards in public; the dismissal was upheld by Rev. T.C. Buchanan, the conference mission superintendent, on the grounds that, while it was not necessarily sinful to smoke or to play cards, it was not proper for a missionary to do so.⁵⁵ Just as dramatic as the firing of Connolly was the testimony of J.H. Rutledge, of Treherne, Manitoba:

I had been a constant and heavy user of the weed for upward of forty years. . . . I felt the habit was a hindrance in my work, and a stumbling block to others, and, through the advice of ministers, I made several half-hearted attempts to quit, all in vain. Some thirteen months ago, however, I saw it as a sin in the sight of God and man, and made an earnest prayer to God, and determined on my part, that I might break its grip upon me. The result was success, and more. Before that time I had been subject to bilious attacks monthly, but since have had but one in over a year, while my general health has been better than ever before . . .

This testimony is from one sixty-five years of age upon whom the habit had such a hold that if I ran out of the weed, I felt I must

have it at any cost, even leaving
the harvest field and driving to town
on purpose to satisfy the fearful
craving . . .⁵⁶

Guilt feelings were common among Methodists who smoked because they knew that the majority did not approve.

The extension of the traditional Methodist morality onto the prairies was very evident on the issue of gambling. In the course of supporting the Miller bill (against race-track gambling) in 1910, Rev. S.D. Chown's Department of Temperance and Moral Reform sent letters to every Manitoba member of Parliament, and duplicate petitions--one for the House of Commons and one for the Senate--were sent to every mission and circuit superintendent in Canada.⁵⁷ Western Methodists also acted on their own initiative. As early as 1904, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference temperance committee appealed for legislation against race-track gambling; four years later, the Manitoba Conference Committee on Temperance and Moral Reform protested the contamination of fairs by gambling and side-shows of a questionable nature--a view shared by Rev. T.E. Holling of Moose Jaw, the editor of the Assiniboia Church Advocate.⁵⁸

As for amusements, one western Methodist reported that

we are unpopular here because we set a higher standard of living than other churches. One of the most flourishing institutions here is the Quadrille Club, something of the wild and whoolly character

described by Ralph Connor. Every now and then they have a grand dance, keeping the dissipation up all night until five in the morning, with plenty of drinks in between. Our attitude needs no exposition, and as a consequence we have an honourable unpopularity. If we do nothing more here we are a silent protest against that sort of thing.⁵⁹

Similarly, the famous Ontario Methodist team of evangelists, Crossley and Hunter, stressed ethics as well as salvation on their western tours. In 1905, Brandon audiences were lectured on "Dancing in the Ballroom", "Personal Purity", "Social Evils", "Mysteries", and "The Model Woman"; in 1907, the team drew praise from Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, the president of the Manitoba Conference, for dealing fearlessly with the dance, cards and strong drink and for calling a sin a sin.⁶⁰ Western Methodists also joined the war against the brothel. In 1901, Methodist clergy supported the Winnipeg Ministerial Association's sensational two month campaign to end the silent toleration of prostitution by city officials; in the opinion of the Christian Guardian's Manitoba correspondent, the cure for fallen ladies and their paramours was to "BRAND THEM"--publish their names and subject them to the social ostracism which was their due.⁶¹ The forces of righteousness ended the unofficial toleration of brothels in 1901, but only temporarily; in 1909 a "Permanent Citizen's

Committee on Segregated Vice" was formed to meet a reoccurrence of the same problem.⁶² Meanwhile, Rev. T.P. Perry was a key speaker at a Presbyterian-sponsored meeting which was called to end prostitution in Lethbridge.⁶³

Despite pastoral efforts to improve the moral climate in the west, the prairie conferences spoke with less authority on moral issues than most of the eastern conferences. Prior to 1914, the Methodist Church did not attain the proportional strength in prairie society which it had enjoyed in Ontario. Moreover, Church teachings were probably less closely followed by prairie membership. As noted in Chapter II, Rev. T.C. Buchanan and others observed a relaxation of popular ethical standards amidst the unsettled conditions of the new prairie society. Finally, as will be shown, the prairie conferences included an unusually high number of nominal Methodists as opposed to actual church members.

For Methodists as well as for other Protestants, the concern for traditional moral values led to involvement with the social problems of the city and to the social gospel. Intemperance, immorality and broken health were fed by the depressing living conditions in urban slums, and the sabbath was violated by the labourer's seven day work week. To aggravate

matters, cities attracted large populations of "foreigners" whose morality fell short of Methodist standards.⁶⁴ Finally, Methodist leaders were made increasingly aware that the Church was not reaching urban working class populations. In 1910, Rev. J.H. Gundy noted that

During the past decade two of our down-town churches in Toronto have been closed and sold, though the surrounding [areas] are more thickly populated than ever before. Half a dozen others of our down-town churches are having difficulty maintaining their work, owing to the fact that well-to-do members of former days have moved up town, and those who take their place are poor, and in many cases out of touch with the church.⁶⁵

The challenge to the Church was critical because the cities were growing, and they would constitute an ever-increasing proportion of the nation's population in the future, just as had been the case in Britain and the United States. Rev. J.S. Woodsworth wrote in 1911 that 80% of the British population had become urban and that the urban population in the United States had risen from 5% of the national total in 1800 to 40%, despite the spread of agrarian settlement in the American west.⁶⁶ Similarly, Rev. C.E. Manning warned that Canada's urban population had increased by 32½% in the period 1890-1900, whereas the rural population had risen by only 1¼%.⁶⁷ Such striking urban growth was all the more serious, he added,

because

The ideals of the state are very largely shaped by the cities--books and newspapers come from the city, political issues develop, class divisions are accentuated, they are financial and distributing centres. If reforms are carried here, they can be carried everywhere.

Hence Woodsworth's conclusions that "man has entered an urban age," and that "If the new civilization is to be mastered by Christ, the city must be taken for him."⁶⁸ Urban problems were relevant to the west. To begin with, prairie Methodists recognized that the moral climate of the western provinces could be heavily influenced, if not determined, by cities such as Winnipeg.⁶⁹ Secondly, Rev. J.S. Woodsworth and other social workers detected in Winnipeg and Regina many of the tendencies which had led to slums in the older cities of eastern Canada, the United States and Great Britain.⁷⁰

The Methodist response to urban problems was greatly influenced by the Church's rural background. A majority of the church members were rural throughout the period under study, and most of the urban church members were only one generation removed from the small town or farm. As noted in Chapter III, this rural strength was unequal to preserving the "old time" evangelism of the Church, especially in the cities, but rural ethical values persisted more

strongly because they were only indirectly threatened by urban intellectual currents such as Biblical criticism.

As an example of rural influence, it was no coincidence that temperance strength was stronger in rural areas than in cities, and stronger in the Methodist Church than in the Presbyterian and Anglican churches. The rural influence in the Church may also have encouraged a superficial approach to the problem of the city. To begin with, the uneasiness brought about by rural depopulation in Ontario gave some Methodists a grim satisfaction that all was not well in the cities, to which their young people were emigrating.⁷¹ Moreover, it was easy for rural Methodists to blame intemperance for the low living standards of the urban working classes; by making "demon rum" the villain, they could express sympathy for urban social ills without really coming to grips with them.⁷² Finally, the rural influence almost certainly strengthened values of hard work, resourcefulness, thrift and other features of individualism, which in turn made church members slow to criticize the free enterprise system. However, to interpret the rural influence as being purely negative is to ignore much of what actually happened. While the remedies which Methodism prescribed for urban social

ills did have serious conservative limitations, it is equally true that the Methodist Church--the most rural of the major Protestant denominations--developed a greater concern for the problems of the city than either the Anglican or Presbyterian churches. Perhaps the rural influence made Methodists, including those one generation removed from the farm, more attached to the ascetic Protestant morality, and hence more eager to control the social forces which were undermining that morality in the city; in this respect, the Church may have been helped by having fewer vested interests in the existing social system than the Presbyterian and Anglican denominations.

Successive General Conferences provided a barometer of changing Methodist attitudes towards problems in the cities. Throughout the 1870's and 1880's, the General Conference was cool or hostile to strikes and labour unions,⁷³ and, as late as 1894, it attributed "unsatisfactory economic conditions" to "indolence and intemperance" in the slums.⁷⁴ However, the creation of a "committee on sociological questions" in 1894 was symptomatic of an interest in urban social behavior, and a number of liberal trends were established in the years that followed.⁷⁵ By 1898 the committee was aware that Christianity faced a special challenge in the city and that an individual's

economic circumstances were attributable to broad social and economic forces, not just to his personal strengths and weaknesses. Since Methodists had long sought to Christianize society through the legislation of social ethics, they now felt obliged to work for the Christianization of industrial conditions as well. Accordingly, the committees on sociological questions came to accept labour unions and the legitimacy of strikes by the turn of the century, as well as becoming more sympathetic to underprivileged persons in general. In 1906, the "radical General Conference" condemned Canadian society as being "far from an ideal expression of the Christian brotherhood," and it called upon the Church to "set up the Kingdom of God among men, which we understand to be a social order founded on the principles of the Gospel--the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount--made possible through the regeneration of men's lives." In other words, the Church sought the substitution of brotherly love for greed as the basis for society. To this end, the committee of 1906 promoted Christian stewardship among the wealthy; the rich were told that they owed something to the society which had allowed them to accumulate their wealth, and that charity and the fair treatment of employees were obligations, not

favours. Many other recommendations were made as well; the committees urged the co-ordination of charitable organizations to eliminate overlap, endorsed efforts to end unsanitary housing, promoted the eight hour day for labour and advised any form of public ownership which would enrich both the community and the individual. Finally, the committees of 1914 condemned the exploitation of natural resources for capital gains and called for some method which would force men to earn what they owned and to use what they owned for the public good. All in all, the Methodist Church of 1914 had come a considerable distance from the conservative posture of two decades before, and its position on urban social problems was more advanced than any other Protestant Church. The Presbyterian General Assembly, for example, did not have a committee to deal with capital-labour relations and other urban problems until 1907, when the standing committee on temperance and moral reform was created; even then, this committee gave most of its time to temperance, gambling and traditional moral problems, and it never issued an explicit condemnation of the existing social order, prior to the outbreak of World War I. Meanwhile, Anglican concern for environmental reform was scarcely evident at all at General Synod meetings.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, even the Methodist posture on urban problems was ringed with conservative limits. To begin with, the Church did not reject capitalism or the free enterprise system in its search for a society based upon brotherly love; it sought merely to inject love into the existing system. Nor did the Church anticipate the welfare state. Although the General Conference supported efforts to end unsanitary housing, the Church offered no hint that this was necessarily a government responsibility, and the impression of conservativeness in the Methodist posture is reinforced by the General Conference's emphasis on charity and Christian stewardship. Thirdly, the Church's sympathy for the labourer was exceeded by its concern for the average citizen: people much like members of the Methodist Church. The General Conference of 1906 conceded labour as well as capital the right to combine, but not at the expense of public and individual rights. Similarly, the General Conference of 1910 favoured compulsory acceptance of arbitration decisions in public utilities disputes: industries upon which everyone depended. Fourthly, the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, which was charged with giving effect to the recommendations in the reports of the committee on sociological questions, continued to emphasize very traditional

moral issues such as temperance and to largely ignore problems arising out of capital-labour relations and urbanization.⁷⁷ Finally, the committee of 1906 believed that a social order founded on the principles of the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount would be "made possible through the regeneration of men's lives." While radicals assumed that society could be saved through environmental reforms, the General Conference was of the opposite view: that the salvation of society was ultimately dependent upon the regeneration of its individuals--regardless of how necessary and beneficial environmental reforms might be to the progress of the Church. In view of the Church's growing practical neglect of the world to come, the conservativeness of the Methodist posture would seem to have been weakening. Nevertheless, the viewpoint of the General Conference was shared by Rev. S.D. Chown, Rev. W.B. Creighton and many other Methodist leaders,⁷⁸ and it made possible the acceptance of the free enterprise system and the stress on Christian stewardship rather than socialism.

Informative as the General Conference pronouncements were, how representative were they of Methodist opinion in general? Doubtless many church members, especially in rural areas, gave little thought to urban problems and to social gospel theory. Moreover,

the richest Methodist laymen, many of whom were very active in mission work, were largely absent from the committees on sociological questions--which suggests that they might have been out of sympathy with the committee reports. Nevertheless, the committees did include several moderately wealthy laymen; this indicates that the General Conference pronouncements held the confidence of most church members who were aware of urban problems. Included on the committees of 1898 and 1902 were Thomas Hilliard, a Waterloo insurance company executive; R.J. McLaughlin, a Toronto corporation lawyer; and B.M. Britton, a Kingston lawyer and a prominent eastern Ontario Liberal. More important, the committees of 1906 and 1910, the most radical of the pre-war period, included A.D. Watson, a Toronto physician and the treasurer of the Department of Temperance and Moral Reform; Samuel Carter, a Guelph textile manufacturer and a Liberal member of the Ontario legislature; G.F. Johnston, the president of several large corporations and a Governor of both the Montreal General Hospital and Wesleyan Theological College; S.A. Chesley, a probate court judge in Lunenburg, N.S.; and W.L. Shurtliff of Coatacook, P.Q., chairman of the Protestant school board, a vice-president of the Lord's Day Alliance and the Conservative

Party organizer for the Eastern Townships.

The evidence suggests that the committee reports were also representative of the west. Other members of the committees of 1906 and 1910 were A.M. Scott, the superintendent of schools for Calgary; Professor W.F. Osborne of Wesley College; S.E. Clement, a Brandon lawyer and the former mayor of Brandon; W.G. Hunt of Calgary, the Massey-Harris Company's manager for the province of Alberta; and R.W. Harris, a Vancouver lawyer.⁷⁹ Pronouncements by the prairie conferences reinforce the impression that General Conference postures were representative of western views. Like the General Conference Department of Temperance and Moral Reform, the prairie conferences gave the lion's share of their attention to traditional evils such as "demon rum", but they also showed a growing concern for urban social problems. The Manitoba and Northwest Conference temperance committee of 1904 emphasized the importance of environmental as well as individual reform, appealed for more sermons on sociological questions and criticized amendments to the Manitoba Factory Act which lowered the legal working age and lengthened the legal working day.⁸⁰ Other illustrations of interest in urban problems came in 1908 when the Alberta and Manitoba conferences called for the teaching of sociology at universities,

in line with a similar request from the Ontario conferences in 1907.⁸¹ Finally, the growth of All People's mission represented an attempt to soothe social ills in Winnipeg which were complicated by the presence of a large European population; by 1914, All People's had become the largest urban mission complex in the Church.⁸²

Although the General Conference policies were representative, it is nevertheless an oversimplification to equate them with Methodist attitudes towards urban social problems. Behind each pronouncement of policy lay a variety of personal opinions, some of which were compatible with the General Conference's position and some of which were not. For example, notwithstanding the Church's position that the mass regeneration of individuals was necessary to perfect the earthly environment, the membership included some who accepted socialism, a philosophy which aspired to save the individual by reforming the environment. Rev. Samuel East, the pastor of a working class congregation in Winnipeg, preached that socialism was the embodiment of Christ's Golden Rule philosophy and the only real solution to working class unrest.⁸³ In the Christian Guardian, another western Methodist applauded socialism from a rural standpoint: socialism would improve living standards by eliminating the

middleman; the producer's overhead costs could be reduced if the government were to manufacture farm implements and handle grain without a profit and if non-producers--the middlemen--were forced into the labour market; the savings could be passed on to the consumer.⁸⁴

However, as the General Conference postures indicated, most Methodists were not socialists, and, especially in rural areas, socialism was widely feared by the membership because it appeared to be a godless alternative to Christianity. Although socialists professed to regard religion as a private matter,⁸⁵ an Alberta Conference pastoral address observed that "to many working men it [socialism] is more than an economic system; it is a religion."⁸⁶ As a religion, socialism was considered by conservative Methodists to be sadly lacking. Although Rev. S.D. Chown conceded that the socialist's ideal for society was similar to Christ's, he noted that the socialist ideal was motivated by economics and by the desire to labour to destroy capital, and that it could only be achieved by force; in contrast, the Christian ideal originated with the Son of God, and it could be realized through the love of one's fellow man.⁸⁷ The socialists were treated even more harshly in a series of Christian Guardian articles in 1912; among other things, they

were castigated for their neglect of the home and for their belief in free sexual love, "a fact beyond dispute" even though many socialists denied it.⁸⁸ Finally, some church members regarded socialism as part of the un-Canadian cultural baggage which the foreign immigrant imported from his European background; as such, socialism was something to be eliminated in the course of the assimilation process.⁸⁹

In no small measure, Methodist hostility to socialism on the prairies and in eastern Canada confirmed labour and socialist spokesmen in the opinion that the Church was the adjunct of the monied classes.⁹⁰ However, precisely because of the generally conservative Methodist outlook, the moderate statements of the General Conference were significantly progressive. Stimulated by the growing gulf between the Church and working class populations, several Church leaders urged the membership to acquire a greater sympathy for labour and to look for good as well as bad in socialism and other potential solutions to urban social ills.⁹¹ Although socialist excesses such as materialism and the loosening of family ties were deplored and although hopes of social salvation through man-made environmental reforms were considered utopian, socialist criticisms of the existing economic

system and of the appalling living conditions which resulted served to remind the churches of their obligation to Christianize earthly life.

In addition to the conflict of views over socialism, Methodist opinions clashed over the specific role the Church was to play in dealing with urban social problems. This was illustrated in 1899, when the Toronto Conference passed a resolution "expressive of sympathy with the G.T.R. trackmen now on strike" for higher wages.⁹² As reported in the Christian Guardian,⁹³ the opponents of the resolution included Rev. G.G. Webber of the Parry Sound District (soon to be transferred to the Alberta Conference); Dr. W.S. Blackstock and Dr. E.H. Dewart, two superannuated (retired) ministers from Toronto's wealthy Sherbourne Street Church; Joseph Tait, the owner of a large baking establishment in Toronto and a Liberal member of the Legislative Assembly; and Rev. R.N. Burns of Orillia. Their position was best expressed by Webber and Dewart who were sympathetic to struggling labourers but who also believed that the Church was properly confined to the laying down of great principles and that it should not interfere in a particular capital-labour dispute. The movers of the resolution, Rev. S. Rowe of Toronto and Dr. S.G. Stone of Sault St. Marie, disagreed, as did M.L. Pearson of the

Collingwood District and J.W. St. John of West Toronto. With great effect, Stone argued that the Church was losing touch with the labouring class precisely because it dealt in generalizations and was filled with preachers who never touched the realities of day-to-day life. Amidst cries of "No!" mixed with applause, St. John warned that the churches were falling into the grip of the monied classes. Notwithstanding the rhetoric, the intentions behind the resolution were no more radical than the pronouncements of the General Conference; although Rowe hoped that "by improving the environment, the Church can bring about the desired results [the salvation of society], his aspiration was prefaced with the realization "that society will not be regenerated until all the units are regenerated and brought to Christ."⁹⁴

To sum up, Methodism in Ontario and on the prairies was characterized by an aggressive ascetic morality in the period under study. Though many of the Church's values were shared with Protestantism in general, its selection of priorities and the intensity of its support for ascetic values distinguished it from other denominations. The stress on ethics was partly the outgrowth of the traditional Methodist search for Christian perfection. It was also the by-product of a growing orientation to life on earth

rather than to the world to come. Finally, Methodist zeal on moral issues was stimulated by the weakening of ascetic values in the face of the European immigration, unsettled social conditions in western Canada, the growth of cities and other factors. The Church initially pursued its moral objectives in the cities by continuing to attack personal sin. However, influenced by the spread of the social gospel in American and British Protestantism, the Church eventually recognized a need for environmental reform if its values were to survive. After 1906, Canadian Methodism embraced the social gospel more fully than American Methodism and more than any other Canadian denomination. Yet Methodist religious culture was not completely secularized prior to 1914. Methodists assumed that the perfection of their environment was ultimately dependent upon the mass regeneration of individuals. This belief, together with the middle class character of the membership, largely explains the Church's cautious approach to socialism.

Chapter V

ORIGINS OF CLERGY AND LAYMEN IN THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES

As Methodist leaders recognized, the growth of their Church in the west depended to a large extent on its ability to follow closely the spread of settlement. Methodism needed to reach prairie communities in their formative period to ensure that religious life would be important to them in the future. The Church was also faced with beating the Presbyterians to communities which would only support one denomination. Needless to say, a vital ingredient in this church expansion was an adequate supply of clergy.

As the tide of immigration mounted during the late 1890's, the Church found that the ministerial needs of the prairies greatly outstripped the supply of clergy from prairie theological colleges. Alberta College was not founded until 1903, and Wesley College was ordaining only twelve men annually as late as 1907.¹ By way of contrast, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference required 25 additional clergy in 1901, and the prairie conferences required more than 100 additional clergy annually after 1907, principally for Alberta

and Saskatchewan. The Saskatchewan Conference, for example, was faced with 46 vacancies in 1906 and 1909, 75 vacancies in 1911, and 50 vacancies in 1912 and 1914; meanwhile the Alberta Conference was short 50 men in 1909 and 1912 and needed 82 recruits in 1910; with staffing problems of this magnitude, the Manitoba Conference's annual search for 8 to 12 men was almost lost in the shuffle.²

The Church's response to the manpower needs of the west evolved from an Ontario-centred nationalism. The executive of the General Board of Missions were committed to securing as many of the prairie clergy as possible from Canada; in practice, this meant a reliance upon Ontario because the Maritime conferences, like the west, were short of pastors.³ As it happened, the United States did not menace this nationalistic ambition. A desperate shortage of clergy in the American Methodist Episcopal Church precluded a ministerial influx from that source, as did the higher salaries and the lower educational requirements of the American Church.⁴ In contrast, British Methodism had a generous supply of experienced local preachers which could be tapped for Canadian needs. However, the nationalism of Canadian Methodist leaders caused them to keep the numbers of British ministerial recruits to a minimum. After the arrival of 62 British probationers (ministerial

candidates) in the prairie conferences in 1909, Rev. T.C. Buchanan, the Alberta Conference mission superintendent, felt "strongly that the Methodist Church in Canada should not have to go to England for any more men."⁵ Mission correspondence reveals that Rev. James Woodsworth, the senior superintendent of missions for the western conferences, and Rev. James Allen, General Secretary of the Department of Home Missions, were in solid agreement with Buchanan.⁶

Efforts to increase the Canadian output of clergy were the converse of the desire to avoid importations from Britain. To this end, the prairie mission superintendents invariably canvassed the Ontario conferences for men prior to any recruiting from the Old Country. Scores of clergy were obtained through such efforts, and Ontario church members were acquainted with western problems in the process. For example, during July and August of 1905, Rev. Oliver Darwin, the Saskatchewan Conference mission superintendent, visited seven Methodist summer schools in Ontario and gave 30 addresses "bearing upon the conditions and needs of the North West."⁷ In 1909, fourteen municipalities in eastern Ontario heard an appeal from Rev. T.C. Buchanan,⁸ and Darwin was active in the province as well. Significantly, although the Saskatchewan Conference had proposed to send Darwin recruiting in England as well as in Ontario, only the latter tour

was authorized by the executive of the General Board of Missions.⁹

The prairie conferences were left short of men despite the recruiting in Ontario. The shortages persisted even after recruits were secured from Britain. According to Rev. James Allen, about 30 organized fields were left unsupplied in 1907, and another 20 clergy could have been employed to open up new and promising work.¹⁰ In 1913, 6 of the 22 circuits and missions of the Goose Lake District in the Saskatchewan Conference were left unsupplied, and another 4 stations were supplied irregularly by homesteaders who had been employed to preach.¹¹ The shortages were only partly attributable to the rate of church expansion in the west. Another important factor was the astonishing "casualty rate" among prairie clergy. As the following tables show, resignations and dismissals of clergy were more numerous in the prairie conferences than in the five Ontario conferences, even though the Ontario conferences had twice as many ministers.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>NO. OF CLERGY</u> <u>IN 1903</u>	<u>DROPPED</u>	<u>RESIGNED</u>	<u>TOTAL LOSS</u>
Toronto	318	3	13	16
Hamilton	275	3	7	10
London	269	1	13	14
Quinte	224	7	7	14
Montreal	267	13	20	33
<u>ONT. & P.Q.</u>	<u>353</u>			<u>87</u>
Manitoba & N.W.	267	18	32	50

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF MINISTERS LOST BY THE CHURCH IN THE ONTARIO AND PRAIRIE CONFERENCES, 1896-1904.¹²

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>NO. OF CLERGY in 1910</u>	<u>DROPPED</u>	<u>RESIGNED</u>	<u>TOTAL LOSS</u>
Toronto	363	13	27	40
Hamilton	287	1	19	20
London	273	6	18	24
Quinte	211	2	8	10
Montreal	285	0	21	21
<hr/>				
<u>ONT. & P.Q.</u>	<u>1,419</u>			<u>115</u>
Manitoba	184	12	13	25
Saskatchewan	230	23	42	65
Alberta	231	11	66	77
<hr/>				
<u>PRAIRIES:</u>	<u>645</u>			<u>167</u>

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF MINISTERS LOST IN THE ONTARIO AND PRAIRIE CONFERENCES, 1905-1914.¹³

A young Calgary clergyman, Rev. A. Mosely, discussed the situation in Alberta: of the 85 probationers received in the three years 1908-1910, 52 remained by 1912; moreover, of the 79 lay supplies who had been stationed during the same three year period, only 32 had become probationers by 1912, despite the alleged intentions of all 79 to enter the ministry. The effects of the casualty rate fell heavily on laymen and clergy alike: as Mosely explained:

Only those who have done it know what a disheartening thing it is to succeed men who have left the work disappointed, disillusioned, or perhaps bitter. The people have a certain indefinable attitude to him which is difficult to overcome. . . . To give one instance: A certain mission in Alberta saw five different Methodist probationers and supplies within a single year. Is it necessary to say that the people of that place looked upon this interesting little panorama with increasing indifference

and probably with contempt for the church that suffered such things.

Then, sir, what is the effect upon the men who escape this slaughter of innocents--the men who remain with us? Can it be possible that they are totally unaffected by the causes--whatever they are--of this lamentable condition of things? . . . These men see continually their brethren dropping out, men who were just as eager and full of promise as themselves. They feel the stress of the same conditions which forced those brethren out of the work.

The church which cannot produce or keep ministers cannot produce or keep members. And if a church cannot do these things it cannot have an adequate influence upon the life of those members it retains.¹⁴

The origins of the casualty rate are important because they explain not only why many ministers abandoned their profession but also why many eastern ministers chose not to transfer to the prairie home mission field. A major problem was the physical toughness of a western charge, which was described in chapter II. Of equal importance was the Church's inability to provide its young and inexperienced clergy with proper supervision. The need for supervision was obvious. Unlike their British-born counterparts, the Canadian-born probationers in the west had seldom apprenticed as local preachers, and a "westerner" observed that

A very large per centage of them come west and start work; but they do not know how to preach, and have done little or no preliminary theological study. Under the difficulties of their work they lose their enthusiasm; the people are tired of their attempts to preach, and do not pay all the salary, so the young man quits the work.¹⁵

Meanwhile, an Ontario-born clergyman in the Saskatchewan Conference remarked that

Our young men from England seem so hopelessly unfamiliar with the movements that are most familiar to our young men, that they are in danger of remaining entirely out of touch with the great movements of our Church. Conditions in these rural communities are so radically different from what they have been accustomed to that they have to acquire somehow entirely new conceptions of the familiar words "missions" "social reform" "Sunday schools". It is amazing how little they have in common with those movements which are so familiar to us.¹⁶

Finally, as the following table indicates, probationers constituted an unusually high percentage of the clergy in the prairie conferences.

	PRAIRIE CONFERENCES			ONTARIO CONFERENCES		
	<u>MINIS- TERS</u>	<u>PROBA- TIONERS</u>	<u>% PROBA- TIONERS</u>	<u>MINIS- TERS</u>	<u>PROBA- TIONERS</u>	<u>% PROBA- TIONERS</u>
1902	154	29	15	903	67	7
1906	213	89	23	839	69	8
1910	267	137	34	840	91	10
1914	365	87	19	845	94	10

Table 3: MINISTERS AND PROBATIONERS IN ACTIVE SERVICE IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS.¹⁷

Even these statistics do not do justice to the problem of inexperience among the clergy. A disproportionate number of probationers were placed on missions--where Methodist organization was least developed. Only 36 ordained men were stationed on Alberta Conference missions in 1910, as opposed to 35 probationers and 59 lay preachers.¹⁸ In the same year, only 20 of the 65 clergy in four sprawling Saskatchewan Conference districts

were ordained; by 1913, the Goose Lake District had only 6 ordained men for 22 circuits and missions in an area of more than 10,000 square miles.¹⁹

Who could provide the supervision? Due to the enforced mobility of the itinerant system, the district chairmen and other ordained men were frequently unfamiliar with local conditions.²⁰ Their ability to supervise was further reduced by the heavy work load of their own stations, which were apt to be large and poorly organized.²¹ Moreover, many of the ordained men were short on experience. In 1904, the Alberta correspondent for the Christian Guardian reported that "Four of our six chairmen are filling that position this year for the first time. Another is putting in his second year, and only one, the President of the Conference, is an old hand at the game."²² Thus the onus to supervise fell heavily on the mission superintendents, and, during the 1890's, there was a single mission superintendent, Rev. James Woodsworth, for Manitoba, the Northwest Territories and British Columbia. In his report to the General Conference of 1898, Woodsworth admitted "the inability of one man to give adequate supervision to so large an area, even if he has travelled 90,000 miles in the quadrennium."²³ The situation was little improved when three additional superintendents were named by the General Conference of

1902, largely because the numbers of settlers and clergy were increasing as well. Although Rev. Oliver Darwin, the mission superintendent for the Saskatchewan Conference, "travelled 21,291 miles; visited 77 circuits and missions; delivered 126 sermons and addresses; attended 25 Board meetings; 7 District meetings and 2 Annual Conferences" in Manitoba and Saskatchewan during the Church year 1905-06,²⁴ he gave only fleeting aid to the missions which he visited; moreover, the president of the Saskatchewan Conference reported that every district contained fields which had not been visited, to say nothing of the country which Darwin "might have visited on a prospecting tour."²⁵ Finally, Rev. Arthur Barner, a highly respected Alberta Conference pastor, maintained that mission superintendents were fully occupied with work without visiting any missions.²⁶

However, adequate supervision could not have compensated for a third cause of ministerial casualties: the pathetically low salaries of the home missionaries. Pastoral salaries were ludicrous in comparison with business incomes and ministerial incomes in the United States, and they were frequently less than a living wage. Many dedicated men were driven into debt by their desire to continue serving God.²⁷ Despite Rev. James Allen's admission that the minimum salaries

established by the Discipline were barely adequate for the necessities of life,²⁸ most home missionaries received less than the Disciplinary minimum. The strain was especially felt on the prairies which had a higher cost of living than eastern Canada.²⁹ With the following table, Allen succinctly reviewed the salary crisis which had come to his Church.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MARRIED ORDAINED</u>	<u>UNMARRIED ORDAINED</u>	<u>UNMARRIED PROBATIONER</u>
1895-96	\$500 (\$600)	\$267 (\$350)	\$234 (\$300)
1896-97	500	267	234
1897-98	540	288	252
1898-99	540	288	252
1899-1900	480	280	240
1900-01	456	266	228
1901-02	468	273	234
1902-03	492	287	246
1903-04	540	315	270
1904-05	558	326	279

Table 4: ANNUAL INCOMES OF MISSIONARIES IN THE HOME FIELD, 1895-1905, WITH DISCIPLINARY MINIMUMS INDICATED IN PARENTHESES. (DISCIPLINARY MINIMUMS WERE EXCLUSIVE OF HORSEKEEP, MOVING EXPENSES AND A FURNISHED PARSONAGE).³⁰

Although the Disciplinary minimums were finally reached in 1906, the inflation of the previous decade forced the General Conference to raise the salary levels to \$700, \$600 and \$400 for married ordained, unmarried ordained and probationers respectively. The new levels were not reached until 1910 when inflation again forced the General Conference to replace them. This time, in recognition of the higher cost of living in the west, the minimum salaries for the western con-

ferences were set at \$1,000, \$800 and \$600, as opposed to \$900, \$700 and \$500 for the eastern conferences. These salary levels were not met until 1914. In the Church year 1910-11, for example, some 250 home missionaries lived on \$50 to \$200 less than the Disciplinary minimum.³¹ Small wonder that Rev. H.H. Cragg of Taber, Alberta informed his congregation of his decision to enter business life since "he found it impossible to live on the salary he was getting, and support his wife and family."³²

The ministerial casualty rate and the underlying physical hardships and low salaries were not wholly responsible for the Church's difficulties in meeting western manpower needs. Another factor, albeit a small one, was the preference for the foreign mission field shown by some of the most promising probationers. Asian missions were more glamorous than domestic missions, partly because of the missionary education in Methodist youth groups and partly because the China missions afforded an opportunity to see something of the world. Moreover, a China mission assured a probationer of deferential parishioners and a full salary, neither of which was probable in the home work.³³

More importantly, conditions in the eastern conferences dampened the Church's production of ministers just at the time of the west's maximum need. The

problem arose from the surplus of ministers which resulted from the Methodist union of 1884. Small, inefficient circuits and churches were kept open to employ the surplus, and the flow of young men into the ministry was discouraged due to oversupply. The General Conference of 1898 actually recommended that no candidates for the ministry be accepted for the ensuing quadrennium, and the London and Hamilton conferences implemented this resolution in 1898 and 1899 respectively.³⁴ As noted in chapter III, the numbers of local preachers also declined due to these circumstances, and a further effect was the paucity of sermons dealing with "the call."³⁵ In other words, the Church's production of ministers in the early twentieth century was hindered by the rusting of the necessary machinery a decade before. Moreover, the small, inefficient circuits and churches continued to consume more clergy than the eastern conferences really needed, again to the detriment of the west.

The eastern conferences were also affected by the declining spirituality within the Church. Fewer men felt God's call amidst the nation's unprecedented material attractions, urbanization and intellectual challenges from the higher critics and others. Significantly, Rev. T.C. Buchanan observed that most of the ministerial candidates came from rural areas--where

conservative values were most deeply entrenched.³⁶ Finally, many easterners who offered themselves for western service were unacceptable because they were married. Neither the Missionary Society nor the fledgling mission fields of the west could afford to maintain them.³⁷

Spurred on by nationalism, Methodist mission leaders strove to surmount their Church's limitations in ministerial supply and to thereby avoid recruiting in England. In 1907, a summer supply program was launched. College students were hired for the summer months to supply organized circuits and to assist in the holding of "special services" on weak missions.³⁸ Their salary of \$200 was paid jointly by the Missionary Society and the Educational Society, but the missions on which they served assumed responsibility for their living expenses and costs of travel. Consequently, western students were preferred because their travel costs were lower.³⁹ Nevertheless, 63 Ontario students served on the prairies during the first year of the program, and more than 100 students annually were hired for prairie service over the next seven years.⁴⁰ Rev. James Woodsworth acknowledged the success of the program. The students plugged innumerable vacancies until full time reinforcements could arrive, and many of the summer supplies may have joined the prairie ministry as the result of their experiences.

Attempts to improve the supervision of missionaries represented another assault on the problem of pastoral supply. In 1907, Rev. Arthur Barner urged Rev. James Allen to reduce the size of the districts until district chairmen were responsible for a maximum of six missions, and Rev. C.H. Cross, a prominent Saskatchewan pastor, reminded Allen of the need for more ordained men.⁴¹ Even more vocal was the western demand for additional mission superintendents. Although the General Conference of 1902 provided a mission superintendent for each prairie conference, this arrangement had become inadequate by 1912 (notwithstanding the economy of effort which Rev. Oliver Darwin derived from the purchase of an \$800, 20 H.P. Ford Runabout in that year).⁴² Accordingly, after a barrage of correspondence from prairie laymen and clergy, Allen increased the number of prairie mission superintendents to five. Rev. C.H. Cross was assigned to northern Saskatchewan and Rev. Arthur Barner assumed responsibility for southern Alberta.⁴³ Both of the new men were English-born, but Cross had come to the prairies by way of Ontario; moreover, Cross was chosen partly because his past efforts to recruit clergy in Ontario had won Allen's approval.⁴⁴ Whether Barner was chosen for the same reason cannot be ascertained.

The Church also tried to release men for western service by merging some of the inefficient eastern missions. Grants to a number of Toronto Conference missions were terminated in October, 1907, and vacancies in other Ontario missions were not filled.⁴⁵ This policy, however, had more bark than bite. As the following table shows, the number of missions and missionaries actually increased in the Montreal and Bay of Quinte conferences, thus offsetting the modest declines elsewhere in the province.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>MISSIONS</u>		<u>MISSIONARIES</u>	
	<u>1906-07</u>	<u>1909-10</u>	<u>1906-07</u>	<u>1909-10</u>
Toronto	38	35	36	34
Hamilton	8	2	8	2
London	5	3	6	3
Quinte	20	21	18	21
Montreal	44	58	36	56

Table 5: CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES IN THE ONTARIO CONFERENCES, 1907-1910.⁴⁶

Attempts to reduce eastern mission work were admittedly frustrating. Many prairie Methodists came from the marginal farmlands of eastern Ontario, and their exodus forced weak circuits onto the missions lists.⁴⁷

A final attempt to cope with the shortage of ministers via Canadian resources was the all-out effort of the General Board of Missions to raise missionary salaries to the Disciplinary minimum. Salaries had become an urgent issue by 1907, especially because overseas missionaries were fully paid while domestic

missionaries were not. The General Board absorbed most of the blame. As Rev. B.W.J. Clements, one of the many Alberta ministers who had been "compelled to borrow money to keep straight with the world," tersely asserted, "I don't believe you will ever get our men to think the Missionary Society not responsible for the full salary according to the Discipline, and for years they have been waiting in hopes."⁴⁸ Rev. James Allen hastened to explain that the salary problem was actually administrative in origin. The overseas missionaries were fully paid because church expansion was limited to the extent of the budget for the Department of Foreign Missions. Domestic missionaries were underpaid because the conferences rather than the General Board held the authority to create new missions, and they were expanding Methodist mission work beyond the ability of the Department of Home Missions to pay.⁴⁹

A two-fold solution was attempted. Firstly Allen encouraged the circumvention of the Missionary Society's practice of dividing income equally between home and foreign missions. Monies were solicited for special funds which were not covered by the Missionary Society's regulations.⁵⁰ In 1912, the Methodist churches of Winnipeg were persuaded to assume responsibility for all missions within the city; this released \$7,500 of the home mission budget for salaries elsewhere,

and Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Hamilton followed Winnipeg's lead. Thus the Methodists of five cities raised money for missions which did not go through the General Board's books and hence did not have to be shared with foreign missions.⁵¹ Secondly, the administrative confusion was resolved. After 1912, the conferences were consulted and then notified as to the total grant which they could expect for the coming year; they were expected not to expand mission work beyond this amount.⁵² With this strategy, the Disciplinary minimum salaries were reached in 1914,⁵³ and the brake on missionary expansion had the added advantage of reducing the numbers of new men needed. The price was to remain out of frontier communities which conceivably could have nourished healthy Methodist congregations in the future.⁵⁴ Ironically, the Church no sooner removed a major cause of the high ministerial casualty rate when a new cause emerged: the outbreak of war in Europe.

Interestingly, the Church rejected three methods of increasing its supply of clergy. Firstly, with few exceptions, western clergy were discouraged from supplementing their incomes by homesteading, lest secular activities and acquisitiveness divert their attention from God's work.⁵⁵ Secondly, the Church would not significantly lower the educational requirements for

the ministry, despite pressure to do so. Criticisms of the requirements were hardly surprising. Ordination required high school matriculation, two years of circuit work and three years of college. Alternatively, ordination was attainable through graduation in a university arts program and three more years of course work, one of which required residency at a theological college.⁵⁶ The training was long and expensive, and many probationers complained that the pressure to study made them ineffective in circuit work.⁵⁷ Thus an Ontario pastor suggested a cheaper, more informal training so that more would offer themselves for the prairie ministry, thus enabling the Church to avoid "importing young men from the Old World who know nothing of our country."⁵⁸ Despite the logic of this appeal, Methodist leaders felt a need for intellectual respectability in their scientific age, especially in view of their Church's rustic past. Perhaps they also anticipated the difficulties of work among "Atheists, Agnostics, Millennial Dawnists, Dunkards, Disciples, Lutherans of many divisions, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and a few Methodists . . ."--the human material with which one Alberta probationer had to work.⁵⁹ Thus the only change to the qualifications for the ministry was a modest alteration at the General Conference of 1902. Rev. James Woodsworth, the senior mission superintendent on the prairies, was

authorized to hire non-matriculants who were able to pass a preliminary examination; those selected were to be examined within a year on Wesley's sermons, the Methodist catechism and the New Testament; after a year or more of circuit work, they were then to be admitted to the normal five-year training program.⁶⁰ Even this "loop-hole"--if it could be called that--was temporary. Rev. J.H. Riddell later recalled that the policy was a failure and was seldom used.⁶¹ What better testimony could have been made to the urbanization of the Church's values and to the Church's inability to adapt to the needs of a relatively unsophisticated rural frontier?

Finally, the Church did not seek the improvement of prairie mission supervision through the elimination of the itineracy. The itineracy faced criticism, but for other reasons.⁶² Although the "invitation system" had won a de facto triumph in many urban congregations, the only modifications in law came in 1902 and 1906 when the General Conference waived the itinerant rule at missions where special conditions prevailed.⁶³ For example, continuity of work was vital at missions among the Europeans because of the time required to learn the special techniques of the work. Unfortunately, no one sought to give the district chairmen in the prairie conferences the continuity with which to become

familiar with their districts and with the men under them.

Despite the variety of corrective measures, the Methodist Church was unable to meet western needs entirely through Canadian resources. Rev. James Woodsworth was sent to recruit in the Old Country on five occasions in the period 1905-12, and 211 English probationers came to the Canadian plains through his efforts.⁶⁴ Saskatchewan was especially reliant upon "Woodsworth's brigades." Of the first 30 British recruits, 20 located in that conference.⁶⁵ In 1912, Rev. James Allen remarked that Saskatchewan was the only conference which was almost entirely dependent upon Britain to fill its vacancies.⁶⁶ Rev. Oliver Darwin, the conference mission superintendent, was somewhat responsible. Unlike the other mission superintendents, Darwin was English-born and was relatively unaffected by considerations of nationalism. The prospect of more Englishmen pleased him, and he was not alarmed at the shortage of Canadians per se.⁶⁷ Without the patriotism of Buchanan and Woodsworth, his appeals for men in Ontario were probably less effective than theirs, and he probably lacked the personal contacts in the east through which Woodsworth and Buchanan secured so many men. Significantly, Darwin was the only prairie mission superintendent who was unable to

maintain cordial relations with Rev. James Allen.⁶⁸

The Alberta Conference also absorbed many of the Englishmen.⁶⁹ Manitoba alone used few of them, largely because church expansion in that conference had abated by 1905.

In view of the English influx, how successful was the Church in making the prairie ministry an instrument for the perpetuation of an Ontario-centred national culture? In this respect, not all of the 211 men in "Woodsworth's brigades" "made good," but losses among them were partially offset by the arrival of British-born clergy from the conferences of eastern Canada. What proportion of the prairie ministry then was Canadian-born? Of the some 1,200 clergy who served on the prairies in the period 1896 to 1914, scores left little more than their names to the historian. Nevertheless, 641 clergy can be identified, and the following table shows their origins.

ONTARIO	350	54.6%
BRITAIN	231	36.0%
MARITIMES	36	5.6
QUEBEC	8	1.3
PRAIRIES	8	1.3
EUROPE	4	0.6
BR. EMPIRE	3	0.5
U.S.A.	1	0.1

Table 6: ORIGINS OF 641 METHODIST MINISTERS WHO SERVED IN THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES IN THE PERIOD 1896 TO 1914.⁷⁰

As can be seen, the British-born were numerous enough to reduce considerably the effectiveness of the clergy as

a vehicle for an Ontario-centred Methodist culture. Although the figure of 36% British-born seems very high for the Manitoba Conference and slightly high for the Alberta Conference, it may well have been low for the Saskatchewan Conference. In 1913, a Canadian-born clergyman observed that, of the 190 pastors who had come to Saskatchewan since 1905 and who were still active, 110 were from the Old Country.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the success of the Church's nationalistic goal was greater than the statistics indicate. To begin with, the percentage of Canadian-born ministers would probably increase if the origins of the other 600 clergy were known. Since Woodsworth recruited only 211 men, the figure of 230 would seem to have been a high proportion of the total British numbers. This impression is strengthened by the consideration that 69 of the unidentified men definitely came from other Canadian conferences, including 44 from the five Ontario conferences.⁷² Secondly, the impact of the British-born was softened by their youth, inexperience and junior status. Even in the Saskatchewan Conference, most of the district chairmen were originally from Ontario or other parts of Canada. As the following tables show, most of the prairie ministerial delegates to the General Conferences were from Ontario as well.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>OTHER PROVINCES</u>	<u>BRITAIN</u>	<u>UNI- DENTIFIED</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1905	7	1	2	-	10
1909	6	3	3	-	12
1910	6	2	3	1	12
1911	6	3	2	1	11
1912	7	1	2	1	11

Table 7: ORIGINS OF DISTRICT CHAIRMEN IN THE SASKATCHEWAN CONFERENCE.⁷³

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>OTHER PROVINCES</u>	<u>BRITAIN</u>	<u>UNI- DENTIFIED</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1902	10	-	4	1	15
1906	17	-	4	-	21
1910	16	2	8	2	28

Table 8: ORIGINS OF MINISTERS WHO REPRESENTED THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCES OF 1902, 1906 AND 1910.⁷⁴

The staff of the prairie theological colleges were especially important in perpetuating Canadian Methodist traditions. Unlike the prairie clergy in general, nearly all of the faculty members who can be identified were originally from Ontario and Quebec and had taken degrees at either Victoria College or Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal.⁷⁵ Aside from the education which they disseminated to British-born probationers and others, these men were valuable because of the continuity which they gave to the prairie conferences. The academics were exempt from the itineracy, and they resided permanently in cities such as Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary and Regina during the great era of church growth. For this reason, Rev. James Allen and other eastern officials relied heavily

upon Principal J.W. Sparling of Wesley College, Principal J.H. Riddell of Alberta College, Principal G.W. Kerby of Mount Royal College, Calgary and Principal Robert Milliken of Regina College when making decisions and organizing financial and other campaigns in the west.⁷⁶

Thirdly, 31 and possibly more of the British-born clergy in table 6 came to the prairies by way of Ontario and were presumably familiar with Canadian Methodist institutions. In this respect, a British infusion was part of the Canadian Methodist make-up in the eastern conferences. Forty-one per cent of the deceased Ontarians who appeared in the obituary columns of the Christian Guardian in 1897 and 1898 were originally from the Old Country,⁷⁷ and the Montreal and Bay of Quinte conferences elected British-born presidents in 1910. Hence the folly of excluding from the Canadian Methodist outreach men such as Rev. Walter E. Prescott who left Britain at the age of 20 and spent seven years in Ontario before heading west. Similarly, another British-born pastor, Rev. G.F. Salton, served six appointments in Ontario before moving to Saskatchewan.

Finally, Woodsworth's recruits from the Old Country were likely to lose some of their British culture in the course of their experience with Canadian

church traditions. Contact with Canadian-born ordained men at district and conference meetings, studies at Canadian theological colleges and dealings with Canadian-born parishioners were among the forces of assimilation which they encountered. As one of Woodsworth's English recruits recalled,

Amongst other advice my chairman gave me on my arrival . . . from the Old Country was: "You had better get a Canadian-cut suit as soon as possible or you'll be recognized as an Englishman," and during my brief ministry in the west the reason for that advice has been occasionally forcibly impressed upon me. For it is only too evident that Canadians dislike a preacher from England.⁷⁸

Another English probationer wrote that his countrymen were treated "with no small measure of contempt" by many of the Canadian clergy, and he complained further of superintendents and other officials who took every opportunity to ridicule "Green Englishmen."⁷⁹ An Ontario pastor offered the solution to such discomfort: "forget where you were born, do as the Romans do."⁸⁰

Although Church leaders preferred to recruit clergy for the prairie conferences from Canada, laymen were welcomed from any source. Lay growth could be expected largely from immigrants who were already Methodist. As shown in Chapter III, the Canadian Methodist Church no longer proselytized effectively

by the 1890's, partly because there were fewer unchurched than had been the case some two generations before. Of vital moment, therefore, were the sources of prairie immigration. The prairie conferences would obviously gain from an influx of Ontarians since nearly one in three Ontarians was Methodist, according to the census of 1901. To the Church's misfortune, half the prairie immigration had come from elsewhere by 1911. As the following table shows, the west included a "European foreigner" and a British immigrant for every Ontario-born person, and American immigrants were numerous as well.

<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>ALBERTA</u>	<u>SAS- KATCHEWAN</u>	<u>MANITOBA</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	
CANADA	162,237	248,751	264,828	675,816	(51%)
Ontario	57,530	96,206	73,077	226,813	
Native	74,813	101,854	172,819	349,486	
BRITAIN	65,839	76,854	90,622	233,315	
EUROPE	58,771	91,104	78,051	227,926	
UNITED STATES	81,357	69,628	16,326	167,311	

Table 9: ORIGINS OF PRAIRIE POPULATION IN 1911.⁸¹

The Methodist Church gained nothing from the continental European immigration which was almost entirely Roman Catholic, Uniate or Greek Orthodox in religious affiliation. The proportionate strength which the Church had enjoyed in Ontario was reduced by the British and American immigration as well.

The denominational character of the British influx can be established only with some difficulty.

The Canadian census did not relate religious statistics to specific immigrant groups, and very little is known of denominational strengths in Britain. The only British religious census which was ever taken was compiled in 1851, nearly half a century before the period under study. Moreover, the 1851 census was confined to England and Wales, and it was based upon church attendance during "census Sunday," rather than upon the professed religious affiliations of the entire population. Despite these limitations, secondary sources in British ecclesiastical history admit a number of generalizations concerning Methodist strength in England and Wales.

It is highly doubtful that the three British Methodist churches accounted for more than 15-20% of the English and Welsh population. That was approximately the Methodist strength in 1851, and the proportionate strength of the connexion seems at best to have remained stationary in the half century following. Fully one quarter of the population--the working class in the larger urban areas-- did not attend church, although some of these people may have had a nominal religious affiliation. With the nominal allegiance of 40-50% of the population, the Church of England was easily the largest denomination.⁸² Although Methodism was proportionately smaller in

England and Wales than in Ontario, its proportionate strength might have been closer to that of Ontario among the English and Welsh who emigrated to Canada. The Wesleyan Methodist Church drew its greatest support from urban, middle class districts, and two-thirds of the emigrants were from urban areas and were principally skilled labourers, clerks and domestics.⁸³ However, the lion's share of these urban emigrants went to the cities of eastern Canada; a high proportion of those who settled on the prairies were from rural areas of Britain where the Church of England was most firmly entrenched.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, all indications are that the Presbyterian Church claimed the allegiance of the great majority of Protestants from Scotland and Ireland, the sources of 25% and 8% respectively of the total British emigration to Canada.⁸⁵

To sum up, whereas one Ontarian in three was Methodist in 1901, the Church's strength among the British immigrants was approximately one in ten. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, probably enjoyed a greater proportionate strength among the British immigrants than in Ontario, where they constituted 21% of the population. The Anglicans easily exceeded their proportionate strength in Ontario (17% of the population) among the British immigrants. Thus British

immigration caused Methodism on the prairies to lose strength relative to its strength in Ontario and relative to the strength of rival Protestant denominations.

Prairie Methodism fared as badly from the American immigration. As the following tables show, the great majority of the American immigrants came from border states in which Methodism constituted less than 10% of the population.

