THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

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PART I

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Canadian Society of Church History presents herewith the papers delivered at its annual meeting in the University of St. Michael's College, Toronto in May, 1968. This mimeographing is essentially for the convenience of the members present at the meeting, and for those who contribute to the society's funds but were unable to attend. Distribution in this form does not preclude publication elsewhere, and copyright remains in the hands of the authors concerned. Copies of the Papers for 1967 may be obtained from the secretary of the society, Professor J.P.B. Kenyon of Scarborough College in the University of Toronto.

The Canadian Society of Church History welcomes inquiries from persons interested in ecclesiastical and religious history. The annual meeting in 1969 will be held in conjunction with the Canadian Theological Society and the Canadian Society for Biblical Studies in York University, Toronto, June 9th and 10th.

J.L.H. Henderson,

President.

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THE REACTION OF WASP CHURCHES TO NON-WASP IMMIGRANTS

by

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Dr. Ian Mackinnon, under whose teaching at Pine Hill Divinity Hall I was introduced to church history, has written, "Population matters are basic to the understanding of the social fabric of a nation."[1] The interaction of ethnic and cultural traditions may seem to many students a much less exciting field of study than the progress of spiritual and intellectual movements, and I daresay they are right. In the development of our own country, however, adjustments and often compromises among diverse groups have been much more conspicuous than original movements, and I have found that the easiest way to give some shape to Canadian church history is to tell the story in terms of the effects of successive ways of immigration - French, American, British and in this century cosmopolitan.

The period I have selected for comment extends from about 1900 to 1914, when the first world war brought immigration to a temporary halt. For decades prior to 1900 Canada had been losing more people to the United States than it had been gaining from the old world, the early settlement of the west having been almost entirely the result of a redistribution of the existing Canadian population. By 1896 the number of immigrants was down to 17,000 the lowest since Confederation. Then, thanks to a rise in the price of wheat and other primary products, a lowering of ocean freight rates, the filling of the American west, and energetic recruitment by the Laurier government and the Canadian Pacific Railway, people began to come in great numbers. More than 50,000 immigrants entered Canada in 1901, more than 200,000 in 1906. In the decade from 1901 to 1911 a million people settled in the three prairie provinces, and the total population of the country increased by 34%.

Although more than half of the settlers spoke English when they arrived, the most conspicuous feature of this immigration was its ethnic variety. During the nineteenth century it had been possible to classify Canadians as either British or French, the notable exceptions - apart from the long-assimilated German and Dutch population of eastern Canada - being Mennonites and Icelanders in Manitoba. Those who began to arrive about 1900, by contrast included people from every corner of Europe as well as the Far East and their presence was made more conspicuous by a policy of allocating compact blocks of land for group settlement. A large proportion were drawn from the varied peoples of Austria-Hungary, above all Ukrainians from the old province of Galicia. Clifford Sifton, Laurier's Minister of the Interior, described these "men in sheepskin coats" as ideal immigrants. They were at any rate sufficiently numerous and obvious to be tagged as typical descriptions of foreigners in this period tended to be descriptions of Ukrainians.

It would be unfair to suggest that historians have neglected the great immigration of the Laurier era, but most of them have treated it as a colourful incident rather than as part of the main thrust of Canadian history. Church historians, in particular, have set a pattern of subsuming immigration under the general heading of home missions, thus branding it as a specialized area of interest. Yet, as has happened again before our eyes since the second world war, immigration drastically altered the society in which the churches were set. It transformed Canada from a static nation sadly lacking in self-confidence into a dynamic one staking an assured claim on the new century. It gave the country its first taste of metropolitan or near-metropolitan life. It introduced new folkways and made some old ones no longer viable.

In this paper I will not attempt to describe in detail the work of the churches among the newcomers, nor will I even touch the important subject of the rise of such predominantly immigrant churches as the Lutheran and Orthodox. My concern is rather with

attitudes within the long-established churches of Canada - attitudes to immigrants, attitudes to the new situation created by immigration ultimately changed attitudes to their own task. I had originally hoped to include all major churches and all major immigrant groups in my review. The material grew beyond all reasonable bounds however, so I have fallen back on a title that lends itself to more compact treatment, "The Reaction of WASP Churches to Non-WASP Immigrants".

The best point of departure, perhaps, is a brief look at the state of Canadian Protestantism just prior to the great immigration. At that time the churches were probably at the height of their power and influence. As a result of earlier evangelistic efforts they were reaping the harvest of a church-going, sabbath-keeping population. They had succeeded, despite an early head-start for French Catholicism, in making the west an outpost of Ontario Protestantism. They were able to mount formidable moral campaigns that fell short of desired results in legislation but succeeded in making drinking and most public amusements socially unacceptable. They had a dream of national greatness that included adherence to their own moral standards, and the dream seemed to have every possibility of realization. Methodists and Presbyterians in particular, had solid reasons for thinking of themselves as authentic representatives of Canada's future.

To churches so situated the immigrant tide represented a significant new factor they could not ignore. As self-appointed custodians of the national conscience they could regard the introduction of divergent mores only as a threat to their elaborate programme of moral reformation. As missionary enthusiasts, on the other hand, they were bound to see in the arrival of the newcomers a Macedonian call to service and witness. As nation-builders, too, they had to take account of them as contributors for better or worse to Canada's future. To these three aspects - threat, call and challenge - the rest of the paper will be devoted.

Prominent in the response to immigration throughout the period under study was dismay at its unsettling effects. The first official notice taken by the Methodist Manitoba Conference in 1898 was an expression of bewilderment,[2] and as late as 1921 the British Columbia Synod of the Presbyterian Church was striving to prevent the immigrants from becoming a menace to our civilization.[3] The Methodist chaplain Wellington Bridgman was out on an extreme limb of his own when he wrote of central Europeans, "These people seem to carry an innate morbid passion to shed blood",[4] but a respected Presbyterian official could soberly comment, "It may be taken for granted that a considerable percentage of the new arrivals are, morally, socially and intellectually, of a decidedly lower type than the average Anglo-Saxon".[5] Most churchmen shared the sense of crisis expressed by John Stark in an address to the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, "All that is choicest and best in our national life is trembling in the balance."[6]

Dr. C.W. Gordon (Ralph Connor to his readers) published in 1909 a novel entitled The Foreigner in which he sought to call the attention of the public to the Ukrainian problem. The book has no great literary merit, but it reveals a good deal about the attitude of a well-intentioned, socially minded Protestant of the period. Its portrayal of immigrants is distinctly unflattering. They are described as living in physical squalor and moral degradation, fighting with knives instead of manly fists, and ending their wedding feasts "in sordid drunken dance and song and in sanguinary fighting".[7] The contrast between their ways and those of the British comes out strongly in a confrontation between the Ukrainian Paulina and her Irish benefactress Mrs. Fitzpatrick. It was the East meeting the West, the Slav facing the Anglo-Saxon. Between their points of view stretched generations of moral development. It was not a question of absolute moral character so much as a question of moral standards."[8] The conclusion naturally followed: 'They must be taught our ways of thinking and living, or it will be a mighty bad thing for us in western Canada.[9]

J.S. Woodsworth is justly known for his early interest in the immigrants and his dedicated work on their behalf. It comes as something of a shock, therefore, to discover that his estimate of their ways was remarkably similar to Gordon's. He cited their tendency to lower the standard of living, the burden they imposed on public charity, their high rate of sickness and insanity, their illiteracy, their propensity to crime, their affinity with despotism and their tendency to congregate in slums.[10] He referred to Orientals in terms that would raise eyebrows today: "the expression, 'This is a white man's country', has deeper significance than we sometimes imagine".[11] One gets the impression that Woodsworth regarded the admission of aliens as an almost unrelieved misfortune.

It would be a mistake to attribute these unfavourable judgments to mere narrow-minded nativism. Norman Macdonald has documented the unseemly haste of governments and transportation magnates to populate the prairies by any available means,[12] W.G. Smith the lack of adequate procedures for selection that resulted from this haste.[13] The churches were not alone in decrying indiscriminate immigration, and the Protestant churches had some special reasons of their own for alarm. They were naturally disconcerted, just when they seemed to be successfully implanting ideals of temperance and personal discipline, to see the country inundated with people who had never heard of the virtues of total abstinence and threatened the rigid Canadian Sunday in the bargain. They were also disturbed to find that many of the newcomers, through their natural helplessness in a strange land, became ready victims and sometimes tools of the bootleggers and vice traffickers whom they had come to regard as their natural enemies. Moreover, having opposed separate schools on the issue of national unity for many years, they were less than pleased by the advent of so many potential supporters of these schools.

Although it would be an exaggeration to isolate immigration as the primary factor behind the causes espoused by Canadian Protestants during the 1900s, its effects certainly contributed to the intensity with which these causes were pressed. The demand for prohibition took on a new urgency, while the protection of the Lord's day became for the first time a really critical issue. The future of the immigrants was also an important factor in the controversy over provisions for separate schools in the acts setting up the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905, on which the Methodist Church at least expressed itself even more forcibly than it had on the Manitoba school question of the previous decade.[14]

If his presence constituted a problem, the immigrant was also a fellow-human in need, a brother for whom Christ had died. Almost without exception, churchmen argued that everything possible should be done to ease the way of the newcomer and to improve the conditions under which he lived. Gordon's intention in writing The Foreigner was undoubtedly to call attention to his plight, and he complained bitterly of general neglect: "Many and generous were the philanthropies of Winnipeg, but as yet there was none that had to do with the disease and degradation that were too often found in the environment of the foreign people. There were many churches in the city rich in good work, with committees that met to confer and report, but there was not yet one [he excepts a Methodist mission] whose special duty it was to confer and report upon the unhappy, struggling and unsavoury foreigner within the city gate."[15] J.S. Woodsworth, whose Methodist mission may have been the one to which Gordon referred, saw the situation of the immigrants in intensely human terms. His writings are full of such expressions as "Poor people!"[16] "If we only knew one life!"[17] In this spirit churches of all denominations rushed to provide welcoming agents at the ports, hospitals, schools and community centres on the prairies, Catholic Friendship Houses and All Peoples' Missions in the cities, and church services where there was some hope of a response.

Protestant work among foreign immigrants had three main purposes, which I list in order of apparent urgency rather than of ultimate importance to the churches involved. First came the purely humanitarian task of introducing the immigrants to the country, providing them with essential services and protecting them from swindlers. Then came the slower but equally important enterprise of "Canadianization" - an omnibus concept that included the inculcation of loyalty to Britain and to British institutions as well as the cultivation of nonconformist moral standards. A third aim was evangelism, which seemed desirable in the case of all non-Protestants and especially inviting in the case of groups like the Ukrainians who at first had little access to priests of their own.

To those responsible for service to immigrants these three types of activity seemed not only compatible but complementary. What greater favour could one do the immigrants than to introduce them to the benefits of Canadian civilization, and where could one exhibit that civilization better than in the fellowship of, say, a Presbyterian or a Methodist church? In this spirit Brown, Connor's ideal pastor in The Foreigner, set out to make his Ukrainian charges "good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing."[18] In practice, however, it was not easy to prevent one purpose from getting in the way of the fulfilment of another. It was sometimes necessary, as even Brown came to realize, to abjure proselytism in order to make Canadianization palatable. Even humanitarian services might be unacceptable if there was a suspicion of ulterior motive behind them. Those who worked on the premise, "if we do not get these people upon our hearts and consciences today, tomorrow we will have them upon our backs,"[19] were unlikely to convince the immigrants that they were merely disinterested friends

Some of the tensions inherent in this situation came out clearly in an unusual experiment attempted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada.[20] Although most Ukrainians were Greek Catholics, using an eastern liturgy but obedient to the Pope, some had been

influenced in their homeland by evangelical preachers. In the first years of this century a few young men including one Ivan Bodrug were persuaded by the Presbyterian superintendent James Robertson to take a short course in divinity at Manitoba College. Bodrug was urged to accept ordination, but he demurred on the ground that as a Protestant he would lose all influence among his people. The bishop of an American breakaway group known as the Independent Greek Church then came to Winnipeg,[21] and Bodrug accepted ordination from him. The upshot was that upon the initiative of Robertson's successor J.A. Carmichael the Presbyterians sponsored an Independent Greek Church in Canada. This organization was something of a hybrid. In its worship it used the Orthodox liturgy purged of Mariology and other elements regarded as superstitious. It was organized in a consistory after the Presbyterian style, and eventually provided with an executive council. Its catechism was a translation of one widely used among the English free churches.[22] At one time it had fifty-one missionaries,[23] and Presbyterians looked for a mass movement among the Ukrainian settlers.

Unfortunately for such high hopes, the enterprise contained two built-in weaknesses that would ultimately destroy it. One of these was an unresolved uncertainty about the real nature of the Independent Greek Church. Some of its priests hoped that it might become a national church for Ukrainians, purified of unevangelical practices but treasuring its liturgy and maintaining episcopal ordination. Others regarded it as merely a half-way house to Protestantism, and a number of them were fanatical in their hatred of Rome. Strife between the two factions split the church in 1909. Bodrug temporarily accepted a post in the United States, and some who left with him never returned. The Presbyterian Church was equally ambiguous in its approach. Its authorities stressed the indigenous nature of the movement but assured their own constituency that the consistory never took an important step "without the knowledge and approval of the Synodical Home Mission Committee in Winnipeg."[24] The unstable equilibrium was only

maintained through Carmichael's active support. Shortly after his death the church took the Ukrainian work directly into its own hands, arguing that the Board of Home Missions should not spend money on property not vested in the Presbyterian Church or pay salaries "to workers not our own, and consequently not under the control of the Board."[25]

Equally serious was a wide gap in understanding of the significance of the project between its sponsors and the leaders of the community to which it was designed to appeal. Sponsors saw it as service to the needy, indeed as an example of service so disinterested that it did not even win converts to Presbyterianism. Leaders of the Ukrainian community on the other hand, regarded it as a transparent fraud. Not only the Independent Greek Church but Protestant hospitals and schools were in their estimation merely lures to attract the unwary away from the solid ways of their fathers, and they warned their people to have nothing to do with them. Both points of view had some justification in the facts.

Protestant effort among non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants can by no means be dismissed as a record of failure. The churches performed many services that no one else was able or willing to perform. despite their own prejudices they helped many immigrants to find acceptance in Canadian society, and they attracted an appreciable number into their own churches. Increasingly, however, they found it necessary to separate proselytism and service. Projects of the 1920's, such as that among Ukrainians at Insinger, Saskatchewan, were characterized by promises that the churches would not even seek to make converts.[27]

At once a menace and an unwitting candidate for missionary outreach, the immigrant was also a potential fellow-Canadian who would help to determine the future of the nation. As their active programmes of Canadianization attested, churchmen recognized from the beginning that ultimately they would have to come to terms with the immigrants. Those with strongly developed nationalistic sentiments, notably Methodists and Presbyterians,

were especially active in cultivating potential leaders among the immigrants

At first it was supposed that the influence would all be in one direction. The nation was to be welded together on the basis of British institutions and Protestant morality, and the task of the churches was to help the immigrant to appreciate the heritage that was his by adoption. The possibilities open to the degraded foreigner were described by Ralph Connor in unctuously patronizing terms. Kalman, the Slavic protagonist in The Foreigner, demonstrated his successful adaptation to Canada by becoming a Presbyterian and a successful capitalist and - all too typically of Connor - by marrying the daughter of a Scottish peer. "To those he met in the world of labour and of business he seemed hard. To his old friends on the ranch or at the mission, up through all the hardness there welled those springs that come from a heart kind, loyal and true.[28]

Behind the frequently vulgar manifestations was a philosophy of nationhood that suggests rather sinister overtones today but carried considerable conviction then. As William Magney has written, in words that could be applied to churchmen of several denominations, "To Methodists, the English language was simply one of the essential elements to any scheme for building a unified nation. Loyalty to national tradition, or provincial peculiarity was not the point; rather, it was loyalty to the high calling which God had given the English-speaking Anglo-Saxon race in Canada to build a new nation out of diverse materials which would be a model of Christian, albeit British, virtue and morality in all its institutions.[29]

Because national tradition was not the point, there was a possible opening to a vision of Canada to which immigrants might make their own distinctive contributions. The first signs of change appeared about 1912, when the terms "newcomer" and "stranger" began to replace "foreigner" and "immigrant" in Home Mission reports.[30] By 1915 a report contained the heading, "The New Canadian,"[31] a phrase that first appeared to my knowledge in

the title of a book published in 1907.[32] Gradually there emerged a pattern in church literature of noting in series the peculiar contributions that might be expected of each group. A home mission superintendent who boasted of his Scottish forebears before an Armenian audience and then urged his hearers to take the same pride in their own ancestors was symptomatic of an emerging vision of a multicultural Canada.[33]

By 1917, when the Congregationalist Dr. W.T. Gunn wrote His Dominion for an interdenominational committee, belief in racial equality and in the possibility of mutual enrichment was becoming a commonplace of official Protestantism. His suggestion that various ethnic groups "have something to contribute to our country"[34] was no longer original. Canadian WASP's had taken a long step in humility, however, when one of their number could write, "'We must lift them up or they will pull us down', had often made a striking close to an address on 'The Problem of the Immigrant' but what about the 'problem' of the speaker? What delicious and unconscious conceit of ourselves - we are all 'up'! What hasty lump condemnation - they are all 'down'! What Pharasaism there is in the mental picture.[35] Future books published under church auspices, such as W.G. Smith's Building the Nation in 1922, would continue the tradition established by Gunn. The concept of Canada as a mosaic (the word was first used by Victoria Hayward in 1922 in a travel book entitled Romantic Canada) would henceforth be the official line of the leading Protestant churches.

The cosmopolitan immigration of the early years of this century was an important factor in changing the image of Canada current among Canadian Protestants. Previously churchmen had made little distinction between Canadian greatness and British greatness, and they had thought of the normal Canadian as a church-going WASP of Victorian habits. Now Canada began to emerge as a new entity of varied colours True, many attitudes remained essentially unchanged until after the second world war. The old standards remained normative, the distinctive contributions

expected of new Canadians consisting of little more than peripheral elements like colourful national costumes and folk dances with little bodily contact. Nevertheless, a frame of reference had been set within which a new Canada could take shape.

It was not merely the fact of immigration, however, that produced the ideal of Canada as a multicultural mosaic. By their presence the newcomers compelled the adoption of some new attitude, but the actual categories in terms of which the new situation could be rationalized had to be imported or drawn from previous experience. In part they were imported. An international vogue for the rights of small nationalities probably had some effect, although Canadian churchmen were outgrowing their earlier patronizing tone to non-Anglo-Saxons several years before Woodrow Wilson's famous statement of war aims. The publication of the books of Gunn and Smith by the Canadian Council of Missionary Education suggests the possibility that thinking about overseas missionary policy may have had some influence on attitudes to members of other ethnic groups at home. But there was also a Canadian background. The recitals of contributions of various nationalities recall similar recitals of English, Scottish, Irish and French contributions in pro-confederate oratory[36] and subsequently in First of July speeches. Canadian multiculturalism is an extension of biculturalism.

