# Religious Landscapes in Transition:
# Protestantism, Urban Change, and Social Christianity
# in Early Twentieth-Century Montreal

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As recession gave way to renewed economic prosperity in the early years of the twentieth century, Montrealers watched with interest as the built environment of their city came to life once again. Despite the seeming permanence and solidity of their buildings, Protestant churches were far from immune to the unrelenting economic forces at work around them. Particularly hard hit were the churches in the uptown district of Montreal, home to an important segment of the city's Protestant middle and upper classes.[1] As their previously quiet residential surroundings gave way to hotels, places of entertainment, and department stores from the 1890s onwards, many of Montreal's leading Protestant congregations were faced, some not for the first time, with the difficult decision of whether to remain in place and adapt to a changing environment or whether to sell and rebuild in the new suburban neighbourhoods to which so many of their members were moving.[2]

During the same period, Protestants were coming under the influence of the social gospel (more often referred to as social Christianity in the British context), leading some to believe that social institutions – including churches – needed to be transformed in order to redeem and perfect Canadian urban society.[3] In this paper, I argue that analysis of the debates that took place within Montreal's uptown Protestant congregations concerning their church buildings can shed light on our understanding of the influence of social Christianity at the congregational level.[4] This

religious movement has more often been studied in Canada through the lens of influential churchmen or national denominational committees and publications, providing vital insights into its theological and philosophical underpinnings. Given the centrality of the congregation within Protestant-ism, it seems equally important to ask what sort of impact these ideas had on the lives of urban middle-class congregations. Much of this paper seeks to explore this question by presenting three congregational case studies drawn from the period between 1890 and 1914.[5]

While the response to social Christianity varied from congregation to congregation, many struggled with the dilemma of responding effectively to urban as well as theological change while simultaneously satisfying the needs of existing church members. At the heart, then, of my investigation is the tension that exists within all Christian congregations between what Gregory Baum describes as the logic of mission – the essential purpose for which a religious organization exists – and the logic of maintenance – the need to ensure the material well-being and perpetua-tion of the organization itself.[6] As we shall see, the decisions made by members of each of the three case study congregations concerning their church buildings was the outcome of a struggle between the desire to integrate elements of social Christianity into their logic of mission and the difficulties that this posed in terms of the logic of maintenance.

### *A History of Relocation*

We must begin, however, by examining the way in which a previous generation of Protestant Montrealers addressed similar issues. Doing so provides a contrast that helps to place early twentieth-century congrega-tional decision making in perspective. As Montreal's original downtown core became increasingly commercial from the 1850s and 1860s onwards, the uptown district developed as the residence of choice for Montreal's growing Anglo-Protestant middle and upper classes.[7] Fearful of losing members, and anxious to erect more elaborate church buildings, nearly all of Montreal's oldest Protestant congregations – about twelve in all – decided to move "up the hill" from the original downtown core in the period between 1850 and 1889. Here they re-established themselves alongside new congregations that were also building churches in the area (see Figure 1). Similar patterns of church relocation have been docu-mented for growing cities across North America, including Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.[8]

Elsewhere, I have demonstrated that church relocations during this period led to the creation of much more socially exclusive congregations than had previously existed.[9] Stephen Leacock provides a fictional account of this process in *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich*:

> In one respect the rival churches of Plutoria Avenue had had a similar history. Each of them had moved up by successive stages from the lower and poorer parts of the city . . . Thus both the churches, as decade followed decade, made their way up the slope of the City till St. Asaph's was presently gloriously expropriated by the street railway company, and planted its spire in triumph on Plutoria Avenue itself. But St. Osoph's followed . . . As the two churches moved, their congregations, or at least all that was best of them – such members as were sharing in the rising fortunes of the City – moved also.[10]

While some ministers and congregation members expressed concern that the location and grandeur of the new uptown churches made them less accessible to "the masses," priority was usually given to the convenience and wishes of the body of individuals upon whose financial support the church depended. There is little to suggest that the erection of elaborate church buildings and the leaving behind of less wealthy congregation members was viewed as being incompatible with the evangelical project. Instead, uptown church goers actively pursued their charitable and evangelical endeavours in lower parts of the city, such as Griffintown, by establishing missions and supporting working-class churches.[11] Evidence suggests that evangelicals and non-evangelicals alike viewed this as an appropriate response to nineteenth-century urban change. As congregations deliberated on whether or not to move once again in the early twentieth century, a very different social and theological context encouraged renewed examination of the relationship between church buildings, their congregations, and the surrounding environment.

