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Ralph Cecil Horner: Product of the Ottawa Valley

by

Clifford Roy Fortune, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

Department of History
Carleton University
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March 1, 1999

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RALPH CECIL HORNER:

PRODUCT OF THE OTTAWA VALLEY

submitted by

Clifford Roy Fortune, B.A., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

---

Thesis Supervisor

Chair, Department of History

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23 April 1999

ABSTRACT

This study shows how Bishop Ralph Cecil Horner, founder of two distinctively Canadian religious denominations, the Holiness Movement and the Standard Church of America, merged residual and emergent strands of nineteenth-century Canadian culture to create a new religious society. Its main theme is that of change and continuity in nineteenth-century evangelical Methodism and its descendants. The study attempts to contribute to the broader field of Canadian social history, informed by concepts and theories from history, geography, economics, anthropology, sociology, and religion. It focuses mainly on how Horner coped with crises in his religious career, and how he created a new culture which he could control. Horner found his followers mostly in his native Ottawa Valley where monopoly capitalism was creating profound changes which would lead to the social gospel. Horner offered an alternative society based on strands of old Methodism.

FOREWORD

The following text is an attempt to analyze how various geographic, economic, religious and social phenomena combined in the nineteenth-century Ottawa Valley to produce a personage like Ralph Cecil Horner. My interest in this subject began while I was writing the history of West Carleton Christian Assembly (formerly Kinburn Pentecostal Church) in 1996. I discovered in that research that my wife's grandmother, who was a founding member of that congregation, was formerly a graduate of Ralph Horner's college and a female evangelist.

As I did further research I discovered that there were many links between the Hornerites, the Pentecostals, and many other evangelical groups. A search for those roots became almost a passion. Further, I discovered that although a great deal has been written about the late nineteenth-century evangelicals who followed the Social Gospel, very little has been written about the rebels who left the mainline Protestant churches to form new sects. It was only when I began to read some of the works of the late George Rawlyk of Queen's University that I began to see the direction that such research could take.

It is not surprising that many of the records of the 'new' evangelicals no longer exist, if they ever did. Theirs was an exuberant, spiritual experience where the things of earth mattered little. They firmly believed that the Second Advent of Christ would happen within their lifetime. Therefore, why keep records when the world would soon end and there would be no one left to read them? This dearth of written records has really complicated historical research.

Rarely can one find church records that even list the members. Occasionally the minutes of annual meetings can be found. Fortunately, Ralph Horner had a strong sense of his earthly importance. He left several books as well as memoirs of his early life and ministry. The Minutes of General Conference of the Holiness Movement Church are very revealing. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to see Horner's personal correspondence. Because he was a controversial figure in Ottawa Valley society some of his followers who idolize him refuse to let an outsider examine any of his personal records. Consequently, I have had to construct this description using the resources that are available.

In addition to all the wonderful Holiness Movement and Standard Church people who so graciously granted me an interview I wish to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Bruce S. Elliott, professor of history, Carleton University, for his many hours of suggestions, comments, and much-needed corrections.

I am particularly thankful to my ever-patient wife Faye and to our wonderful children David, Mary-Beth, and Heather, our daughter-in-law, Rhonda, son-in-law, Jason, and our fabulous grandchildren for their suggestions and encouragement. I am particularly thankful for the day when I was at my most discouraged point that our youngest daughter, Heather, called to chide me. "Dad", she said, "you taught us that we could never quit a job until it was completely finished. I just want to let you know that we won't let you quit now." I knew then that Faye and I had done an excellent job of raising our children. From that moment, I had the courage to try to make another contribution to society by writing this thesis.

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> The historical study of whitecapping and charivaris in nineteenth-century North America reaffirms Raymond Williams' forceful depiction of culture as a complex blend of residual and emergent strains. In this analysis, working-class culture is seen as a coalescence of the old and new forces, strands in the culture hearkening back to a world seemingly lost, other forms arising that recognize the essential changes that have altered the context of daily life.
>
> - Bryan D. Palmer[1]

Chapter 1: Introduction

When Bishop Ralph Cecil Horner died on 12 September 1921 at his beloved church camp at Ivanhoe, near Belleville, Ontario, he had the unique experience of having founded two distinctively Canadian denominations: the Holiness Movement and the Standard Church of America. Born in Clarendon Township, Pontiac County, Canada East, in 1853, young Ralph found himself, at the age of eighteen, running a two hundred acre farm and caring for his mother and younger brothers and sisters. His father had died in 1871 after being kicked by a horse.

A nominal Methodist, Ralph had a life-changing conversion in 1872. He immediately began preaching in his own neighbourhood. At the age of twenty-five he completed his high school education at Renfrew Collegiate Institute in Renfrew, Ontario. After theological training at Victoria College in Cobourg, Ontario, in 1885, Ralph obtained a bachelor of oratory from a college in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In 1887, at the age of thirty-four, Horner was ordained into the Methodist ministry.

Controversy soon arose because, while Horner felt called to be uniquely an evangelist, the hierarchy of the church maintained they had ordained him to be a pastor and, therefore, appointed him to a circuit. Twice he refused to go. Instead, he held tent crusades in any town in the Ottawa Valley where he felt God had called him. Thousands came to hear him preach; hundreds were converted.

By 1894 the long-suffering Methodist hierarchy could no longer ignore Horner's disobedience. He was expelled from the denomination. By 1895 he had joined the Wesleyans in New York state and established his own theological training college in Ottawa. Because of strong opposition from the Methodists Horner did not obtain a charter for his Holiness Movement Church until 1900.

Although he attracted many followers, by 1914 the strong-willed, independent bishop was embroiled in serious disagreements with his fellow clergy. When the leaders of the Holiness Movement asked Horner to accept an assistant bishop to help him with administration (his weak spot), he angrily refused. In May of 1917 he was deposed. Undaunted, Horner formed another new sect, the Standard Church of America. Death silenced his ambition in 1921 but the controversy he created lives on today. The adulation of some of his followers almost reaches hero worship; the vehemence of his detractors reveals the flaws of a tragic hero.

Indeed, the life of Ralph Cecil Horner was one of constant controversy. Even his birthdate is contested. His memoirs, published by his wife after his death, state his birthdate as 22 December 1854. However, the record of his baptism declares that he was born 24 December 1853 and baptized by the Rev. L. Houghton, Wesleyan minister, on 13 July 1854.[2] Ralph was born on Range 5, Lot 18 (north half) in Clarendon Township near the village of Radford [3] three miles from Clarendon Centre, the future town of Shawville, Canada East, to James Horner and Ellen Richardson.[4] (See "Map of Clarendon 1861", Map 1.)

Although writers on Horner state that he was the eldest son of the family a record in the Clarendon Circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church confirms the death of Richard Horner, son of James Horner and Ellen Richardson, 20 September 1851, aged eighteen months. The census returns for 1851 show that Ralph had two older sisters, Jane, aged four, and Susannah, aged one.[5] Five more sons and two daughters would be born to the James Horner family. (See "Ralph Horner's Genealogy", Table1.)

Ralph Horner and Jeannie Brown, the grandparents of our subject, left Northern Ireland for England, then immigrated to Canada around 1819. According to Ralph C. Horner's memoirs they settled first in Chatham Township, then moved to Grenville Township, Argenteuil County, Lower Canada.[6] The elder Horners had ten children

several of whom later came to help populate Pontiac County. The father was a "staunch Anglican" while his wife was a "faithful Presbyterian".[7]

Ralph Cecil Horner's paternal background was thus in the hegemonic Protestant, rural culture of Northern Ireland. However, his mother was Ellen Richardson, daughter of Richard Richardson and Susan Ralph who had migrated from County Tipperary via Goulbourn Township, Carleton County.[8] Horner's maternal background lay, therefore, in the minority Protestant, rural culture of southern Ireland. The Richardsons and Ralphs were staunch Anglican families. Both branches of Ralph Horner's genealogy coalesced in the hegemonic Protestant rural society of Clarendon Township. As a scion of both the Irish Anglican and Presbyterian denominations which dominated not only the Ottawa Valley but much of Canada West, Horner carried residual traces of both cultures.

Born in geographically and economically marginalized Pontiac County, Canada East, Horner developed a lifestyle that was unique and controversial. When life became uncomfortable in the evangelical Protestant society he himself had helped engender, he created a new one where he could be Lord and Master of his own universe. His domineering personality and belief in instantaneous entire sanctification would never allow him to admit that he made mistakes. Horner attempted to dominate both the time and space he inhabited. He overstrode the rural, evangelical Protestant society of the

Ottawa Valley between 1872 and 1921 leaving his mark on everything he touched.

It is my intention to explore the context of Ralph Horner through the use of concepts from the field of cultural history. Using Raymond Williams's "forceful depiction of culture as a complex blend of residual and emergent strains", Bryan D. Palmer studied the phenomena of whitecapping and charivaris in nineteenth-century Canada. Palmer envisioned the charivaris as "the threatening order of custom counterposed to the rule of law". The rule of law is meant to fulfill a "hegemonic function, perpetuating class rule, precisely because it addresses vital concerns of the masses at the same time that it serves as the indispensable foundation and guarantor of social stability."[9] Williams's concept of residual and emergent strains (I prefer the term "strands") and Palmer's ideology of the rule of law will be most useful in analyzing the Ottawa Valley of the nineteenth century. Although Palmer's "rule of law" is a state-centred concept its hegemonic aspects can be applied to a religious organization that makes and lives by its own rules. With reference to an individual who was always counteracting accepted social conventions, this concept can be applied to Ralph Horner himself, and to his followers..

As one studies nineteenth-century Canada the residual and emergent strands of its culture, although extremely complex, become more evident. The static, hierarchical,

natural order of the eighteenth century "ancien regime" was challenged by an individualist and progressive reform world view. The landed elite, appointive, mercantilistic alliance of church and state gave way to a democratic, evangelical, laissez-faire capitalism which emphasized a religion of experience rather than one of stability and order. As the industrial capitalism of the 1850s to 1890s became the monopoly capitalism of the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, people like Ralph Cecil Horner held on to old familiar, comfortable strands from the past.[10] However, what appeared to be rank conservatism often became the strands of an emergent culture.

The life of Ralph Horner can be studied employing the concepts of holiness, liberalism versus conservativism, and capitalist development. My use of these concepts will be informed by certain theories of culture. Holiness itself must be studied in the context of a myriad of changes within evangelical Protestantism.