Finally, how did immigration and the response to it affect the life of the churches themselves? In at least three areas its influence may have been significant.

1st. It almost certainly helped to crystallize vague suggestions of church union into a definite proposal for action. Although the flood of continental immigration was in its early stages in 1902, when union discussion formally began, it had already evoked some panic among church leaders. The Protestant programme of nation-building was faced with a crisis, and only a united, genuinely Canadian church seemed capable of meeting it. The hope expressed in the Basis of Union for the eventual emergence

of "a church truly national" had nothing to do with any hankering for establishment, a good deal to do with the hope of welding the varied peoples of Canada into a Christian nation.

2nd. Awareness of conditions under which immigrants lived gave a sharper edge to the church's social involvement. The social gospel would have been imported from the United States even if the immigrants had never come, but probably in more genteel form. It was in the immigrant quarters of the rising cities that Canadian Protestants had their eyes opened to the underside of capitalism, and it was among those who worked in these quarters that a more radical breed of social gospellers arose.

3rd. The effects of concentration on Canadianization as a central task of the church upon the theological outlook of Canadian Protestants deserve further study. This concentration was not the beginning of the trend that would make liberalism by the 1920's the dominant mood of Canadian Protestantism. It was rather one manifestation of a long process of involvement in nation-building by way of temperance campaigns, attacks on corruption in public life, and a long-continued resistance to allegedly divisive institutions such as separate schools. It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the effects of the crisis of identity that led Ralph Connor to equate good Christians with good Canadians. Despite all they have learned since, Canadian Protestants have still not completely outgrown a propensity to equate evangelism with propagation of the folkways of an earlier generation of WASPs.

FOOTNOTES

1. Canada and the Minority Churches of Eastern Europe (Halifax: The Book Room, 1959), 7.

2. J.H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto: Ryerson, 1946), 250.

3. Minutes of the 30th Synod of British Columbia, 1921, 19.

4. Wellington Bridgman, Breaking Prairie Sod (Toronto: Musson, 1920), 163.

5. E.D. McLaren, in Acts and Proceedings of the 36th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1910, appendix, 14.

6. Baptist Year Book, 1900, 47.

7. The Foreigner (Toronto: Westminster, 1909), 87.

8. Ibid., 24f.

9. Ibid., 255.

10. J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1909), ch. 19.

11. Ibid., 276.

12. Norman Macdonald, Canada Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903 (Aberdeen University Press, 1966).

13. W.G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration (Toronto: Ryerson, 1920).

14. Margaret E. Prang, "The Political Career of Newton Wesley Rowell," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1959, 95-102. I am indebted for this reference to William Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel", a class essay at the University of Toronto, 1968.

15. The Foreigner, 160.

16. Strangers Within Our Gates, 33.

17. Ibid. 19.

18. The Foreigner, 253.

19. Editorial in the Christian Guardian, April 22, 1908, 5.

20. Except where noted, I follow the account of this experiment in Michael Zuk, "The Ukrainian Protestant Missions in Canada", unpublished thesis in the Library of McGill University, 1957.

21. Strangers Within Our Gates, 307.

22. J.A. Carmichael, in Acts and Proceedings of the 34th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1908, appendix, 12.

23. Zuk thesis, 37.

24. Report of Home Mission Committee, Western Section, 1906-07, in Acts and Proceedings of the 33rd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1907, appendix, 7.

25. Acts and Proceedings of the 39th General Assembly, 1913, appendix, 7.

26. Zuk thesis, 62.

27. Ibid., 67.

28. The Foreigner, 373.

29. Magney essay, 114.

30. Acts and Proceedings of the 38th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1912, appendix, 11, 12.

31. Colin G Young, superintendent of missions for northern Saskatchewan, in Acts and Proceedings of the 41st General Assembly, 1915, appendix, 34.

32. Howard A. Kennedy, New Canada and the New Canadian (London and Toronto: Musson, 1907).

33. The incident is described by W.T. Gunn in His Dominion (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Missionary Education Movement, 1917), 205.

34. Ibid., 215.

35. Ibid., 202.

36. See, e.g., the speech of the Hon. Georges-Etienne Cartier before the Legislative Assembly of Canada on February 7, 1865. P.B. Waite, ed., The Confederation Debates in the Province of Canada, 1865 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 50f.

THE ROLE OF THE RELIGIOUS PRESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY, 1730-1830

by

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In 1830 the editor of a religious newspaper in New York declared with a rhetorical flourish that the Press was "the mightiest engine ever put in motion - the proudest of all human inventions." He was confident that it was an agent which would "never be succeeded by another equal power." Instead, it would "survive all the boasted pressures of steam, and the contrivances of men taken collectively." But best of all "the finishing touch" had now been put upon "this singular machinery." The "Union of the Pulpit with the Press" had been consummated.[1]

A fellow religious editor in Philadelphia revealed just what the achievement of this "Union" meant to most church leaders when he concluded a prideful review of the contemporary healthy state of the American religious press with the gasconade: "It is not wonderful that immoral persons who desire to continue such, and yet enjoy public confidence and influence; and that all the avowed enemies of Zion in these U[nited] S[tates] should begin to dread the power of the religious press."[2] It appeared to many, about 1830, that "by lay[ing] her hand upon the PRESS as well as upon the PULPIT" American Christianity had found "the lever of Archimedes... that which the heathen philosopher could not discover, the pou sto, from which she can move the world."[3] The churches believed that they had come upon the "power" that would assure their control of American culture.

The generating of this power had taken a century and its consummation had been achieved under great difficulty.

Nature of Growth Through 1830

Including pioneer beginnings dating back to 1730, a total of 574 distinct religious journals are known to have been founded in

America through 1830, involving in their several histories during this first full century of religious press activity the use of 822 titles.[4] Of the 574 distinct journals, only 14 were begun in the sixty years which preceded the official formation of the American nation in 1789. Then the first forty years of national life which followed evidenced remarkable acceleration in the activity of the religious press, the number of new religious journals founded to 1830 by decades being a moderately impressive 21 for the years 1790-1799; a definitely impressive 51 for the years 1800-1809; a somewhat startling 99 for the years 1810-1819; an amazing 346 for the years 1820-1829; and 43 in the year 1830 alone - a greater number than had come into existence in all of the years of activity prior to 1800.

The influence which this large body of religious journals exerted upon the development of American culture was conditioned by their rate of mortality. In summary view this rate appears to have been high. One quarter of the 574 distinct foundings lived months only, failing to complete even one full year of publication. A second quarter completed their first full year successfully, then discontinued, either abruptly or at best a few weeks or months later, failing to achieve a second full year of existence. A third quarter persisted to a more respectable life span of two to four years. Only one-quarter extended life to a fifth year or more. However, two determinants worked to make this mortality rate less harmful to the influence of the American religious press than surface impression would suggest. First, short life did not in itself preclude the possibility of a worthy contribution, for as the contemporary Spirit of the Pilgrims remarked upon noting the abbreviated existence of many religious journals:

> this no more proves that they were not extensively useful, than the death or removal of a minister proves that his labors...were of no value to his people, or to the church at large. A periodical publication may have a certain great work to perform; and when that is accomplished, it may peacefully and honorably repose.[5]

Certainly many of the two to four-year, and even some of the one-year, religious periodicals did just that. A second factor which

offset the seemingly high mortality rate was the truly surprising longevity of the quarter of religious journals that lived five years or more: 71 of these were published from 5 to 14 years; 45 from 15 to 99 years; and 27 an astonishing 100 to 160 years, 13 of these last still being in existence today.

This type of longevity brought a significant increase in the cumulative annual output of religious journals, especially after 1790. Whereas to that year the highest number enjoying simultaneous publication was 3, by 1800 this number had increased to 10, by 1810 to 16, by 1820 to 56, by 1830 to 139. A nation having so many religious journals in simultaneous publication could not fail to feel their impact for better or for worse.

This impact was made the greater by significant concurrent developments which took place with regard to periodicity and format of publication, preferred patterns of content, geographical decentralization of press activity, and increasing circulation.

Developments in periodicity and format complemented each other closely. Particular frequencies of publication became associated with particular folds of the printer's sheet, and the resulting combinations came to signify specific patterns of content. Up to 1815 very few religious journals were issued more often than monthly, preference shifting gradually during the period from quarterly and bimonthly to monthly issuance; but after 1815 preference swung so quickly to publication at greater frequencies that the count by periodicity in 1830 was 79 weeklies, 19 biweeklies, 76 monthlies, 6 bimonthlies, 6 quarterlies, and 3 journals without this established configuration of frequency. As with periodicity, so with format, a marked change in preference became evident about 1815. Up to this year the octavo fold was the assumed dress of the religious journal, other formats were straying fashions, but following this year larger sizes came into such demand that the count of religious journals in 1830 showed that 69 were folio, 20 quarto, 68 octavo, 19 duodecimo, 2 sextodecimo, and 11 octodecimo or smaller.

Prior to 1815 the tendency to publish less often than weekly, and in octavo format, had predisposed religious journalism to

somewhat stuffy magazine content, generally the lesser the frequency the heavier the fare.[6] About 1815 the joint turn to preference for weekly periodicity and folio format produced a new type of journal which ranged much farther afield in spheres of interest - the religious newspaper.[7] Editors of monthly religious octaves pleaded for retention of their more intellectualized "magazine" content and viewed the religious newspaper as a usurping panderer to public taste: its essay matter was theological veneer, its religious intelligence too terse to be truly informative, its secular summary and advertising were out and out concessions to the world. But their opposition was futile. Even the hard-bitten conductor of the Methodist Magazine had to admit in 1823: "A religious newspaper would have been a phenomenon not many years since; but now the groaning press throws them out in almost every direction."[8]

The rise of the religious newspaper brought about a further significant change in religious press activity - a decentralization of publication effort. Journals issued from the large eastern publication centers which had been monopolizing the output of the press could not adequately supply local news to isolated outlying areas of settlement. The solution to this problem was to publish regionally and gear circulation to an area within which it was possible to keep subscribers adequately informed of all important local happenings. Sufficient news of national import could be added to the accounts of local events by the simple expedient of reprinting selected articles from exchange papers received regularly from the main eastern centers of publication. Thus whereas to the founding of the nation in 1789, with but a single exception, all American religious journals issued from one of three metropolitan eastern centers - Philadelphia (including Germantown), Boston and New York; thereafter through 1830 religious magazines and newspapers were published in 195 other cities and towns located in every state east of the Mississippi River except Mississippi and, in addition, in Michigan Territory (Detroit) and Louisiana (New Orleans). Although many of these new towns and cities were unable to sustain the public-

ation of religious periodicals for more than a year or so, still in 1830 nearly 70 were active in this regard, 33 of these centers situated on the seaboard side of the eastern mountains, 34 west of the eastern mountain range. As a result nearly 60 per cent of all religious magazines and newspapers were being published outside the immediate metropolitan areas of East's three biggest cities, making decentralization of the religious press a thoroughly established mode of operation, with results which shall be observed in the final section of this presentation.

Whatever their numbers, the widespread distribution of their publication centers, and the diversity of their interests, the influence of early American religious journals depended in last analysis on the size of the reading public they could command. Their eighteenth-century reading public appears to have been very small. Judging from reported circulation figures, religious periodicals published before 1800 averaged fewer than 500 subscribers each. This meant that to the late 1790's their total quarterly to weekly circulation could not greatly have exceeded a peak of 5,000 within a national population of 5,000,000.[9] With the year 1800 the picture changed decidedly. The religious journal which reported fewer than 500 subscribers became relatively rare. Henceforth the trend was to individual subscription lists of 1,000 and upwards, to surprising figures. During the decade 1800-1809, 2 American religious journals are known to have achieved the patronage of 1,000 subscribers each; 3 of 2,000 to 2,500; 1 of 4,000; and 1 of 7,000. During the decade 1810-1819, the circulation of individual journals tended to level off at a 1,000 to 2,000 plateau, though that of some pressed on to a new height: 8 claimed a patronage of 1,000-1,900 subscribers; 2 of 2,000; 1 of 3,000; 1 of 4,000; and 3 of 10,000. The spectacular gains, however, came between 1820 and 1830, when the circulation of the individual journal levelled at an impressive 2,000 to 3,000 plateau, with that of some soaring toward astral figures for the day: 38 claimed a patronage of 1,000 to 1,800 subscribers; 12 of 2,000 to 2,900; 11 of 3,000 to 3,500; 3 of 4,000 to 4,700; 10 of 5,000 to 5,800; 2 of 6,000 to 7,000; 4 of 12,000 to 14,000, and 2 of 25,000.

The two publications acknowledging the last figure - the weekly Methodist Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald and the monthly inter-demoninational American National Preacher, both of New York City - were, in 1828 and 1829 respectively, circulating more copies of each of their issues than any other journalistic work in the world, magazine or newspaper, religious or secular. Their common 25,000 circulation figure was most closely approximated by two foreign religious monthlies published in London, England: the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, which claimed the patronage of 24,000 persons, and the Evangelical Magazine the patronage of 19,000.[10] The reported circulations of other foreign magazines ranged downwards from 12,000, most distributing far fewer copies per issue;[11] and neither the London Times nor the Berlin Gazette, the leading newspapers in Great Britain and the Continent, had yet exceeded an average distribution of 11,000 copies per issue.[12] No American secular journal is known to have fared even so well as this; none reporting a circulation at this time higher than 4,500, a figure only one-fifth that of the Christian Advocate and the American National Preacher, and considerably less than that of the 15 other American journals known to have had circulations ranging from 5,000 to 14,000 copies.

All factors considered, known circulation figures appear sufficiently representative to justify the conjecture that in the 1820's American religious journals attracted on the average about 2,000 subscribers each. This meant a regular quarterly to weekly, mostly monthly and weekly, circulation of about 400,000 papers, in a nation nearing 13,000,000 people.

But the reading public to which the early American religious press appealed was not limited to one person per paper. The average subscriber was the head of a family. This fact, a contemporary editor judged, increased the number of readers of each journal to "an average of five", at least in the case of the religious newspaper which carried reading matter that appealed to children as well as adults.[13] Further, in poverty-stricken areas, especially on the remote frontier, several families often shared the cost of subscribing to a single paper. From the beginning

as many as four immigrant families combined to subscribe to German-language papers in Pennsylvania.[14] On the eve of 1830 the publisher of the Indiana Religious Intelligencer spoke as if this practice was still commonplace in the West by remarking, without showing concern for the circulation of his own paper, that "in many instances two families...were...united in subscribing for it."[15] At the same time this practice was being extended ad infinitum into the outlying areas of New England. In 1823 a missionary-minded promoter of the religious press in Maine formed two "Newspaper Circuits" of 25 miles each and from a small village in Somerset County sent out 16 copies of the Boston Recorder (Congregational) and the Zion's Herald (Methodist Episcopal) along "8 lines". At the first stop a Congregationalist and a Methodist read each other's paper, then, on a Monday, each forwarded his paper to the next station on the circuit, until 200 families had been served, an average of 12 reading families per paper.[16] By the year 1830 this plan had crystallized into what was called a "Religious Newspaper and Tract Travelling System", and was described as a means by which "from 10 to 30 destitute families can be supplied with religious reading by one person."[17]

Circulation was extended by less planned means as well. In a widely printed "Dialogue on Newspapers", questioner "B" asked: "Do you take the newspapers, neighbour?"; and received from "A" the answer: "No, sir, I do not take them myself, but I now and then borrow one, just to read...."[18] This happened not only "now and then", but so regularly that one religious editor set out to study the behavior pattern of "the class of creatures, called Newspaper Borrowers" and submitted this report:

> ...We were astonished to find that they are not at all uncommon in their appearance --- and what is wonderful, they have no bristles on their backs, nor asses ears on their heads. We are told they generally come out before breakfast in the morning - watch an opportunity - dart into peoples's houses, shops and stores, and carry off the newspapers before the owner or his family have had an opportunity of reading it themselves. They are never seen near a printing office, but bore obliging neigh[bors] to death. - They are said particularly to prowl about banks, public offices, barber shops, etc.[19]

The editor of the Anti-Universalist, never lacking in direct speech, penned his prescription for such practices in a notice reading:

> BORROW THIS PAPER NO MORE. But subscribe for it like men, and wrong us not of our just due longer. If it is worth reading, it is worth taking; and shame on the niggardly soul that will borrow it when he can have it himself by paying for it but a dollar a year.[20]

But borrowers were neither possessed with shame nor dispossessed of the price of a subscription. They continued to be the bane of the publisher's existence.

The reading reach of the individual religious journal did not end with several families sharing a subscription, travelling over a lending circuit, or ubiquitous borrowing. It was often placed in a "Reading Room" where any who visited might read it. In 1829 the "Andover Reading Room" alone housed some 50 weekly and 20 monthly to quarterly religious journals, chiefly gift copies from editors.[21] Inns provided religious papers as a convenience to customers.[22] Even more significant in terms of wide outreach, an article or a piece of news appearing in one journal might be reprinted in so many others that it entered the homes of thousands more than the subscription list of the paper in which it first appeared would imply. Because of this the Boston Recorder, perhaps the most copied religious journal of its day, estimated in 1816 that although it had only 1,000 paying subscribers it was actually read by 50,000 people.[23] Copying of this sort was no clandestine religious practice. Secular editors poached materials from religious papers almost as freely as religious journals did from each other. As early as 1817 New England alone had some 20 to 30 country papers of a secular cast which gave space regularly to the printing of religious news.[24] Ten years later a Methodist editor in Philadelphia noted that secular papers were taking to the printing of moral essays as well as religious news, and remarked: "Political papers are beginning to act as moral monitors greatly to the advantage of the public. In several instances we have noticed articles correcting improprieties among even religious people..."[25] Finally, it was observed in 1830 that "many papers

professedly secular" were giving a "prominent place" to "all important" religious matter "except that which is of high revival character."[26] Since nearly all of the religious news and moral comment appearing in secular papers was extracted from religious journals, the net result was the furthering of the outreach of the religious press far beyond a point that can be accurately determined.

All facets of circulation considered, the conclusion becomes very clear. The estimated 400,000 regular subscribers to the American religious press about the year 1830 represented only a fraction of the actual public reached. Granting only that the average subscriber was the head of a family, the number of persons reached regularly would rise to 2,000,000 in a population of 13,000,000. Were it possible to compute the numbers of others touched by the customs of several families sharing the price of a subscription, the formation of lending circuits, open and covert borrowing, the founding of periodical reading rooms, and the reprinting of feature religious articles and religious news in the secular press, it might be found that 3,000,000 of 13,000,000 Americans were regular perusers of the religious press in 1830, about one of four of the population. This was a remarkable accomplishment considering that only thirty years before circulation had been limited to 5,000 subscribers in a population of 5,500,000, about one of every one thousand persons.