North Dakota	26%	Michigan	5%
Minnesota	20	Wisconsin	5
Washington	10	South Dakota	3
Illinois	7	Nebraska	3
Iowa	7	Other	10

Table 10: ORIGIN BY STATES OF THE 111,606 AMERICANS WHO EMIGRATED TO WESTERN CANADA IN THE PERIOD 1907-09.⁸⁶

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>	<u>METHODIST</u>	<u>PRESBYTERIAN</u>	<u>PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL*</u>
North Dakota	42.4%	5.9%	4.0%	1.3%
Minnesota	49.4	5.1	2.9	2.1
Washington	43.0	14.3	7.0	3.3
Illinois	48.9	10.5	3.8	1.6
Iowa	29.6	19.0	5.9	1.1
Michigan	54.1	10.7	3.4	2.5
Wisconsin	54.5	6.0	1.7	1.5
South Dakota	41.6	9.0	3.0	4.1
Nebraska	32.6	17.2	5.7	1.9

* ANGLICAN

Table 11: DENOMINATIONAL STRENGTHS IN THE MAJOR STATES EMIGRATION IN 1906.⁸⁷

Although the Church stood to gain more from American immigration than its Presbyterian and Anglican rivals, it obviously gained far less than from the influx of

Ontarians. Ominously for Methodism, the major beneficiary of the American immigration would appear to have been the Roman Catholic Church.

The patterns of immigration to the Canadian west indicate that the prairie conferences relied mainly upon Ontario immigrants for growth. Further evidence for this assumption are the origins of 296 prominent prairie laymen who can be identified in the several biographical sources for the time. As the following table shows, most of them were from Ontario.

<u>ORIGIN</u>	<u>MANITOBA</u>	<u>SASKAT- CHEWAN</u>	<u>ALBERTA</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Ontario	132	45	45	222
Other provinces	9	5	11	25
Native	15	1	1	17
Britain	9	6	5	20
United States	5	4	3	12
Total	170	61	65	296

Table 12: ORIGINS OF 296 METHODIST LAYMEN IN THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES IN THE PERIOD 1896 to 1914.⁸⁸

Methodists were slow to appreciate the importance of immigration patterns. Although aware that their Church had little to gain from the influx of continental Europeans, they assumed that the British and American immigration included as many Methodists as Anglicans or Presbyterians. They were encouraged in this assumption by church records which showed that, on the basis of actual membership, the Methodist Church

was the largest Protestant denomination in two of the three prairie provinces.⁸⁹ The first inkling of the real effects of immigration came in 1908 and 1909 when a religious census was taken in Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary. The findings revealed that Methodists were outnumbered by Presbyterians in all three cities, by Anglicans in Winnipeg and Regina and also by the Roman Catholics in Regina.⁹⁰ The publication of the 1911 census (in 1913) then made the situation brutally clear. As the following table shows, the Methodists did not enjoy a position of leadership in any prairie province, and the collective strength of the three major Protestant churches was shockingly weak as well.

<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>MANITOBA</u>	<u>SASKAT- CHEWAN</u>	<u>ALBERTA</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Presbyterian	23%	20%	17%	20%
Roman Catholic	16%	18	16.5	17
Anglican	19	15	15	16
Methodist	14	16	16	15.5

Table 13: DENOMINATIONAL STRENGTHS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES in 1911.⁹¹

Whereas the three major Protestant denominations had accounted for 68% of the Ontario population in 1901, they accounted for only 51.5% of the prairie population in 1911. Moreover, Protestant strength had declined in Ontario as well. By 1911, the three churches constituted only 66% of the Ontario population while the Roman Catholic strength had increased

from 18% to 19%. Unfortunately, Methodism accounted for all of the Protestant decline. Since 1901, the Methodist share of the Ontario population had dropped from 30.5% to 26%, while the Presbyterians had held constant at 21% and the Anglicans had increased from 17% to 19%. Finally, the Presbyterians had displaced the Methodists as the largest Protestant denomination in the land.

Under the shock of these statistics, Methodists looked for an explanation. For many, the "awful Methodist census" was a signal to expose a variety of deficiencies which allegedly hampered the Church: the itinerant system, the loss of spiritual power, the lack of denominational loyalty, an overemphasis on foreign missions and the dearth of ministers.⁹² A few recognized immigration as being a factor in growth. Rev. W.B. Creighton attributed Presbyterian power in Saskatchewan to the "well known fact that recently Scotch people have constituted no small part of the newcomers to this province."⁹³ A church member from Hespeler, Ontario argued that Methodism had done well considering that it had no nationality to draw upon.⁹⁴

The Christian Guardian also recognized that the census was not the best gauge of Methodist growth. The census figures were merely the ecclesiastical

preferences of the people as stated to the census enumerators, but not all were active in the church of their choice. Thus membership statistics were a better criterion of progress.⁹⁵ From this viewpoint, the volume of Methodist immigration imposed limits on the Church's potential for growth, but a second vital determinant was the amount of membership leakage--the numbers of church members or adherents who ceased to attend church when they moved west. In effect, a lower rate of leakage could compensate for a lower volume of immigration. ✓

An adequately manned and financed program of church expansion was the best response to this second aspect of the immigration problem, but Church leaders also recognized the need to combat the effects of population mobility. For a variety of reasons, many Methodists did not bother to contact their local pastor upon moving west. The social ties and constraints which had supported church life in their old homes were missing, and the strangeness of the Canadian Church could alienate those who were American or British. A British Methodist immigrant looked in vain for a Wesleyan or a Bible Christian or a Primitive Methodist church; all he could find was the Methodist Church of Canada, and he frequently hesitated to equate it with his traditional institution. Wesleyans,

for example, found that many of their favourite songs were missing from the Canadian Methodist hymn book, and Canadian church members often gave them a cool reception because of their accent, dress and air of superiority.⁹⁶ If such people were to be reconciled with Canadian church life, a pastoral visit was frequently necessary. Unfortunately, local pastors could not cope with the magnitude of the visitation which was required. Many rural circuits were enormously large. Urban churches, on the other hand, operated in densely populated areas which were burdened with a high turnover of population. In these circumstances, the clergy had quite enough to do without keeping abreast of all population movements.

To cope with these difficulties, the General Conference of 1906 provided for an immigration chaplain. Rev. Melvin Taylor of Montreal was appointed and was charged with devising a method of communicating with prospective Methodist emigrants in Britain, meeting the Methodist immigrants who disembarked at Canadian ocean ports and furnishing them with a letter of introduction to the pastor at their intended destination, and informing Canadian clergy of the immigrants whom they could expect to see. Armed with a budget of \$2,000, Taylor organized immigration committees at Montreal, Halifax, Quebec City and St. John. Part-time

immigration chaplains were subsequently named at these places and also at Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton and Winnipeg. Rev. William Wyman handled the chaplaincy duties at Winnipeg in addition to his regular work at All People's Mission. Finally, circular letters were sent to 2,000 British clergy in 1906-07 and 1909-10 and to 5,000 British clergy in 1913-14; the latter were informed about the immigration services provided by the Canadian Church, and their co-operation was solicited.⁹⁷

These measures were probably useful. They also confirmed that a substantial loss of church members was taking place. Of the 19,771 Methodist immigrants who were met by chaplains in the quadrennium 1906-10, a mere 441 were eventually reported as having joined the Church, while another 813 became adherents.⁹⁸ In the Church year 1912-13, 1,058 Methodist pastors--about half the Canadian total--reported that 2,171 British immigrants had joined their congregations; in the same year, the immigration chaplains gave out 15,399 letters of introduction, and the British immigration totalled 150,542.⁹⁹ Allowing for the clergy who failed to participate in the survey, the numbers of British Methodist immigrants who remained aloof from Canadian church life were considerable. One can also assume heavy losses among the American

Methodist immigrants, who came from states in which religious life was reputed to be weak.¹⁰⁰ "My own impressions, after more than 30 years in the west," a Manitoba pastor, Rev. John Maclean, concluded,

are that Methodism is not holding its own, and that there is a considerable leakage which is not altogether due to the inadequacy of our immigration department. . . . In regard to the city of Winnipeg, there is not the growth in our churches which there ought to be when we consider the hundreds of members and adherents who have gone there from other parts of the Province, without reckoning those who have come from the old country.¹⁰¹

Finally, the leakage was reflected in Church statistics. Of the Manitobans who professed to be Methodist in the census, only 26% were church members as compared with 34% in Ontario, and the proportion who were church members dropped to 21% and 19% in Saskatchewan and Alberta respectively.¹⁰² While many of the non-members were children or adherents, the statistics leave little doubt that the numbers of non-church attenders increased as one went west. It would also appear that no amount of immigration machinery could greatly affect the rate of leakage. As the following table shows, the Presbyterian Church sustained a greater loss than the Methodists even though the Presbyterian immigration machinery had been established sooner and included chaplains at Brandon and Portage la Prairie

as well as Winnipeg.¹⁰³ Although the Presbyterians had the larger census strength in all three prairie provinces, the Methodist Church was larger in two prairie provinces on the basis of membership statistics.

	<u>CENSUS STRENGTH</u>		<u>MEMBERSHIP STRENGTH</u>	
	<u>METHODIST</u>	<u>PRESBYTERIAN</u>	<u>METHODIST</u>	<u>PRESBYT.</u>
Manitoba	65,897	103,621	17,399	25,009
Saskatchewan	78,325	96,564	16,697	12,891
Alberta	61,844	66,351	11,863	8,711
Total	206,156	266,536	45,959	46,611

Table 14: CENSUS STRENGTH AND ACTUAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE PRESBYTERIAN AND METHODIST CHURCHES IN 1911.¹⁰⁴

Methodists were either unaware of or ignored one of the most significant aspects of the western religious climate: namely, the overall Protestant weakness, which was revealed more clearly by membership statistics than by census data alone. For the most part, Methodist energies were spent in comparisons with the apparent accomplishments of old rivals--the Presbyterians. D.H. Kennedy, of High Bluff, Manitoba was depressed at the "overshadowing influence" of the Presbyterians who "seem to be forging ahead and outstripping us in this race."¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman of Portage la Prairie exclaimed:

Think of Methodism holding a sickly third place in the city of Winnipeg, and a poor second place in the other cities of the most progressive province

in Confederation. In all the annals
of history did Methodism ever make such
a record?¹⁰⁶

Although Bridgeman's alarm might better have been directed at the collective weakness of the major Protestant churches, his reaction to the progress of the Presbyterians was significant for the nationalistic perspective that it revealed. Like others who had come west from Ontario, Bridgeman consistently used his native province--in which Methodism was the largest denomination--as a basis for comparison. British and American Methodists, who came from lands in which the connexion was weaker, would presumably have been less concerned with their Church's size relative to that of its major Protestant rivals.

Despite an impressive statistical increase of church members and ministers in the period 1896 to 1914, Methodist objectives in the prairie conferences were only partially realized. For reasons of nationalism, Church leaders hoped to meet western ministerial requirements with Canadians. In the interests of Methodist growth, they hoped to obtain laymen from other sources as well. Ironically, the prairie laity were more decisively the outreach of eastern Canada than were the prairie clergy, to the detriment of growth and considerations of nationalism. Canadian Methodist traditions were certain to be

altered by the influx of British clergy, especially in Saskatchewan, and the relatively small support which the Church attracted from the American, British and European immigration resulted in Methodism becoming proportionately weaker on the prairies than in Ontario.

Chapter VI

FINANCING WESTERN EXPANSION

Prairie Methodism experienced a memorable growth in the period 1896 to 1914. The number of active clergy rose from 152 to 442, and the number of churches increased from less than 180 to 562.¹ Expansion of this magnitude could not have taken place without financial assistance from the eastern conferences and in particular from the conferences of Ontario. Table 1 below shows that the prairie conferences contributed less to the Missionary Society than they received throughout the period under study. Table 2 shows that the Ontario conferences alone gave substantially more to the Missionary Society than they received. Obviously, Ontario money was moving west.

<u>QUAD- RENIUM</u>	<u>INCOME</u>	<u>EXPEN- DITURE</u>	<u>BALANCE, DOMESTIC MISSIONS ONLY</u>	<u>BALANCE, INCL. EUROPEAN MISSIONS</u>	<u>BALANCE, INCL. INDIAN MISSIONS</u>
1898-02	\$61,231	\$64,339	\$ -3,108	\$ -4,789	\$-195,298
1902-06	139,162	128,494	10,668	-601	-205,663
1906-10	260,516	257,646	2,870	-22,252	-227,723
1910-14	349,748	445,224	-95,478	-152,284	-270,621

Table 1: NET GRANTS GIVEN BY THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES, BY QUADRENNIUMS, 1898 to 1914.²

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>1897-98</u>	<u>1901-02</u>	<u>1905-06</u>	<u>1909-10</u>	<u>1913-14</u>
Toronto	\$26,525	\$35,373	\$48,136	\$110,169	\$137,284
Hamilton	24,565	30,623	46,468	70,969	85,543
London	11,220	23,427	34,909	58,482	76,874
Quinte	13,842	20,331	26,991	34,545	44,548
Montreal	8,233	13,563	17,692	25,709	40,120
Nova Scotia	1,241	3,519	1,741	1,998	2,761
N.B.-P.E.I.	506	deficit	deficit	1,419	2,204
Manitoba	deficit	deficit	deficit	deficit	2,777
Saskatchewan	deficit	deficit	2,185	6,520	deficit

Table 2: FINANCIAL SURPLUSES IN MISSIONS IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS (I.E. THE AMOUNTS BY WHICH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY EXCEEDED GRANTS RECEIVED). CONFERENCES WHICH DID NOT RECORD SURPLUSES ARE NOT SHOWN.³

Table 3 below shows that prairie indebtedness was greatest in Alberta and became progressively less as one travelled towards the earlier-settled regions of Manitoba. Whereas the deficit for the Alberta Conference mounted steadily during the period under study, the Manitoba Conference had become financially self-sufficient by 1913.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BALANCE, DOMESTIC MISSIONS ONLY</u>	<u>BALANCE, INCL. EUROPEAN MISSIONS</u>	<u>BALANCE, INCL. INDIAN MISSIONS</u>
Manitoba	1905-6	\$ 15,282	\$ 11,465	\$-18,549
	1909-10	22,136	16,622	-5,878
	1913-14	21,655	17,301	4,364
Saskat- chewan	1905-06	2,186	2,186	2,186
	1909-10	6,520	6,520	6,520
	1913-14	6,039	6,039	6,039
Alberta	1905-06	-17,618	-18,918	-43,219
	1909-10	-29,966	-32,082	-41,582
	1913-14	-41,100	-52,864	-60,299

Table 3: NET GRANTS GIVEN BY THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY TO THE PRAIRIE CONFERENCES IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS, 1906 to 1914.⁴

Prior to 1912, the Saskatchewan Conference was financially self-sufficient for two reasons. Firstly, it had no European or Indian missions. Secondly, four of its thirteen districts (Brandon, Souris, Arcola and Deloraine) were in the older settled province of Manitoba. However, Saskatchewan became a debtor conference when conference boundaries were made to coincide with provincial boundaries at the General Conference of 1910. Moreover, Saskatchewan had always been a debtor conference in relation to the total missionary obligations of the Church. According to the allocation formula of the Missionary Society, only 42½% of missionary contributions were spent on home missions; an equal portion went to Asian missions and 15% was applied to administrative expenses. Thus, true self-sufficiency in missions required contributions of \$2,353 for each \$1,000 in grants received. By this criterion, Manitoba was the only conference to become self-supporting.

Aside from providing most of the regular financial surpluses of the Missionary Society, the Ontario conferences dominated other aspects of missionary finance in the west. The educational movements which complemented solicitations for funds were Ontario-centred in a number of ways, as was the canvassing for a series of special funds which were raised over and above the regular fund of the Missionary Society.

To begin with, Methodist officials in Toronto provided most of the organizational leadership in the special fund drives and educational campaigns. Secondly, the Ontario conferences included most of the wealthy laymen, whose financial offerings were vital to the success of any fund drive. For the same reason, the Methodist churches of Toronto were the most important single source of funds. Finally, as cities such as Winnipeg and Calgary grew in size and financial importance, the mission leaders who emerged in the west were almost always former Ontarians. In effect, urban congregations on the prairies provided Toronto officials with a series of "old boy nets" which could be used in connection with missionary activities.

Patterns of Ontario influence were very evident with respect to the Twentieth Century Fund⁴ which was launched at Metropolitan Methodist Church in Toronto by the General Conference of 1898. Of the 50 men who were named to the fund's Board of Management, 27 were Ontario residents; of the 6 members from Manitoba, 4 (and possibly a fifth who cannot be identified) were originally from Ontario.⁵ The target of \$1,000,000, to be raised in addition to the regular fund of the Missionary Society, was eventually reached due to the prominence of lay members of the

Board of Management. The group from Toronto included Senator G.A. Cox, a millionaire financier; W.E.H. Massey, who headed a manufacturing empire in farm implements; J.W. Flavelle, another millionaire who was on the boards of several financial and manufacturing firms; Edward Gurney, a stove manufacturer and the past president of the Toronto Board of Trade; R.J. Flemming, the General Manager of the Toronto Railway Company and a former mayor of Toronto; and Hon. J.J. Maclaren, an Ontario Supreme Court judge. The laymen from other Ontario cities were less distinguished; the exceptions were Hon. W.E. Sanford, a pioneer in the manufacturing of ready-made clothing and a past president of the Hamilton Board of Trade; James Mills of Guelph, president of the Ontario Agricultural College; and B.M. Britton, a Kingston lawyer and a Liberal member of Parliament; of the three, only Sanford was really wealthy. A Montreal capitalist, Samuel Finley, was the only other notable figure from the east. Manitoba, however, was represented by two pillars of Winnipeg Methodism: J.A.M. Aikins, a millionaire corporation lawyer who had come from Ontario in 1879; and J.H. Ashdown, the millionaire president of a hardware store chain who was English-born but raised in Ontario and who had come to Winnipeg in 1868 at the age of 25. Aikins

had originated the idea of the Twentieth Century Fund,⁶ and both men were to give generously of their time and money over the next decade and a half. Rev. James Allen was to be especially reliant upon Aikins when organizing missionary activities in Manitoba.

The importance of the lay elite is difficult to overemphasize. Their names lent prestige to the fund among the membership at large, and they gave generously as individuals. Senator Cox, for example, gave \$35,000; without gifts of this magnitude, the million dollar drive would have failed. In fact, the next special appeal, the Wesley Bi-Centenary Fund, failed precisely because the wealthy laymen were not behind it. The campaign, which attempted to raise \$250,000, was launched in 1903 in celebration of the 200th anniversary of John Wesley's birth; it closed at \$37,564--little more than Cox's individual contribution five years before.⁷

The Mission Plant and Extension Fund, which was organized in Toronto on December 8, 1910, illustrated once again the importance of the lay elite and the patterns of Ontario control. The objective was \$1,500,000 which was to be raised at the rate of \$300,000 annually for five years. The appeal was only "to those who can afford to make a second

contribution," and banquet meetings were planned for key cities as a means of reaching wealthy persons.⁸ Not surprisingly, those who were named to the fund's executive committee enjoyed a stature which was equal to the occasion. The eighteen members included N.W. Rowell of Toronto; Hon. E.J. Davis of Newmarket, a former Liberal cabinet minister in the Ontario Government, one of Canada's largest leather goods manufacturers and a member of the Toronto Board of Trade; Edward Gurney of Toronto; Chester D. Massey, son of the late W.E.H. Massey and the honorary president of the family firm; W.A. Kemp, a manufacturer of appliances, a former Conservative member of Parliament, a past president of the Toronto Board of Trade and a past president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association; H.H. Fudger of Toronto, the president of the Robert Simpson Company and the treasurer of the Missionary Society; T.H. Preston, a former Liberal member of the Ontario Legislative Assembly who was the editor and publisher of the Brantford Expositor; Cyrus A. Birge, a prominent industrialist, a past president of the Hamilton Board of Trade and a past president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association; J.D. Flavelle of Lindsay, Ontario, the managing director of the Flavelle Milling Company and the brother of J.W. Flavelle; F.E. O'Flynn of Belleville, the General Manager of Canadian

Securities Limited and a member of the Toronto Stock Exchange; and W.H. Goodwin of Montreal, the managing director of Goodwins Limited which owned a large department store.⁹ Ten of the executive committee were residents of Toronto and vicinity, and all but Goodwin were Ontarians.

The national committee, on whose behalf the executive committee acted, also had a distinct Ontario flavour. N.W. Rowell was the chairman, and six of the nine provincial vice-chairmen were products of an Ontario upbringing. The vice-chairman for Ontario was E.R. Wood, the millionaire general manager of the Dominion Securities Corporation; Quebec was represented by G.F. Johnston, the head of a Montreal brokerage house who had been born in Grenville County, Ontario; J.A.M. Aikins was appointed for Manitoba; Saskatchewan's vice-chairman was Hon. G.W. Brown of Regina, an Ontario emigrant who had become a lawyer, rancher, Trust Company director and Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan; W.G. Hunt of Calgary, a former Hagersville, Ontario school teacher who was the Massey-Harris Company's manager for the province of Alberta, was appointed for the Alberta Conference; and British Columbia's appointee was T.T. Langlois, a prominent Vancouver businessman who had been born in Quebec but was raised in Ontario.

The last four men reflected the importance of Ontario natives in the western conferences. Common cultural values, frequent contact with the national organizations of the Church and business connections provided the basis for close ties with leading Methodists of their natal province. As a Massey-Harris Company executive, W.G. Hunt provided the most obvious example of a business tie, but at least four of the Ontario men on the national and executive committees had had business interests in the west. T.H. Preston was a former editor of the Winnipeg Sun; E.J. Davis had been a promoter of the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Land Company; W.H. Goodwin had been a farmer in Saskatchewan and a store clerk and real estate salesman in British Columbia; and E.R. Wood was a director of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company and a director of the Calgary Power Company.¹⁰ The most striking evidence of the "old boy" tie was a "private and confidential" letter from Rev. James Allen to Principal J.W. Sparling of Wesley College, another native of Ontario. "I need not say to you," wrote Allen,

that Winnipeg is a strategic point in the campaign . . . nor need I say that those who have launched the movement in Toronto are extremely desirous to do everything in their power to forward it in your city. It was understood when we talked together that one method of doing this would be by a meeting of

representative Winnipeg and Manitoba men such as was held in Toronto. It was also understood that some of the Eastern men, say the Missionary Secretaries, the Treasurer, N.W. Rowell, E.R. Wood, G.H. Wood, J.D. Flavelle and others might visit Winnipeg and other points and address the meetings in the missionary cause. But you will understand that it will be better if Winnipeg arranged for such a meeting and invite some of the Toronto men to attend it rather than to have the Toronto men urge such a meeting and thrust their visit upon a people who are rather sensitive about government in the East. Our friend Mr. Aikins [is] VC [Vice-Chairman] for Manitoba and I write this, as you will see, in confidence to suggest that you do what you can to arrange for a meeting and to ask for some of us to visit you.¹¹

Allen pulled his western string with effect. Within a month he was thanking J.D. Flavelle for agreeing to attend a complimentary dinner which Aikins was giving on February 16th, 1911, and reminding Aikins to invite J.W. Little, the head of a large, wholesale drygoods firm in London, who would be in Winnipeg at the time.¹²

In the end, the Mission Plant and Extension Fund did not reach its objective because of lukewarm support from the leading laymen of Toronto and Winnipeg, the major centres of Methodism. Rev. C.E. Manning, a field secretary for the General Board of Missions, wrote to Allen in June, 1911 that

My trip to the west was not as successful . . . as I hoped it would be. I did practically nothing in Manitoba. J.A.M. Aikins was not prepared to subscribe \$25,000 and Dr. Sparling felt that to go

ahead with the canvass without a few of the men promising large amounts, would be to fail in getting as much from Winnipeg as we think that city ought to subscribe. . . . The feeling is growing upon me that we are making a mistake in depending upon him [Aikins] for leadership in Church affairs.¹³

A year later, Manning reported that the fund was still well short of its objective because some of the richest men in Toronto and Winnipeg had not given; this, in turn, had hurt the appeal to men of lesser means.¹⁴

The campaign closed in January, 1914, with only \$925,000 subscribed, of which \$203,576 had been collected.¹⁵ As shown in the following table, Manning's statistics for 1912 justified his disappointment with the showing of Methodists in Toronto and Winnipeg.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>TOTAL PLEDGES</u>
Toronto	\$205,550
Hamilton	33,185
London	31,450
Bay of Quinte	8,070
Montreal	95,325
N.B.-P.E.I.	904
Nova Scotia	11,525
Manitoba	121,450
Saskatchewan	104,388
Alberta	140,000
British Columbia	119,225
Total	871,072

Table 4: CONTRIBUTIONS PLEDGED TO THE MISSION PLANT AND EXTENSION FUND AS OF OCTOBER, 1912.¹⁶

With only 75% as many church members, the prairie conference outpledged the Toronto Conference by

more than \$160,000. Manitoba, the strongest prairie conference in terms of membership wealth and numbers, was out-subscribed by the Alberta Conference, the weakest of the three. The conference totals, in turn, rested upon poor individual performances, notwithstanding pledges of \$25,000 from C.D. Massey, E.R. Wood and E.A. Dunlop of Pembroke and Toronto, a hardware and lumber merchant. A.E. Ames, the head of a large brokerage house, a past president of the Toronto Stock Exchange and the donor of \$10,000 to Victoria University in 1899, subscribed only \$2,500--or \$500 per year. Edward Gurney pledged only \$2,000; J.D. Flavell promised \$2,500; and J.W. Little pledged \$1,000--or \$200 per year. The only other large Ontario donor was Cyrus A. Birge who promised \$15,000.

The west was encouraging by comparison. Eighteen Albertans, eleven Saskatchewan Methodists and five Manitobans each subscribed \$5,000 or more. Of seventeen major donors who can be identified, all were originally from Ontario. Conspicuous Ontario natives included Thomas Ryan of Winnipeg (\$30,000 pledged), a former mayor of the city who carried on a large wholesale trade in boots and shoes; Manlius Bull of Winnipeg (\$15,000), the managing director of Royal Crown Soaps Limited and the president

or director of four other companies; J.A.M. Aikins, who gave \$10,000; H.W. Hutchinson (\$15,000), the vice-president of the John Deere Plow Company Limited of Winnipeg, a director of the parent firm in the United States and the president or director of several other firms; William Robinson (\$10,000), the president of the North West Navigation Company, president of the Dominion Fish Company and a millionaire; J.T. Brown of Regina, a Saskatchewan Supreme Court Judge; William Grayson, a partner in a Moose Jaw law firm and a Crown prosecutor who was English-born but had been raised in Ontario; J.F. Cairns of Saskatoon, the owner of a large department store and the director of several insurance and investment companies, who had been born in Quebec and educated at Albert College, Belleville and Victoria University; W.G. Hunt, who gave \$10,000; Edward Michener, a real estate dealer and a former mayor of Red Deer; W.H. Cushing (\$25,000) and A.B. Cushing (\$10,000) of Calgary, whose firm of Cushing Brothers Limited was the largest manufacturer of windows, sashes and doors in the west; David McDougall of Calgary, a rancher and the son and brother of two pioneer missionaries; Alfred Price, the General Superintendent of the Calgary division of the C.P.R.; W.W. Chown, formerly of

Belleville; and B.A. Holgate, an Edmonton real estate broker, builder and financial agent. However, the large pledges from Manitoba in particular were disappointingly few in number. J.H. Ashdown, who had given \$100,000 to Wesley College, was one of several prominent Winnipeg laymen who did not contribute to this fund.¹⁷

In addition to the fund appeals heretofore mentioned, three special appeals were made in the quadrennium 1902-06. In 1903, \$29,265 was raised for the North West Extension Fund, which provided interest-free loans to facilitate church construction and the purchase of church sites in the west.¹⁸ By loaning up to \$500, it supplemented the existing Church and Parsonage Aid Fund, which loaned up to 40% of the estimated property value, and the regular loans of the Missionary Society which could cover another 25% of the property value, to a maximum of \$1,000.¹⁹ During the same quadrennium, two other appeals netted \$25,145 for a hospital project in West China.²⁰

The Young People's Forward Movement for Missions was one of two major educational movements which supported Methodist mission financing. It was, in turn, the outgrowth of two movements of American origin. In 1886, the Student Mission

Volunteer Movement, an interdenominational movement among college students to produce volunteers for the mission fields in Asia, was brought to Canada; the first Canadian Epworth Leagues--organizations for Methodist young people--were founded in 1889. It was the achievement of Canadian Methodism to bring these two movements together in 1895; a Missionary Campaign for the Exodus of Missionaries--or the Forward Movement, as it came to be known--brought college students into the Epworth Leagues to promote missionary education and systematic givings among Methodist youth. The acquisition of a heroic objective revitalized youth organizations, and the Forward Movement quickly spread to the United States and to other denominations.²¹ A further improvement came in 1896 when the General Board of Missions permitted the support of specific missionaries in the foreign field by individual Epworth Leagues and Sunday schools, or groups of them, or individuals.²² This policy gave young people something tangible to support, and other innovations followed. The first regular study classes were held in 1898, the first summer school was held in 1900, and thirteen denominations in Canada and the United States co-operated in the publication of missionary literature

after 1902.²³ In 1903, the first issue of the Missionary Bulletin was published; consisting of letters from the missionaries who were supported, this journal was instrumental in taking young people "behind the lines" to see how their money was expended "at the front."²⁴

Since the Forward Movement was begun prior to the great era of prairie church expansion, its initial orientation was to the Asian mission fields. To a large extent, its orientation remained the same, which was one reason why the Asian work persisted as the glamour field for young ministerial recruits. Between 1906 and 1914, the number of Canadian Methodist missionaries supported in Asia increased from 34 to 87.²⁵ Nevertheless, some interest in the home missions emerged after 1902. By 1906, 7 prairie missionaries, including 2 among the "European foreigners," were supported by Sunday schools, Epworth Leagues and individuals.²⁶ By 1914, support went to 11 prairie missionaries, including 6 among the Europeans, and also to 2 of the prairie mission superintendents.²⁷ Doubtless the popularity of the home field was increased when the mission superintendents began to use the summer schools as forums for presenting the ministerial needs of their conferences. The Forward Movement was very Ontario-

centred through the period 1896 to 1914. Summer schools were not held in other provinces until 1904, and by 1906 the twelve Ontario summer schools still outnumbered the five in other parts of Canada.²⁸ Moreover, of the 114 donor Epworth Leagues, Sunday schools and individuals in 1914, 68 were in Ontario, as compared with 21 on the prairies and 25 in other provinces.²⁹

The Laymen's Missionary Movement was intended to stimulate the missionary interest of the Methodist men. Like its American forerunner, it aimed to increase givings by educating laymen as to mission needs and by applying business ideas and methods to the collection of missionary monies. Concerning the latter, the adoption of the weekly missionary envelope, the formation of missionary committees in each congregation and thorough, systematic canvassing were warmly recommended.³⁰ The L.M.M. was both interdenominational and international. Nine Canadians, including six from Toronto, one from Kingston and two from Montreal, were named to the Central International Committee in New York at the founding of the movement in 1906. These men in turn constituted the nucleus of a Canadian Council which was responsible for launching the L.M.M. in Canada. N.W. Rowell, H.H. Fudger and

A.O. Dawson, a Montreal industrialist, were the Methodist members of the Canadian Council. Rowell was also the chairman of the Canadian Council and one of two Canadian members of the international executive of the L.M.M.³¹

The Canadian L.M.M. was formally launched at a banquet meeting in Toronto on April 9, 1907, at which some 250 laymen and clergy were present.

Joseph W. Flavelle, a prominent Toronto manufacturer and capitalist and a Methodist, chaired the meeting, and the speakers included N.W. Rowell; Rev. John A. Macdonald, the editor of the Toronto Globe; J. Campbell White of New York, the General Secretary of the international L.M.M.; and Robert E. Speer, the secretary of the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.³² Shortly thereafter, the Canadian Council was fully organized around the original nucleus of members. However, S.J. Moore, a prominent Toronto Baptist, later recalled that the "real launching" took place on November 15th at a second meeting in Toronto.³³

At this time, the participating churches of Toronto were given specific local objectives, and a series of similar meetings followed in Hamilton, London and Brantford in 1907, and in Montreal, Halifax and St. John in early 1908. The resultant enthusiasm in turn sparked a National Missionary Campaign

during the autumn of 1908. Accompanied by J. Campbell White, the members of the Canadian Council attended banquet meetings of up to 300 persons in twenty-four cities across the country. Thus kindled, the missionary spirit in the cities quickly spread to outlying centres. After the Calgary banquet meeting, a Methodist layman, Dr. A.M. Scott, reported that

No less than 13 outside towns and cities were represented by delegates to hear the members of the National Committee, and to get inspiration from the leader of this movement, J. Campbell White. Since then . . . members of our Co-operating Committee . . . have been called east, west, north and south to carry the fire to the smaller communities of our province . . . when I tell you that there are ten or twelve men going from place to place, you will readily see that no less than from thirty-five to forty towns have had the Laymen's Missionary Movement carried to them, and the fire started.³⁴

The campaign reached its climax in Toronto from March 31 to April 4, 1909 when over 4,000 delegates from all parts of Canada gathered at a National Missionary Congress. A number of speakers including J. Campbell White articulated the rationale for missions, challenged Canadian Protestantism to quadruple its missionary givings and recommended methods of organization towards this goal.³⁵ Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg Protestants were given the

highest financial quotas; they were charged with nearly two-thirds of an intermediate objective which was set for 1909. Approximately half the objective was expected from Ontario, the key province.³⁶

The Canadian L.M.M. was both denominational and interdenominational when its organization was completed. Each major city had an interdenominational committee which worked through denominational co-operating committees. The same administrative structure prevailed at the national level.³⁷ The national Methodist co-operating committee was predictably Ontario-centred. Fifteen of its thirty-one members were residents of Ontario, and the province accounted for ten of the twenty-two cities which were represented. The executive committee consisted entirely of members from Toronto and vicinity. Finally, six of the nine western members who can be identified were originally from Ontario. The committee included several well known business and missionary figures such as N.W. Rowell, H.H. Fudger and Cyrus A. Birge from Ontario, W.G. Hunt of Calgary, and A.M. Bell, president of a Halifax wholesale and retail hardware company, H.C. Burchell, the vice-president and managing director of a Nova Scotia cement company, and Hon. R.K. Bishop, a member of the Newfoundland Legislative Council and the president or director of several companies in

St. John's. Nevertheless, the prominent businessmen were proportionately fewer than on the special fund committees, perhaps because the L.M.M. was primarily an educational rather than a fund raising agency. A surprising eleven of the thirty-two committee members cannot be identified, and an unusually high number of the identifiable were in some facet of education. Dr. A.M. Scott was the superintendent of schools for Calgary; Professor W.F. Osborne was on the faculty of Wesley College; J.M. Palmer was a Professor of French at Mount Allison University; Edward Odum was a Professor of Ethnology at British Columbia College in Vancouver; and W.T. Hart was the General Secretary of the Winnipeg Y.M.C.A.³⁸

The lay involvement in missions which resulted from the L.M.M. was an inspirational tonic to many urban churches. The missionary spirit was manifested in a city-wide canvass in Brantford, and a layman commented that it was

a new thing under the sun to see our lawyers, doctors, merchants, managers, bankers and labourers literally side by side in a house-to-house canvass for the Missionary Society . . . men who had not given an hour's consecutive thought to missions are right in the thick of it. . . . Further the whole city is stirred up by missions as it has not been within living memory of this generation.³⁹

It is difficult to determine the financial consequences of such enthusiasm. Although Missionary Society revenues increased regularly after the founding of the Canadian L.M.M. in 1907, increases had also been registered through five previous years. Also questionable was whether the increases after 1907 kept pace with inflation and with the nation's growing affluence. One index to inflation was the increase of an unmarried, ordained clergyman's minimum salary from \$350 in 1902 to \$800 in 1910. As for affluence, the General Board of Missions was certain that

the Church's . . . wealth is increasing at a ratio which is out of all proportion to the increase of its givings for religious and benevolent work; for so much of that wealth finds itself into selfish channels that little is left for the cause that needs it most.⁴⁰

Finally, some increase in missionary givings could be attributed to the growth of the church membership. With these considerations in mind, the following tables offer a guide to the real financial progress which resulted from the L.M.M. The tables are based on the average contributions per church member, and the W.M.S. revenues have been included in the calculation. After all, the L.M.M. was concerned with the total amount of money raised for missions.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER</u>	<u>YEARLY INCREASE PER MEMBER</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER</u>	<u>YEARLY INCREASE PER MEMBER</u>
1898	\$0.88	\$	1906	\$1.60	\$0.03
1899	0.99	0.11	1907	1.70	0.10
1900	1.00	0.01	1908	1.81	0.11
1901	0.97	-0.03	1909	1.99	0.18
1902	0.92	-0.05	1910	2.19	0.20
1903	1.33	0.41	1911	2.35	0.16
1904	1.41	0.08	1912	2.43	0.08
1905	1.57	0.16	1913	2.52	0.09
			1914	2.65	0.13

Table 5: REGULAR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY AND THE W.M.S., 1898 TO 1914.⁴¹

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER, 1907</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER, 1910</u>	<u>INCREASE PER MEMBER</u>
Toronto	\$1.79	\$2.73	\$0.94
London	1.23	1.71	0.48
Hamilton	1.47	1.78	0.31
Bay of Quinte	1.24	1.49	0.25
Montreal	1.48	2.17	0.69
Maritime confs.	1.35	1.61	0.28
Manitoba	2.09	3.10	1.01
Saskatchewan	2.09	2.35	0.28
Alberta	1.66	2.14	0.48
British Columbia	3.00	3.65	0.65

Table 6: ANNUAL CONFERENCE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY, W.M.S. AND CITY MISSIONS IN 1907 AND 1910.⁴²

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NO. OF CHURCHES</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER</u>	<u>AT SHERBOURNE ST. CHURCH</u>	<u>AT METROPOLITAN CHURCH</u>	<u>AT CENTRAL CHURCH</u>
1902	34	\$1.85	\$4.73	\$4.94	\$5.14
1906	33	2.31	5.00	3.52	5.14
1907	34	2.42	5.25	4.52	5.32
1908	33	3.05	7.61	8.53	8.48
1909	37	3.56	10.29	9.16	14.07
1910	39	4.23	13.57	11.00	17.27
1911	42	3.91	14.48	12.25	13.52
1914	42	4.05	15.43	9.39	14.47

Table 7: CONTRIBUTIONS OF TORONTO METHODISTS TO MISSIONS, 1902 TO 1912, EXCLUSIVE OF CITY MISSIONS.⁴³

<u>CITY</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NO. OF CHURCHES</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS AT LEADING CONGREGATION (IN TOTAL GIVINGS)</u>
London	1902	8	\$1.91	\$3.18 (First Methodist)
	1906	9	2.78	5.26
	1910	10	3.52	5.18
	1912	11	3.48	4.24
Hamilton	1902	9	1.31	2.97 (Centenary)
	1906	9	2.08	5.10
	1910	10	2.73	5.60
	1912	12	2.81	5.23
Brantford	1902	6	1.64	2.64 (Colborne St.)
	1906	6	2.00	2.88
	1910	6	2.94	2.91 (Wellington St.)
	1912	6	2.71	2.50 (Colborne St.)

Table 8: CONTRIBUTIONS TO MISSIONS BY THE METHODISTS OF LONDON, HAMILTON AND BRANTFORD--THREE SMALLER ONTARIO CITIES.⁴⁴

<u>CITY</u>	<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NO. OF CHURCHES</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS PER MEMBER</u>	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS AT LEADING CONGREGATION (IN TOTAL GIVINGS)</u>
Winnipeg	1907	6	\$2.45	\$3.23 (Grace)
	1910	6	5.41	20.91
Regina	1907	1	2.04	2.04 (Metropolitan)
	1910	2	2.34	2.75
Calgary	1907	3	1.69	1.66 (Calgary First)
	1910	7	3.55	3.66 (Central)
Vancouver	1907	4	4.07	6.67 (Wesley)
	1910	10	5.43	10.84

Table 9: CONTRIBUTIONS TO MISSIONS (INCLUDING CITY MISSIONS) BY METHODISTS IN FOUR WESTERN CITIES.⁴⁵

Tables 5 to 9 suggest a number of conclusions concerning the effects of the L.M.M. Firstly, the L.M.M. stimulated missionary givings, but only temporarily. Although the contributions per member rose

sharply in the period 1907-10, the rate of increase was declining by 1911. Moreover, even the peak rate of increase was disappointing to the General Board of Missions.⁴⁶ In retrospect, the General Conference of 1902 appears to have been a greater stimulant to mission work than the L.M.M. The General Conference, held in Winnipeg to dramatize western missions, was followed by a forty-three cent increase in missionary contributions per church member, the largest annual increase of the pre-war period.

Secondly, the L.M.M. was an urban movement, and its greatest influence was in Canada's four largest cities-- Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Montreal--each of which had a population of more than 100,000 persons by 1911.⁴⁷ The urban church member gave more than the average contribution for his conference, and Toronto Methodists gave more than church members in smaller cities such as Hamilton (86,000 people), London (46,000) and Brantford (23,000). Contributions from wealthy urban laymen were as important to the regular fund of the Missionary Society as to the special funds. The church members of Toronto's Sherbourne Street, Metropolitan and Central Methodist churches contributed outstandingly as individuals and accounted for

40% of the missionary revenue from the city.⁴⁸ As these congregations went, so went the Toronto Conference and so went the entire Methodist Church. Further evidence of the importance of the affluent was the statement by a Manitoba Methodist that only 25% of the membership gave anything to missions, despite the L.M.M.⁴⁹ With the exception of the Toronto Conference, eastern church members gave less to missions than western Methodists. Prairie church members were presumably more aware of mission needs due to proximity to them.

The Methodist Church was only partially successful in coping with the financial side of the missionary challenge in the period 1896 to 1914. According to the L.M.M. estimates of 1909, Canadian Methodism required \$500,000 annually for missions in Canada and \$1,000,000 annually for the proper discharge of its obligations in Asia. By 1914, the combined expenditures of the Missionary Society and the W.M.S. totalled only \$350,000 in Asia and \$468,000 in Canada, including Indian missions and domestic missions in eastern Canada.⁵⁰ Moreover, the L.M.M. estimate for home missions was far too low to meet Methodist objectives on the prairies. In 1911, Rev. James Allen advised the Saskatchewan Conference president that the General Board had appropriated

• \$100,000 more than its revenue for the preceding year and that \$109,000 needed for the home work was still not provided for.⁵¹ Even this inadequate commitment from the General Board proved to be too zealous; in 1912, the Missionary Society was \$30,000 in debt, and Allen continued to face a deluge of requests for grants which were beyond the General Board's ability to meet.⁵² In the same year, the General Board reported that a \$100,000 increase in revenues was required to meet its obligations for the coming year; the increase it received?--\$50,913.36.⁵³

Methodist monetary woes seriously limited the Church's effectiveness in the prairie conferences. As early as 1900, falling revenues and rising immigration brought about a decline in missionary salaries, and by 1906 the financial shortage was acute. Loans to western circuits had exhausted the Church and Parsonage Aid Fund, and efforts to increase the fund's capitalization proved unsuccessful.⁵⁴ Church and parsonage construction was slowed in consequence, thus perpetuating the material discomforts which contributed to the crisis in ministerial supply. The salary crisis was eventually overcome after 1912, but at the cost of slowing down church expansion in unserved areas.

Methodist financial problems were attributable

to a number of factors. To begin with, the educational movements were only partially successful in drawing the attention of the membership at large beyond the needs of their own churches. Once again the statement comes to mind that only 25% of the membership were giving anything to missions. The following table shows that contributions to missions were also small in relation to the amounts raised for local purposes (i.e., circuit expenses and salaries).

QUADREN- IUM	MISSIONARY SOCIETY	W.M.S.	OTHER CONNEXIONAL FUNDS	CIRCUIT PURPOSES	MINIS- TERIAL SALARIES
1894-98	\$ 835,507	\$157,207	\$ 559,226	\$4,568,639	\$3,156,366
1898-02	933,689	179,857	589,063	5,932,001	3,276,661
1902-06	1,465,203	290,647	865,145	7,066,026	3,759,469
1906-10	2,061,428	437,937	959,599	9,392,389	4,457,146
1910-14	2,780,338	679,091	1,824,307	12,284,307	5,507,235

Table 10: MONIES RAISED FOR MISSIONS, OTHER CONNEXIONAL FUNDS AND FOR LOCAL PURPOSES, 1894-1914.⁵⁵

Parochialism also affected the special funds. The Mission Plant and Extension Fund fell short of its objective partly because it was for missions. The Twentieth Century Fund met its objective because it was for local purposes as well. Metropolitan Methodist Church in Toronto, for example, raised \$57,000 for the Twentieth Century Fund--to pay off its mortgage! Not a dime went to missions.⁵⁶ Finally, the construction of large, expensive churches in the urban areas reflected a parochial outlook during the west's critical period of development. In 1904, Methodist

supporters at Pincher Creek, Alberta built and furnished a typical frontier church at a cost of \$650.⁵⁷ Then, while other churches like it went unbuilt for lack of loans or grants, churches costing \$117,000, \$63,000 and \$80,000 were built at Winnipeg, Calgary and Moose Jaw respectively.⁵⁸ However, St. James Methodist Church in Montreal was the most ludicrous example of a misplaced priority. By 1898, this \$800,000 church had a debt of \$622,000 and was on the brink of foreclosure. In 1902, the debt was still \$513,000, and the General Conference established a connexional fund to provide for the church's relief. Leading Toronto laymen were quick to lend aid. Chester Massey promised \$50,000, and A.E. Ames, J.W. Flavelle, Timothy Eaton, E.R. Wood and Senator G.A. Cox committed themselves to \$5,000 each.⁵⁹ Subscriptions totalling \$3,435 came from the Manitoba and Northwest Conference⁶⁰ --all because of a fund established by a General Conference which was best remembered for publicizing the needs of the northwest! Perhaps there was a justification for large urban churches;⁶¹ nevertheless, if a congregation could raise thousands of dollars for its own building, surely it could have given more to missions.

In view of the limited revenues of the Missionary Society, prairie conference financial problems were

also partly caused by the Church's failure to freeze expansion in the Asian and Amerindian mission fields. In 1906, the General Conference divided the General Board of Missions into home and foreign mission departments, and revenues were allocated equally between them. Although home missions benefited from the inclusion of Indian and British Columbia Oriental missions within the Department of Foreign Missions,⁶² the allocation formula kept a large part of the Church's financial resources from the prairie conferences during their peak period of need. As noted in Chapter V, several home missionaries complained that the Asian work was expanding at the expense of home mission salaries, and laymen who were sympathetic to this viewpoint may well have trimmed their contributions to the Missionary Society in protest. In 1909, J.H. Ashdown criticized the L.M.M.'s proposal to allocate 71% of Protestant contributions to foreign missions when the needs of the European immigrants of Winnipeg were so pressing.⁶³ Ashdown and H.W. Hutchinson also protested the intention of the General Board of Missions to allocate the Mission Plant and Extension Fund equally between the home and foreign mission departments. In May, 1912, they sponsored a resolution at a meeting of the fund's Winnipeg sub-committee which would have withheld co-operation in the raising of the

city's \$200,000 quota, pending an "understanding that no less than two-thirds of the amount subscribed by Winnipeggers shall be expended in the city of Winnipeg . . . and [that] the remaining third shall be spent in the west."⁶⁴ The resolution failed, and Ashdown did not contribute to the fund. In the meantime, five leading Calgary Methodists--Rev. G.W. Kerby, Principal of Mount Royal College, Rev. William J. Haggith, chairman of the Calgary District, Rev. T.C. Buchanan, W.H. Cushing and W.G. Hunt--also expressed anxiety that home mission needs might be overlooked.⁶⁵

The relative lack of interest in home missions on the part of the W.M.S. was another factor in prairie Methodist financial grief. Although the W.M.S. supported missions among the European immigrants, most of its revenues went to the Asian and Amerindian work. Moreover, as the following table shows, the W.M.S. chose not to aid domestic missions in spite of a large and growing financial reserve--an astonishing misappropriation of resources!

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CASH ASSETS</u>	<u>ASIAN MISSIONS</u>	<u>INDIAN MISSIONS</u>	<u>PRAIRIE EUROPEANS</u>	<u>UNSPENT BALANCE</u>
1898	\$ 78,232	\$ 18,808	\$ 7,369	\$ --	\$ 43,281
1902	93,753	39,694	8,465	2,000	33,133
1906	150,549	37,155	10,014	2,468	71,303
1910	230,288	61,487	14,410	6,798	118,506
1914	184,273	144,376	17,088	10,995	148,480

Table 11: MAJOR DISBURSEMENTS AND CASH RESERVES OF THE W.M.S. IN GENERAL CONFERENCE YEARS, 1898 to 1914.⁶⁶

Finally, prairie church expansion suffered financial restrictions because large sums were spent on missions among the European immigrants. As the following table shows, Missionary Society and W.M.S. grants to the two major mission complexes in this field of work were substantial. Although the expenditures may have been necessary in terms of Methodist religious and social ideals, they yielded very few new church members or supporters.

	ALL PEOPLE'S MISSION			NORTHERN ALBERTA MISSIONS		
	M.S.	W.M.S.	TOTAL	M.S.	W.M.S.	TOTAL
1899-00	160	--	160	--	--	--
1900-01	178	2,000	2,178	--	--	--
1901-02	725	--	725	823	--	823
1902-03	625	400	1,025	700	1,100	1,800
1903-04	625	--	625	880	1,100	1,980
1904-05	3,414	400	3,814	941	1,853	2,794
1905-06	3,873	400	4,273	1,300	1,925	3,225
1906-07	4,647	400	5,047	1,615	1,910	3,525
1907-08	4,476	800	5,276	2,030	5,090	7,120
1908-09	3,860	1,200	5,060	1,436	4,515	5,951
1909-10	5,563	1,200	6,763	2,147	12,375	14,522
1910-11	6,700	1,200	7,900	4,252	7,935	12,189
1911-12	6,680	1,200	7,880	6,398	13,362	19,760
1912-13	6,780	1,200	7,980	10,164	8,885	19,049
1913-14	4,414	1,200	5,610	11,793	10,887	22,680
TOTAL	57,716	11,600	64,316	44,480	70,537	115,017

Table 12: GRANTS TO THE ALL PEOPLE'S AND NORTHERN ALBERTA MISSION COMPLEXES FROM THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY (M.S.) AND THE W.M.S.⁶⁷

In addition to the monies shown, Winnipeg Methodists contributed \$4,000 to \$8,000 annually to All People's Mission, and approximately \$10,000 was spent on missions in the Crow's Nest Pass and elsewhere. Thus, the European work absorbed nearly a quarter of a million dollars prior to 1914.

Chapter VII

METHODISM, THE ETHNIC MOSAIC AND THE ROLE OF THE STATE: HOPES FOR A SELECTIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY AND SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL SCHOOLS

Methodists in eastern Canada and on the prairies were adamant that the west should have one English-language culture. Not surprisingly, they looked to the state to develop prairie society along the desired lines. A few church members hoped for state action which would restrict the European immigration. More striking, however, was the desire of Methodists for state action which would assimilate the French Canadians and Europeans who were already in the west. As noted in chapter IV, efforts by the Church to obtain moral legislation were motivated partly by a reaction to European cultural and religious traditions. More importantly, Methodists expected the state to undermine rival cultures by establishing on the prairies a system of English-language public schools which all children would be required by law to attend.

Several prominent prairie Methodists hoped that the Dominion government would terminate the immigration of Europeans to Canada. In 1901, the Christian Guardian's reporter for the Manitoba and Northwest

Conference, Rev. John Maclean, commented that

The general opinion of the people in this country is, that we do not want any more of these people in the west. The quality of the immigrants is more important to us than the quantity. We cannot afford to have the refuse of Europe dumped into our western country, as an ignorant foreign population can work a great deal of harm.¹

Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, the president of the Manitoba Conference for 1907-08, later agreed. As he informed Rev. James Allen, there was "a strong and growing feeling here that the Ottawa authorities should 'shut down' on foreign immigrants altogether and aim to fill our lands with English speaking people."² Exclusionist sympathies were obviously widespread among those Methodists who were attuned to the immigration problem.