These concepts can then be placed in the time and space that Horner inhabited. Such a study should reveal a great deal of change over time. Although there were some specific events which took place in Horner's life, even those events had long-term causes and effects. Therefore, the changes in Canadian religious history that are exemplified by a study of Ralph Horner should be viewed as many gradual changes rather than as the

dramatic events they were seen as at the time. It is my thesis that Ralph Horner used certain residual strands of late nineteenth century Ottawa Valley society to create a new evangelical social order which he would try to dominate.

One cannot study the life of Ralph Horner without exploring the concept of holiness. Indeed, it determined how he shaped his time and space. For Judaeo-Christian society the concept of holiness was established in both the Old and New Testaments. Its signifier as a dictionary definition ("sanctity, the state of being holy") is non-controversial. However, its signified and its referent,[11] especially during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, have caused institutional schisms, the creation of new sects, and even fist fights.

While holiness was the main concept that seemed to drive Horner, the referent "holiness" must be studied within a larger context. To begin to understand how Ralph Horner was a product of the Ottawa Valley, it is necessary to study the Valley of the nineteenth century in its geographic, economic, and social aspects. Such a study will help us to create what John Storey calls "a shared structure of feeling; the unconscious and conscious working out of the contradictions of nineteenth-century society".[12] Based on studies by E.P.Thompson, Bryan D. Palmer, Gregory S. Kealey, Leo A. Johnson, Glenn Lockwood, Bruce S. Elliott, Chad Gaffield, John McCallum, R.W. Sandwell and

others, I will examine Canadian rural culture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While this study will reveal significant aspects of the economic and social life of that period, it will also focus on Clarendon Township (Horner's birthplace) as a microcosm of nineteenth-century Canadian society.

The methodology of this thesis will consist mainly of the posing and answering of certain pivotal questions concerning Horner and his times. Certain sociological, anthropological and philosophical theories will also be appropriated to try to anwer these questions. It is my hope that all of these methods will help me to arrive at a conjuncture of geographical, economic, and social elements which will allow for an effective explanation of Hornerism and its context.

While I realize I can never discover the "truth" about Horner and his era I am attempting to reconstruct a past which will give us some insight, be it ever so little, into the lives of our forefathers. We can never change the facts of history; we can only rewrite them.

The vast majority of this thesis is based on primary research. I made ample use of Horner's writings, the majority of which are listed in the bibliography, to try to determine what the man thought. The census returns for Canada between 1825 and 1901 formed a major background source. The debates of the Canadian Parliament 1896-99 help us

understand Horner's attempts to form a new denomination and Methodist attempts to thwart him.

Various periodicals of the era including *The Christian Guardian, The Holiness Era*, and *The Christian Standard* gave some insight into what Horner thought and into what others thought of him at various times. Ottawa Valley newspapers, which at the beginning of Horner's ministry were quite generous in their praise of his work, turned to vilify him by the 1890s. By 1916-17 when a split occured within the Holiness Movement Church, however, it is rare to find any newspaper reference to Horner or his followers. As well as being totally preoccupied by the events of World War I, society was more interested in the development of the social gospel than in the new evangelicals. Horner and his group had become marginalized and were of little interest to the secular press.

Of invaluable assistance to this research have been the twenty-some personal interviews I have conducted with elderly people who knew Horner when they were children and with people whose parents told them stories about him. Many of these raconteurs have been more than generous in sharing their ideas and stories with me. A few, however, especially elderly Standard Church of America ministers, refused even to discuss any of the Horner myths with me.[13]

Many books, magazine articles, and theses listed in the bibliography have served as

secondary resources to provide insight into what writers have thought about Horner and his followers. The one main source missing in this study is the personal correspondence, letters and diaries of Horner, and his family and friends. Perhaps some future writer will be allowed to examine this treasure chest of information that I was not. They will no doubt reach very different conclusions than I have.

In chapter two I shall examine the geography, settlement patterns, economics, and social order in the Ottawa Valley of the nineteenth century, and explore Clarendon Township, Pontiac County, Quebec as a microcosm of Canadian society. The Horner and Richardson families and their neighbours will be studied as particular examples of that culture. Such a study will allow me to decide how typical Ralph Horner's family was in comparison with Canadians in general. My main question in chapter two will ask how the various residual and emergent strands of geography and the economic and social culture of the nineteenth-century Ottawa Valley contributed to the formation and development of Ralph Horner. Topography, soil types, and climate helped form this picture as did settlement patterns, methods of communication, and the state of the economy, as well as social and institutional developments.

In chapter three I will examine the history of Methodism before 1894.[14] I will briefly trace the origins of Methodism to John Wesley in 1738 and note the growth of

Methodism in the North American context in both the United States and Canada. But the focus will be upon the development of three main issues concerning Protestant hegemony in nineteenth-century Canada: the relationship between religion and culture, how religion became sociology, and belief in progress and millennialism. This chapter will have as its context Michael Gauvreau's argument about the capitalistic threat to religion as opposed to Ramsay Cook's argument that it was social regeneration that put the churches on the road to secularism. While not ignoring ideology Gauvreau emphasizes the economic roots of social and cultural change. Of prime importance also will be a study of the various residual and emergent strands of holiness within the Methodist denominations before 1894.

The concept of holiness after 1894 and in particular the variety of holiness preached by Ralph C. Horner and the Holiness Movement will occupy chapter four. Horner's branch of holiness was only one of many holiness groups which arose after the introduction of Darwinism and higher criticism of the Bible. I shall attempt to discuss the ways in which Horner's new culture differed from that of the Methodists, both before and after 1894. My study is focused on the Holiness Movement Church. Geographically, economically, and socially who were the people drawn to this sect? Why were they drawn to it? What kind of society did they form? At this point the

various residual and emergent strands of Ottawa Valley society studied in chapter two will be applied to the Hornerites.

Chapter five will be devoted to an examination of the Holiness Movement's dominating personality, himself. It is my desire to examine both the man and his relationships. Max Weber's concept of social change will help analyze Horner as a prophet, popular orator, and mystagogue, and Raymond Firth's concept of public and popular symbols will inform me as to some possible meanings of Horner's actions. By applying these theories to various stages of Horner's life, I hope to reveal not only the man and his image, but also his relationships with other people.

In spite of all the controversy surrounding him, or perhaps because of it, Ralph Horner has left a legacy which is still being experienced in the Ottawa Valley, in the rest of Canada, and, indeed, in many parts of the world. Chapter six will examine this heritage. Not only was Ralph Horner the founder of two distinctly Canadian denominations, but several other denominations either trace their origin to his ministry or have members who were originally followers of his ministry. Many of the personal interviews I have conducted for this thesis involved genealogical descendants of these spiritual adherents of Horner. Certain sociological concepts will be used to trace the progress of Horner's followers from a sect to a denomination.

Chapter seven will serve as my conclusion, and will allow me to summarize the results of my research. It will also allow me to comment on the role that Ralph Horner has played in Ottawa Valley society. Hopefully, the reader will be able to obtain a better view of the various residual and emergent strands of nineteenth century Ottawa Valley society and to understand how such a society could produce a person like Ralph Cecil Horner. This thesis is also intended as a contribution to the study of Protestant religion and of evangelicalism in particular.

---

[1]Bryan D. Palmer, "Discordant Music: Charivaris and White-capping in Nineteenth-Century North America", Labour 3 (1978): 56.

[2]Ralph C. Horner Evangelist: Reminiscences From His Own Pen was published sometime after his death in 1921. It was republished by The Standard Church Book Room, Brockville, Ontario in 1994. Horner's birth record is to be found in the Shawville United Church parish registers 1951-1904, M.G. 8, G 53, vol. 3, National Archives of Canada. Most writers on Horner have quoted his memoirs concerning his date of birth. Those writers include the Rev. Harold Pointen, The Holiness Movement Church in Canada (B.D. thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1950) and Brian R. Ross, "Ralph Cecil Horner: A Methodist Sectarian Deposed 1887-1895" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society xix, no. 26 (1977): 94-103.

[3]Today the Horner farm, owned by Thorburn Caldwell, is on Hwy. 148 which connects Aylmer and Fort Coulonge. Although the property does not have a house it has several modern cattle barns. Young Ralph Horner would have been able to look from the rolling hills of his father's farm across the Ottawa River to the hills of Renfrew County, Ontario where much of his ministry would take place.

[4]Shawville was incorporated as a town in 1873. Ralph's parents signed his baptismal record with an X. The record states "Do not wright [sic]".

[5]National Archives of Canada, RG 31, Census of Canada, Ottawa County, 1851, reel C-1131, Clarendon Township, p.31.

[6]Ralph C. Horner, op.cit., p.xi. I cannot locate grandfather Ralph and his family either in the Census of 1825 or that of 1842. They do not appear in Chatham or in Argenteuil.

[7]Ibid. Perhaps that is why in various censuses the Horners are listed as Anglican, and in others as Presbyterian. As of 1871 the James Horner family is listed as Wesleyan Methodist.

[8]Fourteen-year-old Richard Richardson arrived in Canada with his parents and siblings in 1818 on the *Brunswick* in a settlement group organized by Richard Talbot from North Tipperary, Ireland. Susan Ralph's family were also early nineteenth-century immigrants from the same area. See Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), pp. 23, 246.

[9]Bryan D. Palmer, op.cit., p.59. Whitecapping and charivaris involved a vigilante group of citizens punishing someone who had broken a perceived social law. Although it usually involved an older man who married a very young girl, a wife beater, or non-whites, it was also used by employees to demand a raise from a parsimonious boss.

[10]Gregory S. Kealey, in "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects of the 1980s", Labour 7 (Spring 1981: 67-94 suggests four major periods of canadian working-class history: (1) pre-industrial capitalism before 1850; (2) industrial capitalism from the 1850s to the 1890s; (3) monopoly capitalism from the 1890s to the 1920s; and (4) crisis and reconstruction from 1930 to the present.

[11]In structuralist and linguistic terms the signifier is the object or the idea itself, its denotation; the signified is the "image accoustic" or mental image of the object or idea. The referent, the context in which the object or idea exists, helps the signifier and the signified to connote meaning for the reader. The concept of holiness, therefore, has many meanings depending on the context in which it finds itself.