Some religious leaders sensed that they were standing on the threshold of the parousia and, like a correspondent of the Christian Advocate, predicted in 1827: "The time may come when every family will have a Bible, tract and a religious newspaper, lying together, near the sacred altar of their domestic peace; and that time will be very near the millenium glory of the church."[27]

Situation Giving Rise to Growth

What was the historical situation which prompted this amazing growth of the religious press in the early national period of American life?

Briefly stated, the religious press was a means deliberately chosen to accomplish a specific end. A crisis had developed in American religious life and nothing short of coopting the service of an instrument like the press seemed to offer a solution to the crisis.

Second and succeeding generations of American settlers had so lost religious interest that by the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776 only 5 per cent of the population of the colonies professed church attachment of any kind.[28] Developments of succeeding years to 1830 were to compound this religious problem greatly. Not only did population increase by leaps and bounds, but its manner of geographical distribution and its changing ethnic composition erected new obstacles to religious growth. The first official census of the new nation taken in 1790 showed that 5 per cent of a now 4,000,000 population had moved west across the eastern mountains into more or less wild frontier territory. So rapidly did this western movement continue that by 1830 a full 34 per cent of a tripled population of 13,000,000 was living in frontier regions ranging from the eastern mountains to the Mississippi, and some even beyond.[29] At the same time the center of population was thus moving steadily westward into undeveloped territories, the proportion of foreign-born settlers of new nationalities and races was making the country the melting pot of the world. Especially prominent in the new ethnic mosaic of 1830 were large numbers of Scotch, Irish and Germans; lesser but sizable numbers of Dutch, French and Swedish origin; and 2,300,000 negroes of whom 2,000,000 were slaves,[30] presaging a serious race problem.

Added to this erupting and increasingly diversifying population which was spreading out over 15 degrees of latitude and 30 degrees of longtitude, over 90 per cent unchurched, was another most disconcerting factor. Bringing to fruition a policy that had been developing throughout the colonial period, the constitution of the new American nation formed in 1789 declared for the principles of religious liberty and separation of church and state. Although the various states of the Union were permitted to determine the terms upon which these principles would operate, all

existing churches faced the disturbing prospect of having to use voluntary means to attain voluntary ends. They were forced to become disciplined communities of convinced Christians, self-governing, self-supporting, capable of perpetuating their witness only by means of evangelism of their own devising.

Existing resources seemed quite unequal to the task. Dearth of leadership was so great that as late as 1815 Eliphalet Pearson in an Address of the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry calculated that there were only 2,000 trained clergymen available to minister to a population of 8,500,000 persons. Assuming the minimum necessity of "one minister to a thousand souls" he estimated that 6,500,000 Americans were at this time devoid of a gospel ministry, with the great need being in the South where only 126 trained ministers were serving 2,000,000 people and in the West where only 116 were serving a continuously moving constituency of 1,000,000 adventurers. If the present trends persisted, he foresaw a country which would in 65 years have a population of 65,000,000 with 60,000,000 destitute of ministrations from an educated clergy.[31] In the face of such circumstances a contributor to the Panoplist saw the immediate danger to be barbarism, explaining his view succinctly in the paragraph of an article entitled "Retrograde Movement of National Character":

> The manner in which population is spreading over this continent has no parallel in history. The first settlers of every other country have been barbarians, whose habits and institutions were suited to a wild and wandering life. As their members multiplied, they have gradually become civilized and refined. The progress has been from ignorance to knowledge, from rudeness of savage life to the refinements of polished society. But in the settlement of North America the case is reversed. The tendency is from civilization to barbarism.[32]

As if dearth of leadership was not a sufficient handicap in itself in the attempt to meet the catapulting rise of barbarism among the brawling brats of the frontier regions, another formidable harassment had to be faced as well. Until the very eve of 1830 means of communication between the various parts of

country were unspeakably primitive by modern standards. There were no automobiles, railroads or airplanes; no telegraph, radio or television. The only means of contact on land was by walking, horseback or carriage. Transportation was less speedy than it had been for the emperor Tiberius in the first century of the Christian era. Roman roads permitted him to travel 200 miles in 24 hours; but in 1825 when President John Quincy Adams wished to make the trip from Washington, D.C., to his home in Boston he could average only 50 miles per day by stage.[33] This was along the eastern seacoast where roads were relatively good. The first highway to the West - the Cumberland Road planned to run from Baltimore(Maryland) to St. Louis(Missouri), was not begun until 1811, by 1815 could be used for travel for a distance of only 20 miles, by 1818 had barely been extended to Wheeling (West Virginia), and was not completed to St. Louis until about 1840.[34] Its bed was so cut through by the wheels of carriages and stages that passengers often had to get out to help push their conveyance through the rougher and muddier spots. If not this, progress was often slowed to near a snail's pace by fallen earth and rock which rolled down from new cuttings to clutter the road, or by washed embankments which so narrowed the road that two wagons could not pass each other at the spot.[35] There were, of course, a few ways of travelling or sending supplies and communications more rapidly. Especially important messages or very small parcels could be sent by Pony Express which, by means of establishing outposts at which horses were changed hourly, could average ten miles an hour;[36] but this type of service was not available for every day use by ordinary persons or groups. Water transport offered some improvement over travel by land, especially after 1810 when on the inland waterways the steamboat plodding five miles per hour upstream, but achieving greater speeds when going with the current, began to replace the crudely built floating barges that had been commonplace on the Ohio and Mississippi;[37] and after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, whereby the time of travel from New York City to Buffalo was reduced from 20 to 6 days.[38] On the other hand water travel was open only eight months of the year.

As for the railroads, the budding Baltimore and Ohio system had laid 13 miles of test track by 1830, over which "waggons" could be drawn by horses at the rate of 10 miles per hour "through one of the most romantic and beautiful countries ... every minute presenting something new to be admired by strangers on the road"; and this "without danger of fatigue" to passengers.[39]

It is small wonder that national leaders like John C. Calhoun, soon to be elected Vice President, viewed the contradictory features of vast national expansion and poor internal means of communication with great apprehension, remarking: "We are a rapidly - I was about to say a fearfully - growing country .... This is our pride and danger, our weakness and strength."[40] The best of minds, political and religious, were beginning to wonder if it were possible to hold so mobile and geographically expanding a population together in any form of governmental or moral order. Theorists were pointing back to the growth that had led to the fall of the city states of ancient Greece and were quoting from Plato's Laws the maxim: "A Republic must remain small enough numerically and compact enough territorially to permit a ready interchange of opinion throughout the citizen body."[41] Others were dooming the American democratic experiment to failure on the basis of Frederick of Prussia's derisive comment (1782) to the ambassador of the United States, that "a republican government had never been known to exist any length of time where the territory was not limited or concentrated."[42] Perhaps Montesquieu's judgment in his Spirit of Laws was right after all, viz.: "A large empire supposes a despotic authority in the person who governs. It is necessary that the prince's resolutions should supply the distances of the places they are sent to."[43]

Whatever the future might bring, American political and religious leaders knew that any present emergency measures taken had to be carried out within the framework of a democratic constitution. For church leaders specifically this meant work within the voluntary principle of church organization, and that they would have to devise new means of evangelism accordingly. Seeing the issue clearly, Lyman Beecher, Puritan New England's most dis-

tinguished preacher of the day, urged his fellow clergy "no longer to trust Providence and expect God will vindicate His cause while we neglect to use the appropriate means."[44] The pulpit and its preaching ministry was no longer adequate of itself to meet the present American religious emergency. Other means had to be chosen by deliberate human calculation to remedy the posture of religious affairs.

Press as Emergency Means of Evangelism

The press was the new emergency means which religious leaders deliberately chose to bolster an ailing pulpit. The calculated manner in which it was chosen for this purpose is quite clearly reflected in an editorial article appearing in the Christian Herald of 1823, which declared:

> The kingdom of God is a kingdom of means .... Preaching of the gospel is a Divine institution -- 'printing' is no less so .... They are kindred offices. The PULPIT AND THE PRESS are inseparably connected.... The Press, then, is to be regarded with a sacred veneration and supported with religious care. The press must be supported or the pulpit falls.[45]

The reasons for the choice of the press, above other means, to bolster the faltering pulpit were many; but basic to all of these was the high degree of literacy of the American people. The Revolutionary War had had the beneficial effect of arousing a general demand for popular training in free public schools of the sort that would raise up an educated electorate capable of participating fully in democratic self-government. As a result as early as 1793 so trustworthy a witness as Noah Webster noted that: "Most of the Citizens of America are not only acquainted with letters and able to read their native language; but they have a strong inclination to acquire, and property to purchase, the means of knowledge."[46] Foreign travellers of about this date were deeply impressed by the amount of reading they observed taking place in homes, inns and taverns; and often contrasted the "mental alertness" of the average American with the "stolidity of the ignorant masses" of their own countries.[47] William Cobbett, the

English political journalist, remarked with some surprise on an 1817 visit that he found every American farmer, unlike the European peasant, to be a reader.[48] So true was this that the reported rate of illiteracy of the white population of America in 1830 was a very low 3.77 per cent.[49]

Granted this high rate of literacy of the citizens of the new nation, the religious press offered many advantages as a means of evangelizing a widely-scattered people of whom over 90 per cent were unchurched. These advantages related particularly to the frequency with which periodical publications were issued, the timeliness and the regularity of their visitation, their low cost, the freedom and facility with which they could be circulated, and the adaptability of their content to every class and age of reader.

The advantage of frequency of publication was the warp and woof of all issues of the religious press, and became ever more real with the steady shift of emphasis from the quarterly to the monthly to the weekly interval of publication. When issued so frequently as this a periodical could visit an isolated parishioner many more times a year than the clergyman, ever short in supply and incessantly beleaguered with every manner of communication barrier. This frequency of publication also gave the periodical a decided edge over books as a medium of popular religious education. As the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine put the case of the book as opposed to the periodical as an educational medium: "Large publications are like large cannon, which are very necessary on some occasions; but small fugitive pieces are like small arms, which commonly do much greater execution."[50]

The frequency with which the periodical visited its subscribers still again implied the element of the timeliness of its treatment of the issues that were placing the churches in their present position of crisis. "Many important subjects," observed the Quarterly Christian Spectator, could be taken up "at the very moment when public inquiry is awake, and discussion is imperiously demanded";[51] and added the New Hampshire Observer:

> A word spoken in season often accomplishes more than a volume would a month afterwards. Good impressions are made, at a time they need to be made for action; and errors and falsehoods, are promptly exposed, before opportunity is given them to diffuse their poison through the system.[52]

One further major educational advantage accrued from frequency of publication. Issued regularly at quarterly to weekly intervals, the periodical introduced the needed factor of constancy into the educational process. It had all the power of repetition denoted in Edmund Burke's comment concerning the role that French newspapers had in inciting the French people to Revolution:

> The writers of these papers, indeed, for the greater part are either unknown or in contempt, but they are like a battery, in which the stroke of one ball produces no great effect, but the amount of repetition is decisive. Let us only suffer any person to tell us his story morning and evening, but for one twelve-month, and he will become our master.[53]

It was precisely this manner of thinking that brought the Christian Mirror of Portland, Me., into existence in 1822, its conductor giving as his reason for undertaking the venture: "All other modes of circulating intelligence, and making known the plans which are devised for the purpose of bringing the gospel to the destitute, are uncertain, tardy and inconstant."[54] He, like the earlier editor of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine recognized that:

> The best of men are extremely prone to forget and forsake the best of causes. Their zeal will cool, and their exertions abate, unless the proper means are incessantly employed to excite their compassion to the souls of men, and their sincere concern for the glory of God.[55]

It was becoming increasingly clear that this "proper means" was "the circulation of a religious paper which by presenting regularly before the minds of the people truths of the most interesting nature exerts a moral influence which is so imperceptible and silent in its progress that very few duly estimate the amount of good which it is suited to effect."[56]

The benefits of frequency, timeliness and regularity which were attributed to the periodical mode of publication scarcely

overshadowed the arguments of cost that could be mustered in its favor. Hardly a religious magazine or newspaper appeared through 1830 which did not speak of its "cheap rate", "little expense" or "moderate price." The scale of subscription rates ran all the way from 18 cents a year for the monthly duodecimo American Tract Magazine (begun 1824) to $3.00 a year for a large octavo journal issued in 64 to 72-page monthly numbers; but the normal-sized monthly magazine (32 to 48 octavo pages) and weekly folio newspaper (4 pages) cost $2.00 to $2.50 a year. The normal rates were so cheap that the Congregationally sponsored Vermont Chronicle which circulated as a folio at $2.00 a year claimed that its "quantity of printed matter" was "much more" than could "be obtained in any other way for the same price." To support this contention the publisher of the Chronicle argued that if the amount of printed matter that appeared in its 52 issues in one year were sold as a "London book" the cost would be $22.50 advance; if as a "Boston book", $10.60 advance; if as a secular periodical like the American Journal of Education, $9.00 advance; or, if as a tract of the American Tract Society, $2.28 advance.[57] Even the Panoplist which charged the highest price of $3.00 a year for its monthly 72-page issues of solid theological content declared itself to "be the cheapest of ... [its] ... kind according to the labor bestowed upon it, ever published originally or republished in this country." Its content was greater in quantity than that of the Edinburgh Review which sold in America for $5.00.[58] The purpose of underselling all other types of publication, even rival secular journals, was, of course, to make religious magazines and newspapers accessible and attractive to all income groups of the nation. Especially did editors wish to make their works available to the "millions who have not either money to purchase, or leisure to read large volumes";[59] to the "poor of our society";[60] to "those who are encountering the difficulty of new settlement";[61] and "to the middling and industrious classes of citizens."[62] And many were the suggestions made by publishers as to how these classes of persons could save the small amount of money needed to purchase a

religious journal. Each prospective subscriber was urged to take an inventory of the amounts he spent on "superfluities."[63] Each family "in the habit of drinking spirituous liquors every day" ought to "deny themselves a gill a day, and lay out the amount to purchase a newspaper."[64] The reading of a religious paper was held to be "a much more valuable, cheap, and pleasant diversion than that of chewing tobacco", for hereby one avoided the "sickening of the stomach ... weakening of the nerves ... dizziness of head" that accompanied the use of the habit-forming weed.[65] One might also save the price of a paper by foregoing a "meal of victuals ... every week";[66] or the use of "sugar in ... tea and coffee";[67] or the baking of the weekly "mince pie";[68] or the decoration of the wife and children's clothing with "ribands."[69] Nor should it be overlooked that a newspaper was "worth half its cost in wrapping paper, if it is not thought best to preserve it."[70]

The moderate price at which religious periodical publications could be purchased was made still more reasonable by the freedom and facility with which they could be distributed to subscribers. Immediately upon its formation in 1789, the American nation gave priority to the development of a postal system which could knit the wide-flung democratic politic into an organic unity. To this end the postal department in 1792 announced preferred rates for magazines and newspapers. Magazines were to be accepted for delivery wherever the size of the mails and conveyance permitted at the rate of 1¢ per sheet for 50 miles; 1 1/2¢ for 50 to 100-mile distances, and 2¢ for over 100 miles. Newspapers were given even better rates. They could be sent any place within the state of their origin or any distance outside this state up to 100 miles for 1¢; any distance over 100 miles for 1 1/2¢; and all editors were given the privilege of free exchange of their papers, without any postal charge. Both magazine and newspaper rates were far cheaper than the 4¢ per sheet required for the delivery of non-periodical literature for distances under 100 miles and the 6¢ per sheet for distances over 100 miles.[71]

The freedom and facility of circulation that came to exist under these special rates led the editor of the Christian Watchman

and Baptist Register to declare with real insight that "the extensive circulation of a well conducted religious newspaper is calculated to aid the whole system of christian charities, more immediately and more efficiently than fifty living agents, who would travel from place to place on the same errand."[72] Whereas adverse conditions of travel limited a stated pastor to a ministry within a small geographical area in which he could not influence more than 1,000 to 1,500 persons at the most, many of whom he might not see more than once or twice a year, a religious editor might "every week" address through the press "his five or ten or twenty thousands,"[73] perhaps even more. Therefore the Western Luminary concluded concerning the vocation of the religious editor: "We must be allowed to express the deliberate conviction that still higher and holier attainments could no where be more profitably employed."[74] By means of the press an editor could "preach the gospel to thousands whom his voice might perhaps never reach."[75]

This is exactly what the religious editor did. His paper or magazine was read regularly in many types of situations where there was no settled or travelling minister within scores of miles because of wilderness conditions. Lonely families or groups of neighbors separated from all official church connection read the religious paper together on the Sabbath.[76] "Poor" or "destitute" congregations officially organized as churches, but unable to support a regular pastor, appointed members to read sermons and devotional pieces at Sunday worship except for the infrequent occasion when a visiting minister was passing through.[77] The religious journal was put to a similar use at the regional conferences of various church groups. To avoid the waste of time and expense of sending executive officers or other representatives from metropolitan centers to distant outlying areas where such conferences were being held, church executives prepared certified reports for publication in recognized papers with instructions that these be read before the conference.[78] In view of such practice it is not surprising that the Charleston Union Presbytery said of its official periodical organ, the Charleston Observer, that "it has been more efficiently useful than a much larger amount

of capital and labor employed in promoting any other benevolent object."[79] The facility with which it could be distributed made it an invaluable asset to the Presbytery's work.

A final major advantage of publishing in periodical issues remains to be mentioned. It was possible to provide a content sufficient in variety to appeal to every class and age of reader. As George Washington had said, magazines and newspapers were essentially "easy vehicles of knowledge."[80] Because of limitations of space their content had to be characterized by brevity. Thus in the relatively few pages of each issue the editor had to reduce "the ponderous tomes of antiquity ... to their elements in the modern literary laboratory."[81] Hereby was provided light reading which in its great variety was adaptable to nearly every conceivable occupational situation. Issues of magazines and newspapers could be read easily "during a rainy day", or on "a long evening", or "sometimes while waiting for meals."[82] Consequently they were well adapted to meet the reading needs of "the great body of the people, in any community" who "could not from the nature of their occupations, be expected to read voluminous writings";[83] especially "the man of business, released from the cares and tumults of the day" and "the husbandman and mechanic resting from their toils".[84] On the other hand they could also be made to appeal to more select audiences, if necessary, like the Christian Spectator which was "taken by most of the Literary and Theological Institutions in the country"[85] and gained a reputation at home and in England "such as no similar theological work in its day";[86] or the Boston Telegraph which believed its objects "alike deserving of the Statesman, the Scholar, and the Christian";[87] or the Spirit of the Pilgrims which designed its content to meet the needs of "the Orthodox clergy and the more intelligent part of the laity" and did "not expect" or "desire" a "general circulation."[88]

Just as the periodical publication held appeal to all classes of readers, so too could it attract all ages of readers. It was basically a "family" visitor containing a compendium of religious instruction for grandparents, parents, youth and small children. Special point was made that it was "peculiarly fitted to excite the

attention of the young" and of great value in awakening their attention to reading.[89] Religious editors were so convinced of this that they printed again and again a piece which first appeared in the Long Island Star:

> A child beginning to read becomes delighted with a newspaper, because he reads of names and things which are familiar; and he will make a progress accordingly. A newspaper in one year is worth a quarter's schooling, to a child, and every father must consider that substantial information is connected with this advancement.[90]

In fact the educational value of religious magazines and newspapers in teaching children to read was so widely accepted that they were officially introduced into public schools in parts of New England and in New York state in the 1820's, it being hoped that the moral instruction in the reading matter would have beneficial effect upon the child; but advocates of the principle of separation of church and state were quick to point out the contradiction between this practice and the intention of the American constitution, and in time gained court decisions against it.[91]

Such reverses were, however, less setbacks than conclusive testimony that religious magazines and newspapers were being recognized as what they really were - powerful mediums of religious education. Their advantages of frequency, timeliness and regularity of visitation, low cost, freedom and facility of circulation, and adaptability in content to every class and age of reader had made them forces to be praised as heralds of the millenium or dreaded as enslavers of the human mind, according to the uses to which they were put.

