Introductory Statement

The Canadian Society of Church History presents herewith a selection of papers delivered at its meeting held in June, 1976, at Laval University. The reproduction of the papers is essentially for the convenience of members of the Society, although a limited number of copies are available to interested persons and institutions and may be purchased from the Treasurer, Prof. John Netten, Department of Educational Foundations, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Nfld. A1C 5S7. Distribution in this form does not preclude publication of these papers elsewhere and copyright remains the property of the authors.

The papers given by the Rev. Richard Ruggle and Prof. N.K. Clifford on the theme of church union will be published in the Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society and offprints will be sent to each member of our Society.

The next annual meeting will be held in June, 1977, at the University of New Brunswick. Persons interested in membership or seeking more information about the Society and its work are invited to write to the Secretary, Prof. John Moir, Scarborough College, University of Toronto, 1265 Military Trail, West Hill, Ont. M1C 1A4.

President Prof. Frank Peake
Department of History
Laurentian University

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Mid-Victorian Evangelical Culture in the British City: the Y.M.C.A. Lectures, 1845 - 1865

by

John Kenyon

Between 1845 and 1865 the officers of the Young Men's Christian Association organised a series of lectures which were delivered in Exeter Hall in the Strand, the building which was the centre of so much Evangelical activity in London during the nineteenth century. There were by my calculation some two hundred and thirty lectures, between eight and twelve given each year. The majority of the lecturers were clergymen coming from the Low Church party in the Church of England and from most of the other Protestant denominations, but some were delivered by eminent laymen, politicians like Lord John Russell and scientists like Hugh Miller for example. The subjects of the lectures were varied. Naturally many were religious in content. But the lecturers did not believe they were restricted to this particular subject field, and therefore they spoke on all kinds of secular matters, on history, science, literature, contemporary affairs, the empire, especially the British in India, and above all, for this was their major purpose, on the moral improvement of young men. It was this wide variety of subject matter which made these lectures such a valuable source for understanding the assumptions, the attitudes, the values and above all the rhetoric which shaped the Evangelical way of life.

Before I consider them in more detail however, I would

first like to look at the more general background. When they started the Y.M.C.A. itself had only just been established the year before, in 1844. In his authoritative study of The Fathers of the Victorians, F.K. Brown has suggested that it was the last of the great Evangelical societies that did so much to fashion the nature of British Society in the nineteenth century.[1] This is perhaps a debateable judgment: considered in this context, I would argue that the Salvation Army would be better so described. It is of some significance that, despite the major differences between their memberships, both these societies have retained a sense of mission that preserves them as vital forces in the modern world, not merely in Britain but also internationally.

There has been some controversy about who actually took the initiative in organising the first meeting of the Y.M.C.A. - the best account of which is Clyde Binfield's, George Williams and the Y.M.C.A., a book to which I must acknowledge my indebtedness.[2] When, however, the first history of the Association was written by its secretary, W.O. Shipton, in 1857, he had no doubt about the great contribution made to it by George Williams in these crucial years of its early development.[3] Williams was certainly a representative figure of the men involved with the Y.M.C.A. and it is, therefore, worthwhile considering his background and character. He was born in 1821 the youngest son of a farming family in the south-west of England. Clearly there was little future for him on the family farm and at the age of fifteen he left home to work

as an apprentice in the shop of the leading draper in the nearby country town of Bridgewater. In 1841 he left for London in order to gain further experience in his chosen career. Here he became a member of the staff of eighty assistants working for the firm of Hitchcroft, Rogers, which was situated in St. Paul's Churchyard, London's most fashionable shopping district at this time. Williams had every intention of returning to Bridgewater in order to start his own business, but he made rapid progress in his new firm and by 1844 was in a position of considerable responsibility. He was to remain in London for the rest of his life.

Hitchcroft, who was the active partner in the firm, had the reputation of being one of the most progressive businessmen in London. He was for example supposed to have been the first shopkeeper to have installed plateglass windows in his shop front in order to make a more striking display of his goods to attract the passers-bye. At the same time working and living conditions for his assistants appear to have been little better than the average, which in drapers' shops were in particular notorious. This was the major problem which confronted the founders of the Y.M.C.A. It was not only the harshness of these conditions but even more the potential for immorality which so concerned them. This was the way Shipton described the situation:

> There were probably about 150,000 [young men] in London in the early part of 1844... by far the larger number lived in the houses of business in which they were employed. They commenced their labour from seven to

> nine in the morning, and closed it from nine to eleven in the evening in the more favourable seasons and neighbourhoods, while in some the toil of the day did not end till long after midnight, and the duties of the following day were resumed by six o'clock. The intervals allowed for meals seldom amounted to an hour during the whole day, and the food provided was often both course and scanty. The domestic arrangements were of the worst description. In very few houses was there any sitting-room for the young men but the place of refreshment, and that was not unfrequently the kitchen of the servants. The sleeping apartments were small, and badly ventilated. Several slept in the same room; and of the juniors, some occupied the same bed. Confined thus in arduous duties during the day, and having no suitable rooms for study, social intercourse, or recreation in their places of abode, the majority sought their enjoyment in the tavern, and found in the society of boon companions the only relief from the dull uniformity and routine of their daily existence. Debarred from all opportunities of visiting the homes of their families or friends, and thus deprived of those refining and softening influences by which the character and habits of young men are so largely impressed and benefited, their conviviality often reached the point of excess, and the moral degradation thus commenced ended, in too many cases, in a point of debasement ruinous to the individual and deeply pernicious to those around him. It can be conceived how terrible must have been the condition of young men who were compelled by their business engagements to live in the daily and hourly companionship of the guilty and depraved; and it will be obvious that the communication of evil habits and principles was fostered, and their unhappy results developed with increasing rapidity, from the fact that very often the good and the bad - the novice in life and the veteran in sin (alas! too often young in years), the 'old stager' in London and the youth fresh from the country - occupied one and the same bedroom.[4]

But of course the temptations to which these young men were exposed were not confined to their places of work, but

were to be found within the city as a whole. The awareness of this was shown clearly in a fascinating lecture delivered in 1857 by the Rev. William Landels entitled "The Lessons of the Street."[5] In what contemporaries were already calling 'an age of great cities', Landels was prepared to acknowledge thatlife in London could be a rewarding experience for its inhabitants, far more vital than it would be in the country. At the same time its dangers were just as great. The urban environment provided extensive opportunities for immorality, especially prostitution about which Landels spoke very frankly indeed. The major reason for this, he believed, was the breakdown of social order in London and the development of social exclusiveness and alienation between classes. He urged that it was now necessary to reassert what he and many of his fellow Evangelicals saw as the traditional system of social values which had always possessed an essentially religious basis.

It was in these circumstances that George Williams began his work with the Y.M.C.A. He was already a man of strong religious commitment. He had gone through a conversion experience in 1837 and had become an active member of the congregational church in Bridgewater. There is no doubt that it was his Evangelical faith which provided most of the motivation behind his future social work. What then did Evangelicalism stand for at this period of time?

It is certainly true that the Evangelicalism of the middle of the nineteenth century has earned a poor reputation for itself. It seemed to have lost that sense of purpose which

was so evident in its great days at the start of the century. It appeared to have also lost that unity of mind and will that it had possessed earlier. Even Lord Shaftesbury, 'the Evangelical of Evangelicals', who had succeeded William Wilberforce as its leading lay representatives, found himself more and more isolated. The most constructive religious force now appeared to be the Anglo-Catholics. The essential characteristic of Evangelicalism apparently was one of negative criticism and that its exponents were anti-intellectual, intolerant and cantankerous. It has been suggested that the surprising shift of public opinion against Palmerston which brought about his unexpected political defeat in 1858 was caused by the growing concern over the nature of his episcopal appointment, which under the influence of Shaftesbury, his son-in-law, had been mainly evangelical.

Despite all this, however, Evangelicalism was to remain a powerful force in British Society for the whole of the nineteenth century. Even though its more negative aspects might now have become more evident, it still possessed the vitality to permeate through the society which in many ways it itself had created. After all it was the Anglo-Catholics who continued to remain a comparatively small, highly élitest minority. Evangelicalism always possessed a far more extensive appeal than they did. It was a faith which attracted the common man because it stressed the importance of each individual's relationship with God and not the authoritarian structure of the Church. Anglican Evangelicals like Shaftesbury, it is true, might continue to

support church establishment, and in doing so cause some controversy with their nonconformist colleagues, but they did on grounds of expediency rather than principle. For them, as for all Evangelicals, the 'real' church was that whose members had entered it not by baptism, but by conversion - by the realisation of the true significance of the atonement of Christ as revealed in the New Testament and its guarantee of salvation for eternity. This was surely something that could be experienced by anyone, whatever social class he might come from.

And were the Evangelicals quite as anti-intellectual and intolerant as certainly some of their own writings might suggest? It is my hope that by taking a representative sample from these two hundred and thirty Y.M.C.A. lectures, it can be shown that mid-Victorian Evangelical culture was in fact broader and more positive than its detractors might imagine.

It would be best to begin our discussion of the lectures by considering some of those with a religious content. Most of them shared one major cause of concern, that Protestantism at this time was facing two challenges: first, from the Catholic Church and its pernicious British offshoot, the Tractarians, and secondly, from new scientific discoveries, especially in the field of geology. It is certainly true that it was the treatment of Roman Catholicism which produced the most virulent and harsh rhetoric of these lectures. Again and again there were violent denunciations of the whole Catholic system and of the

ecclesiastical domination which it had created. It was the complete subservience of the people to the priest which was so abhorrent in Protestant eyes because, so it seemed, it resulted inevitably in ignorance, economic stagnation and moral depravity - this last always being illustrated by the favourite example of the debauchery of young girls in the confessional. Lecturer after lecturer delighted to draw vivid contrasts between the despotism and povery of Catholic Europe and the freedom and prosperity of Protestant countries. This was especially true of Britain, the start of whose greatness could be traced back to the Reformation. It could be proved that this was so, not only in religious moral and intellectual matters, but also on the economic development of the country. The Rev. Samuel Coley, for example, was to maintain:

> The economical advantage of the Reformation to England is incalculable. It set us free from all manners of Romish mulets and charges. It unclenched the thievish grip with which so called "spiritual men" had managed to clutch nearly all the temporals of the kingdom. It dismissed the nuns to their proper places in the homes of the land. It dispersed the army of cowled caterpillars, and closed the monastic beggar and pauper manufactories. By restoring wealth to circulation, and by compelling drones to work, it gave an impetus to the industrial character and pursuits of our people that has issued in making England what she is to-day, the workshop and the bank of the world.[6]

The superiority of the Protestant faith was thus clearly evident. It was nevertheless necessary to remember that Roman Catholicism was by no means a defeated force and was still able to take the offensive. Fortunately - and I quote the Rev. Coley again - as

> a French wit once said, "English society is like a barrel of its own beer: the top is froth, the bottom dregs, the middle excellent." Mercifully, Popery has achieved no appreciable success in the middle class of the land: striding over it, it has planted one foot among the darkest of our populace, and the other amid the flimsiest of our aristocracy. The strong Protestant heart of the country is still healthy.[7]

If the Y.M.C.A. lecturers showed only too clearly their animosity towards Roman Catholicism, on the other hand their reaction to the new scientific discoveries was far less intolerant, and they accepted them in fact much more calmly than did their Anglo-Catholic contemporaries. They argued that a true understanding of science helped to make clear God's purpose for His creation for his presence was manifest throughout the entire universe and in all aspects of physical life. Their great difficulty was to reconcile the new advances in geological studies with the narrative of the creation of the world in the Bible. Taking into consideration the fundamental importance given by the Evangelicals to the place of the Bible in their faith, they thought it essential that nothing should weaken its credibility. As a result considerable ingenuity was devoted to this problem, usually with the purpose of proving that the Biblical narrative should not be read literally, but rather as a symbolic account.

If God was to be found in science, for the Evangelicals He was even more clearly present in history. This was obviously much more agreeable to their sympathies. It was one of their strongest characteristics to have an exceptional sense of history

behind their understanding of the society in which they lived. As a result there were numerous lectures on historical subjects, ranging from Alfred the Great, to Elizabeth, with naturally thorough studies of the Reformation, to contemporary history with memorial lectures on William Wilberforce, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Macaulay, and a vivid, first-hand description of the 1848 revolution in France. For the Evangelicals the theme of English history was a series of miraculous deliverances which showed that the English were in a very real sense a chosen people. That most militant of preachers, the Rev. Hugh McNeile, was to tell his audience at the climax of his lecture comparing the characteristics of Romanism and Protestantism that:

> We praise the God of England for the indignant recoil of the barons, and of the nation with them, from the intolerable tyranny of the Anglo-Norman Kings, leading to the successful demand for the Great Charter, and thus laying a foundation for the liberties of Englishmen, in our infancy as a nation, which other nations of Europe are endeavouring, and endeavouring in vain, to lay at this very hour.
> We praise the God of England for overruling the necessities ... of our first Edward - necessities which required supplies of money such as the nobles, then the only Parliament, refused to vote him, and induced him, in order to obtain the votes desired, to admit men of the middle classes of society into Parliament, thus commencing our House of Commons, that broad and massive fulcrum which has supported and still supports, in happy equilibrium, the splendour of our monarchy and the reality of our freedom - a base so broad in principle as to be able to make itself broader, and thus practically to adapt itself to the growing exigencies of the state of society: bringing an increasing amount of <u>regulated</u> popular influence to bear on the executive government, and therebye protecting

> that government against irregular outbreaks of that influence. Enlargements of our popular representation have been the safety-valves of our constitution. Doubtless it is possible to make them too wide, thereby dissipating our strength and impeding our progress. It was equally possible to have kept them too close, thereby increasing incalculably the risk of explosion. We give thanks to God, in whose hand are the hearts and minds of all men, for the mercy of moderation. Look to this, my young friends; be "sober minded," and avoid extreme politicians ...
> We praise the God of England for deliverance upon deliverance: deliverance from a Romanist conspiracy in its attempt to destroy our Protestant King; and deliverance from a Romanist King in his attempts to destroy our Protestant constitution; from the one, by the seasonable discovery of the gunpowder treason; from the other, by the seasonable arrival and happy successes of William Prince of Orange ...
> Our God works by means. And to christian men we look, as to his instruments: to you, my young friends we Look, and to such as you, the rising strength and intelligence of the middle classes of our society ... providentially ready for the crisis, in our approaching conflicts for the defence of our Protestantism.[8]

The Y.M.C.A. lecturers dealt with a variety of topics, of which I, with the available time at my disposal, have been able to discuss only a few. There was, however, one important series which cannot be ignored: these were concerned with the moral and ethical improvement of the young men to whom they were addressed. There was expressed some doubt whether this was indeed part of the responsibility of the lecturers, and it was maintained that their main concern should always be to strengthen the faith rather than to improve the character of their hearers. But to accept this premise, it was argued, would only strengthen the common belief that Protestants completely

rejected the doctrine of justification by works, an opinion which resulted from the great antagonism shown against all Catholic doctrine at the time of the Reformation. It was important to remember that a man's existence was an integrated whole, and that the way he acted during his lifetime was as important as his faith in God.