**Figure 1:** Relocation of Churches into the Uptown District, 1849-1899

### *Congregational Decision Making in the Early Twentieth Century*

Social Christianity held little appeal for social conservatives, who did not believe that the current socio-economic system was in need of reform. Nor did it attract the theologically orthodox, who felt that religion had no business interfering in such matters. It appealed more strongly, however, to laypeople and pastors wishing to respond to the urban-

industrial problems and social tensions that were emerging during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It also was attractive to those anxious to provide their churches with a renewed sense of purpose, commitment, and relevance in a rapidly-changing world.
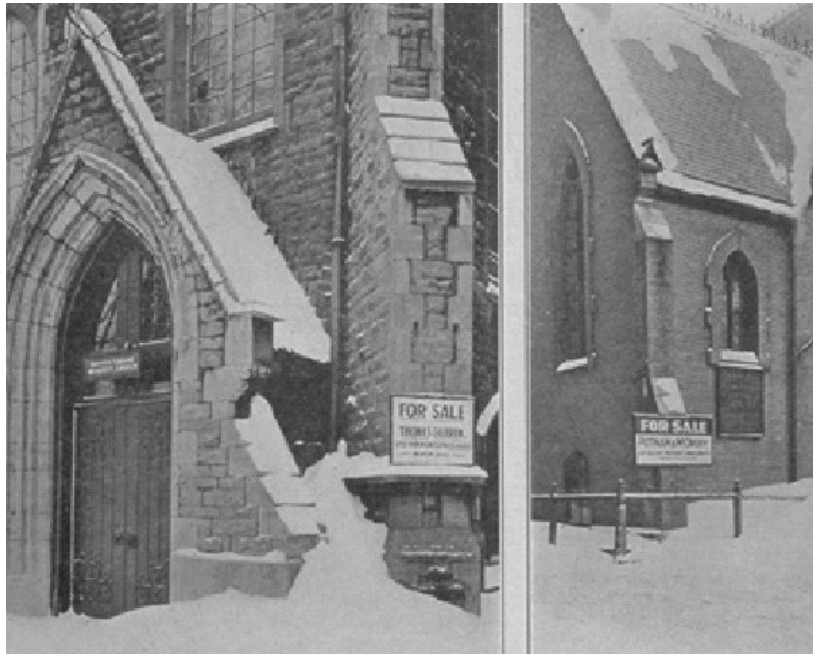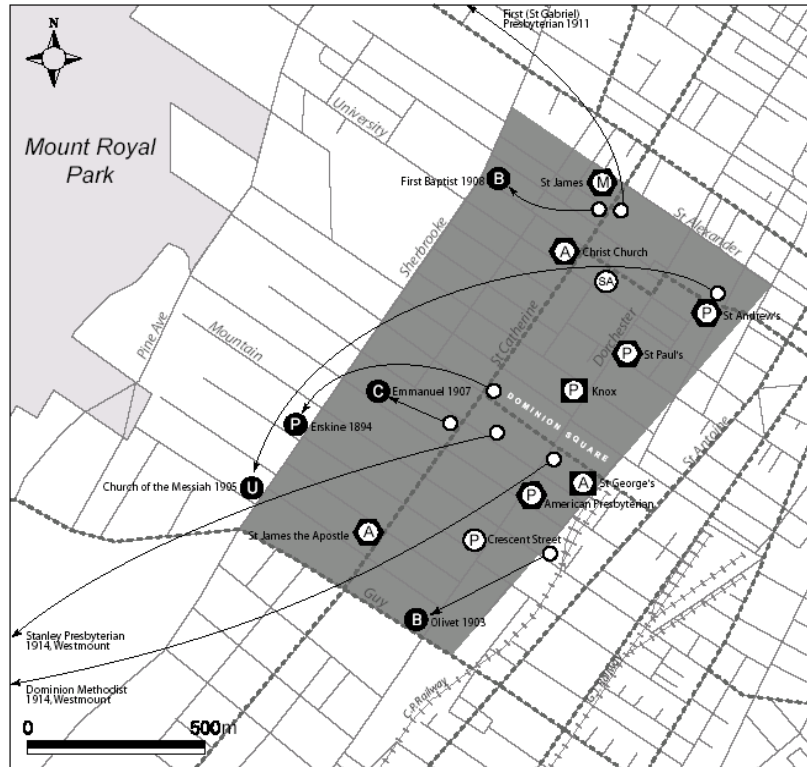