Press as Agent of Socialization

Whether their influence was welcomed or feared, religious magazines and newspapers performed their primary function with telling effect.

By facilitating communication between isolated groups they set in motion the process of socialization by which detached congregations of wide dispersion were drawn together and organized

into state, regional or national bodies, sharing in these unions common activities, sentiments and beliefs. The main types of bodies in which religiously committed persons thus began to act in concert in America were essentially four: (1) the theological party; (2) the denomination; (3) the schismatic protest against tightening denominational organization; and (4) the voluntary benevolent, or human service, association.[92]

The theological party, as here considered, was a religious group sharing a common creed, confession of faith or set of doctrinal ideas, but having no definite organizational structure. When the first American religious journals were founded in the early eighteenth century there were basically five such parties seeking to make converts to their views: (1) Calvinist, (2) Arminian, (3) Liberal, (4) Sacramental, and (5) New Testament Primitivists. Calvinism was the common foundation upon which Congregationalists, Presbyterians, the Reformed and the Baptists set their beliefs. Arminianism was the nurturing root of Methodism. Liberal theology was the wellspring of freethinking movements ranging from Unitarianism and Universalism to Deism and Scepticism. Sacramentalism was the priming force behind Anglicanism, Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism. New Testament Primitivism was the essential ingredient of the belief of numerous smaller groups beginning with the older off-shoots of the Reformation like the German Pietist and the Friends' conventicles in Pennsylvania and proceeding on to the rising newer "far out" groups like the Christian Connection, Disciples, Halcyonites, New Jerusalem Church and various wayward Baptist offshoots. Yet, despite this potential for specialization, of the 35 distinct religious journals issued in America to the year 1800 only two gave explicit evidence in their title or opening address of an intended denominational purpose - the Free Universal Magazine (1793-1794, Universalist) and the Methodist Magazine (1797-1798). All others, save perhaps the Arminian Magazine (1789-1790), which could be inferred to be Methodist, concealed their specific attachments in quite general discussion of the merits of existing theological systems or in

publication under highly noncommittal titles. German language journals took such broadly-conceived names as Geistliche Fama (1730-1731) or Geistliches Magazien (1764-1771 or later); English-language journals equally avoided indications of specific group affiliation by choosing to publish under such detached titles as General Magazine and Historical Chronicle (1741), Royal Spiritual Magazine (1771), Christian's, Scholar's, and Farmer's Magazine (1789-1791), Theological Magazine (1795-1799), United States Christian Magazine (1795-1796), Christian's Monitor (1798-1799), Religious Monitor (1799), etc.[93] The emphasis in this period was consistently upon gaining union of exertion by common theological orientation, particularly to Calvinism in one of its current Edwardsean, Hopkinsian, Emmonite, New Haven, or Princetonian variants; but also to Arminianism, Liberalism, Sacramentalism and Primitive Christianity in that general order of stress.

Slowly after 1800, then abruptly after 1810, the religious press shifted its interest from the promotion of the causes of theological parties to the advancement of types of union that could bring more immediate practical results. Chief among these more practical types of union was the denomination. It was a group organized in definite structured form. Its members shared not only common theological beliefs, but also common practical aims and activities and submitted themselves to fixed patterns of governmental control. The local congregation looked to the minister for authority, the minister to regional authorities, and regional authorities to national authorities, according to the structural form of the particular group. This more structured type of organization was much better adapted to meet the religious crisis at hand than was the loosely-knit theological party held together only by the association of common ideas. Theological discussion continued to compose a considerable portion of the content of every sort of religious periodical publication, but, from this time on, more strictly within the confines set by the polity, worship and practice of the particular denominational group. So rapidly did this fever of specialization of organization take hold

that whereas to 1800 only two American religious journals had declared openly their specific denominational attachments, well over half of those published simultaneously in the year 1830, 110 of 189, openly avowed denominational affiliation, either by title or by editorial declaration, while a number of others were so close to being denominational organs that to all intents and purposes they furthered the trend in that direction. A breakdown of this 1830 denominational output by specific groups provides an excellent index of the relative strengths that various denominations had gained by that year through the use of the press in conjunction with the pulpit. The Presbyterian and Reformed constellation of journals led all others in numbers, there being 28, all main line Presbyterian except 2 which were Reformed Dutch and 1 which was German Reformed. Of the other strictly denominational journals of this year 13 were Baptist; 11 Universalist; 11 Congregational; 10 Roman Catholic; 7 each of Disciples of Christ and Methodist persuasion; 6 Protestant Episcopal; 4 Unitarian; 3 each of Christian Connection and Lutheran Church; 2 each of Free Thought and Friends attachment; and one each devoted to the causes of the Moravians, the New Jerusalem Church and the United Brethren. In addition between the years 1800 and 1830 the Dunkers, the Halcyon Church and Judaism had published one or more periodicals to promote their views, though none had lived into the year 1830. In short the five main theological parties that had existed at the turn of the century had with the assistance of the religious press fragmented into structured denominational groups which mirrored not only the basis tenets of these main theological parties, but most of their deviant offshoots. Further there was no mincing of opinion on the part of editors as to the responsibility of church members in subscribing to their denominational papers. Said the Presbyterian Evangelical Guardian and Review of that body's periodical publications: "No others ought to be encouraged by her members than those which accord with her faith and practice."[94] The Protestant Episcopal Church Register was nearly as emphatic in advising strongly: "Let the members of our Church, first support their own

periodical press, and then, if they please, patronize others."[95] Editors of other denominational papers were no less outspoken in this regard.

The third major type of body into which the religious press drew isolated groups into concerted action was the schismatic protest against the ever-tightening denominational noose. The schism in its completed form was a type of division or separation from an established denomination; a breach of unity among people of the same basic theological faith caused sometimes by disagreement on fine points of doctrine but more commonly by differences of opinion rooted in concepts of polity, worship, race, language, nationality, politics, the conduct of revivals and other practical concerns. The leadership of persons possessing unusual charismatic gifts was also usually involved. These persons customarily turned to the religious press to gain a wider hearing, became editors of works which rallied followers to the cause, then within a very few years led the new group into a structural organization which differed only in kind, hardly in purpose, from that of the parent body from which the break had been made. Seven of the major denominations were rent by schisms of this sort through 1830. The first to suffer in this manner, in point of time, were the Presbyterians who had to contend with schismatic works founded by Associate Reformed Presbyterian (1806), Reformed Presbyterian (1822), Associate Presbyterian (1824, after an insignificant previous attempt in 1798) and Cumberland Presbyterian (1830) groups, although all but the last were really groups of European origin which had brought their differences of belief to America to propagate. The next denomination to be so jolted was the Baptist which had to face the founding of journals of Free-Will (1811), Seventh-Day (1821), Primitive Anti-Missionary (1824), and Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit (1829) schisms. This Baptist ordeal was followed by that of the Episcopalians who were confronted with the bevy of "Evangelical" magazines and newspapers (1812) which led eventually to the formation of the Reformed Episcopal Church; and by that of the Universalists who entered into a heated journalistic controversy

over salvation (1820) that led to the Restorationist split. At this point Methodist schismatic journalism entered the scene to vie with the Presbyterians and Baptists for highest honors, Methodist Protestant dissent receiving first attention (1821), then the Stillwellite Methodist (1825), then the Reformed Methodist (1827). Not surprisingly in such an atmosphere the Roman Catholics were also harassed by dissident voices of Irish-American (1810), Hoganite (1812), and Cuban-American (1824) papers. Even the seemingly docile Friends were rent by a journalistic war conducted by the Hicksites (1824). Most significantly, except in instances of the Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal and Roman Catholic schisms which were imported from Europe, the founding of the periodicals supporting these various schismatic protests preceded by months or years the withdrawal of the groups from their parent organizations, and were the chief vehicles of propaganda that led to eventual separations and the formation of what were really new denominational structures. In 1830 there were 18 journals devoting full attention to promoting one or more of the schisms above-named, the great majority founded after 1815.

By way of welcome relief the fourth and final main type of body into which the religious press tried to draw widely-dispersed people for united action was the voluntary benevolent, or human service, association. Made to order for a country in which the voluntary principle was a constitutional necessity in religious life, it was a type of religious organization in which religious persons of all persuasions could unite for the performance of definite tasks. Questions of doctrinal differences were waived or reduced to fundamental agreements which concerned the idealism of the Christian faith. The theological interest yielded to the practical and the service concept replaced the doctrinal concept. Thus support could cut in one grand sweep across the lines of theological parties, denominations and schismatic protests against denominationalism. About 1800 the religious press turned in earnest to the support of special causes sponsored by this type of voluntary association. In the order in which periodicals were

founded to support them, these causes were those of church music (1800, with one previous attempt in 1785), prison reform (1800), the tract movement (1806), women's rights (1806), the peace movement (1815), the Sunday School movement (1816), the Bible Society movement (1818), the anti-slavery cause (1819, including both abolitionist and colonizationist solutions), anti-missionism (1820), freemasonry (1820, pro and con), the seaman's movement (1821), "free meetings" agitation (1826), and the temperance movement (1828). In the year 1830 the number of journals in simultaneous publication devoted primarily to these various special interests were 57. These and their predecessors were the magazines and newspapers which established the national sentiment for the founding of the benevolent empire of the great "American" religious societies and then became their official organs. The societies of this description which had religious journals devoted primarily to their causes through 1830 were, in order of the date of the society's founding: the American Education Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Colonization Society (1817), the American Society for Ameliorating the Condition of the Jews (1822), the American Tract Society (1823), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Seamen's Friend Society (1826), the American Temperance Society (1826), the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery (1828), and the American Peace Society (1828). Except for the case of the Colonization Society the journals advocating each of these causes were founded either before, or at the time of, the establishment of the society, with such great effect that Christian Examiner in commenting in 1829 on the weight of authority of the printed page of the religious periodical said:

> So extensive have coalitions become ... and so various and rapid are the means of communication, that when a few leaders have agreed upon an object, an impulse may be given in a month to the whole country. Whole states may be deluged with tracts and other publications, and a voice like many waters be called forth from immense and widely separated multitudes. Here is a new power brought to bear on society, and it is a great moral question, how it ought to be viewed, and what duties it imposes.[96]

The special causes above-mentioned as getting nation-wide attention through the religious press were only those benevolent movements supported by religious journals given more or less exclusively to their promotion. In addition scores of other special humanitarian causes were supported, almost from beginning of American religious journalism, without having any journal established solely to promote them until some time after 1830. Most editors of denominational and schismatic journals, as well as of journals devoted more exclusively to the special causes already mentioned, showed great solicitude for the care of the blind, the deaf, the dumb, the insane, the indebted, the pauperized, the orphaned, the widowed, the sick, and nearly all the other helpless wards of society for whose welfare voluntary national benevolent associations were also eventually to be founded. The same editors advocated more general moral reform with real passion, centering attention upon such questions as the propriety of attending teas, balls, masquerades, circuses or the theatre; upon the folly of fashion in women's dress and mourning apparel; upon the evils of gaming in its various expressions of card-playing, betting, horseracing and lotteries; upon the dangers of reading novels and risque poetry; and upon the intemperate use of profanity, snuff, spirituous liquors and tobacco. Social reform was by no means overlooked: civil and religious rights were strongly defended, especially separation of church and state, religious liberty, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of press; much consideration was given to the social and economic injustices inflicted upon the Indian, the Negro, the newly-arrived immigrant, and women; and despite growing national isolation there was real concern for establishment of some type of organization capable of enforcing a code of international justice. Less commendable, but adding substantially to the diversity of the special interests promoted in denominational and schismatic journals, were the various "anti" movements. In addition to the Anti-Mission and Anti-Masonic causes already mentioned as having journals devoted primarily to their causes, were the Anti-Catholic, Anti-Education, Anti-Free Thought, Anti-Priestcraft, Anti-Protestant, Anti-Revival, Anti-Unitarian and Anti-Universalist movements.

Conclusion

This is perhaps the place to leap to an abrupt conclusion of special significance to the historian. The degree of specialization of the American religious press during the first hundred years of its existence, which ended in 1830, makes it a coefficient of the religious mind of the day. It furnishes us with as near a complete index of the state of religious affairs of the time as we are ever likely to have, and furnishes us with our most accurate insight into the emotional instability of American religious life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century.

It provides this insight not only because of the completeness of its index of the religious happenings of the time, but also because of two additional features of the content of religious magazines and newspapers: (1) contemporaneity and (2) continuity. With regard to the contemporaneity of their content, because of their publication at frequent and regular intervals they were able, as the Long Island Star noted, "to catch the manners living as they arise";[97] or as the Latter-Day Luminary preferred to put it: "Like the painters of Montezuma they portray and transmit character and events as they daily occur."[98] With regard to the continuity of their content, as the Christian Register said, they were "a perpetual cyclopedia in endless numbers, ever various and new."[99] In these endless numbers, published contemporary to the events themselves, we are provided with a mirror which reflects the whole of the developing life of the day. This "view of the facts" mirrored in early American religious journals "may be and generally is, distorted by denominational and factional bias", but at the same time "their unconscious portrayal of the social background and their naive revelation of contemporary religious attitudes are unerring in their fidelity."[100] We find in the accounts of the events as they happen, a "constantly ... transforming energy upon mankind, beneath which society appears to be assuming new forms, and new human life .. novel ... and distinctive."[101] In brief we may say, as did the editor of the Christian Watchman in 1827: "Whether it be the periodical press that forms the public taste, or the public taste that controls the

periodical press, they have been admirably adapted to each other;"[102] for this instrument of culture both "reflects, as a mirror, and modifies, as an agent, the public sentiment."[103]

Here we have an unusually diversified type of source material for the interpretation of early American religious history. Yet how little religious magazines and newspapers have been used up to now in the writing of this history! This means surely that early American religious history is going to have to be rewritten, in part at least, in keeping with the insights to the present locked in this vast body of unused information.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Christian Intelligencer, I (August 7, 1830), 2.

[2]Philadelphian, VI (January 15, 1830), 10, italics mine.

[3]Western Luminary, IV (July 4, 1827), 1, which gave credit to the American Sunday-School Magazine.

[4]Another 115 titles were proposed for publication during this period, but apparently never actually published. For the list of titles and tables from which these and any later undocumented figures of this section are taken, see G.P. Albaugh "A History and Bibliography of American Religious Periodicals and Newspapers, 1730-1830, with Library Locations," scheduled for publication in 1970.

Literal historians date the beginnings of American religious journalism with the appearance of the weekly Christian History in Boston on March 5, 1743; but it is a mistake to exclude from consideration an earlier false start of 1730 and semi-religious beginnings of the years 1739 and 1741. In 1730 a small magazine entitled Geistliche Fama appeared, indicating in its imprint only that it was "compiled and put to press" in "Philadelphia". Its content allowed it to pass as a product of the German Pietist community settled at Germantown on the outskirts of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Succeeding numbers through 1731 continued to carry the "Philadelphia" imprint and gave attention to "Pennsylvania Christianity", but in later issues the imprints either gave no place of publication or named a place strange to the American scene - "Sarden" in 1732 &1733, "Laodicea" in 1736. No issue revealed the identity of the person immediately responsible for conducting the work, though the printer has since been identified as Johann Conrad Dippel of Büdingen, Germany. Apparently he felt that use of the New Testament imagery of the "seven churches of Asia" (Revelation, chapters i-iii) in designating the places of printing of his magazine would attract the patronage of German-American Pietists, especially those clustered about Philadelphia in Pennsylvania. His surreptitious journalistic effort deserves recognition both for its intent and for what it adds to our understanding of the religious life of colonial Pennsylvania.

This false start was followed by two semi-religious beginnings which merit consideration on silimar counts: Christoph Saur's Hoch=Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht=Schreiber, Oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur=und Kirchen=Reich (Germantown, Pa., 1739-1745) and Benjamin Franklin's monthly General Magazine, and Historical Chronicle for all British Plantations in America (Philadelphia, 1741). The former gave in its subtitle a forthright declaration of religious intention, but ultimately, through changes of name and format which extended its life to 1778, it became increasingly secular in purpose.

The other, though ostensibly planned to be general in its scope, gave so much space to reports of the First Great Awakening - close to half of its content - that it can scarcely be excluded from a list of American religious journals.

[5]I (January, 1828), 4.

[6]When issued quarterly the religious octavo was composed of five to ten sheets (80-160 pages) and was devoted chiefly to the printing of erudite doctrinal essays, labored reviews and sermons, lengthy historical sketches of churches and associated institutions, and detailed pious biography; only a sprinkling of chaste anecdotes and poetry and tidbit notices of philosophical, literary, agricultural and scientific happenings forestalled complete capitulation to solemnity. When the religious octavo proceeded from quarterly to bimonthly and monthly publication the number of sheets used for the printing of each issue was scaled down to fit the greater periodicity, customarily to two or three (32 to 48 pages), though sometimes as many as four (64 pages) were used; and the ponderosity of quarterly content was relieved by giving regular space, in increasing amounts up to half of each issue, to "religious intelligence" - the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century term for current religious news in the form of proceedings of national and regional ecclesiastical bodies, accounts of the activities of their ancillary missionary and benevolent societies, educational summary designed to highlight the needs of colleges and theological seminaries, reports of revivals in progress or only recently terminated and a great variety of paragraph notices relating to ordinations, installations, dedications, baptisms, consecrations, deaths of outstanding ministers or laymen, and scores of kindred religious events. A journal published less often than weekly in a format smaller than octavo was usually one intended to cater to the simpler reading tastes of children, right down to the tiny tots.