[12]John Storey, An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1993) p. 54. Storey quotes Raymond Williams's three levels of culture: (1) lived culture of a particular time and place which can only be experienced by the people who lived at that time in that culture; (2) recorded culture of every kind from art to everyday facts, the culture of a period; and (3) the culture of the

selective tradition which connects lived culture and period cultures. It is this third type that I hope to examine in relation to Ralph Horner.

[13]By the use of the term "myth" I do not intend to imply that the stories are not true but rather in the anthropological sense they are legends that may or may not be true. We just cannot prove their veracity.

[14]Methodism in the Canadas of the 1830s consisted of six main branches which fought each other for religious hegemony. After several previous unions four branches of Methodism combined in 1884 to form the Methodist Church (Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda).

> The Outaouais. A region between two worlds.
> A region of frontiers. Complex, ambiguous,
> fragile, strong. A region of multiple identities.
> Betwixt and between. A region to discover.
> - Chad Gaffield[1]

Chapter 2: Ralph Horner's Ottawa Valley

Chad Gaffield describes the Outaouais, the Quebec side of the Ottawa Valley, as a Janus looking in two directions, inward and outward, at one and the same time. Although Gaffield analyzes mainly the history of western Quebec, the geography, economics and social life north of the Ottawa River cannot really be separated from its southern, Ontario part. Certainly because Ralph Horner was born north of, but lived most of his life south of, the Ottawa River, we must examine both parts of the Ottawa Valley in order to suggest reasons why this area produced such an individual.

Pontiac County where Horner was born and raised is the furthest county upriver on the Lower Canada side of the Ottawa River. (See Map 2 "The Ottawa Valley".) Physically and economically isolated, Pontiac County was late to develop its institutions, transportation networks, and improved agricultural techniques, partly due to distance, partly due to comparative poverty. Clarendon Township was a hotbed of old Tory conservatism and Orangeism, partly due to its isolation, but also because of its settlement patterns as we shall see.

Horner's old-fashioned revivalism began to strike a local chord in the 1880s and

1890s just as the Pontiac began to be integrated, however tentatively, into the rural economy that already characterized much of the rest of the two provinces. The arrival of the railway at Shawville in 1886 certainly improved the economic and cultural life of Clarendon Township. The opening of certain manufacturing facilities and cheese factories followed. However, it was too little too late. Despite the optimism of its citizens in the early twentieth century, Clarendon Township would never completely overcome its local isolation and conservatism, and its comparative marginalization. For a minority in the Ottawa Valley Ralph Horner's ministry became an alternative to the secularization and bureaucratization which were transforming Canada into a capitalistic monopoly. But Horner was no backwoods bumpkin. In spite of Pontiac County's long-standing backwardness, Clarendon remained the most prosperous of its townships and the Horner and Richardson families were among its most wealthy farmers.

The asking and answering of three main questions will help us to understand the Ottawa Valley that created Ralph Cecil Horner. What were the residual and emergent strains of culture which created the Ottawa Valley of the nineteenth century? How did Clarendon Township differ from the rest of Pontiac County and the rest of the Ottawa Valley? What role did the Horner and Richardson families play in the development of Ottawa Valley culture and in the development of Ralph Horner?

The Ottawa Valley is a natural region, triangular in shape, bounded on the north, east and west by the Canadian Shield and its outcroppings, and on the south by the Saint Lawrence River. Northwest of Petawawa rock breaks away from the Canadian Shield in two directions to form a V. In Quebec this geological formation stays close to the Ottawa River, venturing north only occasionally. On the Ontario side the formation travels south and east until it merges with the Frontenac Axis.[2] The Outaouais side of the Valley "takes shape principally around a plain and a dissected plateau".[3] Its altitude varies between 40 and 130 meters above sea level. On the Ontario side the rolling hills of Renfrew County, with their rocky soils, slope toward the Ottawa River. Further south the stony soils of Lanark County give way to richer alluvial soils which flow to the Saint Lawrence and the border with Lower Canada.

The rolling hills of Horner's home township of Clarendon, like those of Renfrew County opposite, gradually slope towards the Ottawa River. The soil of Clarendon was laid down during a recession of the Laurentide Ice Sheet 4,200 years ago.[4] After the swamps of the first four ranges were drained, farmers were able to grow good crops on the heavy clay soils. The agricultural potential on humic gley soils and melanic brunisols found in the lowlands is high.[5] But ranges, five, six, and seven, where most of the Horners and Richardsons settled, contain the best clay-loam soil. Sand is mixed with

clay from range seven north. If properly tended this soil can produce good crops of hay, wheat, and oats.[6]

Although geographers are concerned with the physical geography of an area, they are even more concerned about "the influence of physical nature on man" and especially how "these physical influences are filtered by man's heavy cultural conditioning".[7] It is, therefore, to a study of how the people of the Ottawa Valley shaped their environment that I now turn. Many residual and emergent cultural strands from the nineteenth century have shaped the Valley we know today. A number of these same strands also combined to form the personality and belief systems of Ralph Horner and his followers.

A study of settlement patterns on both sides of the Ottawa River reveals the residual imprint of British culture on the Canadian frontier. Glenn Lockwood states that "from 1784 on... human policies determined the pattern of settlement".[8] Indeed, "the contours of Canadian society were shaped by the selective immigration" policies of the British government.[9]

It was expected that the Loyalists who settled in the Saint Lawrence Valley after the American Revolution would bring with them the desire for the British status quo. These loyal settlers received land according to their military rank and the size of their family.[10] After 1788 the sons and daughters of Loyalists were granted land in the empty frontier

north of the Saint Lawrence townships.[11] When Governor Simcoe realized that British settlers were not coming to Upper Canada in the 1790s, he opened the doors to Americans for practical reasons. Governor Clarke reissued Simcoe's proclamation in Lower Canada.

American settlement in the Outaouais began in 1800 with the arrival of Philemon Wright at present-day Hull. He was searching for good land, but discovered the lumber industry to be more profitable.[12] A few Americans settled at this time in Cumberland, Clarence and Alfred townships on the Upper Canada side. The British government was happy to have these newly-loyal Americans settle along the Ottawa River. Later, particularly after 1812, chain migration from the British Isles transformed the settlement patterns that developed in both Upper and Lower Canada. New settlements were established to continue the British "ancien regime" policies of government and church control. The setting aside of Crown and Clergy reserves was an important part of this policy. It was believed that as in Britain the establishment of a loyal Anglican clergy would ensure that British government policies would be carried out.

Indeed, the arrival of loyal British settlers began before the War of 1812 with the settlement of the first of a wave of Protestants from Wexford and Wicklow in southern Ireland in Elizabethtown township north of Brockville in 1809 and in Leeds and

Lansdowne Township in 1811. They had requested financial assistance from the British government but were turned down. The Crown was, however, happy to allow them to settle at their own expense.[13] (By 1901 many of Ralph Horner's followers would be found in this area.) In 1818 Richard Talbot planted a north Tipperary Protestant settlement in Goulbourn Township. Ralph Horner's maternal grandfather, Richard Richardson, arrived in this group as a fourteen-year-old boy. Horner's maternal grandmother, Susan Ralph, was also a member of this group. Before their arrival in Goulbourn the Richardson and Ralph families were part of a small Protestant minority deep in the heart of Catholic Ireland.

Early work on settlement tended to over-emphasize these assisted parties. In 1816-1823 both military and civilian parties were assisted to settlements placed temporarily under military administration to draw a loyal British population into the areas where the Rideau Canal was under construction, centred on Perth, Richmond, and Lanark. However, the work of Marianne McLean and Bruce Elliott indicates that the real significance of these groups lay in giving rise to chain migration in their wake.[14] Lockwood's work on the chronology of setttlement shows how lands along the watercourses and early roads were populated first, and demonstrates how settlement then extended back into the interior.[15] His work as well as Elliott's shows how waves of

migration internal to the Valley led to more distant and interior parts of the Valley being populated by movement from the older settlements.

Ralph Horner's maternal relatives were true to this pattern. His grandparents and their siblings settled in Goulbourn Township in 1818. While several family members moved on to settle in March Township, others including Horner's grandparents, and the Brownlees and Somervilles (married to Richardson's sisters) moved to Clarendon Township. Later, Richard Richardson and Susan Ralph migrated with other family members to Oneida County, New York.[16] The settlement processes just discussed built up a Valley that was largely Irish Protestant in the earlier settled areas near the rivers, such as the Ottawa and the Carp, and increasingly Catholic in later settled, interior and geographically inferior areas.

Although military administration over settlement in the Valley ceased in 1823, its impact on the character of settlement in the Valley was, through chain migration and the establishment of secondary settlements, prolonged. Chad Gaffield maintains that even before the military period, the British policy of the "leader-and-associates system" of settlement in the Outaouais insured the establishment of "an appropriate social hierarchy in the British style".[17] Though few of Archibald McMillan's Scottish Highlanders accompanied him to the Valley and Joseph Papineau's seigneury remained sparsely

populated for some years, the privileges, offices, and landholdings accorded these individuals, and to Philemon Wright, laid the groundwork for a radically uneven distribution of power on the British landed model. The most dramatic example of this is perhaps the feudal fiefdom established by the Laird of Macnab in Renfrew County, which in terms of social dominance exceeded even what officialdom envisaged. Unequal distribution of power and of cultural traditions gave rise to ghettos. American ideology would control western Ottawa County, highland Scottish ideas would be hegemonic in Templeton, Lochaber and Grenville townships, lowland Scots radicalism in Ramsay, and French language and culture would dominate Petite-Nation around Montebello.[18]

The ethno-religious clustering that made Clarendon ever after a hotbed of Orange Toryism originated with the policy pursued by Lieutenant James Prendergast, who was appointed Crown Land Agent there in 1825. Settlers were granted half lots of 100 acres provided they built a cabin, cleared and burned five acres, chopped five more acres, lived on the land for five years, and chopped out a road.[19] Prendergast located Irish Protestants in Clarendon and Scots in Bristol in an attempt to minimize ethnic conflict. He recruited from his own home area in the Richmond military settlement securing the Richardsons as part of that movement. As Professor Elliott has pointed out, "the family was not merely an economic unit. Parents' behaviour demonstrated that they felt strongly the obligation

to provide for their children's futures."[20] Since good farmland was no longer cheaply available in Carleton or Argenteuil counties, this meant migration with family and friends. This movement from Carleton to Clarendon was "stimulated by the slowness of the Crown Lands Department in responding to requests for the sale of such clergy reserves as had been allocated for disposal in 1827."[21] The family of John Dale, whose descendant became Shawville's first mayor in 1873, came from Goulbourn, as did Thomas Hodgins, and the McDowells, Brownlees, Sparlings, Hobbses, Pauls, and Somervilles.[22] Ironically Prendergast's creation of a block settlement, emphasized later by the arrival of further relatives and friends of the pioneers, was a major factor in the preservation of old world cultural characteristics, characteristics which Ralph Horner would employ to build his new religious empire. Indeed, much of Horner's early formation came amidst those former Goulbourn families and Horner would later find much of his support among the people still residing there.