However, prior to 1914, the Methodist Church did not exert pressure upon the Dominion government to pass discriminatory immigration laws. Methodist post-millennialism provided part of the explanation. From the viewpoint of the world missionary task, the European immigration was a providential opportunity: thousands who had been kept ignorant of evangelical truths by their old-world churches could be reached by Protestant missionaries for the first time.³ Restrictionist sympathies were also undermined by the confidence of many Methodist clergy that the Europeans could be assimilated, provided that Anglo-Saxon

Canadians facilitated the integration process.⁴ Finally, the restrictionist position received little support from the Methodist laity. Especially in eastern Canada, many laymen were oblivious to the European presence, and others were confident that Canada's prosperous economy of the early twentieth century could absorb the newcomers; in the absence of cultural anxieties, they could view the immigrant primarily in economic terms: as a source of cheap labour and as a market for Canadian produce and real estate.⁵ Leading Ontario laymen such as the Masseys, who manufactured farm implements, Edward Gurney, a manufacturer of stoves, and E.R. Wood and J.H. Gundy, who were dealers in stocks and bonds, had a stake in the material development of the west, and they could not lightly endorse a deterrent to growth such as the restriction of immigration.

The consensus, if any, which emerged from the climate of lay and pastoral opinion was that the Canadian government should "not encourage" an influx from southern Europe. As the Christian Guardian commented, "we cannot see why any extraordinary fuss and effort should be put forward to bring out the foreigners to Canada."⁶ The sentiment was the natural corollary of the feeling that "we love our ain the best."⁷ A few Methodists urged the regulation of immigration for

humanitarian reasons since the volume of immigration placed a considerable strain on churches and charitable institutions.⁸ To this end, missionaries among the Europeans such as Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, the superintendent of All People's Mission, showed great enthusiasm for federal laws which required immigrants to pass a medical inspection; through the rigorous application of these regulations, the immigrants who were incapable of supporting themselves could be culled out and returned to their countries of origin. To further minimize the numbers of these undesirables, Woodsworth and others urged that the medical inspections take place in Europe rather than in Canada.⁹

Negative responses alone could not solve the alien problem. In the absence of restrictions on immigration, the influx of Europeans to the west continued, and Methodists looked to the state for some positive response. As the Christian Guardian noted, "the Church can do a great deal but at the most she can only touch the fringe of the matter. The public school is the place where the foundations of good citizenship must be laid broad and deep. . . ."¹⁰ This opinion was endorsed by most church members. After surveying reports from the Saskatchewan Conference in 1909, Rev. C.H. Cross, the future mission superintendent for northern Saskatchewan, discovered that the most commonly sought

solution to the immigrant problem was compulsory attendance at public schools.¹¹ A special committee of the General Board of Missions reaffirmed two years later "that the education and conversion into good citizens of the foreign population of Canada is primarily a responsibility resting upon the State."¹² The logic of public schools was undeniably attractive. Since few missionaries spoke a language other than English, Methodists were conscious of the difficulty of transmitting Protestant religious and ethical teachings to European immigrants. The public school, would close this communications gap by assimilating the European children, thereby making the second generation approachable.

Methodist educational goals were imperfectly realized on the prairies, prior to 1914. In Manitoba, Methodist aims were initially frustrated by the Manitoba Act of 1870, which guaranteed denominational rights in education in existence "in law or practice at the time of union." Roman Catholic schools, supported by the province's French-speaking minority, were able to co-exist with the Protestant schools of the English-speaking majority. For a variety of reasons, the majority became dissatisfied with this arrangement; thus, in defiance of the constitutional guarantee, the Manitoba government passed two pieces of legislation

to "improve" matters in 1890. The first Act abolished the official use of the French language in the province. The second Act replaced the denominational schools with a public system of non-denominational schools in which non-sectarian religious instruction was permitted but not required. Since all owners of property were obliged to support the public system, Roman Catholics could only enjoy their separate schools by supporting them in addition to the public system. Needless to say, the two Acts represented a frank attempt by English-speaking Manitobans to make their province into another Ontario and to prevent the extension of French Canadian and Roman Catholic influence beyond Quebec.¹³

The Methodists of Manitoba were wholeheartedly behind these changes. In 1890, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference issued a warm endorsement of the Manitoba government's actions and argued that the public system was essential for national unity; the two Acts gave to the province

one of the best means available for the fostering of a unanimous patriotic sentiment among the people . . . [and for] promoting the cementing and unification of all classes.

Conversely,

one of the greatest objections to Separate Schools is that they keep a line of sectarian cleavage between the youth of our country unfavorable to that political unity which is essential to the power and progress of a country.¹⁴

Ancillary arguments followed. To several correspondents of the Christian Guardian, the high crime rate among Roman Catholics and the widespread illiteracy in the Roman Catholic nations of Europe was proof that Roman Catholic education was academically inferior.¹⁵ In fact, Methodists were certain that the Roman Catholic Church perpetuated ignorance among its people in order to exploit them through superstition. Methodists also insisted that the denominational schools were inferior because they were inefficient. Small, dispersed settlements could not support two or more schools merely because the people were denominationally heterogeneous; conversely, a united community school could be equipped with better facilities. In these circumstances, declared the Christian Guardian, "The people of Manitoba will not be ground down by the additional and unnecessary burden of paying for two schools to do the work of one."¹⁶

To the dismay of Methodists, the schools settlement of 1890 was not allowed to go unchallenged. The Anglican as well as the Roman Catholic minority tested the constitutionality of the Manitoba legislation in the courts; when this strategy failed, the Roman Catholic minority petitioned the federal government for remedial legislation which would override the provincial school laws. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act of 1870 made possible such an appeal if a minority were denied

educational rights which it had enjoyed at the time of union, and the Roman Catholics were adamant that they had indeed lost vital educational rights. Although their right to have separate schools was not removed by the 1890 legislation, they were discriminated against in that separate school supporters were subjected to double taxation. If this economic consideration forced Roman Catholic parents to use the public system, other educational rights were lost as well, including the right of the parents to ensure a proper education for their children. The minority maintained that religious and moral instruction was an essential part of a child's training, inasmuch as the function of the school was to produce good citizens; in their opinion the public schools could not offer the proper religious atmosphere for Catholic children because they were really Protestant schools in disguise.¹⁷ The North-West Review, a Roman Catholic journal published in Winnipeg, complained bitterly that "Roman Catholics have a natural God-given right to shield their children from the poison of texts like Buckley and Robertson's history."¹⁸ Finally, the minority argued that the provincial legislation of 1890 was inconsistent with the spirit of the Manitoba Act and the B.N.A. Act, each of which accepted the principle of sectarian education.¹⁹

The Christian Guardian rejected the Roman Catholic

position almost in toto. Certainly the appeal to the spirit of the Manitoba Act and confederation carried no weight. The Methodist journal insisted that an agreement made with 10,000 half breeds in 1870 could not bind 152,000 Manitobans in 1895, especially when only 20,000 Manitobans were Roman Catholics and only 11,000 were French-speaking.²⁰ Nor would the Methodist paper concede that the Roman Catholics had a grievance which justified remedial legislation. The Christian Guardian insisted that the legitimate religious interests of the minority could be accommodated within the public system; allegations that the public schools were godless were refuted by the regulation which permitted the reading of non-sectarian Scriptural passages, and there were special safeguards for Roman Catholics; some of the teachers would be Roman Catholic, and Roman Catholic parents could withdraw their children from religious exercises.²¹ Moreover, objectionable texts, or at least the objectionable passages in them, could be avoided. It followed that the public system was eminently reasonable, that the teaching of sectarian beliefs was best confined to the churches and that Christians of all religious persuasions could serve their country by uniting upon the neutral Christianity offered in the schools. With such logic, Methodists never doubted their own objectivity, and they assumed

that reasonable Catholic laymen would agree with them. Only the fanatical hierarchy of the Roman Church could question the justice of the 1890 settlement.²²

In actuality, the Methodists were less than objective. They never wavered from a belief that the west should have one English-speaking culture. Moreover, the reading of "neutral Scripture" in the schools would have exerted a Protestant influence: it would have encouraged young Catholic children to look to the Bible for their religious guidance rather than to their authoritarian church. Nevertheless, having refuted the legal arguments of the Catholic minority to their own satisfaction, Methodists were able to reduce the schools question to a simple case of provincial rights--could the federal government force a burdensome educational system on Manitoba against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the Manitoba population?²³ An unhappy Christian Guardian editorial anticipated that the Conservative administration at Ottawa might indeed ignore the province's feelings, depending as it did upon the electoral support of Roman Catholic Quebec.²⁴ In reality, the Conservatives were hardly eager to redress the minority grievances; to do so might please Quebec, but English-speaking Canada would be alienated in the process. Consequently, they sought to evade action by appointing a commission to investigate the

Manitoba schools question and by asking the courts to decide: (a) if the minority had a legitimate grievance, and (b) if the federal government was empowered to pass remedial legislation by the terms of the Manitoba Act. To their dismay, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that the minority had a grievance in fact, if not in law, and that the federal government was empowered to give redress. Unable to procrastinate any longer, the Conservatives attempted to push through a remedial bill in 1896. As an alternative to the policy of coercion, Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal opposition offered support for provincial rights in education and a willingness to compromise with the Manitoba government. With this policy, Laurier successfully stalled the progress of the remedial bill until the expiration of the life of the 1891 parliament. An election was called, and the schools question was one of the main issues. ✓

Although avoiding alignment with either political party, the Methodist Church was unequivocally opposed to coercion. A strong resolution placed the Manitoba and Northwest Conference foursquare behind the provincial rights position, and the western conference was supported by the voices of four Ontario conferences.²⁵ Significantly, the British Columbia and Maritime conferences were silent on the schools question. Within the Church,

the Ontario conferences were the most inclined to regard Manitoba as a cultural preserve and to defend Manitoba against the supposed onslaughts of French-speaking Canada and the Papacy. Methodists assumed a defensive attitude throughout the schools crisis, even though they sought the elimination of a French-English cultural dualism which had previously existed. Confident that Providence had ordained an Anglo-Saxon future for the prairies, church members were certain that French Canada and the papacy were aggressors against God's plans. Thus a London Conference pastoral address warned that

It is the duty of the Christian elector to do his utmost to introduce into the legislature representatives who, believing in the God of nations, and in the relations of the Gospel to national affairs, may be trusted with that Protestantism to which under Divine Providence the British Empire owes its greatness. We afford to our fellow subjects the right of patriotic citizenship, but we have not ceased to regard popery as the enemy of freedom, of the Gospel, and of the rights of nations. . . . Present events disclose its unaltered policy in our great Dominion to advance by stealthy steps to an ascendancy which would subvert the Protestant foundations of the British constitution, and eclipse the light of Gospel truth and liberty.²⁶

Although Methodists were virtually unanimous in their preference for the public school system, a prominent minority dissented from the Church's official opposition to the policy of coercion. Possibly in-

fluenced by his loyalty to the Conservative Party, Principal William I. Shaw of Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal believed that the minority had a grievance and were entitled to redress. Moreover, he urged his Church to keep silence on the schools question because of the issue's divisive effects upon the Methodist laity and the country. Rev. John Potts, the General Secretary of the Methodist Educational Society, agreed that the minority had a grievance; consequently he refused to chair a meeting at Massey Hall which had been called to protest the coercion policy.²⁸ However, these men voiced a minority opinion; the mainstream of the Church was solidly behind the government of Manitoba.

In the end, the schools crisis was not solved entirely to Methodist liking. The elections of 1896 brought Laurier and the Liberal Party to power, and Laurier promptly arranged a compromise settlement with the Premier of Manitoba. Although the economic discrimination against separate schools remained, sectarian religious instruction was permitted in the public schools during the last half-hour of the school day, provided that ten heads of families requested it. In addition, bilingual instruction was permitted in schools which had ten or more pupils whose mother tongue was French or a language other than English.²⁹

Methodists responded to the compromise with grudging assent; on behalf of the membership of the Church, the Christian Guardian did not "express any delight over these modifications, but we intend to loyally accept them as the official solution to a difficult problem."³⁰ Even then, the Methodist journal promised too much. In the long run, the Church could not live with a compromise which threatened the proper development of the northwest. To begin with, the election of a French Canadian and Roman Catholic Prime Minister raised the possibility that the Roman Catholic Church would attempt to modify the Manitoba compromise in the direction of separate schools. Methodists were alarmed when Mgr. Merry del Val, an apostolic delegate who had been a confidential chamberlain of the pope, came to Canada in 1897, ostensibly to deal with the complaints of the Roman Catholic laity that the hierarchy of their Church had exercised undue influence in the 1896 elections. From the viewpoint of the Christian Guardian, the split between laymen and clergy in the Roman Church could not be healed without a re-negotiation of the Manitoba schools compromise, and it was outrageous that a foreign potentate could cause "a certain proportion of our citizens . . . to be coerced into the acceptance of terms to which they do not agree."³¹ The spectre of papal interference was raised once again in 1905 when

Mgr. Sbarretti, the successor to Mgr. Merry del Val, tried to arrange a deal in which Laurier would aid Manitoba in its boundary dispute with Ontario if Manitoba would concede amendments to its schools laws in return.³² So seriously was the "Sbarretti Affair" regarded that Dr. Thomas Sproule, an Ontario Methodist member of Parliament, urged the formation of a Protestant League to counter Roman Catholic political pressure; however, Sproule's plan was rejected by the Christian Guardian.³³

The European immigration to Manitoba after 1896 was a second factor which kept Methodists dissatisfied with the compromise of 1896. In 1901, 33,000 of Manitoba's 255,000 people were European-born, and 78,000 of Manitoba's 456,000 people were European-born in 1911.³⁴ Few of the European newcomers were Protestant, and their inability to speak English kept them true to old-world religions and culture. Ideally the public school system would penetrate the clannish isolation of the "foreigners" by teaching English to their children. To their horror, Manitoba Methodists discovered that the 1896 compromise had left great yawning gaps in the province's educational system. Although the provision for bilingual instruction was originally intended for French Canadians alone, the European immigrants began to claim the same minority privileges. By 1913, there

were 42 German and 33 Galician bilingual schools in Manitoba as well as 110 schools which provided instruction in French. Moreover, Rev. J.S. Woodsworth discovered that "bilingual instruction" often meant foreign-language instruction in practice.³⁵ Unable to find Canadian-born teachers who were fluent in a European language, the school trustees of European-inhabited districts hired European teachers who knew little English.³⁶ In 1913, Woodsworth estimated that 25% of the province's 268 teachers in bilingual schools could not read English.³⁷ Obviously the public school system could not realize its purpose in these circumstances. Just as serious was the lack of a provincial law to compel the attendance of school-age children at a public school. In 1909, government statistics indicated that 30-40,000 school-age children, some 30-40% of the provincial total, were out of school.³⁸ Attendance figures were particularly appalling in the Galician and northern districts; in one such area with a school-age population of over forty, the average attendance during November was two, and eleven schools allegedly in operation were found to be closed.³⁹ Methodists criticized the provincial government's reliance upon local initiative for the establishment of schools on the grounds that the Europeans placed little value upon education, were frequently too poor to think of

anything save their own livelihood and hence were not disposed to tax themselves for schools.⁴⁰ Finally, European immigrants were naturally cool to the establishment of institutions which were intended to assimilate them, and only a compulsory school law could overcome their consequent opposition.

Nevertheless, Methodist authorities on Manitoba's educational problems recognized that the schools problem had no easy solution. To begin with, the success of a compulsory law was contingent upon overcoming the critical shortage of teachers in the European-inhabited districts.⁴¹ The Christian Guardian noted too the claim of the provincial government that a full-scale school program could not be financed, allegedly because monies received from the sales of school lands were being withheld by the federal government.⁴² Finally, any strengthening of the public school system beyond the compromise of 1896 was certain to encounter opposition from the Roman Catholic Church and from French Canada. Methodists learned this lesson in 1902 when the education of Galicians and other immigrants was discussed at a large meeting held in a Winnipeg Y.M.C.A. The leaders of the meeting, among whom were several clergymen, were astute enough not to criticize French Canadian educational rights which had been left by the compromise of 1896, but a delegation was sent to the provincial

government to ask for a compulsory attendance law and for a repeal of bilingual instruction privileges for all save French Canadians.⁴³ Within days, the Roman Catholics of Winnipeg held a counter-rally at which Bishop Langevin claimed the Galicians for the Roman Catholic Church and demanded that the Galicians be given separate schools with instruction in their own language. Behind his words lay the spectre of support from Quebec.

Methodists understood Langevin's position, even if they disliked it. The best interests of the Roman Church and of the French Canadian minority were served by helping the "foreigners" to resist assimilation; cultural isolation would protect them from Protestant ideals and would keep them from swelling the ranks of the English-speaking majority. For the moment, the French Canadian minority also found that the European problem provided useful ammunition in their fight to regain lost privileges for separate schools; given that the Europeans resisted the assimilationist public schools, the proponents of separate schools offered to educate them, provided that the separate schools could share in the educational revenues.⁴⁴ Realistic or not, Roman Catholic aspirations effectively blocked Methodist educational goals in Manitoba throughout the pre-war period. Seven years after the 1902 incident, the Christian

Guardian complained that the Manitoba government was continuing to side-step pressure for compulsory public school education, largely out of fear that the old racial fires of 1896 would be rekindled.⁴⁵ The public schools, the big gun in the Methodist assault on the province's foreign problem, had been spiked by Quebec. In consequence, thousands of immigrant children were isolated from English Canadian intellectual currents.

In the meantime, Methodist educational goals suffered damaging setbacks in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In these instances, Methodist woes originated in the federal Northwest Territories Act of 1875, which had allowed minority ratepayers to form either Protestant or Roman Catholic schools, and in an ordinance issued by the Governor of the Northwest Territories in 1884, which had placed the schools under a Board of Education consisting of Roman Catholic and Protestant sections. A full-fledged separate school system had existed. However, ordinances passed by the Territorial Assembly in 1891, 1892 and 1901 had altered the schools situation in the direction taken by Manitoba in 1890. Although separate schools could still draw on Territorial funds, a government official, the Minister of Education, assumed the administrative control which had been exercised by the bi-cultural Board of Education. Moreover, all schools were subject to government inspection,

government licensing of teachers, uniform texts and uniform examination standards. Finally, religious instruction was confined to the last half-hour of the school day, and English was to be the language of instruction (save for a primary course in French which was permitted but not required).⁴⁶ Thus, while separate schools were permitted by law and eligible for public monies, they were subject to a degree of state control which made them denominational public schools rather than separate schools.⁴⁷

Methodists fully endorsed these changes in the hopes that the elimination of separate schools would eventually result. In 1890, the Manitoba and Northwest Conference urged the Territories to duplicate the Manitoba legislation of that year, and, in 1892, the Conference asked the federal government to give the necessary powers to the Territorial Assembly.⁴⁸ The motives of the Conference were clear: as in Manitoba, it hoped that French Canadian culture and political power would not be extended west of Quebec. However, as in Manitoba, the schools question was complicated by the European immigration of the late 1890's and early twentieth century. In 1901, the territorial population of 164,000 included 34,000 Europeans; in 1911, the 867,000 people in Saskatchewan and Alberta included 150,000 who were European-born.⁴⁹ Within a decade, the menace

of a polyglot society had superceded the danger of mere cultural dualism, and the desire of western Methodists for a strong public school system increased accordingly.⁵⁰ In 1902, Methodist anxieties were heightened by rumours that the Territories were soon to be given provincial status and by doubts concerning the validity of the ordinances passed by the Territorial Assembly.⁵¹ If the ordinances of 1891, 1892 and 1901 were unconstitutional, what school system would the provinces be given? Would the federal government respect the rights of provinces to determine their educational future? In 1905, Laurier provided Methodists with a discouraging answer. Despite the desire of the Territorial population to have the doubtful ordinances confirmed, the latter were not mentioned in the autonomy bills which provided for the creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. On the contrary, provincial control of education was to be limited by Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act and by the Northwest Territories Act of 1875. Methodist leaders were certain that full-fledged separate schools were back again.⁵²

Fresh from their experience with the Manitoba schools crisis, Ontario Methodists reacted aggressively to Laurier's position. Even before the terms of the autonomy bills were known, Rev. Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, wrote to Metho-

dist officials across the country, warned them of the separate school danger and solicited information about the state of public opinion on this issue.⁵³ The following letter to Rev. C.H. Huestis, the president of the Nova Scotia Conference who was about to move to Alberta, was typical:

I trust you and the people of Nova Scotia have a sharp eye on Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Autonomy Bill which proposes to establish separate schools in the new provinces. Nova Scotia gave Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government and Mr. Fielding such decided support in the last election that I think it is now entitled to speak out against this unjust and iniquitous measure. . . . If you think and feel as I do on the matter Ottawa will hear from Nova Scotia promptly.⁵⁴

Rev. C.J. Bond, the editor of the Christian Guardian, also spoke out vociferously on the northwest schools question. Prior to the introduction of the autonomy bills in the House of Commons, he too smelled the sectarian rat and warned his readers to watch the proceedings at Ottawa closely lest the Roman Catholic hierarchy had forced separate schools upon Laurier.⁵⁵ When his worst fears came true, he devoted two full pages of the March 1st issue of his paper to dispute the offending legislation.

In contrast to Church officials in Toronto, the Methodists of the prairie conferences were relatively silent on the schools question prior to the publication of the autonomy bills.⁵⁶ Rev. T.C. Buchanan, the Alberta

Conference mission superintendent, noted that

The press in the Territories and the public generally are saying almost nothing about the whole matter, and many of us think that the eastern papers should have remained silent until the R.C. church had made its demands, if she had any, on this question.⁵⁷

Moreover, western Methodists generally were willing to accept the modified separate school system which had existed in the Territories since 1901.⁵⁸ Perhaps they shared the expectations of Clifford Sifton, Laurier's Minister of the Interior and a Methodist, that the separate schools would gradually die out under the existing regulations.⁵⁹ In contrast, the Christian Guardian thundered that

There must be no compromise. There must be no educational clause of any kind in the bill. . . . The new provinces must be let alone . . . to manage their own educational affairs without any dictation from the Dominion Government. The dead hand must not be allowed to stretch down through succeeding generations and limit the liberties of these growing commonwealths.⁶⁰

Northwestern Methodists were less militant than their Manitoba brethren had been in 1896 for a variety of reasons. Unlike Manitoba, the Territories could not negotiate from the strength of provincial status; the federal government still made key decisions for them, and there were no provincial rights to fall back on. Nor had the Territorial population fought an election on the schools question as Manitobans had

during the course of their dispute with the federal government. Moreover, the Territorial population was of mixed and recent origin. Many had missed Manitoba's schools crisis of a decade before and had never known a full-fledged separate schools system; their only experience was with the modified schools system of 1901.⁶¹ Finally the prosperity of the prairies pre-occupied westerners with material rather than cultural concerns.

Nevertheless, the publication of the autonomy bills united the eastern and western conferences in protest, and, as in Manitoba in 1896, Methodists attributed the crisis to popish aggression. "The Quebec hierarchy have thrown down the gauntlet," a Christian Guardian editorial charged, and it added that the gauntlet

will be taken up . . . sooner or later the Roman Catholic Church in this country must be taught conclusively that it does not and cannot dominate its public affairs. . . . It must be taught that it is only a sect among sects [and] that its influence among public men and public life will not be tolerated.⁶²

The Methodist journal recognized that the consequences of a weak public school system were much greater than in 1896. A month earlier Rev. C.J. Bond had exclaimed

What a spectacle! Greek separate schools! Galician separate schools! Mennonite separate schools! Protestant separate schools! Roman Catholic separate schools! And then divide up the Protestants scattered

over the prairies into separate schools!
 Why not? What a burlesque on nation
 building!⁶³

Rev. T.E. Holling, editor of the Assiniboia Church

Advocate, added an opinion from a western conference:

It will simply be deplorable if the old
 ecclesiastical feud of the east is trans-
 ferred to the west and every prejudice
 and peculiarity of the unenlightened
 countries of the old world allowed oppor-
 tunity to take root in the virgin prairies
 of the North-West.⁶⁴

Not only was a weak public schools system unfortunate
 in terms of the existing ethnic mosaic in the west,
 its presence would encourage more Roman Catholic
 immigrants from southeastern Europe and would dis-
 courage immigration from the United States; the upshot
 would be papal control of the two provinces which were
 destined to be the "very garden of the Dominion."⁶⁵

Methodists had no patience with the historical argument
 for cultural dualism: that the spirit of confederation
 demanded protection for separate schools and for
 French-English equality across the nation. In corres-
 pondence with Laurier, a prominent Toronto layman,
 N.W. Rowell, argued that the founding fathers had only
 envisaged separate schools for Ontario and Quebec and
 that the remaining provinces should be left alone.⁶⁶

In a lengthy article in the Christian Guardian, Rev.
 W.H. Raney of Carp, Ontario agreed with Rowell as
 to the intention behind Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act.⁶⁷

If guarantees for separate schools had been intended for other parts of the Dominion, why had they not been imposed on the Maritimes? Raney also rejected Laurier's claim that "the principle heretofore sanctioned by the North-West Territories Act" required the federal government to protect separate schools in the west. That Act had not been passed at the request of the people in the Territories; on the contrary, their feelings were better indicated by the ordinances of 1891-1901; obviously, therefore, Laurier's bills were unjust and arbitrary.

Laurier eventually encountered intense pressure from English-speaking Canada to leave education in the new provinces alone. All three prairie conferences passed resolutions to this effect, as did at least two of the Ontario conferences, and one prominent layman, Hon. Clifford Sifton, dramatized his feelings by resigning as Laurier's Minister of the Interior.⁶⁸ Laurier yielded. Although resisting full provincial rights, he agreed to fasten upon the provinces the modified separate schools system of 1901. By and large, the amendments satisfied western Canadians, including Sifton, and Liberal victories in two Ontario by-elections indicated that Ontario too would pass up Rev. C.S. Eby's impassioned appeal for a bi-partisan attempt to turn out the government.⁶⁹ Thoroughly

dispirited, the Christian Guardian could only moralize that

A risky thing has been done, apparently without mishap to the doers. And there are smiles all around in consequence. We are reminded of another risky business, said to have been undertaken with a smile, which may point a moral in this case:

There was a young lady from Riga,
Who smilingly rode on a tiger,
They finished the ride
With the lady inside,
And the smile on the face of the tiger.
The ride is only just begun in the present instance. Before it terminates, the smile may be on the wrong face.⁷⁰

The northwest schools crisis of 1905 provided one of the best illustrations of the manner in which the Methodist Church attempted to perpetuate Ontario values in the west. In contrast to the earlier crisis in Manitoba, the Ontario conferences of the Church fought harder for public schools in the west than did the prairie conferences which were directly concerned. In this respect, the connexion mirrored English Canadian society in general; for example, Laurier received 448 petitions of protest from Ontario following Sifton's resignation from the cabinet, as opposed to only 45 from the Territories and 46 from Manitoba.⁷¹ Nevertheless, even on the prairies, Methodists would seem to have been less tolerant of separate schools in any form than was the Territorial population in general. John A. Ewan, a special correspondent of the Toronto Globe and an admirer of Laurier, discovered widespread

apathy in the Territories concerning the autonomy bills, but he added that "if one hunted up all the fiery Methodist or Presbyterian clergy . . . strong expression of opinion might be obtained. . . ." ⁷²

Further evidence that Methodists were more zealous than others concerning the schools question were the efforts of Revs. C.H. Huestis and R.E. Finlay to bring about the defeat of Frank Oliver in an Edmonton by-election, shortly after Oliver had been chosen by Laurier to succeed Sifton as Minister of the Interior. ⁷³

Unfortunately, the 1905 compromise was one of several educational problems which were to plague the Methodists of Saskatchewan and Alberta. As in Manitoba, the educational system was slow to expand among the European-born settlers. Saskatchewan's Minister of the Interior reported the opening of 50 schools among the Galicians in 1908 but added that 150 schools were needed, ⁷⁴ and the situation in Alberta was much the same. Both provinces also suffered a serious shortage of teachers. As the Christian Guardian explained,

Even the Government offer of sixty dollars a month does not look very tempting when one thinks of the isolation in the midst of a strange land and crude people and the narrowness and prejudice that are to be faced. And the problem of board is a serious one. We had a pleasant chat with a plucky little teacher who had tried boarding in a Galician home. The question of what to eat was bad enough, but the question of how to live with

anything like privacy in a house where everything was held in common, was worse still. Curtains were put up, but even this broad hint was disregarded, and in the end the task had to be given up.⁷⁵

Compulsory attendance at school was frustrated in Saskatchewan by the large colonies of Mennonites and Doukhobors in the province. The federal government had assured both groups that compulsory education would not be forced upon them, and these peoples were too numerous to be coerced by the provinces in any case. Their example, in turn, left the door open for other minority groups, and German immigrants in particular began to establish separate schools with German-language instruction.⁷⁶ In vain the Saskatchewan Conference Department of Temperance and Moral Reform called for more effective truancy laws.⁷⁷ The only province to acquire a satisfactory compulsory attendance law prior to 1914 was Alberta.

Prior to 1914, Methodists tried to make the state a tool for the development of an English-language society in western Canada. For a variety of reasons, the Church did not exert pressure for restrictions on European immigration. Amidst the economic prosperity of the early twentieth century, most Methodists remained confident that the Europeans could be absorbed into Canada's Anglo-Saxon society, and they valued the European influx for its contribution to Canada's economic

growth. However, to ensure that the Europeans would be assimilated, Methodists were insistent that the prairie provinces be given English-language public school systems. Ontario Methodists supported this objective because of their traditional fear that French Canadian culture might be extended west, while prairie Methodists were motivated primarily by the possibility of a polyglot society in the west. Interestingly, the Ontario conferences worked for public schools more aggressively during the crisis of 1905 than did the Assiniboia and Alberta conferences which were directly concerned. In the end, Methodist pressure helped to inflict lasting damage on the separate school systems which had once existed in the west, but the Church and its allies were not strong enough to eliminate bilingual instruction and separate schools entirely.

Chapter VIII

MISSIONS AMONG THE "EUROPEAN FOREIGNERS": ALL PEOPLE'S MISSION IN WINNIPEG, 1889-1914.

Public schools alone could not have achieved Methodist objectives among the European immigrants of the prairie provinces. In addition to converting the "foreigners" into "good Canadian citizens," Rev. James Woodsworth hoped to "teach them the principles of Christianity, as far as we understand the principles of Christ; and ultimately, as far as may be, attach them to the Methodist Church."¹ Many Church leaders felt that these religious goals were an integral part of the assimilation process. Accordingly, two substantial mission complexes were developed among the Europeans of the prairies, and the first was the All People's mission complex in Winnipeg. The location was appropriate. Although Winnipeg had become widely recognized for its central role in the material growth of the prairie region, the city was also noteworthy for its masses of unassimilated European immigrants. Hundreds of "foreigners" passed through the city each year on their way further west. Others stayed and added to a permanent and growing European population in Winnipeg's north end.

All People's was the product of local initiative rather than of the conscious policy of the Methodist Church. In 1889, Miss Dollie Mcguire founded Sunday school classes in McDougall Methodist Church for children of German and other nationalities.² Her classes grew quickly, partly because her magnetic personality surmounted language barriers and partly because the parents of the children were grateful for the food and clothing which she distributed to needy families. By 1890, the class attendance occasionally exceeded one hundred, and the facilities of McDougall Church had become inadequate. Since Miss Mcguire was also desirous of removing the children from the ridicule which their strange dress attracted, the work was transferred to a succession of temporary quarters. For a time classes were held in a tent; then they were housed in a cheap addition which had been tacked onto McDougall Church. The location shifted again in 1891 when McDougall Church was replaced by a new building, and a series of rented halls were used over the next two years. Each move brought the work closer to the C.P.R. station and the Dominion Immigration building where the immigrants were disembarking. The last place rented was adjacent to a hotel bar, and Methodist legend reports that one bar patron wandered into a prayer meeting by mistake, stayed and was con-

verted! Finally, "Dollie McGuire's mission" acquired its own building in 1893 when the Methodist Sunday School Association of Winnipeg purchased the original McDougall Church and moved it to a rented lot just to the north of the C.P.R. station. The work would remain in this small frame building until 1902, and the mission was given a new name to mark the occasion. From the Scriptural passage "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people,"³ the last seven words were borrowed and printed on a sign in eight languages. The mission was to be more popularly known as "All People's."

A number of people had become associated with the mission in the meantime, including Rev. T.E. Morden, who was originally from Ontario, and T. Eli Taylor, who was born and raised in Manitoba and was destined to enter the ministry. Like Miss McGuire, these men could only speak English, but the staff was soon reinforced by three German-speaking teachers. The additional workers permitted a greater variety of activities after 1893. The Sunday school classes were supplemented by prayer meetings three nights per week, house to house visitation, relief to the poor and sick, the distribution of English-language periodicals and assistance to men who needed employment. Mothers' meetings were held through one season, and a reading

room with newspapers in several languages was made available for a time. Through such services the mission attempted to meet the social needs of the immigrant districts and to win a few of the immigrants to Methodism as well.

Despite the quiet permanence of All People's, most Winnipeg Methodists were unaware of its existence until 1898 when the anticipated arrival of several thousand Austrian immigrants drew attention to the European presence. The belief that these immigrants were merely the vanguard of a substantial European influx caused the officials of Zion Methodist Church to lament the weakness of Methodism in the vicinity of the C.P.R. station. Consequently, they recommended the construction of a large building which would replace All People's and Zion Church. As Rev. T.E. Morden explained,

In the part of the city . . . which is first seen by strangers arriving there, Methodism . . . is not well represented. Zion Church is out of sight, a block away from Main Street and hidden by buildings. . . . All People's is directly in front of the C.P.R. passenger station, [but] it is a little, unpretentious building which does not at all accord with the idea of Europeans who have heard of the Methodist Church as the largest Christian body in America. The question has now been raised, whether it is not possible to . . . erect . . . a building of which the denomination need not be ashamed. The carrying out of this plan would mean the placing of a large church in the populous part of the city, where there are now numerous hotels, many

temporary residents and a large proportion of citizens who are not of the wealthy class. The energy of the different denominations has, in the past, been directed away from this part of the city, every new church, with the exception of the small mission buildings having been erected some distance to the south . . . there is . . . a danger of putting up too many small buildings where a smaller number of the better class would be a greater source of strength . . . a large and respectable church, with an active membership meaning business, situated right in the main throughfare . . . surrounded by the rush of travellers and immigrants, would have a field of usefulness well worth cultivating.⁴

Although Winnipeg was still a small city with less than 50,000 people, there was a certain naïveté in Morden's position. The idea that a large, impressive church could win the people over (plus the assumption that they knew what a Methodist was) surely underestimated the challenge ahead in view of the different cultural traditions of the Europeans and the complex social and economic pressures of the city. Nor did Morden appreciate the depth of the problem when urging, "it is just at this stage that a little personal interest taken, and a friendly handshake given for Christ's sake would tell for good for all time to come."⁵

Nevertheless, Winnipeg Methodists were now aware of the space limitations at All People's and of the scarcity of workers who could speak a European language. Accordingly, the Winnipeg District asked the Manitoba and Northwest Conference to appoint one or more col-porteurs for work among the immigrants.⁶ Although this

request was denied for lack of funds and sufficient information concerning the nature of the problem, the entire province was aroused by the arrival of 12,000 Galician immigrants in Winnipeg in November, 1898, coupled with the news that 7,000 Doukhobors were to follow.⁷ Hence, in response to another Winnipeg District request, the Conference made All People's a Methodist mission in 1899 as a preliminary step towards developing work in the European districts of the city. Hitherto, All People's had been a private mission which was supported by the Methodist churches of Winnipeg. It had not been an official Methodist mission because it lacked church members and was, therefore, outside the provisions of the Discipline. Mission workers overcame this regulation, which was designed for English-speaking populations, by banding together themselves.⁸

The mission grew steadily for the next eight years. From 1901 to 1903, activities were directed by Rev. R.L. Morrison, a medical missionary who won entrée into many European homes by offering care for the sick. The purchase of the Maple Street Congregational Church in 1902 gave All People's more spacious facilities and permitted an expansion of all departments of work.⁹ In 1904, the Missionary Society constructed a second building, Bethlehem Slavic (or Stella Avenue) mission, and placed it under Rev. J.V. Kovar, an Austrian-born Protestant.¹⁰

Kovar held services in German, Slavic and Bohemian, and another Austrian-born worker, Miss Kochella, held foreign-language Sunday school classes. The advantages of approaching the Europeans in their native tongues were further exploited in 1905 when a third Austrian Protestant, Frank Dojacek, was employed as a colporteur. By 1906, Rev. J.H. Morgan, the president of the Manitoba Conference, was sufficiently impressed with Dojacek's ability to recommend him for "special ordination"--i.e., ordination without the normal college requirements.¹¹ Dojacek was certainly a conscientious worker. In addition to selling thousands of Bibles and religious tracts, often below cost, he advised immigrants about Canada, comforted those in difficult situations and occasionally provided lunch for destitute individuals.¹² In the meantime, Kovar held cottage meetings in Polish and Austrian homes for some 220 adults, including 22 families and their boarders.¹³ Moreover, an average of 48 European children attended the Bethlehem Slavic Sunday School, and another 41 Europeans attended night school at the mission.¹⁴ Kovar and Dojacek were active to the north of the city as well; bi-weekly religious services were scheduled at Beauséjour and Brokenhead, and religious tracts were distributed to European homes in these areas.¹⁵ By 1907, Methodist mission facilities were reaching some 400 Europeans of sixteen nationalities.

Unlike Bethlehem Slavic mission, the mission on Maple Street was largely concerned with British immigrants by 1905, due to the changing character of the surrounding population.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Rev. Hamilton Wigle, an Ontario native who assumed charge of the older mission in 1905, was aware of a European problem. Although his adult congregation was British, only eight of the forty-five children in his Sunday school had English as their mother tongue.¹⁷ When 215 little girls of sixteen nationalities participated in a special children's service in January, 1906, Wigle reported that

A striking feature of the program was a national representative chorus by thirteen girls of thirteen nationalities. It was most impressive to hear them singing in one tongue and one faith . . . we need hardly draw the attention of our thinking readers that this children's work means the Protestantizing and Canadianizing of 215 mothers and homes in the near future.¹⁸

The full extent of Wigle's interest in the European work was revealed in his activities of the previous month. In a circular letter which was sent to every Methodist minister in the three prairie conferences, Wigle warned that "these people are soon to be a part of us, and we ought to be doing something to mould their religious life, and to bring them to the social, educational and religious status of our Canadian civilization."¹⁹ Accordingly, he proposed that the Methodist Church should train representatives of the various nationalities to work among

their own people. All People's was to be the spearhead of this program, but each minister was asked to tabulate the number of "foreigners" in his area and to secure young men from each nationality for training at Wesley College. Wigle's plan was influenced by the belief that the Europeans would respond better to preaching by their own people than by Canadians. The use of European preachers would also free Canadian-born missionaries, including Wigle, for the already undermanned English-speaking mission work.

By 1906, the Maple Street and Bethlehem Slavic missions were receiving \$7,500 annually from the Missionary Society, the W.M.S. and the Methodist churches of the city.²⁰ Among the Europeans, the return on this investment was limited. The Bethlehem Slavic mission found that lasting gains were elusive because its work was so transitory in nature. Europeans who were contacted soon moved elsewhere and were replaced by other migrants--a problem which Kovar discovered when 80% of the adults to whom he ministered proved to be boarders. Moreover, the Europeans were usually unreceptive to evangelical Protestantism even when it was offered to them in their native tongue. As Dojacek noted, "I can speak to the people but they do not like if I refer to their personal need of salvation. At once they say, 'I have and keep my own religion'."²¹ Much of Kovar's progress was made

among the few Europeans who were already Protestant; in 1906, he formed a separate mothers' meeting for German Protestants whom he found easier to reach than Roman Catholic Poles and Lithuanians.²² The two missions were also shown by statistics to have been merely scratching the surface of the city's ethnic population. Although Bethlehem Slavic mission had 14 European church members and was reaching about 400 Europeans each week by 1906, there were 18,467 non-English-speaking people in the city.²³

In 1907, the Bethlehem Slavic and Maple Street missions were consolidated under one superintendency. Hitherto the name "All People's" had applied only to the older mission, but it would now apply to both branches of the consolidated mission as well as to any new branches which were opened in the future. These changes seemed to be of little importance at the time, but in retrospect they inaugurated a new era for Methodism in north Winnipeg. The superintendency was given to Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, an unusual minister despite his very orthodox background.

Although born near Toronto in 1874, Woodsworth was raised in Manitoba, where his parents moved in 1882. Since his father was the mission superintendent for the western conferences, Woodsworth was expected to develop an orthodox Methodist faith. Years later, he recalled having been brought up within the Church to such an extent

that he was never conscious of having been out of it. He lacked even the sinner's traditional experience of conversion.²⁴ However, like other young men of his day, his beliefs were badly shaken when his college years exposed him to Biblical criticism and to the spirit of scientific enquiry. Original sin, Christ's atonement, the virgin birth, the physical resurrection and ascension into heaven and the authority of the Scriptures were among the many standard Methodist doctrines which he began to doubt.²⁵ Other young men pursued careers within the Church in spite of such problems of faith. However, like conservative Methodists, Woodsworth believed that Church doctrines had to be taken literally. Thus, after accepting ordination in 1900, the collapse of his early religious assumptions caused him to submit letters of resignation from the ministry in 1902, 1907 and in 1913, when his resignation was finally accepted.

Nevertheless, Woodsworth was very much a product of his Church. Although his religion eventually became completely secularized, otherworldly theology was in retreat to some extent throughout Canadian Methodism. Moreover, Woodsworth was strongly influenced by Methodist traditions which aimed at bringing about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. His ministry was devoted to the Christianization of the living conditions and economic relations of the cities in which he lived, and his social gospel

philosophy was a logical outgrowth of Methodist perfectionism in relation to society, even though he does not appear to have been a post-millennialist. His Christian humanitarianism was brought to the fore in 1899 when a year at Oxford afforded him the chance to visit the slums of London, England. Appalled by what he saw, he was adamant that such conditions should not develop in the newer cities of Canada.²⁶ Appropriately, he became superintendent of All People's at a time when Winnipeg was just becoming a city of size and when ethnic and urban problems were becoming more apparent than during the tenures of his predecessors at the mission. Woodsworth's social gospel philosophy would mature in this environment, aided by wide reading on British and American urban difficulties and the methods used to overcome them.

Woodsworth's intellectual transformation was incomplete when he first came to All People's. He initially defined the purpose of his mission in fairly conventional terms, and he appeared to be little different from his predecessors. To begin with, he shared the widespread Methodist belief that the immigrants from southern Europe were culturally and religiously inferior to the native Canadian and that their "conditions of living and standards of morality were not such as to qualify them for becoming good Canadian citizens without a good deal of educating and refining."²⁷ The Europeans were the

victims of a decadent, mediaeval environment in which ageless poverty, ethnic hatreds and ignorance had prevented the attainment of the North American level of civilization. Authoritarian, old-world churches accompanied the immigrants and sought to perpetuate their ignorance for purposes of exploitation. Woodsworth had merely to recall the treatment meted out to a Polish woman in Winnipeg by the Roman Catholic Church:

She said: "I went to confession a few times. The priest began to ask me some awful questions. . . . In the Church he points to a picture of the Virgin Mary and says 'There she stands, asking you to give her money. She wants to buy a new dress.'" There are people who believe that but Mrs. Vasafreshki is more enlightened. . . 28

A number of dangers followed from the European religious and educational weaknesses. Due to ignorance and inexperience with democracy, the immigrants threatened to pollute Canadian politics by selling their votes to corrupt Canadian ward bosses.²⁹ Woodsworth explained that the threat to Canadian morality was sometimes more subtle:

Perhaps one of the most interesting subjects for speculation is the probable reaction upon ourselves of the presence of these strangers. We shall inevitably become more or less a part of all we meet . . . we hear of Greek Catholics, Syrian Catholics . . . and a score of other sects of whom we had not even read in our histories. . . . They are here to stay . . . [and] we are forced to live and let live. We are coming to realize that they have been brought up in a certain way, and we sometimes grudgingly admit that their religion is perhaps

good enough for them. In doing so, our old exclusive conceptions are broken down. . . . Here, indeed, lies a most important question. Will the broadening of our ideals and the breaking down of our bigotry carry with it the lowering of our own moral standards. . . .³⁰

Ironically, atheism was another unhealthy influence from the immigrants. Woodsworth noted that

as time goes on, better education and frequent intercourse with English-speaking Protestants and the prevailing spirit of the new world tend inevitably to weaken the power of the church. Men especially refuse to be guided by those whom they regard as their exploiters.³¹

In these circumstances, he warned, there was "a danger that these people may do as they have in the United States--break away from the bondage of Rome and yet not enter into the liberty of the children of God."³² The economic effects of the immigration were also important: the "foreigner's" willingness to work for low wages undermined the living standards of the Canadian labourer and contributed to slum conditions.³³ Finally, the heterogeneous immigration militated against "that oneness of purpose without which true national life is impossible."³⁴ "How much more serious the question is with us," he added, "when we consider that we are not as yet a united nation, but that again and again in various forms we are forced to recognize the cleavage between French and English."³⁵

Woodsworth viewed seriously the religious side of his Church's response to the ethnic challenge. He reminded

Methodist young people that

As Christians we owe them all that has purified and elevated and enriched our lives. We owe it to them to convince them that religion is not mere ecclesiasticism, nor faith superstition, nor worship ritualism.³⁶

Yet he was convinced that attempts to Protestantize the immigrant population in its entirety were doomed to failure. A mediaeval people could not suddenly embrace Methodist religious beliefs and forms. By race and temperament, the "foreigner" required the warmth and colour of his traditional ritualistic service, and he could only adjust to the "higher religion" on a gradual basis.³⁷

Thus Woodsworth charted a middle course for his mission: to expose the Europeans to Protestant religious assumptions without attempting to sever their traditional denominational affiliations. Protestants could, however, give aid and sympathy to a number of independent churches among the immigrants which had broken free of the parent institutions in Europe. Woodsworth warmly endorsed the Presbyterian subsidization of the "Independent Greek Orthodox Church," an off-shoot of the Greek Orthodox Church which claimed 60,000 adherents in western Canada.³⁸ Although the form of its service resembled that of its parent, Woodsworth detected a spirit of reformation in the content, and the adherents were "Ignorant--yes, but eager for knowledge. Superstitious, yes--but breaking the bonds that have held them for centuries. Peasants--yes, but a people who are

becoming Canadian citizens."³⁹

Possibly it was Woodsworth's scepticism about the benefits of direct proselytizing which brought about the resignation of the three Austrian workers within the first two years of his superintendency. His views most certainly contributed to arrangements between his Church and the Polish Independent Church in 1908. The latter was an American off-shoot of the Roman Catholic Church which had a membership of 200,000 by 1904 when its first Canadian congregation was founded in Winnipeg.⁴⁰ Methodists noted that its form of service was similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church; nevertheless, the Pope's authority was not recognized, the content of the service was evangelical and the Poles were encouraged to read and interpret the Bible for themselves.⁴¹ The Winnipeg congregation was dogged by misfortune. After a series of dishonest or inept priests, a financial crisis in 1908 forced the sale of the Polish Independent church building. Magnanimously, the Methodists stepped into the breach, bought the building and allowed the Poles to continue using it.

Woodsworth later maintained that this gesture was an isolated action and not part of a general scheme to develop closer ties with the Polish Independents.⁴² However, some evidence suggests that Methodist hopes were more ambitious. Prior to the purchase of the Polish building, two young Poles were awarded scholarships of

\$150 to attend Wesley College.⁴³ One of them, Mr. Bali-grodski, conducted religious services and served as an interpreter at All People's in 1907.⁴⁴ After the purchase, Methodist Sunday school classes, mothers' meetings and evangelical services were held in the Polish building in the hopes that Poles would attend.⁴⁵ Finally, the hopes engendered by these beginnings inspired students at Wesley College to send Edmund Chambers to Poland for two years in order to learn the language and customs of the people. In 1910, similar hopes sent Arthur Rose to Poland and brought Paul Kupka, a Polish Protestant, to All People's. Thus Woodsworth's recollection of the past would seem to have been faulty. He could hardly have been unaware of his colleagues' hopes that the Polish Independent Church would become a half-way house to Protestantism. Moreover, statements by Woodsworth in 1907 and 1908 indicate a receptiveness to an agreement similar to that between the Presbyterian and Independent Greek Orthodox churches.

Any hopes for a closer connection with the Poles were soon frustrated. The Methodists were the initiators of the 1908 arrangements, and the Poles merely made the best of a bad situation by accepting them. Predictably, the Poles strove to end their dependence upon Methodist aid, and they succeeded in buying back their building in 1912.⁴⁶ Thus ended a unique four year experiment in which

Methodist activities made virtually no impression upon the Polish population.⁴⁷ In theory, the venture was not entirely a failure. Chambers, Kupka and Rose benefited from a residue of good will, and Methodists could take some satisfaction in having helped one of the independent churches which were emancipating European immigrants from the decadent institutions of the old world.

Most of the progress in the specifically religious side of the work at All People's was made in the Sunday schools. By 1908, classes at All People's had enrolled 375 children, most of whom were European.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Methodist achievements were meagre in terms of Winnipeg's total European population, and other Protestant denominations had done even less. By 1912, All People's shared the north end with four other Protestant missions (two Presbyterian, one Anglican and one Baptist), but the latter were recent creations and operated on a much smaller scale than All People's.⁴⁹

In the meantime, Woodsworth had lost interest in the purely religious objectives of his mission. Towards the end of 1909, his concern for the world to come finally died, and he became completely oriented to the task of Christianizing life on earth. As he informed an audience in Fort William, the Church was experiencing the same transition. The old theology was rent asunder by Biblical criticism and the spirit of scientific enquiry, and social

conditions were being transformed by the rise of cities and the growth of popular education and democracy. In consequence, the Kingdom of God was being thought of as here and now, not as something which was spiritual and relegated to the distant future. "We want more to save our age than our nervous dying souls," Woodsworth pleaded. Accordingly, he challenged the Church to secularize its religion and to direct its attention to urgent, contemporary problems rather than to obscure Biblical passages.⁵⁰ Woodsworth's secular drift could not help but affect All People's. When he ceased to stress religious aspects of the work, the entire mission became less evangelical and less denominational than it might have been under another leader.