[7]Published weekly on a single sheet first in standard folio size, later in elephant and atlas sizes as well, the content of each of its four-page issues became fairly set in arrangement. The first page was devoted to the printing of sermons and essays on Christian doctrines and duties, sometimes so long that they had to be continued from issue to issue. The second page was given about half to more essay matter, and half to editorial comment, either upon religious questions of the day or upon correspondence received since publication of the last number. The third page was composed in varying amounts from week to week of religious intelligence akin to that printed in the octavo monthly, but more pithy; capsule secular summary giving special attention to latest foreign news, congressional and local legislative proceedings, election data, marine arrivals, bank notices, current prices,

agricultural reports, natural catastrophes such as storms and fires, marriage and death records, etc.; and a modicum of general advertising. The fourth page carried spill-over from the first three; miscellany often departmentalized as "Literary", "Philosophical", "Moral", "Educational", "Family", "Ladies", "Youth", "Poetry", etc.; and additional bits of advertising, most commonly literary announcements relating to the sale of religious books or the conditions for attending various private schools. Any deviations from this basic arrangement of content was likely to be in the direction of the condensation of essay matter and miscellany so that more space could be given to editorial comment, religious news, secular summary or advertising, in that order of preference.

[8]VI (1823), 6.

[9]For reported circulations of individual religious journals for all years through 1830 see Albaugh, op.cit., Appendix II, Table 9. For population statistics see United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945 (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1949), pp. 25ff; hereafter cited as USBC, 1789-1945.

[10]Religious Herald, II (January 9, 1829), 3.

[11]Ibid., which also cited the circulation of seven other British religious journals giving that of the Quarterly Review as 12,000; of the Edinburgh Review as 10,300; of the Missionary Register as 9,500; of Blackwood's Magazine as 7,000, of the London Monthly as 4,200; of the Christian Observer as 3,000; and of the Westminster Review as 1,805.

[12]The History of the Times (London:Times Publishing Co., 1935-1952), I, 245, gives the number of the copies of the Times distributed in 1830 as 3,409,986; thus its daily distribution, calculated by excluding Sunday as a day of publication, would average 11,000. The Eclectic Recorder, I (October 19, 1827), 70, reported the circulation of the Berlin Gazette as 11,000.

[13]Boston Recorder, XIII (April 4, 1828), 54.

[14]James Owen Knauss, Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America. (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XXIX; Lancaster, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1922), p. 23.

[15]I (May 1, 1829), 167-168.

[16]Boston Recorder, XIII (April 4, 1828), 54.

[17]Ibid., XV (May 19, 1830), 76.

[18]Christian Watchman, XI (April 30, 1830), 72.

[19]Freedom's Journal, II (January 2, 1829), 310. He might also have added to the Post Office as a place of prowling, for what happened there could be equally exasperating, as the publisher of the Regular Baptist Miscellany of Zanesville, Ohio, explained in the complaint (I, August, 1830, 107):

> It is not unfrequently the case, that after the arrival of newspapers and periodicals at their destined office, the neighbors will flock in, who never subscribe for a paper, and the good natured postmaster will suffer them to gather all the news they can from the papers and periodicals in the office, at the expense of the subscribers, and then throw the paper into the most convenient place, and when the subscriber calls, his paper is not to be found, and the postmaster will sooner suffer an editor to be blamed, and that, too, in his presence than to acknowledge that he has unlawfully permitted his neighbor to read the periodical, and that he knows not what he has done with it ... Sometimes the postmaster himself throws it aside after reading it, where he cannot readily find it when called for ....

[20]IV (August 5, 1829), 7.

[21]Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, X (January 3, 1829), 107.

[22]Watchman and Christian Repository, X (August 22, 1829), 67, where the editor reports finding a copy of his paper at an Inn.

[23]Specimen copy of a proposed octavo edition, undated but probably issued November, 1816. The regular edition in publication was folio.

[24]Boston Recorder, II (April 1, 1817), 55.

[25]Religious Messenger of the Philadelphia Conference, I (November 30, 1826), 191.

[26]New England Christian Herald, II (December 29, 1830), 52.

[27]Western Luminary, III (May 30, 1827), 382, which gave credit to the Christian Advocate.

[28]Franklin H. Littell, From State Church to Pluralism (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Book, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1962), p. 32.

[29]USBC, 1789-1945, pp. 25ff.

[30]Ibid.

[31]John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 13-14.

[32]XIV (1818), 212-213.

[33]Ralph V. Harlow, The Growth of the United States (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 1932), p. 313.

[34]Ibid. See also Eugene C. Barker, et al., The Building of Our Nation (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1941), pp. 327-329; and Homer C. Hockett, Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1492-1865 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), p. 338.

[35]John B. McMaster, A History of the People of the United States (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1900), V, 149.

[36]Frank L. Mott, American Journalism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), pp. 193-194.

[37]Harlow, op. cit., p. 314.

[38]Barker, op. cit., p. 367.

[39]Miscellaneous Repository, III (May 29, 1830), 367, quoting from the Niles' Register.

[40]Albert B. Hart, Formation of the Union, 1750-1829 (New York: Longmans Green & Co., 1926), p. 248.

[41]Plato, The Dialogues of Plato, trans. B. Jowett (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., 1873), IV, 262f.

[42]Hart, op. cit., p. 110.

[43]Charles L. Montesquieu, The Spirit of Laws, trans. Thomas Nugent (new ed., rev.; London: G. Bell & Sons, 1900-1902), Bk. VIII, chap. 19.

[44]Sidney E. Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor 1786-1858: A Connecticut Liberal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 76.

[45]X (May 17, 1823), 1.

[46]Mott, op. cit., p. 158.

[47]Charles E. Beard and Mary R. Beard, A Basic History of the United States (Philadelphia: Blakiston Company, 1944), p. 64.

[48]Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought (2d ed.; New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1951), p. 232.

[49]Ibid., p. 317.

[50]I (May, 1803), 3-4.

[51]Third Series, I (1829), 236.

[52]XII (January 6, 1830), 4.

[53]Edmund Burke, The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke (rev. ed.; Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1886), IV, 328.

[54]Prospectus Number (July 13, 1822), p. 1.

[55]I (1803-04), 4.

[56]Religious Monitor, IV (September, 1827), 176.

[57]Charleston Observer, II (January 12, 1828), 8.

[58]Panoplist, IX (1813), 48.

[59]Repository of Knowledge (April 15, 1801), inside back cover.

[60]Gospel Luminary, New Series II (December 10, 1828), 1, announcing the purpose of a new periodical, the Christian Repository.

[61]Indiana Religious Intelligencer, I (May 1, 1829), 167-168.

[62]Temple of Reason, I (April 22, 1801), 119.

[63]Christian Advocate, I (September 9, 1826), 4.

[64]Philadelphian, III (January 26, 1827), 15.

[65]Western Luminary, IV (April 2, 1828), 313.

[66]Vermont Chronicle, V (October 29, 1830), 173.

[67]Ibid., III (November 21, 1828), 185.

[68]Western Sabbath School Messenger, I (June 1, 1830), 44.

[69]Vermont Chronicle, III (November 21, 1828), 185.

[70]Western Monitor, VII (June 19, 1821), 1.

[71]For more detailed data on postal rates see S.N.D. North, "History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States, with a Catalogue of the Publications of the Census Year 1880," Tenth Census of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), VIII, 139; also Mott, op. cit., p. 16.

[72]New Series, I (April 22, 1820), 3.

[73]Christian Journal, I (November 27, 1829), 206.

[74]VI (January 20, 1830), 109.

[75]Virginia and North Carolina Presbyterian Preacher, I (1828), preface, v-vii.

[76]For the example of family reading see Religious Intelligencer, I (March 30, 1817), 704. For examples of reading at gatherings of neighbors see Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, I (April, 1801), 393; Gospel Visitant, I (1811-1812), "To the Agents and Patrons"; and Trumpet and Universalist Magazine, I (June 27, 1829), 205.

[77]Baptist Preacher, I (1827-1828), preface; also Methodist Preacher, I (1830), preface.

[78]For examples of such reading see Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, I (October, 1800), 124; Utica Christian Magazine, I (July, 1813), ii; and Missionary Herald, XXIII (January, 1823), 11-12.

[79]Christian Journal, II (1829), 2.

[80]Lyon N. Richardson, A History of Early American Magazines, 1741-1789 (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931), p. 1.

[81]American Sunday School Magazine, IV (May, 1827), 130.

[82]Zion's Advocate, II (December 4, 1829), 28.

[83]Presbyterian Magazine, I (January, 1821), 3.

[84]Christian Disciple, II (1814), prospectus, v.

[85]V (1823), preface.

[86]VII (January, 1825), inside cover.

[87]I (January 1, 1824), 1.

[88]III (December, 1830), inside front cover.

[89]Panoplist, X (1814), 1.

[90]For examples of reprintings by religious editors see Journal of Humanity, I (November 25, 1829), 108; Zion's Advocate, II (December 24, 1829), 28; Western Luminary, VI (January 27, 1830), 113; and Vermont Telegraph, II (February 16, 1830), 84.

[91]For instances of contemporary controversy over this question see Christian Register, IV (April 9, 1825), 54; Christian Watchman, VI (August 19, 1825), 147; Zion's Herald, V (February 28, 1827), 35; and Charleston Observer, II (January 12, 1828), 6.

[92]In choosing this classification of late colonial and early national religious types I am following, with one major exception, that suggested by Howard E. Jensen, "The Rise of Religious Journalism in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill, 1920), chap. ii. His fourfold classification includes: (1) theological party, (2) denomination, (3) sect, and (4) voluntary benevolent association. I have substituted "schism" for "sect" because early American religious dissent usually began as a theological party within a denomination and developed quickly into a structured schismatic group, exhibiting much more organization than is generally associated with sectarian protests.

[93]All specific information given in this section, if not otherwise documented, is taken from Albaugh, op. cit., where lists of titles and statistical tables can be found to substantiate all data.

[94]I (May, 1817), 14-15.

[95]IV (April 24, 1829), 110.

[96]VI (1829), 106-107.

[97]Western Monitor, VII (June 19, 1821), quoting from the Long Island Star.

[98]I (1818-1819), Introduction, v.

[99]II (November 22, 1822), 60.

[100]Jensen, op. cit., p. 1.

[101]Western Luminary, IV (July 4, 1827), 1, quoting the American Sunday School Magazine.

[102]VIII (May 25, 1827), 100.

[103]Evangelical Witness, I (1822-23), Prospectus, 3-4.

CANADIAN MISSION LITERATURE: 17th CENTURY

by

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Regis College

I have been engaged for some time in trying to translate the letters of St. Charles Garnier, and to make a little study of them and his life. Naturally, I have been somewhat enthusiastic in this little work and some of this has shown. That is perhaps the reason I was asked to give a paper, to be presented to you at your annual meeting. But when I came to grips with my subject, I realized that to deal solely and only with the letters of St. Charles Garnier would be to touch but the fringes of a vast field of research. You see, there are only twenty eight known letters from the hands of the saint. (And some of these are but extracts, quoted in the Annual Reports, known as Jesuit Relations). There are four in the handwriting of the missionary.

1: two addressed to Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi and a third addressed to Very Reverend Father Vincent Caraffa. These are kept in the General Archives of the Society of Jesus. Two of them have been published, with translation, in the JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS (Thwaites Edition Vol. XXV, 82 XXX, 146).

2: The fourth autograph letter was written to Father Pierre Boutard, S.J. It is to be found in the Archives de la Province de Lyon S.J. (MSS du P. Prat S.J). It was published, but not translated, in LES JESUITES ET LA NOUVELLE FRANCE AU XVII^{e} SIECLE by Father Camille de Rochemonteix.

There are four extracts of letters from Father Garnier, published in the annual reports. These have been republished in Thwaites, with translations. (JR XII 128; JR XX 64 JR XXX 126 JR XXXV 138).

However the most important, and the bulk of the letters, are to be found in contemporary copies in Saint Mary's College Archives (Montreal). The first two are in a MSS 'Copie Contemporaine'. One is addressed to his father and tells the story of his crossing over to Canada: the second is to his brother Father Henri de Saint-Joseph. These two letters have been published in LETTRES DU BAS CANADA June 1949 pp. 28 30 and 30-33. In the same Archives is a collection

of some eighteen letters. It is possible that we owe this copy of Father Garnier's letters to one of his brothers, Father Henri de Saint-Joseph. Unfortunately the collection of letters has suffered damage and some letters, of a certainty, have been lost. They were published in the 1929 RAPPORT DE L'ARCHIVISTE DE LA PROVINCE DU QUEBEC.

Though it is true that much can be learned from a study of these letters, and no complete translation has ever been published, I have come to the conclusion that such a study would not be suitable for our group at this time. It would prove perhaps too specialized and might get involved in too great minutae.

I would therefore, like to bear upon your patience further, and give an outline of the whole field of mission letters in the seventeenth century in Canada. And here I fall into the other extreme, of dealing with too large a canvas. For the scope of this paper is as wide as the whole of New France, from the stormy shores of the Atlantic to the vast unknown regions of the Great Lakes and even beyond, from the dreaded mystery of Hudson's Bay into the very hinterland of the Mississippi Valley and south to the Floridas. It includes the story and the heroism, the quarrels and the triumphs of priest, brother, sister and layman in the life of the Christian Church. It deals with Franciscan (Recollects and Capuchins) Jesuits, and the secular or diocesan clergy. And we must not forget the work of the sisters, Hospitalliers, Ursulines, and the Canadian Foundation of the Congregation de Notre Dame. The laymen and women too loom large in this heroic age of the Canadian Missions. True the scope of this paper does not include the telling of the story, but only an outlining of where to go for the writings of all these men and women. Much has been done. But still more needs to be done - the Manuscript material alone is scarcely tapped. This may surprise many of you as you know of a great amount of matter that has been published, and a great deal more that has been utilized in the writings that are available to us.

It is only just that before I get further into the subject of this paper, I pay a little - inadequate though it be - tribute to the pioneer workers (historians) in the field of Canadian Church History. Naturally, I cannot be exhaustive and some names will certainly be overlooked. This does not mean that I or any other delver into this subject, do not appreciate what has been done.

Perhaps we can begin by mentioning some of the earliest historians and writers whose books have become authorities, or quasi-authorities in themselves. And here I need only give their names - their work is a must for the historian of the Church in Canada Lescarbot, Champlain, Sagard, Brebeuf, LeJeune, Biard, Charles and Jerome Lalemant, Vimont, Ragueneau, Ducreux, Charlevoix, Bressani, Lafitau - the list is already too long.

In the matter of publishing original documents concerning missionaries and church affairs in the seventeenth century there are scholars such as Father Felix Martin S.J., Father Auguste Carayon S.J., and Edmound Bailley O'Callaghan who prepared the way for writers such as Parkman an J. Gilmary Shea to write their histories of the Indian Missions. And don't think that I am minimizing the magnificent and individual research of these last. To Father Felix Martin we owe the first great re-edition of the Jesuit Relations (under the auspices of the Government of the United Canadas) and to him we owe the copies of many documents utilized by the various scholars, under the leadership of Reuben Gold Thwaites, in the 1896-1901 collection known as THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. One cannot over-estimate the value of that collection of documents to the study of both church and secular history of North America, but it is time that we had a new, scholarly and up-dated edition of these and other documents. The re-edition by Loyola University was no real service to scholarship.

The names of other Canadian scholars eminent in the field would make a list far too long to be entirely interesting. But it would be an injustice to the value of what they have done to omit the names of Father Camille de Rochemonteix (Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France) and Father Arthur E. Jones (Old Huronia) for Jesuit Mission History, of Mm. les Abbés Faillon, Ferland, Laverdière and Casgrain for the general history of the church in Canada, of Streit (Bibliotheca Missionum) and Gagnon for early bibliography. And we cannot enumerate those scholars of the Public Archives of Canada, and of Les Archives de la Province de Quebec who have done magnificent work for our history in the Annual Reports published by these two governmental departments. Their name is legion and their merit is great. I do not here make any attempt to list the names or tally the efforts of modern scholars who have laboured and are

labouring in the field of Canadian Church History, no matter how meritorious and valuable it may be.

To seek for documents relative to seventeenth century church history is a task that could take the efforts of many students and scholars and the time needed for this research could take their many life spans. For the early period, let us say the first half of the century, the greater part of the research must be spent in the Archives and in the Libraries of Europe. This is understandable in that the time of the pioneer was not favourable for the preservation of original documents in this country. And further, most of the early documents are letters and reports sent back to the mother-country. It is rare to find original documents of this period in Canada or the United States. Printed works are indeed found in the great Canadian and American Libraries such as the New York City Library, Harvard University Libraries, Congressional Library (Washington), the John Carter Brown Library to name one or two in the United States. In Canada, we must seek for aid in our researches from Laval University Library (Quebec), the Library of St. Sulpice (Montreal), the Library of La Ville de Montreal, the libraries of the two Public Archives already mentioned.

For the second half of the century original documentation becomes more abundant. To our researches in Europe must now be added search in the Les Archives de la Province de Quebec, the Archepiscopal Archives of the Diocese of Quebec and other lesser Canadian Libraries and Archives.

It is rather hard to begin this section. Principally the question to be asked as we begin our studies is where do I go, where do I begin. I think we can pre-suppose that our historian has long passed the first stage of his research and has made himself the master of what has been written and done for Church History in Canada. But he is in the position where to really contribute to this field he must verify from original resources what has been done and by original research add his own little bit to the overall picture. Lest he merely flounder in the morass of TOO MUCH, he will seek out any Calendars that might aid him, e.g. Leland's Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris or Matteson's List of Manuscripts concerning American History preserved in European Libraries and noted in their published

Catalogues and similar printed lists. These two, as well as other Calendars were published by the Carnegie Institute, Washington. Our own Public Archives of Canada have printed useful lists of material found in some European Libraries. But as of the moment everything so far published is truly out-dated and woefully inadequate.

The main libraries of Europe are known to all of you. In France there is La Bibliothèque National in Paris. The vast amount of material in this depository has never been fully catalogued, may never be catalogued, and much too often, even when catalogued in the past, precious documents have been lost, or at least cannot now be found. It is a huge and vast treasure house for the story of Canada and the Canadian Church. Our own Public Archives have done a truly splendid job of trying to make available what is to be found there. One of the most precious sections, at least for some of my field, is that known as Mélanges Colbert. Unfortunately for my own studies I have not been able to study or do research work in any of the Archives of France. I have always had to have recourse to the assistance of others.

Speaking of other Depositories in France we must note that a vast, almost untapped source for Canadiana are the various Archives of the many Departments of France, for instance, Father Campeau in his recent publication La Premiere Mission d'Acadie (1602-1619) found precious material in La Bibliothèque de Grenoble, Les Archives départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle at Nancy, La Seine-Maritime at Rouen. And we must not forget, among many others, Les Archives Nationales at Paris and La Bibliothèque Mazarine. Outside of France there are other depositories that must not be omitted. The British Museum and the Public Record Office in London must be consulted wherever the English infringe on New France and sometimes even when they don't. Another largely untapped source is the Bibliotheca Vaticana. But doesn't this all frighten you? If so, I may say that for many years now our Canadian Embassy in Paris has had at least one scholar always at hand for the work of the Canadian Archives.