Just before Prendergast's death from cholera in 1834, Richard Richardson, Richard Somerville, and Nathaniel Brownlee each received 200 acres.[23] From Grenville County, Canada East, Samuel Horner settled on Lot 19, Range 8 sometime before the 1842 census. His brothers James and William Horner followed between 1845 and 1850. Map 3 shows the tightly knit community of Horners, Richardsons and their kin located in the

best farmland of Clarendon Township surrounding present-day Shawville.

A new land called for new settlement plans, but poor transportation systems slowed migration. Better transportation facilities would later allow for an improved economy. Socially and culturally, however, old ethnic and religious prejudices remained the mentality of the people.

Early transportation in the Canadas, whether on land or water, was primitive. Roads were often just two ruts disappearing in the bush. By 1815 a government road which was little more than a trail ran from Fort Wellington (Prescott) on the Saint Lawrence through Oxford Township to Merrick's Mill on the Rideau. In 1818 four hundred soldiers of the 99th Regiment hacked out the Richmond Road from Nepean Point to the military depot of Richmond. By 1820 a road was pushed through Kitley and Elmsley townships to Perth.[24] The completion of the Rideau Canal in 1832 allowed the traffic of goods and people between Montreal, Bytown, Kingston, and Toronto while helping to prevent an American attack on British territory. The canal also became an instrument of settlement. By 1848 commercial interests sought to link Bytown to the United States market by way of a railway to Prescott. The 1850s and 60s saw railways crisscrossing the Valley with loads of lumber, wheat, and other produce as well as passengers. By 1870 communication links were well established on the Ontario side of

the Ottawa Valley.

The Outaouais, however, remained isolated and backward for a much longer time. Although the first roads funded by the government of Lower Canada were in as poor condition as those of early eastern Ontario, Archdeacon W.H. Naylor informs us that "means of communication with the outside world were very limited" even after 1860.[25] Around 1860 two colonization roads were built (see Map 1). One was the Calumet Road which passed through Clarendon Center (later Shawville); the other was the Chenaux Road from the Center to Portage du Fort. Both roads were little more than tracks. The James Horner farm was one-half mile south of the Calumet Road and three miles from the junction of the two.

Clarendon's communication with the outside world developed slowly. By 1866 the Canada Central Railroad had reached Sand Point across the Ottawa River from Clarendon, and by 1869 daily mail reached Clarendon by way of Sand Point in summer. In winter it travelled by sleigh from Aylmer. Although the telegraph system, operated by the Montreal Telegraph Company, reached the Center in 1870, Shawville was not reached by railroad until 1886. The telephone, which was invented in 1874, did not reach Clarendon before the 1890s. J.T. Pattison published a four-page weekly in Bryson, the *Pontiac Advance*, beginning in 1872.[26] The weekly *Pontiac News* was established in

1882 by James McFarlane to support the Liberal cause in Tory-dominated Pontiac County, but its owner drowned the following year. In 1882 also *The Equity* was established in Shawville to espouse the Tory cause in preparation for the 1883 federal election. Newspapers from Ottawa and Montreal reached Clarendon on rare occasions.[27] Clarendon Township remained woefully isolated for much of the nineteenth century.

Although its primitive roads and waterways allowed Pontiac County farmers to distribute agricultural products locally and timber barons to export forest products to the United States and Britain, the economy did not really grow or change appreciably until after the arrival of the railroad in 1886. As Gordon Graham points out, local people found employment in the construction of the railroad, and economic activity began to shift from the Ottawa River front to the railway line.[28] Now, too, minerals and agricultural products such as cheese could be exported. The dairy industry with its cheese factories, which had begun to flourish along the Saint Lawrence in 1864, only became important in Pontiac County in the 1890s. The coming of the railway transformed Pontiac County and Clarendon Township in particular from an area which relied on wheat farming and part-time forestry to a region which could participate in the more lucrative dairy industry. However, the economy of Pontiac County would never catch up to its more prosperous counterparts south of the Ottawa River, nor did everyone

have the capital to finance the transition.

Of course, the changes which took place in Clarendon after 1886 had been initiated long before in Britain. The slashing of preferences on timber in 1842 signaled Britain's retreat from empire. The staples thesis formulated in the 1920s and 30s by W.A. Mackintosh and Harold Innis, through its study of the evolution of staples products - cod, fur, timber, wheat, and later minerals - recognized the importance of these policies.[29] Sir John A. Macdonald's 1879 National Policy of tariffs, western settlement through immigration, and the building of a transcontinental railroad was the engine of Canada's Industrial Revolution. Canadian immigration policy after Confederation and during the 1880s in particular provided a cheap labour force.[30] Although many of these policies benefited central Canada, and Montreal and Toronto in particular, they impacted the economy of Clarendon Township largely in a negative way.

For Clarendon even the arrival of the railroad was too little too late. By coming late the Pontiac Pacific Junction allowed Clarendon to be brought into the commercial orbit of the growing industrial cities, rather than fostering urban and industrial growth locally. Canadian manufacturing records between 1893 and 1902 indicate that Pontiac County had the least manufacturing activity of any county in the Ottawa Valley. In fact, Pontiac's formation of companies was 92 % lower than that of Carleton County and 78%

lower than Renfrew County.[31] Clarendon therefore emerged still marginalized but now marginalized by the metropolitan influence of industrial capitalism rather than by its previous geographical isolation.

Grist, saw, and woolen mills, and tanneries as well as wagon making existed as industries supporting the economy in Clarendon almost from its beginning. The produce from these industries met the needs of the local population. Chart 3 shows that in 1851 Pontiac County had twice as many grist mills and the same number of saw mills as did Carleton County. In 1881 Pontiac County had more woolen mills than did Carleton. Carleton always had more tanneries, wagon-making establishments, and brickyards than Pontiac. In spite of its best efforts Pontiac possessed neither the work force nor the market of its southern counterpart.

Most farmers in Clarendon had mixed operations. The 1861 census informs us that of the 100 acres on the James Horner farm, seventy were under cultivation, fifty-nine were in crops, ten in pasture, and one in garden. Six acres were in fall wheat, four acres were in spring wheat, and six acres were in peas. Horner also had twenty acres of oats, four acres of potatoes, and twelve acres of hay. He possessed four heifers, eight milch cows, five horses, eleven sheep, eleven pigs, and produced 900 pounds of butter and thirty-five pounds of wool. The James Horner farm was a prosperous one.

For most farmers in Clarendon, even prosperous ones, part-time shanty work remained very important as a source of income. For most of its history Pontiac County's economy relied primarily on the forest industry and the growing of wheat. Because the Outaouais possessed so much poor land for farming, most farmers had to have a second income. Working in the shanties during the winter and/or supplying them with hay, oats, and pork often allowed small farmers to continue living on the land.[32] Ralph Horner and his brothers spent several winters in the shanties supplementing their farm income.[33] Unfortunately, the only detail of shanty life that Horner gives us is that it was terribly wicked.

By the 1820s the Ottawa Valley had become the heart of the forest economy, triggering a long period of sustained settlement and economic development. However, because of its physical and economic isolation Pontiac County did not benefit from the forest industry as much as did the Ontario side of the river. During the first half of the nineteenth century "lumbering vied with agriculture as the most important industry of the Canadas."[34] The timber industry in Clarendon started in the 1830s. By 1850 "lumber king" John Egan had about one hundred shanties with an annual business of near $1,000,000 in both Renfrew and Pontiac counties.

Sandwell and Gaffield insist that historians must examine more closely the role of

the family rather than only that of the wage-earning individual. The "non-productive" role of women and children may prove to have been of prime importance in the nineteenth-century agricultural economy. Women ran the dairying industry before it became commercially viable.[35] Before the establishment of cheese factories, surplus milk and cheese were produced on local farms and sold in Shawville and other small towns. Often it was the children of farmers, who received no direct remuneration for their work, who delivered the milk products. Because labour historians have focused on ideologies rooted in the primacy of urban industrialization, the complexities of rural life have simply disappeared in Canadian historiography.[36] In the independent rural family household the accumulation of capital was subordinate to caring for the family. To the settlers, developing land and inheritance strategies to ensure that their children could remain for generations on productive farm land was of paramount importance. The Horner and Richardson families seemed to follow this ideology. They passed their farms from generation to generation.

Because of the shanty market the Ottawa Valley, alone in Upper Canada, had had a large internal trade to supply the shanties with agricultural products. Ottawa Valley farms produced a little of everything but not much of anything. Table 4 "Average Livestock Per Farm in Pontiac and Carleton Counties" helps explain how Pontiac and

Carleton counties shared not only the kinds of livestock kept but also the numbers per farm. In both counties the numbers of bulls/oxen per farm decreased markedly between 1861 and 1881. While milch cows and calves were very important to the agricultural economy, even greater numbers of sheep and pigs were kept. Sheep, which could graze on poor pasture, provided wool and meat. By 1881 the number of milking cows per farm increased in both counties preparing for the shift from wheat to dairy products. The number of livestock not only increased the produce of a farm but also the value of the farm itself.

The valuation rolls for Clarendon for 1863-73 show the James Horner farm to have been among the most valuable in the township. In 1863 the 100 acres of the northern part of Range 5, Lot 18 were valued at £250,[37] in 1866 their value was £225, and in 1869 they were valued at £167.15. Finally, in 1872 the farm was valued at $1,000. Only the William Armstrong farm at the southern end of Range 5, Lot 18 was valued higher, and only by $50-$75.[38] Valuation rolls and census rolls are in no way equivalent but it is significant that the 1861 agricultural census lists the value of James Horner's 100 acres at $2,000, the highest value in his neighbourhood. The James Horner property was well up in the top ten per cent of the most valuable and productive farms in Clarendon. In spite of being raised in a marginalized, economically poor area of the Ottawa Valley, Ralph

Horner was from one of the most prosperous families.