As a result there were a considerable number of lectures dealing with the moral life of young men living in London. Some dealt with what might be described as the negative aspect of the problem, being concerned with their exposure to well-recognised evils: drunkeness, gambling, prostitution, dancing, the theatre, even the reading of fiction. All these were traditional targets of Evangelical denounciation, but it is of interest to note that in some instances attitudes were in the process of change. This was especially so with regard to the reading of fiction. On the one hand there was the customary outright condemnation: "a habit of novel reading is a sort of mental sin-drinking," it was said, "fiction is the alcohol of the mind."[9] On the other, it was pointed out how much the character of the novels themselves was changing as a result of the growing religiosity of the times, a change which was most clearly seen in those written by Charlotte M. Yonge.

The lecturers, however, were concerned not merely to point out the evils and temptations of city life that must be avoided. They were anxious to achieve something more positive, to mould the characters of the young men themselves. Thus

they spoke on such topics as "Daniel: a Model for Young Men" and "Young Men for the Age." The last, by the Rev. William Brock, was a typical example of this kind.[10] Much of his advice was what could be expected: the need for careful discrimination, especially in the choice of a career and a wife; for integrity in maintaining ones principles, both religious and secular; for habitual godliness. Some of it, however, was rather more unexpected. In the section on 'individuality', for example, Brock made some critical comments on the spread of religious societies and the harm they were doing to the sense of individual responsibility, which were somewhat surprising to hear from an Evangelical. Again, in speaking about 'generosity', Brock maintained that while religion should not be used as a weapon against the principles of orthodox political economy, which I assume is a reference to Christian socialism, nevertheless employers should be as generous as possible to their workers, and he spoke with enthusiasm about one of his friends who appears to have instituted an early form of profit-sharing in his business.

I would like to conclude by considering the lecture, the longest in the whole series, which seems to me to represent best the spirit of the series as a whole. This was a biographical study of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton who died in 1844, the last survivor of the great generation of William Wilberforce and the Clapham Sect.[11] It was delivered in 1849 by the Rev. Thomas Binney, who subtitled it "A Study for Young Men." Binney was the minister of the King's Weigh House Congregational Church,

where he had attracted many young men into his congregation, including George Williams. In 1848 he had been chairman of the Congregational Union, taking the occasion of his address to make clear his belief that the special mission of Congregationalism was neither to the rich nor the poor, but to the middle classes, a point of view which immediately caused considerable controversy. In his lecture Binney showed that he was very conscious of the social background of his audience:

> You have much to struggle with. The isolation in which many of you are placed, residing by yourselves in large establishments like so many monastic institutions is not good for you: it may be unfavourable to happiness, to morals, to manners, to religion ... None of you may be Buxtons in the actual form of your outward course, but all of you may in your principles and character. By studying him as your model you may even come to surpass him; for your circumstances may be such as to make the difference all in your favour, suppose you should approach to anything like what he was.[12]

Buxton certainly had been born in more favourable circumstances that most of Binney's audience, being the eldest son of a country family. However, his father died when he was six, his mother lost much of the family money through unlucky speculations and for some unexplained reason he himself did not inherit the Irish estate of which he had every expectation. As a result when he married in 1809 his financial position was desperate. As he wrote, he would have given everything for a situation worth £100 a year, even if it meant working twelve hours a day for it.[13] At this point, his fortunes changed. He entered the firm of brewers owned by his uncles as a clerk. By

1811 he had become a partner which he was to remain for the rest of his life, building up a large fortune. In 1818 he was elected to the House of Commons, remaining a member until 1837. His major interest was the anti-slavery campaign of which he became the acknowledged leader after the death of Wilberforce. He thus had two successful careers, a very obvious model for young men.

Binney had two main themes to emphasise in his study of Buxton's life. The first was to explain how an idle, somewhat dissolute youth had been transformed into a successful businessman and a deeply spiritual one. He found the explanation in terms of two conversions, one which took place in Buxton's secular life, the other in his religious life. The first took place while Buxton was at Dublin University, and to illustrate what happened Binney quoted from a letter written by Buxton to his son:

> You are now at that period of life in which you must make a turn to the right or the left. You must now give proofs of principles, determination and strength of mind: or you must sink into idleness and acquire the habits of a desultory, ineffective young man: and if once you fall to that point you will find it no easy matter to rise again. I had been a boy fond of pleasure and idleness: I became speedily a youth of steady habits of application and strong resolution. I soon gained the ground I had lost, and I found those things which were difficult and almost impossible to my idleness, easy enough to my industry: and much of my happiness and all my prosperity in life have resulted from the change I made at your age.[14]

It was this sudden change in his life, Binney emphasised to his audience which made possible his future successful

business career.

Even more important was his religious conversion. Binney described how this took place, step by step: first, by Buxton starting to read the Bible on a steady if unorganised way; next by attending regularly from 1811 the ministry of the Rev. James Pratt, "a man of the Newtons and Simeons," and on this Binney commented:

> Mark the advantage of hearing the word as well as reading it, and the importance to be attached to a spiritual instructor and an Evangelical ministry

and finally by experiencing the fact of conversion during a serious illness.[15] Binney believed this to be of immense significance because it gave a new dimension to Buxton's life work. He maintained that there was a major difference between a truly virtuous and a truly religious man, between goodness as the offspring of natural disposition and goodness as including "a holy principle and being essentially a Divine result." In this connection Binney drew an interesting comparison between Buxton and his contemporary Sir Samuel Romilly. Both came from the same social background, both were businessmen in the City of London, both were members of Parliament deeply involved in social reform. For Binney, however, Romilly's achievements in comparison with those of Buxton, were seriously weakened by the fact that he never gave any indication that he believed he was acting for some Divine purpose.[16]

Binney emphasised to his audience, therefore, his belief

that the fullness of Buxton's life was the result of these two conversions in his secular and religious life. There was, however, another question which exercised him. Was it in fact really possible to combine a successful business career with a truly spiritual life? Binney was to return to this dilemma in 1853 when he published a lecture, which was not in this series, titled: "Is it Possible to make the Best of both Worlds?" Once again this caused a great deal of controversy and it had not been forgotten by the time of his death. The Anglo-Catholic newspaper, The Guardian made the harsh comment in its obituary notice:

> No one who can entertain the question and answer it as Dr. Binney did, whether it is possible to make the best of both worlds, can have a large measure of high spiritual power.[17]

Nevertheless Binney was convinced that Buxton's life did in fact prove that it was in fact possible. Of course he faced one major difficulty, the nature of Buxton's business, brewing. Although not a teetotaller himself, Binney could appreciate the concern about excessive drinking amongst the population of large cities, and he said that such conditions would not exist in a perfect world. Nevertheless he was still prepared to defend Buxton's choice of a career, even if on the somewhat weak grounds that he had done so before the teetotal movement had become a reality. Again Buxton's opponents made much of the fact that he continued to enjoy his favourite pastimes of hunting and shooting, maintaining that such cruel sports were incompatible with true religious feelings. According to Binney,

such criticism was hypocritical:

> Had he only happened to have been simply orthodox or a "high and dry" and on the right side, he might have passed as a "pillar" or a "buttress" of the good old sort if he had not had more religion in the whole of his great body than he really had in his little finger.[18]

Binney urged his audience, therefore, to remember that Buxton

> was an earnest, evangelical Christian: and one [who shows us] the possibility of a man combining a very laborious outward life - a life of business, trade, politics - with one of deep and eminent spirituality.[19]

It is this lesson, that it is possible to make the best of both worlds, which was the underlying theme of the Y.M.C.A. lectures.

FOOTNOTES

1. F.K. Brown, The Fathers of the Victorians: the Age of Wilberforce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) p. 326.

2. C. Binfield, George Williams and the Y.M.C.A.: a Study in Victorian Social Attitudes (London: Heinemann, 1973)

3. [W.O. Shipton], 'The History of the Young Men's Christian Association of London' in Young Men's Christian Association, Lectures delivered in Exeter Hall, 20 vol. (London: James Nisbet, 1869) (Hereafter Y.M.C.A., Lectures) I, pp. XXXVIII-XXIX.

4. Ibid., p. XXXVI

5. Rev. William Landels, 'The Lessons of the Street', in Y.M.C.A., Lectures, XIII, pp. 189-238.

6. Rev. Samuel Coley, 'The Church: Its Influence, Duties and Hopes in this Age', in Y.M.C.A., Lectures, XIII, p. 277.

7. Ibid., p. 306.

8. Rev. Hugh McNeile, 'The Characteristics of Romanism and of Protestantism as Developed in their Respective Teaching and Worship', in Y.M.C.A., Lectures, IV, pp. 30-32.

9. Coley, 'The Church', p. 301.

10. Rev. W. Brock, 'Young Men for the Age', in Y.M.C.A., Lectures, pp. 451-503.

11. Rev. Thomas Binney, 'Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart.: A Study for Young Men', in Y.M.C.A., Lectures, IV, pp. 355-451

12. Ibid., p. 448.

13. Ibid., p. 356.

14. Ibid., p. 384.

15. Ibid., pp. 417-418

16. Ibid., p. 410.

17. Binfield, George Williams, p. 26.

18. Binney, 'Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton', pp. 438-439.

19. Ibid., p. 414

The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church of Canada, 1854-1884

by

Neil Semple

Methodism, as a distinct institution in Canada, has gone through three major phases. In the first, its 'Heroic Age', up to the 1850's, it was preeminently a missionary church serving the needs of the scattered Canadian population. During this period, there was created a viable and growingly influential Upper Canadian church. It had survived both the machinations from within and the battles with the Family Compact and Anglican toryism. It would no longer be deemed disloyal nor an upstart, unrespectable body of fanatics. These struggles permitted an optimistic quest for an enlarged role in the Ontario and broader Canadian communities.

The third period, beginning about 1884 with the creation of one national Methodist church, commenced with a mature organization and renewed vigour. The church had become a comfortable middle class urban institution that was now forced to deal with a generation of scientific discoveries, rising urban social problems and the requirements of its expanding missionary operations.

These trials were especially significant in western Canada where the church hoped to recreate the Ontario Protestant society. Missionary evangelism held little

meaning either for congregations trained in eastern Canada or for the Methodist church itself, yet the area could not support a sedate urbane ministry. What developed, therefore, was a more secular, scientific approach to religion which culminated in the social gospel movement that was to severely strain the entire church.

The middle period, 1854-1884, was, therefore, a time of major transition for both Canadian society and the Methodist church. The early 1850's marked the effective close of Ontario's agricultural frontier. Improved transportation facilities combined with increased population meant a more intensive use of the land and the consolidation of the farm community. They also signified the elaboration of an urban hierarchy binding the Ontario community together under a more coherent value system. This required an alteration in the institutions that would serve this society.

By 1854 as well, with the union of the Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada East and Canada West and the acquisition of the missions in western Canada, the Methodist church felt prepared to meet the challenge of this advancing urban society. Not only was Methodism prepared, it was anxious to prove that it was a mature, respectable social institution. For it, too, the period

was one of consolidation and growing prosperity; a base from which to fulfill its primary missionary function in the west and to the rest of the world.

Part of the ability of the church to adapt so readily to these new demands was the interplay of local initiative and a well structured centralized control. Despite its role among the scattered homesteads, the Methodist church had never been a frontier institution. Congregational independence or democracy had little place in the church. The doctrines and discipline of John Wesley, along with other directives from headquarters, forced conformity among both laymen and ministers.

The gradual devolution of control, originally from the American and later from the British parent churches, did not represent a lessening of this metropolitan influence. Rather authority was transferred to Toronto and the other local metropolae where the printing, publishing and missionary establishment was centred. The major element limiting this centralized influence was the variety of opinions among church leaders. However, all respected the need for centralized control in properly serving the best religious interests of the Canadian people. With this leadership, therefore, gradually the Methodist Church of Canada was transformed into a sophisticated middle class institution fulfilling the role desired by a wealthy, confident and broadly Protestant

urban society.

Although this was a period of population growth in the towns and cities, urban means more than merely living in large centres. It reflects as well a pattern or style of life, an openness to new ideas, heterogeneity in relations, a high rate of personal interaction, rationality in reaching decisions and an exposure to ideas through the media and travel.[1] Central Canada was all gradually meeting these conditions after 1850.

Two of the central pillars of Methodism were its itinerancy and its 'means of grace'. Methodism was "Christianity in Earnest"[2], that is the absolute obligation to strive for a state of grace. This was a never ending struggle. To help in the fight, Methodism provided a variety of means of grace that were, "...the divinely appointed medium of communicating spiritual knowledge, comfort and prosperity."[3] If conscientiously followed these might lead to salvation.

Interwoven with these means of grace was the Methodist ministry itself. Originally the shortage of pastors for the small scattered congregations forced the creation of a travelling ministry. Being well suited to pioneer conditions, it was later adopted in Canada. The itinerancy had become more than a convenience however. It was glorified as especially Christ like, lacking the ritualistic despotism of a settled clergy. In order to

illustrate the broad changes in the Methodist church, this paper will analyse the specific transition within these two core elements of Methodism.

Although the church constantly warned its members to keep the old truths, utilising the traditional means of grace, there was in fact a clear alteration in their nature. Of these, the essentially private means of grace were especially vital to the achievement of personal salvation. The admonition to,

> Often pray to our Heavenly Father who seeth in secret-often read regularly and prayerfully the Holy Scriptures which are able to make us wise unto salvation-every morning and every evening assemble your family and present the supplications of your household to God...,[4]

this, if earnestly followed was often accompanied by a change of heart-a conversion experience.

Only converted individuals could be members of the Methodist church, and while this kept actual members to only a fraction of the congregations, it maintained a high level of emotional force within the body of the church. This stress on constant personal perseverance was one of the keys to Methodist success. By never abandoning this world for millenial social solutions it suited the instinctive aspirations of the hard working, rising middle class.

This intimate association of secular and religious

labour meant that with advancing economic stability came a more optimistic view of one's religious security. By the 1850's, with the growing prosperity of the church and many of its members, the role of the individual means of grace was significantly reduced. Secular wealth was an unmistakable sign of God's favour. This buoyed the perception of the future, reducing the psychological need for fervent emotional appeals to God. Special days of prayer and fasting also lost their appeal, emotional zeal being replaced by Christian fellowship.[5]

This formalism even altered the reliance on family worship. The church and sunday school partially replaced the home as the centre of the quest for an intimate relation with God. Strict limits on personal behaviour within the extensive system of Victorian Protestant morality, mediated against the decline of grace, but also reflected a satisfaction with the religious condition already achieved.

These same elements were prevalent to an even greater degree in the social means of grace. Combined with the ordinary church services, and on special occasions revivals and camp-meetings, were gatherings for lovefeasts, prayer, class, and band meetings. These provided a communion of believers where shared experience mutually strengthened the spiritual life of the individual. In the early church, where the minister was present for only a short time on scattered occasions, these gatherings were vital for the

maintenance of an ongoing zealous church. The Methodist church believed that,

> Class-meetings, Lovefeasts, and bands are among our most precious and essential privileges...and perhaps no means with which the God of grace has blessed us conduce more effectually to the sanctification of the spirit. They are necessary for you if you are to retain the glow and simplicity of your first love, your closet communion with God.[6]

With the growing urbanization of the Ontario community, there was a decline in the role of these instruments of the church as well. By 1875, the Connexion was plainly aware of this decline. In addressing its members it stated,

> It is commonly reported to us that in some parts of our Conference there is a great neglect of the social means of grace. Your social and religious instinct, your vital union one to another as believers, the experience of true Christians in all past times, the unmistakable seal of the divine approval, indicate their great value. To neglect them is to wither and die. They are, too, among the best indices of the Church's life; and as such, the neglect of them excites within us grave apprehensions of the decline of piety. Never were these precious means of grace...more necessary than in this age of increased luxury and covetousness.[7]

Despite these warnings, however, the church accepted this decline in its quest for a new role in the community.