But there is one European Archives with which I am somewhat familiar, although I have not done anything special there for a long time. This is the ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS JESU now in Rome. These archives are filled with the documentation needed

for the governing of the Order. The correspondence of the Superior General of the Order in Rome with the Provincial and local superiors forms the great bulk of this documentation. This is only natural when one considers the strong centralization of government set up by St. Ignatius. From the very beginning St. Ignatius desired the members of the Order, according to their office to keep in frequent touch with the Father General.

The only difficulty in the earliest days was the difficulty of mailing and delivery of correspondence, the difficulty of distance and the dependance for the most part on private entrepreneurs for delivery. The Constitutions of the Order at first obliged every Provincial and local superior to write at least once a week (two very useful articles on the above points are 1: Georg Schurhammer, Die Anfänge des römischen Archives der Gesellschaft Jesu (1538-1548) in AHSI 12 (1943) 89-118 and 2: Mario Scaduto, La Corrispondenza dei primi Gesuiti e le poste italiane, in AHSI 19 (1950) 236-253) if they lived in Italy, and once a month if they lived elsewhere in Europe. However, the second General Congregation held in 1565 ordered a lessening of this frequency. Provincial Superiors were required to write once a month, while the Father Rectors and other superiors directly appointed by the General had to write only quarterly. Other superiors and consultors were required to write only once a year.

This did not take into account the difficulties of the foreign missions. The Provincials of India and of Brazil could only keep in touch when the slow navigation allowed. And we know that even in the most favourable of circumstances, in New France, none could write oftener than once a year.

This correspondence was overwhelming. It could not all be kept. There simply was no room. Kept for a reasonable time, most of it had to be destroyed. But it is not completely lost, in that at least the registers of letters written in answer by Father General have been kept. Besides not all the originals have been destroyed. Some attempt has always been made to keep the documents that might prove most useful for the History of the Order. In other words all papers and documents that would seem to have some permanent value. Examples of this are those annual reports detailing the beginning of a mission or apostolic work, and any that might cast further light

on that mission.

The history of the Roman Archives of the Order is rather hectic. Preserved up to 1773 in the Professed House in Rome, they remained there after the suppression of the Order until the restoration in 1814 to the Jesuits in Rome. However, the law of 1873 confiscating the Libraries of Religious Houses but permitting a religious congregation to keep its records and archives, caused a rising fear of loss. The Jesuits hid their precious documents for three years in the basement of the Villa Torlonia, and then removed them to the attic of the Collegium Germanicum. However, part did not escape confiscation and were made part of the State Archives These were the Archives of the Procurator of the Order, separate altogether from the main Archives. This section, now confiscated, received the name in the State Archives of Fondo Gesuitico. Father Francis Ehrle, later Cardinal, thought it prudent to have the precious documents sent out of Italy. This task was entrusted to then Archivist Father John Baptist Van Meurs. A new house had just been opened in Exaeten in Holland and this was to be the new Archives, until 1927, when they were transferred to Valkenburg, still in Holland. In 1939, just prior to World War II they returned to Rome. In the meantime Father Pacchi-Venturi egotiated the return of the Fondo Gesuitico to the Order. This no forms a not inconsiderable part of the present Archivum Romanum.

The documents are carefully classified, bound in volumes and are under the full care of qualified archivists. In this paper I do not intend to do more than to outline very briefly that which refers only to our present subject - Mission Letters in the Seventeenth Century. But we should note that some of the sections not particularly dealt with in this paper should not be altogether neglected. Besides the correspondence of Father General and the members of the Order, the Archives are divided into a section concerning the Institute of the Order (Institutum), another on the history (Historia Societatis) various letters (Epistolae Nostrorum etc.), lives of Jesuits (Vitae), and to this we must add the restored Fondo Gesuitico, which has retained its separate identity.

What is of most interest to us in Canada is that part of the Archives dealing with the administration of the missions of New France. Up to the formation of the Assistancy of France, all letters

and administrative documents referring to Canada directly are grouped under the various provinces of the Order, France, Lyons, Aquitania, Toulouse and Champagne. After the formation of the Assistancy of France the documents are grouped together under the title of Gallia (France). This latter collection is formed of some 177 Codices, of which Gallia 109 and Gallia 110 are the most important for Canada. Sufficient for the General Archives of the Order.

Among other Archives in Europe a mention should also be made of Les Archives de la Province de France S.J., now kept at Chantilly (Oise). Here, particularly in the large Collection Brotier are found many documents useful for the history of the church in seventeenth century New France.

Archives of the CLASSIS of Amsterdam, in Nieuwe Kerk (beside Royal Palace). (Classis-foreign missionary Board of the Reformed Church in Holland.) 100 folio volumes, in MSS. Begin 1574. "A few Latin letters from Jesuit Missionaries in Central New York are also here found. Several of the Jesuits were protected or assisted by Dutch ministers from Indian barbarities, and this kindness was subsequently acknowledged. From Corwin, Edwin T. The Amsterdam Correspondence Knickerbocker Press 1897, p. 84 - (reprinted from Vol. VII American Society of Church History) above passage from long citation in Spoelstra, C: Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederduitsch - gereformeerde Kerken in Suid-Africa. Deel I, p. XXIX, Amsterdam, 1906.

But before we leave this matter of documentation and the principal places where the documents can be found, I must call attention to one of the most useful studies yet made on this matter. It is the Inventaire des documents concernant l'eglise du Canada sous le regime Français, by Ivanhöe Caron and published in Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec 1939-1940. Prior to the coming of Bishop Laval not too much unknown material is listed, but after 1659 a new era had opened for Canada, and the documentation is greater. M. l Abbe Caron gives something new in the documents he can list. He gives summaries from the originals kept in the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec.

Is there any conclusion that one can draw from this rather sketchy survey. Yes, I think there is. There is a great need for

a complete bibliography of Canadian Church History or at least for gathering into one place a complete index as to documentation and published works. This is the more needed because we need to know what has been done and what needs to be done. The lacunae in our Canadian Church History are many. It may be true that the broad outlines have been traced, but even though this may be true of early New France early Quebec and early Ontario it is decidedly untrue to say this of any other part of Canada, especially if we are to deal with the complete history of the Church including all its parts and all its sects and denominations. For the Society of Jesus the general story has been told, but not up to the present, and the story of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Western Missions has been quite fully done, but the wider story yet awaits the scholar. And the first desiderata is that he be given the tools to do a job. And one of the tools remains a complete and adequate bibliography.

CONTROVERSY IN THE BAPTIST CONVENTION OF ONTARIO AND QUEBEC 1908 - 1928

by W. Gordon Carder

The people called Baptists seek to trust their community of Christian believers, under the guidance of the living God in Christ to make informed, wise decisions, to plan and to act for the greatest good of the church fellowship and community of persons. This mutual commitment of trust in God and in each other is very high churchmanship in terms of the responsibility of the Christian man or woman. Thus Baptists without formal subscription to creeds and confessions of faith, in commitment to Jesus Christ as Lord and to each other in Christian fellowship, without the rulings or direction of a church hierarchy, seek the solution of all problems of denominational life that time and circumstance may create. For us as Canadian Baptists this mutual freedom of believers in Christ has been both a glory and a shame.

In the pioneer days of the early 1800's in the areas we now call Quebec and Ontario, local Baptist Churches were organized and there was a "Baptist Missionary Convention East" and another "West". The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec was given legal status by an act of the Dominion Parliament March 22, 1889. Supervision of the various Societies making up the Convention was entrusted to Boards to be elected at an annual meeting of delegates appointed by the churches. The years since have brought some great accomplishments and some great problems of adjustment.

The Harris-Matthews Controversy

A time of testing for the young Convention began about 1908 with the Harris-Matthews controversy. About the turn of the century widespread attacks were made upon many theological professors and institutions by sincere but extreme conservatives who honestly felt and feared that the "new learning" led to the darkness of atheism or unitarianism.

At a meeting of the Senate of McMaster University, May 1908, Mr. Elmore Harris, then Minister emeritus of Walmer Road Baptist Church, Toronto, called in question the orthodoxy of the teaching of Professor I. G. Matthews of McMaster, the Baptist University of Toronto. He based his charges mainly on the teaching of the Professor in his

course in "Old Testament Introduction". A committee was appointed to interview Professor Matthews on the points raised by Dr. Harris. At a subsequent meeting of the Senate the Committee reported that it had found the professor sound on the fundamentals of Baptist faith and practice.[1] It was expected that this would settle the issue.

However, a year later, at a meeting of the Board of Governors, Mr. Harris again called in question the teaching of Professor Matthews, this time presenting his charges in writing. Dr. Harris charged:

> The views of Professor Matthews are opposed to those of Professor Orr on every essential point .... and are purely destructive of the historicity, truthfulness and integrity of the Word of God. It will be found that they are wholly occupied with discrepancies and contradictions in the Old Testament which have no real existence apart from the rationalistic method of dealing with the Word of God.[2]

After presenting his evidence based largely on a typewritten report of thirteen class lectures given by Professor Matthews between October 3 and November 28, 1907, and taken down in shorthand by a student, Dr. Harris concluded by saying, "Personally I feel quite sure that in view of the facts thus brought to light, the usefulness of Professor Matthews to our University is gone." Another committee of investigation was appointed and after a careful weighing of the evidence, reported to the Senate that they failed to find the charges against the teaching of Professor Matthews proven; therefore to remove him from the "Chair of Old Testament would be an injustice to him, a grief to his colleagues and an injury to the University."[3]

But the problem was not settled. This doctrinal discussion had caused a restlessness to sweep over the denomination. Churches, individuals and especially the fundamentalist press in Canada, United States and Britain took up the issue. The heated discussion was brought to the floor of the Annual Baptist Convention in October 1910. For this session the meeting place was crowded from floor to gallery. After preliminary statements, Chancellor McKay of McMaster read the report of the Senate Committee on the teaching of Professor Matthews. Printed copies of a statement written by the Professor were handed out to all the delegates. They followed the lines as the Professor himself read the paper. The statement made such points as:

(1) Not all parts of the Old Testament are of equal religious value.
(2) All the books are of an Oriental nature.

(3) The Bible we use is a translation of earlier manuscripts and as such can never be absolutely exact.
(4) The Old Testament records a progressive revelation.

The conclusion of the paper was a personal word and read as follows:

> Of my teaching there are a number of witnesses here today. Of the tone and content of my sermons many of those who can speak for themselves are present. As to my thinking, I stand before the Almighty alone. The appreciation of my students has been helpful, the confidence of all my brethren is something for which my heart longs, but the commendation of my own conscience before Him who is the Judge of all the world, is that which is more prized than all other commendations. While I certainly have failed often and grievously, yet to please Him who is the Truth has been the motive of all my work. In all those things I believe I have been in harmony with the great fundamental principles of the Baptist Brotherhood of history.[4]

Discussion continued 'forand against'. Rev. R.V. Bingham, founder of the Sudan Interior Mission, and author of one of the pamphlets circulated in the controversy, was one of many speakers. He said that as a Baptist, he protested against the Unitarian trend in Professor Matthews' teaching. Finally after nine hours of debate an amendment was passed that seemed to give common ground to both sides of the dispute and to unite the opinion of the convention. This stated:

> The Convention approves of the statement touching the attitude of the University to the Bible presented to the Senate on the 15th of November, 1909, by the members of the Theological Faculty, and relies on the Senate and the Board of Governors to see that the teaching in the Institution is maintained in harmony therewith.[5]

Dr. Harris was given the final word. The Canadian Baptist was highly pleased at the result and report, "with malice toward none, and charity to all, the Convention of 1910 went down to history, as one of the greatest ever held by the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec."[6]

Controversy at the Ottawa Convention of 1919

While the nations were torn by the strife of the first world war Canadian Baptist politics carried on in comparative peace. But a slight stirring of the waters was manifest at the annual church convention of 1919 held in Ottawa. Just a few weeks before the annual convention Dr. T.T. Shields, pastor of Jarvis Street Baptist

Church, one of the oldest, largest and most influential of all the churches of the convention, lashed out vigorously against an article published in The Canadian Baptist on "The Inspiration and Authority of Scripture". Dr. Shields protested in the pages of the denominational paper, "I cannot understand how anyone who loves the Bible as the Word of God because therein and thereby he had learned Christ .... could carefully read your editorial without being deeply grieved and indignantly angry".[7] Thus in the debate. Dr. Shields confused, as he was often to do in the future, problems of history and literature with those of Christian life and faith. Dr. Shields put before the Ottawa Baptist Convention in October of 1919 a motion that stated the Convention's dissent from the ideas of the questioned articles, and read in part:

> The Canadian Baptist in the said editorial commends to its readers some new vague view of the Scriptures different from that to which the Convention declared its adherence in 1910, and upon which the denominational university is declared to be founded.

The motion resulted in five hours of often heated doctrinal debate. But eventually all amending motions were withdrawn in favour of the statement by Dr. Shields which was affirmed by a large majority. The incident was publicized by the press as a "storm in a tea-cup". As for Dr. Shields, orthodoxy was vindicated and the forces of evil were put to shame.

Trouble in Jarvis Street Baptist Church

Now the storm centre moved to Jarvis Street Baptist Church, where Dr. Shields tended to a more and more despotic rule of congregational affairs. Finally a church meeting was arranged for April 1921. Dr. Shields openly stated that he would resign if he did not get a confidence vote of two-thirds majority. The vote at the gathering was 284 to 199 in favour of the Doctor, rather less than the two-thirds majority. Yet in spite of his promise and the evident undercurrent of opposition, the Doctor decided to stay, since he said only the "worldly-minded" had voted against him. The depth of the unrest in the church was expressed at another congregational meeting held on June 2?, 1921, when a resolution requesting the pastor's resignation was passed by a vote of 204 to 176. But the dauntless Dr. Shields refused to resign, claiming that the meeting did not fully represent the opinion of the church. As a special concession the meeting was allowed to adjourn until September.

Dr. Shields immediately cancelled his usual plans for a summer vacation in England and launched a summer evangelistic campaign with the pastor from Calvary Baptist Church, New York City, as guest evangelist. Forty-six new persons were gathered in during the summer, none of whom came before the regular deacons' board of the Church. Yet these new people were allowed to vote at the reconvened business meeting in September. Here Dr. Shields was sustained by a vote of 351 to 310. The temper of the meeting came to the breaking point when Dr. Shields and his group sought to pass motions of censor on forty of the senior officers of the church and fifteen other young men of the church who were on record as opposed to the pastor. The Star reported the meeting and recorded

> Thoughts of bed were forgotten and loud roars of 'shame', 'unchristian', 'sit-down!' sent the meeting into prolonged confusion .... 'Is this a Protestant church or is it Papacy?' cried an irate member. 'Do we have to come to Shields and pay homage or are we to be allowed the freedom of our own convictions?' This resolution marks the blackest hour in the history of our church...'[9]

Dr. Shields saw the victory as God's miracle.

For the information of the denomination and the public the deposed Deacons published a pamphlet, 'The True Story of Jarvis Street Baptist Trouble", giving their facts and view of the recent church struggle. Dr. Shields replied at a public gathering in the church on October 14 in a 3-1/2 hour lecture entitled "The Inside of the Cup". Dr. Shields reported that 2000 copies of his lecture were printed and distributed within a few hours after the meeting.[10]

As the weeks passed a number of dissatisfied members of the Jarvis Street Church were gradually leaving to join other churches. On May 24, 1922, 341 persons, most of them members of long standing in Jarvis Street Church, requested letters of dismissal to form a new church, which later became Park Road Baptist Church, Toronto, and recently has become part of Yorkminster-Park congregation. Dr. Shields wrote of the break in the pages of his Gospel Witness and stated: "Modernism hydra-headed raised its head, modernism was vanquished, Hallelujah."[11] Thus Dr. Shields obtained a strong secure home base, of great usefulness and financial worth for his campaigns in the holy war against modernism in Canada and the United States.

The Baptist Tempest of 1922

The next blast of Baptist controversy came in a few months, when Dr. Shields sought to block the election of three men to the McMaster Board of Governors on charges of modernism. In May of this year a few months before this storm began, Dr. Shields had commenced publication of the Gospel Witness as the calendar of the Jarvis Street Church and an organ for the weekly publication of his sermons. The paper was soon expanded into a lively journal of fundamentalism with a circulation all over Ontario and Quebec as well as to a number of individuals and editors in the United States. Week by week in the pages of this paper Dr. Shields campaigned against the men proposed for election to the Board of the Baptist University. One man was said to have a "modernist sympathy in his attitude to Scripture" and "therefore lovers of the Bible ought not to vote for him". Another of the men was called in the paper "a modernist scoundrel", who it was charged "even rejects John's Gospel and if allowed to finish his work will finish the denomination". After two months of this propoganda the discussion came to the floor of the annual Baptist Convention at the time of the University report, October 25, 1922. The great auditorium of Walmer Road Baptist Church, Toronto, was jammed to capacity for this Convention session. Dr. John MacNeill in a vigorous defence of McMaster University, denounced the manner and means of Dr. Shields' campaign of criticism and asked "if it were necessary every once in a while to pull up the tree of denominational life to see if the roots were sound." Dr. Shields was given the chance to speak for one hour. Finally at 5:45 in the evening after a whole day of debate a resolution was passed by a majority of five to one which censored methods of Dr. Shields' opposition and approved the work of McMaster University.[12] The McMaster governors opposed by Dr. Shields were elected by a large majority. This announcement was greeted by a tremendous burst of cheering all over the convention. The Toronto Daily Star reported this Baptist argument on the front page and two other pages of their issue for the day.

One report began:

> In one of the tensest and liveliest sessions in the history of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec Rev. T.T. Shields and his supporters met defeat, absolute and complete, yesterday evening at Walmer Road Baptist Church.[13]

Within a month came the occasion for the next Baptist battle. Rev. Dr. Howard P. Whidden, the new Chancellor of McMaster University, was formally installed in office on November 20, 1923. Two dignified functions marked the occasion - the Installation proper in the afternoon and a special Convocation for conferring degrees in the evening. Representatives of twenty-five Canadian and American universities and colleges and of thirteen theological seminaries were present, and greetings by letter and telegram were received from twelve other institutions of learning. A large number of representative Baptists and distinguished citizens were also present. In the evening at the special Convocation one of those upon whom the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred was President Faunce of Brown University, representative of the Universities of the United States and head of the oldest Baptist University in America.[14]

Almost immediately afterwards Dr. Shields began to express his disapproval of Faunce's degree, claiming that Dr. Faunce was a "modernist" and that McMaster in granting him an honorary degree was thereby approving of and moving in the company of modernism. Week after week Dr. Shields expressed his opposition in the pages of his paper. "Does the convention approve the use of the University's powers to honour a man who dishonours Christ" he argued in one article. In another discussion Dr. Shields pointed out that Dr. Faunce had upheld Dr. H.E. Fosdick, the leading liberal in the United States -- and concluded Dr. Shields, "the man who thus endorses Dr. Fosdick is the man McMaster has chosen to honour. Will the Convention endorse McMaster's action?"[15]

Dr. Shields protested the granting of the degree in the University Senate. A committee of investigation was appointed which reported to the Senate on January 14, 1924, that the degree was in harmony with the accepted policy and charter of the University. In adopting this report the Senate thereby upheld its previous action in granting the degree.

