Taking God into the Suburbs:  
Canadian Presbyterians and New Church Development in the Toronto Area, 1945-1965

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In January 1945, the presbytery of Toronto appointed the Rev. J.B. Thomson to serve as the full-time presbytery church extension worker. Thomson had served as minister at Dufferin St. Presbyterian church, a congregation with around three hundred and fifty members and a church school of two hundred and fifty at that time. This appointment did not mark a beginning of church extension work in the presbytery. That work, as the presbytery minutes indicate, was ongoing; indeed, the presbytery was working with an emerging congregation in Leaside and was taking steps to purchase land in the Kingsway. What this appointment indicates was that as the Second World War drew to a close, the presbytery was anticipating that there would be a need for new Presbyterian congregations and was taking a determined step to ensure that these congregations were developed. The Presbytery of Toronto took this important step for the simple reason that the development of new congregations was their responsibility. Church extension did not become the responsibility of the denomination with central coordination until the first national director of church extension was appointed in 1963. Thus, as the Second World War came to an end, it was up to the presbytery (the equivalent of a bishop) to do the challenging task of finding land, renting space, appointing a minister, purchasing the land, constituting a congregation and a session, providing a building, and all of the other steps that were required to create

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a new congregation. Local initiative was key. Local decisions drove the
process. The denomination provided assistance through the synod ministry
convener and the national home missions committee, but it was up to the
presbytery to take these key steps, in whatever order fit the particular
situation (and this does seem to have varied considerably). The major
expectation of the national church was that it would provide “men”
(ministers for these new congregations) and “money” (essentially seed
money to begin, with the local congregation paying this back over time).
It is worth pausing to recognize the challenge of funding the capital costs
as well as the operational expenses. The stipend (salary) of a minister had
to be paid. Land had to be purchased. Buildings needed to be constructed.
New church development requires considerable investment. While the
denomination struggled in the 1950s and early 1960s to raise the capital
they believed was necessary, presbyteries throughout Canada still retained
the responsibility for beginning new work. As in the case of the presbytery
of Toronto, they vigorously took up this challenge.

Canadian Presbyterians were not alone in facing this challenge of
building new congregations after the Second World War as new houses
were constructed in what had once been farmland. As surprising as it may
seem, the topic of how Canadian denominations expanded into the suburbs
has yet to receive serious study. This has also not been a major area of
research for denominations in the United States. There have been studies
of limited aspects of new church development (in particular what happened
when this ground to a halt), but more has been written on the supposed
psychological impact of the suburbs on faith than has been written on the
process of taking God into the suburbs by staffing and building new
congregations.¹ The recent publication of Roberto Perin’s book, Many
Rooms in the House, fortuitously for my research about religion in one part
of Toronto, is very helpful.² But this is an exception to the general rule that
not a great deal has been written about congregations and how they
developed, and in particular about how new congregations were developed
in Canada’s growing suburbs after the Second World War.