In 1878, band meetings, which had been volontary assemblies of small groups of members for a strengthening of faith, ceased to be recognized by the Methodist

Discipline.[8] This merely formalized their nearly complete disappearance from Canadian Methodism. Love-feasts and prayermeetings, more religiously intensive than band meetings, also lost most of their adherents.[9] Where they were sustained, they were opened to the unconverted. Since these individuals had not been 'set apart' by a religious experience, they were less ready to accept the necessity of emotional fervour. This was especially true in the larger centres where emotionalism appeared to threaten social respectability.

It was not only the membership, however, that was losing its zeal; the institution too sought a respectable place in society. It was embarrassed by unseemly emotionalism induced by earnest sermons or exhortations.[10] While always mistrusting the power of formal, written sermons, it nevertheless came to expect intelligent, well argued approaches, void of unnecessary excitement. William Morley Punshon, one of the great 19th century preachers, who was President of the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist church from 1867 to 1872, was a model for young preachers. His style was powerfully grandeloquent in imagination, but always learned and restrained in emotion.[11]

Even tea meetings, which were originally designed for spiritual refreshment in a social atmosphere, became, instead, practical means of raising subscriptions for

churches. They also came to emphasize entertainment for the general public rather than being specifically Methodist functions.[12] The line between good fellowship and sinful pleasure was a fine one among Methodists and often the more conservative members became indignant with certain types of behaviour. As sophistication and wealth advanced, however, many diversions entered Methodist homes that would have shocked an earlier generation.[13]

Aside from the providential means of grace, special services also changed to meet the demands of the urbanizing society. Principal among these were camp-meetings and revival services. Methodism in fact meant a revival in interest in religion, in faith in God's truth and concern for the salvation of sinners. Special internal revivals expanded these spiritual dimensions. Old truths were given free vent in a salutary communion with fellow searchers.

> (Although)...every individual must face his God alone, mass evangelism rests on the belief that some people can, and do, come to this moment...while in the midst of a crowd of people....In this corporate setting a man's mind, heart, and will are so strongly touched that he must make a decision one way or the other. The crowd is not the important factor in a man's conversion, but it has a significant place in helping man to that condition of loneliness in which he must seek God or die.[14]

A revival, therefore, evinced a conviction of sin and

renewed faith by providing a fresh impulse toward salvation.[15] By using the excitability in man, the church was able to prevent stullification, enlarging the sinner's natural desire to obey God's call.[16]

Although revivals took many forms, only the Methodists extended its use to camp-meetings to evangelize both church and non-church members.[17] In the public imagination, the emphasis on these revivals in the early part of the nineteenth century, clearly bound the Methodist church, for good or ill, to this particular means of grace. The first camp-meeting recorded in Upper Canada occurred at Adolphustown in 1805, but it was based on the success of one in 1804 in upstate New York.[18] However, while inspired by American sources, camp-meetings in Canada differed considerably from those in the United States. Rather than appearing well away from settlement, they were usually located in the most established parts of the Province. Existing chapel facilities were integrated into part of the services. They were also usually situated in a partially cleared field, not, "...in a secret place in the gloom of the sinister forest against which the flames of the fires and the blaze of the torches might play with awesome effect."[19] They thereby avoided many of the props that gave American revivals a semi-pagan aura without losing the fervour of a truly religious gathering.

The problem basic to all early camp-meetings was the interference from entertainment seekers. Drinking and rowdyism were an integral part of most social gatherings and great care was necessary to prevent these from interfering with the camp-meeting.[20] Camps were often surrounded by a high wall with a guard posted at the heavy gates.[21] If anyone attempted to disrupt the services he could be physically ejected.

The meetings, themselves, were also well organized and closely controlled by the preachers present. A regular, often rigid, timetable with sermons, exhortations, and prayer at their appointed time maximized the religious impact on the worshippers. Systematizing the proceedings also reduced emotional excesses. Though not always successful, the preachers hoped to maintain sound Methodist doctrine.[22]

By the 1850's, however, the Methodist church's prosperity was no longer in doubt. Camp-meetings and extended services became instruments of consolidating local congregations and with this accomplished their evangelical value sharply decreased.[23] Concurrently, with the fixing of the village and town pattern, substantial churches replaced school rooms and private dwellings as the focus for public worship. Revival services tended to be centred in the larger city churches. But the unconventional conduct associated with the open air meetings was extremely unwelcome in God's house.[24] With

the greater refinement of tastes, revivals were either abandoned in a locality or took on a role of Christian refreshment and education. Symptomatic of this transition was the emphasis on sermons and lectures to inculcate a Christian morality. Exhortation and prayer became secondary in this context.

At the same time, the churches were available for regular sabbath services. Revivals tended to disrupt these services forcing the minister to abandon his pastoral duties until their conclusion. Neighbouring circuits were also adversely affected since their preachers and several members of the congregations were inevitably involved. As important, very few revival converts continued to attend the regular means of grace of the Methodist church.[25] They were not prepared for the long term committment to religious struggle. Nor was the Methodist church, by the 1870's, the fervent body of converts the revival had implied.

Even where revivals continued to be popular, they lost their spontaneity, the "free movement of the spirit".[26] This was especially visible in the surviving camp grounds. Sermons became even more intellectually oriented.[27] The concern for increased membership statistics, maintaining historical traditions and educating the children of members replaced the quest for actual conversion.[28] They became essentially moral recreation centres, offering

summer retreats to the urban middle class. Cottages and croquet replaced the religious emphasis of an earlier day.[29] The St. Lawrence Camp Ground, by 1878, was even advertising building lots as coveted summer retreats from the extreme heat of city life and a favourite resort for fishing and bathing.[30] Although there was a slight increase in interest after the Methodist union of 1883, true revivals retained only a sporadic role in the Methodist church.[31]

Emotionalism seemed out of place in the overall plans of an institution now gaining a diverse following and an increasingly respectable role in society. Many Methodists were educated, sophisticated members of the commercial elite. In sedate Victorian society, unbecoming behaviour marred the status conscious in the church.[32] While this speaks harshly of the vitality of religion of many Methodists, even the most conscientious had reasonable reservations about the intellectual soundness of the early revival techniques. With the new scientific, theological inquiries of the 1870's and 1880's undermining the role of such primitive religion, it would have been unreasonable for Methodism to continue unaffected. The availability and openess to new ideas of an urban population made this impossible.

Methodism relied instead on the increasingly less demanding regular means of grace.[33] By far the most

important of these was the class-meeting. It consisted of about twelve converted individuals under the guidance of a lay leader. Although originally designed to raise money for the poor societies, it soon became a test of membership in the Methodist church. Unaccounted absence constituted separation from the fold.[34]

Each class member was expected to frankly discuss his religious experiences, seeking help in bolstering his resolve for salvation. This volontary group confessional, without priestly interference, Morley Punshon described as, "...the 'upper room'", renowned for the presence of God's spirit, where, as sympathetic wayfarers on the quest for salvation, they might mutually encourage the failing spirit.[35] In early Canada, therefore, the class-meeting was the "germ cell of Methodism";[36] the basic unit by which the purity and spirituality of the ongoing religious experiment was preserved. It also supplied meaningful social intercourse; furnished a systematic basis on which to raise money; and tightened the control of the Methodist Doctrine and Discipline.[37]

In the absence of the travelling preacher, the class leader was the major bulwark against encroaching sinfulness.[38] Not only did he strive to keep the class spiritually alive, he oversaw the entire religious condition of its members, visiting the sick and, when necessary, organizing charity for the poor.[39] By

deciding who was fit to remain a member of his class, he also helped administer the church's rules. The class and its leader, therefore, furnished the essential continuity binding the early congregation together.[40]

The class-meeting, however, was not immune from the altering requirements of the British Canadian community. In the larger centres especially, both attendance and vitality were on the wane. Egerton Ryerson was perhaps the first major figure to recognize that under these conditions the class-meeting was becoming a liability to Methodism. The church lost many of its most beneficial members because they did not attend class. At the same time, he believed that the reliance on the class-meeting limited the adaptability of Methodism in becoming a mature social institution existing in an ongoing Christian community.[41]

In 1854, in his characteristically abrasive fashion, he argued that there was no substantial basis for sustaining the class-meeting as a test of membership and that, while it was of immense value, it should not be given such preeminent stature.[42] When the church chose to ignore the issue, Ryerson resigned. The breach lasted only until the Conference of 1855, however. Ryerson had no real desire for a permanent separation and, despite the opposition of a few, the church was not prepared to lose Ryerson either. In their quest for respectability

and able leadership, he was still their brightest star.[43]

Neither, however, was the church prepared to give up the class-meeting. The Conference of 1856 reaffirmed it as a vital means of grace necessary for membership.[44] What the controversy did achieve was to further divide the church. The primitive faction was led by James Spencer, editor of the Christian Guardian, and John Borland, a prominent preacher from Canada East; while Egerton Ryerson and several prominent younger ministers, including Samuel Nelles, opposed them.[45] Most of the clergy did not want the issue to divide the church and, through the negotiations of Enoch Wood, President of the Conference, and John Ryerson, perhaps Methodism's best politician, harmonious relations were reestablished.[46]

It did not end the questioning of the class-meeting, however. During the 1860's and 1870's, as it further declined, more and more pressure was put on the church to atleast discuss the question. Finally in 1878 the second General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, under pressure from Henry Bland, established a special committee to analyse the matter. The committee recommended that the class should be maintained as a Christian privilege, but not as a test of membership.[47] Egerton Ryerson and Anson Green led the support for the report; Edward Ryckman and Samuel Rice led the opposition. But when George Douglas, the President, as Bland bitterly

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recorded, "...ratted and without making a speech, funerally recommended Caution, the result was a large majority in favour of no change".[48] Even the compromise of maintaining the class-meeting as a test of membership, but allowing also the devout, who did not attend class, to join in the sacraments as 'communicants', "...under the special pastoral care of our ministers, to induce them to seek the attainment of higher Christian life and spiritual blessings," even this was defeated.[49] The Conference felt this move would seriously divide the church and jeopardize broader Methodist union. Also, with the loss of so many providential means of grace, the church could not afford to sanction an alteration in so basic an element of Methodism.

Although this officially settled the matter, it did little to reestablish the class-meeting as an important means of grace. Most ministers simply did not enforce attendance. Where it was kept up, the class became a mere formality. Bible study and discussion of general religious questions replaced the confession of individual faults.[50] The urban Methodist was not prepared for shows of emotion even in small familiar groups. He used the class for its general moral value and for the Christian fellowship it offered, but not as a source of advancing piety.[51]

The transition within the class-meeting and the

other means of grace reflected a much deeper debate over the very nature of the Methodist church. Was it a body of converts, bound together in a zealous quest for salvation, or was it a church with obligations to broaden its base and bring Christian morality to Canada? The fact that both factions could co-exist in the same church indicated that this transition was already in progress. It was further confirmed by the special status achieved by moral, though unsaved, members of the congregations.[52] Although the Methodist church officially followed Wesley's rules, in reality, it took its place as a respectable institution serving the perceived needs of the urbanizing Canadian society.

Parallel developments within the itinerancy also clearly established this transition. In the best traditions of the Methodist church, the pioneer itinerant was a man of deep personal piety with an unquestioning loyalty to the doctrines and discipline of Methodism. He spread a simple straightforward message for he had neither the education nor the inclination for boundless theological questions. While self-improvement was mandatory, his constant travel on the circuit and transfer to new circuits precluded the collection of a library larger than the Bible, Wesley's sermons and a few Methodist biographies. His meagre salary, combined with the absence of a permanent home also made the collection

of personal possessions difficult.

In place of these, he relied on boundless energy, a broad range of useful information on frontier farming, and a sympathetic understanding of pioneer life. His religion reflected a joyful optimism, not an austere premonition of doom and while his piety was respected, these other qualities made him a welcome guest by Methodist and non-Methodist alike.[53]

This type of preacher had been the backbone of early Methodism, nevertheless, he was extremely out of place in the large, settled church of central Canada. The 1851 Census registered some 230,000 Methodists in central Canada of which the Wesleyans represented 97,000 in Canada West and 6,000 in Canada East. This meant about 29,000 saved Wesleyans. In 1854, when these two Conferences united, the Wesleyan church had grown to over 36,000 saved individuals. Between 1861 and 1871, Methodism expanded from 372,000 to 496,000 of which the Wesleyans went from 245,000 to 315,000. This indicated not only the spectacular growth of Methodism, but also the pre-eminence of the Wesleyan branch.

With the formation of the Methodist Church of Canada in 1874, the Ontario and Quebec section had grown to over 83,000 members. About 7500 of these came from the New Connexion Methodists. The Toronto Conference also ministered to a further 2400 members in western Canada

and Japan. By 1881, the Methodist Church of Canada represented about 437,000 of the 622,000 nominal Methodists in Ontario and approximately 38,000 of the 39,000 in Quebec. In fact, it brought about 71% of the actual members into the final union of 1883.[54]

More important than the contribution of each individual branch, however, was the creation of one national Methodist church taking its place among the major Christianizing forces in the world. As the prospect of this role emerged, tremendous obligations were placed on the institution. The stress on numerical expansion reflected the basic priority of the church. It systematized its operations in central Canada, where most of its members were located, so as to enlarge the base necessary for serving its western and overseas work. To accomplish this it was obliged to more broadly serve the needs of the Ontario community and consolidate its hold on the large number in each congregation who were not technically members.

During the 1850's, the Methodist church followed the new settler up the Ottawa valley, into the fringes of the Shield and along the north shore of Lake Superior, but in the 1860's and 1870's real growth was derived from infilling, especially in southwestern Ontario.[55] At the same time, its primary aim was consolidation in the rising towns. By centring here, the church took advantage

of the expanding influence this urban hierarchy held over the surrounding territory.[56] It was indispensable, if Methodism was to continue to grow relative to the other denominations, that the prosperous local elites be drawn into the Methodist church. To facilitate this, circuit and district headquarters were shifted to the most viable villages and towns.

As important, this was a period of rapid change in the style and size of church buildings. Elaborate brick churches appeared in the towns and only slightly smaller versions replaced the primitive buildings in the countryside.[57] Even in their architecture they spoke of a solid, prosperous, proud institution, reflecting the new breadth and permanence of the church.[58] Sunday schools and temperance meetings could also be housed here, permitting greater moral supervision of the community. All these moved the Methodist church ever closer to the centre of a broadly Protestant Victorian society.

This same pressure induced the church to build, "magnificent structures, centres of power and denominational influence..."[59] in the larger cities. Largely underwritten by the wealthy commercial interests, both Hamilton and Ottawa gained such landmarks by the early 1870's. However, no church better exemplified Methodism's search for denominational respectability than Wesleyan Metropolitan church in Toronto. Finished in 1872 at a cost of over

$150,000, it was the largest church in Toronto. As Methodism's central monument it reflected glory on all Methodists and reemphasized Toronto's hegemony in the church.[60] It also illustrated the transition from personal piety to Christian civilization as the central function of the church.[61] The rapid numerical growth of the Methodist Church of Canada also seemed to prove the righteousness of this transformation into a reputable urban institution.