His secular drift was understandable in view of his daily exposure to north end social problems. From mission workers, outside observers and his own experience, Woodsworth learned of hundreds of families which were living in filthy, overcrowded quarters. In 1908, Rev. S.P. Rose, the pastor of Broadway Methodist Church in Winnipeg, selected thirty "specimen cases" which he felt would "bring the blush to the face of a young person." "Our first visit," he wrote,

is to a woman of twenty-eight, by no means repulsive and not in appearance bad. She is morally sound asleep. She is separated from her husband, and has two children, infants, which are not his. Three beds, one table, one bench, two chairs, a stove, which draws

badly, a few dishes, never too clean, constitute the furniture. A barrel, with a generous supply of liquor, is prominently in evidence. Smoke fills the house all the time. Eight boarders, all men, share this miserable accommodation with this woman and her two sickly children. Nine adults, three beds, and two rooms! And probably these men will help to determine, at the next general election, who shall be Canada's first minister!⁵¹

Religion was obviously only one part of the social background which led to such conditions. The Europeans were content with low living standards because of their peasant social origins, and they allowed their children to quit school at an early age because they were illiterate and lacked respect for education. As Woodsworth noted, immigrant shortcomings as citizens were also attributable to social and economic forces which were incidental to urbanization and over which the immigrants had little control. High land values caused high rents which, in turn, placed decent accommodation beyond the means of the average newcomer.⁵² The Europeans were also affected by seasonal unemployment when winter ended the construction season.⁵³ Small children were neglected because their mothers were forced to find jobs, and older children were taken from school because the "foreigners" were victims of poverty in its broadest sense: they could only obtain the essentials of life by having every member of the family working.⁵⁴ Even the environment victimized the immigrant; the absence of decent recreational facilities

contributed to his degradation via the pool room, the bar and the street.⁵⁵ Finally, the children fell into harm's way because their assimilation was too sudden and of the wrong kind. As Woodsworth explained,

Their parents are often hard-working devout people, who seem utterly at a loss to know how to account for their children's misbehavior. . . . The children within a few months of their arrival in this country have acquired a very fair knowledge of the English language, have dressed themselves in clothing which conforms to the latest Canadian fashions, and have plunged as far as possible into Canadian life. They soon come to regard their parents as old-fashioned and stupid, in fact as despised foreigners, with whom in their hearts they feel very much ashamed to be connected. The mother and father . . . cling to the old home customs and the old home dress and the old home religion. To the boys and girls these are conclusive evidence that they are hopelessly stupid . . . they resolve to strike out along their own lines. The low wages paid to the father necessitate the children going early to work. . . . Having made their money, they feel they have a right to spend it just as they please. The moving picture show and the dance hall, the pool room and the bar room are the most attractive places of resort.⁵⁶

Woodsworth was careful not to make too much of the living conditions in the immigrant sections of the city. In 1908, he doubted that "the danger in the city is great at the present time. We haven't the 'pauper class' of the old land."⁵⁷ The poor were mostly newcomers who had come to Canada within the previous three or four years. Their poverty was temporary and would cease once they had paid their transportation expenses and had saved up enough to bring out their families.⁵⁸ Moreover, like unemployment,

overcrowded living conditions were to some extent a seasonal problem.⁵⁹ What worried Woodsworth was the future. Conscious of what had happened in the older cities of Britain and the United States, he was worried that the temporary conditions in Winnipeg might become permanent. Although the immigrants were accepting substandard living conditions in order to win a foothold in Canadian life, some might fail to win a foothold and would reside in the north end tenement houses permanently. At that point, slums would begin.⁶⁰

In an attempt to prevent slum conditions from taking root, All People's developed a broad, non-denominational and humanitarian program to facilitate the healthy assimilation of the immigrant. By giving the European a knowledge of Canadian values and the English language, mission workers could increase his economic potential and make him a better citizen in the process. The state could not help the immigrant in all these ways. As the Manitoba Free Press noted, municipal authorities could enforce regulations against overcrowding, but only the churches could give the "foreigners" the higher Canadian values which would cure substandard social habits for good.⁶¹ The educational and welfare services of the churches were also needed because the state was slow to provide these things.⁶² Similarly, the churches could show areas in which state action was required in the future.

Under Woodsworth's tutelage, secular activities at All People's came to reach hundreds of people. In 1908, the Missionary Society's report for the mission stated that 138 children and 200 homes were contacted through the kindergarten work, 300 girls were enrolled in sewing and kitchen garden classes, 100 persons were learning English at night classes, 70 women were attending mothers' meetings and other Europeans were reached through house to house visitation.⁶³ Although many of these activities antedated his superintendency, Woodsworth tried to give them new purpose. In contrast to the Fred Victor Mission in Toronto, where secular services were used as "bait for the gospel hook,"⁶⁴ Woodsworth intended them solely to improve earthly social conditions.

The permanent staff at All People's numbered eleven in 1908, including two missionaries, three deaconesses, four kindergarten workers and two probationers. Their efforts were supplemented by those of volunteers from Wesley College and city churches.⁶⁵ The physical plant was still limited to the Maple Street and Bethlehem Slavic buildings, neither of which had facilities for institutional work. Moreover, due to the northward drift of the European population, the Maple Street building was concerned almost exclusively with British immigrants after 1910.⁶⁶ Hence the importance of two

institutional buildings which were erected in 1909, one on Stella Avenue and the other on Sutherland Avenue. Each included a swimming tank, a reading room, gymnasium equipment and a library and was intended to provide an alternative to unsavory recreational outlets.⁶⁷

In the autumn of 1910, Woodsworth began renting the Grand Theatre on Sunday afternoons for "People's Forum" meetings.⁶⁸ These gatherings were designed for immigrants who were alienated by ordinary religious services. Save for hymns and the occasional address which appealed to patriotism or Christianity in its broadest sense, they were devoid of religious content.⁶⁹ Instead the forums presented guest speakers and discussions on a variety of scientific, economic and social questions which were of general public interest, and social activities were scheduled for the evenings. Examples of lecture topics were "the social segregation of vice," "popular astronomy," "the single tax," "direct legislation," "Shakespeare and his view of life," and the "new social revolution."⁷⁰ Woodsworth intended a two-fold objective for these meetings. Firstly, he hoped to break down the exclusiveness of the Europeans by bringing different nationalities together.⁷¹ Secondly, he hoped to furnish moral instruction for people who were not reached by the regular channels of the church.⁷² To judge by newspaper reports, the "People's Forum" was a great success. Up to 1,200 persons, mostly English-

speaking, attended the afternoon sessions. An average of 800 persons attended social functions in the evenings, many of whom were "foreigners."⁷³

Woodsworth's greatest satisfaction probably came from the "settlement houses" which were established in 1912. Taken from British and American models, the settlement houses provided homes in the immigrant districts for "average" Canadians who were to provide an example of how to live. Settlement workers were required to keep their homes attractive and were to devote one evening per week to social work. In this way, the houses would become islands of Canadian influence. To some extent, this purpose was served by Woodsworth's own home, but the first real social settlement was North End House, which was begun in 1912 for the female staff of All People's. Sutherland Court, a home for Wesley College students, was opened a few months later.⁷⁴

Notwithstanding Woodsworth's energies and accomplishments, All People's was not entirely an extension of his ideas and ambitions. Although he provided the mission with a non-denominational, secular image, the older evangelical tradition survived beneath the surface. The following statement expressed Rev. Edmund Chamber's ideas as to the purpose of the mission:

. . . there is social work needed, to acquaint [the foreigners] with their duties and privileges as citizens of a democratic country; on the other hand, there is a deeper and more

important effort to be made to change the heart and point them to the glorious liberty of the children of God.

. . . confident in the power and prayers of His people, we can go forward knowing that His kingdom will come in the hearts and lives of men as well as in their social environment.⁷⁵

With these objectives, Chambers held lodging house meetings and lantern services in a personal war against formalism and indifference.⁷⁶ Evangelical hopes also lay behind the settlement houses. Concerning Sutherland Court, Rev. William Somerville wrote that "instead of trying to cover a lot of ground as in the past, workers will go out after individuals--and will send converts out after others."⁷⁷ Somerville was also critical of the secular format of the "People's Forum" meetings; in a letter to Rev. James Allen in Toronto, he asked,

. . . what do you think of the way Rev. J.S. Woodsworth is spending his Sundays and the time and money of the Methodist people [?]

I have no desire to undervalue the work of Bro. Woodsworth for he has good organizing ability, nor am I anxious to go heresy hunting. . . . But I say All People's Mission has better work to do, and I hope you will see to it that mere amusement will not be held out as the chief work for a Sunday evening.⁷⁸

Finally, Rev. Arthur Rose argued that the mission should be concerned exclusively with evangelical work. Observing that the Poles and other ethnic groups were hardened against assimilation because of German and Russian efforts to de-nationalize them in the old country, he concluded that

this knowledge should somewhat change our tactics in mission work. We have preached too much, through the press at least, the Gospel of Canadian citizenship. The result has been that these people, driven to us by denationalizing forces, have scented danger and have avoided us. We must therefore preach salvation to Polish people, and we shall find that not only will they more readily accept our teaching, but [they] will sooner become Canadian citizens and better ones.⁷⁹

Despite the quiet survival of the evangelical tradition, Woodsworth continued to expand the horizons of the secular side of mission work. With the discovery that north end social problems were far too large for All People's alone, he became a leading advocate of greater co-operation among the various charitable institutions of the city. A central case file was recommended in order to eliminate overlapping. By combining resources, the charitable institutions could also aid the unemployed by establishing a labour bureau and by providing odd jobs at a wood yard and laundry.⁸⁰ Woodsworth's hopes were largely realized in 1910. The "Associated Charities" was formed to co-ordinate the activities of some fifty organizations, and it was considered by Woodsworth to be the best agency of its kind in Canada.⁸¹ The same year witnessed the formation of Woodsworth's "League of Social Service Workers" which held weekly meetings to discuss specific cases, common problems and methods of work.⁸²

Unfortunately, even in combination, the charities were no match for the immigration problem as long as the

C.P.R. and other transportation companies continued to "dump" people into the country. "We are," warned Woodsworth, "reaping and will reap for years the results of the reckless importation of thousands of poor, diseased, degraded and incapable immigrants."⁸³ Hence, while he was not "one of those who would attempt to stop immigration," he nevertheless urged "that for the future welfare of Canada we do not permit people to come at a greater rate than we can care for them."⁸⁴ Woodsworth also demanded more state action on behalf of the immigrants who had already come to Canada. The various levels of government could, for example, legislate minimum building standards, provide recreational facilities, pass regulations against overcrowding and child labour, stamp out dens of vice and require compulsory education for children.⁸⁵ Hopefully the state would absorb many of the services which the churches were providing, thus freeing denominational resources for other projects. Just as the parent could best help the child by making the child independent of him, so the churches could best serve society by making society independent of them. With this philosophy, Woodsworth terminated the teaching of English at All People's when the city began to offer that service.⁸⁶

Woodsworth recognized that state action could only be brought about by educating society as to urban needs. He explained that

In the country the people are to a large extent on the level, but in the cities we have the rich and the poor, the classes and the masses, and all that these distinctions involve. The tendency is that the well-to-do gather in the more or less exclusive suburbs, while the poor are segregated in slum districts, and between these there is comparatively little intercourse. . . . Difference of language, race and religion broaden the chasm. The people who most need help are separated from those who could most help them. The personal bonds of sympathy which exist in simpler social conditions are almost entirely absent.⁸⁷

The problem was to inform upper and middle class Canadians in Winnipeg's south end about conditions among the immigrants in the north. "God pity us!" exclaimed Woodsworth in 1909, "We call this a Christian land. We are complacent and self-satisfied and within a few blocks of us hundreds are enduring the most shocking misery."⁸⁸ Accordingly, All People's tried to bridge the social chasm. Woodsworth personally did yeoman duty to meet the educational need. During six years at All People's, he made many speeches, wrote frequently for the press and published two widely read books about the problems which he encountered. Strangers Within Our Gates, published in 1909, attempted to familiarize Canadians with the characteristics of the various ethnic groups among the immigrants. My Neighbour, published in 1911, dealt with urban problems which complicated the immigration question. Neither book was very original. Both presented a mosaic of British and American ideas from a Canadian perspective. However,

the first volume, especially, sold many copies, and the respectful reception which both volumes received attested to Woodsworth's worth and influence as an educator.

Partly due to Woodsworth and partly due to the stimulus of the city's large European population, the social chasm was bridged to some extent. More than any other area of Canadian Methodism, Winnipeg provided laymen and clergy who were outspoken on the immigration question. Leaders in the assault on the ethnic mosaic included Revs. Samuel East, John Maclean, John S. Sibley, T.E. Morden and A.E. Smith, all of whom had been stationed in Winnipeg at some point in their careers, Principal J.W. Sparling and Professor W.F. Osborne of Wesley College, Arthur Ford, one of the editors for the Winnipeg Tribune, H.W. Hutchinson, the farm implement manufacturer, and J.H. Ashdown, a member of the General Board of Missions.⁸⁹ As noted in chapter VI, Ashdown and Hutchinson were especially zealous in demanding a greater expenditure on European mission work in the city. A typical illustration of their spirit was the following letter from Ashdown to Rev. James Allen in 1909:

You are aware by figures the condition of affairs in the city of Winnipeg. I do not think that you yourself or any of the Church authorities in the East realize fully what it means. . . . The amount expended here is altogether out of proportion to the necessities of the occasion, if we are to do what we should both as citizens and as Christians. . . . There was a meeting a short time ago in reference to the Stella St. mission

. . . the building will go on but it is only one building out of half a dozen that might go on. . . . Kindly remember that, if the heathen or the non-civilized are worth looking after in their own countries, surely the same must be true of them when they come to our land where their presence may be such a corrupting influence.⁹⁰

Appropriately, municipal and provincial authorities acted on a number of social questions during Woodsworth's superintendency. In December, 1912, Woodsworth commented favourably on the work of the Health Department and Park Board of Winnipeg, and he endorsed progressive steps such as the formation of a city planning commission, the extension of library facilities, the provision of city-supervised playgrounds, the purchase of public utilities by the city, the construction of correctional homes for juveniles and the passage of workmen's compensation legislation by the province.⁹¹

Yet Woodsworth remained dissatisfied. Hundreds of families were subsisting on \$50.00 per month when twice that amount was essential for a decent living standard.⁹² Bars, cheap theatres and brothels still flourished and caused many of the evils which All People's was fighting. For want of an adequate child labour law, immigrant parents were keeping young children home from school to do housework.⁹³ Most serious of all was the lack of a compulsory school law for Manitoba. Concerning the constitutional entanglements which obstructed the necessary

legislation, an anguished Woodsworth told the Manitoba Free Press "that a legal knot must never tie the wheels of progress. Law exists for the good of the people. The right thing can never be ultra vires."⁹⁴ He was further distressed at legal loop-holes which permitted foreign-language instruction in the public school system.⁹⁵

In June, 1913, Rev. J.S. Woodsworth resigned from the Methodist ministry, convinced that social reformers could not capture the Church in the battle for the city.⁹⁶ Although his own mission had become an effective instrument for social reform, the Church at large seemed curiously out of date. Twentieth century man could sin in ways of which Moses never dreamed, and, as one of his staff remarked, "the church speaks in no uncertain terms about a man whiffing a cigar; but she never condemns a man who clears a couple of thousand dollars in a couple of hours transferring a piece of property"⁹⁷--even though inflated land values were a prime cause of overcrowding and high rents. Even when the Church spoke out on social problems, it seemed to lack influence over the membership. Woodsworth wondered aloud whether Christianity was merely "a beautiful idealism but absolutely unfitted to the rough and tumble of everyday life."⁹⁸ Unquestionably, All People's alone was not equal to Methodist obligations in the north end, and he was not surprised that the Europeans were always on the "other side" in local option contests.⁹⁹ Notwithstanding the views of J.H. Ashdown,

H.W. Hutchinson and others, the actions of other prominent Winnipeg laymen support Woodsworth's disillusionment with the support given to the European work. Thomas Ryan specified that his \$30,000 pledge to the Mission Plant and Extension Fund was to be spent in China, and Manlius Bull did the same for half of his \$15,000 pledge.¹⁰⁰ Others gave little to missions of any kind. Finally, any doubts as to the relevance of his Church to social problems were confirmed in February, 1913, when the Trades and Labour Council, on which Woodsworth represented the churches, declined to send a representative to the Moral and Social Reform Council. The latter organization was, the labourers charged, the captive of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association which was, in turn, the tool of the capitalistic classes.¹⁰¹

In 1913, a heroic secular career lay ahead of Woodsworth, but he left a considerable achievement behind as well. Under his superintendency, All People's had become Methodism's major foray among the Europeans of Winnipeg. The mission complex operated on an annual budget of \$25,000 at the time of his resignation, of which about 75% was spent on European work.¹⁰² Unfortunately, while All People's worked effectively for social reform, it did little to spread Methodist religious values or Methodism as an institution.

Interestingly, a mission much like All People's was

begun in Brandon.¹⁰³ Brandon Second was founded in 1909 to serve some 250 families to the north of the C.P.R. tracks in the city. Only 60 of the families were Canadian. The remainder included 30 German Lutheran, 17 Jewish, 87 Roman Catholic (German, Galician and Polish) and 20 Galician Greek Orthodox households. As in Winnipeg, Methodist missionaries tried to reach these people through their children, and Sunday school classes were soon attracting 150 children per week. Relations with Brandon's German population were further cemented when Rev. Pohlman, a Lutheran pastor from Lemburg, Saskatchewan, was permitted the use of the building once each month for a nominal fee. However, Brandon Second did not approach All People's in size and importance. The General Board of Missions apparently accepted the advice of Rev. Robert Milliken, Principal of Regina College, who visited Brandon in 1911 and concluded that further expenditure there was unwise. In his opinion, the numbers of "foreigners" in Brandon did not justify a substantial mission plant and the European population was not likely to increase in view of the "quiet steadiness" of the city; finally, local leadership and policy was lacking.¹⁰⁴

Chapter IX

THE AUSTRIAN MISSIONS IN ALBERTA, 1901-1914

A second Methodist mission complex among the prairie Europeans was developed in northern Alberta. As well as forming a part of the Methodist assault on the problem of the "foreigner," these missions were laboratories for developing techniques of work in rural, ethnically homogenous colonies. As such, they complemented the work of All People's in the urban, polyglot society of Winnipeg.

The European work in Alberta was a response to the arrival of 12,000 Austrians in western Canada in 1898. Most of these people settled to the west of Winnipeg in rural, homogenous colonies of a single--though not united--ethnic group.¹ As noted in chapter VIII, the numbers of these people and the assumption that they were merely the vanguard of a great influx of Europeans aroused the Methodist Church to the existence of a European problem. In the Edmonton area, where half of the Austrians settled, the Methodist district meeting reacted with panic and requested the Manitoba and Northwest Conference to petition the Canadian government "not to encourage" additional Galician immigration.² Although the Conference refused this request, the concern for the Austrian

presence was not lost. In its annual report for 1898, the General Board of Missions noted that

This field should receive the immediate attention of the Missionary Society, there being about six thousand Galicians and Bookevanians who are without a priest or missionary. The Galicians are not in every respect favorable to becoming Roman Catholics but will become such if no other denomination will provide them with the gospel. The Bookevanians belong to the Greek Orthodox Catholic. These people are in our midst to stay and it would be a good investment to place a man among them who could minister to them the gospel of Christ in its simplicity.³

In 1901, the Austrians received their first Methodist missionary. By 1914, there were some twenty-four workers and seven mission centres among them.

The missionaries provided an explicit definition of their objectives in Methodist publications. In the belief that the Austrian's traditional church life was inferior and that his morality was correspondingly weak, they aimed at his conversion to evangelical Protestantism; in the process, the immigrant would become a better Canadian citizen. Conversely, the missionaries feared that Methodist social and religious values would be overwhelmed by European decadence if the Austrians were not won over to the Protestant side. In their attempt to turn the Austrians into Protestant, Anglo-Saxons, the missions were very much a cultural extension of eastern Canada. Nearly all of the Methodist personnel were originally from eastern provinces, two of the three

ordained missionaries were supported by Ontario Epworth Leagues, and direction and support came from both of the Toronto-based missionary societies of the Church.⁴

Rev. Charles H. Lawford, M.D., was the first missionary to reach the Austrians. Although born in England in 1863, Lawford was raised in Toronto. In 1879, he went west to the prairies to join his father, and he became a probationer in the Manitoba and Northwest Conference in 1889.⁵ Despite the missionary needs of the west, Lawford became more impressed with the need for missionaries in China. Hence, after completing his theological training at Wesley College in 1896, he resigned from the ministry and entered the Manitoba medical school with the intention of becoming a medical missionary.⁶ Upon graduation, he was prevented from going to China by the Boxer rebellion and subsequent political unrest, and so he began private medical practice at Arcola, Manitoba. At this point, friends drew his attention to the need for Austrian work in the northwest. When Dr. Alexander Sutherland, the General Secretary of the Missionary Society, made the same suggestion, Lawford acquiesced to the new call.⁷

His new career had a most unpromising beginning. No sooner had he arrived at his mission post when he was forced to return to Winnipeg to have his foot amputated, an operation made necessary when "a fall on

my ankle, previously strained, caused arthritis and abscess formation."⁸ However, the loss of his foot was partially offset by the acquisition of a wife in Toronto, a nurse who had shared his original interest in the Chinese work. With his return to the west, the Austrian work was underway. If the beginning was modest, the first mission was destined to grow and to spawn other missions. Dr. Lawford would remain the guiding spirit of the resultant mission complex until his retirement in 1925.

The mission was located at Pakan, N.W.T., on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River about seventy-five miles northeast of Edmonton. Ferry service across the river at this point made the site a natural gateway to the Austrian colony on the north bank.⁹ The Austrians were mostly from the province of Bukowinia, but there were minority groups from the province of Galicia and from Romania. They totalled some 250 families in an area of 600 square miles.¹⁰ Many of them had been small landowners in Europe and came to Canada with a starting capital of \$500 to \$1,000; others arrived penniless. In either case they "made good." After locating their homesteads and erecting simple dwellings, the men left their wives to work the farms while they took jobs in railway construction. With this outside income, most of the Austrians had livestock,

machinery and comfortable dwellings within four years.¹¹

Although the "foreigners" made good material progress, Lawford believed that they were less well off in a religious sense. In his opinion, the Bukowinians were ignorant of the most common gospel truths and were

very lax in the things that the word of God is explicit about. The Sabbath is broken by dance parties in holiday time, Sunday afternoon once in awhile. Men start off for freight so near to the end of the week there is no hope of being home for Sunday, and hence they are found freighting on God's day of rest. Lying is prevalent, and . . . The love of strong drink has been acquired by many in Austria . . .¹²

The major cause of this state of affairs was the inability of the Greek Orthodox Church to meet the religious needs of the Bukowinians. To begin with, the people had come without their priests. In Lawford's area, the nearest Greek Orthodox church was at Wastock, some twenty to forty miles distant from the settlers. By 1904, many of his Austrian neighbours had not been to church for four years.¹³ However, Lawford doubted that the Greek Orthodox priests could save many souls even if there were more of them, and his analysis of the reasons constituted a rather full commentary on the differences between orthodox and evangelical Christianity. The major failing of the priests was in ascribing equal

authority to church traditions and the Scriptures. In consequence, the Bukowinians accepted fables and believed in saints, and some disobeyed God's explicit commands under the mistaken assumption that church sanctions made their actions acceptable.¹⁴ Moreover, concern with non-essentials obscured important Scriptural truths. As Lawford explained, shortly after the opening of a Greek Orthodox church near his mission,

If these workers would but preach the simple Gospel, instead of occupying so much time with the carrying out of elaborately-devised ceremonials and ritualistic observances, they could do so much to uplift the people. But as a matter of fact, the service is so long that the people do not feel under obligation to remain, and so keep coming and going during the entire service. It is very lamentable to see so much time and thought occupied with non-essentials, and the truths of the Gospel that set forth the need of the inner spiritual life crowded out. What shall it profit that a system of religion shall succeed in establishing a people in religious forms if that system leads them not into loving union with Christ. . . .?¹⁵

The low morality of the priesthood completed the list of Greek Orthodox shortcomings. Lawford regretted "a tendency on the part of the priests to take intoxicating liquors with their parishoners when at weddings and other feasts." In 1910, he charged that

The priest in the Greek Church now in charge near here seems from his own people's report to be a disgrace to any church. We are constantly hearing of drunken revellings . . . in which the priest is said to be the chief actor . . . though the people may bow to his ecclesiastical authority, they cannot rely

on the leadership of such a one for spiritual help. It is certainly a case of the blind leading the blind. Think of the absurdity of a man, in the name of religion, conducting a so-called religious service, the wind-up of which is the drinking of two gallons of whiskey by the priest and the people. The priest became so intoxicated that he could scarcely remain on his feet and pleaded with his parishoners to help him home.¹⁶

Lawford was even more critical of the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church of the Galician and Romanian minority groups near Pakan. In addition to Greek Orthodox faults, the Uniate Church was cursed by worship of the Virgin Mary.¹⁷ The Austrian tragedy was completed by their 95% illiteracy rate, which prevented them from reading the Scriptures and made them so extremely dependent upon their priests for religious guidance.¹⁸

Although the Austrians seemed badly in need of a Methodist missionary, proselytizing was not entirely fashionable in Lawford's day. With so many heathen in Asia to be converted, ecumenical tendencies were considered more desirable than a wasteful competition among the Christian churches in America and Europe.¹⁹ Possibly in deference to this sentiment, Lawford initially gave great weight to the shortage of Greek Orthodox priests. He assumed the posture of stepping into a denominational vacuum rather than of raiding the strength of another church. Ostensibly, he desired to give the Austrians "true religion" but not necessarily a Methodist religious

affiliation. Nevertheless, Lawford was proselytizing. This became clear in 1908 when Greek Orthodox priests moved into the Pagan area and were forced to compete with Lawford for the denominational affections of the people. In fact, Lawford assumed that the old church allegiance was a bondage "worse than any African slavery."²⁰ In the mistaken belief that their church provided the road to salvation, the Austrians had been at the mercy of their priests, who could deny them the sacraments. Lawford hoped desperately to liberate these people by showing them that salvation was attainable through individual faith in Christ, according to the Scriptures, and not through merit which was allegedly dispensed by church officials.

The Austrians were primarily a religious problem, to Lawford. He was intensely religious, and his outlook was relatively free of the nationalism and other secular accretions of many Methodist missionaries. He made little distinction between the advancement of God's kingdom in Canada and in Asia. Nevertheless, he recognized that the spiritual improvement of the Austrians would make them better citizens and would prevent them from exercising "a most baneful influence on our nation throughout."²¹ Nor was he able to surmount a dislike for the Austrians--perhaps the reason why he failed to

become fluent in their language.²²

Needless to say, there were great obstacles to the success of the Pakan mission. Aside from the language barrier, evangelical Protestantism was not very attractive to a people who had been raised in the very different church traditions of southeastern Europe. Lawford would also have to overcome the ostracism which converted Austrians would face. Thus the initial progress at Pakan was predictably slow and small. Lawford held Sunday services with the aid of an interpreter in the hopes that some Austrians would attend when they had no church of their own, and he distributed Ruthenian-language religious tracts to the few who could read.²³

Two factors saved Lawford from total failure. First was his familiarity with Canadian ways. Lawford found that his advice was sought on a wide variety of secular matters, and his work day soon included matters such as the assembling of farm machinery, arranging for the payment of bills and the dispensing of information concerning land laws and the formation of school districts.²⁴ The extent of his secular work is indicated by the following record of his activities on February 27, 1905:

Case 1.- Three Austrian farmers, from about three miles, asking me to write Edmonton Land Office for permits for logs to cut into

lumber for their homes.

Case 2.- Austrian, from about eight miles, for medicine for his wife, also to have letter written re land he wishes for his farm.

Case 3.- Young man (Métis) with suppurative middle ear disease.

Case 4.- Two Austrians, one to get medicine, the other to get letter written. Both from this neighbourhood.

Case 5.- Austrian, from twelve miles distant, tooth extracted, treated one prior to filling.
(Dinner)

P.M.

Case 6.- Austrian to see about money due him for work for the Canadian Pacific Railway, for which I had previously written. From about thirteen miles.

Case 7.- Canadian settler, from about twenty miles distant, to have tooth extracted.

Case 8.- Austrian settler, from six miles south, to get instructions how to proceed to conduct business in forming school district.

Case 9.- Two Austrians, from twenty miles east, for me to write re homesteads.

Case 10.- A trustee of the Greek Church ten miles east for me to write re logs they wish the government to give them for their church.

(Supper)

Case 11.- Austrian, accident on hill, team ran away, came for one of my horses to overtake his.

Case 12.- A trustee of another Greek Church, to have me write a list of men and the number of logs they were contributing to their church, and write re the grant of land they desire.

About 11 p.m. Good-night.²⁵

Although secular matters gave Lawford a very full day, they also gave him associations which were vital to his religious work.

Lawford's second great asset was his medical training. In 1904, he recalled that medical work was "the one thing used of God to prevent us from being defeated in our efforts to gain an entrance to the

people."²⁶ By 1906, his home was no longer large enough for his practice, and he asked the General Board of Missions to give him a hospital. He was certain that such an overture would evoke a response from the Austrians. Isolated and without so much as railway connections to another medical centre, and with their capital tied up in farm machinery, the Austrians had no hope of financing a hospital on their own for years to come.²⁷ An Edmonton layman, Dr. Harry R. Smith, gave warm support to Lawford's plans. In a letter to Rev. James Allen in Toronto, Smith warned that the Roman Catholics of northern Alberta had

a monopoly of the hospital business, and through this agency they win a great many Protestant children and young adults to their faith and I think our church is very slow and far behind the times in this practical branch of Christian work. I do not know what the men in the east need but I do know that out here a little practical Christianity as far as could be demonstrated in a hospital ward has far more weight than all the preaching that all the ministers combined can do.²⁸

Rev. T.C. Buchanan, the mission superintendent for the Alberta Conference, also supported the project, and the authorities in Toronto were convinced. The General Board of Missions approved plans for a \$4,000 building in April, 1907, and the "George McDougall Memorial Hospital," a substantial three storey structure, was completed in November.²⁹

The hospital immediately became the core of the Pakan mission and enabled Lawford to reach more Austrians than ever before. In 1910, he reported with some satisfaction that

Patients have come to us from Manville, Saddle Lake, Vegreville, Scarrow, Lamont and from as far north as they are settled. Thus through our hospital we reach about three times the number of people we could by our Sabbath services alone.³⁰

With the religious objectives of the hospital in mind, Lawford strove to maximize the Christian tone within the building. As he explained,

Our hospital work is not alone a work of saving life and lessening suffering and deformity, our constant aim is to provide for the souls of these people. To this end we furnish all patients who can read with a copy of the Scripture in their own language; this the foreigners never fail to use.

My assistant, Metro Ponich, has had many opportunities of reading the Scripture to those who cannot read for themselves, and of speaking with much acceptance the truths which point out man's need and God's salvation. On Sabbath evenings a short service is held in the hospital when the conditions of the patients and other circumstances will permit.

The personal factor is perhaps the greatest factor for good in our hospital work. Patients come in, say, for a week; morning and evening I visit them. Christian nurses are in constant touch with them and when they return to their homes, they carry with them the feelings of friendship and regard which go far toward opening the way for future work.³¹

A serious problem, however, was that Lawford's medical fees were too expensive for some of the settlers even when kept to the minimum which was permitted by

the Alberta Medical Association's fee structure.

Dr. H.R. Smith, who had become secretary of the George McDougall Hospital Advisory Board in Edmonton, complained that

the medical work as at present charged for is doing the mission work harm. It is impossible to show the people the justice of when they shall call the Doctor to their home and do not ask him to return and he sees fit to make several visits more and charges them for each of these visits. . . . They consider they have been robbed and especially so in cases where they cannot see the benefit of the additional visit . . . it does not help the case any to point out this is the custom of the country or that the law permits such. To them it is stealing and the worse because it is done by the Church.³²

Thus Lawford and his assistants tried to keep their fees to a minimum, and they charged less than the minimum Alberta tariff where genuine need existed.

The Sunday services and the hospital work represented the spearhead of the Methodist offensive against Austrian irreligion. The mission was also concerned with defensive activities in the realm of ethics. In his efforts to uplift Austrian immorality, Lawford was forced to counter invasions of his territory by Canadian-born saloon keepers and sabbath desecraters. To this end, he sought an efficient local option law. In the meantime, Austrians at his services were treated to sermons such as that which was entitled "What the Bible says about strong drink, and the effect of

alcohol on the human system from a medical standpoint."³³

His effectiveness as a moral reformer was perhaps best illustrated by an incident in 1914 in which he was accused of malpractice. His accuser, R.J. Maddox of Lamont, maintained that improper treatment by Lawford resulted in the death of a patient who had undergone an appendectomy.³⁴ Hence Lawford's removal from the hospital was demanded, failing which charges would be laid. In the end, the charges were not proven, but Lawford's analysis of the incident was most interesting. In a letter to Rev. James Allen, he argued that Maddox's real motive was opposition to Lawford's efforts at moral reform:

I have been well known these past years as an active worker in both temperance and moral reform yet in the face of this some have had the audacity to spread the report that I was so drunk at a large public gathering that I could not stand on my feet.

Since coming here I have had to prosecute some for coming into our district and doing contract work on Sunday. I have to be the chief agent in opposing and preventing liquor licenses being issued on this side of the river.

I have tried and convicted a hotel man who had to pay \$225 and lost his license. Last year in our own settlement I had to bring up a school teacher who lost his certificate and was sent to stand trial for seduction and the judge told the prisoner that on the technicality of age he had to dismiss him but that he was sure that he was guilty. This is the fourth young woman of our settlement that has gone wrong. . . .

There have been determined efforts to drive our church out and I have had to stand in the breach . . . but you cannot do this without

opposition. In all my efforts against vice I have never had to go after one Austrian it has always been the Canadian or British person I have had to chase up.³⁵

His closing statement expressed a frustration which was experienced by missionaries around the world: their own countrymen set the worst examples for the heathen they were trying to uplift.

The mission made enormous demands upon Lawford and his staff, including his wife, two nurses and a cook. All faced a life which a medical assistant was later to describe as being "utterly devoid of home life of any nature," and the nurses were burdened with washing and scrubbing as well as their professional duties.³⁶ In these circumstances, the hospital experienced difficulty holding staff. Lawford had the most demanding routine of all. In addition to his medical chores, he was loaded down with two Thursday prayer meetings, two Sunday services, oversight of the hospital accounts, the ordering of medical supplies and the answering of a voluminous correspondence. In June, 1912, Lawford remarked that he had been working 16-18 hours per day, seven days a week for the previous four years.³⁷

In view of the prodigious output of work at Pakan, the results seem at first glance to have been profoundly disappointing. Although mission workers had won welcomes at many Austrian homes by 1904, Austrian loyalty

was still to the traditional churches.³⁸ Not until 1909 did Lawford win his first two Austrian converts. However, the seeming lack of progress had an explanation. Lawford realized that the Austrians were too conservative to respond to evangelical Protestantism without a good deal of conditioning. Hence for some years he did not ask them to become Methodists. Instead he sought to undermine Austrian church traditions indirectly by stressing the importance of the Scripture. The first conversions would not come until this slow conditioning approach was abandoned.

The turning point came in 1908 when the Pakan area was invaded by priests of the other churches. In March, Lawford learned that Roman Catholic priests were using Greek Orthodox rites in an attempt to win Bukowinian support. In August, the first Greek Orthodox church on his side of the North Saskatchewan River was constructed.³⁹ These developments forced Lawford to reconsider his existing policy, but he was uncertain as to how it should be changed. Once again he hesitated to proselytize directly because

To expect them [the Austrians] to accept an entirely different religious system is expecting too much. Nothing short of a widespread revival of religion would lead them to be willing to join such a system as ours and even then the most would hesitate to discard . . . what for generations they have regarded as the means of Grace ordained by God.⁴⁰

Hence he raised the possibility of working through the Independent Greek Orthodox Church, as the Presbyterian Church was doing. However, the General Board of Missions did not follow up his suggestion, and he decided to proselytize directly in the autumn of 1909. As he explained to the readers in the Missionary Bulletin,

Our religious work has been leading us up to the point where questions bearing on the difference in our systems of religion have to be met . . . now it seems to be our duty to declare the whole counsel of God, and thus set forth as clearly as possible the Gospel teaching, even where it opposes custom and doctrine, by many thought so essential to salvation.⁴¹

Perhaps the abandonment of the slow, indirect approach was premature, but Lawford was

thankful we are not just commencing this work. Humanly speaking, it would be impossible to begin work here now were we not acquainted with the people, as the priests are increasing in numbers, and are giving the people considerable attention.⁴²

The tactical change brought immediate results. Metro Ponich, a 21 year old chore boy and interpreter for Lawford, was received into the membership of the Methodist Church in 1909, as was his 18 year old companion, Tarrant Hannonchko. Subsequently both were licensed as local preachers and were sent to Alberta College as probationers.⁴³ For the first time the Pakan mission could approach the Austrians with missionaries of their own nationality. Fifteen entered

the Methodist Church in 1910, including fourteen heads of families and a former novice in a nunnery,⁴⁴ and one of the converts became the third Austrian local preacher. Lawford may well have won an equal number of adherents; as Rev. T.C. Buchanan noted, "numbers are converted who cannot formally join our ranks without severing connection with their parents and other relatives."⁴⁵ Other signs of progress were the construction of Methodist churches by Austrians. At his own expense, Nicoli Goligon fitted up half his house for divine worship in 1910, and neighbours contributed a stove, lamps and coal oil. The result was a comfortable meeting place which was attended by an average of 30 to 35 persons each Sunday.⁴⁶ In 1911, an Austrian farmer donated four acres of land for a Methodist church and a burial ground; others subscribed the necessary materials and labour even though the membership at that point was limited to four families, two single men and three adherents.⁴⁷ Considering the difficulty of the Austrian work, Lawford's gains were impressive.

In the meantime, other Methodist missions had developed in the vicinity of Pakan. The first, just to the north of Lawford, was the Wahstao mission.⁴⁸ Its founders were two W.M.S. workers, Miss Reta Edmonds and Miss Jessie Munro, who reached Wahstao in 1904 after a rough, overland journey from Edmonton amidst swarms of

flies and mosquitoes. Ahead of them lay three months of tent life, three years without a post office and several winters with forty below zero temperatures.⁴⁹ However, their discomforts were eased somewhat in September, 1904 when local Methodists completed a \$2,000 building to serve as a home, chapel, school and dispensary.

Whereas Lawford's evangelizing was directed almost exclusively at adults, and especially at the men, the Wahstao staff concentrated their efforts on the Austrian children and, to a lesser extent, on the mothers. The major activities were the day school and the Sunday school at which the children learned English through Biblical instruction and by singing hymns. House to house visitation, receptions, the distribution of clothing to the needy and the dispensing of medical assistance were methods used to reach the mothers.⁵⁰ Other methods of work were tried as the mission became better established. Four girls from distant homes were taken in as boarders in 1907, and the Missionary Outlook speculated that a boarding school might develop in the future; this would enable the Wahstao mission to provide Austrian girls with a Canadian home life as well as a Canadian education.⁵¹ Finally, a familiar Methodist activity was added in 1909--the temperance rally--and twenty-one Austrians took the pledge.⁵²

The Wahstao mission made slow progress, despite the variety of activities. Perhaps twenty children were reached by the day and Sunday school classes, but mission workers could not be certain of welcome in any Austrian home during the first two years of the mission. A reception in 1907 was considered a great success because twelve mothers attended, and house to house visitation was given up entirely in 1908 for want of results.⁵³ Miss Stenna Zachariuk, the maid and interpreter, was Wahstao's sole convert as of 1909. Nevertheless, the staff, which had expanded to four W.M.S. workers by 1908, was making great strides in learning the Ruthenian language, and the promise of the future led to the founding of Kolokreeka mission, eleven miles north of Pakan, in the spring of the following year.

In 1911, the W.M.S. and the Missionary Society combined to found a mission at Chipman. Rev. J.K. Smith, a 31 year old former school teacher from Brampton, Ontario was stationed there. Like Lawford, his original ambition had been missionary service in China until a last minute decision brought him to the Austrian work. Unlike Lawford, he was determined to learn the language of his people. To this end, he had spent six months teaching school at Chipman in 1909, followed by a year of language study at Pakan.⁵⁴ Sooner than anyone had anti-

cipated, the Chipman mission developed into a second Pakan. In September, 1912, the second Methodist hospital was opened at nearby Lamont. Under Doctors A.E. Archer and W.T. Rush, it became a valuable adjunct to Smith's work.⁵⁵ A number of western towns requested Methodist hospitals after 1912, and other medical missions might have been founded but for the shortage of Methodist resources and the outbreak of the great war.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, numbers of Austrians were leaving the rural settlements for Edmonton. Methodist observers estimated the Austrian population of the city at 2,000 in 1911 and 5,000 in 1913.⁵⁷ As early as 1908, the W.M.S. stationed a worker in Edmonton to help newly arrived Austrian girls, and a home for Austrian girls was opened in 1909. Night classes in English, medical care and rooms for 20 temporary and 4 permanent boarders were among the services subsequently offered.⁵⁸ The Austrians could not easily ignore the aggressive W.M.S. staff. Miss Ida Clarke recalled that "Last Sunday afternoon I went to a hotel where three or four girls work and waited in the kitchen until they got through, and 'compelled' two to come with me to Sunday school." Three more hotel employees yielded to her persuasions after being visited for the sixth time.⁵⁹ In co-operation with the police, girls outside the law were also recruited for mission activities.⁶⁰ As in Winnipeg,

the "foreigners" proved to be more accessible and approachable in an urban environment. In 1914, 103 children were reached through the Sunday school classes alone, whereas Kolokreeka mission never reached more than 65 children through all methods of work.⁶¹

In December, 1910, the Austrian work was bolstered by the arrival of Rev. W.H. Pike, a native of Newfoundland and a graduate of Victoria College. Pike first came to Alberta with the intention of entering the ordinary domestic mission work, but Lawford wooed him to the Austrian missions during the Alberta Conference sessions at Red Deer. After a year of language study at Pakan, he was holding services in several Edmonton homes for groups of 8 to 12 Austrians.⁶² Years passed before Pike was fully at home with his new language. Much of his time was spent in the laborious translation of English sermons into Ruthenian, with an Austrian colleague checking the finished product.⁶³ Nevertheless, Pike's awkward Ruthenian perhaps equalled Lawford's advantage of medical skill. Nor was he hindered by a condescending attitude towards the Austrians. Although working to Canadianize them, he allowed that they had something to give Canada in return. With this outlook, he permitted the Austrians a self-respect which made Canadianization more palatable.⁶⁴

Within a decade, the Austrian work in northern

Alberta had grown far beyond the original Pakan mission. The First Annual Convention of Methodist Ruthenian Workers in Alberta was held in 1912. The Austrian missions were also tied together by the launching of The Canadian, a Ruthenian-language newspaper which combined gospel news with a coverage of Canadian and world events. The paper was the inspiration of Lawford, who maintained that it would do the work of forty ministers. Under the editorship of Michael Belle-gay, a university educated Austrian, The Canadian helped to counter the influence of a journal which was published by the Greek Orthodox Church.⁶⁵ Also in 1912, Tarranty Hannochko, one of the Austrian local preachers, was sent to proselytize his countrymen in Calgary and Medicine Hat.⁶⁶

With the exception of the Austrian local preachers, the newer mission workers shared Lawford's general objectives. Although more concerned than Lawford with Canadianizing the Austrian and securing an English-language public school system for the province, their primary aim was religious. Their willingness to sacrifice patriotism in the interests of religion was indicated at the first annual convention of Ruthenian workers; as Rev. W.H. Pike reported,

It was deemed advisable, after some discussion, to teach those who wished to learn their own language. Some of us thought

that possibly we might be un-Canadian if we did so, but the larger question of the kingdom led us to think that if the teaching of their own language to the people helped us to win them for Christ, we were justified in teaching it.⁶⁷

Despite its physical expansion, the Austrian work was not very successful prior to 1914. Although the missions seriously influenced many Austrians and might have won as many as fifty converts, the gains were insignificant in relation to the total Austrian population. The Austrian colony near Pagan numbered 20,000, and the total Austrian population on the prairie numbered an estimated 125,000 in 1909.⁶⁸ Moreover, Methodist progress was offset by the conservative reaction which Methodist and other Protestant missionaries stimulated among the traditional churches of the Europeans. Lawford noted in 1911 that

the Church of Rome is stirred in the most strenuous efforts, as is witnessed by the most lavish expenditure throughout the west of her accumulated millions. Hospitals are being erected . . . money for church buildings is being granted and monthly and bi-monthly papers issued and widely circulated in the language of these people. These papers are full of articles that appeal to religious prejudice and instill bitterness and malice against all that is Protestant. By threats of withholding the services of the church and committing to the place of the lost those who are awakening to a sense of bondage and who are striving after truth and freedom the priests seek again to obtain control. With some their efforts are successful. . . .⁶⁹

The W.M.S. missions were especially vulnerable to Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox counter-offensives because their work was directed at the children, who could be controlled by their parents. Thus Sunday school attendance at Kolokreeka dropped from fifteen to one in 1910, after the visit of a Greek Orthodox priest to the area.⁷⁰

Even without the help of their old churches, the Austrian communities showed some hostility to Methodist proselytizing. After administering the sacrament to twenty-five Austrians in 1909, Lawford remarked that it "is quite possible that some may shrink back under the strength of the opposition that may arise as soon as this is generally known."⁷¹ On another occasion, he requested prayers and sympathy for six new converts because "though they know the joy of sins forgiven, they are beset on every hand by persecution from those still in darkness."⁷² Rev. W.H. Pike noted that Metro Ponich's parents were deeply offended when their son was converted, although they managed to accept his decision before they died.⁷³ Considering the conservative response which the Methodist presence evoked, the missionaries may have retarded the assimilation of the Austrians as much as they have facilitated it.

Lawford recognized that the Methodist missions were too few in number to cope with the European problem.

Nor did he feel that the other Protestant churches were sufficiently active in this field of work. As he pondered the poverty of Methodist and Protestant success, he began to lose confidence in his country's ability to uplift the Europeans to ~~be~~ a civilized, Christian standard of life. Increasingly he feared that the Austrian would fall into the awful grip of Rome, with catastrophic results for Canada. In a letter to the Christian Guardian in 1909, he showed that a third of Canada's immigrants were "foreigners" and asked,

What is the portent? What effect on our future will this have? What will it mean to Canadian Protestantism if the Church of Rome succeed in uniting this people to her church? Some have lived in Quebec and know what it means to Protestants in rural districts there to try and give their children an education. Even in Ontario, are the people not feeling the power of the Church of Rome to sacrifice the interests of the Dominion in order to advance the interests of the church? What are the evils to-day compared with those which will have to be met, and which we must inevitably groan under if the Church of Rome succeeds in uniting the Galician people of her church, and thus secures political supremacy by the united vote of the Galician and French people?

What a stake the Church of Rome is playing for. Is it any wonder, with her creed that "the end justifies the means," that she does not hesitate to give the false impression in the public press that the Galician people are all members of her church. . . [?]74

Typically, Lawford's major concern was religious. Haunted by fears of prosecution from a European-style state church, he came to question the survival of Canadian

religious liberty. Nevertheless, his religious anxieties were bound up inextricably with secular values. In his opinion, the Roman Catholic Church was mediaeval and authoritarian and was dependent upon ignorance and superstition for its survival.⁷⁵ Thus it was a denial of democracy, progress and all the accoutrements of twentieth century civilization. Of course, these opinions had been held by Lawford for some time. The new ingredient in his outlook was fear.

Paradoxically, his concern that the Austrians would fall victim to a reactionary church was accompanied by the belief that North America was in the vanguard of progress and offered stoney soil for old world decadence. The European immigrants, he noted,

are subjected to conflicting influences. Thoroughly indoctrinated with the religious teachings of either the Greek Orthodox or Uniat Church, they are generally quite conservative and not disposed to change their religious views. But many are forced to leave the settlements and obtain employment and thus mingle with Canadians, and they are thereby compelled to consider the value of our religion, its liberties and the civilization under which we live. Notwithstanding their childhood attachments, they see the shallowness . . . of their early religions and they are alienated from them.⁷⁶

Thus the "great danger is that these people, in their efforts for freedom, will drift to Socialism, for Socialistic literature is coming into every settlement."⁷⁷

Other mission workers, including Rev. W.H. Pike

and Miss Ida Clarke, warned of Roman Catholic and socialist inroads but were less concerned about them. Pike remained confident of the eventual assimilation of the Austrians and did not share Lawford's fear that Canada could be dragged down to the European level. Even Lawford was not a nativist.⁷⁸ He neither sought the curtailment of the European immigration nor exuded open hostility to the "foreigners" who were already in the country. Despite his outbursts of pessimism, the dangers which he foresaw were still potential rather than certain. Rome and socialism could be forestalled by an acceleration of Protestant mission activity. On the other hand, the new aggressiveness of the Roman Church in the west seriously undermined his confidence that the Europeans could be absorbed into Canadian life. Had the erosion of his confidence continued, nativism would have followed.

In addition to the Austrian missions, Methodist European work developed in southwestern Alberta, in the Crow's Nest Pass mining communities of Frank and Bellevue. The Methodist presence in both towns began with ordinary domestic missions. The missionaries discovered that each town housed hundreds of men in unsanitary, overcrowded, company-owned quarters and that the miners met their recreational needs by drinking excessively, patronizing local brothels and reading "socialistic" litera-

ture.⁷⁹ Although the job of the Church was to combat this "moral pollution," Rev. J.B. Francis, another native of Brampton, Ontario, encountered an unfortunate complication: most of the miners were French or Italian, and the remainder included Bohemians, Germans, Finns, Belgians and Bulgarians.⁸⁰ To conserve resources amidst this babel of tongues, an agreement was reached with the Presbyterians: they were assigned to the French miners, the Italian miners were left to the Methodists and the other nationalities were the responsibility of both churches.⁸¹ Greater efficiency resulted from this co-operation, but the work was discouraging for the Methodists. The population became increasingly French at Frank,⁸² and the town, including the Methodist church and parsonage, was menaced by the threat of a landslide.⁸³ Since Frank had already been flattened by a massive slide in 1903, the Church incurred the expense of moving its property to a new townsite. Unfortunately, Miss Hannah Paul, the W.M.S. worker at Frank, had already been recalled and transferred to the safer confines of Fernie, B.C.⁸⁴ These setbacks at Frank may have raised Methodist hopes for Bellevue. In 1910, the Alberta Conference requested \$6,000 from the Missionary Society for an institutional building at this mission.⁸⁵ Unhappily for these plans, the top priorities of the General Board of Missions were else-

where; the Bellevue grant was among the budget cuts when the General Board encountered an exceptional shortage of funds, and the lesser amount of \$2,000 was only belatedly conceded.⁸⁶ Still another reverse came in 1911 when the entire community was crippled by a mine disaster.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Rev. William H. Irwin, a native of London, Ontario reported in July that

So far I am very much encouraged with our Italian work. I have classes for the Italians in English two nights a week and I expect to have one or two classes of Slavs on Sunday mornings as I have discovered a lay priest of the Orthodox church among them. I will get him to let me give the sermon in English and he will read the ritual in slav. If I get the slav and Italian people the backbone of our foreign work will be broken . . .

We have 90% of the children of the town in Sunday school last Sunday and I am having splendid afternoons for children two evenings per week.⁸⁸

Despite his optimism, the Austrian and Crow's Nest Pass missions were the exceptions among the European communities of Alberta rather than the rule. Meanwhile, in the neighbouring Saskatchewan Conference, the Methodist Church was without a single European mission.

Chapter X

THE EMERGENCE OF WESTERN SECTIONALISM WITHIN THE METHODIST CHURCH

A powerful Ontario paternalism pervaded prairie Methodism prior to 1914. The General Conference, which the Ontario delegates dominated, determined policy and doctrine for the western conferences, and the Christian Guardian, published in Toronto, was the only connexional journal available to prairie church members. More importantly, prairie church expansion was firmly in the grip of the executive of the General Board of Missions in Toronto. Officials in the Ontario capital processed every request for a grant, and they expected a full report of the recipient mission's subsequent expenditures.

The "child status" in missions was resented by the prairie conferences, and former Ontarians joined with British-born westerners to battle for responsibilities which could have been taken for granted in their native conferences. Sectional feelings within the Church were probably encouraged by the fight over the Northwest Autonomy bills in 1905, which provided for two new provinces but denied them full provincial powers with respect to education. Prairie Methodists

were quite active on behalf of the provincial rights position, and it seems more than coincidental that the campaign for more western autonomy within the Church began about the same time. Although prairie grievances against eastern authority were never entirely removed, substantial concessions to the west were made by the General Conferences of 1906 and 1910, due partly to the help of sympathetic Ontarians. Nevertheless, the Church's response to western sectionalism was tardy, and sectionalist sentiments and frustrations were yet another factor which reduced the efficiency and growth of prairie Methodism.