One reason for this may be the perception that building these new
congregations was foolish. As many of these congregations, built in the
aftermath of the war, struggle today to survive or are closed, it is easy to
imagine that one would be considering a misplaced and an over-enthusias-
tic response of churches to their situation.³ Initial research in this area
conducted over fifteen years ago made it clear that establishing an overall
understanding of Canadian Christianity in the postwar period was one crucial task that had to be undertaken before we could look at new church development in that same period. Without establishing what was happening in Canada at this time, it seemed that any discussion of the building of new churches would immediately bog down into questions of whether denominations overbuilt congregations, whether growth in the 1950s was illusory, and similar questions. The result was the book coauthored with my colleague Brian Clarke, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiance in Canada since 1945.* While there will always be local variations, it now seems beyond all doubt that the immediate postwar years were ones where religious identity increased among Canadians and that all indicators of religious health were moving in a positive direction. This only changed, Brian Clarke and I argue, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The fact that we can now identify this shift allows us to analyze church decisions with a clearer understanding of the shifts in Canadian religiosity. Churches were not incorrect to build these new congregations, and their experience of rapid growth was not illusory. Those times were different from our own—remarkably so—and this difference can now be recognized and treated seriously.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada established new congregations in the period after 1945. This is unquestionable. But how many churches did they build? Where did they build them? How many succeeded, and how quickly? Did any fail? Were more built in Toronto than in Montreal? What about in British Columbia, or Alberta, or even the Maritimes? These are all important questions that have remained stubbornly difficult to answer. The fact that the process was locally driven has meant that no central repository of information was created at the time. Instead, decisions are scattered across presbytery minutes, synod minutes, the national home missions committee, and other records. The reports made each year to the national General Assembly, and reported in the yearly *Acts and Proceedings,* give an overall sense of expansion, but not the kinds of details for which one would hope. One of the few attempts to summarize this work came in a 1970 report where it was confidently asserted that the Presbyterian church established one hundred and eleven congregations in the 1950s and another forty-one in the 1960s. Nothing was said about how many congregations were established in the period between 1945 and 1950, nor were details given as to which congregations these were, where they were located, or whether any failed. No list of congregations established in this
period exists; and despite several attempts, it has not proven possible at this time to create a comprehensive national portrait of new church development in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The quantitative information is there in the yearly listing of the denomination’s congregations.\textsuperscript{5} The challenge is that while Presbyterians were busy establishing new congregations, they were also involved in closing congregations, often in rural settings, or amalgamating charges. One cannot simply look at national or regional totals and extrapolate from these how many new congregations were begun. The national totals give the net results as congregations continued, new congregations were started, and older congregations were closed. Another source with potential has also proven challenging. A myriad of photos appeared in the official monthly magazine of the denomination, the \textit{Presbyterian Record}, showing vacant lots where a future Presbyterian church would be built, of sod turnings, of new Sunday school buildings and new sanctuaries. This gives invaluable information, but it has become clear that a new building did not always mean a new congregation. As will be noted below, existing congregations also expanded in these heady days of growth. Attempts to create a national overview of new church development in the Presbyterian Church in Canada have so far proved unsuccessful. What does seem more profitable, although still challenging, is a regional study, specifically a case study of church extension in the presbytery of Toronto.

The choice of the presbytery of Toronto was made reluctantly. One could argue that too much of Canadian history has been written from the center, with the assumption that the rest of Canada fits into this pattern. This is a caution that needs to be taken seriously. At the same time, the reality is that Toronto was Canada’s second largest city in 1945 (Montreal being the largest), and was greatly affected by suburbanization in the postwar period. This was one of the areas that saw the greatest concentration of new church development. For a study of this nature, Toronto also had the advantage of having had a history of West Toronto presbytery produced as well as several published congregational histories. Ongoing research has also made it clear how valuable the presbytery minutes are. Thus, while it does not yield a picture of church extension that will be valid for all of Canada, studying the presbytery of Toronto will give some invaluable insights into how new congregations developed in this particular part of Canada. It is hoped that other regional studies can also be undertaken to balance this portrait.
In 1946, the Presbytery of Toronto stretched from Oshawa to Oakville, north almost to Lake Simcoe, and was centered on what was at the time Canada’s second largest city. There were eighty-five congregations (including mission stations) in total within this presbytery, some rural as well as large and moderate sized urban congregations. The response to the increasing urbanization within Canada was a heavy responsibility for the presbytery. The presbytery of Toronto was divided in 1949 into two presbyteries, East Toronto and West Toronto, which cover the areas described in their names with the caveat that the dividing line between the presbyteries was not Yonge Street (as one might anticipate) but Bathurst Street. West Toronto presbytery was itself divided in 1965, with the westernmost congregations being joined to selected congregations from what had been the presbyteries of Orangeville and Guelph, to form a new presbytery, the presbytery of Brampton. The presbytery of Toronto (and its successors) established fifty-one new congregations in the period from 1945 to 1985. Of these, two did not succeed as planned (as will be discussed), which gives a net gain of forty-nine new congregations. This article will focus on the thirty-six established in the early period (1945-1965) which is roughly the period before the denomination took responsibility for new church development in 1963. Of these thirty-six, nine were established in the period up to 1951, another twenty-two in the 1950s (1952-61), and another seven in the period up to 1965. It is worth noting there were an additional fifteen congregations established over the next twenty years, in the period from 1966-1986.