While James Horner's farm may have been one of the most valuable in Clarendon, it also compared well to standards further down the Valley. In prosperous Nepean the top 10 % of farms, valued in the 1861 agricultural census, were worth from $5,000 to $50,000 and a $1,000 farm in Clarendon was well below the Nepean average of $1,500.[39] The Horners' farm, valued at $2,000, would have been above average even there. When James Horner died in 1871 his oldest living son Ralph inherited his farm. The call that young Ralph believed he had from God to enter the Methodist ministry must have been very strong for him to give up the economic prosperity he seemed to possess.

Residual and emergent strands of nineteenth-century Canadian culture are particularly revealed through a study of local social structures. Politics, religion, education, and the use of leisure time are predicated on the structures of the past while creating new patterns which will in turn be changed and even destroyed by the next generation. Chad Gaffield suggests that "the complex economic relations that developed in the Outaouais during the early nineteenth century engendered equally complex social and ethnic relations with the region."[40] Gaffield further proposes that conflict has helped produce these complex relationships. Although pioneers had to cooperate to accomplish certain tasks "the patterns of immigration, settlement, and economic activity gave rise to

distinct positions and priorities."[41] An examination of ethno-religious conflict, economic competition, and a culture of masculinity helps explain Ottawa Valley violence in the nineteenth century.

Ralph Horner informs us that Clarendon Township of the 1850s and 60s was a very violent place. He states that even though "it was called a Christian community... there was much wickedness, such as drunkenness, dancing and fighting".[42] Horner confessed that before his conversion in 1872 he was often involved in tavern fights.[43] Much of the violence that Horner refers to may have occured in the shanties where there was mix of races and religions. Early Justice of the Peace records suggest that most depositions in Clarendon involved theft, violence, slander, and boundary disputes. Apparently early settlers litigated often to protect their property. Cases too difficult or important for the Petty Court were heard in the Circuit Court at Portage du Fort, the County Seat. Many cases involved violence between Protestants and Catholics drinking in the Portage du Fort hotels.[44] Although early Clarendon was predominantly Irish Protestant, it had its share of violence and hatred.

Since the institutions of school, hospital, church, and law enforcement were in the early stages of their development in mid-nineteenth century Clarendon, the residents, like those in the rest of Canada, often found ways to enforce their own norms.[45] Inclusion in

or exclusion from a certain social group often depended on one's adherence to the ethno-religious and economic values of that group. The charivari was one tool of conformity. It allows us to catch glimpses of brutality and banality, savagery and racism in rural society.[46] In 1871 an elderly Pontiac man married a young girl whose parents were indebted to him. Soon after the wedding the men of the area rode the groom out of town on a rail.[47]

One of the quasi-religious organizations which supported the ruling Tories, but which was noted for its violence, was the Orange Order. Begun to commemorate King William of Orange's victory over the Roman Catholics in 1690 in Ireland, this perpetuator of hatred was imported full-blown with the Irish Protestant settlers. Leeds County, where the population was mostly descended from Wexford immigrants, elected to the legislature Ogle R. Gowan, "champion of Orange and Irish interests."[48]

The activities of the Orange Order had many political and economic ramifications in Canada in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1884 a diatribe by Edward Blake, Liberal Leader of the Opposition, against the activities of the Orangemen helped defeat a bill to incorporate the order, but it also destroyed votes for the Liberals. From then on the Orange Order was solidly Tory.[49] Not only were many politicians members of the Orange Order but so too were many leaders of commerce and industry. Even Sir

John A. Macdonald had been an Orangeman since 1844.

"Clarendon was throughly loyal Orange country".[50] So stated the Rev. W.H. Naylor, Archdeacon of Clarendon. Naylor saw the Orange Order as a call to protect the weak and oppressed nations of the world. (Roman Catholics excluded, of course!) The 12 July 1896 celebration was held in Shawville where 4,000 people attended from all parts of the Outaouais. J. Lloyd Armstrong believes that in Clarendon almost every man and boy over sixteen years of age was a member of the Order.[51] Armstrong contends that the Fenian raids of 1866 fanned the flames of anti-Catholic sentiment. Although Anglican and Presbyterian clergy were more prominent in the Orange Order, Methodists did participate. While early nineteenth-century Canadian Methodists were discouraged from joining secular societies,[52] this attitude seems to have changed somewhat by 1870. That summer the Rev. John Howes, Methodist minister in Shawville, addressed the Orange Lodge picnic.[53] It is reasonable that the young Ralph Horner and other male members of his family belonged to the Orange Order, but after he formed his Holiness movement Horner rejected all secret societies. This is one of many examples of Horner's application of early strands of Methodism in the formation of his new sect.

Gaffield links violence in the 1830s to the "culture of masculinity" with its lack of stablility found in family life, excessive emphasis on individualism, the physical

hardships of everyday life and economic fear.[54] Young men spent long winter months in the shanties while the women kept the younger children at home on the farm. Male bonding took place through the telling of songs and stories, but also through feats of strength and individual and group violence. This separation of the sexes for long periods of time created emergent cultural strands where males often saw themselves as superior to females and where any verbal communication between the sexes was often very limited. New behaviours (new cultural strands) developed based on a "culture of masculinity". There was no single cause of violence in nineteenth-century Clarendon. Living conditions, old world ethnic and religious antagonisms, gender imbalance, and heavy consumption of alcohol were to blame.[55]

The institutions of church and school, developed mainly in the 1840s, changed the social face not only of Clarendon but that of Canada in general. It had been the British colonial government's intention that a strong state-run Anglican Church would bolster a closed, conservative government and prevent social change. To that end one seventh of all lands in Upper Canada were set aside for the support of a Protestant (read Church of England) clergy. William Westfall believes that between 1820 and 1870, a distinctive Protestant culture took root in Ontario. Agreeing with Raymond Williams's concept of residual and emergent strands of culture, Westfall suggests that "the Protestant culture of

Ontario cobbled together ideas, beliefs, and symbols left behind by cultures that could no longer explain the world."[56]

Before the 1840s the spiritual needs of the settlers of the Ottawa Valley were met "in the informal setting of family life"[57] with the occasional visit from ministers and priests. Early nineteenth-century Anglicans were convinced that British victories implied Divine approval not only in a political victory over the atheistic French, but also justification for their social, religious, and political institutions.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of Scotland dominated religious life in the Ottawa Valley. Although early Scottish immigrants determined the hegemony of Presbyterianism in Lanark County, by the end of the 1840s Roman Catholics were dominant numerically in the Valley.[58] Anglicans maintained a high profile throughout.[59] Each of these religious denominations was hierarchical, was controlled from outside Canada, and, except for Roman Catholics, relied on ministers and priests trained in Britain. In the 1840s several Presbyterian groups demanded a greater share of government assistance.[60] Richard Reid insists that the poverty of the settlers forced religious denominations to seek financial aid from the state.[61]

Clergy from all denominations travelled extensively in the 1820s and 30s. Even

ministers and priests attached to churches in large towns went on long-term missionary tours. The Rev. William Bell, Presbyterian minister in Perth, left considerable documentatioin concerning his visits to the wilds of Lanark and Carleton counties.[62]

The post-Rebellion era in Upper Canada saw confrontation between high churchmen and evangelicals within the Church of England. There were few evangelicals in the Ottawa Valley at that time. The Methodists with their circuit-riding preachers met the needs of rural residents who craved a more emotional religion, one which seemed to seek reform and to cater to the needs of the common man. The Methodists represented a religion of emotion and experience; the established churches represented order and stability.[63] Dominated by a population of Irish Anglicans from a minority position in the south (Tipperary) and border counties (Cavan and Fermanagh), Clarendon's population was mostly on the side of church establishment, accustomed by their prior experience to defend Protestant ascendancy against the "Catholic hordes".

Before the 1840s the presence of institutional religion was weak in the Pontiac due to isolation and lack of clergy. The Anglicans, who justified the ancien regime social system, were compelled to patronize the Wesleyan Bonnechere Circuit across the River in the early 1830s for baptisms and marriages but returned to the Anglican fold when the Rev. Daniel Falloon became their first resident minster in 1841.[64] Although some craved

a more emotional religion, and there was a bleeding off of Anglicans to Methodism throughout the century, as happened throughout the colonies, Clarendon remained mostly Anglican.[65] In 1840 Thomas Somerville and Joseph Brownlee, maternal uncles of Ralph Horner, had promoted and subscribed to the building of an Anglican church and were influential in obtaining the Rev. Mr. Falloon. By 1843 the Rev. Frederick Neve was holding weeknight services in Richard Richardson's home. Most of Ralph Horner's maternal relatives remained true to their Anglican heritage the rest of their lives.

Methodist saddle-bag preachers began visiting Clarendon in the 1820s. When the Bonnechere Circuit was formed in Upper Canada in 1828, Clarendon was included as one of its stations. Early meetings were held in private homes and later in the schoolhouse at Clarendon Front.[66] George H. Cornish lists a Clarendon Circuit established in 1833 under Stephen Brownell, with no clergy in 1834, but regular appointees thereafter.[67] Most of the Horners, who had been Presbyterian and then Anglican, converted to Methodism. Some of them even followed Bishop Horner into the Holiness Movement.

Chart 4 illustrates that in Carleton County Roman Catholics were in the greatest numbers, that Methodists enjoyed considerable growth between 1851 and 1881, and that Baptists and Lutherans maintained their low numbers. In Clarendon Township while the

Anglicans maintained steady growth, and the Roman Catholics had few numbers, the Methodists (as I showed earlier) showed considerable progress between 1861 and 1881. In Carleton County the Methodists had their greatest following in Fitzroy, Huntley, and Goulbourn Townships. It would be in these townships, as well as Lanark, Renfrew and Leeds and Grenville counties, that Bishop Ralph Horner would claim his greatest following by the turn of the century. Religious institutions had developed with the growth of the population in most parts of the Ottawa Valley. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 will be devoted to the study of religion.

By the 1840s and 50s Victorian Canadians in less isolated localities were beginning to believe in the dogma of progress and to support the development of institutions that facilitated a capitalist agenda.[68] According to Bruce Curtis the development of public education served a hegemonic class purpose.[69] Thus by 1846 the Ontario common school system included compulsory property taxation to aid the middle class in meeting the problems of a changing society.

State schooling did not "improve" a less perfect earlier "system" but imposed class values, an urban agenda, and a centrally-directed curriculum on a more flexible rural society that earlier had selected what kind of education (apprenticeship, learning farmwork, etc.) was appropriate to its needs. Moreover it did so through normalizing the

new system through habituation. The development of institutions allowed the state, rather than the individual, to control an individual's life.