Demands by the western conferences for more autonomy in missions originated for a variety of reasons. To begin with, laymen such as Arthur R. Ford, a Winnipeg newspaper editor, G.W. Brown, a Regina corporation lawyer who became Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan in 1910, and W.G. Hunt of Calgary argued that it was bad business to keep authority "from those on the ground who understand local conditions " and to maintain it among "those who are at a distance and get their information second hand."¹ As Ford explained,

In the commercial world every important eastern manufactory and wholesale house has found it imperative to establish a western branch. The eastern officials and managers, no matter how far their foresight, how keen their business acumen, have found it impossible to keep closely enough in touch with western affairs to hold their

own with their competitors without headquarters west of the lake [Superior]. It is just as true in the religious world.²

Eastern ignorance of the west was occasionally manifested in regulations which were unsuited to conditions on the prairies. In 1906, for example, the General Board made grants conditional upon the recipient mission's use of the weekly envelope "or some systematic and continuous method" to raise money. In vain, prairie clergy protested that cash was in short supply in wheat growing areas through most of the year, and that it was better to have a single canvass in the harvest season.³ Distance from and unfamiliarity with the west was also held accountable for the program of church expansion on the prairies, which was less aggressive than many westerners desired. For example, in 1912, an open letter from the General Board of Missions announced Rev. James Allen's plan to secure a full salary for home missionaries by slowing down the expansion of mission work. The Christian Guardian's correspondent for the Saskatchewan Conference, Rev. S.W.L. Harton, reacted almost immediately with the charge that the General Board's letter "read like a statement of a board of directors at a financial meeting," and that it ignored the moral obligation to reach new fields "where no Gospel is preached." If the Board had its way, Harton concluded, mission work would be kept at a standstill in

order to save money, and the only remedy was to

Give the west larger control and greater powers in the administration, distribution and expenditure of its missionary income, for it sees its own need at closer range, and note how it will rise to that need. The west is restive under the limitations within which it has to work . . . and certain occasions call forth this restiveness. The General Board does not hear as much about it as do those living on the ground.⁴

The excruciating slowness of the General Board's administration provided another basic complaint. According to Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, even routine matters such as salary payments were delayed because of the Board's management of "too many petty details,"⁵ and the purchase of church and parsonage sites was impeded for the same reason. Rev. Fred Langford, the Christian Guardian's correspondent for Alberta, complained that

The delays resulting from the concentration of everything in Toronto [are] quite serious. All applications must be sent there, which means at best two weeks, and where further information is needed, a month. Often the replies to the application are not very prompt. In the meantime, the price of lots is being advanced, and when loans are received, more money has to be paid. It is discouraging to those working hard in this pioneer work to be delayed and hampered in what seems an unnecessary way. Let us have some board or official in Winnipeg who can settle these things.⁶

Harsher critics found the Board to be callous, niggardly and officious towards the west, in addition to its lack of aggressiveness in prairie church expansion. Grants were invariably denied to applicants which were unable

to meet all of the regulatory standards of the Missionary Society, even though many of these applicants were considered deserving. For example, in 1912, the Alberta Conference petitioned the General Board to assist certain circuits in meeting their compulsory assessments for the Superannuation (Ministers' Retirement) Fund; although James Allen was sympathetic, the General Board took the position that circuits, which unlike missions were self-supporting, were not eligible for aid. In a letter to Allen, the Secretary of the Alberta Conference, Rev. George G. Webber, expressed the Western reaction:

I must express my great disappointment with the attitude and action of the Board. . . . It was hardly necessary for the Board to tell us they had not the authority to change legislation in this regard. We recognized that fact. But we also thought we saw a means whereby sympathetic action by the Board would have afforded temporary relief to the circuits concerned, and at the same time created a much more wholesome feeling towards the General Board of Missions. . . . The outlay of a little money in the acceptance of our request would have been a good investment. . . . It would have gone a long way towards creating a much more favourable attitude on the part of those . . . who are not favorably disposed towards the Board of Missions. Only this week in conversations with one of our most important officials here he declared emphatically that he would not contribute one dollar of his missionary contributions through our regular fund. I merely mention that to show that we in the fields are compelled to defend the Board and its members rather more frequently than the members of the Board realize. . . . When considering the reasons that lead to a smaller revenue than the Board desire this attitude on the

part of many of our people must be considered.⁷

Another instance of the Board's refusal to waive its regulations occurred in the Saskatchewan Conference five years earlier, when the student summer supply program was begun. Due to faulty communications with the General Board, the Conference stationed some of its students on circuits rather than on missions, and the General Board subsequently refused to pay them the \$100.00 grants to which they were normally entitled. Never one to take regulations seriously, Rev. Oliver Darwin, the mission superintendent for Saskatchewan, charged that the General Board was merely evading payment of the students to save a paltry sum of money. Darwin's superior, Rev. James Allen, quickly chastized him for making the allegation; nevertheless, the following portion of Allen's letter acknowledged that Darwin was not alone in his general sentiments:

. . . I dread anything such as your inaccurate statement which would tend to foster a spirit which is unhappily too well grounded. . . . You speak of the discontent in the West and instance Mr. Brown's refusal to subscribe to the funds of the Missionary Society as an example. This only emphasizes what I say of the need of avoiding anything like inaccurate statements . . . that would tend to foster this spirit. Unfortunately this spirit is in many things well founded, and great care should be taken not to intensify the prejudice without cause.⁸

A few western Methodists did interpret the Board's

motives and actions more charitably than Darwin. In his address to the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada in 1909, Rev. Walter A. Cooke, the president of the Manitoba Conference, conceded the Board's efficiency and interest in the west, and he especially praised N.W. Rowell for these virtues.⁹ Similarly, at a banquet which preceded the Manitoba Conference annual sessions, Rev. F.B. Stacey had nothing but praise for the Board's performance in the past; he merely urged more western autonomy because conditions had changed and western conditions had become unique.¹⁰ Moreover, the motives of the General Board actually were not as base as Darwin and others implied. Whereas prairie officials were engrossed with problems immediately around them, the officials in Toronto were forced to consider all of the Church's missionary obligations; the General Board adhered closely to its rules concerning expenditures largely because its revenues were already grossly inadequate in terms of its obligations. On the other hand, honourable motives did not ensure a wise selection of priorities from among the various mission fields. When the General Board was unable to satisfy the west's financial appetite, prairie Methodists could and did argue that the expansion of the Asian work and the construction of expensive Indian institutes were untimely and that too much money was being spent on the unproductive missions

of eastern Canada.¹¹ When plagued with low missionary salaries and a dearth of churches, western Methodists were also aware that two of the prairie conferences often gave more to missions than they received back in domestic grants.¹²

Notwithstanding the Board's alleged shortcomings in domestic mission work, fear of the European "foreigner" constituted the major cause of western autonomy sentiment. In the ordinary domestic mission field, rapid expansion was possible in spite of the General Board's conservatism because authority in mission work was divided. The General Board controlled the finances, but western officials--the mission superintendents and the conference missionary committees--held the authority to create new missions, and they exercised this privilege far beyond what their financial support justified. At the cost of subsistence salaries for the missionaries, more expansion was accomplished than would have been the case if the General Board's authority had been complete. However, the division of powers hindered the expansion of the European work.¹³ Unlike ordinary domestic missions which soon became self-supporting, the European missions were founded with no church members and no prospects of immediate revenues; of necessity, they remained dependent upon outside financial help for years, and western officials were consequently loathe to extend the European work without assurance of adequate financial

backing. Thus, in western eyes, it was incumbent upon the Board to justify its control of the purse strings by anticipating the cultural mosaic, preparing for it and leading the assault upon it. Instead, the Board assumed the pose of a jealous watchdog whose function was to guard the financial pantry. Already beset with demands from other mission fields, the Board was reluctant to release monies to a new, unfamiliar and unpromising area of work. Thus, frightened at the consequences of this inactivity for Canada and for the Protestant religion, westerners frantically sought a western authority which could create and finance missions.¹⁴

To sum up, western Methodists were convinced that the Mission Rooms were unfamiliar with the west and that they were approaching western problems too timidly. The solution was to transfer financial responsibility to some western body so that experienced men on the spot could deal properly with the challenges around them. Friction was certain to result if the General Board resisted these sectional pressures.

Eastern authority over missions faced its first serious test at the General Conference of 1906. A memorial from the Manitoba Conference requested authority for urban churches to form local committees which could assume the management of city missions, including those in Winnipeg.¹⁵ At the same time, the Alberta Conference requested per-

mission to form its own Church and Parsonage Aid Fund-- the logical extension of the Edmonton Church and Parsonage Aid Fund which had been founded prior to the General Conference. Although the Albertans wished to continue drawing on the regular Church and Parsonage Aid Fund, they wanted their own local fund to free them from some of the eastern "red tape." The Alberta petition met with total defeat; the conference fund was denied, and the Edmonton Methodists were ordered to merge their fund with the regular fund of the Missionary Society. The Edmontonians grudgingly obeyed after Rev. James Allen threatened to cut them off from the regular fund if they failed to comply with the General Conference's order.¹⁶ However, the Manitoba memorial resulted in the first western success. Hitherto, no mission expenditures had been permitted without the approval of the General Board's executive committee in Toronto. Now the General Conference allowed urban churches to form "local city mission boards" which could raise and expend monies locally.¹⁷ Not only was a measure of western control achieved thereby, but the monies raised went entirely to home missions--in contrast to the regular fund of the Missionary Society which went partly to the foreign mission field. Nevertheless, the limits to western autonomy were readily apparent. Westerners still lacked control over General Board monies which were spent in the west, and eastern "red tape" continued to

plague prairie missionary officials in consequence. Local authority was even limited in Winnipeg where the first local city mission board was formed. Although Winnipeg Methodists theoretically controlled the disbursement of locally raised funds, additional monies required from the Missionary Society were only forthcoming if the Toronto officials approved of prior expenditures. Thus city mission boards could escape the clutches of the Ontario capital only by becoming financially independent, and Winnipeg Methodists were unable to achieve this prior to 1914.¹⁸

The autonomy drive had only begun. In 1907, Rev. Oliver Darwin engineered an easy but minor gain from the General Board when the western conferences were given full control over their student summer supply programs; each conference received a lump sum from the General Board and was entirely responsible for its expenditure.¹⁹ A major assault on eastern control began prior to the General Conference of 1910. Western Methodists expounded the rationale for more western control in the Christian Guardian, at annual conference sessions and before the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, which met in Winnipeg in August, 1909.²⁰ The commission hearings were especially efficacious in familiarizing prominent eastern Methodists with the extent of western sectional feelings. Among those at the hearings were Alexander Mills,

a lawyer and a member of the Quarterly Official Board at Toronto's wealthy Sherbourne St. Methodist Church; S.R. Parsons, president and one of the founders of the British American Oil Company; H.H. Fudger, N.W. Rowell and Rev. James Allen.²¹ The experience seems to have made Allen and Rowell in particular more receptive to western pressure.

The first formal contact between east and west over the autonomy issue came in October, 1909, at the annual meeting of the General Board of Missions in Toronto. Among the items on the agenda was a memorial from the Saskatchewan Conference Special Committee which was brief and to the point. After reminding the General Board of the urgent needs of the European immigrants in the west, the petition urged the establishment of a western "Executive Council" of the General Board which would be supplied with the funds necessary to assume direction and oversight of the European work. Rev. Alexander Sutherland, the General Secretary of the Department of Foreign Missions, spoke against this transfer of control "to some irresponsible committee in the west." Nor were any of the Board members about to make a fundamental administrative change upon the request of the Saskatchewan Conference alone. However, with the commission hearings fresh in their minds, other members of the General Board were more sympathetic to the Saskatchewan request than Sutherland. N.W. Rowell and Rev. James

Allen won the Board's support for a resolution which endorsed the principle of "a larger measure of local administration of home mission affairs in Western Canada," and which committed the Board to meet with representatives of the three prairie conferences for the purpose of recommending appropriate changes at the General Conference.

The Board's declaration came just in time.²² Even as the General Board met, the Manitoba Conference Special Committee was drafting its own memorial for the General Conference, and their document went considerably further than the Saskatchewan position. Chief among their recommendations was the establishment of a western executive of the General Board of Missions; working through conference sub-committees, this body would submit estimates to the General Board, receive the necessary finances in return and control the subsequent expenditures in matters such as summer supply work, ministerial supply, work among the "foreigners," loans from the Church and Parsonage Aid and the Northwest Extension funds, and emergencies. The Manitoba Conference petition also asked for the establishment of a western office of the General Board of Missions which would be directed by its own home mission secretary.²³ The Manitoba position quickly became a landmark in the cause of western autonomy. It was immediately endorsed by the Saskatchewan Conference Special

Committee,²⁴ and the two Special Committees included two conference presidents, twenty-two district chairmen and ten laymen.²⁵ With this considerable support, the memorial was adopted as a matter of course by a committee of the three prairie conferences which met in Regina on December 8, 1909.²⁶ The prairie conferences were now ready to meet representatives of the General Board. They had achieved common agreement among themselves, and they were determined.

The determination of the west to achieve more autonomy was probably strengthened by a personal rift between Rev. Oliver Darwin, Saskatchewan's mission superintendent, and Rev. James Allen in Toronto. Like the autonomy memorials, the dispute came to the surface in October 1909, and it was not finally resolved until April 1910--ten days before the General Board representatives met with the committee of the three prairie conferences in Regina. As background to the trouble, it should be observed that Darwin had always been less tolerant of direction from Ontario than were the other prairie mission superintendents, perhaps because he was English-bred while they had come from Ontario. In the first year of his superintendency, he had been noticeably irritated when the General Board executive rejected two of his recommendations for grants on grounds of "insufficient information;" apparently the Board was unwilling

to trust the judgement of its man on the spot, despite the fact that he was the Board's appointee.²⁷ A second dispute between Darwin and Allen over the payment of the student summer supplies in 1907 marked the path their relations would take in the future. By 1912, James Allen was corresponding more with the conference president about Saskatchewan's missionary problems than with Darwin, his own representative. Moreover, in the same year, Allen dispatched Rev. James Woodsworth to England to recruit clergy, despite the Saskatchewan Conference's request to send Darwin on this errand to his old homeland as a Christmas present, in recognition of his twenty-eight years of service in the northwest.²⁸

Such was the background to their clash in 1909 which began when Darwin visited Allen's offices upon the conclusion of the General Board's annual meeting. Darwin left under the impression that he had communicated verbally all the relevant information concerning applications for grants to finance the construction of parsonages in three Saskatchewan villages. Darwin knew that the General Board often made such grants in order to avoid grants for rent in the years to come, and he had informed Allen that there were no buildings to rent in the three villages concerned and that the applications for grants by these missions had been endorsed unanimously by their districts. His visit with the General

Secretary completed, Darwin took the applications to the General Board's committee on appropriations; although requests for grants were normally forwarded through Allen, Darwin was confident in the knowledge that he had spoken with his superior and that Allen had not raised objections to the grants in question. The construction of the parsonages was then begun after the local authorities were assured by Darwin that the necessary monies would be forthcoming. Upon his return to the west, Darwin was shocked to discover that two of the requests had been turned down and that the third was being withheld--for want of sufficient information.²⁹ How were the parsonages, already under construction on the basis of his personal assurance, to be paid for? Bitterly he advised Allen that he would "get two or three of the brethren here to endorse a note, with myself, and get the money out of the bank [to] relieve the trustees." The following passages summed up his belief that he had been the victim of the General Secretary's "red tape":

I should like to say at the very outset Bro. Allen, I have always regarded you, and look upon you still as a dignified, scholarly, cultured Christian gentleman, possessing gifts and graces that I could covet . . . But as an administrator of Missionary affairs, and a man to deal with the emergencies and detail of work as it pertains to our Great West, you are weak, exceedingly weak. . . . I am trying to do the most work on the least money, with fairness to all and you can contrast

this conference with any other. Our conference gives more than it receives, and the committee on appropriations, recognizing that we are not a charge on them, have more than once indicated a willingness to accept my statements. You ought to give us credit for knowing what we are doing and not holding us up over forms. Life is too short and the task too big. . . .

I have been humiliated by your action in the presence of men who cannot understand the situation; the young men have been given the impression that I have no more power concerning a grant than a young probationer for the ministry has. [With] great personal inconvenience, humiliation, and loss [I] had to go to businessmen, and explain why my word has not been kept, for in good faith I said those grants would be forthcoming. . . .³⁰

Just as interesting as this outburst was the quick support which Darwin received from the Saskatchewan Conference Special Committee, which included the conference president, the eleven district chairmen and five laymen. In a resolution which implied a censure of James Allen, the committee reaffirmed that the grants were necessary, that they had been given unanimous support by the districts concerned and that the General Secretary had "been given all the detail that is required in these cases."³¹ When the resolution did not elicit an immediate response from the General Board, D.L. Thom, a member of the committee and a Regina corporation lawyer, alluded to "a policy of silence on the part of officials in Toronto."³² Finally, Darwin's position was given stronger support by Thom's law partner, G.W. Brown; in a letter to Rev. Albert Carman, the Methodist General

Superintendent, Brown demanded an end to the Church's

inelastic methods of doing business in Saskatchewan. . . . If the Methodist Church is to succeed. . . . then Mr. Darwin's position must have greater latitude or Mr. Allen must come out here and come in personal contact with the situation himself.

At the three villages in question, the people were nearly all American immigrants who knew nothing of Canadian Methodism, and Darwin had been severely embarrassed by the lack of support from the General Board. Brown insisted that this state of affairs could not continue. The Church was already losing most of the Methodist immigrants from the United States, even though their support was badly needed in the battle against the alien ideals of the immigrants from central Europe. Carman was warned that

There had been a complaint that the Laymen's Missionary Movement has been practically a failure in the west. The causes are not so far to seek. Our businessmen have been so repeatedly compelled to contribute in emergencies such as this when the Missionary Board machinery is so slow to move and its management so unacquainted with the real situation (not being able to accept the situation as described to them by their own agents) . . . that the businessmen of the Methodist Church have not the confidence they should have in the management of the funds, and so prefer to administer what they have to contribute themselves. This is not as it should be but if an advisory council is not established in the west I fear that the break which has begun will continue to widen until serious harm has been done. 55

To what extent were western feelings about Darwin's clash with Allen justified? In March, 1910, the General

Board completed its investigation of the incident and concluded that it was the result of a misunderstanding --for which Darwin was largely responsible. Since Allen was accustomed to written transactions, he had been unaware that Darwin's brief verbal communication in his office had amounted to anything more than casual conversation, and written information provided by Darwin (which should have been submitted through the General Secretary) was inadequate. As Allen explained to the president of the Saskatchewan Conference, missionary superintendents normally submitted their requests on standard application forms which included: the circumstances of the mission and its people; the description of the parsonage site and an assurance that there was clear title to it; and a description of the proposed building and the amount that the congregation was prepared to subscribe towards its cost. While the General Board did not stick strictly to these forms, the General Secretary insisted that "we have always wanted this information in some form or other" and that Darwin "has never objected to these forms until now." The incident closed when Darwin apologized to his superior on April 2, 1910, and was advised that their business transactions would be fully written out in the future.³⁴

However, some scepticism of the General Board's conclusions is warranted. Darwin maintained that emergency

allocations had been made in the past on the basis of verbal communication, and the experience of Rev. T.C. Buchanan, the mission superintendent for Alberta, bears him out. Unlike Darwin, Buchanan was an Ontario native, and this may explain why he was able to draw repeatedly upon the Missionary Society Treasury for the purchase of church sites, while supplying the necessary information after the fact.³⁵ Although church sites could conceivably have been in a different category than parsonages, Buchanan's freedom hints that some mission superintendents were more equal than others in the eyes of the Methodist establishment. Moreover, regardless of Darwin's position in terms of the procedural rules laid down by the General Board of Missions, his very trouble with those rules showed how they could constitute "eastern red tape." On balance his clash with Allen was pregnant with significance. By coinciding exactly with the drafting of the various autonomy petitions, Darwin's incident gave the autonomists a valuable "cause célèbre" during their most critical period. Insofar as it discredited the Missionary Society, the misunderstanding may also have reduced western missionary contributions.

Despite western suspicions--or perhaps because of them--the representatives of the General Board were quite accommodating to subsequent western pressure. The Rowell-

Allen resolution at the General Board's annual meeting in October was a sign of eastern moderation. So was the agreement in principle to the Manitoba Conference memorial on April 12, 1910, when representatives of the General Board, along with Rev. Albert Carman, met with the committee representing the three prairie conferences in Regina.³⁶ Due to the strength of western sectional feelings and to the realization that the Society's revenues were suffering in consequence, the easterners sent the western memorial forward to the General Conference with their blessing.

With such strong support, prairie Methodists won sweeping gains at the General Conference of 1910, although the revisions were not exactly those requested in their petition. There were three major changes.³⁷ Firstly, each annual conference was empowered to form a missionary committee which would include the officers of the Missionary Society (the permanent officials in Toronto), the western members of the General Board, the mission superintendents, a minister and laymen from each city mission board, and a minister and layman who were elected by the annual conference. The conferences were to forward estimates of their needs to the General Board, after which each conference committee would receive a detailed statement of the allotments that it could expect for the coming year (i.e., the amount from

the Northwest Extension Fund, the amount from the Church and Parsonage Aid Fund, etc.). The major function of the missionary committee was to contain missionary expansion within the limits of their allotments. Grants to individual missions would be issued by the General Board on the order of the conference mission superintendent, who in turn acted on the authority of the conference missionary committee. In addition, the conference missionary committees were empowered to make adjustments to the appropriations within their total allotments, and to make arrangements with other denominations with a view of preventing overlapping in circuit and mission work. In summary, the conferences were given considerable autonomy in mission financing, subject to reporting their actions to the General Board.

Secondly, while no provision was made for a western office of the General Board and for a western secretary of home missions, provision was made for a Western Committee of the General Board, which had advisory powers. The committee consisted of the officers of the Missionary Society, the western members of the General Board and the mission superintendents. True to form, Ontario natives subsequently dominated it. Of the seventeen (of eighteen) members who can be identified on the committee of 1912, twelve were Ontarians, another was the son of an Ontarian.³⁸ Finally, a third change was

the provision for a second General Superintendent who was to reside west of the Great Lakes, and Rev. S.D. Chown was subsequently elected to a four year term. Although Chown had no control over mission financing, his appointment created a western authority for a host of other matters relating to churches, circuits and missions.

Despite the legislation passed by the General Conference of 1910, western restiveness was not quieted. The General Board still determined the size of the conference allotments, and many prairie Methodists remained convinced that too much was going to eastern domestic missions and to the foreign field. For this reason Rev. S.W.L. Harton protested against the pressure on the conferences to keep the expansion of their missionary work within the limits of their total grants: in effect this restriction reduced the authority which the annual conferences had already possessed. Moreover, as the Alberta Conference discovered in its request for circuit aid in connection with the Superannuation Fund, the General Board continued to enforce the regulations of the Missionary Society to the letter. For these and other reasons, individual westerners were irritated to the point of reducing or eliminating their contributions to the regular fund of the Society, and the prairie conferences would most certainly have pressed for greater

autonomy at the next General Conference had not the great war and all its dislocating effects intervened.

In reviewing the campaign for autonomy in missions, observations concerning the personalities involved also come to mind. To begin with, the issue did not entirely pit east against west. In 1909, W.H. Cushing, a prominent Calgary businessman and a member of the General Board of Missions, argued that the executive of the Board was fully conversant with western needs, and therefore saw no need of a western executive.³⁹ Perhaps his loyalty to the General Board stemmed from his Ontario birth and upbringing or from Alberta's position as the weakest prairie conference in members and mission finances. In any case, he was a conspicuous exception, and perhaps not the only one, among the autonomy-minded majority around him. At the same time, some easterners urged the decentralization of missionary administration in order to appease prairie Methodists and to stimulate missionary givings among them.⁴⁰ A second characteristic of the personalities worth noting is that a majority of the leading figures in the prairie drive for power were Ontario natives. Of the western Methodists mentioned by name thus far, Rev. Oliver Darwin was English-born, as was Rev. Charles Endicott, who moved the Saskatchewan Conference Special Committee's resolution in support of Darwin during his dispute with Allen in 1909. Nevertheless,

Revs. Fred Langford, George G. Webber and Walter A. Cooke, and Messrs. D.J. Thom of Regina and W.G. Hunt of Calgary had emigrated from Ontario, as had eight of the eleven men who can be identified on the committee of the three prairie conferences, which met in December, 1909, in Regina.⁴¹ In fact, the autonomy movement would have collapsed without support from the Ontario "old boys," who included most of the veteran clergy and a vast majority of the prominent laymen.

One other part of the autonomy movement needs mention: the efforts of the prairie Methodists to replace the Christian Guardian with their own connexional journal. The Manitoba and Northwest Conference had expressed this ambition as early as 1892,⁴² and the founding of two, small Methodist monthlies on the prairies in 1904 marked practical steps towards this goal. The Assiniboia Church Advocate was published in Moose Jaw, and its founder-editor was Rev. T.E. Holling, who had emigrated to the west from England some fifteen years before, at the age of 22. Although Holling's paper was oriented primarily to local church news in the Moose Jaw and "Soo Line" districts, attention was also given to broader topics such as the northwest schools problem, provincial temperance problems and the Torrey-Alexander revival meetings. Unfortunately, "the iron rule of the itineracy" brought about Holling's transfer, and his successor was unwilling

to give the necessary time to the paper. Consequently, after its ninth and last issue of June, 1905, the Advocate was merged with the other local monthly, the Western Methodist Times, which was published in Winnipeg.⁴³ The founder and editor of the Times--originally the Bulletin--was Rev. Robert Milliken, an Irishman by birth who had come to Manitoba after some years in Ontario and who eventually became principal of Regina College. Like Holling's paper, Milliken's monthly covered news of general religious interest but emphasized local church news; by June, 1906, after two years of publication, its circulation had climbed to nearly 5,000.⁴⁴ Neither the Advocate nor the Times received any official aid from the Methodist Church, nor had they any official status: each was founded on the private initiative of a clergyman who had normal pastoral duties. Nevertheless, helped by their intimate coverage of local news, these ventures revived western desires for an official journal of their own, particularly in Manitoba.

During the spring of 1906, the Times itself argued for such a change, in articles by Milliken and Rev. J.W. Saunby, an Ontario native and the president of the Manitoba Conference.⁴⁵ Both insisted that one paper such as the Christian Guardian could not possibly give adequate coverage to Ontario and Western Canada because conditions in the two regions were so different. The Christian

Guardian was essentially an eastern paper, and its lack of appeal on the prairies was reflected in its western circulation figures. For example, its circulation on the prairies declined by 241 in the church year 1904-05, including 104 fewer subscriptions in the Alberta Conference; according to Milliken, "little better than one member out of ten, ministers included, receive a copy of the Christian Guardian," which would place the Guardian's circulation on the prairies at around 3,000--less than that of the Times.⁴⁶ While an official western journal might further reduce the Christian Guardian's list of subscribers, at least more people could be reached by some Methodist publication. Finally, Saunby argued that the establishment of a western paper would free the Christian Guardian from local news and allow it to operate on a higher plane. Accordingly, with his support, the Manitoba Conference memorialized the General Conference of 1906 for the necessary changes.⁴⁷

The arguments against this petition were not long in coming. When the General Conference met, the issue touched off an hour-long debate, and surprisingly an Alberta Conference minister, Rev. G.W. Kerby of Calgary, joined with two Torontonians (N.W. Rowell and Rev. William Briggs) to oppose the western paper on the grounds that it would be beset with financial problems, which would in turn affect its quality.⁴⁸ Kerby's posture here is

interesting in view of W.H. Cushing's stand against decentralization of missionary machinery in 1909. It would appear that prairie Methodists, especially in Alberta, were not unanimously for autonomy. The centralist views of the two men may have been partly attributable to their Ontario origins, but many other Ontario natives were autonomists. The most compelling consideration was probably the extreme weakness of the Methodist Church in Alberta, a factor which militated against the western paper's financial success. Whatever Kerby's reasons, he was not lacking for allies. A British Columbia minister expressed doubt that Winnipeg was the best place for a western journal, thus raising the possibility that the project would be thwarted by inter-western rivalry.⁴⁹ Moreover, when Rev. W.B. Creighton, the editor of the Christian Guardian, toured Alberta in 1907, a committee of the Alberta Conference resolved that the time was not ripe for a western journal and that westerners could best help themselves by trying to improve the Christian Guardian.⁵⁰

A final cause of opposition to a western paper was the belief that a strong national paper was needed to encourage national sentiment and to encourage the membership to think in terms of the whole connexion rather than just their own local districts and conferences.⁵¹ This deep-felt feeling undoubtedly caused N.W. Rowell and

Rev. Alexander Sutherland to meet western complaints by trying to improve the Christian Guardian; specifically, they suggested the appointment of a western assistant or corresponding editor who could thoroughly cover prairie news, and Rowell's motion to this effect was barely defeated--97 votes to 96.⁵² Perhaps support from the Maritime conferences which had their own journal--the Wesleyan--helped the westerners to bring about the defeat. In any event, Rowell's reverse was immediately followed by the acceptance of a variety of changes which were recommended in the report of the Book and Publishing Committee, whose chairman was a Nova Scotian. Hitherto, the General Conference Book Committee had been divided into eastern and western sections, which served the Maritimes and the rest of Canada respectively. Now the Ontario conferences and the Christian Guardian were relegated to a new central section, while the western section was given over to the prairie conferences and British Columbia, along with authorization for a western paper.⁵³

The western triumph proved hollow. Perhaps because of opposition from the Alberta Conference, the western journal did not get off the ground, and in 1914 the General Conference removed the provision for it.⁵⁴ Rev. W.B. Creighton, the editor of the Christian Guardian, must also be given credit for the project's stillbirth.

When western officials hesitated in launching a prairie paper, Creighton toured the west on behalf of his paper in 1907, after which he secured from the prairie conferences no less than four paid sub-editors for the purpose of improving the Christian Guardian's coverage of western news.⁵⁵ His innovations produced little dramatic result; the Christian Guardian's circulation declined by more than 5,000 subscriptions during the quadrennium 1906-10, and there is every reason to believe that the prairie conferences contributed to this trend. Even though the Christian Guardian's circulation increased during the following quadrennium, the correspondent for northern Alberta complained in 1912 that he was "in the position of people who once had to make bricks without straw. We have received one letter in eight weeks pertaining to correspondence for this column."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Creighton's western tour may have been responsible for the Alberta Conference's rejection of a western journal, and his attempts to improve western coverage at least met the most serious criticisms which had been levelled at his paper in the past. If western conference news columns lacked for quality, westerners were now responsible. However, the desire for a western journal was a significant part of the prairie rebellion against the Ontario paternalism within the Church, and the sentiments behind it helped

to make the Christian Guardian a less integral part of Methodist life on the prairies than it was in Ontario.

Chapter XI

THE MOVEMENTS FOR CO-OPERATION AND CHURCH UNION WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS

After 1902, a popular Methodist solution to the physical strains on the Church was organic union with other Protestant denominations. To this end, serious negotiations were begun with the Presbyterian Church, Methodism's major rival and the denomination most similar to it, and with the tiny Congregational Church. The catalyst for such discussion was the great immigration of the early twentieth century. The areal dispersion and heterogenous character of the prairie population and the volume of immigration which was anticipated for the future left Methodists and Presbyterians alike uncertain that their objectives in the west could be met if the "wasteful competition" between them was allowed to continue.¹ Two, three and sometimes several denominations were located in villages in which the membership and financial support was enough for one, while other areas were entirely without the means of grace.² The lion's share of this duplication could be eliminated by a Methodist-Presbyterian merger, and the savings in men and money would redound to the benefit of the un-

serviced areas and the overseas mission fields.³ Many laymen believed that church union was merely the sensible application of business methods to religious affairs. As J.A.M. Aikins of Winnipeg explained,

Does one manufacturer or dealer in goods send over the same route and to the same places and at the same time two or three travellers or agents to sell the same goods? Yet that is the principle on which the three denominations have been largely acting. . . .

The laity say . . . wisely, why waste our contributions and money by supporting three sets of churches, three sets of colleges, three sets of church adjuncts, the grand object of which can better be obtained by one. Why this loss of money and expenditure of human effort in senseless and unbusinessmanlike methods [?] Concentrate, consolidate, combine. Have as much sense in religious matters as in material affairs.⁴

Nevertheless, as Professor J.W. Grant has observed in his The Canadian Experience of Church Union, the motive was at heart missionary and patriotic rather than economic.⁵ "The most potent reason for union," asserted the ministers of the three negotiating churches in Winnipeg, was "the immediate and imperative necessity for the extension of the kingdom of heaven, both in Christian and in heathen lands."⁶ Union alone would create a church which could meet the needs of Canadians with Canadian resources. The desire to use Canadian men and money arose not only to avoid distracting British and American resources from missions in heathen lands,

but also because of the nationalism of the three negotiating churches, each of which had become a highly indigenous institution. Although seldom articulated, the movement for church union was promoted too by a nervous Protestant reaction to the European immigration and to the strength which the Roman Catholic Church obtained thereby.⁷ Notwithstanding this fear, there was more emphasis on the success which would attend church union rather than upon the fear of failure without it.⁸

A half century earlier, denominational differences would have precluded a marriage of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, the two major participants in the union negotiations. A formidable doctrinal barrier was the Presbyterian commitment to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, as opposed to the Methodist belief in Arminianism, or salvation through the exercise of free will. Partly because of this difference, Methodists were more evangelical; among Presbyterians, they were also reputed to be less sound in educational and doctrinal standards, an impression encouraged by the emotional displays and "heart religion" at their revivals. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, were guilty in Methodist eyes of cold formalism and uncertain ethical standards.⁹ Finally, although less important, differences in polity existed too. Authority from the

top was inherent in the Methodist principle of the connexion, whereas the Presbyterians embraced some congregational traditions such as the right of a congregation to "call" a new minister.¹⁰ Moreover, the Methodist itineracy clashed with the settled pastorate of the Presbyterians.

All had changed by the 1890's. The similarities were more conspicuous than the differences. To begin with, the old doctrinal differences were far less important. Many Presbyterians approached arminianism in practice even though their Church did not openly embrace it in theory, and they were as evangelical as Methodists. For their part, the Methodists had become heirs to a recognized educational tradition, and their evangelizing was characterized by rational appeal and Presbyterian-like decorum rather than by the emotional explosions of old.¹¹ Principal Nathanael Burwash of Victoria University further observed that the spread of higher criticism had undermined both Calvinism and arminianism by calling into question their Scriptural foundations.¹² Meanwhile, common bonds were forged by new issues which crossed denominational lines. By the 1880's, higher criticism, the evolution theories of Darwin and the spirit of scientific enquiry were challenging orthodox theology in all three churches, and each consequently experienced friction between conservative and liberal

theologians. The disruptive effects at once reduced the cohesion of the churches and gave them something in common with each other. Just as important was the ascendancy of Christian activism, which gave the churches something positive on which to unite. With the dawn of the twentieth century, Protestant Canadians were intent upon Christianizing earthly life as well as upon saving souls for the life to come. Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists united to this end by co-operating in revival campaigns, temperance and Sabbath observance drives, assaults on urban slum problems and in missionary work abroad. Once again opinion varied as to how the world could best be saved; some maintained that environmental reform was essential if slum dwellers were to be rescued from Satan; others held that environmental reform was doomed to failure unless built upon the mass regeneration of society's individuals. Nevertheless, here too the clash of viewpoints constituted no obstacle to church union. When addressing a meeting of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of Winnipeg on the question of union, Rev. Salem Bland observed that "the real divisions of the Christian church are no longer vertical--the historic denominational divisions--but horizontal, the still older and fundamental divisions of temperament."¹³ So complete was the eclipse of the old doctrinal hostility that doctrinal

hurdles were virtually non-existent at the subsequent union negotiations. As Grant has noted, discussion centred on polity, on "what the church was for" rather than on "what the church was," on the application of the Gospel rather than on a definition of it.¹⁴ In the draft basis for union which emerged, the divergent positions on free will were deftly reconciled in ambiguous phraseology. Even in polity the churches were closer; the Methodist itineracy was being undermined by the growing popularity of the "invitation" or "call" system and by demands for a removal of the pastoral time limit.¹⁵

Finally, Methodists and Presbyterians had been conditioned to interdenominational union by earlier intra-denominational unions. During the mid-nineteenth century, British North America included as many as eight distinct and self-governing Presbyterian bodies and seven distinct Methodist bodies. Despite differences in polity, Presbyterian unity was completed in 1875, and the final Methodist union came nine years later. A Methodist-Presbyterian merger was thus facilitated partly by the popular belief that the earlier unions had been successful and partly because the compromises which produced the internal unions had scarcely been given time to harden.¹⁶

The immediate origin of the union negotiations

was a plea by a Presbyterian, Principal William Patrick of Manitoba College, before the General Conference of 1902. Similar rhetoric had gone for naught in previous years, but the new western immigration translated Patrick's promotion into action. The Presbyterian and Congregational churches were invited by the Methodist General Conference to consider organic union, and, in April, 1904, committees of the three churches met and concluded that organic union was desirable and practicable. Accordingly, committees were named to prepare a draft basis for union, and by 1908 the proposed basis was ready--two years before the Edinburgh Conference, which has been commonly accounted the beginning of the modern ecumenical movement. By 1912 most of the congregations of the Congregational Church had endorsed the basis, as had the annual conferences, districts and membership of the Methodist Church. Only a lack of consensus among the Presbyterians--30% of whom rejected the basis--prevented a consummation of union prior to the outbreak of the great world war.¹⁷

Although the phenomena of church union has been examined at great length elsewhere, it is relevant to this study as well. In addition to revealing much about the nature of Canadian Methodism at the time, the union movement had several important effects on Methodist growth in the prairie conferences. Concerning the nature

of the Church, the Ontario paternalism within the Methodist Church was never more apparent. As several prairie Methodists complained, the Saskatchewan and Alberta Conferences were not represented on the large Methodist church union committee, even though church expansion in those conferences provided the major incentive for the union negotiations.¹⁸ Secondly, although all sections of the Church save the Newfoundland Conference voted strongly for union, pro-union sentiment was stronger and more urgent in the prairie conferences than in the east. Problems of church expansion were immediate there, and, as an Alberta Methodist put it, the west had "none of the old settled conditions to stand in the way, no church heritage to bother us."¹⁹ A Manitoba pastor added that "if the eastern churches, not feeling our physical pressures, decide that non-essentials must keep them apart, then the west by sheer pressure must unite anyway."²⁰ Union sentiment in the west was further buttressed by a distinctive ideology which, in Grant's opinion, arose out of the cash-crop prairie economy.²¹ Wheat farmers especially were dependent upon outside markets and communications for their fortunes--which could be "bust" as easily as "boom". To acquire more stability, farmers sought to establish production quotas and marketing arrangements through combination; yet co-operation was elusive in new com-

munities which were sparsely populated and which consisted of immigrants of diverse geographical and social origins. Confronted with the lack of social cohesion, the farmers made a virtue of anything which could foster a community spirit, and this feeling produced a widespread desire to leave denominational barriers behind. As a Methodist and Presbyterian study of the Swan River Valley in Manitoba discovered,

The whole tendency of rural economic and social movements in Manitoba is opposed to anything which divides the community. This tendency is fostering a community spirit. . . . The most striking thing, perhaps, in rural Manitoba for the student of sociology is the growing feeling of solidarity--the conviction that "United we stand." Especially is Swan River remarkable in this regard: co-operative enterprises; economic, social and religious are to be found flourishing. They take the form, as has been shown, of beef-rings, live-stock associations, farmers' elevators, co-operative stores, Boys' and Girls' clubs, Home Economics, consolidated schools and union Sunday schools. . . . No ecclesiastical policy will be allowed to stand in the way of community solidarity.²²

Finally, although union sentiment was aroused by "wasteful overlapping," it was even stronger in areas in which union-like conditions already prevailed. The same study of Swan River and a second study of the Turtle Mountain district of Manitoba found that the "sectarian spirit" was weaker in union Sunday schools than in denominational Sunday schools, and weaker in rural areas with only one church (or without any) than in the overchurched small towns.²³ Either the lack of denominational competition

or uneconomic competition could fan union fires.

The evidence of western pro-union sentiment was everywhere. In the Turtle Mountain survey, 40% of the women and 60% of the men felt that "greater sociability and Church Union" was the greatest need of the Church in their communities.²⁴ Eight years prior to the Methodist and Presbyterian votes on the question, church union was endorsed by a mass meeting of Methodists and Presbyterians in Edmonton and by Methodist Ministerial Association of Winnipeg.²⁵ An educational program throughout the west promoted the cause during the winter of 1906; the Methodist and Presbyterian pastors of Moosomin, Saskatchewan, switched pulpits, and the Methodist Quarterly Board at Arden, Manitoba, endorsed union by a vote of 27 to 3.²⁶ Still more significant was the action taken by the Methodists of Grace Church, Winnipeg in the same year; consciously setting an example as the leading Methodist congregation in the west, they gave unanimous support to a pro-union resolution moved by J.A.M. Aikins and Professor W.F. Osborne.²⁷ Five years later, only one district in Alberta and Saskatchewan combined failed to petition for merger with the Presbyterians.²⁸ Finally, as the following table shows, the "yes" vote in the official Methodist vote on union in 1912 was greater on the prairies than in Ontario, and it was greatest in Saskatchewan and

Alberta, the conference in which church expansion problems were most acute.

<u>CONFERENCE</u>	<u>QUARTERLY BOARD MEMBERS</u>	<u>CHURCH MEMBERS OVER AGE 18</u>	<u>ADHERENTS</u>
All conferences	85.8%	86.1%	85.3%
Toronto	87.9%	82.6%	93.1%
Hamilton	82.3%	85.9%	86.9%
London	89.1%	87.3%	88.6%
Quinte	88.4%	89.6%	89.0%
Montreal	81.1%	82.2%	86.5%
Manitoba	91.6%	93.2%	94.1%
Saskatchewan	94.8%	94.2%	95.8%
Alberta	96.1%	95.4%	96.6%

Table 1: RESULTS OF THE OFFICIAL METHODIST VOTE ON CHURCH UNION IN THE ONTARIO AND PRAIRIE CONFERENCES, 1912.²⁹

Pro-union sentiment had several important manifestations in the prairie conferences. The most spectacular was the "local union movement," which was unleashed by the completion of the proposed basis of union in 1908. Protestants in several prairie towns shed their denominational ties and formed union congregations, partly because of exasperation with the slow pace of the union negotiations. The first local union took place at Melville, Saskatchewan in November, 1908, and Saskatchewan had six local unions by the summer of 1912.³⁰ Straightened economic circumstances or the prospect of new church construction provided the catalyst, and no less than five denominations were involved in the local union at Kerrobert.³¹ Invariably these amalgamations occurred against the wishes of the parent

churches, and the people of Kerrobert were also careful to avoid the local Methodist Quarterly Official Board when forming their local union.³² There is no question that the local mergers spurred the cause of organic union between the parents for they raised the prospect that all the western children would be lost if the parents delayed their marriage much longer.³³ Consequently the parent bodies hoped to establish some control over the local unions, and they were aided in this by the desire of the union congregations to establish relations. Accordingly, representatives of the Saskatchewan local unions met in July and November of 1912 to define their position, and a third meeting in April, 1913 was attended by representatives (a subcommittee of the joint committee on union) of the parent denominations. After resisting pressure to affiliate with one of the parents, representatives of the union congregations laid down a series of proposals to which the parent churches eventually agreed. An Advisory Committee was to be formed, to consist of one representative from each of the three parent denominations; its function would be to assist and to advise union congregations in the management of their property, problems of ministerial supply and in the collection and disposal of missionary funds; in addition, a procedure for founding union congregations was established.

However, every effort was made to suggest that the local unions were temporary and not the beginnings of a new denomination; "agitation for the formation of a union church" was not to be "stimulated from without," and union congregations or their representatives were not to meet among themselves to discuss common problems.³⁴

This agreement did not last much beyond the outbreak of the great war. Moreover, as Rev. James Woodsworth observed in his quadrennial report on prairie missions for 1914, it gave the parent churches advisory powers but no control over their community church offspring.³⁵ From the viewpoint of the parents, the agreement also had the unfortunate effect of implying that local union was a viable alternative to denominational competition.³⁶ Thus six local unions were formed in the Manitoba Conference in 1913, another was organized in Alberta in the following year, and requests for local union were made by leading congregations in Calgary and Regina; meanwhile, the Presbyterians and Methodists of Wolseley, Saskatchewan federated--facilities were shared in common, as was the Methodist minister, but church members kept their denominational affiliation.³⁷ By 1914, local unions had become a permanent feature of the western denominational scene, and their numbers increased rapidly in the years that followed.³⁸ As much as anything, they testified to the problems of the Methodist

Church in penetrating the new environment.

In addition to the local unions, the widespread anticipation of church union had two other important effects on Methodist growth in the west. At several points on the prairies (and in Ontario) the seeming imminence of union caused Methodists to delay church building programs; the only compensation was that the Presbyterians lost some of their denominational aggressiveness as well.³⁹ Secondly, the union spirit gave rise to efforts by Methodists and Presbyterians to avoid overlapping in the mission work through co-operation. Silcox has observed that the co-operation movement developed simultaneously with the movement for church union.⁴⁰ Its beginning was a loose agreement between the Presbyterian and Methodist mission superintendents in 1899 whereby each was to keep out of fields in which the other was established. The agreement was reaffirmed and broadened by a joint committee of the two churches which met in 1903, immediately after the General Conference which launched the church union negotiations. Wherever possible, overlapping was to be eliminated in existing fields through readjustment; overlapping in new territory was to be minimized through prior consultation, and each specifically agreed not to intrude upon fields which the other had occupied for a period of one year or more. However, save for the non-intrusion rule, no

definite standards for comity existed, and the co-operation was still based upon personal conversations rather than written agreements.⁴¹

For two reasons, personal conversations were not enough. Firstly, intense denominational rivalry had created an atmosphere of mutual mistrust. In "strictly confidential" letters written in 1903, all three prairie mission superintendents advised Rev. Alexander Sutherland, the General Secretary of the Missionary Society, that they were sceptical of finding a co-operative spirit among their Presbyterian counterparts. Rev. James Woodsworth recalled how

For twenty years Dr. [James] Robertson [the Presbyterian Home Mission Superintendent until his death in 1902] opposed Methodism in this country, both personally and through ministers of his denomination, and often times by disreputable methods. He frequently spoke disparagingly of Methodism in public; and in a variety of ways did he strive to thwart our plans. On two successive occasions I introduced myself to him, yet through all the years following, he never deigned to notice me, though we frequently met in our travels. He acted in the same way to several of our leading ministers. Now the influence of all this cannot be overcome in a day. Our ministers and people are suspicious . . .

I would be slow to charge them with misrepresentation, but they seem to possess a strange fancy that if everything is not Presbyterian, it ought to be. As Dr. Gaetz [Methodist] remarked to Dr. Herdman [one of Robertson's successors], if a family had some distant relative who was a Presbyterian, they claimed the family.⁴²

Nor were the Methodist mission superintendents able to show much more enthusiasm for the two men who succeeded

Robertson in the west. Although Dr. J.C. Herdman, the Presbyterian mission superintendent for Alberta and British Columbia, was reputed to have a more liberal spirit, Woodsworth noted that he had not been appointed until Dr. D.G. McQueen of Edmonton, a pronounced Presbyterian chauvinist, had turned down the job. As for the Presbyterian superintendent for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Rev. T.C. Buchanan considered Dr. John A. Carmichael to be "the stiffest of the stiff . . . and he has greatly changed if he desires co-operation of any kind and to any degree. . . . As I see it the Presbyterian Church in its policy is still Robertsonian."⁴³ The promising potential for growth in the west also discouraged co-operation. Several towns which had stagnated in the 1890's were flourishing in the early twentieth century, and who was to say what towns would progress in the years to come? "Are we prepared," demanded Rev. James Woodsworth,

to parcel out territory about whose future we know so little? No doubt towns and perhaps cities will spring up when there will not only be room for both churches, but where both will be needed . . . if by mutual arrangement another church has sole right of way in what afterwards develops into a large centre shall we forever be precluded from entering? . . . If it be said to "unite only in weak places," who is to determine where?⁴⁴

Thus the foundations for serious co-operation were not laid until 1911. Significantly, the initial break-

through came in Alberta, where church expansion was most pressing. In January, in response to Presbyterian initiative, a committee of the Alberta Conference met with a committee of the Presbyterian Synod of Alberta in Calgary; a constitution was drawn up, the province divided into nine districts, and joint committees were charged with eliminating and avoiding overlapping in each district, provided that their arrangements were endorsed by the provincial joint committee. Co-operation was also arranged with respect to missions among the "European foreigners," each denomination being assigned to particular nationalities. Two months later in Toronto, a joint committee of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches adopted the substance of the Alberta agreement for the entire dominion.⁴⁵

Predictably, the new machinery was first used in Alberta; in 1911, the Methodist and Presbyterian churches made extensive divisions of territory in all nine of the provincial districts.⁴⁶ Rev. S.D. Chown, who for six years was the chairman of the provincial joint committee, recalled in 1930 that "duplication was eliminated within the province except in fifteen charges, where it was stated that the population was so numerous that duplication did not involve competition."⁴⁷ In the High River, Macleod and Lethbridge districts alone the Methodists agreed to withdraw from eleven places, and

the Presbyterians agreed to give up twelve. Nevertheless, one wonders if some of the localities resisted the suggestions of the district joint committees, a possibility at which the Alberta Conference pastoral address of 1911 hinted.⁴⁸ Despite Chown's recollections, Rev. T.C. Buchanan's report for that year asserted that "the movement . . . has scarcely realized what we anticipated for it," and he looked for its chief benefits in the future.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, the machinery for co-operation was not even operating in the other prairie conferences. In April, 1912, Rev. T.J. Johnston, the chairman of the Swift Current District of the Saskatchewan Conference, reported that

In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, little has been done. The district committees were appointed last fall in Saskatchewan but they have not acted. Despite the resolution of our annual conference to have our missionary superintendent urge upon the Presbyterians the convening of these committees, nothing has happened and they have not met. [On the contrary] the Presbyterian Mission Board met in Winnipeg a few weeks ago and made appointments of their available men to fields old and new. In this district they have appointed student missionaries for the first time to small communities and rural missions where our church has had men working upon the ground from one to three years, and where we alone have been at work and have acquired church property in the form of buildings and land. And places, too, where we have been supplying a weekly service, the people contributing scarcely enough to meet half the salary of one man, are now treated to the services of two. This has been done, too, with the knowledge that our men are on the ground!⁵⁰

A few district joint committees in Saskatchewan finally made co-operation agreements in 1913, after two years of inactivity. Meanwhile, Rev. James Woodsworth reported in 1914 that Manitoba had been able to reduce the number of its missions through co-operation agreements.⁵¹ Yet the mission superintendent of both conferences still had more harsh words for the scheme than good. Woodsworth felt that the machinery for co-operation in Manitoba had "failed in its purpose. It is too cumbersome and indeed practically inoperative. As a church, we have been losers both numerically and financially by co-operation."⁵² Rev. C.H. Cross, who has become superintendent for northern Saskatchewan in 1913, explained just how the Church could lose: Methodism lost members and adherents in the areas which were given over to the Presbyterians, and it often failed to obtain support from the Presbyterians in the areas which it acquired; occasionally, the number and size of mission grants were as large as ever.⁵³ Herein lay the crux of Methodist disillusionment which Rev. Oliver Darwin also shared; after conceding that co-operation had produced some good results in southern Saskatchewan, he added that "on the whole we regret to say that it has been otherwise."⁵⁴

In theory, co-operation with the Presbyterians should have allowed the Methodist Church to cover its

ground more efficiently, thereby making it more effective as an institution. In practice, the savings in men and money were much less than had been hoped for, and the movement hurt the Church by sapping its denominational aggressiveness. More important, co-operation jeopardized the survival of a distinctive Methodist Church in so far as it promoted organic union with the Presbyterians. Although some Methodists supported co-operation as an alternative to church union, more supported it as a half-way house to union, and the mission superintendents in particular were driven closer to union with the Presbyterians because of the difficulties in co-operating with them.⁵⁵ Yet if union and co-operation movements dulled the denominational loyalties of the Methodist membership, they were also products of the decline of a distinctive Methodist identity. By 1914, the Church was not substantially different from its Presbyterian rival, and this was yet another factor which prevented the prairie conferences from duplicating the stature which Methodism enjoyed in old Ontario. On balance, union and co-operation were manifestations of Methodist weaknesses more than causes of them.