Associated with this reorientation and consolidation was a reduction of the physical size of districts and circuits. In fact, the traditional long rides of the saddle bag preacher all but disappeared in central Canada. In explaining this move, the Annual Conference of 1870 declared,

> ...as one of the concomitants of our four or two weeks circuits, we have been compelled to neglect unduly our centres of population, especially thriving villages, to our denominational injury, inasmuch as other denominations have reaped, but too largely, the harvest of our sowing by giving the people preaching once or twice each Sabbath.[62]

This meant that by the early 1870's most of the city congregations were served by a minister with only one station and perhaps a few nearby missions.[63]

These physical changes in the itinerancy would have been meaningless, however, without a corresponding transition in the ministry. Not only was there a

tremendous growth in the number of ministers, but the vast majority were native Canadians. The end of the reliance on British clergy was an important prerequisite of a mature national church. Meanwhile, the improved working conditions of the itinerant made the ministry an attractive profession. With less travel, a better salary, and usually a comfortable parsonage, the preacher could expect a fairly settled existence.

This, in turn, permitted more young ministers to marry. Originally any preacher marrying before he had travelled for two years would probably have been dropped by the Connexion.[64] Poor circuits still had trouble supporting ministers with families, but, by the 1870's, this was not a major liability. The church recognized this change and rarely enforced its rule against marriage.[65] When these advantages were added to the enhanced social status of the clergy, the traditional sacrifices of the Methodist itinerancy were greatly diminished.

Not only were conditions improving on the individual circuit, but reforms also attempted to limit the weaknesses of transferring pre chers to different localities. The frequent introduction of new ministers to different circuits had always been perceived as one of the strengths of Methodism. A settled clerg , it was felt, lost the vitality in conveying its fundamental truths,[66] leading to the rise of ritual and the loss of evangelism so

prevalent in the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. In the scattered communities, it also precluded a minister and his congregation from growing away from the main body of Methodists. This congregational independence could undermine the unity so vital to the church.

The Methodist church recognized, however, that it lost many positive elements in its ministry by the too frequent shuffling of its preachers. In 1850, when Egerton Ryerson proposed extending the maximum term on one circuit from three to five years in the Wesleyan Methodist church, it was considered heretical, yet this change was adopted in 1855.[67] While this experiment was never put into general practice, the three year limit being readopted to ease church union, it was kept for special mission fields and at educational institutions.[68] Throughout the 1870's and 1880's there remained a considerable pressure to either reinstate the five year maximum term or to permit some ministers to cease moving altogether.[69]

The major block to any such reform was the Stationing Committee which was extremely jealous of its prerogative. It believed these changes would undermine the missionary nature of Methodism. They would also drastically reduce the centralized authority within the church. Rather than reducing the transition within the itinerancy,

however, it felt it could successfully direct this change without abandoning Methodism's vital elements. Being essentially controlled by the Methodist establishment, this committee rarely hesitated to use its significant power to maintain its own priorities.

Henry Bland, for example, was moved from Montreal to Pembroke in 1880. This overruled a strong pressure to situate him in either Ottawa or Kingston. However, both these centres were too prominent for a man who led the fight against class-meetings and who opposed Methodist union.[70]

The Stationing Committee and, after 1874, the Transfer Committee also placed men where their individual talents could be best utilised.[71] They recognized that if the church was to attract the respectable urban middle class it was necessary to locate the most able ministers in the larger towns and cities. Complaints that the rural and less well developed circuits suffered as a result were largely ineffective.[72] In fact the London and Toronto Conferences of 1877 and 1879 respectively condoned this kind of distinction among the circuits.[73]

Despite this, the preachers throughout the settled parts of the country did their best to fulfill the increased demands on their office. Since they were present on a more regular basis, they expanded the moral supervision over their congregations both through regular church

services and by playing a more active role in the temperance and sabbatarian movements.[74] They also administered a tighter denominational control over auxiliary church agencies such as the sunday school. In a more general sense the preacher became a source of refinement to his congregation providing a natural focus for the local community.[75]

In more conscientiously visiting the sick, praying with individual members, administering the discipline and preaching on a weekly basis, the pastor also diminished the traditional reliance on the class leader and lay preacher. Even their direction of the local church's financial operations was more carefully managed by the preacher and lay trustees. These vital agencies in the early church became instead useful auxiliaries in times of absence of the regular minister.[76]

Coinciding with the enlarged pastoral duties was the gradual loss of emotional fervour in the itinerancy. By the late 1870's, it was recognized that only by dealing rationally with the educated congregations could the church maintain a relevant role in society. The Toronto Conference in 1877 for instance, called for,

> some systematic endeavour to instruct our congregations more comprehensively in the truths of the Holy Writ. The fervent horatory appeals that met the needs and swayed the hearts of the people, when the population was sparse, churches far apart and opportunities of hearing few, will

> not meet the demands of today. Intelligence is now widely diffused, the public mind is awake; skepticism is abroad in every direction... heresy taints the currents of religious thought, and the only antidote for this is a fuller knowledge of the Word of God. The demand is for biblical instruction; and if this is to be met, there must be a great change in much of the preaching of the day. [77]

This departure from emotionalism was also symbolized by the creation of a distinct evangelical agency in the Methodist Church of Canada. Although not considered by the quadrennial General Conferences, the question had a major place in several annual assemblies. Recommendations for assigning certain ministers to full time evangelical work were initially dismissed since all ministers supposedly fulfilled this role.[78] By 1875, however, the Montreal Conference permitted any suitably endowed minister, authorized by the Stationing Committee, to be relieved of his circuit responsibilities and employed as a full time evangelist.[79] The London and Toronto Conferences followed in 1880 and 1881 respectively.[80] While these appointments might indicate a renewed interest in revivals, in reality they illustrated the decline of fervour in the general itinerancy coupled with a fear of the unsound theological teachings of independent professional evangelists.[81]

This fear also reenforced the need for a thoroughly trained clergy to transmit orthodox Methodist theology to its congregations. Despite Methodism's birth in the

rich environment of Oxford, theology and even the Bible did not possess the central place in Methodism they achieved in many Reformation churches.[82] Catholic Anglicanism, revitalized by Wesley's doctrine and discipline, had generally precluded intensive biblical study. This was further reduced in early Canada by the limited sources or time for formal education. What the church relied on, therefore, was self training and independent mental cultivation. The early probationer's educational requirements, beyond the basic ability to read and write, were supplied by the Bible, Mosheim's Church History, and Wesley's writings.[83] Under the supervision of the church elders, the young preacher then expanded his knowledge from whatever sound readings he could find.[84]

As the Canada Conference grew, however, so to did the emphasis on education. Victoria College opened in 1842 and by 1856 candidates for the ministry could attend if authorized by the Conference.[85] By 1858 most of the Connexion agreed with Samuel Nelles, President of Victoria College, when he reported,

> Judging from present indications, the College is destined to furnish very valuable accessions to the Christian Ministry...It is confidently believed that in no other way is the church likely to be supplied with efficient and devoted labourers.[86]

Education was not perceived as necessarily a threat to personal piety, especially if controlled in a sound

environment. The converted and trained preacher satisfied all factions in the church by being able to help lead individuals to God and answer contemporary secular threats to religion. The pious, uneducated minister became a rather painful reminder of an earlier less respectable era. This image also helped diminish the credibility of the lay preacher.

Indeed, so strong was the demand for a systematic training that a distinct theological department was established at Victoria College in 1871. Under Nathanael Burwash, this was expanded into a separate faculty two years later. Parallel developments occurred at the Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal and later in the Methodist colleges in Halifax and Winnipeg. But the clearest indication of the emphasis on an educated clergy was that, between 1874 and 1878, two thirds of the ministers received into the Methodist Church of Canada had received some university training.[87]

Accompanying the greater dependence on an educated ministry was the growing acceptance of education as a distinct means of grace. Sound training could lead to a consciousness of sin and increased personal piety. This gave a positive element to Bible study in the class-meeting or theological sermons from the pulpit. While these were important for bringing adults into the church, education was especially crucial in the greater

consolidation made possible by bringing children to the denomination.

In the early Canadian church, except for rare exceptions, Methodism was a body of adult converts. Children, because they shared Adam's fall from grace, would have to make a conscious, personal decision for Christ to achieve salvation. Yet children, by definition, lacked responsibility for their actions and could only be truly converted as they accepted personal sin in young adulthood. But to many leading Methodists young children stood in a different relationship than the rest of the world. Before they reached the age of responsibility, they could not be part of man's original sin. Christ himself had declared, "of such is the Kingdom of Heaven," when discussing children and God was not so cruel as to condemn those too young to seek salvation.[88] This concept of a benevolent God was much more appropriate to the secure and prosperous urban society.

The interpretation therefore laid new significance on the sacrament of Baptism. The Methodist church officially held that by Baptism,

> They are made members of the visible Church of Christ; their gracious relation to Him as the Second Adam, and as Mediator of the New Covenant is solemnly ratified by divine appointment; and they are thereby recognized as having a claim to all those spiritual blessings, of which they are the propersubjects.[89]

They were dedicated to God, but in no way regenerated by

Baptism. To men such as Egerton Ryerson, however, children, still in a state of grace, when baptised, joined the invisible as well as the visible church.[90] Much of his opposition to class-meetings hinged on the rights of baptised individuals to be real members of the Methodist church.[91]

While this theory was never officially adopted, it did strengthen the belief that young children could be saved. It thereby enlarged the church's role in training children to a deliberate acceptance of Christ. This acceptance of a gradual growth to grace also helped undermine the necessity of a conversion experience[92] and emotional revivals.[93] More specifically, the church recognized that its future growth into an institution serving the Canadian community depended on bringing the children of its members into its active body.[94]

The principal agency for reaching young people was the sunday school. It had always been one of the vital evangelizing forces in the community, but it was generally left to interdenominational lay control.[95] Beginning in the 1860's, the Methodist church began a concerted effort to bind the sunday school to the Connexion under the close supervision of the preacher. It could thereby be used to inculcate proper Methodist doctrine in the young.[96] The sunday school also became particularly crucial for the needs of the urban community by providing a nursery

for future members and by disseminating Christian culture and Victorian morality. Temperance, the work ethic, respect for authority, decent conduct, all were part of Christian education.[97]

In order to finance these vastly enlarged educational, pastoral, and physical obligations of the church, Methodism relied even more on the wealthy in society. When this was coupled with the falling off of many of the regular means of grace, monetary contributions gained a new doctrinal status in the church.

Always in need of money, the Methodist church had early recognized 'Christian liberality' as a sign of faithfulness.[98] By the 1850's, these contributions had grown to the stature of an, "evidence of the growth of grace"[99] Man was only a steward of his wealth and had a scriptural obligation to use it in God's work. Such use indicated a personal dependence on God, a gratitude for providential favours, was a check to extravagant living, and, "...uplifted business from the mere drudgery of an earthly calling into a divine service."[100] Giving became, then, an act of worship, a test of individual piety.[101]

By the 1870's systematic benevolence had been transformed from an act of faith to a sign of personal consecration and, in fact, a means of grace.[102] The General Conference in 1878 even discussed and tabled the motion that,

> ...any member of our church who is able to support the ministry and institutions of the Church, and does not do so, be dropped from the membership of the church.[103]

This would have placed financial contributions above most of the other means of grace by establishing it as a test of membership.

This acceptance of the religious quality of wealth finally confirmed the church's alliance with the established business elements in society. As a wealthy institution itself, it had a vital concern for stable economic progress.[104] In return for their support, the church bolstered the respectability and virtue of the business ethic and reemphasized the traditional link between sin and poverty.[105]

The Methodist church also conceded a significant place in church counsels to leading laymen. The introduction of lay delegates to the Conferences of the church by the late 1870's did not represent a democatization of the church, but, rather, it recognized the church's dependence on the business class. In return for their assistance and managerial skill, businessmen demanded some control over financial policy.

An integral part of this church/business alliance was also a growing separation from the poor in society. Pew rents and the stress on liberality made it impractical for the poor to continue to attend the Methodist church.

The reliance on education and status also made the church, for many, a meaningless religious experience. For its part, the church was blindly ignoring the social problems developing in the cities. Even its ad hoc charity programmes in time of emergency were extremely stingy and sparse in relation to the church's overall work. By the middle 1880's, the poor and the church had grown so far apart that only a revolution in the Methodist church could reestablish an organic relationship.

By 1884, the Methodist church had successfully transformed itself into a respectable middle class institution. The itinerancy and the means of grace had been brought into line with these new priorities and the church felt a sincere trust that the future would bring religious progress to the entire country. A benevolent God smiled on all their labours. The old leaders were gone, but they were replaced by better trained men who were more comfortable in this urbane church. It was a proud national institution that reflected the sedate Victorian morality of comfortable, secure Ontario.

The social problems that would threaten the self-confidence of the middle class and question the validity of the church itself were coming uncomfortabley close, but could still be ignored for the present. The church that the social gospel attempted to revitalize, and

finally abandoned, was not an individualistic, earnest, spiritual Methodism, but the sophisticated, broadly moral, social Protestantism of the 1880's.

Nevertheless, this institution was much more able to deal with future problems than the early church. The decline in the reliance on a personal conversion experience and openess to new ideas made the quest for social progress much more understandable. Both the ministry and general membership were much better read and could appreciate the wave of social criticisms levelled at modern industrial society. The church was also able to maintain a broader range of religious and social attitudes within its bounds. In general it was more adaptable to the secular and religious needs of Canadians and had the wealth and respectability to see these needs satisfied.

Notes

[1]Stewart Crysdale, The Changing Church in Canada (Toronto: Bd. of Evangelism and Social Services, 1965), p. 25

[2]Anson Green (ed.), Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1824-1845 (Toronto: A. Green, 1846), p. i

[3]Ibid., 1835, p. 102

[4]Ibid., p. 103

[5]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1864, p. 78; Minutes of Montreal Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1880, p. 84.

[6]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1863, p. 90

[7]Minutes of London Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1875, p. 89

[8]Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, p. 31

[9]Lachlin Taylor Papers, Journal, July 23, 1865; United Church Archives, hereafter cited UCA

[10]Minutes of Toronto Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1877, p. 67

[11]Anson Green, The Life and Times of the Reverend Anson Green (Toronto: Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. 412 or see any of Punshon's sermons, for example, W. Morley Punshon et al, Sermons (Toronto: Methodist Book Room, 1870)

[12]Minutes of Montreal Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1881, p. 55

[13]Ryerson Correspondence, John Borland to Egerton Ryerson, February 11, 1858; UCA

[14]Arthur Kewley, "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830",(unpublished Th.D. thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1960), p. 2

[15]James Watson, Helps to the Promotion of Revivals (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1856), p. 12

[16]Ibid., p. 82; Charles Grandison Finney, Lectures on Revivals of Religion (Halifax: Milner, 1848), pp. 8-10

[17]Arthur Kewley, p. 4

[18]Ibid., p. 22

[19]Ibid., p. 43

[20]James and Ogle Gowan Papers, Mrs. Elizabeth Gowan to James Gowan, June 7, 1835; Ontario Archives

[21]John Carroll, Past and Present (Toronto: Alfred Dredge, 1860), p. 64

[22]Arthur Kewley, p. 83

[23]John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries (Toronto: S. Rose, 1867-77), V., pp. 132-35

[24]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1835, p. 102; J. Watson, p. 93; John Carroll, The School of the Prophets (Toronto: Burradge & Magurn, 1876), p. 32; S.C. Swallow, Camp Meetings (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1879), p. 15

[25]Missionary Society Annual Report, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1871, p. lix

[26]I. B. Aylesworth, (ed.), Sermons by the Reverend T. DeWitt Talmage, et al. at St. Lawrence Camp Ground, 1878 (Ottawa: J. Loveday, 1878), p. 23

[27]The key sermons at the above camp-meeting were concerned with the history of Methodism, skepticism and the authenticity of the Bible.