Although common schools in Upper Canada had received some government assistance since the passage of the Common School Act in 1816, attendance was poor, teachers were poorly trained, and the literacy of the inhabitants declined rapidly.[70] Ontario did not see compulsory public education until 1870. Quebec did not see it until 1943.[71]

The Education Act of 1841 in Canada East established a monthly fee of one shilling and three pence per child. Most parents could not afford to send their children to school. Moreover, many French-Canadian and Irish parents were uneducated themselves and could not see the value of formally educating their children. On the other hand, many Americans, Scots and English strongly supported public schooling. Since they and their children were literate, fairly prosperous and competitive they filled the most important civic offices created in the 1840s and 50s.[72] Gaffield concurs that physical hardships and a weak economy insured that schooling was not a high priority for most of the population of the Outaouais. For most people learning was informal: from Amerindians, from experience, and from earlier settlers.

Clarendon, as in so many other respects, differed considerably from the rest of the

Pontiac in its attitudes to education. Although many settlers who had migrated from Carleton County could neither read nor write (baptismal records indicated that Ralph Horner's parents and many of their siblings signed their names with an x), many considered it valuable to provide an education for their children. However, since most of the girls would become housewives and most of the boys farmers and/or loggers, a great deal of education was not required. In 1827 James Prendergast hired John Maitland Jr. as Clarendon's first teacher to encourage settlement. However, records indicate that John's wife, Elizabeth Ann Beck, actually did the teaching.[73] This first school built in Pontiac County was located near the Bristol line on the Front Road. In fact, Clarendon had its first school building before it erected its first church. The first school building erected in 1831 at Clarendon Centre was later called No 2 (and still later No. 6). A log building located on Lot 10 Range 6 (Main St.) it doubled as an Orange Hall and Anglican meeting hall.[74] The Radford School, which Ralph Horner and his siblings attended, was opened in 1835 on Lot 18, Range 6 on land granted by Richard Richardson.[75] Ralph Horner's younger brother James, born in 1856, was for many years an elementary school teacher in Clarendon.

Table 5, "Percentage of Children in School 1851-1881", reveals the proportion of children ages 5-15 (1851 and 1861) and ages 6-16 (1871 and 1881) who availed

themselves of pre-university education in the Ottawa Valley in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In Pontiac, Lanark and Carleton counties the number of children attending school increased greatly between 1851 and 1881. The percentages in Pontiac (Ottawa) County increased from 20.4% attendance of males and 17.2% attendance of females in 1851 to 51.7% for males and 49% for females in 1881. By contrast, the Lanark percentages increased from 60% for males and 51.8% for females in 1851 to 98.8% for males and 89.8% for females in 1881. Carleton County percentages also increased from 48.7% for males in 1851 to 84.3% in 1881 while female attendance increased from 40.5% in 1851 to 79.8%. The growth of industry and migration to towns and villages seemed to increase the number of children attending school. In all counties more males than females received an education. It is evident that a much greater proportion of children in Carleton and Lanark than in Pontiac County attended school. It is surprising that in very rural Lanark County education seemed to be highly valued. This phenomenon may be due to the large number of Scots who highly valued education. Though the percentage of children attending school in Clarendon was higher than in the rest of the Pontiac, the proportions were still far below the figure for Carleton and Lanark counties. In Clarendon 26% of males and 23% of females were attending school in 1851. By 1861 48.6% of males and 42.4% of females were attending. Although figures for

school attendance are not listed for townships in 1871 and 1881, it is to be expected that a high proportion of the 51.7% male and 49% female population attending school in Pontiac County in 1881 were residents of Clarendon. While their township was physically isolated as well as economically and socially backward, some of the residents of Clarendon valued at least a little education.

The census of 1861 indicated that Ralph Horner and his two older sisters were attending school. He quit, however, before graduating since he informs us that he returned to elementary school in the area at the age of twenty-five, in 1878. Later he attended Renfrew Collegiate in Renfrew, Ontario. One wonders why he did not attend the Academy in Shawville which had been established in 1861.[76]

To summarize, then, socially, economically, geographically, and politically the Ottawa Valley is a distinctive region of Canada. The Ottawa Valley consists of two politically distinct sections, eastern Ontario and western Quebec. However, the two areas form one geographical region united by the Ottawa River. Although Pontiac County was economically marginalized during the nineteenth century, it shared many social and cultural traits with eastern Ontario. In fact, eastern Ontario in many ways resembled Pontiac County more than it did the rest of Ontario. The human policies developed in each area combined with soil types and climate determined each area's future.

Settlement patterns and transportation systems as well as the soil quality helped determine what commerce and culture would develop.

Loyality to British culture, fear of Americans, ethnic and religious considerations, and chain migration engendered a colonial mentality in which conservatism and control were the principal concepts. The economy changed from an "ancien regime", pre-industrial economy to an industrially-dominated one, from a subsistence economy to a commercial one. The gradual change from a rural, agricultural economy to an urban -and industrial-dominated one resulted from improvements in transportation and linkages which created new towns with spheres of influence. These new towns resulted in migration from the rural areas with attendant economic and social problems.

Clarendon Township was a late microcosm of these developments. Three interlinked characteristics defined Pontiac County and in particular Clarendon Township in the last half of the nineteenth century: (1) local isolation and conservatism, (2) late development with its attendant comparative marginalization, (3) the development of Ralph Horner's ministry as an alternative to the secularization and bureaucratization directly impinging on the locality, though in a less intense way than elsewhere. Physical isolation and the late development of modern methods of transportation allowed the residents of Clarendon to maintain their conservative ideology. Most of the early settlers

who were of Irish Protestant descent had migrated from Carleton County. The penetration of the quasi-religious Orange Order perpetuated hatred of outsiders, especially Roman Catholics. Changes which had originated outside the county and from a different culture were not to be permitted.

Much of the late development and consequent economic marginalization was caused by the late arrival of the railroad. Although a fairly vibrant internal economy existed before 1886, and wood and wheat were exported, the coming of the Pontiac Pacific Junction Railway (PPJ) allowed for the export of mining and dairy products. Clarendon finally saw considerable growth in the export of cheese in the 1890s. However, the arrival of the PPJ also meant that the huge indemnity assumed to build the railway would not be paid off until the 1930s. Further, much of the money created in the township was not reinvested there but went to merchants in Ottawa and Montreal. In these respects modernization increased Pontiac's marginalization. Horner's appeal was felt just as the much-delayed penetration of capitalist transformation began to make itself felt locally. Coming so late the effect was to increase the area's marginalization after raising hopes of greater prosperity. A double whammy, perhaps: those alienated by the new economy would see the appeal of Horner's traditionalist residual strands; those hoping for better and frustrated by the result may have retreated to it.

Only pure Irish Protestant blood ran in Ralph Horner's veins. Raised on one of the most prosperous farms in the Shawville area, Horner was a scion of the Horner and Richardson families. His maternal Richardsons had staked claim to the area at least fifteen years before the arrival of the Horners. Both families contributed efficient, prosperous farmers to the community. Early Horners and Richardsons contributed little to the political, but much to the religious life of Clarendon; later Horners became senators and federal cabinet members. Certainly, the residents of Clarendon could say that Ralph Horner was "one of us".

Ralph Horner's ministry, both as a Methodist and as founder of the Holiness Movement, presented an alternative life style to the secularization and bureaucratization being forced on Pontiac County. With its emphasis on the beliefs of the early Methodists and on economic and social purity Horner's ideas appealed not only to many rural residents of that county but to pockets of mostly rural people throughout the Valley. The individual was responsible before God to make his own way in life. He did not need the economic or social help of the state to create happiness. And yet Horner's new religious culture, formed out of many of the conservative cultural strands of nineteenth-century Clarendon Township society, would in the end impose on the individuals who followed his lead a bureaucratic set of norms even more rigid than those of the new secular society

they fled.

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[1]Chad Gaffield, (ed.) History of the Outaouais (Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1997), p. 13.

[2]There are at least seven ways to define the Ottawa Valley: geologically, by its watersheds, by the shadow of Ottawa's urban dominance, linguistically, by its historical and social distinctions, by its patterns of industrialization and urbanization, and as a state of mind. Even though a person lives on the geographical limits of the Valley, if they believe they are part of the Valley they are. John Ibbotson's *Ottawa Citizen* article (27 December 1992, pp. A1-2) not only describes the Ottawa Valley in a clear and concise manner, but also captures the essence of what it feels like to be "from the Valley".

[3]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 25.

[4]Soil Landscapes of Canada- Quebec Southwest map, Quebec CRT 89-02 shows the soil types in the Outaouais. Paul G. Lajoie, Etude Pedologique des comtes de Gatineau et Pontiac, Quebec (Service de recherches, Ministere de l'Agriculture du Quebec, 1962) is also very useful as is Jacques Letarte's Atlas d'histoire economique et social du Quebec 1851-1901 (Montreal: Fides, 1971). J. Lloyd Armstrong, Clarendon and Shawville (Shawville, Quebec: Dickson Enterprises, 1980), pp. 7,8,10,210 also discusses the location of various soils in Clarendon.

[5]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 34.

[6]The census taker for Clarendon for 1871 wrote, "In many places soil & husbandry are inferior- meadows being mowed for years. Hay and grain crops were much affected by drought."

[7]R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation: A Study in Historical Geography (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), p. xix.

[8]Glenn Lockwood, "The Pattern of Settlement in Eastern Ontario 1784-1875" Families

30, no 4 (November 1991):235.

[9]Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (eds.) Pre-Industrial Canada: 1760-1849: Readings in Canadian Social History vol. 2 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), p. 13.

[10]Lockwood, op.cit., p. 236.

[11]In seeking to explain the lack of industry in the eastern half of the Ottawa Valley, Lockwood seems to overstate the case that this mistake of granting too much land to the Loyalists "created two sub-regions in the part of eastern Ontario capable of supporting settlement." (Ibid., p. 257) Lockwood suggests that the eastern townships maintained a farming economy because of good land; the western townships had to turn to towns and industries because of poor soil. Actually, many farmers in Lanark and Renfrew counties have made a good living from their land.

[12]Bruce S. Elliott, "The Famous Township of 'Hull': Image and Aspirations of a Pioneer Quebec Community" Histoire Sociale-Social History: 339-367 has analyzed the development of Philemon Wright's Hull.