Chapter XII

CONCLUSION

Prior to 1914, Methodist leaders wished to extend to the prairies the religious traditions and social influence which their Church possessed in eastern Canada, and especially in Ontario. Two secondary objectives consequently emerged. Firstly, they hoped to supply the necessary clergy from eastern Canada. Secondly, recognizing that only part of the prairie immigration was from eastern Canada, they hoped to attract laymen from other countries as well. Ironically, the opposite of the secondary objectives occurred to some extent. Although a majority of the prairie ministers came from the eastern conferences, including a great majority of the experienced men, a third or more came from Britain. The laymen, on the other hand, were primarily from eastern Canada: a sign that prairie Methodism was gaining too little from the British, American and European immigration to match the proportionate strength of Methodism in Ontario. In the end, prairie Methodism lacked the social influence of Methodism in Ontario and was only partially the outreach of Methodism in eastern Canada.

The character of Canadian Methodism also affected its growth in the west. Like its British and American counterparts, the Canadian Church had become a middle class institution, and it drew its greatest strength on the prairies from urban middle class and well-to-do farming populations. Conversely, the weakness of its appeal among the urban working classes and poorer rural dwellers contributed to its failure to achieve the proportionate strength of Methodism in Ontario. In addition, Methodist resources were inadequate to discharge Methodist objectives in church expansion. In this respect, the areal dispersion of Methodist supporters made the institutions of the Church more difficult to support than in eastern Canada. Moreover, Asia remained the Church's primary missionary interest and absorbed human and material resources which might otherwise have gone to home missions. Most important of all, the eastern conferences gave far less to missions in general than their affluence allowed.

The greatest setback to Methodist hopes for the west came from the European immigration. The Church's objectives in public school education were only partially realized in the prairie provinces. Moreover, attempts to Protestantize the Europeans through mission work made a negligible impact on the total European population. Especially interesting in this regard was

the lack of a single European mission in Saskatchewan, the conference with the greatest number of "foreigners." Rev. Oliver Darwin, the conference mission superintendent, seems to have been largely responsible. Of the three superintendents in the period 1902-1912, he alone seems to have been oblivious to the European presence. His annual and quadrennial reports scarcely mentioned the problem, and his autobiography, published in 1949, reflected the same lack of interest in this field of work.¹ Even his review of J.S. Woodsworth's Strangers Within Our Gates was strangely detached; whereas other reviewers lauded Woodsworth for coming to grips with a vital, immediate Canadian problem, Darwin was content to recommend it "to those who are interested in the subject"--which suggested that its subject was not very immediate to him.² Occasionally Darwin explained his inaction in this area of work. To begin with, he believed that mission work was better suited to urban populations than to Saskatchewan's rural colonies.³ Secondly, he maintained that the ordinary domestic work consumed all his energies, and he urged Rev. James Allen to create a new department to handle the European work.⁴ Finally, he felt that the European missions could not succeed unless staffed by missionaries who could address the Europeans in their own tongues; thus he did not act when the General Board failed to offer him qualified

workers or the money to train workers locally.⁵ Nevertheless, the Alberta Conference overcame these deterrents, and Rev. James Allen was critical of Darwin's absolute failure to act. In 1912, Rev. C.H. Cross was named Saskatchewan's second mission superintendent partly because he had demonstrated a concern for doing something about the emerging ethnic mosaic.⁶

The inadequacy of the European missions frequently caused Methodists to underestimate the extent to which the Europeans were being assimilated. Recent ethnic studies have shown that the Europeans were learning of Canadian affairs through newspapers in their own languages and through commercial dealings with Canadian merchants; Canadian farming practices and styles of dress were increasingly copied, and even the exclusive Mennonite and Doukhobor colonies absorbed some of these influences.⁷ Nevertheless, mere assimilation did not suit Methodist ends. The missionaries sought a Canadianization which included the social values of Protestantism: temperance, sabbath observance, decent living standards and adherence to other ascetic principles. They were very aware that another kind of Canadianization was all too possible. Rev. John C. Sibley of Winnipeg noted that

there are elements in our civilization which are hardly exemplary. In these things we hope they will NOT be Canadianized--the unscrupulous businessman who exploits their ignorance and credulity, the corrupt ward boss--at the very least these vices,

even if not copied, leave the people hostile to our civilization and religion, and render futile our efforts to Canadianize them. In the midst of our normal English chauvinism, we must recognize that WE too have weaknesses.⁸

His warning reflected an irony which had long plagued the overseas missions: efforts to "uplift" the "inferior" peoples were often impeded by debauched representatives of the "superior races." Herein lay the full failure of the Methodist Church in relation to the European population of the prairies; in addition to being ineffective as an assimilating agency, the Church was unable to prevent assimilation of the wrong kind. Thus many of the Canadianized "foreigners" were just as subversive of Methodist values as they had been while attached to their old-world cultures.

Regardless of how necessary the European missions were in terms of Methodist ideology, they were a mistake from the viewpoint of Methodism's institutional growth on the prairies. There were too few missions to make a meaningful impact upon the ethnic mosaic, and it is doubtful whether a more substantial missionary effort would have increased the impact. Greek Orthodox, Uniate and Roman Catholic Europeans were not receptive to the Methodist message in any circumstances. The major effect of the European work was the consumption of nearly a quarter of a million dollars which could have been

profitably directed to the ordinary domestic work.

In 1913, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, a veteran Manitoba pastor, argued that Methodism had been overtaken by the Presbyterians precisely because the latter had spent less on the "foreigners" and more on their own flesh and blood.⁹

Throughout the period under study, the outreach of the Ontario and Maritime conferences was weakest in Saskatchewan. Of the three prairie conferences, the Saskatchewan Conference was the most reliant upon ministerial recruits from Britain. Nor were there any European missions in the Conference, even though Saskatchewan had a larger European population than either Manitoba or Alberta. Finally, the ties which bound the Mission Rooms with local leadership in Regina were weaker than the ties with local elites in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton. The relative weakness of the tie with Regina was partly explained by the lack of a Methodist college in Saskatchewan prior to 1911. Since educational staff were not subject to the itineracy, they were in a unique position to provide leadership with continuity. Wesley College and Alberta College were the nuclei for local elites in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Rev. G.W. Kerby, the pastor of Central Methodist Church, Calgary, played the same role in his city when he was exempted from the itineracy in the period 1902 to 1910; after 1910, he

remained in Calgary as principal of Mount Royal College. However, the mission superintendents were also in a position to provide a continuity of leadership. Thus the personality of Rev. Oliver Darwin partly explains the relative lack of ties between the Mission Rooms and Regina; it also explains why Saskatchewan was less devoted to the cultural goals which were defined in Toronto. Unlike Revs. T.C. Buchanan and James Woodsworth who were Ontario natives, Darwin was born and raised in England. Also unlike them, he quarrelled with officials in Toronto, was in the forefront of the drive for greater western autonomy in missions, neglected the ethnic mosaic and cheerfully accepted ministerial recruits from Britain. Although sharing the aggressive Protestantism of his Church, he lacked its Canadian patriotism and had fewer ties with the eastern conferences.

In terms of the objectives set by Methodist leaders, the period 1896 to 1914 was a disappointing chapter in the history of prairie Methodism. Yet it was not so disappointing to many of the participants. In addition to the excitement of "laying the foundations" for a new society, many agreed with Rev. T.C. Buchanan that the religiosity of prairie society would increase when the raw frontier period had passed. Western Methodists of the time were also unable to foresee the curtailment of

immigration brought about by the world war, and they had an exaggerated notion as to the population potential of the prairies. Thus, while expectations of continued population growth made problems of church expansion loom larger than they really were, Methodists could also anticipate a continuous growth in membership--a satisfying prospect. Finally, many of the "short-comings" of Methodist growth ceased to exist if Methodist objectives, including the Ontario basis for comparison, were removed. Prairie Methodism achieved an impressive statistical growth in the period 1896 to 1914. Church membership rose from 16,000 to 57,000, and the census strength of the Church increased from 35,000 to more than 206,000 during the two decades preceding 1911. By 1914, each of the three prairie conferences was nearly equal to or exceeded the strength of the Manitoba and Northwest Conference in 1896.

Prairie Methodism had attained a certain maturity in 1914. The revolt against eastern direction in missions was one sign that the west was coming of age. So was the state of prairie church expansion. In a statement similar to that for the Alberta Conference, Rev. Oliver Darwin reported in 1914 that

The outposts of our province have been fairly well reached, and our work in the future will not be so much the taking up of new territory, but the consolidation and better arrangement of the ground already occupied.¹⁰

In more ways than Darwin knew, his report marked the end of an era. The immediate cause of the emphasis upon consolidation was the problem of missionary salaries, but this policy was made permanent by the outbreak of war in August. For the next four years, clergy and laymen left the prairies for the front, and the income of the Missionary Society plunged when monies were diverted to the war effort. In the meantime, a major Methodist problem, the European immigration, abated as well.¹¹

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

- 1 The term "culture" will be given a very broad definition throughout the thesis; it will refer to a collection of attitudes, customs, expectations and aspirations.

Chapter II

- 1 Canada Year Book, 1912 (Ottawa, 1913), pp.3, 9-10;
A.S. Morton, A History of Prairie Settlement
(Toronto, 1938), Chapters V-VII.
- 2 Christian Guardian, November 26, 1902, address by
Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior,
at Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto; Ibid.,
March 11, 1903.
- 3 Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1906,
p.5603; Sproule was speaking in support of the
Lord's Day bill of 1906. See also Minutes, Toronto
Conference, 1896, pastoral address; Home Mission
Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin, Saskatchewan Con-
ference, to Rev. James Woodsworth, Winnipeg,
June 30, 1906; Christian Guardian, December 7,
1898; Ibid., March 31, 1911, article by Rev. R.O.
Armstrong, Winnipeg; Ibid., August 18, 1909, article
by Professor C.E. Race, Alberta College, Edmonton.
- 4 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, pp.55-6.
See also Christian Guardian, January 24, 1899;
Ibid., March 28, 1902, Rev. James Woodsworth,
superintendent of missions for the Manitoba and
Northwest Conference, to editor; Ibid., August 5,
1902, article by Rev. Hiram Hull, Rat Portage,
Manitoba Conference; Ibid., October 26, 1904,
editorial; Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.2,
pp.397-411, article by Rev. J.E. Hughson.
- 5 See Chapter V.
- 6 Christian Guardian, November 6, 1911, article by
Rev. John Maclean; Ibid., January 11, 1905, Rev.
W. McMullen, Florence, Ontario, to editor; Ibid.,
January 25, 1905, description of revival services
at Cornwall, Ontario; Ibid., February 8, 1905,
description of services on the Yarker circuit,
Ontario; Ibid., February 15, 1905, description of
services at Killarney, Manitoba; Ibid., April 12,
1905, description of services at Roland, Manitoba;
Ibid., November 15, 1905, description of services
along the Soo Line, Saskatchewan; Missionary Outlook,
June 1905; Minutes, Hamilton Conference, 1898,
pastoral address, pp.113-16.

- 7 Christian Guardian, November 16, 1898, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News. See also Ibid., February 1, 1899.
- 8 Ibid., November 26, 1902, address by Hon. Clifford Sifton at Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto; Ibid., February 8, 1911, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, Manitoba Conference, to editor; Home Mission Reports, Rev. John Maclean, Morden, Manitoba, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, February 8, 1911.
- 9 Home Mission Reports, Rev. B.W.J. Clements, Wessington, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, February 13, 1907. See also Ibid., Rev. W.P.M. Haffie, Shaunauvon, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, August 20, 1914; Ibid., Rev. A.R. Aldridge, Vermillion District, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, September 17, 1907.
- 10 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.619, letter from Rev. F.W.H. Armstrong, Lesser Slave Lake, Alberta; Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan, Parkland, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, November 15, 1906; Ibid., Rev. Thomas W. Bateman, Wainwright, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, August 12, 1908.
- 11 Christian Guardian, August 31, 1904. In 1904, the Church was on the point of withdrawing its missionary when suddenly the railway project was revived, and settlers returned to the area.
- 12 Sutherland Papers, F.J. Fydell, probationer, Austin, Manitoba, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, August 7, 1907; Christian Guardian, December 6, 1904 (Lenora); Ibid., March 28, 1906 (Morris). See also Ibid., September 25, 1907 (Oak Lake); Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Maclean, Morden, Manitoba, March 10, 1909; Ibid., report of Rev. James Woodsworth, superintendent of missions for the Manitoba Conference, 1912.
- 13 Christian Guardian, February 13, 1907.
- 14 Carman Papers, G.W. Brown, Regina, to Rev. Albert Carman, July 10, 1912; Allen Papers, J.T. Brown, Regina, to N.W. Rowell, Toronto, July 10, 1912; Ibid., report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, submitted August 9, 1912; Christian Guardian, October 9, 1912. To help Regina Methodists cope with their \$30,000 net loss, the General Conference issued a \$15,000 two-year loan. See Allen Papers, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, July 13, 1912;

Allen Papers, Extract from the Minutes of a meeting of the local sub-committee of the General Board of Missions, July 24, 1912.

- 15 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the Educational Society, pp.319-22; report of Wesley College, pp.341-3; report of Alberta College Board, pp.352-3; Ibid., 1910, report of the Educational Society, pp.190-1; report of Wesley College, pp.213-15; Ibid., 1914, report of the Educational Society, pp.145-53; report of Mount Royal College, pp.163-5; report of Regina College, pp.167-70; report of Wesley College, pp.177-8; Christian Guardian, July 13, 1904; Ibid., September 15, 1909; Ibid., December 1, 1909; Ibid., March 19, 1910; Ibid., April 27, 1910; Ibid., November 23, 1910; Ibid., December 28, 1910.

- 16 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, Report of the Educational Society, p.53. Wealthy lay contributors included the Massey estate, Toronto, which gave \$125,000 to Wesley College prior to 1906, and \$100,000 to Regina College in 1910; Senator G.A. Cox and N.W. Rowell of Toronto who gave substantial sums to Alberta College; J.H. Ashdown of Winnipeg, who gave \$100,000 to Wesley College in 1909 and a smaller amount to Alberta College; and J.T. Gorden of Winnipeg, who gave to Alberta College. See Note 15. The Massey family were engaged in the manufacture of farm implements; Senator Cox was a millionaire financier; N.W. Rowell was a corporation lawyer and a member of the General Board of Missions; Ashdown was the millionaire owner of a western hardware store chain and was originally from Ontario; J.T. Gorden was a financier who was originally from Ontario.

- 17 See Chapter V.

- 18 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Frank Coop, Wilcox, Saskatchewan, to Rev. James Woodsworth, Winnipeg, November 21, 1907; Ibid., Rev. Charles H. Hopkins, northern Alberta, to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, July 28, 1910. See also Ibid., Rev. E.I. Pratt, Turner, Saskatchewan, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, July 8, 1908; Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.4, No.4, p.1009, letter from Rev. W.T. Young, Millet, Alberta; Ibid., 1909, Vol.6, No.1, p.119, letter from Rev. Henry Munton, Tofield, Alberta; Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.3, pp.479-80, letter from Rev. Russell Dynes, Gull Lake, Saskatchewan; Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.611, letter from Rev. George F. Dynes, Glenville mission, Calgary; Ibid.,

- 1910, Vol.6, No.4, p.920, letter from Rev. and Mrs. A.D. Richard, Camrose, Alberta; Ibid., 1913, Vol.9, No.3, p.470, letter from Rev. E.F. Morrow, Senlac, Saskatchewan; Christian Guardian, January 4, 1899, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., November 6, 1907, description of conditions at Shellbrooke, Prince Albert District; Ibid., February 2, 1910, "One Who is Desirous for the Good of the Church of Christ" to editor.
- 19 Home Mission Reports, Ethel Anderson Armstrong, Dunvegan, Alberta, to "fellow workers," March 24, 1913. See also Ibid., T.F. Serafout, Calgary, to Rev. G.W. Kerby, Toronto, August 20, 1907; Christian Guardian, April 1, 1908, description of the founding of White Whale Lake mission.
- 20 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to John W. Roberts, Lancashire, England, September 21, 1908.
- 21 Christian Guardian, November 6, 1907, description of pastor's shack at Exshaw, Alberta by Rev. G.A. Hipkin, pastor.
- 22 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.4, No.4, p.1009, letter from Rev. W.T. Young, Millet, Alberta. See also Sutherland Papers, Rev. T.R. McNair, Davidson, Saskatchewan, to J.N. Shannon, Mission Rooms, Toronto, November 3, 1905; Home Mission Reports, Rev. Thomas W. Bateman, Wainwright, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, August 12, 1908.
- 23 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.2, article by Rev. J.E. Hughson.
- 24 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, March 5, 1909 and March 22, 1909. For other examples of physical mishaps suffered by prairie clergy, see Christian Guardian, December 5, 1900, misadventure of Rev. A.E. Galway and R.V. Clement; Ibid., July 22, 1903, experience of Rev. A. Henderson; Ibid., July 29, 1903, experience of Rev. Thomas Lawson; Ibid., April 6, 1904, concerning the death of the son of Rev. Frank Finn; Ibid., August 24, 1904, concerning the tour of the west by Rev. Nathanael Burwash and his son; Ibid., February 28, 1906, concerning the accident of Rev. R. Telpher, Pembina.
- 25 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.2, p.403, article by Rev. J.E. Hughson. See also Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1910, report of the Committee on State of

- the Work, pp.68-71; Allen Papers, J.N. Shannon, Mission Rooms, to Rev. Oliver Darwin, June 17, 1907; Christian Guardian, October 19, 1898, W.J. Robertson, St. Catherines, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., March 1, 1905, "W.H.R." to editor; Ibid., April 23, 1913, Rev. H.G. Cairns, Saskatchewan Conference, to editor.
- 26 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.488, letter from Rev. R.R. Morrison, Outlook, Saskatchewan.
- 27 Christian Guardian, September 2, 1902, address given by N.W. Rowell to the Manitoba and Northwest Conference Epworth League Convention.
- 28 Ibid., March 25, 1903, interview with Rev. T.C. Buchanan, Manitoba and Northwest Conference.
- 29 Ibid., May 13, 1896, observation of Rev. William Meikle, an evangelist who had been conducting union (interdenominational) revival services in Manitoba for the previous fourteen months; Ibid., March 4, 1903, article by Professor W.F. Osborne, Wesley College; Ibid., December 9, 1903, Rev. Alexander Sutherland to editor; Ibid., March 23, 1904, comment by Rev. H.G. Cairns, Arcola, Manitoba; Ibid., May 1, 1907, article by John W. Eedy, Alberta Conference.
- 30 Ibid., May 27, 1896. See also Ibid., December 18, 1907, Alberta Conference News.
- 31 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 27, 1907; Ibid., Rev. T.J. Johnston, Clover Bar, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, September 15, 1908; Missionary Outlook, June, 1906, article by H.H. Fudger, treasurer of the Missionary Society; Ibid., October, 1912, article by "T.A.P."
- 32 See Chapter XI.
- 33 Christian Guardian, February 22, 1905, article by Rev. Ernest Thomas, Lachute, P.Q. See also Ibid., November 1, 1911, article by A. McKibbin.
- 34 See Chapter VIII.
- 35 Computed from Census of Canada, 1911, pp.442-5. In 1901, the prairie population was 414,151, of which 67,583 were European.

- 36 Ibid., pp.426-32.
- 37 Ibid., pp.442-5.
- 38 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, stenographic report of the proceedings of the General Board of Missions, 1909.
- 39 Ibid., March 11, 1908.
- 40 Ibid., January 13, 1909.
- 41 See Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909; Ibid., speech given at Wiarton, Ontario by Irving Grog, Shallow Lake, Ontario, September 29, 1904; J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto, 1909); Christian Guardian, 1896 to 1914.
- 42 Missionary Outlook, February, 1909.
- 43 Woodsworth, Op.Cit., p.222.
- 44 Christian Guardian, April 30, 1902; Ibid., May 21, 1902.
- 45 Ibid., April 8, 1908. See also Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1912-13, pp.viii-x.
- 46 Christian Guardian, February 23, 1910.
- 47 Ibid., November 10, 1909. For other examples of Methodist fear of Roman Catholics, see Minutes, London Conference, 1896, pastoral address; Missionary Outlook, October 1911; Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.H. Lawford, Paken, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, March 4, 1908; Ibid., George N. Jackson, secretary of the Winnipeg City Mission Board, to Rev. James Allen, March 26, 1909; Allen Papers, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, November 9, 1911. The Roman Catholic clergy also wooed the Austrian Uniates who acknowledged the Pope's authority but used the rites of the Greek Orthodox Church. However, the Latin rites of the Roman Catholics were associated by the Austrians with their Polish oppressors in the old country, and Roman Catholic proselytizing was stoutly resisted. See W.L. Scott, "The Catholic Ukrainian Canadians," reprint from the Dublin Review, April, 1938, p. 4ff; Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats (Toronto, 1947), pp. 63ff; Charles H. Young, The Ukrainians, A Study in Assimilation (Toronto, 1931).

- 48 Christian Guardian, December 8, 1909. See also Chapter IX.
- 49 Ibid., January 14, 1903.
- 50 Western Methodist Times, Winnipeg, August 20, 1908. In 1908, Rev. William H. Brigden was the editor of this paper, the monthly publication of the Methodist Ministerial Association of Winnipeg.
- 51 See Chapter IX.
- 52 Allen Papers, Report of Investigation of Foreign Settlements, by Rev. Edmund Chambers, 1914. See also chapters VIII and IX.
- 53 Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.H. Lawford, Pagan, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, June 26, 1907. See also Chapter VIII.
- 54 Ibid., Rev. Nathanael Burwash, Victoria College, to Rev. James Allen, December 7, 1907.
- 55 Allen Papers, W.G. Hunt, Calgary, to Rev. James Allen, March 28, 1912.
- 56 Christian Guardian, May 24, 1911.
- 57 Allen Papers, Rev. W.H. Pike, Edmonton, to Rev. James Allen, n.d., 1912. Despite Pike's viewpoint, this problem may have helped to close the social gap between the missionaries and their constituents.
58. Ibid.
- 59 See Chapter VIII.
- 60 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 61 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, stenographic report of the proceedings of the General Board of Missions, 1909.
- 62 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 63 Minutes, General Board of Missions, 1901-11; Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.

- 64 Christian Guardian, November 17, 1909, quotation on cover.
- 65 C.E. Manning, "Missionary Work Among the European Foreigners in Canada," Missionary Society pamphlet, n.d., in Home Mission Reports; Christian Guardian, July 26, 1905.

Chapter III

- 1 Computed from Canada Year Book, 1912 (Ottawa, 1913), pp.28-34.
- 2 Ibid.; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.333.
- 3 For examples of the Montreal Conference's orientation to Ontario problems, see Minutes, Montreal Conference, 1902, appendix, pp.335-49.
- 4 Computed from Minutes, Montreal Conference, 1911, pp.267-86.
- 5 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1902, 1906 and 1910.
- 6 Computed from Acts and Proceedings, General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, 1904 and 1910.
- 7 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Synod, Anglican Church, 1902 and 1911.
- 8 For a list of the chairmen of committees, see Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, p.14.
- 9 Computed from Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1905-06, p.iii. For evidence that members from the Manitoba Conference were not attending General Board meetings, see Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to J.H. Ashdown, Winnipeg, September 14, 1909; Christian Guardian, July 21, 1909, article by Rev. F.B. Stacey.
- 10 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909, statement by Rev. James Allen, chairman.
- 11 Computed from Annual Report, Woman's Missionary Society, 1909-10, p.xxx.
- 12 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, p.182 and p.235.

- 13 Christian Guardian, June 3, 1903, James R. Aiken-head, Toronto, to editor; Ibid., February 8, 1905, Wilson Taylor, Chatham, to editor; Ibid., September 28, 1910, article by Rev. Nathanael Burwash; Ibid., April 12, 1911, "An Old Evangelizer" to editor; Ibid., August 9, 1911, reprint of an ordination sermon by Rev. S.P. Rose; Minutes, London Conference, 1898, pastoral address, pp.9-15.
- 14 Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto, 1962), pp.6-7.
- 15 The millenium was the thousand year reign of Christ on earth which was to precede the final judgement. Pre-millennialists believed that the millenium could only be brought about by Christ's return to earth and that attempts to reform earthly life prior to Christ's return was doomed to failure. Post-millennialists hoped, with God's help, to bring about the millenium by Christianizing life on earth; they felt that Christ would return at the end of the millennial period of perfection.
- 16 Christian Guardian, May 29, 1905, "J.H." to editor.
- 17 Rev. Alexander Sutherland, "The Twentieth Century and Missions," The Methodist Magazine and Review, January, 1901, p.19.
- 18 Christian Guardian, December 17, 1913. See also W. Harrison, "Christianity in the First and Nineteenth Centuries," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, October, 1891, pp.500-03.
- 19 Of American origin, this slogan had been adopted by the Forward Movement for Missions, a program to interest young people in overseas mission work. For use of the slogan by Canadian Methodists, see Christian Guardian, September 12, 1900; Ibid., October 16, 1907, editorial; Ibid., December 18, 1907; Ibid., September 5, 1911, editorial.
- 20 Ibid., October 31, 1906, article by Rev. S.D. Chown; Ibid., February 21, 1906, article by Rev. Salem Bland; Ibid., April 8, 1896, editorial; Ibid., December 17, 1913, article by Rev. S.D. Chown.
- 21 Holy Bible, King James version, Mark 16:15. See also Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.83.
- 22 William Williams, "The Christian Missionary the Pioneer of Civilization," The Canadian Methodist

Quarterly, Vol.V, 1893, p.29. See also Rev. Alexander Sutherland, Op.Cit., pp.17-23; _____, "The Federation of Empire," The Methodist Magazine and Review, August, 1897, pp.178-9; Rev. Hugh Johnston, "Anglo-Saxon Brotherhood," Ibid., February, 1899, p.122 (lecture given in Carleton Street Methodist Church, Toronto); Rev. Thomas, "An Anglo-Saxon Alliance," Ibid., July, 1898, pp.146-9; Christian Guardian, May 6, 1903, article by Professor W.F. Osborne, Wesley College; Ibid., November 4, 1896; Ibid., May 26, 1897; Ibid., June 2, 1897; Ibid., June 16, 1897 (Rev. W.H. Withrow speculates that an Anglo-Saxon alliance might hasten the millenium); Ibid., April 5, 1899, review of a book by a French author, Edmund Desmoulin; Ibid., January 3, 1900 (speculation that the American occupation of the Philippeans is a step forward in the "White Man's Burden")."

- 23 See Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (New York, 1929); Paul A. Varg, Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats, the American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (Princeton University Press, 1958); Jessie G. Lutz, Christian Missions in China (Boston, 1965).
- 24 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1911-12, p.vii. Methodist leaders did not expect to Christianize fourteen million heathen in one generation, but they did hope that every man, woman and child would at least hear the gospel message. Accordingly, the Church increased the number of its West China missions from 2 to 87 during the first decade of the twentieth century, in addition to maintaining a large missionary operation in Japan. See Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1911-12, p.vii; Missionary Outlook, April, 1908; Christian Guardian, October 16, 1907.
- 25 Missionary Outlook, December, 1913, cover page (quotation from the Edinburgh Conference of 1910); Christian Guardian, January 29, 1896, article by F.A. Cassidy.
- 26 Christian Guardian, July 6, 1906; Ibid., December 1, 1909, article by Rev. G.J. Bond, a former editor; Ibid., August 13, 1913, report of an address by Dr. James Endicott, a China missionary, to an audience in Regina; Missionary Outlook, December 1912.
- What ? 27 Computed from reports of revival meetings in the "conference news" columns of the Christian Guardian.

- 28 Christian Guardian, May 6, 1907 (revival meeting at Medicine Hat, Alberta); Ibid., May 15, 1907 (revival meeting at Carman, Manitoba); Ibid., May 21, 1913 (revival meeting at Davidson, Alberta).
- 29 Ibid., September 11, 1907 (revival meeting at Durham, Ontario).
- 30 For reference to Brown, see Ibid., January 24, 1912; Ibid., July 23, 1913. For reference to the "girl evangelists," see Ibid., October 11, 1911; Ibid., December 27, 1911.
- 31 Rev. William Cochrane, ed., Men of Canada, Vol.1 (Brantford, 1891), p.244-5.
- 32 Computed from the conference news columns of the Christian Guardian.
- 33 Christian Guardian, August 7, 1901; Ibid., August 28, 1901.
- 34 A "love-feast" was a simple dinner which preceded a communion service and at which testimonies of religious experiences were commonly given.
- 35 In 1896, camp meetings were held at Reston, Burnside and Winnipeg in Manitoba and also at Edmonton, Alberta; Macgregor, Manitoba held a camp meeting in 1897, as did Souris in 1901 and 1902; Springbank, Alberta and Berwick, N.S. held camp meetings in 1905, and Youngstown, Alberta held camp meetings in 1912 and 1913. Quite possibly the Christian Guardian did not report all of the camp meetings which were held; its coverage of the Maritime conferences was very spotty, and the Burnside, Manitoba meeting was described as an annual event. However, the camp meetings would appear to have been too few in number to be considered an integral part of Methodist soul-saving machinery.
- 36 Christian Guardian, July 25, 1906.
- 37 Ibid.; Ibid., October 9, 1907.
- 38 Ibid., July 18, 1902.
- 39 For the Torrey-Alexander mission to Toronto, see Ibid., September 13, 1905; Ibid., January 10, 1906; Ibid., January 24, 1906. For the Chapman-Alexander mission to Winnipeg, see Ibid., October 2, 1907; Ibid., October 23, 1907; Ibid., November 27, 1907;

- Christian Guardian, December 18, 1907; Ibid., March 17, 1909, special correspondence from the prairie conferences. For the Chapman-Alexander mission to Toronto, see Ibid., December 21, 1910; Ibid., January 18, 1911; Ibid., February 8, 1911; Ibid., March 8, 1911. For Gypsey Smith's campaign, see Ibid., May 19, 1909. For background on all of these evangelists, see William G. McLoughlin, Jr., Modern Revivalism (New York, 1959).
- 40 Christian Guardian, April 11, 1906.
- 41 Ibid., April 19, 1905, Ibid., March 7, 1906.
- 42 Ibid., January 25, 1905, Rev. W.H. Hincks, Toronto Conference, to editor. See also Ibid., June 1, 1899, report of Toronto Conference proceedings; Ibid., March 1, 1905, Rev. W. McMullen, Florence, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., March 29, 1905, "A Pioneer Layman" to editor; Ibid., October 12, 1910, statement by Rev. Henry Kenner at a meeting of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association; Ibid., June 12, 1911, Rev. Stephen Bond, London Conference, to editor; Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1910, report of the Committee on State of the Work, pp.64-6.
- 43 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1896, pastoral address.
- 44 For an excellent discussion of problems raised by Biblical criticism, see Christian Guardian, January 25, 1905, Rev. W.H. Hincks, Toronto Conference, to editor.
- 45 Ibid.; Ibid., October 16, 1907, Rev. L. Lashley Hall, Fernie, B.C., to editor; Ibid., August 14, 1912, article by Rev. S.D. Chown; Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1896, pastoral address.
- 46 Ibid., October 16, 1907, Rev. L. Lashley Hall to editor.
- 47 Nathanael Burwash, A History of Victoria College (Toronto, 1927), chapters VII, XI and XII.
- 48 Christian Guardian, November 1, 1911, article by A. McKibbin; Ibid., November 19, 1913, "H.A. Seed" to editor.
- 49 Carman Papers, draft of Carman's first letter to the Toronto Globe, March, 1909; Ibid., clipping of second Carman letter to the Globe, March 13, 1909; Ibid., Rev. Albert Carman to Rev. J.A. Johnston

Ross, May 7 and May 12, 1909. For a very thorough account of the Jackson controversy, see Margaret Evelyn Prang, "The Political Career of Newton Wesley Rowell," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1959, pp. 116ff.

- 50 Prang, Op.Cit.
- 51 Carman Papers, Rev. Henry Kenner, Winnipeg, to Rev. Albert Carman, March 4 and March 25, 1909; Ibid., Kenner to Carman, February 10, 1910; Ibid., Carman to Kenner, March 4, 1910; Ibid., Kenner to Carman, April 23, 1910 and October 25, 1910; Ibid., Kenner to Carman, January 30, 1911.
- 52 Ibid., Rev. Henry Kenner to Rev. Albert Carman, October 25, 1910.
- 53 J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, 1946), p.230. See also Christian Guardian, July 2, 1913, for reference to modernist statements by Dr. Stewart, Professor W.F. Osborne of Wesley College and W.E.W. Seller. For modernist statements by another prominent prairie pastor, Rev. C.H. Huestis of the Alberta Conference, see Ibid., September 11, 1907; Ibid., July 28, 1909. In 1911, Rev. John Maclean called for a commission to investigate why so many young clergy were seduced from evangelical principles while in Winnipeg; see Home Mission Reports, Rev. John Maclean, Morden, Manitoba, to Rev. C.E. Manning, February 8, 1911.
- 54 Christian Guardian, January 4, 1904, report of the revival services at the Bethesda appointment, Staynor mission.
- 55 Ibid., February 5, 1905. Methodist restraint on emotional display was evident too in the Christian Guardian's reaction to the very emotional behavior at an Indian camp meeting in Ontario; see Ibid., September 19, 1900. See also Ibid., January 19, 1900 (description of services at Grenfell, Saskatchewan); Ibid., August 28, 1901 (Souris camp meeting); Ibid., February 15, 1905 (services at Simpson Avenue Methodist Church, Toronto); Ibid., March 22, 1905 (services at Blackfalds mission, Alberta Conference); Ibid., February 17, 1907 (services at Medicine Hat, Alberta Conference, under A.H. Ranton).
- 56 Ibid., January 11, 1905, article by Rev. W. McMullen, Florence, Ontario. See also Ibid., September 9, 1903,

- article by Rev. G.R. Turk; Ibid., August 18, 1909, article by Professor Cecil E. Race, Alberta College.
- 57 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898 to 1914.
- 58 Christian Guardian, November 26, 1913, report of a meeting of the local preachers of Winnipeg.
- 59 Ibid., December 4, 1912, Rev. Charles Bishop to editor.
- 60 Ibid., July 15, 1896.
- 61 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, report of the Standing Committee on Local Preachers, Class Leaders and Other Lay Agencies, p.319. See also Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1906, minutes of the Laymen's Association, pp.44-6.
- 62 Christian Guardian, January 16, 1897, Rev. A.W. Keeton, Osage, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., July 2, 1902; Ibid., July 16, 1902, David Plews, Manitoba Conference, to editor; Ibid., May 27, 1908, James Speakman, Alberta Conference, to editor; Ibid., July 23, 1913, W.R. Everleigh, Calgary, to editor; Ibid., August 7, 1907, report of the Toronto Conference Committee on Class Leaders, Local Preachers and Other Lay Agencies; Ibid., December 4, 1912, "Sirux" to editor; Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1908, pp.44-6; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, p.319.
- 63 Christian Guardian, August 16, 1905; Ibid., October 21, 1908, "M.E.B." to editor; Ibid., June 5, 1912, "A Local Preacher" to editor; Ibid., December 4, 1912, Rev. Charles Bishop to editor; Ibid., January 8, 1913, I.C. Morris, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Conference, to editor; Ibid., July 30, 1913, editorial; Ibid., November 26, 1913, report of a meeting of local preachers at Grace Methodist Church, Winnipeg; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08; p.63.
- 64 Christian Guardian, June 12, 1907, David Plews, Manitoba Conference, to editor; Ibid., June 14, 1905, "Fairbanks" to editor.
- 65 Ibid., July 7, 1907, J.A. Irwin, London, to editor; Ibid., June 14, 1905, "Fairbanks" to editor.

- 66 See Crawford Barclay Wade, The M.E. Church, 1845-1939 (New York, 1957), p.44, for the decline of the local preacher in American Methodism.
- 67 Minutes, combined report for the Toronto, Hamilton, London, Bay of Quinte, Montreal and British Columbia conferences, 1904, report of the Committee on State of the Work, pp.324-5; Christian Guardian, March 4, 1896, Rev. T. Manning, Whitby, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., January 29, 1906, "Layman," Lydford, Manitoba, to editor.
- 68 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898 to 1914.
- 69 Christian Guardian, July 31, 1907, Thomas H. Morris, Hamilton, to editor. For other evidence that the class meeting was declining, see Ibid., December 19, 1900; Ibid., June 3, 1903, James R. Aikenhead, Gravenhurst, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., March 1, 1905, Rev. W.G. Clarke, Little Britain, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., Rev. W. McMullen, Florence, Ontario, to editor.
- 70 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, p.335; Christian Guardian, July 23, 1897; Ibid., January 23, 1907, article by Rev. W.L. Armstrong, Manitoba Conference; Ibid., February 6, 1907, A.D. Watson, M.D., to editor; Ibid., July 31, 1907, Thomas H. Morris, Hamilton, to editor.
- 71 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, p.335. See also Minutes, Alberta Conference, pp.74-5.
- 72 Christian Guardian, February 15, 1895; Ibid., July, 23, 1907, article by Rev. W.L. Armstrong.
- 73 Ibid., July 23, 1907, article by Rev. W.L. Armstrong.
- 74 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1910, pp.74-5. The Committee on Class Leaders, Local Preachers and Other Lay Agencies found that the Conference had only 50 class leaders of whom 39 were concentrated in three districts. Two of the other nine districts were without class leaders entirely. See also Ibid., 1908, pp.44-6; Christian Guardian, May 6, 1908, "Predikisto," Craven, Saskatchewan, to editor.
- 75 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1910, report of Committee on State of the Work, pp.68-71. See also Christian Guardian, January 4, 1905, Rev. W. McMullen, Florence, Ontario, to editor.

- 76 Christian Guardian, September 2, 1903. See also Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1903, pp.80-1.
- 77 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.362.
- 78 Christian Guardian, January 20, 1904, article by Rev. C.H. Huestis; Ibid., October 30, 1907, article by Rev. C.H. Huestis; Ibid., December 28, 1910, article by Rev. R.B. Chadwick; Ibid., October 10, 1910, editorial on the itineracy.
- 79 Ibid., May 15, 1912, article by Rev. Robert Milliken.
- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid., January 8, 1908, article by James Speakman, Penhold, Alberta.
- 82 Ibid., May 17, 1905. See also Ibid., June 14, 1905, "A Mother" to editor.
- 83 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, pp.254-5. For the origins of the Epworth League, see Prang, Loc.Cit., Chapter I. N.W. Rowell was instrumental in the launching of the Canadian branch of the movement; significantly, he did not expect the child who had been raised in a Christian home to have "the same experience of conversion" as a hardened sinner; therefore, he stressed "education into faith."
- 84 Christian Guardian, November 25, 1908. For founding of new clubs in the west, see Ibid., March 16 and November 2, 1904 (Calgary); Ibid., August 17, 1904 (Portage la Prairie); Ibid., October 19, 1904 (Winnipeg); Ibid., November 25, 1908 (Brandon); Ibid., November 24, 1909 (reference to a Literary and Athletic Association for all the Methodist churches of Winnipeg). For clubs in Toronto, see Ibid., May 27, 1903, article by W. Secombe, president of the Young Men's Association of Toronto.
- 85 Ibid., March 16, 1904; Ibid., November 2, 1904.
- 86 Ibid., January 8, 1913. See also Ibid., January 11, 1911, article by Rev. C.H. Cross, Saskatchewan Conference.

- 87 This was especially true of the big, inter-denominational revivals such as were conducted by Torrey and Chapman. See McLoughlin, Loc. Cit.
- 88 Christian Guardian, September 9, 1903, article by Rev. G.R. Turk. See also Ibid., May 24, 1899, editorial entitled "The Methodist Pulpit in Toronto;" Ibid., September 11, 1907, article by Rev. C.H. Huestis; Ibid., June 30, 1908, Miss Millie Magwood, Brantford, to editor.
- 89 Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1911, report of Committee on State of the Work, pp.54-6; Christian Guardian, December 23, 1903; Ibid., April 29, 1903.
- 90 Christian Guardian, April 29, 1903.
- 91 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898 to 1914. The reader is cautioned that not all sabbath scholars were children; however, the following age-numbers breakdown of the Sunday school system in 1914 shows that most of the scholars were children and adolescents.
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------|
| Cradle roll | 40,610 |
| Primary, ages 4-9 | 81,889 |
| Junior, ages 9-11 | 54,776 |
| Intermediate, ages 11-16 | 71,641 |
| Senior, ages 16-19 | 40,129 |
| Adult, ages 19 and over | 45,094 |
- 92 Ibid. Rev. W.H. Hincks attributed the decline of the old "explosive" revival to the growth of the Sunday schools; the latter reduced the adult material out of which the "explosive" revivals grew. See Christian Guardian, January 25, 1905. The Christian Guardian also quoted an American source to the effect that 80% of the new members came from the Sunday schools and that it was therefore foolish to spend time on the other 20%; see Ibid., October 11, 1912. See also Minutes, Hamilton Conference, 1896, pastoral address, pp.100-102; Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1903, pp.80-1.
- 93 Moore Papers, Rev. G.G. Webber, Vegreville, Alberta, to Rev. T. Albert Moore, Toronto, September 13, 1912.
- 94 Canada Year Book, 1912, Loc.Cit., pp.30-1.
- 95 Carman Papers, Bro. Eagleson _____, Ottawa, Department of the Interior, to Rev. Albert Carman, July 6, 1908.

- 96 Computed from the Census of Canada, 1901 and the Parliamentary Guide, 1905.
- 97 Christian Guardian, March 17, 1897, J.E. Swann, London, to editor. For the importance of lay organizational leadership, see Chapter VI. For an example of pew rents, see Metropolitan Church Year Book, Toronto, 1897-98 to 1911-12.
- 98 See Chapter V.
- 99 For origins of Methodist theological faculties and the B.D. degree, see C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University (Toronto, 1952), P.143; J.H. Riddell, Loc.Cit., pp.169-70. The Wesley College Department of Theology was founded in 1890.
- 100 See Chapter VI.
- 101 Departments of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, Rural Survey, Swan River Valley, Manitoba, 1914, pp.58-9; Ibid., Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba, 1914, p.61.
- 102 W.E. Mann, Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta (Toronto, 1955).
- 103 See Chapter V; Wade, Loc.Cit., pp. 39ff; K.S. Inglis, Churches and Working Classes in Victorian England (Toronto, 1963), pp. 62ff. For Methodist awareness that their problems were not unique, see Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1898, pp.61-3.
- 104 See Chapter II, note 31.
- 105 For evidence of American influence in the Canadian Church, see J.S. Woodsworth, Loc.Cit., pp.6-7; J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour (Toronto, 1911), bibliographies at the end of each chapter; Christian Guardian, January 9, 1907, review of a book by Rev. Washington Gladden, a leading spokesman for the social gospel in the United States; Ibid., October 13, 1909, article by Rev. C.H. Cross, Harding, Manitoba; Ibid., May 11, 1910, Thomas Voaden, Courtland, Ontario, to editor; Alexander Richard Allen, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961, pp.36ff.
- 106 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.85. For information concerning the Laymen's Missionary Movement, see Chapter VI.

- 107 For evidence that the books by Woodsworth, Bond and Rowell were used as texts, see Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.85; Ibid., 1909-10, pp.60-1.
- 108 See Chapters V and VI.
- 109 Christian Guardian, April 1, 1896, review of an article in the New York Independent by Charles G.D. Roberts; Ibid., June 16, 1897, article entitled "National Wealth and Native Industry "; Ibid., January 5, 1898, editorial; Ibid., March 23, 1898, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., September 7, 1898, editorial in support of an article in the Toronto Globe; Howard Glassford, Guelph, "Does Great Britain or the United States Hold the Future?", Methodist Magazine and Review, July, 1901,,pp.23-7; Christian Guardian, November 6, 1912, article by Rev. R.O. Armstrong, Winnipeg.
- 110 Christian Guardian, November 18, 1903, article by Rev. W.P. Gourd, Hartney, Manitoba.
- 111 Ibid., July 10, 1907. See also Ibid., October 22, 1913, statement by correspondent for the Maritime conferences.
- 112 Ibid., June 16, 1897, article by Rev. W.H. Withrow; Ibid., July 7, 1897, editorial; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1898-99, p.xii; Ibid., 1900-01, p.xii; Ibid., 1906-07, p.cxi; Missionary Outlook, March, 1900; Ibid., August, 1903.

Chapter IV

- 1 The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1906, pp.22-5. (Hereafter cited as the Discipline.)
- 2 Christian Guardian, February 3, 1897.
- 3 Computed from Fourth Census of Canada, 1901. 78% of Ontario's population was Protestant in 1901. The Methodist Church was the largest denomination (666,000 members and adherents), followed by the Presbyterian (477,000) and Anglican (368,000) churches. These three denominations accounted for 89% of the province's Protestant population.
- 4 The anti-cigarette bill was defeated in the Senate, and the House of Commons did not pass it a second time.
- 5 Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1904, p.5133, p.5141 and p.5143; Ibid., 1910, p.864.
- 6 Ibid., 1906, pp.7306-33. French Canada's resistance to English Canadian morality was dramatically revealed in the prohibition plebiscite, in which Quebec was the sole province to give a majority to the "nays".
- 7 Although English Methodism provided the spearhead, the Church of England absorbed evangelical currents through its evangelical wing, and the Presbyterian Church received the same through its lay-dominated Free Kirk wing. See Eli Halevy, England in 1815 (London, 1949), p.452.
- 8 I Corinthians 6: 12-20.
- 9 Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (London, 1956), p.273.
- 10 Matthew 6: 24 "No man can serve two masters. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon."
- 11 Christian Guardian, August 3, 1910.

- 12 Ruth E. Spence, Prohibition in Canada (Toronto, 1919), pp.35-74; Wade, Loc.Cit., pp.58-9.
- 13 For the response of the American churches to urban social problems, see H.F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949), pp.181-96; Wade, Op.Cit., pp.84-6. For an indication that British Methodists were more tolerant of the tobacco habit, see Christian Guardian, April 12, 1911, Stathem Douglas, Pettapiece, Manitoba, to editor, and also the editorial note which followed Douglas' letter.
- 14 See Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, p.317. The pledge involved a commitment to abstain totally from the consumption of alcohol.
- 15 Christian Guardian, February 1, 1899, address of Principal William I. Shaw of Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, at a symposium on church union; Ibid., September 17, 1902, fraternal address to the General Conference by Dr. Bryce, moderator of the Presbyterian Church. The Presbyterian image on the liquor question was also shaped by opposition to prohibition from so prominent a personage as Principal Grant of Queen's; see W.L. Grant, Principal Grant (Toronto, 1904), pp. 383ff. Finally, Presbyterian leniency on the liquor question was suggested by the reports of the General Assembly which dealt with the subject. In 1896, the Committee on Church Life and Work stated that half the Presbyteries had not responded to a questionnaire which had solicited advice as to the value of a Dominion plebiscite on prohibition; in 1897, five delegates to the General Assembly recorded their dissent from a decision of the same committee to endorse a prohibition plebiscite; in 1902, the committee noted that the Church "was doing little beyond the pulpit and home training" in the promotion of temperance sentiment; and the committee of 1904 complained that congregational organizations for combatting intemperance were non-existent. See Acts and Proceedings, General Assembly, 1896, appendix, p.20; Ibid., 1897, p.49; Ibid., 1902, p.66; Ibid., 1904, p.263.
- 16 Until 1907, the General Assembly assigned the temperance question to the Committee on Church Life and Work; this committee also dealt with the state of religion, systematic benefice and, until 1902, with sabbath observance and legislation. After 1909, the temperance issue was submerged in the still larger

agenda of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform. The inability of the General Assembly to attract laymen to the committees which dealt with temperance was quite apparent; although committees generally comprised equal numbers of clergy and laymen, the 1903 Committee on Church Life and Work included only six laymen, as opposed to thirteen clergy; in the same year, the Committee on Sabbath Observance and Legislation included no less than 22 laymen; Presbyterian laymen could become aroused over a moral issue, but that issue was not temperance. Computed from Acts and Proceedings, General Assembly, 1896-1914.

- 17 The Globe, Toronto, September 13, 1902; Journal of Proceedings, General Synod, 1908, p.106 and p.229; Ibid., 1896; Ibid., 1905; Ibid., 1911.
- 18 Sifton was a former railway contractor and speaker of the Manitoba legislature; Cushing was prominent in the lumber business; Hunt was provincial manager for the Massey-Harris Company; Kerby was the key ministerial figure in directing Methodist expansion within Calgary, 1900-1908, during which the itinerant rule was waived for him.
- 19 Minutes, Quarterly Official Board of Century Methodist Church, Medicine Hat, 1894-1917. (Located in Century United Church, Medicine Hat.)
- 20 Missionary Bulletin, 1914, Vol.10, No.3, p.447, letter from Rev. D.R.L. Howarth, The Pas; Home Mission Reports, Rev. Frank Coop, Wilcox, Saskatchewan, to Rev. James Woodsworth, Winnipeg, November 21, 1907.
- 21 Christian Guardian, October 30, 1907, article by Rev. H.S. Magee; Ibid., January 19, 1910, quote from the Neepawa Register.
- 22 Carman Papers, C.B. Keenleyside, Saskatchewan Conference, to Rev. Albert Carman, October 1, 1910.
- 23 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1903, pp.84-5; Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1906, pp.46-7; Minutes, Assiniboia Conference, 1906, pp.39-40; Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, report of the Laymen's Association, 1907, pp.51-2. See also Ibid., Manitoba Conference, 1910, pp.55-61; Christian Guardian, January 14, 1903, comment by Rev. Henry Lewis, Manitoba and Northwest Conference; Ibid., January 4 and January 11, 1905, articles by J.N. Hutchison, M.D., Winnipeg; Ibid., January 12, 1910, special correspondence, Manitoba Conference.

- 24 The Christian Guardian's coverage of western temperance progress and problems was quite extensive. For example, see Christian Guardian, December 27, 1911, article by C.B. Keenleyside, Saskatchewan Conference; Ibid., November 29, 1911, article by Rev. G.G. Webber, president of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League; Ibid., June 7, 1911, article by Rev. C.H. Cross, Saskatchewan Conference.
- 25 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1910, pp.72-4; Christian Guardian, March 16, 1898, W.H. Douglas to editor; Ibid., January 11, 1905, article by J.N. Hutchison, M.D., Winnipeg; Ibid., January 3, 1906, John E. Lane, Manitoba Conference, to editor.
- 26 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the Committee on Sabbath Observance, pp.224-5.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1896, report of the Committee on Sabbath Observance, pp.55-6.
- 29 Expressions of regret over the results of the vote came from the London, Hamilton and Montreal conferences as well as the Toronto Conference.
- 30 Christian Guardian, May 19, 1897, editorial.
- 31 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1897, p.61.
- 32 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, report of the Committee on Sabbath Observance, p.197; Ibid., 1906, pp.227-8.
- 33 Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1906, debates on the Lord's Day bill. For issues raised in the debates, see A.M.C. Waterman, "The Lord's Day Act in a Secular Society: A Historical Comment on the Canadian Lord's Day Act of 1906," Canadian Journal of Theology, Vol.XI, 1965, pp.108-23; G.N. Emery, "The Lord's Day Act of 1906 and the Sabbath Observance Question," in J.M. Bumsted, Documentary Problems in Canadian History, Vol.II (Georgetown, Ontario, 1969), pp.23-51.
- 34 The Lord's Day bill forbade games for which an admission was charged but not recreation for which one paid a periodical fee. Thus Taylor and others

felt that the bill struck at the recreation of the poor, such as the baseball game, but allowed the games of the well-to-do, such as golf. Similarly, the poor lost their railway excursions, but the rich man's yacht was untouched by the bill. See Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1906, p.7237. Of the members of Parliament from Ontario, only two Methodists voted against the bill while ten voted for it. Computed from divisions on the bill and from the Parliamentary Guide.