[28]Arthur Kewley, p. 15

[29]S.C. Swallow, p. 12

[30]I. B. Aylesworth, (ed.), p. i

[31]Stephen Bond, Notes on Methodism (no publication data, about 1885), p. 38

[32]Christian Guardian, January 12, 1870, p. 6

[33]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1870, p. 102

[34]Stephen Bond, Church Membership (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1882), pp. 64-70; Jeremiah Chapman, The Class Meeting (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, n.d.), p. 12

[35]W. Morley Punshon, Tabor; or The Class-Meeting (no publication data), pp. 13-14

[36]Jeremiah Chapman, p. 13

[37]John Miley, Treatise on Class-Meeting (Cincinnati: Swornstedt & Poe, 1854), p. 32

[38]Henry F. Bland Papers, Diary, 1860, p. 280

[39]John Atkinson, The Class Leader (Toronto: S. Rose, 1875), p. 29; John Carroll, The School of the Prophets, p. 32

[40]J.G. Laird Papers, "Lectures", unpublished, "The Class-Meeting", n.d.

[41]letter Dixon to E. Ryerson, 1847; in Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, (ed.) J.G. Hodgins, (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1883), p. 407; Ryerson Correspondence J.G. Hodgins to Egerton Ryerson, September 8, 1855

[42]Ryerson Correspondence, E. Ryerson to Enoch Wood, January 2, 1854

[43]Ibid., J. Ryerson to E. Ryerson, April 26, 1855

[44]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1856, p. 359

[45]James Spencer was editor of the Christian Guardian from 1851-1860 and was considered, "fearless and faithful to disciplinary laws and usages of the Connexion", and a, "champion of the older way". see obituary, Minutes of Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1864, p. 7. Borland was on several occasions chairman of districts in Canada East. He was always ready to condemn any unnecessary innovation. see Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection #27, Ontario Archives Samuel Nelles was Ryerson's protegé and became President of Victoria College in 1858.

[46]Egerton Ryerson, The Story of My Life, p. 508; John Ryerson's correspondence with Egerton also reflected an accurate grasp of most situations and usually a subtle means, completely lacking in Egerton, of accomplishing their ends.

[47]Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, pp. 18, 119-120

[48]Henry Bland Papers, Diary #8, September, 21, 1878, pp. 352-53

[49]Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, p. 124

[50]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1873, p. 114

[51]Minutes of Montreal Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1883, p. 71

[52]for example see, Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1864, p. 96; Out of the Fold (Toronto: Wesleyan Printing Establishment, 1871), p. 3

[53]drawn from obituary of Stephen Brownell, 1801-1871 in Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1871, p. 8

[54]statistics drawn from- Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, pp. 70-71; 1860-61, p. 122; Census of Canada, 1870-71, p. 144; 1880-81, p. 197; and from the Minutes of Annual Conference, 1851, 1854, 1874, 1883

[55]Missionary Society Annual Report, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1870, p. lvi

[56]Ibid., 1870, p. lvi

[57]Ibid., 1869, p. lxii

[58]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1866, p. 93

[59]Nathanael Burwash, Memorials of the Life of Edward and Lydia Jackson (Toronto: S. Rose, 1876), p. 19

[60]Christian Guardian, April 10, 1872, p. 116

[61]Ibid., January 18, 1871, p. 10; Ibid., July 31, 1870, p. 136

[62]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1870, p. 94

[63]drawn from changes in circuits in Ontario, see Minutes of Annual Conferences, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1870's

[64]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1828, p. 20; Henry Bland Papers, Diary 7a, 1858, p. 30 UCA

[65]Henry Bland Papers, June 12, 1871, p. 74; UCA

[66]Alexander Sutherland, Counsels to Young Converts (Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), p. 42 Earnest Christianity, I, "The Advantages of the Itinerancy, #2", p. 266

[67]Ryerson Correspondence, E. Ryerson to J.G. Hodgins, June 9, 1855; UCA

[68]see stationing of preachers in each Minutes of Conference.

[69]Minutes of Toronto Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1882, p. 126
Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, pp. 39-40

[71]In 1874, along with the union of the Canadian and Maritime Wesleyans and the New Connexion Methodists, the church was divided into three Conferences in central Canada. The Transfer Committee administered the movements of ministers from one conference to another. There was a major struggle for control of this committee between the Annual and General Conferences. John Potts was continually posted to good Circuits because of his urbane manner.

[70]Henry Bland Papers, Diary, July 1, 1880, p. 75; UCA

[72]Christian Guardian, January 2, 1867, p. 1

[73]Minutes of London Conference, 1877, p. 126; Minutes of Toronto Conference, 1879, p. 98, Methodist Church of Canada

[74]Henry Bland Papers, Diary, 1870, pp. 5-6, UCA

[75]Christian Guardian, April 13, 1870, p. 57

[76]Ibid., February 2, 1872, p. 18

[77]Minutes of Toronto Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1877, p. 67

[78]for example, Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1872, p. 119

[79] Minutes of Montreal Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1875, p. 53

[80] Minutes of London Conference, 1880, p. 65; Minutes of Toronto Conference, 1881, p. 96, Methodist Church of Canada

[81] constant debate over problems with professional Evangelists, for example, Wesleyan Metropolitan Church, Toronto, Minute Book, during 1870's, UCA

[82] for example, Minutes of Montreal Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1880, pp. 84-85

[83] John Carroll, Past and Present, p. 189

[84] Minutes of Annual Conference, 1825, p. 8; Methodist Church, Wesleyan; Ibid., 1835, p. 95

[85] Ibid., 1856, p. 361

[86] Ibid., 1858, p. 76

[87] Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, pp. 180-81

[88] see among others, Nathanael Burwash, The Relation of Children to the Fall (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1882) Alexander Sutherland, The Moral Status of Children (Toronto: Bell & Co., 1876 John Borland, Dialogue Concerning Class-Meetings and the Relation of Children to the Fall (Toronto: J. Dough, 1856)

[89] Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1853, pp. 230-31

[90] John Carroll, The School of the Prophets, p. 159

[91] Egerton Ryerson, Scriptural Rights of the Members of Christ's Visible Church (Toronto: Brewer & McPhail, 1854), see all of pamphlet

[92] The Encyclopaedia of Sunday Schools (New York: T. Nelson, 1915), p. 318

[93] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: 1957), p. 63

[94] Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1866, pp. 92-3

[95]J.E. Sanderson, First Century of Canadian Methodism (Toronto: Wm. Briggs, 1910), II, p. 220
W.L. Brown, "The Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Church in Canada, 1875-1925" (unpublished M.Th. thesis, Emmanuel College, Victoria University, 1959), p. 1

[96]W.L. Brown, p. 54
Minutes of Toronto Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1881, p. 21

[97]W.L. Brown, p. 8

[98]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1836, p. 133

[99]Ibid., 1850, p. 127

[100]Minutes of London Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1876, p. 77

[101]Christian Guardian, February 23, 1870, p. 30

[102]Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1872, p. 144

[103]Minutes of General Conference, Methodist Church of Canada, 1878, p. 33

[104]By 1883, the Methodist Church of Canada owned over four million dollars worth of property in Ontario

[105]John G. Laird Papers, unpublished lecture notes, file #10, UCA

UPPER CANADIAN PROTESTANT PERCEPTION OF THE ITALIAN 'RISORGIMENTO': 1846-1860

by

Angelo Principe

The period from the election of Pius IX (1846) to Garibaldi's successful liberation of the Southern Provinces (1860) may be considered the peak of the 'Risorgimento': the struggle for the unity and independence of Italy. In those years the various states in which the Peninsula was subdivided went through the political and social turmoil out of which emerged a united Italy. Such an extraordinary event fulfilled an old dream which had inspired Italian literature since Dante. However, more importantly for this paper, it ended a long struggle conducted with two opposing methods, which in the final analysis complimented each other: namely, Cavour's cautious diplomacy and Mazzini's revolution. Our object here is to trace in general lines, regardless of individual or denominational differences, Upper Canadian Protestant perception of and reaction to what was happening in Italy in those years. It should be understood, that what we may say about the reactions to any one specific Italian event do not necessarily reflect the views of all Protestants in Upper Canada.

By the time Cardinal Mastai had been elected to the chair of Peter and took the name of Pius IX, the Italian Risorgimento, its misfortunes, and its heroic struggles were well known to the Canadian

people in general and the Protestants of Upper Canada in particular. For example, when in 1845, there occurred a local rebellion in Rimini, a small city in the papal states, the Toronto Globe published an editorial, its first on the Risorgimento, an editorial in which the support of the Protestants of Upper Canada for the Italian cause was uncompromisingly stated and the general terms of the question clearly put: it was a struggle against the foreign domination of Austria and against the Ecclesiastic despotism of the Church of Rome. It reads:

> Italy, one of the finest countries in the world, but long held down by civil and ecclesiastic despotism, seems ready to burst its chains. Many attempts have been successively made to throw off the yoke, and the feeble sovereigneties, would long have been swept away, and given place to institution more becoming the present state of society, and the ancient fame of the country, but for the Austrian military power, which is ever ready to suppress the least appearance of a liberal or indipendent spirit.[1]

In Upper Canada, however, Protestant Perception of the Italians and of Italy was somehow distorted. It was a view both too idyllic and too prejudiced: their classic education, their prejudices against Catholics, their frustration with the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec, and their firm belief in freedom as embodied in the British parliamentary institutions, all intermingled in the often harsh judgements and some times faulse images of Italy and the Italians. For example, Canadian Protestants had high regard for the great Italian past and the artistic treasures of that country; but they showed contempt for the present Italy dominated by popery which represented everything they had been taught to hate and despise:

petty tyrants, intriguing Jesuits, and corrupted and immoral priests and prelates. Furthermore, the natural beauties of the land were presented as if it were taken out of pastoral poetry: the Italian sky was always blue, the climate always sunny and warm, and the countryside rich with luxuriant plants and trees bearing exotic fruit. Italy was pictured, in the words of a reporter of the Christian Guardian, as the "Eden of the Earth."[2]

But the Italians were perceived to be in a state of profound degradation. The lower class was considered "lazy, unprincipled, vindicative," and without private or public morality.[3] The Protestants' judgements were particularly harsh against the poor unemployed of the large cities, such as Rome and Naples. They had no better opinion of the upper class who were thought of as "exceedingly civil, but heartless, - frank in manners, but capable of great duplicity in action, - fiery-hearted, but not steadily brave, and selfish to any amount of meanness. In a word, you cannot trust them."[4] Italians, in the opinion of the Canadian Protestants, had lost the ability to govern themselves democratically. Consequently, they would have used freedom to disrupt the social order and bring about anarchy. Canadian Protestants would have liked to see the transition from a despotic to a democratic form of government occur without dramatic social and political change. They favoured a constitutional rearrangement of the existing states as it was prospected by the moderate party of Cavour and Gioberti.

The cause of such degradation was not in the Italians themselves, but, according to the Canadian Protestants, it was in the Church of Rome, which suppressed any spark of freedom and destroyed every form of free thinking and free expression. As a consequence of such brutal repression the 'Italian race', which was once master of the world, had fallen into slavery. "Italian people, whether in town or country, have degenerated into a race of slaves, and paupers; their noblest heroism is that of the bandit and their highest wisdom cunning."[5]

Upper Canadian Protestants began to change these opinions about the Italians after the 1848-49 Revolution, when the Italians proved that they were, not only mature enough to govern themselves democratically, but that they had fortitude and courage to defend their land and, if necessary, to die for it. The Christian Guardian wrote: "Whenever the Italians break away for a short time, from their ecclesiastic and other tyrannies, they show true manhood, and reveal what they could be if they had fair play ././. The people fought well, they disproved the common imputation of cowardice. Better heroism has not been displayed in modern time than these poor, downtrodden men exhibited at the seiges of Rome and Venice."[6]

The Protestants of Upper Canada perceived the problem of the Italian decadence, and consequently of the Italian Risorgimento, to be fundamentally "moral and religious" rather than political

and military. They saw its outcome in the religious "regeneration" of the Italians, who, in many years of oppression, had been deprived of their natural abilities. The Italians "are a gifted race, they perceive quickly, feel intensely, and possess an earnest and eloquent manner of expression: qualities which render them capable of the most brilliant intellectual efforts."[7] But in order to regain their natural gifts it was necessary for them to break away from the oppression of the Jesuits and the priests. This was also the aim of most of the Italian patriots, and above all of Mazzini. The Guardian rightly pointed out that, "the most intelligent and patriotic Italian writers have since 1814 been occupied with one leading object, - the mental emancipation and moral improvement of their countrymen."[8] Such aims coincided, then, with basic aspirations of the Protestants: namely, evangelization of the world and destruction of popish power. But for the Italians "regeneration" or Risorgimento meant the awakening of national pride and of the desire to emulate and compete with the great nations of Europe; whereas for the Upper Canadian Protestants "regeneration" meant nothing less than "evangelization of the Italians."

In fact when the Italian refugees living in New York asked for assistance from the Christian Alliance, an organization created to co-ordinate missionary work in the popish countries, the hopes of the North American Protestants to penetrate into Italy rose to a new peak. "The evangelization of Italians," wrote the Christian

Guardian, "through the agency of Italians of high personal worth, is by itself an object of sovereign interest to all believers in the doctrine of Reformation, - to all admirers of art and literature ././. But when through this evangelical work incalculable benefit may be derived to the rest of the world, and to our own country ././. [it] cannot fail to awake ././. the interest which we individually take in the preservation of our blessing, or our families and country."[9]

In the insistence that the Italian question was mainly "moral and religious," we can perceive a reflection of the Canadian Protestants' experience with the French Canadian Catholics. The latter enjoyed political and religious freedom, but they still were, according to the Protestants of Upper Canada, a backward society dominated by the priesthood. Furthermore, their perception in Italy of a religious struggle directed against the spiritual authority of the Church was contrary to facts: that was merely a projection of their own ideals. For the Italian patriots the struggle was political and directed against the temporal power of the Pope. They never intended to suppress the spiritual authority of their Church. Even the radicals, in proclaiming the Roman Republic, made quite clear that the Pope was free to return to Rome and excercise his spiritual authority under the protection of the Republican Government. Father Gavazzi, who was very close to Protestantism, recognized the

real nature of the Italian struggle. During a speech delivered in Toronto on May 31st, 1853, replying to the question, "are you a Protestant?", he said frankly: "I do not belong to any Protestant denomination, because it could be against our entire mission in Italy. Don't mistake, my Italy is so greatly prejudiced that if I go again with a Protestant name the Italians will take flight from my platform; because we don't wish in Italy to hear any one speak against Pope and Popery."[10]

Another aspect characteristic of the Canadian Protestants' support for the Italian Risorgimento was the apparent total lack of practical help to the Italian patriots. Except for a collection of funds for financing a missionary to be sent to Rome, nothing practical had been done.[11] Although it is possible that individual Canadian Protestants may have contributed financially to collections initiated in the United States and England. This absence of concrete participation contrasts with the contribution in money, men and military goods given by the people of both England and the United States.[12] It contrasts also with the contribution of money and men given to the other side of the struggle by the Canadian Catholics.[13]

The real reason for this lack of Canadian practical involvement in the Risorgimento might be that no one was interested enough to initiate some practical activity, in the form of organizing a public meeting, initiating a collection etc. The Italians living in Upper Canada at the time were very few: 18 in Toronto, 11 in Ottawa, 7 in London, 2 in Hamilton, and another 25 or 30 spread all over the Province.[14] Of these 70, only two had been linked at any time in their lives with the struggle for

Italian independence. They were James Forneri, professor of modern languanges at University College at the University of Toronto, and Gian Maria Bonacina of Montreal, who in 1841 was affiliated to Mazzini's party "Young Italy."[15] Forneri, who came to Canada in 1852, at the age of 64, was too old to be an active conspirator. He had been a fervent carbonarist in his youth in Turin.[16] The others, as far as we know, were not interested in or at least uninvolved in what was happening in Italy.