Initial research on the period from 1945 to 1965, when local initiative was the driving force behind new church development, has made several things clear. First, and unsurprisingly, new congregations followed the expanding suburbs outwards. The first congregations were established in what we might consider the inner suburbs, as the suburbs themselves continued to move out from the center of Toronto. For example, in the period from 1946 to 1951, congregations were established on the western edge of Toronto including Logan Geggie Memorial (1950), Kingsway (1945), St. Giles Humber Valley (1950), St. Andrew’s, Humber Heights (1948), and Pine Ridge (1951). These congregations were situated in the area between the Humber River and Islington Avenue, and are listed south to north. A similar pattern can be found in the east of the city, with Fallingbrook established in 1947 at the corner of Kingston Road and Wood Glen Road, Westview established in 1950 in the St. Claire East and
O’Connor Drive area, and Kitchener Park being established in 1949 in the Eglinton Avenue East and Danforth Road area. Two congregations were also established in this period in the northern part of the expanding city, in the Bathurst and Lawrence area (Coldstream, 1949) and in the Wilson Avenue and Avenue Road area (Armour Heights, 1950). Finally, a new congregation was established outside of Toronto in Oshawa. This pattern of expanding out from the center continued in the next period (1952-1956). Considering just the western portion of Toronto, Alderwood (Browns Line north of Lake Shore Blvd.) was established in 1952, Hillview (Martin Grove and Rathburn area) in 1955, and Rexdale at (Islington and Rexdale) in 1953. Park Lawn, which was established in 1952 to the east of Royal York Road and south of Bloor Street, would be an exception in terms of being closer to the core of Toronto than some previously established congregations. This pattern continued throughout this period. As one might expect, the church was following Canadians as they moved outward into the suburbs. It is also clear that Presbyterians established congregations in neighbourhoods. In the descriptions above major intersections have been provided as a convenience to the reader, but in many cases the congregation was imbedded in a neighbourhood. Hillview, for example was on Ravenscrest Drive, across from Glen Agar Park. This was not a major intersection but a winding street in a neighbourhood. Presbyterians also built a lot of congregations. They did not anticipate (nor perhaps should they have) that regional congregations with larger parking lots might be a different option.

While Presbyterians built new churches in the suburbs, the suburbs also came to surround existing congregations in what had, until then, been rural areas or small-town communities. Indeed, what we might assume to have been new church developments were in some cases existing congregations transformed as the suburbs expanded. Two congregations from the north of Toronto illustrate this point. In 1946, Westminster (Willowdale) was a small congregation of one hundred and four members and a church school of one hundred and forty-three situated on Empress Avenue to the east of Yonge Street. As the congregation continued to grow, reflecting the growth in the area, serious decisions needed to be made. A lot was purchased on Ellerslie Ave, west of Yonge Street, and a new sanctuary constructed there, followed by a Christian Education Building. The name of the congregation also changed as it became Willowdale Presbyterian Church. Membership grew dramatically until, in
1966, the congregation had a membership of six hundred, making it the fifth largest congregation in the presbytery of East Toronto. Similarly, Thornhill Presbyterian entered the postwar period with a membership of only thirty-seven and an additional thirty-three recorded in the church school. This congregation also moved locations, constructed a new building, and grew dramatically. By 1966, the membership was over four hundred. These are only two examples of congregations that were transformed as the suburbs expanded. While a new building thus does not necessarily mean a new congregation, it has also become clear that an older building does not necessarily mean an older congregation. Erindale Presbyterian, an extension congregation in Mississauga established in the late 1950s, purchased on old Methodist building where they continue to worship. This was a period when existing congregations added a Sunday school hall, remodeled their sanctuary, or in some other way transformed themselves, particularly if the expanding suburbs provided them with the opportunity. The establishment of new congregations was only one part of overall denominational growth and expansion.