[13]Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), p. 3.

[14]See Marianne McLean, The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 5-6, 155, 207, 212-213 particularly the references to chain migration. See also Professor Elliott's work Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach especially pp. 82-115.

[15]See Lockwood, op.cit.

[16]See the Richardson family tree in the possession of Bruce S. Elliott.

[17]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 122.

[18]Chart 1 shows the "General Population Curve" in Pontiac County between 1851 and 1951. The population increased rapidly until 1911, dropped sharply during the First World War, and basically stablized with minor increases and decreases between 1931 and 1951.

[19]J. Lloyd Armstrong, Clarendon and Shawville (Shawville: Dickson Enterprises, 1980), pp. 32-33.

[20]Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas, p. 195.

[21]Ibid., p. 163.

[22]Chart 2 shows the "Foreign-born Population of Clarendon Residents". It is obvious that Prendergast's decision to settle mostly Irish Protestants actually did happen. Eighty per cent of Clarendon residents in 1851 and 1861 were of Irish origin.

[23]Armstrong, op.cit., pp. 50-53.

[24]Richard M. Reid (ed.), The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), p. lxxiv. In the QUA, Journals of William Bell, vol. III, pp. 16-17 the Rev. William Bell of Perth documented very well the poor condition of Ottawa Valley roads. One major problem was crossing numerous rivers and streams which lacked bridges.

[25]W.H. Naylor, History of the Church in Clarendon, (St. Johns, Quebec: E.R. Smith Co., 1919), p. 7.

[26]S.Wyman MacKechnie, What Men They Were!, (Shawville, Quebec: Pontiac Print Shop, 1975), p. 267.

[27]Jane Bretzlaff et al., Shawville'73 (Shawville, Quebec: The Pontiac Print Shop, 1973), p. 23.

[28]Gordon G. Graham, "'Our Surest Hopes of Prosperity': Economic Development in Pontiac County's Railway Era 1880-1920", M.A. research essay, Carleton University, 1994, pp. 5-6. The 16 May 1889 edition of *The Equity* reported a building boom in Shawville.

[29]Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (eds.), op.cit., p. 17. Marvin McInnis, "The Early Ontario Wheat Staple Reconsidered", Canadian Papers in Rural History VIII (1992): 17-48, raises doubts about the adequacy and reliability of the standard 'staples' version of the economic history of Ontario. Cross and Kealey maintain that Canada had an advanced state of industrial development as early as 1871.

[30]Cross and Kealey insist that Canada's economic problems stem not from that era, but rather from the early twntieth-century Americanization of the Canadian economy. As the emergent monopoly capitalism replaced the residual competitive capitalism, capitalists recruited labour from a vast international pool. Cross and Kealey seem to overstate the case against Americans and capitalists. It does seem unfair to blame most of our economic woes solely on them. Workers themselves must have played some role in the growth of capitalism. No historian seems to have yet examined that role in depth.

[31]Graham, op.cit., pp. 6, 104-106.

[32]Gaffield, op.cit., pp. 128, 138, 141. R. Cole Harris and John Warkentin, op.cit., p. 90 suggest that a seasonal labourer in the logging camps would earn about fifty dollars for the winter's work. This was seldom enough to pay off his debts.

[33]Ralph C. Horner, Evangelist, p. 23.

[34]R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), p. 109.

[35]R.W. Sandwell, "Rural Reconstruction: Towards a New Synthesis in Canadian History", Histoire sociale XXVII, no 53 (May 1994): 1-32 and Gaffield, op.cit., pp. 132-134. Gaffield also addresses the relationship of land to family structure in his 1978 University of Toronto dissertation, "Cultural Challenge in Eastern Ontario: Land and Education in the Nineteenth Century".

[36]Sandwell, op.cit., p. 7.

[37]The entire value of land in Clarendon Township 1863-73 was as follows: 1863, £70.400.16s; 1866, £48.033.0.0; 1869, £ 58.893.2.0; 1872, $235,597; and 1873, $255,406. The assessment rolls for Clarendon Township are in the Pontiac Museum at Cambell's Bay, Quebec.

[38]See Table 3 "Economic Profile of Ralph Horner's Neighbourhood". The James Horner farm was more economically viable than most of its neighbours.

[39]Bruce S. Elliott, The City Beyond: A History of Nepean, Birthplace of Canada's Capital 1792-1990 (Nepean: City of Nepean, 1991), pp. 42-45.

[40]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 143.

[41]Ibid., p. 143.

[42]Horner, op.cit., p. 3.

[43]Excessive drinking in the shanties became such a social problem that major operators prohibited its consumption in their camps. See Gaffield, op.cit., p. 208.

[44]Armstrong, op.cit., pp. 172-179.

[45]Pre-industrial Canadian society could be extremely violent. There were over 400 riots in the four mainland colonies, twelve and one half per cent of which resulted in death. (See Cross and Kealey, op.cit., p. 139.) The Rebellions of 1837 in both Upper and Lower Canada were examples of the desire for change in society, a desire which led to violence. However, because of their physical isolation the people of Clarendon did not hear about the Rebellion until it was over. (W.H. Naylor, History of the Church in Clarendon (St. John's, Quebec: The E.R. Smith Co., 1919), p. 9.) Since elections were conducted by an open vote rather than by secret ballot, they, too, caused tremendous violence. The County of Pontiac was proclaimed on 1 July 1855 and the first General Session of County Council took place on 19 September 1855 at Portage du Fort. On the federal level the large French vote from Ottawa County usually outvoted the Protestants of Clarendon.

[46]Bryan D. Palmer, "Discordant Music: Charivaris and Whitecapping in Nineteenth-Century North America", Labour 3 (1978): 57.

[47]MacKechnie, op.cit., p. 130.

[48]Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas, p. 125.

[49]Lloyd Duhaime, Hear! Hear! 125 Years of Debate in Canada's House of Commons (Toronto: Stoddart Publishers, n.d.). Exerpt from the Internet http://wwwlia.org/cahi1884.htm.

[50]Naylor, op.cit., p. 126.

[51]Armstrong, op.cit., p. 26.

[52]Neil Semple, The Lord's Dominion: A History of Canadian Methodism (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. 57-58.

[53]Armstrong, op.cit., p. 243.

[54]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 204.

[55]Reid, op.cit., p. xxxii.

[56]William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 10.

[57]Gaffield, op.cit., p. 149.

[58]Glen J. Lockwood, Beckwith: Irish and Scottish Identities in a Canadian Community (Carleton Place: Corporation of the Township of Beckwith, 1991), pp. 194-222 gives a detailed view of the growth of religion in Beckwith Township. He also explains the connections between the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches and the Orange Order.

[59]Reid, op.cit., p. cxviii.

[60]John S. Moir, "'Who Pays the Piper...': Canadian Presbyterianism and Church-State Relations", William Klempa (ed.), The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994), pp. 71-73.

[61]Ibid., p. cxix.

[62]Letter of the Rev. William Bell, to the Editor of the *Glasgow Chronicle*, Perth, 24 June 1830 as printed in the *Kingston Chronicle*, 30 October 1830.

[63]Westfall, op.cit., pp. 19-49.

[64]Naylor, op.cit., p. 12.

[65]Chart 4 indicates that the number of Anglicans in Clarendon between 1851 and 1881

remained consistently higher than the number of Methodists. However, the Anglicans fell from 60% of the total population in Clarendon in 1851 to 46% in 1881, while the Methodists moved from 14% in 1851 to32% in 1881.

[66]Lloyd Armstrong (p. 117) claimed that the Rev. John G. Manly had been visiting Clarendon since 1824 and finally settled there as the first Methodist resident minister in 1834. However, according to George H. Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism (Toronto: 1881), p. 115, John G. Manly was received on trial in the Rideau Circuit in 1834, was moved to Prescott in 1835, and served in Kingston in 1836. From 1844 to 1851 he was in Jamaica. John Carroll, Case and his Co-Temporaries, vol. III, p. 458 claims that J.G. Manley [sic] was appointed to Clarendon Mission in 1834-5. In vol. IV, pp. 56-7 Carroll reports that a parsonage house for the clegyman's family was built in Clarendon in 1835-6 and that he also was being requested to serve the Bonnechere by the people there. Could there be more than one J.G. Manly? My maternal grandmother was a Manley [sic] whose family I have traced to the Peterborough, Ontario area.

[67]Cornish, op.cit., p. 189.

[68]Cross and Kealey, op.cit., p. 159.

[69]Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871 (London, Ontario: The Althouse Press, 1988), pp. 12-18, 111, 371.

[70]Leo A. Johnson, History of the County of Ontario 1615-1875 (Whitby, Ontario: The Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973), p. 63.

[71]Gaffield, History of the Outaouais, pp. 149, 372.

[72]Harris and Warkentin, op.cit., p. 92

[73]Armstrong, op.cit., p. 42.

[74]Ibid., p. 81.

[75]Ibid., p. 95.

[76]An article on page three of the 13 September 1883 edition of *The Equity* claimed that "this institution is now being conducted in a most systematic and orderly manner, and

should receive the support and encouragement of the people of this county."

> The religious and the secular realm are in the same predicament. Neither of them should be in separation from the other, and both should realize that their very existence as separated is an emergency, that both of them are rooted in religion in the larger sense of the word, in the experience of ultimate concern
> -Paul Tillich[1]

Chapter 3: Methodism Before 1894

When Ralph Horner was expelled from the Methodist ministry in 1894 he took with him a lifetime of experience of Methodist culture. Indeed, he insisted that all of his actions were based directly on those of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley. Since Horner used so many of these residual strands of traditional Methodism to create his new religious society, it is important for us to examine the economic, political, cultural, and social issues Methodists were dealing with before 1894. How Horner used this ideology to obtain his own answers will be dealt with in Chapters four and five.

Three questions are of utmost importance in examing Methodist culture particularly in Ontario prior to 1894. How had the praxis of Methodism, i.e. the way in which Methodists acted out their beliefs, begun to change by 1894? What were the economic, cultural, and social issues, relevant to the formation of the Holiness Movement Church, facing Methodists before 1894? How did Methodists and other members of Canadian society try to resolve these issues? These questions should be placed in an economic context which was changing from pre-industrial to industrial,

where the growth of transportation systems and cities was causing a demographic shift from rural to urban creating new social classes, and where new immigrants were often marginalized. This society's cultural context was changing from evangelicalism to sociology, from emotionalism to order, from conservatism to liberalism, and from colonialism to nationalism. In its social context Canadian society was 'progressing' from revivalism to the social gospel, from individualism to community concern, and from the sacred to the secular. I will concentrate on three main issues which were important both to the Methodists and the Holiness Movement Church: the relationship of religion and culture, progress and millennialism, and the idea of Christian perfection. A brief history of Methodism will be instructive. In Chapter 4 where I discuss Horner's membership I will examine how these issues impacted on the people of the upper Ottawa Valley specifically, and how the particularities of their encounter with these issues gave Horner his audience.