**Figure 2**: Dominion Square Methodist Church and Stanley Street Presbyterian Church, decorated with "For Sale" Signs (Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Massicotte Collection. Original image is from *The Saturday Mirror*, 8 March 1913).

The actual state of the uptown churches in Montreal, as viewed through the pages of the local newspapers, nevertheless seemed to present a stark contrast with social Christianity's vision of religious institutions that were deeply engaged in the project of redeeming and regenerating urban society. Frequent articles announcing the sale or potential sale of uptown church buildings testified to the willingness of many congregations to part with their old properties at a healthy profit rather than stay on to do battle in an increasingly commercial and diverse neighbourhood.[12] On the streets, "For Sale" signs decorated churches that had already been

sold by their congregations and were now in the hands of property speculators (Figure 2). Meanwhile, dramatic renovations transformed vacated places of worship into commercial spaces.[13] Other churches were demolished and disappeared entirely from the urban landscape.

Especially damaging to the reputations of the uptown Protestant churches was speculation in the press about the large sums of money involved, reinforcing the impression that the congregations of these socially-exclusive Protestant churches were preoccupied with pecuniary matters. Andrew Macphail, a McGill University professor and man of letters, stated unequivocally that the churches were missing a golden opportunity "to declare to the world that there are other considerations than those which can be reckoned in money." "The very existence of a church," he argued, "– the more humble the better – occupying an expensive site in company with buildings which scrape the sky . . . would be a perpetual protest against the practices which go on in those build-ings."[14] The sale of their buildings also associated them with a speculative process that was enabling certain individuals and groups to generate substantial wealth in a fashion that called into question the traditional evangelical emphasis on the connections between morality, hard work, and material reward. Some accounts portrayed the churches as the victims of commercial expansion, powerless in the face of progress, but such an image was equally unflattering because it made religious institutions look weak in relation to economic forces.[15]

Examination of a map showing church relocations in the uptown district prior to 1914 suggests, however, that a more complex situation was emerging at this time (Figure 3). While almost all the congregations in the area contemplated selling their buildings, many ultimately chose either to remain in place or else moved relatively short distances within the uptown district. A number of practical reasons for this can be identified, including the ability of churches to draw members from a much greater geographic area than in past as a result of the introduction of electric street cars in the early 1890s.[16] Practical and material considerations nevertheless offer only a partial explanation of what motivated congregations to remain in the uptown district. While a willingness to remain cannot necessarily be interpreted as a decision to engage and transform the surrounding community, many of the decisions that were taken by congregations at this time only make sense when viewed as a response to social Christianity. This will be demonstrated in the case studies that follow.

Note: Churches and church moves outside the Uptown District are not shown on this map.

**Figure 3:** Uptown Montreal, 1914: A Protestant Landscape in Transition

### *Emmanuel Congregational Church: Training for Social Service*

Emmanuel Congregational Church was one of only a few congregations that not only sold their original uptown church buildings, but also built new places of worship in the period prior to 1914. Rather than leaving the uptown district, however, the members of Emmanuel chose to

rebuild only a few blocks away. Although the plan initially arose out of dissatisfaction with the acoustics and ventilation of their old building, it seems that a desire to support their new minister's social gospel-inspired vision of the church's future may have helped them to arrive at this decision.