Did every project succeed? The answer is “no”; however, in the case of Toronto presbytery, only two instances have been discovered in this period where a congregation was started only to be amalgamated with another. The first, Kingsway Presbyterian church, was, as already mentioned, one of the first pieces of property to be purchased by the presbytery. This congregation was eventually merged with the rapidly growing St. Giles Humber Valley to form St. Giles-Kingsway, which continued as a very successful extension congregation. The second example of a congregation begun but soon amalgamated was the congregation of Park Royal. The development of this, and three other congregations begun at around the same time, give great insight into how church development was being done in the late 1950s as suburbs expanded in the areas to the west of Toronto – specifically Oakville and the small towns which eventually became the city of Mississauga. This work was done by the presbytery of West Toronto, under the leadership of the minister responsible for church extension in Toronto, a position funded by this presbytery and the presbytery of East Toronto.

At a time when national finances were a challenge, new congregations to the west of Toronto were established aggressively. On 11 December 1956, a decision was made to rent Orr Public School in the South West of Oakville. At the next presbytery meeting, January 1957, a
decision was made to establish four other congregations, including one in the Clarkson Area. In March, two graduating Knox College students were appointed. T.H. McKennell was appointed to Hopedale, the name given to the congregation that would meet in the Orr Public school, and Malcolm Summers was appointed to the Clarkson area congregation. Services at Hopedale had already begun that month with ten attending the first Sunday, twenty-five the next, thirty-five the subsequent Sunday, and eighty the final Sunday of March. Given this progress, the presbytery appointed an interim moderator, a minister from another congregation to oversee the session of the new congregation, and appointed elders from Knox Presbyterian church Oakville to serve as an assessor (temporary) session until the congregation was established. McKennell began his ministry in May, the same month the presbytery gave permission for four building lots to be purchased, and on 16 June 1957 the new congregation of Hopedale Presbyterian Church was formed with forty-three charter members. Plans for the congregation in Clarkson continued, with their minister appointed and ordained, and services began in Hillcrest on Sunday, 15 September 1957 with thirty-five adults and children present. In October the presbytery noted that, thanks to a grant received from St. Andrew’s, Port Credit, they had purchased land (1.21 acres) in a development to be known as Park Royal, an area about one and a half kilometers to the southwest of where the congregation was gathering in a school. The minister and elders of St. Andrew’s, Port Credit, were given responsibility for the congregation at Hillcrest, with the understanding that there was presbytery permission to establish them as a congregation at the appropriate time.

As 1957 drew to a close, the presbytery thus had established two new extensions projects along the shore of Lake Ontario and both seemed to be doing well. One indication of this was the fact that McKennell, who had been serving only half-time at Hopedale since May (the other half working at Parkdale Presbyterian in Toronto’s west end), was appointed full-time minister of the new congregation. Establishing worshipping communities was one task. Agreeing where that congregation would be located was another. Hopedale had purchased land. Land had also been purchased in Clarkson to the east of Southdown Road. In January 1958, the presbytery of West Toronto began to grapple with the issue of where these new congregations were to be situated and how many congregations they might actually be establishing. Two motions were approved. The first gave permission to Hillcrest to stay
in their own area west of Lorne Park Road and to purchase land in the vicinity of Clarkson Road. At the same time, the presbytery thanked St. Andrew’s Port Credit for another grant of $1,500 to help buy land in the Park Royal area and agreed that a congregation should be organized there when “sufficient number of people” moved into the area. The presbytery had agreed that they were now planning two congregations about two kilometers apart, one to the east (Hillcrest) and one to the west (Park Royal) of Southdown Road. It is also worth noting that St. Andrew’s, Port Credit was crucial in supporting each of these ventures, having oversight through its session of Hillcrest and providing the money to purchase the land in Park Royal. In May, another decision around land was made, this time in relation to Hopedale. Presbytery approved a change in site, giving them permission to sell the land they owned and purchase a different parcel of land of the same size. Hopedale continued to expand and grow. By 1961, it had a membership of four hundred and thirty, and a Sunday school of two hundred and eighty. Five years later, and less than a decade after its founding, it had become the fourth largest congregation in the newly established Brampton Presbytery with a membership of five hundred and eighty-five and a church school of almost three hundred.