The election of Pius IX occurred in an atmosphere of expectation created by Gioberti's book: Il Primato Civile e Morale degli Italiani, in which he proposed the unity of Italy in a federation of all states under the leadership of the Pope. Pius IX's political amnesty and his public blessing of Italy, were understood to mean that he was accepting the leadership of the prospected federation. Meetings of public support for Pius IX were held in every town of the Peninsula, and abroad non-italian Catholics joined the Italians in praising the Liberal Pope. This tide of sympathy for the Pontiff turned against him, when, in the midst of the 1848 Revolution, by his famous locution of April 29th, he condemned the war that Sardinia's army and Italian patriots from all corners of the land were fighting against Austria for the liberation of Lombardy and Venetia. From that moment to the end of the revolution in the following year, the political leadership passed from the moderates into the hands of the revolutionaries. In November, the

Pope, wrongly fearing for his life, left Rome secretly. All these events, where the people were involved in plublic meetings and political demonstrations on the 'piazze', were perceived by the Protestants of the Upper Canada as the symptoms of anarchy which they so much feared.

> Nothing but the wildest anarchy can spring out of this, -wrote the Christian Guardian- for the liberties which the Pope has already granted to his subjects far exceeded their deserts or their ability to turn them to good account. If, therefore, this calamity has occurred beyond all hopes of redemption, we can only apprehend the sort of consequence from it not only to the Roman States, but to the rest of Italy, and there is a great reason to apprehend that the struggle which began for independence will end in anarchy.[17]

The proclamation of the short lived Roman Republic on February 9th, 1849, was received with bewilderment. The Protestants of Upper Canada, who had time and again said that "Popery is nowhere so weak as in Italy and that no people hate it more cordially than the Italians,"[18] were amazed at the truth of their own words. This was an event that made history for every one, but particularly for Canadian Protestants, who could not believe what had happened. The Pope had been forced to leave Rome or had been taken prisoner other times before, but always by hostile foreign armies; this time the Roman people themselves had decided to depose him. "Of all events that have shaken Europe within the last 14 months," wrote the Christian Guardian, "there is none more astonishing than the fall of the Pope. A sacred prestige formerly hallowed his person; his subjects knelt as he passed, ././. and now he is

declared dethroned, - the popedom banished for ever, ././. and this by his own subjects, by the Roman Catholics themselves."[19]

When the French troops marched into Rome, it was a sad day for Liberals all over the world. Upper Canadian Protestants felt rage and indignation against France and even against Great Britain who allowed the perpetration of such a crime. "France is chiefly to blame for this catastrophy, although our own government is not free from it,"[20] said the Globe. The virtues, skill, courage, and humanity of those who manned the walls of the city to defend Rome, and of those who led the short lived Republic were highly praised. In Canada the struggle for defending Rome was considered one of the greatest moments in the life of that glorious city. The Globe published one of the most solemn and dignified eulogies of the event and of the men involved in it. The following is part of that long editorial:

> Never was a revolution more justifiable than that of Rome. The people readily embraced the new government, sanctioned it by their votes at the elections, and have given it their hearty support ever since. The leaders were worthy of their cause. Their gallantry and skill in the field, their preservation of order in Rome under circumstances of most exciting character, their humanity to their prisoners, their moderation in victory, must cast a ray of glory around their short lived administration, which will yet be recorded as not unworthy of the brightest period of Roman history. The very conception of defending Rome against powerful armies, set on by hostile governments surrounding her on every side, could only have originated with men of undoubted courage, and heroism, and we are much mistaken if Mazzini and Garibaldi will not yet perform part in the important transactions of this era.[21]

French prestige had reached the lowest point in the opinion of the Protestants of Upper Canada who felt that France had betrayed the freedom which was the very foundation of her own existence.

These sentiments were well expressed in a poem by the title "France and Rome" published in the Globe:

> For shame, O France! was it for thee
> To strike at Rome, the despot's blow?
> Thou boaster of thy liberty.
> To turn to freedom as his foe!
> For shame, though braggart - it was for thee
> To lift the voice, and shake the steel
> And on the neck of Tyranny.[22]

In Upper Canada the 1850's were characterized by the Protestants' animosity against Catholicism, triggered by the promotion of Doctor Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, to Cardinal. In the atmosphere of suspicion and fear created by the failure of the European Revolution, Wiseman's appointment was considered an act of "Papal aggression" against the political and religious freedom of the British world. In Italy, the Italian Princes, returned to power, repudiated the consitutions that they had granted the people and there began a period of political and even religious repression: for some Italians, particularly in Tuscany, had been converted to Protestantism by preachers who had gone to Italy during the years of reforms and freedom.

Only Sardinia, led by a group of Liberals, retained the constitution. D'Azeglio and Cavour, prime ministers of this country, began a new policy aiming at two objectives: to regain the leadership of the Italian patriots from the hands of the Mazzinian revolutionary party, and to win the support of the French and British governments for the unity of Italy. In

those years the Sardinian government took certain political steps which hurt the Roman See's interests in that country. Such policy was very popular with Protestants all over the world. In fact the Upper Canadian Protestants, who earlier preferred no specific Italian state, or leader, or government, in the 1850's were all whole heartedly for Victor Emmanuel of Savoy, king of Sardinia. Furthermore they saw in the Piedmontese monarchy the mean to transform the old Italian states into a modern nation without the risk of republicanism and the consequence of anarchy: monarchy would insure a smooth transition to unity.

The Canadian press reported accounts of repression, torture and abuses imposed on Italians suspected of Liberal opinions. English and American tourists who happened to be in Italy denounced the illegal detention of patriots and the phony trials concocted to destroy the most prestigious persons of Italy. Even in Tuscany, which the Rev. Egerton Ryerson had described in 1845 as "the most liberal, and perhaps, the best despotism in the world,"[23] the Grand Duke followed blindly the political line of the reactionary powers of Europe; namely the Pope and Austria. The persecution against Liberals of even moderate opinion became as cruel as everywhere else in Italy and Europe. But in Upper Canada the persecution of the few converted Protestants living in Florence had wider resonance.

The arrest on May 7th, 1851, of Count Guicciardini, descendant

of the famous Florentine historian, and of his friends, because they had been "found assembled and occupied in reading a chapter of the Gospel,"[24] was widely reported and commented on in the Upper Canadian Press. The arrest of Miss Cunningham, and above all the imprisonment of Francesco Madiai and his wife, Rosa, became an international case (cause celebre), and the two governments of Britain and Tuscany exchanged diplomatic notes on the subject. This case had the widest publicity in the Upper Canada's press, and in the tense atmosphere of the "Papal Aggression," it bacame the focus of Protestant indignation against the abuses by Popery. The following passage gives an idea of the feelings aroused by this case. It was written in response to a previous report which held that Francesco Madiai was dead. "Madiai lives; from his prison, and not from his tomb, he bears testimony against the power that persecutes man for studying God's revelation of His will and purpose, and for worshipping his maker in the way that he believes to be most acceptable. Madiai is still the Duke of Tuscany's victims, and not yet a martyr of his faith as former reports from Europe led the American people so suppose. Very well, he lives, and may not be forgotten, as the dead too often are."[25]

Only Sardinia and its King had been able to resist the Papal aggression and honor the commitment taken by King Carl Albert in granting the people political and religious freedom. "The most important event of modern times," wrote the Christian Guardian, "is the establishment by the consitutional regime, and its

attendant freedom of religion in Piedmont and Sardenia."[26] There had been three occurances which made Piedmont and its King Victor Emmanuel dear to the Protestants of Upper Canada: namely, the policy which led to the Papal excommunication; the recognition of the Waldenses' religious rights; and the Piedmontese praticipation in the Crimean war as an ally of the British and the French.

The Sardinian political decisions which infuriated the Pope and led him to condemn publicly all those involved were: the Siccardi law which abolished the ecclesiastic courts; the matrimonial legislation; the abolition of some religious orders and the confiscation of their property. This last fitted quite well with the Clergy Reserve question at that time being discussed in this country. The Globe praised the Sardinian governement for its firm stand: "We almost feared", it wrote, "that the Sardinians would quail before the traditional authority of Rome. But we have been most agreably re-assured, for they have executed their plan, with all the boldness and determination in which it was conceived."[27] In this praise directed to the Sardinians, George Brown, the Globe editor, had in mind the Canadian question of the Clergy Reserves, and the indecision infecting Canadians. In fact he closed his article as follows: "surely the people of Canada can be as wise as those of Spain and Italy. Surely they can act as determinantly."[28]

The recognition of the Waldenses' religion rights was

received with approval and satisfaction by the Canadian Protestants. "Piedmont", wrote the Globe, "permits the Waldenses to build churches; she treats them well that they take their place in public procession and the Royal troops present arms to them as they pass. Bravo Piedmont".[29] The old Protestant dream of evangelizing the Italians in the atmosphere of a revival, seemed to the Protestants of Upper Canada more real and concrete than ever. "An event", wrote the Guardian, "fraught with interest and hope to Protestants just occurred in Italy, the opening of a Protestant church for the long persecuted Waldenses, in Turin, the metropolitan city of the country."[30] Hopes were certainly high: Protestants saw a general interest of the Italians in this old religious sect. "exception of ultrarepublicans, every patriot," commented the Guardian, "every lover of the real welfare of his country, fixes his eyes upon the Waldenses, and builds his chief hope in Italy on the progress of their doctrines."[31]

Of course this was wishful thinking. Italians in general were not attracted to the Waldenses, who in many years of isolation had lost their Italian origin and their Italian language, and even Italian Protestants could not get along with them, after a futile attempt at collaboration, because most of the Italian Protestants had been influenced by the Free Church of Scotland and Switzerland. Consequently they, unlike the Waldenses, believed in a church of voluntarism and participation.

Furthermore most of the members of the Italian Free Church came from the revolutionary left, whereas the Waldenses boasted of their loyalism to the Savoy House. Italian Protestants were patriotic and nationalist; the Waldenses were concerned mainly about their valleys.[32]

There is no doubt that the religious freedom granted to the Waldenses of Piedmont made Victor Emmanuel very popular with the Protestants of Upper Canada. They saw it as a gift given by the King to the subjects, rather than as a right of citizens. This was a peculiar position because fundamentally, they believed in the natural rights of Man. It could only mean that they, as good monarchists had veneration for the crown as symbol of freedom and stability. They had words of praise and admiration for that King: "Victor Emmanuel," wrote the Guardian, "the worthy son of immortal Charles Albert conducted himself as an affectionate father towards the Waldenses, and on more than one occasion, has given indisputable proof of special attachment to them."[33]

Hence it is not a surprise that Victor Emmanuel's visit in England was widely covered by the Canadian Protestant press. Although they did not believe him to be a Protestant, at least they considered him an enemy of the Church of Rome. "The King of Sardinia," reported the Guardian, "is now under excommunication from the Pope, but seems not to ~~hold~~ heed the impotent curse."[34] In reality Victor Emmanuel was worried by it, and secretly sent

a personal messenger, Mons. Rinaldi Vicario, to Pius IX asking for absolution.[35]

The participation of Piedmont in the Crimean war with a contingent of 15,000 men, was welcomed by the Protestants of this country who now considered Sardinia an ally of Great Britain. "Bravo Piedmont", said the Globe, "no wonder that nations which have spirit and courage to defy the ghostly tyrant should be found side by side with the allied in a war with Russia."[36] The entrance of the King of Sardinia in the alliance with England, France and Turky, according to the Globe, "has given additional importance and strength to that alliance, and the efficient force which his Sardinian majesty has sent to the seat of war to co-operate with the allied armies, will not fail to maintain the high reputation by which the army of Sardinia has ever been distinguished."[37] And in fact, every war report, which illustrated the conduct of the men in battle, did not fail to mention how the Sardinian soldiers distinguished themselves. The following taken from the description of the battle of Tehernaya, in which the Piedmontese troops were in action, is one example: "they [the Russians] had their flank turned to that of the Piedmontese, who had got the range to an inch, and fired with accuracy little short of marvellous. ././. The remanant of the [Russian] column got undercover on the other side of the stream, and remained there for some times, until two battalions of Piedmontese came out

upon the plane, and throwing out skirmishers advanced upon the river. The Russians retired in haste, and not in very good order, skirmishing as they went, until they reached the high ground on which their cavalry and the reserve of the artillery were stationed. During the persuit the Piedmontese made some prisoners."[38]

In the Paris conference of 1856, the French Minister, Count Walewski, introduced the Italian question to the attention of Europe. This was taken up by Count Cavour, representing Sardinia, who accused the Papal Government and the King of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand II, of the most atrocious cruelties against innocent people. The British Minister added his authoritative voice against those two Governments, and repeated the charges advanced by both France and Sardinia. He forcefully asked the two Governments to reform and put an end to the political and religious persecutions.

England, according to the Christian Guardian, did not have the doubts of France regarding Italy. In France Napoleon was in power because of the Jesuits' party, which supported him, but in England this was not so. England, according to the Canadian press, fully supported Sardinia, which was labouring to ameliorate the political conditions of the Peninsula, "for her moral, social and physical interests were involved."[39] The newspapers registered the reaction of the Jesuit party all over Europe on the subject. They added, however, that the interest displayed in the progress of Italy by the European nations was a positive act. The Italians

reaction on the Paris conference was described as follows:

> The Italians hail with enthusiasm this ray of light which penetrates their darkness. They see that Europe does not forsake and forget them and that they may count on having protectors. These poor oppressed people lift up the head at Rome, Bologna, Naples, Palermo, Florence and Milan. They wait with feverish impatience the realization of these promises and the most daring are preparing arms in case their hope is deceived. If the reforms are not granted a revolution will infallibly break out and it would be the signal of an extensive overtuning. God grant that we may be spared the calamity of such violence.[40]

Although the Protestants of Upper Canada predicted, time and again, the revolution in Italy, when it did occur, they considered its leader Joseph Mazzini to be a man "full of dangerous fancies, which he easily takes for realities."[41] However they mitigated this harsh judgement with the respect that every freedom lover ows to that great man. "Mazzini", they said, "is truly a firm, courageous man of a strong will and devoted to the cause of liberty."[42] The fact was that they were not convinced that revolution could resolve the Italian question. They had in mind the evangelization of the Italians. Therefore they thought that for Italy "national unity is not the work of a day, nor even of one or two generations."[43]

The war against Austria in 1859, the revolution in Tuscany and in part of the Papal states and the victorious campaign of Garibaldi took Canadian Protestants and not only them but even most Italian moderates, by surprise. That is why they call it the miracle of 1859-60. Of all the many intriguing and surprising events of those two great years, what drew most the sympathy of the

Upper Canadian Protestants and of all the people in the world had been the brilliant success achieved by Garibaldi. The people of the Southern Provinces of Italy, the poor and illitterate who were considered fanatically pro Pope and pro Ferdinand II, followed Garibaldi who knew how to talk to them. In Canada the General has been the most popular man of modern Italy to our day, maybe more than the hated Mussolini. He had all the characteristics that the Protestants associated with great men, or, at least, that is how they presented him in their newspapers. The following is taken from a biographic sketch published in the Christian Guardian:

> The great leader never drinks wine, and never eats more than two sorts of meat at dinner. At eight o'clock in the evening he goes to bed, and regularly gets up at two o'clock in the morning. He then reads for two hours some military book, and at four o'clock he has his breakfast, after which he goes into his office to transact military business. Garibaldi is never seen in public except on duty. Even when he wants to take the fresh air of the sea he rides out of the town taking the shortest and quickest way which leads to the Marina. Loaded with stars and medals by more than one monarch he never wears any decoration whatever, and when he is obliged to wear his uniform he does it with such nonchalance that you would scarcely believe that he is a hero-of-so many expeditions of almost fabulous daring.[44]

Of course nothing is said of his many women, but that would have ruined the picture of this idealized Protestant hero and saviour.