Emmanuel Church was a descendent of Zion Congregational Church, which had traditionally been one of Montreal's most militantly Protestant and evangelical congregations. Ministers such as J.B. Silcox and Hugh Pedley, both advocates of the social gospel, helped to steer the congregation towards an embrace of social Christianity.[17] According to the church secretary, A.K. Grafton, the Reverend Hugh Pedley wished to see his church transformed into "a real, living power in the community – above all a Church where the Spirit of Christ may be manifested in its membership, ever ready to lend a hand where help is needed and to endeavour to right the wrongs that ought not to be."[18] The church board embraced this vision as its own, and in 1903 expressed the opinion that Emmanuel Church had the material, the organization, and the means to do "more aggressive and progressive work than ever before."[19]

Though not essential, a new church building with improved facilities came to be seen as offering possibilities in terms of implementing this programme. The trustees received an acceptable offer for their St. Catherine Street building in 1905 and plans were soon underway for the erection of a new church.[20] There was no question of moving very far from the original location. Instead, it was hoped that relocation to a more residential street would enable them to purchase a less expensive site and rebuild free of debt. At the same time, the trustees expressed a strong desire to select the site that would be "best suited to effective Christian work" and asked church members, when expressing their personal choice of "locality" in response to a congregational circular, to answer the question, "Where will the church do its best and highest service?"[21] The wording of this question reflected a very different type of thinking than that which had motivated the original uptown church relocations. The focus had previously been on a practical desire to choose the site that would be most convenient for the majority of church members. Increasingly church members were being asked to determine which location would place the church in the best position to reach out and serve the needs of the surrounding community.

The decision to abandon Gothic architecture in favour of something considered to be less overtly religious and more in keeping with the

modern age also reflected this intent.[22] A commentary in the *Canadian Architect and Builder* suggested that the design "gets over the objection to Gothic . . . that it is out of keeping with our time and the buildings in which we live our daily life."[23] Similar views were expressed at this time by advocates of the "socialized" church in the United States, who criticized traditional church buildings for being "separated from the everyday life of the people" and standing "only as the representative of spiritual and eternal interests." It was argued that "the church ought to suggest, not an 'absentee God' and a future heaven, but the kingdom of God here and now and coming daily in every community."[24]

Congregation members seem to have had no qualms about leaving the old place of worship to its commercial fate (Figure 4).[25] Instead, funds from the sale of the old building were seen as enabling the church to become a more effective agent of community service. Once in their new building, the congregation embarked on the ambitious goal of enlisting every church member in some form of practical social service and transformed the church into a scene of constant daily activity. A church pamphlet produced in 1915 emphasized that while church after church had fled from the downtown district, it was Emmanuel's role to "take the better part of remaining on the firing line and finding the new mode of attack that shall capture the enemy's trenches." Only by doing so would Emmanuel be able "not simply hold her own in the changed community, but work out for herself a glorious future of service."[26]

As a small denomination in Montreal, the Congregationalists had always been heavily involved in interdenominational church movements, so to some extent the emphasis on training members for social service in the broader community represented continuity with past interests. At the same time, the focus on social service shifted the congregation away from its traditional emphasis on the conversion of individuals and led it to place greater importance on the need to work towards a more harmonious social order.

### St. George's Anglican Church: Solving Social Problems

The decisions made by St. George's Church also reflected the influence of social Christianity. In a 1909 sermon entitled "A New Montreal," the rector of St. George's pleaded for "a broader, grander ideal for the Church" in which "individual religion" would reach "its crown and

**Figure 4:** The Original Emmanuel Congregational Church Being Transformed into Shops, 1911 (Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Massicotte Collection. The original source of this image in unknown. A similar photograph appears in the *Montreal Witness*, 16 March 1912).

blossom in social religion." While acknowledging that many in his congregation were too practical to share this vision, he nevertheless went on to admonish them for their pessimism in light of evidence that the new

century was – as he described it – "palpitating with great social enthusi-asms of many kinds."[27]