In the Clarkson area, the new minister found himself with two worship points in September 1958, Park Royal and Hillcrest, which had outgrown the school of that name and was now worshipping in Lorne Park Secondary school. This arrangement continued for one year, until the Rev. Stephen Ho was appointed to Park Royal, which was holding services at Willow Glen school. Meanwhile, the Hillcrest congregation had not only been established as a congregation with its own Board and Session, but had changed its name to Clarkson Road Presbyterian, and had pledged to become completely self-supporting by 1 January 1960, a goal which they achieved. Land was purchased in 1959, construction began in 1960, and a new building was dedicated in 1961. That year the congregation had a membership of one hundred and fifty-eight and a church school of one hundred and thirty-five. The congregation at Park Royal was not much smaller, with a membership of one hundred and three and a church school of one hundred and four. At the same time, the presbytery minutes indicate some challenges, with in camera discussions, additional funding for money owed to the national pension fund, and a change of minister. The congregation of Park Royal was by this time worshipping in a portable church on the site that had been purchased. In 1963, a recommendation
was made to presbytery that the congregation be amalgamated with Clarkson Road. No clear reasons are given in the presbytery minutes, which nonetheless speak of this as a move that was supported by both congregations. The timing of the decision may have been encouraged by the decision of the minister to move to another extension work, thus opening an opportunity for the amalgamation to take place. Other reasons may be discovered; however, the optimism of Canadian Presbyterians in establishing two congregations so closely together, as well as a third (Erindale in September 1957) less than four kilometers to the north, indicates their belief these congregations would all succeed. We see, as well, a focus on establishing neighbourhood congregations. It is worth noting that the amalgamated congregation at Clarkson Road, continued to grow, reading a membership of four hundred and nine and a church school of two hundred and eighteen by 1966.

The growth, and at times remarkable growth, of congregations in the suburbs was accompanied by a different urban reality, namely the hollowing out and closing or amalgamation of many congregations closer to the center of Toronto. When one considers church closures in the period from 1945 through to 1965, one tends to focus on rural churches, noting the depopulation of the rural areas as families moved to cities and suburbs. But neighbourhoods within cities were changing as well. In the process of looking at church extension in Toronto, the reality of the decline of many of Toronto’s major Presbyterian churches has become apparent. In 1946, there were six Presbyterian congregations in central Toronto with memberships of over a thousand (with often large sized church schools on top of this): Calvin (1,063 members; 219 church school); Knox (1,403; 369); Parkdale (1,070; 347); Riverdale (1,706; 850); St. Andrew’s (1,222; 224); and, Victoria (1,076; 315). There were another ten congregations with memberships of over five hundred including High Park (750; 299), Cooke’s (810; 203) and Queen Street East (615; 315). Twenty years later (1966), there were no congregations in central Toronto over a thousand and those with over five hundred members had also declined. Knox Presbyterian was the strongest with a membership over eight hundred (861; 386) while Riverdale, once the largest, was now about a quarter the size it had been two decades earlier (460; 197). The decline of membership of three churches in roughly the Christie Pitts and Wychwood Avenue areas (between Dufferin and Bathurst and between College and St. Clair) from 1946 to 1966 illustrates the challenge: St. Paul’s (566 members in
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1946, 275 in 1966); Dovercourt (657 to 311); and Davenport (544 to 350). The loss of members from these congregations was dramatic and makes sense as the neighbourhoods they were in changed dramatically in terms of their religious composition. The larger congregations were now, in many cases, those in the suburbs, including extension congregations. St. Andrew’s Humber-Heights, with a membership of over seven hundred and fifty, and a church school of almost four hundred and seventy, and St. Giles-Kingsway (577 and 186 respectively), had emerged as major congregations in their own right. The numerical decline of many churches in the inner core of Toronto that occurred in the first two decades after the Second World War was followed in the next decades (1965 to 1985) by amalgamations and closures.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada, like many denominations, built new congregations after the Second World War. As Canadians moved into the suburbs, so the denomination took God — or at least churches — into these situations. Fifteen years ago, after some very preliminary research in this area, I proposed the following rather revisionary idea: “The building of new congregations by Canadian Presbyterians in the period after the Second World War was appropriate and important, even crucial to the evolution of the denomination. Without these new congregations the denomination would be much different.” After returning to this question and conducting detailed research in this area, the evidence for this proposition seems even clearer. It is important that we move out of a narrative, based upon more recent developments, that “denominations built too many churches.” This may be true; but was it too many congregations, or too many neighbourhood congregations?