In clonclusion the reaction of the Protestants of Upper Canada to the events in Italy was that unity was still to be achieved because the Risorgimento did not end with the evangelization of Italians. Upper Canadian Protestants felt that they had been

betrayed; and for different reasons so did all the Italian radicals who were expecting more than a geographical and political union. That is why we conclude with a poem of Alexander McLachlan to Garibaldi, which expresses Canadian Protestant feelings towards Italy at the end of 1860.

GARIBALDI

O sons of Italy, awake!
Your hearts and altars are at stake!
Arise, arise, for Freedom's sake
And strike with Garibaldi!

The Liberator now appears,
Foretold by prophets, bards, and seers-
The hero sprung from blood and tears,
All hail to Garibaldi!

Let serfs and cowards fear and quake!
O Venice, Naples, Rome, awake!
Like lava from your burning lake,
Rush on with Garibaldi!

Up and avenge your country's shame,
Like Aetna belching forth her flame,
Rush on in Freedom's holy name,
And strike with Garibaldi!

'Tis Freedom thunders in your ears;
The weary night of blood and tears,
The sorrows of a thousand years
Cry "On with Garibaldi!"

The Roman Eagle is not dead;
Her mighty wings again are spread
To swoop upon the tyrants's head,
And strike with Garibaldi!

The land wherein the laurel waves
Was never meant to nourish slaves;
Then onward to your bloody graves;
Or live like Garibaldi![46]

FOOTNOTES

1. The Toronto Globe, November 4th, 1845.

2. Christian Guardian, July 1st, 1846.

3. For example, see how President Durbin describes the Neopolitan "lazzaroni" in the Christian Guardian, July 5th, 1843; and also what Rev. Ryerson Egerton says about the poor peasants of Rome and Naples, in the same paper, December 10th, 1845.

4. See the article 'Death in a Theatre', Christian Guardian, September 4th, 1844.

5. Christian Guardian, july 1st, 1846 .

6. Ibid., September 17th, 1856 .

7. Ibid., January 16th, 1850 .

8. Ibid., February 21st, 1844 .

9. Ibid.,

10. See Gavazzi's speech delivered in the St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto Examener, June 8th, 1853.

11. In the Christian Guardian, November 8th, 1848, we read: "Contribution received from Ministers and Congregarions, on the behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the purpose of sending the Scriptures to France and Italy -- to the 26th October, 1848;" then follows a list of names with respective contribution.

12. See Federico Curato's article on "Gli Italiani in Gran Bretagna;" and Edward R. Marraro's "Gli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d'America," in Il Veltro, N. 5-6, anno V, May-June 1961: special number dedicated to "Gli Italiani nel mondo e il Risorgimento."

13. I refer to the Canadian Zouavers in the Papal Army, and of course to the many meetings which were held in the Canadian Catholic churches to pray for the Pope; and to money collections on behalf of the Vatican States.

14. This paragraph is the symthesis of research that I have done in the Canadian National Archives in Ottawa on the Sensus Return Forms of Upper Canada Sensus for the year 1861.

15. Giuseppe Mazzini, Scritti Editi ed Inediti, Imola, Vol. 20, pg. 104.

16. For Forneri's biography see John King, "McCaul: Croft: Forneri," published in Varsity, 1881; and also Wm. Oldright, "Professor James Forneri, LL.D.," in University of Toronto Monthly, May 2nd, 1902.

17. Christian Guardian, June 7th, 1848.

18. Ibid., February 21st, 1844.

19. Ibid., March 21st, 1849.

20. The Globe, July 26th, 1849.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., June 27th, 1849

23. See Egerton Ryerson, "Letter from Europe", Christian Guardian, December 10th, 1845.

24. The Globe, December 25th, 1851

25. Christian Guardian, February 23rd, 1853. On the Madiai case, there is much material in the Canadian press, but the most informative and useful are the articles in the Christian Guardian (February 23rd, and April 13th, 1855) and the one of February 16th, 1853, in the Toronto Examener.

26. Ibid., May 4th, 1853.

27. The Globe, August 31st, 1855.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., August 27th, 1855

30. Christian Guardian, February 15th, 1854.

31. Ibid., May 4th, 1853.

32. See Giorgio Spini, L'Evangelo e il beretto frigio: Storia della Chiesa Cristiana Libera in Italia: 1870-1904, (Editrice Claudiana - Torino, 1871), pp. 10-13.

33. Christian Guardian, May 4th, 1853.

34. Ibid., September 17th, 1856.

35. D. Massé, Pio IX Papa e Principe. (Edizione Paoline, Modena, 1961), pp. 149-50.

36. The Globe, August 27th, 1855.

37. Ibid., September 1st, 1855.

38. Ibid., September 14th, 1855.

39. Christian Guardian, July 16th, 1856.

40. Ibid.,

41. Ibid., October 7th, 1857

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., April 15th, 1857.

44. Ibid., November 23rd, 1859.

45. Alexander McLachlan, Poetic Works, (Toronto, 1900), p. 73.

Early Settlement in Lanark County and the Glasgow Colonial Society

by

E.A. McDougall

The end of the Napoleonic Wars coupled with the depressive effects of the Industrial Revolution brought unemployment and overwhelming poverty to the British working class after 1815. To alleviate the distress of the poor and possibly lessen the chances of violence in the streets, one means considered by government was to assist impoverished families, willing to emigrate, to settle in British North America. Similarly, disbanded army personnel might be settled on the land. To transplant loyal British subjects to Upper Canada would benefit the colony as well as Britain - there was too much vacant land in the colony, situated precariously close to the American border and the rapidly expanding settlements behind it. Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, accepted the idea and quickly took steps to implement it.

Land, formerly the hunting ground of the Indians, was quickly purchased for the purpose. It lay in Upper Canada, north of the Rideau River which flowed generally north and east from the Rideau Lakes to empty into the Ottawa River at Bytown (Ottawa). The land was high enough above the St. Lawrence River and the American border to provide, when peopled with loyal Canadians, a second line of defence should hostilities with the United States again trouble the colony. Townships were surveyed and prepared for settlement whilst Bathurst advertised in Scotland his proposal to grant free passage and 100 acres of land to emigrating families. Almost as quickly as the land was surveyed Scots arrived in the townships. In the following years more townships were surveyed and more settlers from Ireland and Scotland settled on the land, although not on as generous terms as the first settlers, until by 1824 all the townships now comprised in Lanark County had been surveyed and partially settled.

This paper will consider the efforts made by emigrant Scottish Presbyterian settlers in Lanark County to bring Church of Scotland clergymen to their townships and conversely, the measures adopted by the Glasgow Colonial Society to meet the ministerial needs of the Scottish emigrants.

In Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, Scotland, the weaving industry was hard hit by depression. Unemployment was rife in the counties and wages plummetted. Some of the distressed families were considering emigration to the colonies and to forward the idea Emigration Societies were formed throughout the striken area. Two high-ranking Scotsmen, Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Kirkman Finlay, successfully petitioned government for assistance to the Emigration Societies.[1] Land was granted in Lanark County, transportation from Quebec to Lanark County but not the cost of the ocean voyage from Greenock to Quebec. Fortunately for the weavers, a small Committee on Emigration to His Majesty's Settlements in Upper Canada was formed by public spirited citizens in Glasgow and its environs to help the Emigration Societies raise money for the passage to Quebec, to watch over the Societies' funds, and to act as intermediaries between the Emigration Societies and the Shipping Companies in whose ships the emigrants were to sail. One of the five Committee members was Kirkman Finlay, the same man who had earlier petitioned government on behalf of the weavers.

In the sailing season of 1820 and 1821 ships sailed from Greenock to Quebec with the emigrating weavers and their families. Lord Dalhousie, the new governor-general of the Canadas, a Scotsman and a good friend of the Scots in British North America, had arranged the settlement of the Scots in a newly surveyed township of Lanark County. He later wrote of the settlement, "I gave them a new township ten miles square and called it Lanark, close adjoining the Perth settlement. They reached it at the

same time as I did and in two days after, I saw the first of them, with a Captain Marshall as Superintendent, and a surveyor attached to him, set forward into the woods to occupy their lot."[2] Dalhousie also saw the neighbouring township surveyed and named Dalhousie in his honour. Dalhousie township was also settled by the Scots.

On the 23rd of January, 1821, back in Quebec, Dalhousie wrote the Duke of Hamilton to suggest that contributions be sought in the Glasgow area for the building of a church in New Lanark,[3] a small village in Lanark township pleasantly situated on the Clyde River about 15 miles from Perth. This was done and in 1823, £280 were sent to Canada from Scotland for the purpose. Soon a stone church with eight windows was built. It had a gallery across the back and room for three hundred persons.[4] But although the emigrants had sought a minister even before leaving Scotland, one was not easily to be found.

In June, 1820, when the ship Commerce was docked at Greenock preparing to sail for Quebec with one of the first shiploads of the Lanarkshire emigrants, one of the Presbyterian Scots had handed a petition to the Rev. Mr. Robert Easton, a Montreal Secession Presbyterian minister standing on the landing. The petition, signed by the Presbyterian emigrants, asked that a minister be sent to their new home in Upper Canada.[5] Easton seemed the logical man to receive the petition because he was in Scotland for the purpose of raising funds to send Presbyterian clergymen to British North America. No answer was received from Easton and over a year later, in September 1821, the Presbyterian Church Committee at Lanark, Upper Canada, again wrote Easton, now back in Montreal. The Committee stated that sites for the church and school had been granted and "that a house is now in a state of forwardness to answer the double purpose of church and school."[6] But again, no answer was received. By March, 1822, a schoolmaster had arrived in the township and "it was

agreed by the church managers that unless they had some answer to their request for a minister they would apply directly to Earl Bathurst and the Joint Committee in Edinburgh"[7] - the latter committee had sent the Rev. Mr. William Bell to the town of Perth. What the Lanark Committee evidently did not know was that an ordained Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Mr. John Gemmell, was already among them.

Gemmell, a 61 year old Ayrshire Scot and a Secession Presbyterian minister, had been ordained to a "Lifter" congregation in Dalry, Ayrshire. Because of inadequate payment of his salary,he had turned first to medicine, receiving a medical degree from the University of Glasgow, and then to the printing business. Gemmell and his family emigrated in 1821 to Lanark township but it was not until August, 1822, that he held his first church service in the township. Gemmell never managed to rally Lanark's Presbyterians around him:the ministry was but one third of his professional interests, he outspokenly supported one party, even in his sermons, in a divided community[8] and by itinerating he visited each community too infrequently - usually once a month. Consequently, in 1824, we find the Presbyterians in Lanark once again in search of a minister. This time they petitioned the Church of Scotland but with little expectation of success.

It was at this point, in July, 1824, that Lanark's school master, Robert Mason, wrote to his former minister, the Rev. Mr. John Robertson, Church of Scotland minister at Cambusland, a Clydeside village near Glasgow. In his letter, along with other news,he wrote of the difficulty the township was having in finding a suitable Presbyterian clergyman. The letter is included in the correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society although it was written before the Society was formed.[9] It was in answer to

this letter and others like it written from various parts of British North America that laymen and clergymen in Glasgow and its vicinity felt called upon to bestir themselves on behalf of their colonial brethren. The result was the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society on the 15th of April, 1825.

The purpose of the Society was embodied in a Resolution, " That this meeting contemplates with deep interest the moral & religious wants of the Scottish Settlers in many parts of British North America and resolve that a Society shall be formed in this city and neighborhood with the view of promoting their improvement by means of ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters to be sent to them and by such other means as may be found expedient".[10] One of the laws of the Society formulated at the meeting, namely that no minister might be sent out who was not licensed or ordained by the Church of Scotland,may be considered partisan. But when one remembers that the source of funds for the Society's operations was Church of Scotland parishes, it does not seem unlikely or unreasonable that the donors expected their money to be used to send Church of Scotland personnel and no others, to British North America.

Laymen and clergymen worked together at all levels of the Society's business. Possibly because Lord Dalhousie had agreed to accept the position of Patron of the Society and Kirkman Finlay, now mayor of Glasgow, that of its President, other laymen of a high calibre took an active part in the Society's financial and practical concerns. Among these laymen were Mr. Richard Kidston of the shipping line of that name. He proved invaluable to the Society not only because of his help in securing passages for clergymen sailing to the colonies, but in all the other business of the Society as well. Equally helpful was Mr. J.D.Bryce,

a Glasgow merchant with an agency in York(Toronto). Bryce travelled frequently to the colonies and on these occasions acted as courrier and agent of the Society. He carried letters, parcels and intelligence from the Society to the colonial ministers and brought back invaluable information to the Society. Scottish clergymen were, nevertheless, the backbone of the Society. The secretaries, on whom the burden of the correspondence fell, were clergymen and the principal Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Robert Burns, was the Society's most influential figure and chief spokesman. Word of the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society quickly reached the colonies.

Soon Lanark township petitioned the Society for financial help towards the salary of a clergyman, promising on their part to provide their minister annually 46 bushels of wheat. Although both Mr. Kirkman Finlay to whom the petition was addressed and Col. Marshall, the superintendant of the Lanark settlement, expressed their support for the Lanark township petition, the Society firmly asserted that until much greater financial provisions was raised by the settlers, the Society could do nothing. The petition was not forgotten, however, either by the Society, its president, Kirkman Finlay, or Col. Marshall. In its Second Report, printed in April, 1828, the Glasgow Colonial Society wrote, "The case of Lanark, Upper Canada, has beenrepeatedly under the notice of the Committee, and more particularly at the time when Colonel Marshall, the superintendant of the Settlement was in Glasgow. His communications, which were transmitted through the medium of the respected President of the Society, were seriously attended to and although difficulties were found to stand in the way of a favourable answer to the petition of the settlers, the Committee resolved to keep it steadily in

view and we are at the present date waiting in expectation of some additional information from Mr. Marshall which may lead to the nomination of a minister."