Against this action, Dr. Shields was instantly up in arms, condemning the action of the Senate through the pages of the Gospel Witness and informing the denomination that "there was no hope of working harmoniously with this critic." Two protest meetings were held in Jarvis Street Baptist Church on the evenings of January 24th and 25th. At the first meeting, Dr. Shields spoke to a large audience

on the topic, "McMaster's Approval of Dr. Faunce's Infidelity." The meeting of January 25th was for prayer that the "Lord by his own power might deliver the University out of the hands of those whose principles have blighted the denomination for so long and to deliver it to the management of those who will be true to the faith once for all delivered to the saints." [16]

The propaganda was not without effect on Ontario Baptists. The Whitby-Lindsay, Eastern, Northern, and Toronto Associations all passed resolutions recommending care in the granting of honorary degrees. A main issue of the Annual Baptist Convention of 1924 at London was the Faunce Degree incident. The discussion on this issue lasted all Wednesday afternoon and late into the night. There were speeches and resolutions galore. Late in the evening the Convention accepted a suggestion that a committee of five be appointed to retire and work out a resolution acceptable to the Convention. Mr. Albert Matthews, the President, named the committee which included Dr. T.T. Shields. The resolution presented to the delegates read as follows:

> Whereas, discussions have arisen from time to time within this Convention regarding the action of the Senate of McMaster in granting certain honorary degrees, therefore be it resolved, That, without implying any reflection upon the Senate, this Convention relies upon the Senate to exercise care that honorary degrees be not conferred upon religious leaders whose theological views are known to be out of harmony with the cardinal principles of evangelical Christianity.

Dr. T.T. Shields moved the adoption of the resolution and Chancellor Whidden seconded the motion. The resolution carried unanimously after which the Convention sang the Doxology. [17] Dr. Shields was re-elected to the Board of Governors.

This London convention left Dr. Shields very happy. With a sense of accomplishment and satisfaction he reported, "The resolution beyond all question was accepted as a fair expression of the views of the great body of Baptists." [18] Later, referring to this London Convention, Dr. Shields wrote: "the action clearly announces to the world that the Denomination stands true to the principles of Evangelical Christianity which Baptists historically have represented." [19] The Canadian Baptist reported, "There is one thing absolutely essential now. The past must be forgotten ..... Let there be peace. Let suspicion and hatred be forgotten and with a

solid unbroken front let the whole church line advance.[20]

Professor Marshall - Renewed Baptist Conflict and Schism

Our Canadian Baptist calm lasted only about one year. The new storm centre for Dr. Shields was Professor Marshall of McMaster. With the sudden death of Dr. J.L. Gilmour, December 8, 1924, the Chair of Practical Theology at McMaster University became vacant. The committee of seven appointed by the Senate to nominate men to fill vacancies on the staff began to search for a man who could combine in himself the important qualifications needed for this important responsibility. Strong men like Professor McGregor, Trotter, Wallace and Gilmour had created a tradition which must not be broken. Search was made both in Canada and the United States. Finally, late in May 1925, when the chairman of the Board of Governors, Mr. Albert Matthews was on a business trip in England, he was instructed by British Baptist leaders to contact Rev. L.H. Marshall, then pastor of the Queen's Road Baptist Church, Coventry. It was arranged for Mr. Marshall to visit Toronto in July 1925. Long conferences were held with Mr. Marshall by the University Chancellor, the Dean of Theology and other members of the committee. He preached with great acceptance in two of the Toronto Baptist Churches. The Senate unanimously voted to recommend his name to the Board of Governors for appointment. This Board accepted the recommendation and Rev. Mr. Marshall was appointed to the professorship.

Shortly after the appointment of Professor Marshall, Dr. T.T. Shields, a member of the Board of Governors of the University, received two letters that had been written from England by one W.M. Robertson to a Baptist church member in Toronto. These letters charged Professor Marshall with the sin of modernism of the subtlest type. The tone of the letters was in the following terms:

> .... and if this appointment is confirmed, Modernism has gained a great victory. He is a Modernist trained in all the arts of the Germans, ... Let a few pointed questions in fundamentals be put to him and his position will be made clear.[21]

Dr. Shields professed to be highly disturbed by these charges. At a Senate meeting in late September 1925, he presented the letters and demanded that the Senate institute another investigation into Professor Marshall's theological position. However in the light of the fact that a thorough investigation had already been made,

that Professor Marshall had read the trust deeds of the University and had accepted the statement of faith contined therein, that Mr. Marshall had been carefully interviewed by the University Chancellor and Dean of Theology, and that he had preached very acceptably in two Toronto churches. the Senate felt that Dr. Shields' request for investigation had already been complied with and that there was no need for any further review of the action.

But this Dr. Shields would not accept. In his Jarvis Street pulpit he challenged the Senate and the Baptist Convention in a sermon "Will Revival Come to the Baptist Denomination by Compromise or by Contention for the Faith?" The day before the start of the annual Baptist Convention of 1925 Dr. Shields published and widely distributed what he termed a special educational issue of the Gospel Witness. This printing was the prototype of many such "Special Issues" that appeared in the next three years. The leading article of the booklet was twenty pages in length headed in heavy black type, "Will the Convention Approve of the Appointment of McMaster's New Professor?"[22] Also for the three days preceding the annual Baptist Convention Dr. Shields convened a special rally of the Baptist Bible Union of North America, of which he was the president. Simultaneous evening meetings were held at James Street Baptist Church in Hamilton and Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto. Along with Dr. Shields, leading fundamentalists from the United States were brought in as special speakers. Thus, Dr. Shields sought by paper and public platform to strengthen his cause against the new professor and the University authorities.

The regular thirty-seventh annual Convention of Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec began in Stanley Avenue Baptist Church in Hamilton on October 16th, the day after the close of the Bible Union Meetings. At an early evening session of the Convention Professor L. H. Marshall spoke on "Religious Education". Dr. Shields through the Gospel Witness immediately published a stenographical report of the address accompanied by special comments pointing out evidences of modernism both by what was said and what was left unsaid. Censoring the address because of what was omitted, Dr. Shields wrote:

> We ask our readers to consider whether this address is not characterized by some serious omissions ... We are aware that the speaker cannot say everything in one address .... but there are some things which are elemental. One cannot write the simplest letter and ignore the alphabet nor make the simplest calculation and ignore the multiplication table. Thus the fact of sin and redemption through the blood are elemental in every true Christian experience. One finds it difficult to understand how one can discuss conversion, the new birth, the means and process of bringing a soul into right relation to God, without ever mentioning the fact of sin or even remotely alluding to the death of Christ.[23]

Two days later the University report was on the agenda. This was the occasion for a day of debate. After the long day Professor Marshall was given the opportunity to speak at the evening session. The auditorium was filled to capacity. Mr. Albert Matthews introduced the new professor and appealed to the Convention to end this strife that year by year had been making Baptist the laughing stock of the people. Mr. Marshall was received with applause and cheers. His hour long address dealt with many of the charges printed by Dr. Shields. The Professor censured Dr. Shields for his methods of attack, especially his use of the Robertson letters. Using a passage of scripture that Dr. Shields had used against him the Professor showed that the Pastor was wrong in his interpretation and that therefore one who set himself up as an authority in scripture had used it "both inaccurately and ignorantly" and in the cases cited was as wide of the mark as Mrs. Eddy so often was in her wrong use of Scripture.[24] In conclusion the Professor said:

> I consider that what I have witnessed today is a disgrace to the name of the Baptist Church ... The issue is a very simple one, - Is your University of McMaster to be a great seat of learning where men and women can gain the necessary knowledge for their equipment in life, and at the same time training in sound evangelical Christianity? Or is it to be a stronghold of bigotry and fanaticism and obscurantism?[25]

After Professor Marshall had spoken many others took up the discussion. Finally an amendment was put forward which accepted the report of the Board of Governors as it was read and which commended the Senate and the Board for their action in appointing Mr. Marshall to the chair of Practical Theology. The question was called for and the vote was taken by ballot. The total votes cast were 558,399 in approval of the University and 159 against. The session closed a few minutes after midnight. The press gave the convention extensive coverage.

The Globe of Toronto reported:

> After an eight hour debate Professor L.H. Marshall, recently appointed to the chair of Practical Theology of McMaster University was accepted at midnight tonight by an overwhelming majority . . . The same vote upheld the Senate and the Board of Governors . . . For sheer tenseness the debate was perhaps without parallel in the ecclesiastical circles of Ontario.[26]

The reaction of Dr. Shields to the Convention vote for the University was to intensify his opposition. He wrote that by the Board's action in appointing Professor Marshall the Convention had welcomed to its bosom a type of modernism that can only issue in spiritual paralysis. Referring to the days ahead Dr. Shields went on to say,

> . . . We intend to fight on. As a matter of fact the war has just begun . . . We have long endeavoured to maintain diplomatic relations but that effort is at an end. We propose to bring the enemy out of his dugout . . . We have avoided anything like organization. Now we intend to work for it . . . We shall endeavour to organize an Ontario and Quebec branch of the Baptist Bible Union and subsidiary branches all over the country. We shall also endeavour to enlist churches as such to present a solid front to the enemy.[27]

A week later the Doctor wrote:

> But nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. The issue before the denomination is now clear and it will be necessary to prosecute the war with more vigour than ever. We bid our Canadian readers be of good cheer, God lives and will yet show Himself strong in behalf of those who fear Him.[28]

Two weeks later another article by Dr. Shields screamed in biblical metaphor, 'We are absolutely certain that the new Professor will prove a Jonah which will sink the educational ship if we do not throw him overboard.'[29] On the Sunday nearest Christmas the Sunday evening topic of Dr. Shields in the Jarvis Street pulpit was "How Professor Pontius Pilate Dealt with the First Fundamentalist', and the text was 'and Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required.'[30]

To intensify his protest in the Baptist Convention Dr. Shields now turned also to public meetings and organization of the Baptist Bible Union in many parts of Ontario. The first of this type of meeting was held in Jarvis Street Church, Toronto, January 14, 1926. The chairman of the meeting was Mr. Thomas Urquhart, a former mayor of Toronto. Printed resolutions were presented and passed at the meeting condemning Professor Marshall, the University and Modernism. A roll call of churches was recorded. The propaganda and organized protest continued throughout the spring and summer. Referring to the

coming annual Fall Convention of Canadian Baptists Dr. Shields wrote:

> This convention will probably witness the greatest conflict for the 'faith once for all delivered' ever known in this country . . . in this Canadian battle for the Book . . . We are absolutely certain that God will have His way at the next convention. Whatever that may be we do not know, except for this, that we are certain He will not vindicate Modernism.[31]

The 1926 Convention of Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec was held in First Avenue Baptist Church, Toronto. The report of the committee on the State of Religion recorded:

> It is commonly felt that the present 'earnestly contending for the faith' is not producing faith, hope and love. It tends to unsettle pastors and churches, divide into contending parties, discredit trusted leaders, prevent students entering college and the Christian ministry, divert the interest, prayers and gifts of the churches from our own mission to other ends.[32]

On the morning of October 19, Chancellor Whidden was called upon to present the educational report. Rev. John MacNeill moved the adoption of the report. Mr. Albert Matthews seconded the motion. Dr. MacNeill strongly upheld the University and argued against the attacks by Dr. Shields. He despaired of the history of the past few years, saying:

> What has been the history of the past few years? It is this my brethren, that for the past five or six years we have been torn by strife. The last five or six years to all lovers of peace and righteousness and co-operation, have been heart sickening years .... The hour has come when our people are saying 'the contention must die within our ranks'.
>
> What has been the history of the last five or six years? Churches have been rent asunder; life-long friendships in some instances have been destroyed; the dragon's teeth have been sown in our denominational life; suspicions have been engendered that will not perish within a generation; the energies of our people have been diverted and dissipated from the great claims of the Kingdom; and we have been compelled to find ourselves halted and helpless with the work of God half done.

Accepting the challenge of Dr. Shields, Dr. MacNeill went on to say,

> No, my friends we are not here because we love a fight, and this battle is not of our bidding. But let me give Dr. Shields the assurance this afternoon that now the issue has been joined we are prepared to fight to the last drop of blood in us.[33]

Discussion continued throughout the day. In the evening session Professor Marshall addressed the delegates and replied to some of the many charges made against him by Dr. Shields and others. Referring to a lecture "On Miracles" that Dr. Shields had taken to severely

castigate the Professor, Mr. Marshall said:

> I will put my lecture in a sentence. If on the plane of ordinary, normal experience, spiritual healing is an acknowledged scientific fact - and I quoted some of the evidence - how much more shall it be believed that the transcendent personality of the Son of God was capable of setting at work for the healing of disease spiritual forces of which man has never even dreamed. That was my teaching. If that is heresy, well, I am a heretic. Because I referred to some spiritual healings as a scientific fact. Dr. Shields has circulated the report that I teach in my classroom that Jesus Christ is a trickster, an ignoramus and a deceiver. When he said that, Dr. Shields was guilty not only of the wickedest lying and slander, but he descended to the most vulgar abuse.

In conclusion the Professor said:

> .... the bigoted intolerance that has been displayed is at complete variance with the historic Baptist position simply because it seeks to strangle that reasonable liberty which is the birthright of every true disciple of Jesus Christ. Dr. Shields and his followers are a divisive and disruptive force in our denominational life, and it seems to me that it is essential that drastic action should be taken by this Convention that so miserable a campaign should cease.[34]

After the address of Professor Marshall and some further discussion Dr. Shields was given the floor. He delivered a long and able summary of his position near the close of which he stated:

> I stand for the inspired and infallible Word of God. I reject utterly Professor Marshall's position as outlined here tonight .... I stand for the absolute infallibility of Jesus Christ not only in matters of morals and religion. Talk about the liberty of conscience and Baptist liberty and academic freedom. I repeat what I have said elsewhere, a true Baptist is a bond-slave of Jesus Christ.[35]

The Convention voted 708 to 258 to adopt the University report and deplored the Shields campaign.

After this a resolution was presented which was aimed at the campaign of slander that Dr. Shields had been conducting and asked him to present an apology suitable to the Convention. The resolution read in part as follows:

> And that Dr. T.T. Shields here and now be given the opportunity to present an apology satisfactory to this Convention. Should he decline, this Convention requests Dr. Shields to submit forthwith to the Convention his resignation as a member of the Board of Governors of McMaster University and that this Convention hereby advises the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, of Toronto, that Dr. T.T. Shields will not be an acceptable

> delegate to future meetings of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, until the apology asked for by this Convention is made to and accepted by the Executive Committee for the time being of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.[36]

The Convention called on Dr. Shields for an answer. He replied .... "I count it the highest honour of my life to have earned the displeasure of such a spirit as has been manifested by the last two speakers." The session closed at 1:45 in the morning. Thus again the assembled Baptist delegates with the open democratic vote vindicated their educational leaders. The Globe reported:

> Scenes of uproar at times punctuated the session which was still meeting at one o'clock this morning .... The Baptist Convention censors Dr. Shields by virtual expulsion .... The case is unprecedented in Canadian Baptist history. It has never been necessary to censor a man before.[37]

Three further resolutions were passed by this 1926 Convention. These related to matters of proxy delegates, the disqualification of delegates and the application for necessary legislation to give effect to such recommendations.

After the Convention The Canadian Baptist, in an editorial headed "Let the Whole Line Advance", said "Every peace disturbing question has been settled by an overwhelming majority. Action has been taken by 1080 delegates. Every charge against McMaster University, Chancellor Whidden, Dean Farmer and Professor Marshall was shattered and repudiated."[38]

Dr. Shields emphatically denied this in his 'special issue' of the Gospel Witness which reported the Convention. Instead he said, "Let our readers pursue these pages and read the speeches for themselves and we believe that they will reach the conclusion that practically every charge has been proved up to the hilt."[39]

Shortly after the Convention two more special protest meetings were called to meet in Jarvis Street Church. From this platform Dr. Shields declared that there would be no apology to the Baptist Convention as he had nothing to apologize for. A resolution was passed to begin the formation within the Convention of a new Baptist Association for evangelistic, educational and missionary work to which churches could make their donations. Further Dr. Shields declared that steps would be taken immediately to establish another college for, said the Doctor: "It now seems perfectly clear that we need a school of another sort." He wrote

> It is useless to expect united action in our education work.... A group of men in the denomination are determined to force upon us a moderate modernism ... Who wants a mild attack of small pox or of leprosy? ..... Now the die is cast and we are determined the college shall open at an early date. Here is an opening to contribute to real Christian education.[40]

By December 16, 1926, the organization for the school was more or less complete. It was called "The Toronto Baptist Seminary". Of course Dr. Shields was president. The term began January 4, 1927. The Seminary building was part of the Jarvis Street Church property at 337 Jarvis Street. On opening day fourteen full time students were reported. Two weeks later the number in the day classes was reported as twenty and in the evening classes as over thirty. Dr. W.B. Riley from the United States and a vice-president of the Baptist Bible Union was present on the second and third days and gave a number of inspirational addresses on "The Blight of Modernism". Beginning with the fall term Rev. T.I. Stockley of London, England, was made Dean. Dr. Shields still remained as President.

At the same time another wedge was driven into the painful opening rift in the Baptist body. "Another Clarion Call" was sent out in the pages of the Gospel Witness for a general meeting to be held in Jarvis Street Baptist Church January 11 and 12, 1927, to organize a new Society. This organization was named "The Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society." It was organized with "sound"articles of faith and its own constitution, yet within the Baptist Churches of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Dr. Shields declared: "Every officer of the Society, every member of the Board and every missionary or pastor or evangelist, or other worker employed, as a condition of service with the Society will be required annually to sign the Article of Faith."
Mr. Thomas Urquhart was elected president. The new Society recorded that for the individuals and churches concerned this new alignment in no way affected their status as members of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. The Society endorsed the organization of the Toronto Baptist Seminary and adopted the Gospel Witness as their official periodical.[41]

The Baptist Constitutional Amendment of 1927

On the last day of the Convention in October 1926 a resolution was passed giving authority to the Executive to apply to Parliament for an amendment of the Convention constitution, to enable the Convention to exercise discipline within its membership. Legal notice of such application was given in the Toronto Globe of February 26, 1927. This proved to be a new occasion to intensify the already bitter Baptist debate.