How else might a denomination like the Presbyterian Church in Canada have responded to the clear needs for churches in Canada’s expanding suburbs? There are many legitimate research questions we need to pose and consider. Research across denominational lines focused on a particular city or area would be fascinating. Questions around finance and how effective denominations were in marshalling their resources for expansion need to be considered, as do the phases and different models of new church development. Was it better to rely on local initiative, or was centralized administration and planning more effective? These are all important questions. What initial research into new church development in the first two decades after the Second World War suggests is that these decisions were vital for the future direction of the Presbyterian Church in
Canada. It is striking how many of the congregations established in this period or renewed as the suburbs expanded to their doorstep played a vital role in denominational developments in the 1960s and 1980s. Clarkson Road, Willowdale, Thornhill, Hopedale, St. Andrews Humber Heights, St. Stephen’s (Scarborough), Armour Heights, and many more, provided leadership and resources to the denomination. They are names that come up in various ways time and time again, while Chalmers Presbyterian, Dovercourt Presbyterian, and many others which had been dominant in 1946, faded from influence and memory. The church itself was transformed as these new congregations were established or transformed by suburban growth. These became the congregations that provided children for church camps, leadership for church programs, innovative ideas, and even served as recruiting ground for clergy. The kind of stereotyping of these congregations as faithless, conformist, social clubs, which was occasionally voiced in either books or denominational reports or publications, seems inadequate, if not untrue. These newly established congregations became positive places of worship and faith; it was a new frontier, even if a crabgrass one. Suburban development transformed Canadian society. It also transformed Canadian churches. It is a topic worthy of our serious study.

Endnotes


5. The information is given each year, organized by synods going east to west across Canada, and is published in the proceedings of denomination’s annual General Assembly, *The Acts and Proceedings* (hereafter, A&P). I am indebted to Anne Miller, who undertook a project that took congregational information for the entire denomination and placed it in spreadsheets in five-year intervals. These five-year snapshots – chosen to coincide with the census, so on the “1s” and the “6s,” i.e., 1951, 1956, 1961, etc. – are invaluable. These have been adapted and modified in this research project to allow for computer mapping. Additional geographical information has been added to allow for locating congregations on maps. These maps are helpful both in analysis and presentation and provided invaluable tools in doing this study. Information on congregational membership and church school membership is taken from the A&P as complied in this resource.

6. One of the challenges of this research is determining when, precisely, a congregation is founded and what that even means. Should we date this by the first survey of the work, the first worship service, or when the congregation is formally established? What do we do with the frequent changes of names? It is anticipated that further research may alter some of the dates when congregations were founded, or standardize how we record this information.

7. As noted, the A&P gave the data from which the computer-generated maps of congregations were produced. This information was confirmed using William J. Adams, “The Presbytery of West Toronto: Historical Sketches” (Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1999).

8. Ivor Samuel, “Time Was: Willowdale Presbyterian Church,” A&P, 1975. This congregational history was invaluable for providing crucial details noted in the text.

9. This account is based upon the minutes of the presbytery over these years: 11 December 1956 to 12 November 1963. Presbytery of West Toronto Minutes, 1977-3012-1-4, 1977-3012-2, 1977-3012-3, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto.

10. Additional details can be found in the congregational history of Clarkson Road Presbyterian Church: “Fulfilling the Dream: A History for the Millennium, 1957-2000” (Mississauga: Clarkson Road Presbyterian Church, 1999).