At the same time neighboring Dalhousie township was seeking help from the Society. On the 5th of September, 1825, the Presbyterians of the township petitioned the Society for help in building a church and supporting a minister. To this request the Glasgow Colonial Society replied that it could give no help until a church was built. Three years later the prospects for help seemed brighter.In a letter of thanks to Lord Dalhousie for his generous donation of books for their library, the Dalhousie Scots wrote:-

> "We further trust, from the very laudable and benevolent exertions of that Society, formed in Glasgow, also honoured by your lordship's patronage, that we will ere long be blest by a Gospel preaching by having a stated minister, which, together with the increase of common schools, enables us to enjoy the pleasure of hoping that the rising and future generations will have every facility afforded them of acquiring that degree of knowledge which (even in common life) is so essentially necessary to form the mind to just and equitable principles, and fit it for the discharge of all the social and moral duties of life, good and loyal subjects of our King, and a firm and unbending adherence and attachment to our uncorrupted creed and to our inestimable constitution, the birthright, boast and pride of every true Briton."[11]

Some two months later, on a more sober note, a representative of the Dalhousie Presbyterians wrote to the Glasgow Colonial Society of the

suitability of their new St. Andrew's Hall - which housed their library - as a church, as follows, "As none of the school houses which has as yet been our "Kirk" has a stove, I have seen poor old Dr. Gemmell, who is now above 80 years of age and who traveled above 8 miles of a very indifferent road once a month for the last three years to preach to us, so shivering with (the cold) that he could hardly articulate. Now, thank God, through the persevering energy of our Society - the St. Andrew's Society - and the liberality of our respectable neighbours this difficulty is removed as our new house can contain a Congregation of at least 200 & be comfortable in the most inclement weather."[12]

Correspondence between the Glasgow Colonial Society and the townships of Lanark and Dalhousie dragged through 1829 but on 27 April, 1830, the Committee of the Glasgow Colonial Society meeting in Glasgow read a letter from Presbyterianw of Lanark and Dalhousie townships intimating their union and that £60.17.6 had been subscribed towards a minister's salary - a satisfactory amount. The Committee therefore agreed to offer a suitable licentiate of the Church of Scotland, the Lanark-Dalhousie charge with a supplementary salary of £70 Sterling for three years, an unusually generous allowance offered because the townships' minister would not receive a share of a government grant made to specific Church of Scotland charges. A suitable candidate, the Rev. Mr. William MacAlister was chosen, ordained by the Presbytery of Skye, and on the 14th of October 1830, designated in Glasgow to the Lanark-Dalhousie charge. He sailed almost immediately to New York and from there made his way overland as quickly as possible to the village of Lanark. MacAlister was welcomed by his parishioners and successfully ministered to his congregations until 1842.

On the 29th of April, when Mr. MacAlister was still on a sailing vessel crossing the Atlantic heading for New York, a Church of Scotland minister

arrived in Perth, the County Seat of Lanark County, and handed Mr. William Morris, an outstanding Presbyterian citizen of the town, a letter of introduction from the Rev. Mr. David Welsh, a Secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society.[13] The clergyman had not been sent to Perth by the Society. He had been chosen minister of a newly-formed Church of Scotland congregation in Perth in a traditional manner. A blank call and bond for the clergyman's support had been sent to a Scottish minister - in this case the Rev. Mr. Alexander Stewart of the parish of Douglas - with the request that Mr. Stewart present the call and bond to a suitable young licentiate of the Church of Scotland. The bond would, of course, have to be sufficiently large to tempt a licentiate to emigrate to the colonies. Mr. Hugh Scott had, after some delay, been chosen but first delayed and finally refused to leave Scotland. The impatient Mr. Morris of Perth wrote Welsh to ask his help in expediting the appointment. Welsh reassured Mr. Morris and when the appointment was finally made, gave Mr. Thomas C. Wilson, the licentiate chosen, a letter of introduction to Mr. Morris. The attitude of the Glasgow Colonial Society to the Perth appointment is expressed in the Society's 5th Report-"The newly-erected Church at Perth has been supplied with a minister, the Rev. Thomas C. Wilson, ordained by the Presbytery of Lanark. In his nomination the Society had no concern; but he enjoys their best wishes, and he may rely on their readiness to do him every service in their power."[14]

In late spring of 1831 a convention of Church of Scotland ministers and commissioners brought a major change to every Church of Scotland congregation in the Canadas. At the convention was created the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. Subordinate to it were Presbyteries, and every congregation and minister in the Canadas was attached to one or other of the Presbyteries,

The Lanark County congretations and their ministers, Mr. MacAlister and Mr. Wilson, along with the congregations and ministers of Bytown and Kingston, now formed the Presbytery of Bathurst. No longer could a township call a minister on its own initiative; a Presbytery must be consulted. The first township in Lanark County to receive a Glasgow Colonial Society minister after the Presbytery of Bathurst was formed was Beckwith.

Beckwith township was surveyed in 1816 and almost completely settled within six years. Some three hundred Perthshire families, mainly from towns by Loch Tay and Loch Earn, formed the bulk of the Scottish emigrants. They had left Scotland for Beckwith in 1818, through a private arrangement with Lord Bathurst, an arrangement rather similar to the later arrangement made with the Lanark emigrants. To the early Scottish settlers in Beckwith were added Anglican Irish. Of the two national groups, Jean McGill writes in A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark, "Though the Irish immigrants might get along without religious guidance, the Scots were not inclined to be satisfied without their own ordained leader."[15]

Miss McGill had been led to this remark by the fact that in March, 1819, less than a year after their arrival in Upper Canada, a group of the Beckwith Presbyterian Scots walked to Perth to ask the Rev. Mr. Bell, the Secession Presbyterian minister of that town, how they might secure the services of a minister. Bell visited Beckwith and, satisfied with the condition of the people and their desire for a minister, petitioned the Edinburgh Secession Committee (which had sent him to Perth in 1818) for a minister. In 1821 a petition from the Beckwith Presbyterians followed and a year later, in June 1822, a minister arrived in Beckwith from Edinburgh.

The Rev. Mr. George Buchanan, the Edinburgh minister, was an ordained Secession Presbyterian clergyman. In Edinburgh he had been without a pastoral charge, and he had a large family to support. With some difficulty passage money and adequate outfits for Buchanan and his family had been found.[16] Buchanan remained in Beckwith until his death in 1835. But two years before his death a Church of Scotland minister arrived in the township in answer to a petition sent to the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1831 by Beckwith Presbyterians. In a letter written by an unnamed Beckwith Presbyterian to a Mr. Wilson of Glasgow the background of the petition is given. It reads:

> " Beckwith, 28Sept. 1831
>
> In the beginning of the winter of 1819 the Residenters wrote a petition to the Governor at Quebec to see if the Township could be supplied with a clergyman of the Kirk of Scotland, and also some aid from Government for his support. To this petition they received no answer.
>
> They then applied to the Revd. Wm. Bell of Perth to see if he would send a Petition to the Old Country for a minister. I believe between 70 & 80 members subscribed two Bushels of wheat for his support.
>
> Bell wrote the Petition in which he desired that they would send out one of the profession of Hall and Peddie, Edinburgh. We wished for one of the Kirk of Scotland, but we did not know at that time but these men in Edinburgh were of our own opinion, nor did we know at that time but the Kirk of Scotland might be established in Canada as firmly as in Scotland without any trouble: but now we know otherwise.
>
> A minister came out but several breaches in the Congregation have taken place. At last Sacrament there were about

120 Communicants. The present minister is disesteemed and he cannot preach in Gaelic.

A petition was sent to the Society signed by Between 70 and 80 individuals, preparations are making for building a place of worship and the Erection is to commence in the Spring of 1832."[17]

The petition sent from Beckwith to the Glasgow Colonial Society had included a Bond securing £50 annually for five years for their minister. In reply the Society had written that until a church was built it would not consider the subject.

In November the moderator of the Presbytery of Bathurst, the Rev. Mr. Wilson of Perth, on the authority of Presbytery, wrote to the Secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society concerning the Beckwith petition. An extract of the letter written 22 Nov. 1832 reads :

"We, the Presbytery, have judged it expedient earnestly to request that some information may be sent without delay by the Society in regard to the steps which have been taken, and as to what prospect there is of a minister being sent out. I may mention that a good stone Church has been erected at Beckwith. The people are in general industrious and comfortable in worldly circumstances, and warmly attached to the Church of their fathers. And I know of few country places here, where a faithful minister may be more agreeably situated."[18]

It was in answer to proddings such as this from Beckwith as well as similar proddings from the Rev. Mr. Peter McLaren, Church of Scotland minister at Lecropt, near Stirling, Scotland, some of whose relatives had emigrated from Perthshire to Beckwith, that the Glasgow Colonial Society sent the Rev. Mr. John Smith to Beckwith township. In addition

to granting Smith 3 guineas above his travelling expenses, the Society
19
paid him £40 per annum for two years.

In 1833, the same year it sent John Smith to Lanark County, the Glasgow Colonial Society experimented with a new method of sending preachers to the Canadas. The idea grew from a successful missionary enterprise of the year before. In 1832, at the request of the Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, the Society had chosen and sent to Canada a young licentiate, the Rev. Mr. Matthew Miller. He was to be the Synod's missionary in the Canadas. He itinerated from one Presbyterian community to another with enthusiasm and it was because of the glowing reports he sent home of the opportunity open to Church of Scotland ministers in numbers of towns in the Canadas, that the following year the Glasgow Colonial Society decided to follow the Synod's example and send missionaries to the Canadas. The Society advertised widely for six young ministers, guaranteeing to each £100 Sterling, one half to be paid on his leaving Scotland, the other when he began his labours under one or other of the Canadian Presbyteries. Six ministers were selected from among the applicants and six missionaries sailed in 1833 for Quebec.

Of the six, two, after itinerating in Upper Canada, accepted charges in Lanark County. The Rev. Mr. John Fairbairn after itinerating for two months in the Bathurst and Johnstown District, accepted a call from Presbyterians in the township of Ramsay, in which the village of Almonte is situated. The Rev. Mr. George Romanes toured the Home and Gore Districts, and the London and Western districts before visiting the eastern part of Upper Canada. There he accepted a call to Smith's Falls, an important new centre on the Rideau Canal.

The year John Fairbairn and George Romanes settled in Lanark County

1833, was a memorable one for the Glasgow Colonial Society's management committee. It was the most productive, yet the most disastrous, that the Society experienced. Eleven ministers, a record number, were sent to the Canadas, but the Society had overspent its income and until it was clear of debt, agreed to make no new appointments to the colonies. Few Church of Scotland clergymen arrived in the Canadas in 1834 and 1835 and the following year, 1836, brought the union of the Glasgow Colonial Society and the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland (the official Church of Scotland missionary body). With union came a gradual reduction in the responsibilities of the Glasgow Colonial Society which led eventually to its demise. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Glasgow Colonial Society sent no more ministers to Lanark County after 1833, leaving the total of its ministers in the County at four. It is of interest to see how these four men fared in British North America.

Mr. McAlister, the first to be appointed, remained in Lanark, ministering to his joint charge of Lanark and Dalhousie for twelve years. Thereafter he moved to Sarnia, Upper Canada and later to Metis, Lower Canada where he died. Mr. Smith, sent to Beckwith Township, remained in the charge until his death in 1851. Mr. Fairbairn, the missionary settled in Ramsay Township, returned to Scotland in 1842 and after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, accepted a call to a Free Church congregation in Berwickshire. The second missionary, Mr. Romanes, remained at Smith's Falls until 1846 when he was appointed Professor of Classical Literature at Queen's College. He retired in 1850 and returned to Britain. The four men, therefore, spent a minumum of nine years in Lanark County, vital years in the rapidly growing and maturing settlements in the Canadas and which brought

in 1840 the union of the United Synod of Upper Canada (the Secession Presbyterian Synod) and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. Thus friction which had separated the two bodies for too long was ended.

Ill feeling between Secessionists and Church of Scotland Presbyterians had been evident in Lanark County when MacAlister and Smith arrived in communities already, some Secessionists felt, adequately served by Secession Presbyterian ministers. The charge does not, however, seem justified. The two Secession ministers were old men: when MacAlister came to Lanark, Gemmell was seventy years of age, when Smith arrived in Beckwith, Buchanan was seventy-one or seventy-two. Not only were they unable to hold their congregations together but the question of successors seems never to have been raised. Young, active, and intelligent Methodist itinerants were making converts in the townships - John Ryerson, the brother of Egerton Ryerson, itinerated in Lanark County with seccess, in the early 1820's. The Baptists were making similar inroads in the largely Presbyterian townships and Sectarians were wandering through the countryside. A Presbyterian wrote, "Many of the people are actually wandering from one Religious Sect to another as sheep without a shepherd."[20] Young, active Presbyterian ministers, Church of Scotland or Secessionist, were needed who could take over from the older ministers if the younger generation of Scots was to remain within the Presbyterian Church.

Because the United Secession Presbyterian Church did not commence missionary work in the Canadas until 1832 and then confined its interest to the London district of Upper Canada, the only Presbyterian missionary organization prepared to select and send out a suitable minister from Scotland was the Glasgow Colonial Society of the Church of Scotland.

The Society's standards were high. A young licentiate of the Church of Scotland who could produce adequate testimonials from respected Church of Scotland ministers and could preach an acceptable sermon to a Glasgow Congregation of which directors of the Society were a part, was the young man they were looking for. Mr. MacAlister was 26 years old when he was accepted by the Society; Mr. Smith was 32. Both ministers and congregations in Lanark were content with the appointments.

When thd Lanarkshire weavers, the Perthshire farmers and other Scots prepared to emigrate to Lanark County in the 1820's it was with the expectation that one hundred acres of government granted land would provide them and their children a comfortable living but their hopes were in many cases ephemeral. Much of the land granted was rocky or swampy and unfit for cultivation. In the 1830's depression hit not only Lanark County but all of British North America hampering even the farmers with fertile land. The disillusionment of new settlers in Upper Canada was a factor in the rebellion of the late 1830's. Presbyterian ministers in Lanark also suffered. Their salary was rarely if ever paid in full. They were forced to travel over very indifferent roads often in most inclement weather to preach to small congregations in back settlements. But perhaps because of the disillusionment of the 1830's settlers and ministers were able to look forward to the 1840's with more sober, realistic Canadian eyes.

NOTES

1. Robert Lamond, "An Account of Early Settlement in Upper Canada", Occasional Papers, (San Fransisco Reprint Series No. 12, 1940), p. 8.

2. Andrew Haydon, Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1925), p. 91.

3. Letter, The Earl of Dalhousie to the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, etc., Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 23 Jan. 1821, Occasional Papers

4. Haydon, Pioneer Sketches, p. 107.

5. Ibid., p. 106.

6. Ibid., p. 106.

7. Ibid., p. 107.

8. "Glasgow Colonial Society Correspondence", I, 5.

9. Ibid., I, 5.

10. Glasgow Colonial Society, Reports.

11. Haydon, Pioneer Sketches, p. 177-8.

12. "G.C.S.", I, 178.

13. Letter, David Welsh to William Morris, 11 August 1829, Queens University Archives, Presbyterian Church Synod 1818-35, Box I, File I.

14. "G.C.S.", 5th Report, p. 15.

15. Jean McGill, A Pioneer History of the County of Lanark (Toronto: T.H. Best, 1968), p. 39.

16. Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church 1733 - 1900 I (Edinburgh: David M. Small, 1904), p. 204.

17. "G.C.S.", Min. I, 19 Jan. 1832.

18. "G.C.S.", III, 141.

19. In 1832 Beckwith was placed on the list of Church of Scotland charges in Upper Canada sharing a goverment grant.

20. Letter, Thomas C. Wilson to John Geddes, 22 Nov. 1832. "G.C.S.", III, 141.