As an Anglican Church, St. George's had distinct parish boundaries that happened to include both a small uptown area as well as a very poor downtown district, with the church perched on the edge of the hill between the two. The extensive mission and charitable work traditionally carried out by St. George's in the lower reaches of its parish was made possible by the wealth and resources of uptown congregation members. By the early years of the twentieth century, only a very small percentage of seatholders continued to live within the parish boundaries. In light of the growing commercialization of the neighbourhood, and continued threats by the Canadian Pacific Railway to expropriate part of their church building, this group became increasingly anxious to find a new location for the church. Countering accusations of worldliness, they emphasized that they had no plans to desert the downtown portion of their parish, but instead hoped to use the substantial proceeds from the sale of the old church to benefit this constituency.[28] By June 1914 plans for a magnificent new church were on display. The proposed location, which was just a few blocks to the west of the existing church, ensured that the church remained well if not better placed to deal with the problems existing in the down-town district. The new church was designed to suggest a parish that was well-equipped and ready "to help on the Kingdom of God,"[29] and it was pointed out that ample room remained on the property to build settlement houses or carry out other community-oriented schemes.[30]

These plans came to an abrupt halt when the company that had bought the old church found itself unable to come up with the money to do so.[31] The failure of new funds and facilities to materialize meant in essence that St. George's work in the downtown district continued very much as before. Rather than taking on more pro-active measures to ameliorate social problems such as crowded tenements, unemployment, and unsani-tary living conditions, this led to a continued emphasis on "charity." Although impossible to verify, it seems likely that such an outcome that may well have suited the more socially conservative element within the congregation.

### *St. James Methodist Church: Inspired by the Institutional Church Model*

Compared with Emmanuel and St. George's, there was far less unanimity within the church leadership concerning the fate of St. James Methodist Church. Ever since moving uptown to their cathedral-style building in 1889, the trustees at St. James had been plagued by financial concerns and had only been saved from having to sell their building in the early years of the twentieth century as a result of the generosity of Methodists from across Canada.[32] By 1910, rumours were once again rife concerning the sale of the church. Profound changes had taken place in the surrounding neighbourhood and it was observed that St. James was becoming more than ever a "People's Church," although it still retained a large family contingent.[33]

Those in favour of the sale argued that the church building could be sold for a very large sum – estimated initially at one and a quarter million dollars – and a new place of worship erected in a more residential part of the uptown district. The property, they maintained, was now "too valuable . . . to be held by the Church, in the absence of a sufficient endowment to enable it to do the larger, aggressive work which ought to be done in the neighbourhood."[34] Others were utterly opposed to the sale and believed that removal to a new location would result in the loss of St. James' distinctive character.[35] There was also concern that the Methodists from across Canada who had helped to save the church only a few years earlier might see the sale as a betrayal of their trust. While the leaders of St. James shared many of the aspirations of leaders at Emmanuel and St. George's, the symbolic weight of their "cathedral of Methodism" was such that it initially tipped the balance in favour of retaining the church building. Then, in October 1911, a two million dollar offer for the property caused them to reconsider their previous decision.[36]

At the same time, a vision had begun to emerge of taking advantage of St. James's central location and creating what was known at the time as an institutional church. The services offered by institutional churches varied depending on their locales, but emphasis was often placed on serving the recreational, as well as the religious, social, and intellectual, needs of the surrounding community.[37] Those at St. James envisaged providing facilities such as a gym, swimming bath, and reading rooms, but recognized that greater revenues would be required to carry out this type of work.[38] This left decision makers at St. James torn between their desire to keep their building and the need to raise funds to carry out more

ambitious church work. The inability to resolve this dilemma ultimately led to inaction, and a renewed focus on finding alternate ways to clear the church's debt.

Although they differed from their counterparts at Emmanuel and St. George's in terms of their decision to retain the old church building, leaders at St. James likewise saw their resolution to remain in the heart of the uptown district as an integral part of their sense of mission. It is, however, unclear to what extent this represented a departure from tradition for a church that had always been at the centre of evangelical revivalism in Montreal. On the one hand, institutional church work could be seen as an attempt to prevent young men and women from getting involved in the types of amusements, such as drink and dancing, that evangelical Methodists had traditionally associated with immorality and alienation from Christian life. On the other, the promotion of recreational activities in the churches could be seen as a contribution to the social redemption of Canadian urban society. There is no evidence to suggest that such matters were ever thought through or debated very clearly at a congregational level, perhaps because the avoidance of explicit discussion made it possible to satisfy congregation members who retained more individualistic evangelical beliefs, while at the same time offering hope to social gospellers.