- 35 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, pp.225-28; Ibid., 1910, pp.402-3.
- 36 The Globe, Toronto, September 23, 1902; Ibid., September 24, 1908; Ibid., September 12, 1911; Journal of Proceedings, General Synod, 1902, p.67.
- 37 Members of the Presbyterian sabbath observance committees included Principal Cavan of Knox College; Edward Brown, a Winnipeg millionaire; Senator F.T. Frost, a Smith's Falls manufacturer; John Charleton, M.P., who had been president of the Canadian Lumberman's Association in 1907; and John K. Macdonald, an insurance executive who was also vice-president of the Ontario Lord's Day Alliance.
- 38 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1896, p.66; Ibid., 1898, p.80.
- 39 Christian Guardian, June 26, 1901, report of Manitoba and Northwest Conference sessions.
- 40 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1897, p.79; Ibid., 1902, pp. 74-5.
- 41 Christian Guardian, February 19, 1902; Ibid., November 19, 1902; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, pp.194-98. In 1906, Winnipeg voted for Sunday street cars by a large majority, despite the position of the Methodist Church. See Christian Guardian, July 18, 1906.
- 42 Christian Guardian, August 24, 1904; Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1910, pp.72-4.
- 43 Minutes, Assiniboia Conference, 1906, p.37; Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1906, p.45.
- 44 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, pp.88-9.

- 45 Christian Guardian, October 12, 1910, Rev. Fred C. Middleton, Brookdale, Manitoba, to editor; William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," The Bulletin, 1968, p.18, p.30, pp.64-9, pp.83-4.
- 46 Christian Guardian, October 12, 1910, Rev. Fred C. Middleton, to editor. For arguments that the "Note" should not have been discarded, see Ibid., September 21, 1910, Rev. Richard Hobbs, Exeter, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., "Asbury" to editor.
- 47 Ibid., April 12, 1911.
- 48 Christian Guardian, August 9, 1911, A.D. Watson, M.D., to editor; Ibid., February 1, 1911, Rev. Richard Hobbs to editor.
- 49 Ibid., March 31, 1897, J.M. Benzie, Tilsonburg [sic], to editor; Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1904, p.824.
- 50 Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1904; pp.345-48.
- 51 Ibid.; Christian Guardian, February 1, 1911, Rev. Richard Hobbs to editor.
- 52 Although the anti-cigarette bill failed to become law because of its defeat in the Senate, the sale of cigarettes to minors was outlawed in 1908, and the city of Winnipeg may have achieved practical prohibition when it charged vendors a license fee of \$500. See Christian Guardian, May 4, 1904; Ibid., March 25, 1908; Ibid., July 1, 1908.
- 53 On the anti-cigarette bill, ten Methodist members of Parliament from Ontario voted for the bill, no Methodists voted against it and only three failed to vote; in contrast, the twelve Anglican members of Parliament from Ontario who voted for the bill were offset by four Anglican "nays" and seven Anglican abstentions, and the eight Presbyterian members of Parliament from Ontario who voted for the bill were offset by five "nays" and two abstentions. Computed from House of Commons divisions on the bill and from the Parliamentary Guide.
- 54 Christian Guardian, June 6, 1900; Sifton Papers, Rev. William Somerville, Boissevain, Manitoba, to Hon. Clifford Sifton, Ottawa, March 11, 1904.

- 55 Allen Papers, Dr. Chris Connolly to Rev. James Allen, August 16, 1912; Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, September 16, 1912.
- 56 Christian Guardian, February 13, 1901, J.H. Rutledge, Treherne, Manitoba, to editor. Another Manitoba Methodist, Stathem Douglas of Pettapiece, smoked a pipe and was not repentent; in addition to defending the pipe as a disinfectant, he protested the classification of smoking with evils such as drunkenness and gambling, and he denied that smokers were automatically excluded from Heaven. His letter was immediately followed by an editorial note which denied that tobacco had any beneficial effects and which excused Douglas because he had apparently immigrated from Britain where laxer views on smoking prevailed. See Ibid., April 12, 1911, Stathem Douglas to editor.
- 57 Ibid., November 3, 1909; Ibid., January 19, 1910.
- 58 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1904, pp.78-81; Ibid., Manitoba Conference, 1908, pp.77-9; Christian Guardian, May 25, 1904, Rev. T.E. Holling, Moose Jaw, to editor. See also Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1910, pp.55-61; Christian Guardian, June 14, 1905, resolution of Crystal City District, Manitoba Conference; Ibid., July 26, 1905 re. gambling at the Calgary fair; Ibid., August 16, 1905, complaint about gambling and indecent side-shows at the Winnipeg fair by Rev. Henry Lewis; Ibid., February 23, 1910, re. support for the Miller bill (race track gambling) from the Alberta Committee on Temperance and Moral Reform.
- 59 Christian Guardian, December 14, 1904. See also Ibid., December 27, 1905; Ibid., October 9, 1907; Ibid., March 1, 1911, Rev. A.W. Kenner's account of movie censorship in Winnipeg.
- 60 Ibid., October 9, 1907.
- 61 Ibid., July 3, 1901.
- 62 Ibid., August 18, 1909; Ibid., March 9, 1910; Ibid., December 21, 1910; Ibid., February 1, 1911.
- 63 Ibid., April 13, 1910.
- 64 Missionary Outlook, March 1910, article by Rev. J.H. Gundy. See also Ibid., September, 1910, article by Percy J. Price; Ibid., December, 1910, article by Rev. T.E.E. Shore.

- 65 Ibid., March 1910, article by Rev. J.H. Gundy.
- 66 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., p.29.
- 67 Missionary Outlook, November 1909, article by Rev. C.E. Manning.
- 68 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Op. Cit., p.29 and p.340.
- 69 Christian Guardian, July 26, 1899, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., April 23, 1902, statement by Rev. Alfred Andrews.
- 70 See Chapter VIII.
- 71 Christian Guardian, January 27, 1897, reprint of an article from the Farmer's Advocate. For rural chauvinism without anti-urban hostility, see Ibid., April 21, 1897, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., October 5, 1898, editorial on the results of the prohibition plebiscite; Ibid., November 2, 1904, report of speech by Professor W.F. Osborne, Wesley College; Ibid., May 7, 1913, editorial on the virtues of a rural upbringing. See also Ibid., November 12, 1913, excerpt from the Toronto Globe re. rural depopulation in Ontario.
- 72 William G. McLoughlin, Loc.Cit., pp. 400ff.
- 73 Stewart Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada (Toronto, 1961); Magney, Loc.Cit.; M.V. Royce, "The Contribution of the Methodist Church to Social Welfare in Canada," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1940, chapter 6.
- 74 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1894, p.300.
- 75 Ibid., 1898, pp. 321-3; Ibid., 1902, pp.175-8; Ibid., 1906, pp.274-8; Ibid., 1910, pp.406-12; Ibid., 1914, pp.406-10. In 1914, the report on Sociological Questions came from the Committee on Social Service and Evangelism, which had incorporated the earlier Committee on Sociological Questions.
- 76 Acts and Proceedings, General Assembly, 1896-1914. The first reference to sociological questions came from the Committee on Church Life and Work, in 1905. See Ibid., 1905, pp.244-7; for changes in 1907, see Ibid., 1907, p.56; for one of the strongest Presbyterian stands on problems of the city, see Ibid.,

- 1911, pp.274-5. For lack of strong social gospel sentiment within the Anglican Church, see Journal of Proceedings, General Synods, 1895, 1896, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1911 and 1914.
- 77 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, pp. 217-21 and appendix, pp.219-22.; Ibid., 1910, pp. 310-13 and pp.481-8.
- 78 Christian Guardian, February 14, 1912, editorial entitled "Was Jesus a Socialist?". See also Ibid., January 1907, article by S.D. Chown; Ibid., April 3, 1907, article by Rev. S.P. Rose, Winnipeg; Ibid., July 17, 1907, editorial; Ibid., April 1, 1908, article entitled "The Church and the Social Order"; Ibid., August 10, 1910, C.S. Laidman to editor; Ibid., March 5, 1913, article by Rev. S.D. Chown.
- 79 For committee members, see Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898 to 1914.
- 80 Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1904, pp.78-81.
- 81 Ibid., 1908, pp.77-9; Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1908, pp.43-6; Minutes, combined report for the Toronto, Hamilton, London, Bay of Quinte, Montreal and British Columbia conferences, 1907, pp.333-5.
- 82 See Chapter VIII. Another important urban mission was the Fred Victor Mission in downtown Toronto which was receiving grants of nearly \$15,000 per year by 1912; in addition to seeking the reclamation of lost souls, it relieved individual problems through various forms of charity. See Missionary Outlook, January 1912; J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., pp.309ff.
- 83 Christian Guardian, February 1, 1911, report of a meeting of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association. See also Ibid., November 20, 1912, article by John A. Copeland; Ibid., May 27, 1908, J.C. Spence, London, to editor.
- 84 Christian Guardian, May 12, 1913, "Saskprob" to editor.
- 85 Ibid., October 9, 1912, article by Kenneth Douglas.
- 86 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1911, pastoral address.
- 87 Christian Guardian, January 9, 1907, article by Rev. S.D. Chown.

- 88 Christian Guardian, October 9, 1912, article by Kenneth Douglas. Other articles by Douglas appeared on September 25 and October 2, 1912. See also Ibid., April 20, 1910, A. McCombe, Sundial, Alberta, to editor.
- 89 See Chapter IX.
- 90 Christian Guardian, May 11, 1910, statements by R.A. Riggs and A.W. Puttee, two members of the Trades and Labour Council, at a meeting of the Winnipeg Ministerial Association; Ibid., Thomas Voaden, Courtland, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., November 30, 1910, article by Rev. R.O. Armstrong, Winnipeg; Ibid., January 8, 1913, Rev. William H. Irwin, Bellevue, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., November 19, 1913, article by H.W. Crews, M.A., Woodstock, Ontario. See also Ibid., May 11, 1910, K. Kingston, Iron Springs, Alberta, to editor; Kingston complained that his community would not recognize him as a Christian because of his socialist views; his neighbours assumed that Christianity and socialism were incompatible.
- 91 Ibid., November 13, 1913, article by H.W. Crews, Woodstock; Ibid., April 20, 1910, editorial note following a letter to the editor from A. McCombe, Sundial, Alberta; Ibid., October 13, 1909, article by Rev. C.H. Cross, Harding, Manitoba; Ibid., May 27, 1908, J.C. Spence, London, to editor.
- 92 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1899, p.46.
- 93 Christian Guardian, June 21, 1899.

Chapter V

- 1 Christian Guardian, April 3, 1907, article by Rev. Thomas Holling.
- 2 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, to Rev. James Woodsworth, Winnipeg, June 30, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. James Allen, January 5, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. C.E. Manning, field secretary for the Department of Home Missions, Toronto, July 22, 1909; Ibid., Report of Rev. Oliver Darwin for the year ending June 30, 1911, submitted July 14, 1911; Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. C.E. Manning, July 28, 1913; Ibid., quadrennial report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, June, 1914, submitted June 29, 1914; Allen Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, June 18, 1912; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, p.61 and p.66; Missionary Bulletin, 1912, Vol.8, No.3, pp.1287-88 and p.1294, letter from Rev. T.C. Buchanan; Christian Guardian, April 3, 1901; Ibid., April 16, 1902; Ibid., February 3, 1904, editorial; Ibid., July 27, 1904; Ibid., May 16, 1905; Ibid., March 21, 1906; Ibid., March 6, 1907; Ibid., July 31, 1907; Ibid., May 8, 1907, plea by Rev. James Woodsworth; Ibid., March 23, 1910; Ibid., July 31, 1912; Ibid., September 11, 1912; Ibid., October 9, 1912.
- 3 Christian Guardian, January 21, 1903; Ibid., May 13, 1903; Ibid., May 11, 1904; Ibid., February 19, 1913, Rev. James A. Spencely, Rosetown, Saskatchewan, to editor.
- 4 Allen Papers, Thomas Kirkup, England, to Rev. James Woodsworth, August 3, 1912; Home Mission Reports, Rev. James Woodsworth's report of his visit to England, 1907; Christian Guardian, January 9, 1907.
- 5 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, December 18, 1909.
- 6 Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. James Allen, July 22, 1909; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, March 20, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Corbett, Bowmanville, March 27, 1908; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, England, August 6, 1912; Christian Guardian, October 17, 1906; Carman Papers, Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. Albert Carman, December 15, 1903.

- 7 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, June 30, 1906.
- 8 Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, December 18, 1909. For further western appeals to the east, see Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, March 20, 1911; Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. C.E. Manning, January 28, 1913; Missionary Bulletin, 1912, Vol.8, No.3, pp.1287-8, letter from Rev. T.C. Buchanan; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1903-04, p.xii; Ibid., 1907-08, p.61; Ibid., 1908-09, p.7.
- 9 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, July 6, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.C. Hartley, secretary of the Saskatchewan Conference, August 5, 1909.
- 10 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.I. Dawson, Sackville, New Brunswick, December 31, 1907.
- 11 Christian Guardian, February 19, 1913, Rev. James A. Spencely, Rosetown, Saskatchewan, to editor. See also Ibid., November 6, 1907, statement by the chairman of the Balcarres District, Saskatchewan Conference; Ibid., November 27, 1907, statement by Rev. James Woodsworth.
- 12 Computed from Minutes, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Bay of Quinte, Montreal, and Manitoba and Northwest conferences, 1896-1904. For the number of ministers in each conference in the year 1903, see Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, p.236.
- 13 Computed from Minutes, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Bay of Quinte, Montreal, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta conferences, 1905-14. For the number of ministers in each conference in 1910, see Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, p.429.
- 14 Christian Guardian, April 2, 1913, Rev. A. Mosely, Park Hill, Alberta, to editor. See also Ibid., August 13, 1902, Rev. James Woodsworth to editor.
- 15 Ibid., November 30, 1912, "westerner" to editor. See also Ibid., December 4, 1912, "Sirux" to editor.
- 16 Home Mission Reports, Rev. F.H. Langford, Regina, to Rev. T.A. Moore, Toronto, June 2, 1914. See also Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Cross, Saskatoon, February 10, 1914; J.H. Riddell, Loc.Cit., p.234; Christian Guardian, March 9, 1910, Alberta Conference News.

- 17 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1902, 1906, 1910 and 1914, reports of the General Conference statistician. If one accepted the statements of certain western ministers rather than the General Conference statistics, the proportion of probationers would be much higher. According to Rev. G.G. Webber, Alberta had 138 probationers and only 118 ordained men in 1911; in the same year Rev. Oliver Darwin reported that Saskatchewan had only 73 ordained men as opposed to 75 probationers, 2 lay supplies and 54 college supplies. See Christian Guardian, August 16, 1911; Home Mission Reports, report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, July 14, 1911.
- 18 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, p.44. See also Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of Rev. T.C. Buchanan, superintendent of missions for the Alberta Conference, submitted 1910.
- 19 Christian Guardian, February 19, 1913, Rev. James A. Spencely, Rosetown, Saskatchewan, to editor; Home Mission Reports, report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, for the year ending June, 1910, submitted July 12, 1910; Ibid., Rev. C.H. Cross, superintendent of missions for Northern Saskatchewan, to Rev. James Allen, July 28, 1913.
- 20 Allen Papers, Rev. T.P. Perry, president of the Alberta Conference, Lethbridge, to Rev. James Allen, August 23, 1912; Ibid., report of Rev. Oliver Darwin for the year ending June, 1912, submitted August 9, 1912.
- 21 Christian Guardian, September 29, 1905, Assiniboia Conference News. See also Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 29, 1907.
- 22 Christian Guardian, September 28, 1904.
- 23 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1898, report of the superintendent of missions for the Manitoba and Northwest, and British Columbia Conferences, pp.128-32; Ibid., 1902, report of the Committee on Missions, pp.119-20.
- 24 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Woodsworth, June 30, 1906. During 1906 Darwin was actually superintendent for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, but most of the missions were in Saskatchewan, and Rev. James Woodsworth was to relieve Darwin of his duties in the Manitoba Conference after this date.

- 25 Sutherland Papers, Rev. J.W. Dickenson, president of the Assiniboia Conference, Virden, Manitoba, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, General Secretary of the Missionary Society, November 20, 1905; Carman Papers, Memorial to the General Board of Missions from the Assiniboia Conference, September 5, 1905.

- 26 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 29, 1907. Barner was named superintendent of missions for southern Alberta in late 1912.

- 27 For comparison with wages of ministers in the United States and with incomes in the business world, see Home Mission Reports, Rev. James Woodsworth's report of his visit to England, 1907; Christian Guardian, August 14, 1907, "H.H." to editor; Ibid., December 7, 1904; Ibid., November 17, 1909, Robert H. Davis, Kitscoty, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., April 13, 1910, Rev. R.S. Stevens, Wapella, Saskatchewan, to editor. For general inadequacy of ministerial salaries, see Home Mission Reports, Rev. W.E.S. James, Ayr, Ontario, to Rev. C.E. Manning, January 16, 1913; Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Woodsworth, June 30, 1906; Ibid., Rev. B.W.J. Clements, Wessington, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, February 13, 1907; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.S. Reid, Souris, Saskatchewan Conference, February 8, 1911; Carman Papers, Rev. F. William Westwood, Belle Plain, Saskatchewan, to Rev. Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, October 31, 1913; Sutherland Papers, Rev. James C. Kirk, Merna, Alberta, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland; Ibid., Rev. W.W. Adamson, Dauphin, Manitoba, to Rev. James Allen, June 21, 1907; Christian Guardian, January 4, 1899, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., April 15, 1908, Rev. H. Evans Marshall, McTaggart, Saskatchewan, to editor; Ibid., April 9, 1913, Israel Taylor, London, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., April 9, 1913, "A Western Itinerant" to editor; Ibid., October 5, 1910.

- 28 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to W. Henry, Esq., Verdun, Montreal, December 22, 1910.

- 29 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1904, report of the Committee on Memorials, pp.86-7. Home Mission Reports, Rev. F.I. Woodsworth, Lesser Slave Lake, to Rev. C.E. Manning, August 15, 1911.

- 30 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. R.L. Dawson, P.E.I., April 20, 1914; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Moore, Board of Missions, Nashville, Tennessee, U.S.A., August 6, 1912.

- 31 See Note 30. See also Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of Rev. T.C. Buchanan, superintendent of missions for the Alberta Conference, submitted June 15, 1910; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.W. Watch, Huntsville, Ontario, July 16, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, November 8, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.T. Gunn, Toronto, December 20, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.J. Smith, Hamilton, February 6, 1913; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. George W. Hazen, London, April 14, 1913.
- 32 Christian Guardian, May 22, 1912. See also Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, June 30, 1906.
- 33 Christian Guardian, August 28, 1912, Rev. G.H. Ord, Benito, Saskatchewan, to editor; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.7; Sutherland Papers, Rev. E.J. Carson, Neepawa, Manitoba, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, June 13, 1906.
- 34 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1898, Report of the Committee on Missions, pp.138-40; Christian Guardian, June 22, 1898, report of the proceedings of the London Conference; Ibid., June 14, 1899, report of the proceedings of the Hamilton Conference; Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1897, p.48.
- 35 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, December 18, 1909; Missionary Outlook, May, 1907; Christian Guardian, November 7, 1906, Rev. J.H. White, New Westminster, B.C., to editor.
- 36 Missionary Bulletin, 1912, Vol.8, No.2, p.1014, letter from Rev. T.C. Buchanan.
- 37 Home Mission Reports, Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. James Allen, July 22, 1909; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Cross, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, February 14, 1910; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Coburn, Staynor, Ontario, February 5, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Corbett, Bowmanville, Ontario, March 27, 1908; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.A. Jewitt, Elmwood, Ontario, April 24, 1908.
- 38 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, February 15, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, December 29, 1906; Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, January 11, 1907.

- 39 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.H. Sparling, Kingston, March 12, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, February 15, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Charles H. Woltze, Campbell, Ontario, March 25, 1907.
- 40 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, p.60. Ibid., 1909-10, p.41; Home Mission Reports, report of Rev. James Woodsworth, senior superintendent of missions, submitted 1914; Ibid., Report of the Employment of Theological Students During the Summer Vacation, July, 1910.
- 41 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 29, 1907; Ibid., Rev. C.H. Cross, superintendent of missions for Northern Saskatchewan, to Rev. James Allen, July 28, 1913. See also Allen Papers, report of Rev. James Woodsworth for the year ending June, 1912.
- 42 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. C.E. Manning, May 15, 1912 and April 15, 1910. Darwin's first car was ruined when the fly-wheel struck against a stone and cracked the crank case, thus forcing the purchase of a second car.
- 43 Allen Papers, W.H. Cushing, Calgary, to Rev. James Allen, May 29, 1912; Ibid., Rev. T.P. Perry, president of the Alberta Conference, Lethbridge, to Rev. James Allen, August 23, 1912; Ibid., Rev. C.H. Huestis, Macleod, to Rev. James Allen, August 24, 1912; Ibid., report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, for the year ending June 1912, submitted August 9, 1912.
- 44 For appointments of the additional mission superintendents, see Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Arthur Barner, Red Deer, October 12, 1912 and December 5, 1912; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Cross, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, January 22, 1913.
- 45 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, November 8, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.C. Speer, Brampton, president of the Toronto Conference, November 8, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, December 7, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.L. Dawson, Saskville, N.B., December 31, 1907; Christian Guardian, May 7, 1902, articles by Rev. James Woodsworth and Rev. C.H. Cross, Cartwright, Manitoba; Ibid., May 6, 1903, "J.W.L.F." to editor.

- 46 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1906-07, p.xxi; Ibid., 1909-10, p.78.
- 47 Ibid., 1906-07, p.cix; Ibid., 1907-08, p.56; Ibid., 1908-09, p.49; Christian Guardian, January 25, 1905, description of problems at Minto, Ontario.
- 48 Home Mission Reports, Rev. B.W.J. Clements, Wessington, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, February 13, 1907.
- 49 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. A.B. Aldridge, president of the Alberta Conference, Calgary, May 19, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.S. Reid, president of the Saskatchewan Conference, Souris, May 20, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.V. Wilson, president of the Manitoba Conference, Selkirk, May 20, 1911; Ibid., circular letter issued by the General Board in response to an Alberta Conference memorial which had criticized the General Board over the issues of ministerial salaries; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. G.W. Kerby, Calgary, May 29, 1907; Christian Guardian, October 23, 1912; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, p.58.
- 50 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to W.G. Hunt, Calgary, December 23, 1912; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.T. Gundy, Toronto, May 24, 1913; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, October 16, 1913; Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, submitted June 29, 1914.
- 51 Home Mission Reports, meeting of the representatives of the Methodist churches of Winnipeg at Grace Church, January 2, 1913 (Rev. James Allen's proposal was embodied in a resolution moved by H.W. Hutchinson and R.T. Riley and passed); Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, January 9, 1913; Ibid., Rev. J.H. Riddell, Edmonton to Rev. W.A. Lowie, Edmonton, January 13, 1912; Ibid., Rev. J.H. Riddell to Rev. Thomas Powell, Edmonton, January 13, 1912; Ibid., Rev. J.H. Riddell to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, January 13, 1912; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.J. Haggith, Calgary, to W.G. Hunt and to W.H. Cushing, Calgary, and to Rev. George W. Hazen, London, April 14, 1913; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. A.E. Oke, Gregg, Manitoba, November 10, 1913. Of the \$7500 in grants which Winnipeg saved, \$3000 was to go for salaries in Manitoba, \$2500 for salaries in Alberta and \$2000 for salaries in Saskatchewan. However, the Winnipeg Methodists were subsequently unable to raise all the monies needed for missions within their city; after releasing \$4500 for salaries in Saskatchewan and

- Alberta, they were forced to ask the Missionary Society for a grant of \$5000. See Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. A.W. Kenner, Swan River, February 13, 1914.
- 52 See note 49 and also Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.W. Andrews, president of Regina College, May 26, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.A. Doyle, president of the Saskatchewan Conference, Prince Albert, April 11, 1913.
 - 53 Christian Guardian, July 2, 1913, Manitoba Conference News.
 - 54 Ibid., October 2, 1912, Southern Saskatchewan News.
 - 55 Allen Papers, J.N. Shannon to Rev. W.T. Gunn, Toronto, December 20, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. W.T. Gunn, January 14, 1908; Home Mission Reports, Rev. B.W.J. Clements, Wessington, Alberta, February 13, 1907; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, p.67.
 - 56 See Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the Committee on Course of Study, pp.132-36.
 - 57 Christian Guardian, April 13, 1910, "a probationer" to editor; Ibid., Rev. R.S. Stevens, Wapella, Saskatchewan, to editor; Ibid., May 2, 1910, "a Methodist" to editor; Ibid., March 30, 1910, Rev. Gustavus A. Colpitts to editor; Ibid., February 2, 1910, "One who is desirous for the good of the Church of Christ" to editor; Ibid., November 11, 1908, editorial.
 - 58 Ibid., March 23, 1910, Rev. G.A. Gifford to editor. See also Ibid., April 20, 1910, C.W. Swallow to editor.
 - 59 Ibid., December 30, 1908, "An Alberta probationer" to editor. See also Ibid., November 4, 1908, Rev. H.G. Cairns, Estevan, Saskatchewan, to editor; Ibid., April 13, 1910, "a probationer" to editor; Ibid., February 15, 1911, Rev. George D. Armstrong, Vegreville, Alberta, to editor.
 - 60 The Discipline, 1906, Methodist Church, p.382; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, report of the Committee on Discipline, p.96; Ibid., 1906, report of the Committee on the Course of Study, p.129; Allen Papers, J.N. Shannon to Rev. W.T. Gunn, Toronto, December 20, 1907.
 - 61 J.H. Riddell, Loc.Cit., p.262. Im passim, the Church also rejected Miss Millie Magwood's suggestion for

obtaining more clergy--using women, who made up (she maintained) three-quarters of the church membership. See Christian Guardian, June 3, 1908.

- 62 Opponents of the Itineracy urged its elimination for a battery of reasons: to leave a man where he was doing well was good business; greater stability would result for the pastor and his family; the "invitation system" was achieving a de facto triumph anyway; and greater continuity of work would result. The concern for continuity however, was not related to problems in the west. See Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1898, p.82; Christian Guardian, June 27, 1900, report of Toronto Conference annual sessions; Ibid., July 9, 1903, "Laos" to editor; Ibid., February, 19, 1908, "Equality" to editor; Ibid., March 11, 1908, "one of the invited" to editor; Ibid., July 6, 1910, article by Vincent Massey; Ibid., February 14, 1912, Rev. W.G. Clarke, Belleville, to editor; Ibid., March 6, 1912, article by Rev. J.G. Woodsworth; Ibid., July 10, 1912, G.S. Glendinnen, Ottawa, to editor. Conservative Methodists urged the Itineracy's virtues: circuits were exposed to different types of preachers; each pastor took turns at poor and lucrative appointments; the system strengthened Methodist connexionalism by acting as a barrier against congregational independence; ministers were assured of a certain independence of influential laymen, thus allowing them to stand on principle. See Christian Guardian, July 3, 1907, editorial; Ibid., December 30, 1906, "Algoma" to editor; Ibid., July 22, 1896; Ibid., June 27, 1900, report of the Toronto Conference annual sessions; Ibid., May 14, 1902, W.R. Hughes, Thornhill, Manitoba, to editor; Ibid., May 13, 1903; Ibid., September 27, 1905, Rev. Henry Lewis, Assiniboia Conference, to editor; Ibid., August 9, 1905. The position of the conservatives was immeasurably stronger than that of the opponents in so far as the de jure status of the itineracy was concerned. The basis of the Methodist union of 1884 stated specifically that the General Conference "shall not destroy the plan of our Itinerant Systems." See The Discipline, 1906, section 91.2.
- 63 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, report of Committee on Itineracy and Transfers, pp.215-17; Ibid., 1906, report of the Committee on Missions, p.120. See also pp.56-7. The itinerant rule was waived for the Fred Victor Mission, Toronto and for All People's Mission, Winnipeg. The itinerant rule was also waived for Rev. G.W. Kerby who remained in Calgary from 1902 to 1910 to help direct church expansion in Calgary and southern Alberta.

- 64 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, p.41; Ibid., 1913-14, p.xiv; Christian Guardian, September 11, 1912; Ibid., October 26, 1910. Woodsworth secured 30 in 1905, 50 in 1906, 63 in 1909, 43 in 1910 and 25 in 1912. However, at least one of these recruits went to British Columbia, and some withdrew from the ministry shortly after arriving--as did many Canadian recruits. See also Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Woodsworth, June 30, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth's report of his visit to England, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth's report of his visit to England, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. James Allen, September 25, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth, England, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, n.d., 1909; Christian Guardian, December 4, 1907, article "The Contingent from British Methodism"; Ibid., January 22, 1908, article "Notes from the New Recruits."
- 65 Christian Guardian, November 6, 1907, Saskatchewan Conference News; Ibid., November 27, 1907.
- 66 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Cross, January 22, 1913.
- 67 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Woodsworth, June 30, 1906.
- 68 See Chapter X. Still another contributing factor to Saskatchewan's great number of English clergy was that as the numbers of English increased, they attracted their friends from the Old Country. See Allen Papers, J.E. Robinson, England, to Rev. James Allen, November 8, 1912.
- 69 Computed from Table 6 and from information concerning "Woodsworth's brigades." See note 64. See also Christian Guardian, June 19, 1907. Charles Bishop, secretary of the Alberta Conference Probationers Association, reported that the Association had a membership of 81, 30% of whom attended the meeting; the large majority were English by birth, although many of them had been in Canada for some years (and who, therefore, were presumably not members of "Woodsworth's brigades"). According to Bishop, an Ontarian by birth, the new arrivals were fast becoming Canadianized.
- 70 Computed from conference obituaries; Methodist pension records; obituaries in the United Church New Outlook and the United Church Observer; the Christian Guardian; Henry Morgan, ed., Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912); and Rev. William Cochrane, ed., Men of Canada, Vols. I-V (Brantford, 1891-6).

- 71 Christian Guardian, February 19, 1913, Rev. J.A. Spencely, Rosetown, Saskatchewan, to editor.
- 72 Computed from Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta conferences.
- 73 The conference chairmen were not designated in the ministerial lists of the conference minutes in 1906, 1907 and 1908. At least one of the British-born district chairmen, Rev. C.H. Cross, had come to the west by way of Ontario.
- 74 Computed from biographical sources and from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1902, 1906 and 1910.
- 75 Wesley College Faculty who can be identified included the following: Rev. J.W. Sparling, who was born and raised in Ontario, took two degrees at Victoria and a Ph.D. at Northwestern University, U.S.A., prior to becoming Principal of Wesley; Rev. Andrew Stewart, who was born and raised in Ontario and graduated from Victoria in 1879 prior to becoming Professor of Systematic Theology, Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at Wesley; Rev. Salem Bland, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, 1903-17, who was born in Quebec but raised in eastern Ontario prior to attending McGill (and presumably Wesleyan Theological College); Rev. George John Blewett, a Lecturer in Philosophy, 1901-6, who was born and raised in Ontario and took degrees at Victoria and Harvard prior to a year of post-graduate study in Germany; Rev. J.H. Riddell, Professor of Classics and New Testament Exegesis, 1896-1902, who was born and raised in Ontario, took three degrees at Victoria and was to become Principal of Alberta College in 1903; W.F. Osborne, a Professor of Modern Languages who was born in Quebec, raised in Ontario and educated at Victoria (two degrees). Other Ontario-born faculty included William T. Allison, Professor of English, 1910- ; Rev. J.W. Melvin who taught in the matriculation department of the college and was to become registrar in 1914; N.R. Wilson, a Professor of Mathematics.
At Alberta, the faculty included Rev. J.H. Riddell and Rev. Charles E. Bland who became Professor of Philosophy and Ethics in 1911, after a lifetime in Quebec. Principal G.W. Kerby of Mount Royal College was Ontario-born and raised and educated at Victoria College. Rev. Robert Milliken was English-born but spent time in Ontario.
- 76 See Allen Papers, and Home Mission Reports.

- 77 Computed from obituaries in the Christian Guardian for the years 1897 and 1898.
- 78 Christian Guardian, January 1, 1913, "One of the many" to editor. See also Ibid., March 26, 1913, "Another of the many" to editor; Ibid., March 26, 1913, A.J. Warman, Broadview, Saskatchewan, to editor; Ibid., February 5, 1913, Alfred G. Scholfield, Wilberforce, Ontario, to editor. For evidence that some English recruits could "fit in," see Ibid., February 5, 1913, Harold White, Albert College, Belleville, to editor; Ibid., February 26, 1913, "Was Green" to editor.
- 79 Ibid., February 5, 1913, "Another of the Many" to editor.
- 80 Ibid., March 12, 1913, M.S. Lehigh, Avonmore, Ontario, to editor. See also Ibid., December 11, 1907, article "Englishmen in Canada--A Friendly Word" by "Exeter Hall."
- 81 Computed from Census of Canada, 1911, pp.440-3.
- 82 See K.S. Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in England and Wales," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 1960, Vol.II, pp.74-86; K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes, Loc.Cit.; Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church (Montreal, 1968), Chapter 8.
- 83 Lloyd G. Reynolds, The British Immigrant, His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada (Toronto, 1935), pp.40-79; Stanley C. Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763 to 1912 (London, England, 1913).
- 84 Reynolds, Op.Cit., p.79. Two-thirds of Canada's British immigrants were living in urban areas by 1921; however, a much higher percentage of British immigrants to the west were on farms: 40% were on farms in Manitoba, 71% were farm dwellers in Saskatchewan and about 44% of those in Alberta lived in rural areas. Since Reynolds found that the occupational preferences of these immigrants had been heavily influenced by their occupational backgrounds in the Old Country, one might speculate that immigrants with rural backgrounds--who constituted only a third of the total British immigration prior to 1914--accounted for a much higher percentage of the British immigrants who located in the west. Significantly, the Church of England was at its strongest in rural England, with 66.5% of the pew sittings in rural churches, according to the 1851 census. Canadian Methodists also noted some of these

- characteristics about the British immigration. See J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Loc.Cit., p.52; Christian Guardian, December 30, 1910, Rev. W. Jackson, Methodist immigration chaplain at Quebec City, to editor.
- 85 Reynolds, Loc.Cit., p.221; Census of Canada, 1911, pp.440-3.
- 86 Karel Dennis Bicha, "The Plains Farmer and the Prairie Province Frontier, 1897-1914," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, December, 1965, Vol.109, No.6, p.422. Bicha's source: United States Immigration Commission, The Immigration Situation in Canada, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, S.Doc. 469 (Washington, 1910), p.31.
- 87 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1916, Part I (Washington, 1919), pp.109-11.
- 88 Computed principally from Dr. C.W. Parker, editor, Who's Who and Why, 1915-16, Vols. 6-7 (Toronto, 1916); Dr. C.W. Parker, editor, Who's Who In Western Canada, Vol.1 (Vancouver, 1911); Henry Morgan, editor, Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912); Walter McRae, editor, Pioneers and Prominent People in Manitoba (Winnipeg, 1925).
- 89 Christian Guardian, January 11, 1911, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, Portage la Prairie, to editor; Ibid., February 22, 1911.
- 90 Ibid., October 7, 1908 (Regina); Ibid., October 20, 1909 (Calgary); Ibid., January 1, 1908 (Winnipeg).
- 91 Computed from Census of Canada, 1911, pp.2-3.
- 92 Christian Guardian, April 2, 1913, editorial; Ibid., April 23, 1913, T.R. Clarke to editor; Ibid., April 23, C.W. Swallow to editor; Ibid., April 2, 1913, Clarke Keane to editor; Ibid., April 9, 1913, George C. Wood, Moulinette, Ontario, to editor; Home Mission Reports, Rev. John Maclean, Morden, Manitoba, to Rev. C.E. Manning, February 8, 1911; Ibid., Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, Winnipeg, President of the Manitoba Conference, to Rev. James Allen, September 11, 1908.
- 93 Christian Guardian, April 2, 1913.

- 94 Christian Guardian, April 23, 1913, W.B. Smith, Hespeler, Ontario, to editor. See also Ibid., April 9, 1913, "Our Manitoba Letter"; Ibid., April 9, 1913, George C. Wood, Moulinette, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., April 23, 1913, article by Rev. George J. Bond.
- 95 Ibid., March 19, 1913. See also Ibid., April 23, 1913, W.B. Smith, Hespeler, to editor.
- 96 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.226; Christian Guardian, February 15, 1911, Walter Giddings, Gleichen, Alberta, to editor; Reynolds, Loc.Cit., p.219ff.
- 97 Christian Guardian, September 4, 1907, article by Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, Winnipeg; Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of the Committee on Immigration, July, 1910; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.223; Ibid., 1906, report of the Committee on Immigration, p.287; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1906-07, p.cx; Ibid., 1909-10, p.51.
- 98 Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of the Committee on Immigration, July, 1910; Missionary Outlook, October, 1910, article by Rev. C.E. Manning.
- 99 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, pp.223-4; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Judge S.A. Chesley, Lunenburg, N.S., January 2, 1909; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1913-14, p.xxiii.
- 100 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 29, 1907; Ibid., Rev. T.J. Johnson, Clover Bar, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, September 15, 1908; Missionary Outlook, June, 1906, article by H.H. Fudger, lay treasurer of the Missionary Society; Ibid., October, 1912, article by "T.A.P." Secondary sources suggest that the image of the American immigrants was probably warranted. See Marvin Rist, "Methodism Goes West" in Emory Stevens Bucke, editor, The History of American Methodism, Vol.II (Nashville, 1964), pp.466-9; Wade, Loc.Cit., pp.194-217.
- 101 Home Mission Reports, Rev. John Maclean, Morden, Manitoba, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, February 8, 1911.
- 102 Computed from Census of Canada, 1911, pp.2-3; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.333.
- 103 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, p.225; Christian Guardian, February 17, 1909, correspondence from the prairies.

- 104 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1914,
p.333; Acts and Proceedings, General Assembly,
Presbyterian Church, 1912, p.472.
- 105 Home Mission Reports, D.H. Kennedy, High Bluff, Mani-
toba, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, February 16,
1911.
- 106 Christian Guardian, February 8, 1911.

Chapter VI

- 1 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1898, pp.235-63; Ibid., 1914, pp.333-68.
- 2 Computed from Annual Reports, Missionary Society, 1898 to 1914. The table excludes the Port Arthur and Rainy River districts of the Manitoba Conference, which were in the province of Ontario. Domestic mission statistics can be determined only with some difficulty. Conference statistics are unreliable because they include revenue and expenditures for Indian missions. Thus individual circuit and mission statistics must be used in order to separate the Indian and domestic mission statistics. Another confusing factor concerning statistics on expenditures is that grants to Indian institutes suddenly appear in the conference totals in 1912 for the first time, without warning to the researcher. This too forces a reliance upon circuit and mission statistics rather than the more convenient conference statistics. Finally, revenue statistics from the Indian and European missions of the Alberta Conference are not complete, and the researcher must rely on estimates to some extent. However, the amounts which were involved are small, and even a bad estimate would not substantially alter the overall picture.
- 3 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898 to 1914. These conference returns include European and Indian missions and also the Indian institutes. The Port Arthur and Rainy River district statistics were included in the Manitoba Conference returns; had they been excluded, the Manitoba Conference surplus would have been \$4,411 rather than \$2,777, but a deficit would have remained for the other General Conference years.
- 4 Computed from Annual Reports, Missionary Society, 1898 to 1914. See note 2 re. the manner in which these statistics were computed. The author has computed balances for each year of the period under study, and is satisfied that the figures for the General Conference years are representative.

- 5 For names of committee members see Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1898, report of the Committee on the Twentieth Century Fund, p.267.
- 6 Christian Guardian, March 16, 1898.
- 7 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the General Board of Missions, p.370; Christian Guardian, April 2, 1903; Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1903; pp.78-9.
- 8 Home Mission Reports, "Report of the Special Committee Appointed by the General Board of Missions to consider the question how to provide the additional men and money required for home and foreign missions"; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. John Corbett, Bowmanville, December 10, 1910. The purpose of the fund was to finance hospitals, institutions, orphanages, schools, etc., which required a heavy financial outlay. See Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1910-11, pp.12-13.
- 9 Home Mission Reports, "Report of the Special Committee . . . for home and foreign missions."
- 10 Ibid. W.G. Hunt was highly praised by Rev. James Allen for his effective speech at the organizational rally for the fund. See Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.H. Riddell, Edmonton, January 10, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, Calgary, December 10, 1910.
- 11 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.W. Sparling, Winnipeg, December 20, 1910.
- 12 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to J.D. Flavelle, Lindsay, Ontario, January 25, 1911; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to J.A.M. Aikins, Winnipeg, January 30, 1911.
- 13 Ibid., Rev. C.E. Manning, field secretary for the Home Mission Department of the General Board of Missions, to Rev. James Allen, June 23, 1911.
- 14 Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.E. Manning's Report to the General Board of Missions on the Mission Plant and Extension Fund, October, 1912.
- 15 Ibid., Mission Plant Fund, receipts to January 20, 1914.
- 16 Ibid., Rev. C.E. Manning's Report to the General Board of Missions on the Mission Plant and Extension Fund, October, 1912. See also Journal of

- Proceedings, General Conference, 1914, report of the General Board of Missions, p.195.
- 17 Home Mission Reports, Mission Plant Fund, receipts to January 20, 1914. Another individual who gave nothing to the Mission Plant Fund was Timothy Eaton, founder of the nation's largest department store chain, who had given generously to the Save St. James Fund in 1902.
 - 18 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the General Board of Missions, p.370.
 - 19 Allen Papers, James N. Shannon, Mission Rooms, to Rev. W.T. Gunn, Toronto, December 20, 1907.
 - 20 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the General Board of Missions, p.370.
 - 21 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, pp.57-8; Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, pp.387-96; Christian Guardian, October 2, 1902, article by Rev. F.C. Stephenson, Secretary of the Young People's Forward Movement for Missions.
 - 22 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, p.387.
 - 23 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, pp.57-8.
 - 24 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, 387-96.
 - 25 Ibid., p.393; Ibid., 1914, report of the Young People's Forward Movement Department, pp.213-16 (list of missions and missionaries which were assigned support).
 - 26 Ibid., 1906, p.393.
 - 27 Ibid., 1914, pp.213-16.
 - 28 Ibid., 1906, pp.390-1.
 - 29 Ibid., 1914, pp.213-16.
 - 30 _____, Canada's Missionary Congress, Addresses Delivered at the Canadian National Missionary Congress Held in Toronto, March 31 to April 4, 1909, With Reports of Committees, (Canadian Council, Laymen's Missionary Movement, Toronto, 1909), p.246; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.7. The Laymen's Missionary Movement will be cited hereafter as the "L.M.M."

- 31 Christian Guardian, March 27, 1907.
- 32 Ibid., April 17, 1907. For a brief review of the history and activities of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, see also Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, report of the Laymen's Missionary Movement of the Methodist Church, pp.284-88.
- 33 Canada's National Missionary Congress, Loc.Cit., p.243. The interdenominational launching was preceded by missionary campaigns organized by the Mission Rooms in Toronto, and conducted along denominational lines. On October 25, for example, 437 laymen from the Belleville District met in Belleville for a Laymen's Missionary Movement banquet, and the speakers included N.W. Rowell, C.B. Keenleyside of London and Judge Deroche of Belleville. The Christian Guardian's account of the meeting referred to similar meetings elsewhere. See Christian Guardian, November 6, 1907.
- 34 Canada's National Missionary Congress, Loc.Cit., p.241. For reports of the progress of the Laymen's Missionary Movement in other cities and towns, see Christian Guardian, January 13, 1909 (special Laymen's Missionary Movement issue); Ibid., November 24, 1909 (Macleod, Lethbridge); Ibid., December 1, 1909 (Virden, Manitoba); Ibid., December 15, 1909 (Oak Lake, Saskatchewan).
- 35 Canada's National Missionary Congress, Loc.Cit., p.246. For evidence of the psychological effects of the National Missionary Congress, see Missionary Outlook, May, 1909.
- 36 Canada's National Missionary Congress, Loc.Cit., p.244. Quotas of \$500,000, \$250,000 and \$175,000 were given to Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg respectively. The target for 1909 was \$1.5 million. The ultimate goal was \$4.5 million annually.
- 37 Ibid., pp.231-42.
- 38 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, pp.54-5.
- 39 Missionary Outlook, March, 1908, letter from J.R. Paterson, Brantford, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland. For previous apathy towards missions, see Christian Guardian, October 16, 1901, address by Mr. W.J. Robertson, St. Catherines, to the laymen of the

Hamilton Conference; Christian Guardian, March 4, 1896, Rev. T. Manning, Whitby, to editor.

- 40 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1906-07, p.6.
See also Missionary Outlook, February, 1913.
- 41 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898-1914. The Christian Guardian seemed uncertain whether to include revenues from the Woman's Missionary Society when weighing Methodist givings against the objective of the Laymen's Missionary Movement (\$5 per member) in 1909. Methodists gave \$1.74 per member exclusive of the Woman's Missionary Society, and \$2.22 if the W.M.S. revenues were included, according to the Christian Guardian. However, the figure computed in Table 4 was \$2.35 per member with W.M.S. revenues included--slightly above the Christian Guardian's calculations.
- 42 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1906 and 1910, reports of the General Conference statistician.
- 43 Computed from Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1901-12. City missions are not included in this table because statistics concerning them were not available until 1907, the first year in which they were financed via a connexional fund rather than by the Toronto Methodist churches individually. However, there is no doubt that the Toronto churches performed better than those elsewhere in the Toronto Conference. Despite the exclusion of contributions to city missions in Table 6, the contributions per member in Toronto exceeded the contributions per member for the Toronto Conference (Table 5) in which donations to city missions were included.
For statistics concerning the Toronto churches, see also Missionary Outlook, October 1909.
- 44 Computed from Minutes, London and Hamilton conferences, 1902, 1906, 1910 and 1912.
- 45 Computed from Minutes, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia conferences, 1907 and 1910. Since the Manitoba Conference minutes do not designate which churches lay within the city of Winnipeg, I have used only the statistics for the six churches which Rev. James Woodsworth described as being metropolitan churches in 1913. See Christian Guardian, January 25, 1911.

- 46 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, pp.82-5. In view of the enthusiasm aroused by the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Missionary Society expressed disappointment in the increase in its revenues, which amounted to \$52,000.
- 47 Canada Year Book, 1912 (Ottawa, 1913), p.9. See also Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, pp.82-5. The General Board attributed the disappointing increase in its revenues to the failure of the Laymen's Missionary Movement to extend its influence beyond certain churches within the major centres.
- 48 Computed from Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1902, 1908 and 1912. As new churches were built, this percentage gradually declined from 41% in 1902, to 40% in 1908, to 37% in 1912. See also Christian Guardian, November 22, 1911, in which a clergyman theorized that the appeal of the Laymen's Missionary Movement was primarily to men of means, and Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, pp.82-5.
- 49 Christian Guardian, November 8, 1911.
- 50 Computed from Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1913-14, pp.lxx-lxxi.
- 51 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.C. Switzer, Brandon, January 9, 1911.
- 52 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Thomas Neal, Kingston, September 26, 1912. See also Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.M. Harrison, Macleod, Alberta, October 24, 1910; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1911-12, open letter entitled "A Message from the General Board of Missions"; Ibid., September 25, 1912.
- 53 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1911-12, p.x and p.xxii; Ibid., 1912-13, p.xx. See also Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.W. Sparling, Principal of Wesley College, November 8, 1907.
- 54 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1902, report of the Church and Parsonage Aid Fund, pp.303-4; Ibid., 1906, pp.284-5; Ibid., 1910, p.327; Christian Guardian, December 17, 1913. By 1910 the capitalization had increased by only \$5,000 since 1906, and \$10,800 beyond the capitalization had been borrowed and reloaned under the authority of the General Conference. By 1913, the capitalization had increased

by only \$1,231 more, thus making the total capitalization \$38,980, and the General Board had borrowed \$41,455 beyond this amount to meet the demand for loans. The Northwest Extension Fund was in similar shape. See Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, April 25, 1908; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, July 12, 1910. Both funds also suffered from a tendency among their debtors to treat the loans lightly and to be slow in repaying them. See Sutherland Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to J.N. Shannon, Mission Rooms, March 4, 1910.

- 55 Computed from Journal of Proceedings, General Conferences, 1898-1914, reports of the General Conference statistician.
- 56 Metropolitan Church Yearbook, Toronto, 1897-8; 1899-1900; 1900-01.
- 57 Christian Guardian, April 20, 1904.
- 58 Ibid., April 25, 1904 (Winnipeg); Ibid., October 30, 1907 (Moose Jaw); Ibid., February 22, 1905 (Calgary). Other examples which might be cited include the \$80,000 Metropolitan Church constructed in Regina in 1907, and the \$67,000 church constructed in Calgary in 1912. See Ibid., October 9, 1907; Ibid., January 3, 1912.
- 59 Ibid., September 17, 1902, account of the General Conference sessions. The General Conference was told that the price of land and a new church to replace St. James would cost as much as was needed to save St. James.
- 60 Ibid., March 25, 1903. See also Ibid., November 6, 1901.
- 61 Ibid., September 6, 1911. The argument was advanced that the large urban churches had to be built early before the price of land in the western cities became prohibitive.
- 62 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, pp.34-40; report of the General Board of Missions, pp.117-18. Each department received 42½% of the revenue, with 15% going to administration.
- 63 Home Mission Reports, J.H. Ashdown to Rev. James Allen, April 20, 1909. See also Sutherland Papers, J.A.M. Aikins to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, May 25, 1909.

- 64 Home Mission Reports, copy of the proposal submitted to the Winnipeg sub-committee by J.H. Ashdown, H.W. Hutchinson and Rev. T.E. Shore, May 1912. The resolution failed partly because some accommodation to Ashdown's position had already been made by the General Board of Missions. In April, the executive committee of the General Board agreed to spend as much in the western conferences as was expected from them. The Winnipeg sub-committee agreed to these terms provided that subscribers could designate where their contributions were to be spent and provided that the first installments from Winnipeg should be spent in that city. See Ibid., Rev. C.E. Manning's Report to the General Board of Missions on the Mission Plant and Extension Fund, October 1912; Ibid., resolution passed by a committee of Methodist laymen of Winnipeg and agreed to by a Winnipeg sub-committee.
- 65 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, January 17, 1912. The Calgary letter was also signed by a Mr. Knapp, who cannot be identified. Rev. Allen assured Rev. Buchanan that the western conferences had been granted \$17,500 of the \$19,000 which had been allocated to home work.
- 66 Computed from Annual Reports, Woman's Missionary Society, 1898-1914. The author has computed a statement for each year, and is satisfied that the figures for the General Conference years are reasonably representative. The only exception might be with reference to expenditures on European work in Canada; expenditures in this area totalled nearly \$20,000 in 1912-13 and approximately \$17,000 for each of the two years previous--somewhat more than the amount shown for European work in 1914 in Table 11. However, this discrepancy is too small to alter the overall picture.
- 67 Computed from Annual Reports, Missionary Society, 1899-1914; Annual Reports, Woman's Missionary Society, 1900-1914.

Chapter VII

- 1 Christian Guardian, May 29, 1901.
- 2 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman to Rev. James Allen, September 11, 1908.
- 3 Missionary Outlook, June, 1906; Christian Guardian, July 20, 1898; Ibid., May 3, 1899.
- 4 Christian Guardian, May 17, 1897; Ibid., May 12, 1897; Ibid., July 20, 1898; Ibid., July 27, 1898.
- 5 See John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955). Higham attributed American restrictionist sentiments to decline of popular confidence in the nation's capacity to absorb the immigrants; losses of confidence were, in turn, greatest in periods of economic depression and limited social mobility. It would appear, therefore, that the weakness of restrictionist sentiments in Canadian Methodist circles was related to the economic boom of the Laurier years.
- 6 Christian Guardian, June 8, 1898. See also Ibid., June 28, 1899; Ibid., September 9, 1903; Ibid., April 29, 1908; Ibid., June 6, 1909.
- 7 Ibid., September 9, 1903.
- 8 Ibid., January 6, 1909. See also Ibid., September 9, 1903; Ibid., May 11, 1904; Ibid., February 5, 1913.
- 9 J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Loc.Cit., p.273. See also Christian Guardian, June 3, 1908; Ibid., March 2, 1910; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, pp.38-40 (a recommendation for the exclusion of paupers and criminals); Minutes, General Board of Missions, "Recommendations of the Commission on Work Among European Immigrants As Adopted by the General Board of Missions, October 7th, 1909," pp.166-70.
- 10 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910.
- 11 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, August 28, 1909.