Dr. Shields immediately began a campaign of opposition to the proposed amendment. Gospel Witness headlines screamed:"McMaster Asks Parliament for Power to Expel Evangelical Testimony From the Convention". "McMaster Exemplifies the Policy of Anti-Christ by Asking Parliament for Power to Suppress Evangelical Testimo in the Baptist Convention."

A meeting protesting the "Bill" was held in the Jarvis Street Church on Tuesday evening March 29, at the close of which Dr. Shields and Mr. T. Urquhart left for Ottawa to oppose the amending Bill. However, the Bill passed Parliament in the proposed form, but not to become law until approved at the next meeting of the Baptist Convention. Dr. Shields now considered it his mission to enlighten all the Ontario-Quebec Baptist people against the approval of the Bill at the fall convention. Week after week the Gospel Witness was sent broadcast to Baptist churches and people in the convention area. In an article entitled "Religious Bolshevism" Dr. Shields claimed that lobbying of the lowest order was used to pass the bill.[42] The heading of a special editorial by the Doctor shouted "Truth is Fallen in the Street .... 223 Church Street , (the address at that time of the Baptist Church House of the Convention).[43] On May 17th, 1927, the evening of the Spring Convocation of McMaster University in Toronto, Dr. Shields convened a special protest meeting in the Jarvis Street Church to pass resolutions to be sent to the Baptist churches and Associations of the Convention to be used as models by which protests could be recorded and the adoption of the Bill defeated in the coming Convention.[44] A shortened version of one of the "model" resolutions was printed in the Gospel Witness as follows:

> RESOLVED that we are of the opinion that the best interest of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec will be served by voting down the proposed Amendment embodied in the Bill which has recently passed Parliament, when it is submitted to the Convention for approval next October.[45]

our life."[49] Dr. John MacNeill, Pastor of Walmer Road Baptist Church, Toronto explained:

> The principle of the Bill is very simple. It will surely be conceded that any democratic body should have the right to govern itself and to possess some power of control over its members ... The Convention seeks the present Amendment to further define and extend its powers of self-government.[50]

Professor Marshall writing on the issue contended, "There is not a Baptist in Ontario and Quebec whose religious convictions or theological beliefs or liberty of conscience or right to express his views is in any way whatsoever interfered with by the passing of the Convention bill." He further claimed that the issue at Ottawa was neither theological nor religious, for in that case Parliament would have refused to deal with it. The issue was merely a legal one. As matters stand, he said, it is possible for individuals in the Convention to flout its decisions, to paralyze its activities and to work within the Convention against the Convention. This impossible state of affairs, argued the professor, which is utterly subversive of the democratic principle for which Baptists stand, can be righted by the Bill. By the new Bill the Convention could then discipline disorderly persons if it cared to do so. The Professor concluded. "The suggestion that the principle of separation of church and state has been abandoned is as grotesque as the more lurid suggestion that a 'massacre of God's people' is contemplated."[51] So the collision course was maintained and the stage was set for a show down at the Annual Convention.

This Baptist Convention of 1927 was held in Temple Baptist Church, Dewhurst Blvd., Toronto. Even at the opening session of the Convention feelings were tense and arguments over procedure and personnel so prolonged that the service of worship was turned into bedlam and for the first time in the Convention history the president was unable to give his address.[52] The next day, October 13th, was set aside for the consideration of the Amending Bill. The Canadian Baptist reported.

> Such intense interest was felt in the business of this session that a large gathering of delegates were singing some time before the hour announced for the opening, 9:15, by the opening, almost every seat was occupied. Vice-president Dr. W.H. Langton presided and called on the delegates to act as those who love the Lord Jesus Christ .... A policeman entered and stood by the door.[53]

Lawyer Roy L. Kellock stated briefly and clearly the purpose of the Bill. The resolution to adopt was moved and seconded: This read:

> Be it resolved that the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in Annual Meeting assembled do hereby accept and approve the Act of the Parliament of Canada, being chapter 101 of the Statutes of 1927, entitled, 'An Act respecting the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec', and that the said Act do come into force upon the day next following the day upon which the Resolution is adopted.[54]

The debate lasted most of the day. There was a great array of speakers, with a time limit of fifteen minutes each. Dr. Farmer, the McMaster Dean of Theology, gave at one point a good summary of the Baptist Convention position when he said:

> The man who subscribes to the doctrines of the second part of the charter subscribes to the cardinal verities of the faith. Our lives are to be committed to righteousness, truth and love. These have been violated seriously. There is a certain flexibility in our statement of doctrine. Our basis is primarily experimental, not merely creedal ... The liberty of conscience is one of our trophies.[55]

The result of the vote was 648 for the acceptance of the Bill and 269 against.

Friday morning October 14 was set aside for the discussion of a resolution regarding the direct application of the Bill.

> Be it resolved that in the opinion of this Convention the conduct and attitude of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, are not in harmony and co-operation with the work and the objects of this Convention, and that the said Church shall cease to be entitled to send any delegates to the said Convention.[56]

This resolution was debated until one o'clock in the afternoon. Dr. Shields was given over twice as much time as any of the other speakers. He reiterated the story of his past labours for the Convention and ended with, 'I am quite willing to shake off the dust of my feet as a testimony against you. The vote was taken, 532 for the resolution and 217 against it, more than the three-fifths majority required to pass the Resolution. Thus five sessions of debate and Resolution designed to clear the air ended with the expulsion of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, and the Convention turned to its regular work. The Toronto Globe reported the session on page one of the day's paper and said:

> ... A hush pervaded the assembly when the figures were announced. Then one of Dr. Shields' followers arose and announced that a meeting for all the refugees would be

> held in Jarvis Street Church at 3 o'clock in the afternoon .... A group gathered around Dr. Shields and sang 'Blest be the tie that binds. .... Then more hymns were sung and a move was made for the door. As the group numbering about 75 marched down Dewhurst Boulevard, they broke into, 'Onward Christian Soldiers.'[57]

Dr. Shields reported the Convention using Scriptural imagery under the heading "Jarvis Street Church Beheaded by Herodius of McMaster." He lamented:

> A Convention of so-called Baptists under the political manipulation and by the inspiration of a group made up of Modernists, Indifferentists and Place-holders, excluded Jarvis Street Regular Baptist Church, Toronto, from the right to send delegates to the Convention.[58]

Later, The Canadian Baptist reported:

> The Convention is over - the most tragic and sorrowful ever held by the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec. That the Convention has been sustained throughout by huge majorities is a matter of intense satisfaction, but there is no boisterous rejoicing that it was necessary to discipline an individual and a church. It was a disagreeable and unfortunate matter that sheer necessity had made essential after long years of patience.[59]

On Saturday evening October 15th a special meeting was held in Jarvis Street Church and a resolution passed to form a new independent Regular Baptist organization. The meeting to form the new organiza-tion was called for Wednesday, October 19, at the same place. All who enrolled as delegates at this meeting were required to sign the following pledge:

> The undersigned, accepting the statement of faith of the Regular Baptist Missionary and Educational Society of Canada, and being in full sympathy with its work and objects and being opposed to the action of the Convention of Ontario and Quebec in its endorsation of McMaster's modernism, and its adoption of an amendment to its Constitution enabling it to silence evangelical testimony, approves of the formation of the Convention of Regular Baptists, and desires to be enrolled as a delegate thereto.[60]

Dr. Shields reported that 768 Regular Baptists signed the statement of faith and declaration of opposition at this organizational meeting of the "Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec". The name was taken directly out of the trust deeds of the McMaster estate and used, as Dr. Shields reported, "To avoid difficulty in securing incorporation for the new body."[61]

Dr. Shields was elected president of this new Convention. About thirty churches declared themselves as approving the new Convention. At this organization meeting Dr. Shields printed a suggested

resolution for Baptist people to use to submit to the local churches to seek to get a vote in favour of joining the new Baptist Union. The Doctor exhorted

> Those who are loyal to the truth to immediately take steps to rally the people in the churches to which they belong, and wherever possible endeavour to lead the church to apply for membership in the new Regular Union.[62]

At once campaigning began on behalf of the Regular Baptist Union, Dr. Shields stated, "We believe that special meetings should be held all over the two provinces in order that the fullest possible information may be given to the people." In one month's time the Gospel Witness reported that six new churches had been organized and forty churches had voted to join the new organization. Within a few months, meetings whose aims were to divide or have the local church secede to the new Convention had been held in over thirty centres in Ontario and Quebec These meetings were rallied in churches, town halls, theatres or any available public gathering place. To most of the gatherings a bus load of people came from Toronto Jarvis Street Church to push the cause. Many of the meetings lasted until midnight. Local support was solicited as much as possible. Dr. Shields and about three of his friends did most of the speaking at the rallies. Dr. Shields reported: "The battle is waxing fiercer and fiercer on all fronts. Every church that has taken a stand for the truth is already receiving unusual blessing."

The first Convention of the new Baptist "Regulars" was held in Stanley Avenue Baptist Church, Hamilton, November 27-30, 1928. Seventy-seven churches were reported in the Convention with seventy-three reporting a combined membership of about 8,500 persons. They reported a total of 54 ordained ministers and 15 unordained pastors serving in the Union.[63]

At the annual Convention of Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec of 1928 the Amending Bill was applied to exclude the delegates of twelve other churches that for some two years and more had been working against the old Convention and giving their offerings to the support of the organizations under the leadership of Dr. Shields. Succeeding years have brought many changes. The two respective Baptist Conventions have gone their separate ways. In many cases the wound has healed the scar remains.

Reflections

This Canadian Baptist controversy can be cl sified as one more expression of the international or fundamentalist modernist controversy. Yet among Canadian Baptists the dispute exhibited a distinctive Canadian, Baptist, and personal emphasis. In Canada Dr. Shields assumed a peculiar place of leadership to give this controversy a complexion of its own. Among Baptists in Canada even more than in the United States, the spell-binding controversial skill of one man was extremely influential. Among the Baptists of Ontario, Dr. Shields influence was strengthened because he was pastor of one of the leading Baptist Churches of Toronto, the largest Baptist centre in the province, and because the numbers making up this Baptist Convention were comparatively small and easy to reach.

This controversy took on a particularly Baptist emphasis because liberty of conscience was felt to be at stake. Many men who could happily have stood with Dr. Shields theologically, strongly opposed him, because they felt they must fight for the historic Baptist emphasis of soul liberty. Another Baptist emphasis, that of the separation of church and state was also highlighted for discussion when the 1927 amendment to the Convention Act was sought in the federal parliament. Actually, however, the controversy was more dominated by strong personalities than by doctrinal issues.

At least three questions were argued simultaneously: (1) The question of liberty of conscience as opposed to forced submission to articles of faith; (2) The question of the orthodoxy of a number of Baptist leaders and institutions which other Baptists suspected of modernism; (3) The question of the control of education, whether it should conform to a stated theological position and attitude or be free to seek truth in all its breadth at large. As was inevitable these issues were often confused. Further, the controversial skill of Dr. Shields tended to cloud the questions at issue by making it appear that deep matters of personal religion and faith were at issue. This tended to draw the sympathy of many sincere people. Matters were further complicated because the issues at stake had to be discussed and settled by Convention delegates who were of highly unequal ability and training but of equal voting power.

The results of this tragic conflict and schism of the 1920's is still very much in the bloodstream of Canadian Baptists. It has left

the Baptists of Ontario with a deep insecurity that tends to make us followers rather than leaders in Canadian church life. A "don't rock the boat" timidity underlies much of our thinking and policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Reports and Resolutions of the Senate of McMaster University Dec. 2, 1909, p.1.

   All materials referred to in these footnotes, except the Toronto daily papers, are on file in the Canadian Baptist Historical Collection, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario. These archives are hereinafter referred to as the B.H.C.

2. Ibid. p. 2.

3. Ibid. p.19

4. The Canadian Baptist, Toronto, Nov. 3, 1910, pps 3-6. This periodical is the official organ of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

   Dr. Isaac G. Matthews was a graduate of Woodstock College and of Arts and Theology of McMaster University. He received his Ph D. from the University of Chicago in 1912. He was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1898 at 27 years of age. He served a church in Vancouver and one in New Westminster, British Columbia. He lectured at McMaster from 1904 to 1919 in Hebrew, Aramaic and Old Testament exegesis. From 1920 to 1942 Dr. Matthews was Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature at Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pennsylvania. He wrote many articles for periodicals and four major books. His best known volume is Old Testament Life and Literature, which was published in 1923 and has gone through four editions. He died at his home in Landsdowne, Pennsylvania on March 25, 1958, in his eighty-eighth year. His obituary was published in The Canadian Baptist June 1, 1959, pps 15-16.

5. The Canadian Baptist November 3, 1910 p. 3, hereinafter designated C.B.

6. C.B. Nov. 3, 1910 p.3.

7. C.B. October 16, 1919 pp 3-4

   Dr. T.T. Shields was born in Bristol, England on November 1, 1873. His father was a Methodist preacher who later turned Baptist and a teacher of Latin and Greek. The family migrated to Canada in 1888, and Rev. Mr. Shields Sr. joined the Canadian Baptists and became a pastor of churches in Southern Ontario. Dr. Shields was educated at a private school in Bristol and by his father in Canada. Dr. T.T. Shields began service in the Baptist Ministry at the age of 21. He served pastorates in southern Ontario at Florence, Delhi, Wentworth Baptist Church, Hamilton, Adelaide Street Baptist Church, London, and Jarvis Street Church, Toronto. Rev. Dr. Shields became pastor of the Jarvis Street Baptist Church Toronto on May 15, 1910, and remained in this office for 45 years until his death April 4, 1955, in his 82nd year.

8. C.B. Nov. 13, 1919 p.1

9. Toronto Daily Star Sept. 22, 1921. p. 7.

10. A pamphlet by D. E. Thomson, Dr. Shields and the Jarvis Street Church (Toronto Oct. 14, 1922) is an eye witness account of the church conflict by one who was at the time a leading member of the church.
The True Story of the Jarvis Street Trouble by its Retired Deacons (Toronto Oct. 7, 1921) is another pamphlet carefully written at the time. Dr. Shields told the story from his point of view not only in the published lecture The Inside of the Cup but in a book that is still being advertised by Jarvis Street Baptist Church, The Plot that Failed. All this material is in the B.H.C.

11. Gospel Witness. Toronto, June 10, 1922. This weekly periodical began publication with Dr. T.T. Shields as editor on May 20, 1922. This publication is hereinafter referred to as G.W.

12. The Baptist Year Book for Ontario and Quebec 1922, p. 40, records the wording of the resolution.

13. Toronto Daily Star, Oct. 22, 1922, pps. 1, 3 and 6 published detailed reports of the Convention with photos and caricatures of some of the Baptist leaders.

14. Details of this convocation are recorded in the "Report of the Senate and Board of Governors of McMaster University for the Session 1923-24" in the Baptist Year Book for Ontario and Quebec and Western Canada 1924. p. 166.

15. G.W. Oct. 23, 1924, pp. 7-8.

16. G.W. Jan. 17, 1924.

17. The proceedings of these sessions of the Convention are recorded in the Baptist Year Book for Ontario, Quebec and Western Canada 1924 pps. 39-42. Mr. Albert Matthews, the President of the Baptist Convention for the year 1924 was very active for many years in the Baptist Church. He led in the later appointment of Professor L. H. Marshall. He was a member of the Board of Governors of McMaster University from 1911 to his death in 1949, and he was chairman of this Board from 1921-1948. He was Lieutenant Governor of Ontario 1937-1946. He was a successful investment broker and director of several financial institutions.

18. G.W. Nov. 16, 1924, pps. 9-10.

19. G.W. Nov. 20, 1924, p. 9.

20. C.B. Nov. 6, 1924, p. 1.

21. These "Robertson letters" were printed in full in the G.W. of October 15, 1925, pps. 14-15.

22. G.W. October 15, 1925.

23. G.W. October 23, 1925, p. 10.

24. Proceedings of the Educational Session of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec held in Hamilton, October 16-22, 1925, pps 67-68. These are stenographically reported and issued by the authority of the Senate of McMaster University.

25. Ibid. p. 70

26. The Globe Toronto, October 22, 1925, p. 9.

27. G.W. Oct. 22, 1925, p. 4.

28. G.W. Oct. 30, 1925, p. 31.

29. G.W. Nov. 12, 1925, p. 16.

30. G.W. Jan. 21, 1926, pps. 31-37.

31. G.W. Sept. 16, 1926, p. 10.

32. Baptist Year Book for Ontario and Quebec 1926. p. 61

33 Proceedings of the Educational Session of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec held in First Avenue Baptist Church, Toronto, October 19, 1926 p. 10. (Official stenograph Report, published under instructions of the Convention by the Executive Committee of the Convention.)

34. Ibid., pps 64-83 record in full this speech by Professor Marshall.

35. Ibid., p. 104.

36. Baptist Year Book 1926 p. 37.

37. The Globe Oct. 20, 1926, p. 13.

38. C.B. Oct. 28, 1926 p. 3.

39. G.W. Nov. 4, 1926. This special issue of the Gospel Witness consisted of 176 pages under the headline "Ichabod! McMaster's New Name".

40. G.W. Oct. 28, 1926 pps. 12-13.

41. G.W. Jan. 13, 1927 pps. 1-12. This issue published a detailed report of the Society organization meeting at Toronto of January 11-12, 1927, which record of the constitution, the articles of faith and a number of resolutions that were passed.

42. G.W. April 14, 1927, pps. 1-9.

43. G.W. April 28, 1927, pps. 9-11.

44. G.W. May 19, 1927, pps. 7-8, is a report of the May 17th protest meeting and a record of the resolutions that were passed.

45. G.W. May 26, 1927 p. 9.

46. G.W. Sept. 8, 1927 p. 9.

47. The Evening Telegram, Toronto, March 31, 1927.

48. Ibid. April 5, 1927.

49. C.B. April 28, 1927, p. 1.

50. C.B. April 7, 1927, p. 3.

51. C.B. April 14, 1927, p. 5 is an article by Professor Marshall headed, "Baptists and Separation of Church and State."

52. C.B. October 20, 1927, p. 1.

53. C.B. October 20, 1927, p. 8.

54. Baptist Year Book 1927, p. 9.

55. C.B. October 20, 1927. p. 2.

56. Baptist Year Book 1927, p. 32.

57. The Globe, October 15, 1927 p. 1. The report was under the heading "The Convention Endorses Expulsion Resolution Against Jarvis Street Church".

58. G.W. October 20, 1927, pps. 1-5.

59. C.B. October 20, 1927, p. 1.

60. G.W. October 20, 1927, p. 7.

61. Ibid. p. 8.

62. Ibid. p. 8.

63. G.W. December 6, 1928.

64. The Statistics compiled for the year 1928 of the Ontario and Quebec Baptist Convention listed their total number of Baptist Churches as 448, number of ordained ministers as 348 with a church membership of 57,781 persons (The Baptist Year Book 1929, p. 369.)