### *Conclusion*

While the decisions that were made by each congregation as to whether or not to remain in the uptown district were heavily influenced by financial and practical considerations, scrutiny of the records of Montreal's leading churches reveals that their choices also reflected the varied responses of individual congregations to the message of social Christianity.

Whereas traditional evangelical Christianity, with its emphasis on the conversion of the individual, had provided little incentive for churches to remain in the original city centre in the 1860s and 1870s, the renewed aspiration to place Christian religion at the heart of urban society's political and economic life made the positioning of a church in the centre of the city much more meaningful in the early years of the twentieth century. For the three churches discussed above, remaining in the uptown district reflected a desire to make decisions that embodied a commitment to social Christianity. Each church worked with a slightly different vision

that was inspired in some way by traditional congregational interests. While these choices reflected a new-found commitment to reforming social conditions through the application of Christ's teaching, their compatibility with congregational traditions – and with a continued emphasis on the need for personal conversion – meant that they did not represent a decisive break with the past.

The desire to retain uptown sites, combined with the simultaneous desire to raise funds for new socially-oriented endeavours, nevertheless posed a dilemma. Of the three congregations, Emmanuel was the most successful at negotiating this quandary. Failure to sell their original uptown churches meant that both St. George's and St. James never acquired either the financial resources or the facilities that they had hoped would enable them to respond more effectively to the social needs of the surrounding community. It is difficult to determine whether this represented a lack of will on the part of congregation members, or simply the fact that the enormous investment in religious infrastructure that had occurred in the previous generation made it difficult for congregations to manoeuvre within a new social and theological context: in other words, a prevailing of the logic of maintenance over the logic of mission. With no interest in responding to more radical calls for societal transformation being made by social gospellers such as J.S. Woodsworth,[39] Montreal's elite uptown churches struggled in the period leading up to World War 1 to embody the commitment to the social reform that many of their members believed was necessary. This allowed the image of churches eager to sell their properties for large sums of money to prevail, perhaps giving credence to the warning that it was only by firmly standing their ground on the city's most valuable and prominent sites that the churches could demonstrate the power of the sacred over and against the secular commercial world.

### Endnotes

1.  The district referred to as the "uptown" district in this paper roughly corresponds with the central business district of the modern city.

2.  Protestant churches in other cities faced a similar dilemma. A contemporary, J.S. Woodsworth, drew attention to the removal of churches from densely populated areas of Canadian cities during this period in *My Neighbour: A Study of City Conditions. A Plea for Social Service* (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911), 162-65. The issue is also discussed

regarding Toronto in Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1988), 79-80 and 91-92. Jon Caulfield links cycles of church building in Toronto with stages of Canadian urban development in his study of church abandonment during the twentieth century ("The Growth of the Industrial City and Inner Toronto's Vanished Church Buildings," *Urban History Review* 23, no. 2 [1995]: 3-19). The impact of suburbanization on British churches during this period is discussed in Callum G. Brown, "The Mechanism of Religious Growth in Urban Societies: British Cities Since the Eighteenth Century," in *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities, 1830-1930*, ed. Hugh McLeod (London: Routledge, 1995), 255-56.

3.  For discussion of the definition of the term "social gospel," see Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 104; Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 17; Brian Clarke, "English-Speaking Canada from 1854," in *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 324-25; Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*, xi-xii; Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Volume II: 1870-1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 238-39. Allen and Fraser describe the different wings (conservative, progressive, and radical) that emerged within the social gospel movement, with differences becoming more pronounced over time. According to Airhart, historian William R. Hutchison has argued that it was the elevation of social salvation over individual salvation, both temporally and in importance, "that made the social gospel a distinctive movement" (104). This very narrow definition of the social gospel would exclude almost all of what I will refer to as the "social gospel" or "social Christianity" in the following discussion. It should be noted that the term "social gospel" was not in current use in Montreal in the pre-1914 period. The term "social Christianity" appears in the *St. George's Monthly* (Vol.1, no.5 [February 1908], 32), where it is used in reference "to the flood of recent publications which advocate the solution of social problems by the application of the principles of Christ's teaching." This definition is more in keeping with what I mean when using the terms "social gospel" and "social Christianity."