- 12 Home Mission Reports, report of a "Special Committee Appointed by the General Board of Missions to consider the question how to provide the additional men and money required for home and foreign missions," December 8, 1911.
- 13 See W.L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto, 1957), p.271
- 14 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1890, pp.64-5.
- 15 Christian Guardian, May 13, 1895; Ibid., January 29, 1896; Ibid., March 17, 1897, "H.W.", Brampton, to editor.
- 16 Ibid., January 8, 1896.
- 17 Ibid., February 6, 1895. In this issue, the Christian Guardian was describing the Roman Catholic arguments in order to refute them.
- 18 Cited in the Christian Guardian, January 29, 1896.
- 19 Ibid., March 13, 1895.
- 20 Ibid., March 27, 1895.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Minutes, London Conference, 1895, p.68.
- 23 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1896, p.67.
- 24 Christian Guardian, March 13, 1895.
- 25 Minutes, Toronto Conference, 1896, p.87; Minutes, Hamilton Conference, 1896, p.64; Minutes, London Conference, 1896, p.97; Minutes, Montreal Conference, 1896, pp.91-2.
- 26 Minutes, London Conference, 1896, p.105. See also Ibid., p.97 and Christian Guardian, March 27, 1895. The Hamilton, London and Montreal conferences were outraged at the claim of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the right to point the faithful in the correct direction in the 1896 elections. As far as Methodists were concerned, the mandement which made this claim was proof that the hierarchy sought to control the electorate for the political purposes of Rome.

- 27 Minutes, Montreal Conference, 1896, pp.91-2;
Christian Guardian, February 26, 1896.
- 28 Carman Papers, Rev. John Potts to Rev. Albert Carman,
May 1, 1895.
- 29 Morton, Loc.Cit., p.271.
- 30 Christian Guardian, November 25, 1896.
- 31 Ibid., April 7, 1897. See also Ibid., March 17, 1897.
- 32 Christian Guardian, April 12, 1905. See also G. Ramsay
Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba,"
Canadian Historical Review, 1958, pp.1-23; Manoley
Robert Lupal, "Relations in Education Between the
State and the Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian
North-West, 1880-1905," unpublished Ph.D. thesis in
Education, Harvard, 1963, p.729.
- 33 Christian Guardian, June 6, 1906. Sproule was an
outspoken champion of Protestantism; of Protestant
Irish parentage, he was Grandmaster of the Orange
Lodge from 1901 to 1911, and he was elected president
of the Imperial Orange Council of the World in 1906.
- 34 Census of Canada, 1911, p.445.
- 35 Christian Guardian, January 29, 1913.
- 36 Woodsworth Papers, clipping from the Manitoba Free
Press, August 2, 1912.
- 37 Christian Guardian, January 29, 1913.
- 38 Ibid., April 21, 1909; Missionary Outlook, March, 1911.
- 39 Christian Guardian, March 19, 1913.
- 40 Ibid., November 21, 1900; Ibid., January 15, 1908.
- 41 Ibid., January 22, 1908.
- 42 Ibid., January 22, 1902. A certain proportion of the
Dominion lands on the prairies had been set aside to
finance western education. However, the lands were
slow to produce revenue for the provinces, partly
because the federal government wished to hold the lands
until they acquired more value. The provinces wanted
the school lands sold sooner to meet immediate finan-
cial needs. See Chester Martin, Dominion Lands Policy,
(Toronto, 1938), chapter 6.

- 43 Christian Guardian, January 22, 1902.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Ibid., January 28, 1909.
- 46 See G.M. Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada (Toronto, 1934), pp.62-70.
- 47 C.B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada (Toronto, 1917), p.158.
- 48 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1890, p.65; Ibid., 1892, p.68.
- 49 Census of Canada, 1911, p.445.
- 50 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1903, p.87.
- 51 Ibid., 1902, p.68.
- 52 Laurier denied that he was attempting to turn back the clock to 1875. Although the autonomy bills failed to mention the ordinances passed by the Territorial Assembly, the latter were not invalidated by the omission, and the Prime Minister insisted that his government "had no other intention than to give the minority the rights and privileges to which they are entitled under the law thich they have to-day." However, Laurier was anxious to translate existing administrative concessions--such as the right of the minority to have Roman Catholic teachers and school inspectors--into law so as to give them constitutional protection in the future. This consideration influenced the wording of the bills and contributed to the misinterpretation of his intentions. See Herbert Blair Neatby, "Laurier and a Liberal Quebec: A Study in Political Management," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1956; Lupal, Loc.Cit., p.734; G.M. Weir, Loc.Cit., p.70; C.B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto, 1959), p.268; C. Cecil Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada (Toronto, 1946), pp.152-80.
- 53 Carman Papers, Rev. Hamilton Wigle, president of the Assiniboia Conference, to Rev. Albert Carman, February 15, 1905; Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan, to Rev. Albert Carman, February 15, 1905.

- 54 Carman Papers, Rev. Albert Carman to Rev. C.H. Huestis, March 7, 1905.
- 55 Christian Guardian, February 8, 1905; Ibid., February 15, 1905.
- 56 Carman Papers, Rev. James Woodsworth, Winnipeg, to Rev. Albert Carman, February 25, 1905; Ibid., Rev. Hamilton Wigle to Carman, February 15, 1905; Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Carman, February 15, 1905.
- 57 Ibid., Rec. T.C. Buchanan to Carman, February 15, 1905.
- 58 Carman Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Carman, February 15, 1905. The coverage of the schools question by prairie Methodist papers also reflected the willingness of western Methodists to compromise. After giving extensive coverage to the issue, the Assiniboia Church Advocate, published in Moose Jaw, and the Western Methodist Times, published in Winnipeg, ceased to mention schools once Laurier had retreated to the legal position of 1901.
- 59 Sifton Papers, Clifford Sifton to J.W. Dafoe, March 11, 1905, cited in Lupal, Loc.Cit., p.749.
- 60 Christian Guardian, March 8, 1905.
- 61 Ibid., March 1, 1905. This explanation was offered by Rev. W.H. Raney of Carp, Ontario.
- 62 Ibid., March 15, 1905.
- 63 Ibid., February 15, 1905.
- 64 Assiniboia Church Advocate, March, 1905.
- 65 Christian Guardian, March 15, 1905.
- 66 Margaret Evelyn Prang, Loc.Cit., chapter 3.
- 67 Christian Guardian, March 1, 1905.
- 68 Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1905, p.60; Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1905, p.28; Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1905; Christian Guardian, June 21, 1905. Neither the conference minutes nor the Christian Guardian gave a thorough coverage of the conference sessions of 1905, and other Ontario conferences may have passed resolutions bearing on the schools question.

- 69 Carman Papers, Clifford Sifton to Rev. Albert Carman, March 13, 1905; Christian Guardian, June 12, 1905.
- 70 Christian Guardian, June 12, 1905.
- 71 Cited in Lupal, Loc.Cit., pp.755-60.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 829ff.
- 74 Christian Guardian, January 22, 1908.
- 75 Christian Guardian, September 25, 1907.
- 76 C.B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada, Loc.Cit., p.164.
- 77 Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1908, pp.47-50. The only change to the school laws of Saskatchewan was retrograde, as far as Methodists were concerned. A provincial amendment in 1913 required that a taxpayer support a school of his denominational persuasion if such a school happened to be in his area; court decisions had previously allowed him an option between supporting the denominational school or a public school. Premier Walter Scott maintained that the amendment carried out the spirit of the 1905 compromise, whereas the court decisions had not. See Christian Guardian, January 29, 1913.

Chapter VIII

- 1 Home Mission Reports, Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. James Allen, December 1, 1908.
- 2 Christian Guardian, July 26, 1899. The early years of All People's were recounted in an article by Rev. T.E. Morden.
- 3 Isaiah 5:7.
- 4 Christian Guardian, April 13, 1898.
- 5 Ibid., April 20, 1898.
- 6 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1898, p.86. A colporteur was an unordained worker who was usually conversant in foreign languages. His job was to visit from house to house in foreign districts, distributing foreign-language religious tracts and proselytizing. The tracts were supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society and consisted of translations of Scripture.
- 7 Christian Guardian, November 23, 1898.
- 8 Ibid., July 26, 1899.
- 9 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1901-02, p.xcvii.
- 10 Ibid., 1903-04, p.cviii.
- 11 Sutherland Papers, Rev. J.H. Morgan to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, February 23, 1906 and July 23, 1906.
- 12 Ibid., Frank Dojacek's monthly report, received March 31, 1905; Missionary Outlook, July, 1906.
- 13 Missionary Bulletin, 1907, Vol.4, No.1, pp.27-30.
- 14 Woodsworth Papers, Vol.28, Superintendent's Report, All People's, 1907.
- 15 Sutherland Papers, Rev. J.V. Kovar to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, February 21, 1906.

- 16 Woodsworth Papers, Vol.29, clipping from Methodist Sunday School publication, the Banner, 1911.
- 17 Ibid., Vol.28, Superintendent's Report, All People's, 1907.
- 18 Christian Guardian, January 3, 1906.
- 19 Sutherland Papers, Rev. Hamilton Wigle to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, December 16, 1905.
- 20 Computed from Annual Report, Woman's Missionary Society, 1906-07, and Annual Report, Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1906-07, p.cxiii.
- 21 Sutherland Papers, Frank Dojacek to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, March 31, 1905.
- 22 Ibid., Rev. J.V. Kovar to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, February 21, 1906. In this letter, Kovar mentioned receiving calls from two Protestant Bohemian congregations in Saskatchewan. Perhaps this accounts for the resignations of the three Austrian workers between 1907 and 1908.
- 23 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1906-07, p.cxiii; J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Loc.Cit., p.259. Bethlehem Slavic mission had a membership of fourteen, presumably consisting of Kovar and the Protestant-born Europeans. The Maple Street mission had sixty church members, but these were probably British immigrants.
- 24 Woodsworth Papers, 1907, Vol.I, Woodsworth's letter of resignation.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., p.69. See also Grace MacInnis, J.S. Woodsworth (Toronto, 1953), p.38.
- 27 Toronto Globe, March 14, 1910. Henceforth, newspapers which are cited, other than the Christian Guardian, are taken from scrapbooks in the Woodsworth Papers.
- 28 Christian Guardian, September 18, 1907.
- 29 Missionary Outlook, June, 1912.

- 30 J.S. Woodsworth, "Some Aspects of the Immigration Problem," The Young Women of Canada, December, 1909, pp.147-8; this article may be found in Woodsworth Papers, Vol.28.
- 31 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., p.167.
- 32 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.1, p.153.
- 33 J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Loc.Cit., p.222.
- 34 Missionary Outlook, June, 1912.
- 35 J.S. Woodsworth, "Some Aspects of the Immigration Problem," Op.Cit., p.147.
- 36 Epworth Era, Toronto, July, 1911.
- 37 ChristianGGuardian, December 18, 1907; Ibid., April 1, 1908.
- 38 Ibid., December 18, 1907.
- 39 Ibid., March 25, 1908.
- 40 Ibid., June 30, 1909.
- 41 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1908-09, p.54.
- 42 Toronto Globe, April 13, 1910.
- 43 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, November 28, 1907.
- 44 Missionary Bulletin, 1907, Vol.4, No.2, p.426.
- 45 Christian Guardian, June 30, 1909; Woodsworth Papers, "Organized Helpfulness," Annual Report, All People's Mission, 1911-12, pp.21-2.
- 46 Manitoba Free Press, February 24, 1912.
- 47 Woodsworth Papers, "Practical Christianity," Annual Report, All People's Mission, 1910-11, pp.9-11; "Organized Helpfulness," Op.Cit., pp.21-2.
- 48 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, pp.64-5.
- 49 Woodsworth Papers, "Organized Helpfulness," Op.Cit., pp.9-10.
- 50 Fort William Herald, June 16, 1910.

- 51 Christian Guardian, August 19, 1908.
- 52 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., p.101.
- 53 Manitoba Free Press, March 12, 1909.
- 54 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Op. Cit., p.111.
- 55 Ibid., pp.99-100.
- 56 Missionary Outlook, July 1913.
- 57 Winnipeg Evening Telegram, December 8, 1908.
- 58 Manitoba Free Press, May 1, 1909. (Article by "J.A.")
- 59 Ibid., November 11, 1909.
- 60 Ibid., May 20, 1909. (Article in the Woodsworth Papers by someone other than Woodsworth.)
- 61 Ibid., April 3, 1909. (Article in the Woodsworth Papers, by someone other than Woodsworth.)
- 62 The Voice, Winnipeg, June 11, 1909. (Article by Woodsworth, written under the pseudonym of "Pastor Newbottle.")
- 63 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, pp.63-66.
- 64 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., pp.310-321.
- 65 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.2, pp.197-99.
- 66 Woodsworth Papers, "Practical Christianity," Loc.Cit., p.5.
- 67 Ibid., p.3; J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Op.Cit., pp.322-32.
- 68 Winnipeg North Ender, September 29, 1910.
- 69 Manitoba Free Press, May 27, 1911.
- 70 Winnipeg North Ender, September 29, 1910; Ibid., March 23, 1912.
- 71 Ibid., September 29, 1910.
- 72 Manitoba Free Press, May 27, 1911.
- 73 Ibid. See also J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Op.Cit., pp.322-32.

- 74 Manitoba Free Press, February 24, 1912, article by "Kilmeny"; Winnipeg North Ender, September 26, 1912.
- 75 Woodsworth Papers, "Practical Christianity," Loc.Cit., pp.10-11.
- 76 Woodsworth Papers, "Organized Helpfulness," Loc.Cit., pp.21-22.
- 77 Winnipeg Tribune, September 5, 1912.
- 78 Allen Papers, Rev. William Somerville, Cypress River, Manitoba, to Rev. James Allen, November 28, 1911.
- 79 Missionary Bulletin, 1911, Vol.7, No.3, p.512.
- 80 Manitoba Free Press, December 4, 1907.
- 81 J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, Loc.Cit., Chapter X.
- 82 Manitoba Free Press, January 20, 1910.
- 83 Ibid., March 12, 1909.
- 84 Ibid., January 25, 1913.
- 85 Ibid., March 26, 1909; Winnipeg Telegram, December 4, 1909.
- 86 The Voice, Winnipeg, June 25, 1909; Manitoba Free Press, December 4, 1907.
- 87 J.S. Woodsworth, "Some Aspects of the Immigration Problem," Loc.Cit., p.149.
- 88 Manitoba Free Press, March 12, 1909.
- 89 Derived from articles in the Christian Guardian. See also Chapter VI; Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 90 Home Mission Reports, J.H. Ashdown to Rev. James Allen, April 20, 1909; J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Loc.Cit.
- 91 Manitoba Free Press, December 30, 1912.
- 92 Ibid., December, n.d., 1911; this information was provided by T. Blatchford Ball, a young British probationer, who worked among British immigrants near All People's.

- 93 Manitoba Free Press, March 21, 1910.
- 94 Ibid., February 3, 1908.
- 95 Ibid., August 2, 1912.
- 96 The Voice, Winnipeg, June 11, 1909.
- 97 Ibid., October 8, 1909, article by W. Metcalfe, who worked among the British immigrants.
- 98 Ibid., September 29, 1911.
- 99 Christian Guardian, April 13, 1910.
- 100 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.E. Shore to Rev. C.E. Manning, December 23, 1912.
- 101 The Voice, Winnipeg, February 7, 1913.
- 102 Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1913-14, pp.569-70.
- 103 Home Mission Reports, Report on European Foreigners, n.d., est. 1909; Allen Papers, Rev. Charles R. Sing, Brandon, to Rev. Oliver Darwin, March 10, 1909.
- 104 Allen Papers, Rev. Robert Milliken, Brandon, to Rev. James Allen, September 11, 1911.

Chapter IX

- 1 The term "Austrian" can be misleading, since there was no Austrian nationality as such. After World War I, these people considered themselves "Ukrainians," but "Austrian" and "Ruthenian" were the most common general terms for them prior to the great war. However, they came from Romania and Russia, as well as from Austria, and they were different from the Germans and Hungarians who also came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Despite sharing a common "Ruthenian" language which would later provide the basis for the Ukrainian nationality, these people also had religious and some language differences amongst themselves which originated in the various European provinces from whence they came. Like the "Austrians" themselves, informed Methodists recognized these differences and distinguished among Galicians, Bukowinians and Russians, within the broader ethnic grouping.
- 2 Christian Guardian, June 28, 1899.
- 3 Annual Report, Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1898-99, p.c.
- 4 The other ordained man, Rev. W.H. Pike, was a Newfoundlander and was supported by the Sunday schools and Epworth Leagues of Newfoundland.
- 5 Edmonton Journal, August 10, 1952; Charles H. Lawford, "A Short History of Pioneer Life in the Western Provinces From 1849 and Mission Work of the United Church in the Pakan District, Travelling West from Winnipeg in 1879, and Early Experiences," unpublished manuscript, Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta.
- 6 Missionary Bulletin, 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.199.
- 7 Ibid., pp.199-200.
- 8 Ibid., p.201.
- 9 W.H. Pike, "The Flame, A Story of the Church's Ukrainian Work in Alberta," unpublished manuscript, U.C.A., 1968.

- 10 Missionary Bulletin, 1906, Vol.2, No.3, p.233.
- 11 Ibid., 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.202.
- 12 Ibid., 1908, Vol.5, No.3, p.451. However, Lawford did approve of certain aspects of the Greek Orthodox faith, to which most of the Bukowinians belonged. He applauded the absence of celibacy among priests, the absence of the confessional, and the nominal encouragement of reading the Bible. In his opinion, these traits made the Greek Orthodox Church superior to the Church of Rome.
- 13 Missionary Bulletin, 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.202.
- 14 Ibid., 1908, Vol.5, No.3, p.451.
- 15 Ibid., 1908, Vol.5, No.2, p.223.
- 16 Ibid., 1908, Vol.5, No.2, p.223; Ibid., 1910, Vol.7, No.1, pp.52-3.
- 17 Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.501.
- 18 Ibid., 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.202.
- 19 The Edinburgh Conference of 1910 is generally considered to have been the first formal expression of the ecumenical movement.
- 20 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.7, No.2, p.192; Ibid., 1910, Vol.7, No.3, p.335; Allen Papers, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, May 15, 1911.
- 21 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.501.
- 22 Inferred from interview with Rev. W.H. Pike, Ottawa, April 17, 1968.
- 23 Missionary Bulletin, 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.202-4.
- 24 Ibid., pp.204-5.
- 25 Ibid., 1905, Vol.2, No.3, p.606.
- 26 Ibid., 1904, Vol.2, No.1, p.203.
- 27 Ibid., 1907, Vol.4, No.3, pp.623-4.
- 28 Home Mission Reports, Dr. H.R. Smith to Rev. James Allen, April 3, 1907.

- 29 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Lawford, March 21, 1907; Missionary Bulletin, 1907, Vol.4, No.3, p.169. The hospital was named after a Methodist missionary who was famous for his work among the prairie Indians.
- 30 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.7, No.1, p.56.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Allen Papers, Dr. H.R. Smith to Rev. James Allen, May 8, 1912.
- 33 Missionary Bulletin, 1906, Vol.3, No.3, p.506.
- 34 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, July 18, 1914.
- 35 Ibid., Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, August 7, 1914.
- 36 Ibid., Dr. C.F. Connolly to Rev. C.E. Manning, April 4, 1912.
- 37 Allen Papers, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, June 10, 1912.
- 38 Missionary Outlook, April, 1904.
- 39 Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, March 4, 1908; Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.2, p.223.
- 40 Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, March 4, 1908.
- 41 Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.3, p.449.
- 42 Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.503.
- 43 Missionary Outlook, August, 1909.
- 44 Ibid., September, 1910.
- 45 Allen Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, August, 1912. Furthermore, while Lawford listed heads of families as members, his statistics did not include their wives and children, who did attend his services.
- 46 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.7, No.2, p.192.

- 47 Missionary Outlook, February 1911. Lawford's successes came partly because he did not abandon the slow approach in its entirety. He tolerated Austrian church traditions which did not violate the essentials of his faith. For example, after administering the sacrament and the confession to a dying Austrian, he permitted the burning of a candle beside the body, so that the departed would have a light to see by in the life to come. Lawford considered this custom to be pure superstition, but relatively harmless. On the other hand, he refused one settlement's request to have him as their priest because of their insistence that he pray to the Virgin Mary and the saints, practices which he felt were in violation of the first commandment. Eventually, he hoped to eliminate all Austrian church tradition, as was evidenced by the satisfaction he took in baptizing three children in 1912, the first he had done "in the regular way." See Missionary Bulletin, 1908, Vol.5, No.3, pp.450-1; Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.3, p.501; Ibid., 1912, Vol.8, No.3, p.1399.
- 48 The English translation of "Wahstao" was "the place from which light radiates." See Missionary Outlook, September, 1908.
- 49 Christian Guardian, August 17, 1904; Ibid., September 28, 1904; Missionary Outlook, February, 1907; Ibid., January, 1908.
- 50 Missionary Outlook, May, 1906; Ibid., April, 1906.
- 51 Ibid., January, 1908; Ibid., September, 1908.
- 52 Ibid., March, 1909.
- 53 Ibid., April, 1906; Ibid., May, 1906; Ibid., January, 1907; Ibid., March, 1908. The mission staff decided to concentrate on receptions. Fewer mothers would be reached than through house to house visitation, but those who came would be reached regularly.
- 54 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.6, No.3, pp.505-7; Ibid., 1910, Vol.6, No.4, pp.749-57; Ibid., 1910, Vol.7, No.1, pp.59-62; Ibid., 1911, Vol.7, No.3, pp.515-6.
- 55 Christian Guardian, October 8, 1913. The administrative arrangement for Lamont Hospital was different than that of Pakan hospital. This hospital received a \$7500 initial grant from the Church, and

an annual grant of around \$500, but the Church did not own the land or the hospital as it did at Pakan. Hence the Church had less control over affairs at Lamont. See Allen Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, January 30, 1913.

- 56 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to T.F. Harrison, Kingston, January 9, 1914. One such application came from Wadena, where a coal company offered to subsidize a Methodist hospital to the extent of approximately \$4500 per month. See Allen Papers, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. James Allen, November 27, 1913.
- 57 Allen Papers, Rev. W.A. Lewis, Edmonton, to Rev. James Allen, May 5, 1911; Christian Guardian, October 8, 1913.
- 58 Missionary Outlook, October 1911.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., February 1914.
- 61 Ibid., May, 1914; Missionary Bulletin, 1914, Vol.10, No.2, p.754.
- 62 Allen Papers, Rev. W.A. Lewis, Edmonton, to Rev. James Allen, May 5, 1911.
- 63 Interview with Rev. W.H. Pike, Ottawa, April 17, 1968.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Christian Guardian, January 19, 1910; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Lawford, January 25, 1910; Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, August, 1912.
- 66 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Arthur Barner, Calgary, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, July 16, 1914, "Report on the Work Among Non-English Speaking Peoples in the Southern Superintendency of the Alberta Conference."
- 67 Missionary Bulletin, 1912, Vol.8, No.4, p.1018-9.
- 68 Christian Guardian, December 8, 1909.
- 69 Missionary Bulletin, 1911, Vol.7, No.3, p.336.

- 70 Missionary Outlook, March, 1910.
- 71 Sutherland Papers, Rev. C.H. Lawford to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, December 20, 1909.
- 72 Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.7, No.1, p.49.
- 73 W.H. Pike, "The Flame, A Story of the Church's Ukrainian Work in Alberta," unpublished manuscript U.C.A., Ottawa, 1966, p.18.
- 74 Christian Guardian, December 8, 1909.
- 75 Ibid., September 3, 1913; Missionary Bulletin, 1910, Vol.7, No.2, p.192.
- 76 Missionary Bulletin, 1911, Vol.7, No.3, pp.355-6.
- 77 Ibid., 1909, Vol.6, No.3, p.501.
- 78 For a definition of "Nativism," see John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955), p.4. Higham defines "nativism" as an "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign connection."
- 79 Christian Guardian, April 17, 1912, article by Rev. William H. Irwin; Missionary Bulletin, 1912, Vol.8, No.2, p.1016.
- 80 Christian Guardian, January 16, 1907; Annual Report, Woman's Missionary Society, 1910-11; p.cxx.
- 81 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, July 9, 1911.
- 82 Allen Papers, Rev. J.M. Harrison to Rev. James Allen, March 29, 1911; Home Mission Reports, report of the Commission on Work in the Crow's Nest Pass, Macleod, Alberta, February 10, 1910.
- 83 Allen Papers, Rev. J.M. Harrison to Rev. James Allen, June 7, 1911; Annual Report, Woman's Missionary Society, 1910-11, p.cxx.
- 84 Annual Report, Woman's Missionary Society, 1910-11, p.cxx.
- 85 Home Mission Reports, report of the Commission on Work in the Crow's Nest Pass, Macleod, Alberta, February 10, 1910; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.M. Harrison, October 24, 1910.

- 86 Minutes, General Board of Missions, 1910, p.247.
- 87 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, July 9, 1911.
- 88 Ibid., Rev. William H. Irwin, Bellevue, to Rev. James Allen, July 20, 1911.

Chapter X

- 1 Christian Guardian, March 11, 1908, article by W.G. Hunt, Calgary; Ibid., December 8, 1907, article by A.R. Ford; Carman Papers, G.W. Brown, Regina, to Rev. Albert Carman, December 31, 1909.
- 2 Christian Guardian, December 8, 1907.
- 3 Home Mission Reports, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to Rev. James Allen, January 17, 1907; Ibid., Rev. Arthur Barner, Alix, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, January 29, 1907; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, Manitoba Conference, December 28, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to W.J. Conoly, Namao, Alberta, December 7, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, January 25, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. G.W. Kerby, Calgary, February 6, 1907; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. R.E. Finley, Daysland, Alberta, February 6, 1907.
- 4 Christian Guardian, November 16, Saskatchewan Conference News.
- 5 Home Mission Reports, Rev. J.S. Woodsworth, Winnipeg, to Rev. James Allen, November 15, 1907; Ibid., Rev. J.S. Woodsworth to Rev. C.E. Manning, December 23, 1907. Evidence of the cheques made out for incorrect amounts abounds, and the error was invariably in the Missionary Society's favour. See Sutherland Papers, Rev. Oliver Darwin to J.N. Shannon, Mission Rooms, December 4, 1907; Ibid., T.C. Colwill, Wesley College, to J.N. Shannon, December 5, 1907; Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin, to J.N. Shannon, December 11, 1907; Ibid., Rev. W.P. McHaffie, Cairnduff, Saskatchewan, president of the Saskatchewan Conference, to J.N. Shannon, August 8, 1906.
- 6 Christian Guardian, September 12, 1906, Alberta Conference News.
- 7 Allen Papers, Rev. George G. Webber, Vegreville, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, October 18, 1912.
- 8 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, December 27, 1907.

- 9 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 10 Christian Guardian, July 21, 1909, article by Rev. F.B. Stacey.
- 11 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, January 17, 1912; Home Mission Reports, J.H. Ashdown, Winnipeg, to Rev. James Allen, April 20, 1909.
- 12 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Woodsworth, June 30, 1906; Ibid., Report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, for the year 1909-10, submitted July 12, 1910.
- 13 Ibid., Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909; Christian Guardian, December 18, 1907, article by Arthur Ford.
- 14 Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1908, pp.60-64; Christian Guardian, November 24, 1909; Western Methodist Times, Winnipeg, March, 1906; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, February 18, 1908.
- 15 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, Index to memorials, p.37.
- 16 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Huestis, Edmonton, October 23, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, November 16, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, November 10, 1906; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Huestis, November 19, 1906.
- 17 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report no.3 of the General Board of Missions, pp.119-20.
- 18 Rev. Alexander Sutherland went so far as to assert the General Board's right to visit city mission boards regardless of whether they had been given monies by the General Board. However, the General Board ruled otherwise; if city mission boards were able to do without grants then they would bear the same relationship to the General Board as self-supporting circuits. See Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, stenographic report of the Proceedings of the General Board of Missions for 1909.

- 19 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, December 14, 1907; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1909-10, p.41. The control of monies for the program was vested in a western committee of ten men which could act in consultation with the three prairie mission superintendents.
- 20 Christian Guardian, September 12, 1906, Alberta Conference News; Ibid., March 11, 1908, article by W.G. Hunt, Calgary; Ibid., July 21, 1909, article by Rev. F.B. Stacey; Ibid., April 20, 1910, prairie correspondent; Ibid., May 4, 1910; Western Methodist Times, March, 1906, article by Rev. J.W. Saunby; Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 21 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to J.H. Ashdown, Winnipeg, April 24, 1909 and August 6, 1909.
- 22 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, stenographic report of the Proceedings of the General Board of Missions for 1909.
- 23 Home Mission Reports, report of the Committee on Western Mission Policy, General Board of Missions, October, 1909.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Computed from Minutes, Manitoba and Saskatchewan Conferences, 1909.
- 26 Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1910, report of the Committee on Local Administration in Home Missionary Affairs in the Prairie Provinces, pp.79-81; Home Mission Reports, Rev. W.K. Allen, Red. Deer, Alberta, secretary of the Alberta Conference, to Rev. James Allen, June 7, 1910 (copy of the Alberta Conference committee's report on Missionary Autonomy in the West); Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Frank M. Wooten, Moose Jaw, December 16, 1909.
- 27 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, October 22, 1906. (Allen referred to Darwin's annoyance.)
- 28 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.A. Doyle, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, January 9, 1912; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. James Woodsworth, April 9, 1912; Ibid., Rev. J.A. Doyle to Rev. James Allen, June 14, 1912. Despite Allen's position, Darwin went to

England when his friends in Saskatchewan agreed to finance the trip; the Mission Rooms agreed that he could have a leave of absence during "the slack season." See Allen Papers, Rev. J.A. Doyle to Rev. James Allen, June 14, 1912; Oliver Darwin, Pioneering With Pioneers (Toronto, 1949), p.78. Allen was not Darwin's sole critic. In 1908, C.B. Keenleyside, a London layman, agreed with the General Secretary that Darwin was "a good man, but at times can act strangely." In 1905, the president of the Assiniboia Conference, Rev. J.W. Dickenson of Virden, was critical of Darwin's performance as mission superintendent. See Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to C.B. Keenleyside, May 4, 1908 (reference to Keenleyside's letter of May 2); Sutherland Papers, Rev. J.W. Dickenson, president of the Assiniboia Conference, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, November 20, 1905.

- 29 Allen Papers, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, October 20, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, October 21, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, October 29, 1909; Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, October 29, 1909; Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, November 10, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.W. Switzer, president of the Saskatchewan Conference, November 11, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, November 11, 1909.
- 30 Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, November 25, 1909.
- 31 Ibid., Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. James Allen, October 29, 1909.
- 32 Ibid., Rev. James Allen to D.J. Thom, Regina, March 4, 1910.
- 33 Carman Papers, G.W. Brown, Regina, to Rev. Albert Carman, December 31, 1909.
- 34 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, November 11, 1909; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.W. Switzer, November 11, 1909, and March 8, 1910; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. J.T. Harrison, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, March 18, 1910; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. Oliver Darwin, April 2, 1910.
- 35 Sutherland Papers, Rev. T.C. Buchanan to J.N. Shannon, July 23, 1909; Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan to H.H. Fudger, Mission Rooms, March 14, 1908.

- 36 Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1910, report of the Committee on Local Administration in Home Missionary Affairs in the Prairie Provinces, pp.79-81.
- 37 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1910, report No.2, of the Committee on Missions, pp.394-5 and p.104; Ibid., report of the Committee on General Superintendency, pp.380-1, p.71 and p.74; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan, to Rev. Oliver Darwin and to Rev. James Woodsworth, October 24, 1910.
- 38 Computed from Allen Papers, Minutes of the Western Committee on the General Board, November, 1912.
- 39 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, stenographic report . . . General Board of Missions for 1909, comment by Rev. James Allen. Cushing seems to have reconciled to more autonomy eventually. See Home Mission Reports, Rev. W.K. Allen, Red Deer, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, June 7, 1910.
- 40 Home Mission Reports, F.W. Cantle, Toronto, to Rev. James Allen, January 12, 1910.
- 41 Computed from Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1910, report of the Committee on Local Administration . . . in the Prairie Provinces, pp.79-81, and from various biographical sources.
- 42 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1892, p.64
- 43 Assiniboia Church Advocate, June 1905, Vol.1, No.9, The United Church Archives has copies of all nine issues of this paper, which had an average of 16 pages and which sold for 25 cents per annum.
- 44 Western Methodist Times, June 1906. The United Church Archives has Vol.1, Nos.6-11 of the Bulletin (1904-05) and Vol.2, Nos.7-12 of the Times. The Bulletin was founded in July 1904, averaged about 22 pages and sold for 50 cents per annum. A yearly subscription to the Christian Guardian cost \$1.00, but the Christian Guardian was a weekly.
- 45 Western Methodist Times, March, 1906, article by Rev. J.W. Sauhby; Ibid., April, 1906.
- 46 Ibid., April, 1906. See also Minutes, Alberta Conference, report of the Committee on the Christian

Guardian, pp.36-7. Regrettably, the statistics concerning the Christian Guardian's circulation do not include conference sub-totals, and even the total circulation is given only for General Conference years. Nor do the annual conferences provide information as to the Christian Guardian's western circulation. However, the decline in the number of prairie subscriptions during the year 1904-05 did occur in spite of the increased number of Christian Guardian subscriptions during the quadrennium 1902-06. Approximately one church member in nine had a Christian Guardian subscription in the Ontario and western conferences together, ministers included.

- 47 Minutes, Manitoba Conference, 1906, report of the Committee on Memorials.
- 48 Christian Guardian, October 3, 1906, report of the General Conference proceedings.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ibid., June 19, 1907, Alberta Conference News; Carman Papers, Rev. H.E. Gordon, Strathcona, Alberta, to Rev. Albert Carman, n.d., est. 1907.
- 51 Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Conference, 1897, p.54, viewpoint advanced by Rev. W.H. Withrow, Toronto, the editor of the Methodist Magazine and Review.
- 52 Christian Guardian, October 3, 1906, report of the General Conference Proceedings.
- 53 Journal of Proceedings, General Conference, 1906, report of the Book and Publishing Committee, pp.172-3.
- 54 Ibid., 1910, p.324; Ibid., 1914; pp.271-2.
- 55 Christian Guardian, June 19, 1907, Alberta Conference News.
- 56 Ibid., February 7, 1912.

Chapter XI

- 1 Christian Guardian, July 15, 1903, article by Rev. George W. Kerby; Ibid., April 20, 1904, Rev. James Woodsworth to editor; Ibid., January 25, 1905, Rev. T.J. Johnston, Strathcona, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., March 22, 1905, Rev. W.P. Gourd, Hartney, Manitoba, to editor.
2. Ibid., March 17, 1897, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., November 2, 1904, "West," to editor; Ibid., April 20, 1904, W.G. Bradford, Avonmore, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., April 20, 1904, Rev. Henry Lewis, Melita, Manitoba, to editor; Ibid., January 4, 1905, R.A.A. McConnell, Lancaster, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., February 14, 1906, account of the meeting of the congregation of Grace Church, Winnipeg; Ibid., October 28, 1908, "a superfluous preacher" to editor; Ibid., February 15, 1911, George W. Playfair Sr., Baldur, Manitoba, to editor; Ibid., June 7, 1911, "St. Mary's" to editor; Ibid., December 10, 1913, Rev. S.D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Vancouver, to editor; Departments of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, Rural Survey, Swan River Valley, Manitoba, 1914, pp.50-51, 58; Departments of Social Service and Evangelism of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, Rural Survey, Turtle Mountain District, Manitoba, 1914, pp.61-3; Carman Papers, John George, Port Elgin, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, December 29, 1904; Home Mission Reports, J.H. Ashdown, Winnipeg, to Rev. James Allen, April 20, 1909.
- 3 Christian Guardian, January 25, 1905, Rev. T.J. Johnston, Strathcona, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., July 15, 1903, article by Rev. George W. Kerby; Ibid., May 13, 1908, Rev. Oliver Coleman, Sperling, Manitoba, to editor; Ibid., February 14, 1912, article by Nathanael Burwash, Principal of Victoria University; Ibid., June 14, 1911, J.E. Collins, Strathcona, Alberta, to editor; Ibid., December 10, 1913, Rev. S.D. Chown, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Vancouver, to editor; Annual Report, Missionary Society, 1907-08, pp.3-4.

- 4 Christian Guardian, February 14, 1906, account of the congregational meeting at Grace Church, Winnipeg. See also statement by Professor W.F. Osborne.
- 5 J. Webster Grant, The Canadian Experience of Church Union (London, England, 1967), pp.24-5.
- 6 Christian Guardian, February 26, 1908, article by Rev. S.G. Bland, Wesley Collège. See also Ibid., June 3, 1908, Fred C. Middleton, Winnipeg, to editor.
- 7 Grant, Op.Cit., p.27; Carman Papers, A.B. Hames, Penetanguishene, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, March 17, 1913; Christian Guardian, February 14, 1906, statement of Prof. W.F. Osborne before the congregation of Grace Church, Winnipeg; Ibid., July 15, 1903, article by Rev. Nathanael Burwash.
- 8 Grant, Op.Cit., p.27; Grant's observation is confirmed by a reading of Methodist documents on union.
- 9 The best expression of the old difference was given by the opponents of church union who believed that the differences were still relevant. See Christian Guardian, May 11, 1904, Rev. William Somerville, Boissevain, Manitoba, to editor; Ibid., April 20, 1904, W.M. Bielby, Meaford, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., April 20, 1904, Jonathan Ellis, Port Dover, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., June 29, 1904, William Harris, Day's Mills, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., April 15, 1906, Rev. D.N. McCamus, Listowel, Ontario, to editor, Ibid., February 2, 1910, A. McKibbin, Mount Brydges, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., June 8, 1910, account of Uxbridge District meeting; Ibid., June 15, 1910, and July 20, 1910, E. Stephens, Molesworth, Ontario, to editor; Ibid., January 24, 1912, Rev. S. Bond, London Conference, to editor; Carman Papers, Rev. W.G. Henderson, Palmerston, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, n.d., 1904; Ibid., W. Harris, Day's Mills, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, June 25, 1906; Ibid., Rev. R.S. Stevens, Reston, Manitoba, to Rev. A. Carman, April 2, 1908; Ibid., Matthew Taylor, Dundarland, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, January 23, 1912.
- 10 Grant, Op.Cit., p.39.
- 11 Christian Guardian, March 17, 1897, Manitoba and Northwest Conference News; Ibid., June 29, 1898, account of the General Conference's welcome to the

Presbyterian fraternal delegates; Ibid., February 1, 1899, account of symposium on church union, statements by Principal Grant of Queen's University, and Principal William Shaw of Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal; Ibid., March 30, 1904, article by Rev. S.G. Bland, Wesley College; Ibid., February 14, 1906, meeting of the congregation of Grace Church, Winnipeg; Ibid., March 17, 1909; Ibid., April 20, 1910, R.S. Travers, Lethbridge, to editor, For changes within the Methodist Church, see Chapter III.

- 12 Christian Guardian, February 1, 1899, report of symposium on church union.
- 13 Ibid., February 26, 1908.
- 14 Grant, Loc.Cit., p.34.
- 15 See Chapter V.
- 16 For accounts of the earlier unions see Grant, Op.Cit.; C.E. Silcox, Church Union In Canada (New York, 1933); John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925 (Toronto, 1925); J. Warren Caldwell, "The Unification of Methodism in Canada, 1865-1884," The Bulletin, Publication of the United Church Archives, 1967. For approval of earlier unions, see Christian Guardian, March 30, 1904, Rev. S.G. Bland to editor; Ibid., June 7, 1911, "St. Mary's" to editor.
- 17 For a concise history of negotiations, see Christian Guardian, August 24, 1910; Minutes, General Conference, 1906, report of the Committee on Church Union, pp.81-7; Ibid., 1910, pp.329-30; Ibid., 1914, pp.282-85. For the content of the basis see a series of seven articles by Rev. J.S. Ross in the Christian Guardian, September 8 to October 27, 1909; Ibid., June 8, 1910, article by Rev. S.G. Bland.
- 18 Carman Papers, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. A. Carman, July 18, 1904 (Darwin mentioned that the Presbyterians had nine delegates on the committee from Manitoba and the Northwest); Ibid., Rev. J.W. Sparling, Principal of Wesley College, Winnipeg, to Rev. A. Carman; Ibid., Rev. J.M. Harrison, Medicine Hat, president of the Alberta Conference, to Rev. A. Carman, August 1, 1904; Christian Guardian, January 25, 1905, Rev. T.J. Johnston, Strathcona,

- Alberta, to editor; Ibid., February 8, 1905, statement by Rev. Henry Lewis, Saskatchewan Conference; Ibid., August 10, 1904, Rev. Hamilton Wigle, Regina, president of the Saskatchewan Conference, to editor; Ibid., November 2, 1904, "West." to editor.
- 19) Christian Guardian, April 1, 1908, Ernest J. Tate, Alix, Alberta, to editor. See also Ibid., January 15, 1908, Manitoba Conference News.
 - 20 Ibid., March 22, 1905, article by Rev. W.P. Gourd, Hartney, Manitoba.
 - 21 Grant, Loc.Cit., pp.46-7; G.M. Morrison, "The United Church of Canada, Ecumenical or Economic Necessity?", unpublished divinity thesis, Emmanuel College, 1956, U.C.A.
 - 22 Rural Survey, Swan River Valley, Loc.Cit., p.62.
 - 23 Ibid., p.62; Rural Survey, Turtle Mountain District, Loc.Cit., p.63.
 - 24 Rural Survey, Turtle Mountain District, Op.Cit., p.62.
 - 25 Christian Guardian, May 11, 1904; Ibid., April 27, 1904.
 - 26 Ibid., February 28, 1906; Ibid., May 14, 1906.
 - 27 Ibid., February 14, 1906.
 - 28 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1911, pp.62-3; Minutes, Saskatchewan Conference, 1911, p.81.
 - 29 Computed from the official results of the Methodist vote, released by Rev. T.A. Moore and published in the Christian Guardian, July 17, 1912.
 - 30 Carman Papers, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. A. Carman, March 24, 1911; Ibid., L.L. Meech, Conquest, Saskatchewan, to Rev. A. Carman, July 26, 1912; Christian Guardian, February 10, 1909; Ibid., March 3, 1909; Ibid., March 15, 1911; Ibid., April 3, 1912; Silcox, Loc.Cit., p.215. Saskatchewan local unions were organized at Melville, Frobisher, Kerrobert, Conquest, Ceylon and Forget.
 - 31 Christian Guardian, March 15, 1911.

- 32 Carman Papers, Copy of Union Church Resolution, Kerrobert, February 24, 1911; Ibid., copy of Kerrobert Methodist Quarterly Board's reply, February 24, 1911.
- 33 Christian Guardian, December 18, 1912, report of the meeting in Toronto of the Methodist and Presbyterian joint sub-committee on union churches; Ibid., March 19, 1913, Manitoba Conference News; Ibid., September 17, 1913, Saskatchewan Conference News; Rev. S.D. Chown, The Story of Church Union in Canada (Toronto, 1930), p.56; Grant, Loc.Cit., pp.47-8.
- 34 Carman Papers, Resolutions of the General Conference Special Committee re. Union Churches and Property, April 7, 1911 to January 9, 1913; Ibid., report of the General Conference Special Committee Executive's meeting with Presbyterian representatives, Brantford, October 7, 1912; Ibid., note of Rev. A. Carman's, dated January 27, 1913; Ibid., L.L. Meech, Conquest, Saskatchewan, to Rev. A. Carman, June 26, 1912; Ibid., report of the Special Committee appointed by the Representatives of the Union Congregations in Regina, April 3, 1913, to Confer with Dr. Chown of the Methodist Church, and Rev. W.A. Mackinnon, representing Dr. Grant of the Presbyterian Church, concerning the status and future relations of the Union Congregations with the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches, now negotiating union in Canada; Christian Guardian, December 18, 1912; Silcox, Loc.Cit., p.219ff.
- 35 Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of Rev. James Woodsworth, senior superintendent of missions, Winnipeg, June, 1914. See also Allen Papers, Memorial to the General Conference re. Co-operation, from a meeting of the missionary superintendents of the prairie conferences, Calgary, July 8, 1914. For the temporary aspects of the 1913 agreement, see Silcox, Op.Cit., p. 219ff.
- 36 Carman Papers, W.G. Hunt, Calgary, to Rev. A. Carman, June 27, 1912; Allen Papers, J.T. Brown, Regina, to N.W. Rowell, July 10, 1912.
- 37 Christian Guardian, August 6, 1913, Manitoba Conference News; Home Mission Reports, quadrennial report of Rev. James Woodsworth, Op.Cit., 1914; Carman Papers, W.G. Hunt to Rev. A. Carman, June 27, 1912; Allen Papers, J.T. Brown to N.W. Rowell, July 10, 1912; Christian Guardian, Saskatchewan Conference News. Although the local union movement

was primarily a western phenomenon, requests for permission to form union or federated congregations came from several points in the east as well. See Carman Papers, A.D. Borden, Grand Pré, N.S., to Rev. A. Carman, December 11, 1912; Ibid., A.B. Hames, Penetanguishene, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, March 17, 1913; Ibid., L.C. Roberts, Kintore, Ontario, to Rev. A. Carman, March 22, 1913; Christian Guardian, January 1, 1913, account of agreements for co-operation and local union in the Orangeville District. The Manitoba Conference local unions occurred at Wawanesa, McGregor, Beresford, Glenboro, Cypress River and Dryden, Northern Ontario.

- 38 Nearly 1,000 union congregations had been formed by 1921, and they proved decisive in bringing the Presbyterian Church into church union in 1925. By entering union, the Presbyterian Church lost the conservative continuing Presbyterian element, but it would have lost the local unions and possibly most of the west by remaining out. See Silcox, Loc.Cit., p. 219ff; Grant, Loc.Cit., p.49.
- 39 Christian Guardian, January 31, 1906, Alberta Conference News; Ibid., March 21, 1906, Saskatchewan Conference News; Carman Papers, Rev. Edward S. Bishop, Okotoks, Alberta, to Rev. A. Carman, January 6, 1906; Ibid., Rev. David C. Day, Pipestone, Manitoba, to Rev. A. Carman, February 17, 1908; Ibid., Rev. J.H. White, superintendent of missions for the British Columbia Conference, to Rev. A. Carman, February 1, 1906. Rev. Carman's correspondence contains eight other instances of delayed church construction plans, all in Ontario.
- 40 Silcox, Op.Cit., p.215. For a history of the co-operation movement, see Silcox, p. 214ff; Rev. S.D. Chown, Loc.Cit., pp.50-60; Christian Guardian, March 22, 1911; Carman Papers, "Historical Sketch of the Movement for Co-operation in Home Mission Work," n.d.
- 41 Silcox, Op.Cit., p.215.
- 42 Carman Papers, Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, n.d., estimate December, 1902.
- 43 Ibid., Rev. T.C. Buchanan, Edmonton, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, December 9, 1902. See also Ibid., Rev. O. Darwin, Moose Jaw, to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, December 12, 1902.

- 44 Ibid., Rev. James Woodsworth to Rev. Alexander Sutherland, n.d., estimate December, 1902. For an example of denominational rivalry on a local level, see Home Mission Reports, Rev. J.W. Flatt, Manor, Saskatchewan, to Rev. Charles Endicott, Arcola, Manitoba, October 10, 1906.
- 45 Christian Guardian, January 25, 1911, an account of the Alberta meeting by Rev. C.H. Huestis; Carman Papers, "Historical Sketch of the Movement for Co-operation in Home Mission Work," n.d.; Silcox, Loc.Cit., p. 216ff.
- 46 Christian Guardian, March 15, 1911; Ibid., March 22, 1911, Ibid., April 5, 1911.
- 47 Rev. S.D. Chown, Loc.Cit., p.51.
- 48 Minutes, Alberta Conference, 1911, pastoral address.
- 49 Home Mission Reports, report of Rev. T.C. Buchanan, superintendent of missions for the Alberta Conference, 1910-11, July 9, 1911. In 1911, Chown also alluded to the reluctance of the Presbyterians to enter into co-operation agreements. See Allen Papers, Rev. S.D. Chown to Rev. James Allen, November 15, 1911.
- 50 Christian Guardian, April 24, 1912.
- 51 Ibid., March 26, 1913; Ibid., April 2, 1913; Ibid., December 17, 1913, account of the benefits of co-operation at Wadena, Saskatchewan; Home Mission Reports, Rev. Oliver Darwin to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, July 28, 1913; Ibid., quadrennial report of Rev. James Woodsworth, senior superintendent of missions in the Western Conferences and superintendent of missions for the Manitoba Conference, 1914, July 30, 1914.
- 52 Quadrennial report of Rev. James Woodsworth, 1914, Op.Cit.,
- 53 Home Mission Reports, Rev. C.H. Cross, superintendent of missions for Northern Saskatchewan to Rev. James Allen, July 28, 1913.
- 54 Ibid., quadrennial report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, 1914, July 29, 1914.
- 55 Ibid.; Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Stanley T. Chown, Barrister, Renfrew, February 9, 1909.

Chapter XII

- 1 Home Mission Reports, annual and quadrennial reports of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference; Oliver Darwin, Loc.Cit.,
- 2 Woodsworth Papers, Vol.28, clipping.
- 3 Home Mission Reports, Proceedings of the Commission on Foreign Missions in Western Canada, Winnipeg, August 28, 1909.
- 4 Allen Papers, report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, for 1911-12, submitted August 9, 1912.
- 5 Christian Guardian, February 2, 1910, supplement, Stenographic Report of the Proceedings of the General Board of Missions, 1909.
- 6 Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. C.H. Cross, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, January 22, 1913.
- 7 See C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement, Ethnic Communities in Western Canada (Toronto, 1934).
- 8 Christian Guardian, August 30, 1911. See also Ibid., July 17, 1912, article by Rev. Edmond Chambers; Home Mission Reports, Rev.J.K. Smith, Lamont, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, July 9, 1914; Ibid., Rev. C.H. Lawford, Pakan, Alberta, to Rev. James Allen, August 7, 1914; Woodsworth Papers, Vol.29, clipping from the Manitoba Free Press, January 25, 1912.
- 9 Home Mission Reports, Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, Winnipeg, to Rev. C.E. Manning, Toronto, January 11, 1913.
- 10 Ibid., quadrennial report of Rev. Oliver Darwin, superintendent of missions for the Saskatchewan Conference, submitted June 29, 1914.
- 11 For effects of the war, see Allen Papers, Rev. James Allen to Rev. W. Hollingsworth, Calgary, August 26, 1914; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to Rev. T.C. Buchanan,

October 17, 1914; Ibid., Rev. James Allen to
Rev. Walter A. Cooke, Winnipeg, December 24, 1914;
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and p. xxiv.

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Carman Papers, U.C.A.
Correspondence of Rev. Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, relating to church union, the Manitoba and Northwest schools questions, the higher criticism controversy and other specific issues in the period 1890 to 1914.

Fitzpatrick Papers, Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.), 1902-1905. The papers of the Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, Minister of Justice, were examined to see if he was subjected to Methodist pressure on moral issues. The collection was of little or no value in this regard.

Home Mission Reports, U.C.A., 1906-1914.
Much of this is Rev. James Allen's incoming correspondence, and it is arranged alphabetically by missions.

Moore Papers, U.C.A.
Rev. Thomas Albert Moore held several important positions including secretary of the General Conference, joint secretary of the Dominion Alliance, secretary of the Canadian Lord's Day Alliance and membership on the executive of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada. Only a few of his papers were examined.

Sifton Papers, P.A.C., 1897-1903, microfilm.
A few of the many reels were examined to see if the Hon. Clifford Sifton, who was a Methodist as well as Minister of the Interior, was subjected to Methodist pressure concerning the European immigration. Little of value was found.

Sutherland Papers, U.C.A., 1905-1906.

Correspondence of Rev. Alexander Sutherland when he was General Secretary of the Missionary Society. Some of his correspondence after 1906, when he was General Secretary for the foreign mission field alone, was also examined.

Woodsworth Papers, P.A.C., Group 27, Series III, Vols. 28-29, scrapbooks of press clippings relating to the work of Rev. J.S. Woodsworth during his superintendency of All People's Mission, Winnipeg, 1907-1913. Vols. I-IV, containing correspondence relating to his early life and to his attempt to resign from the ministry were also examined.

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