4.  In doing so, I am drawing on the inspiration of work within cultural-historical geography that explores the ways in which social and economic tensions, as well as ideologies and discourses, become physically and symbolically inscribed in the built environment. See, for example, Mona Domosh, "A Method for Interpreting Landscape: A Case Study of the New York World

Building," *Area* 21, no. 4 (1989): 347-55.

5.  The discussion presented here forms part of a more comprehensive argument regarding the transformation of the Protestant religious landscape of Montreal between 1850 and 1914. This can be found in Rosalyn Trigger, "God's Mobile Mansions: Protestant Church Relocation and Extension in Montreal, 1850-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 2004).

6.  Gregory Baum, *Theology and Society* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 234-35.

7.  David B. Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal: Creation of An Upper Middle Class Suburb On The Slope of Mount Royal In the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977); and Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895" (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, 1997).

8.  Aaron Ignatius Abell, *The Urban Impact on American Protestantism 1865-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943), 6; Craig E. Colten, "Shaping Sacred Space in Urban Ohio: 1788-1860," *Ohio Geographers* 13 (1985): 77-78; Daniel Bluestone, *Constructing Chicago* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); Charles D. Cashdollar, *A Spiritual Home: Life in British and American Reformed Congregations, 1830-1915* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 237-38; and Michael S. Franch, "The Congregational Community in the Changing City, 1840-70," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 71, no. 3 (1976): 367-80.

9.  This was done by linking church membership lists to the City of Montreal's rental tax assessment rolls. It was also demonstrated cartographically. See Trigger, "God's Mobile Mansions," 141-88.

10. Stephen Leacock, *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), 134. This book was originally published in 1914.

11. Rosalyn Trigger, "Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City: Church and Mission in the Industrial Working-Class District of Griffintown, Montreal," *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 31, no. 1 (Fall 2002): 5-18.

12. See, for example, "Knox Church Sold to Sun Life," *Montreal Witness*, 13 June 1911; "Stanley Street Presbyterian Church Sold," *Montreal Witness*, 15 March 1912; and "Church Which May Be Sold: St. Andrew's Church of Scotland," *Montreal Witness*, 26 March 1912.

13. Images of Dominion Square Methodist Church and Stanley Street Presbyterian Church with "For Sale" signs can be found in "One Reason Why Civic Conditions in Montreal are Bad," *The Saturday Mirror*, 8 March 1913. For a photo of Dominion Square Methodist Church being transformed into commercial space, see "Dominion Square Methodist Church as it Now Looks," *Montreal Standard*, 22 November 1913.

14. Andrew Macphail, "Unto the Church," *The University Magazine* 12 (April 1913): 362. It should be emphasized that Macphail was not an advocate of the social gospel and actively resisted the trend towards higher levels of church involvement in politics, legislation, and the resolution of social problems. Instead, he believed that churches should be first and foremost places of worship in which people could experience "the sheer pleasure of losing themselves in the infinite." Simply by their presence, he argued, churches could serve as "a witness to the world that the spirit of religion is not yet vanished, and that some humanity remains."

15. See, for example, the discussion in "Must Picturesque Dominion Square Lose Its Charm to March of Modern Business?" *Montreal Standard*, 15 November 1913.

16. Maps showing the geographic distribution of uptown congregation members during this period confirm that uptown churches were drawing their congregations from a much wider geographic area than in the past (see Trigger, "God's Mobile Mansions," 292-93).

17. For a description of J.B. Silcox's views, see Mélanie Méthot, "Fame Does Not Necessarily Bring Immortality: The Reverend J.B. Silcox, a True Social Gospeller (1847-1933)," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, 45, no. 1 (2003): 31-64. Hugh Pedley's *Looking Forward: The Strange Experience of the Rev. Fergus McCheyne* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), a didactic novel set predominantly in Montreal and designed to promote church union, provides an intriguing introduction to his thinking.

18. 21 January 1901, Report of the Church Board, EMM/1/7/3 Minutes of the Monthly Congregational Meetings including Committee Reports 1899-1902, Contenant 155, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, Fonds United Church of Canada, Montreal and Ottawa Conference Archives (hereafter UCCM), Archives Nationales du Québec, dépôt de Montréal (hereafter ANQ).

19. 19 January 1903, Report of the Church Board, EMM/1/7/4 Minutes of the Monthly Congregational Meetings including Committee Reports 1902-1915, Contenant 156, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ.

20. 21 June 1905, EMM/1/1/1 Deacons' Minutes 1875-1916, Contenant 152, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ; 6 September 1905, EMM/1/7/4 Minutes of the Monthly Congregational Meetings including Committee Reports 1902-1915, Contenant 156, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ.

21. Insert dated 16 October 1905, Copy of a circular sent to church members and subscribers on behalf of the Board of Trustees, EMM/1/2/1 Board of Trustee Minutes 1905-1919, Contenant 153, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ.

22. For an architectural history of this building, see Susan Stanley, "From Cathedral to Citadel: Emmanuel Congregational Church in Montreal," *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1994): 176-85.

23. *Canadian Architect and Builder* 19, no.10 (1906): 149.

24. Josiah Strong, *The Challenge of the City* (New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1911), 251.

25. Undated newspaper clipping, "Last Service Held in Emmanuel Church," EMM/13 Bulletins / Historical Material 1916-1948, Contenant 157, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ.

26. *1875-1915 Emmanuel Church, Special Services in Connection with the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of Emmanuel Congregational Church, March 7th-14th, 1915*, EMM/15 Emmanuel Church Scrapbook, Contenant 157, P603 S2 SS13 Emmanuel Congregational Church, UCCM, ANQ.

27. "St. George's Monthly Pulpit," *St George's Monthly* 3, no.2 (November 1909): 3-9. Copies of this church magazine were accessed in St. George's Anglican Church Archives, Montreal.

28. See, for example, "The Removal of the Church," *St. George's Monthly* 6, no.9 (June 1913): 2; and *The Montreal Churchman* 1, no.3 (January 1913): 8.

29. *St George's Monthly* 6, no.3 (December 1912): 11.

30. *The Montreal Churchman* 2, no.8 (June 1914): 6.

31. A.P. Gower Rees, *Historical Sketch of St George's Church, Montreal and its Constitution* (Granby, QC: Simms Printing Co., 1952), 35-36.

32. Nathan Mair, *The People of St James Montreal 1803-1984* (Montreal: St James United Church, 1984).

33. *St. James Methodist Church, Montreal. Annual Report for the year ending April 30th, 1910*, Contenant 316, P603 S2 SS42 St. James Methodist (United) Church, UCCM, ANQ.

34. 30 January 1911, STJ/4/4 Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1908-1932, Contenant 306, P603 S2 SS42 St. James Methodist (United) Church, UCCM, ANQ.

35. 12 December 1910, STJ/4/4 Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1908-1932, Contenant 306, P603 S2 SS42 St. James Methodist (United) Church, UCCM, ANQ.

36. 20 October 1911, STJ/4/4 Minutes of the Board of Trustees 1908-1932, Contenant 306, P603 S2 SS42 St. James Methodist (United) Church, UCCM, ANQ. Also, 20 October 1911, STJ/1/2 Minutes of the Quarterly Official Board 1892-1917, Contenant 404, P603 S2 SS42 St. James Methodist (United) Church, UCCM, ANQ.

37. For further discussion of institutional churches, see *Social Service Congress, Ottawa 1914: Report of Addresses and Proceedings* (Toronto: Social Service Council of Canada, 1914), 130-31.

38. *Daily Telegraph and Daily Witness*, 11 October 1913.

39. An analysis of Woodsworth's ideas can be found in Allen Mills, *Fool For Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).