John Wesley was a son of the rectory, but he did not have a conversion experience until his heart was 'strangely warmed' on 24 May 1738, at Aldersgate in London.[2] This date is often taken as that of the founding of Methodism. A Church of England (Anglican) clergyman, Wesley developed his own religious culture but never left his mother church. Rather he used the conservative, rational, liturgical strands of

Anglicanism to develop what would later be called Methodism. Horner likewise would make use of conservative strands of Methodism, in part, in formulating the Holiness Movement. Wesley would follow Jakob Arminius in believing that salvation was for 'whosoever may come' rather than John Calvin who preached the doctrine of salvation for an exclusive few.[3] Wesley and his friend, George Whitefield, would part ways when Whitefield took his Calvinism to the United States. Justification or salvation as a first work of grace, creating a personal experience with Jesus Christ, and sanctification or Christian perfection as a second and separate work of grace within the individual would become the hallmarks of Methodist doctrine.[4] Wesley was also very concerned that the Church take care of the socially underprivileged. In fact, Methodism helped to change the social values of England, the United States and Canada.[5] When Methodism took root in America it grafted itself onto the existing culture of the United States; when it immigrated to Canada it reacted to the nascent British colonial toryism and changed it radically. Although there were many varieties of Methodism the primary American branch which settled mainly in Upper Canada was emotional, republican, and episcopal. The main group which rooted in the Maritimes and Quebec was conservative, monarchical, and Wesleyan. After tremendous disagreements these two churches, which had amalgamated in 1874, joined with the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada and the

Bible Christian Church of Canada in 1884 to form the Methodist Church (Canada, Newfoundland, and Bermuda).[6] The last quarter of the nineteenth century appeared to be an era of church unity rather than one of division. My study will deal mainly with this amalgamated Methodist Church (CNB).

The concepts of religion and culture, progress and millennialism, and Christian perfection are particularly germane to our study of Canadian Methodism in the late nineteenth century since they were all issues which Horner had to deal with in leaving Methodism. Specifically how Horner dealt with these issues will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, the present chapter will contain references to Horner's point of view on these issues. Horner's memoirs and his books and pamphlets, many of which were written before he left the Methodist denomination, form the majority of the primary sources needed to establish his viewpoint.

By defining a way of seeing God, religion leads directly to culture by helping to understand the world and our role in it. This was particularly true in mid-nineteenth-century Canada. William Westfall believes that "since religions explain the meaning of place and time, humanity has continually turned to religion to reconcile its own world with a world that transcends the limits of our own consciousness."[7]

In the 1850s religious societies in Ontario, particularly Protestant denominations,

were struggling to create a spiritual refuge within a secular society undergoing rapid economic and social change.[8] Westfall further suggests that "the Victorian cosmology was made up of two worlds: the material and the moral, the human and the divine, ... the secular and the sacred." [9] It was a tremendous struggle for Protestants and Methodists in particular to try to unite those two worlds. Chart 5 indicates that Methodism grew by leaps and bounds between 1851 and 1901 in Ontario. During the same period (see chart 6) Ontario Methodists grew from constituting ten percent of the Canadian population to twenty-two percent. Although all Protestants were concerned about the sacred-secular equation, Methodists took the greatest role in trying to find solutions. They, after all, had to move the furthest in changing their ideology. Since Methodist culture was based on what Westfall calls a "theology of feelings"[10], Ontario Methodists struggled to maintain some kind of evangelical continuity in the midst of faith-shattering change.

The term "evangelical" requires definition. Most historians refer to nineteenth-century Methodists, Baptists, most Presbyterians and even certain Anglicans as evangelicals. Evangelicals included anyone who believed in a personal salvation through the grace of God. Most evangelicals had been shaped by the culture of the great wave of religious revivals between 1790 and 1860. In Canadian culture this "evangelical theology was democratic and popular".[11]

Although the Methodists were arminians (believing that all humans could choose to accept or reject Christ) and most of the other denominations were calvinists (believing) that only God himself could choose who would be saved and who lost), all evangelicals believed in a "pervasive body of beliefs and assumptions concerning God, the individual, and society."[12] Phyllis Airhart suggests that the ideals of evangelicalism matched so closely those of Methodism, transcending social, economic, and regional diversity, that the term 'Methodist' was often used "as a shorthand for an expression of popular religion which in the nineteenth century crossed all denominational lines and permeated much of Protestant church life."[13] Indeed, Neil Semple insists that the Methodists always hoped to encompass all Protestants in their fellowship. "In Canada it saw its destiny as supplying the spiritual and moral component of national life."[14] By the last quarter of the nineteenth century it appeared that Methodists were rapidly reaching their goal.

Although its forthright and all-encompassing message was available to everyone, Methodism also demanded a great deal of its followers. Methodist evangelicalism is set in the discourse of 'revivalism'. 'Discourse', which refers to any collective activity ordered through language, uses specific forms of ideology to set limits on ways of speaking 'truthfully' about the world. The discourse of 'revivalism' allows us to describe and explain the concept of evangelicalism in nineteenth-century Ontario. The revival

was the method whereby people were induced to confess their sins and make a personal commitment to follow Christ. This commitment was individualistic, provided a strong sense of identity, was pietistic, depended on the family for much of its internal growth, used camp meetings as its main outreach and the class meeting as its main disciplinary tool. And Ralph Horner agreed wholeheartedly with this concept of revivalism.[15]

In Methodism's early days in North America the focus was on the individual's living relationship with God rather than on any institutional development.[16] However, as the century progressed individualism developed into institutionalism which caused the institution and eventually the society to be considered more important than the individual. When this philosophy was integrated into capitalistic industrialism and later into monopoly capitalism the individual became almost totally subsumed to the society. Ralph Horner abhored this concept.[17]

However, to Westfall this institutionalization of society was a positive value. He believes that religion provided an authority to help the individual "solve the problem caused by the inherent instability of individual [secular] belief."[18] In the early nineteenth century this authority had allowed Protestant culture the ability to penetrate the entire social system and to gradually develop schools, hospitals, and churches that could meet the needs of society. Individual experience nonetheless was the touchstone of religious

truth and of truth in general.[19] Revivalism became a distinctive way of understanding that individual experience.[20]

Although an individual experience with Christ remained vital, as the nineteenth century progressed a broader view involved "more enlightened patterns of religious fellowship."[21] The church's obligation was to regenerate individuals and to rebuke both private and public sin.[22] As the institution gradually became more important than the individual, both spiritual growth and ethical humanism had to be balanced to achieve private and social righteousness. By the end of the nineteenth century Methodist culture believed that strongly motivated individual Christians could convert the world to Christ, thus joining not only individualism and institutionalism but the sacred and the secular. By the 1870s and 1880s the Toronto churches as institutions were still the dominant voice of Canadian Protestantism and controlled the actions of individuals. For example the clergy expressed concern for the workers as individuals during the printers' strike of 1872 but disapproved of class organizations and shows of force.[23]

Though the concept of individualism remained strong, Protestant discourse provided nineteenth-century Christians not only with an individual identity through their direct relationship with God, but also an identity that could unite all Protestant faiths. Methodist culture provided what Semple calls "an expressive vernacular".[24] Such

expressions as 'trembling', 'weeping', 'set at liberty', 'white unto harvest', 'showers of blessing', and 'melted by fire' helped create the atmosphere of revivalism. Constant repetition of such terms, like a mantra, at revival meetings and at church services created a unity among believers. The terms of address 'brother' and 'sister' allowed Methodists and other evangelicals to recognize each other anywhere in society. This terminology, which would become very important to Horner and the Holiness Movement Church,[25] also demonstrated the principle of inclusion versus exclusion. Semple explains that the "idiom was intended to define who shared and who was excluded from the family." [26]

Even though Methodists were Arminian and most other Protestants inclined to Calvinism, the concept of revivalism created a unity where individual denominational theology was often forgotten, at least by the laity. Evangelicals could agree particularly on social issues such as prohibition of alcohol and the keeping of the Sabbath.[27] In the last quarter of the nineteenth century it became a matter of pride to Methodists [28] that other denominations were so in unity with them that they were using Methodist Sunday school literature.[29]

One of the most important elements of the Methodist discourse of revivalism was the concept of piety. Although the term 'pious' can be defined as 'devout', 'religious', or 'dutiful', it can also carry the connotation of 'hypocritically virtuous', 'sanctimonious'.[30]

The terms 'devout' and 'dutiful' are most appropriate to Canadian Methodism at least until the 1850s. Airhart insists that "Methodism presented an approach to spirituality which manifested itself distinctly in the religious experience to which its practitioners aspired, guidelines for personal and public morality, the articulation of religious ideas, and the associational forms by which piety was cultivated."[31]

As with most other strands of Methodism the concept of piety can be traced to John Wesley whose ideology had been influenced by a branch of German Lutheranism called 'Pietism'. In fact, Wesley had been led to conversion by the faith and fervor of the pietistic Moravians. The American preacher Jonathan Edwards and Wesley's early coworker George Whitefield had also been influenced by this life-style piety.[32] The "charismatic Study of the Scripture"[33] often to the exclusion of what tradition had taught was characteristic of most Methodists until after the 1850s. What God told a person directly, as long as it did not contradict Scripture, was often held in higher regard than what the church fathers had taught. S.D. Clark suggests that "the convert of the religious revival was one who denied himself the privilege of compromise".[34]

Early Methodist pietism was a life style which was all-inclusive. One's speech, dress, politics, and economic activity formed an integral part of one's pious religious beliefs. Even by 1894 when Horner left the Methodists the perception of piety associated

with the concept of revivalism was integral to Canadian Methodism. However, by then to many people it was more a residual strand tied to tradition than a life-changing concept. To many Methodists it had become mere sanctimonious tradition. Horner could never tolerate this shift.[35]

Professor A.B. McKillop suggests that piety was very much a part of nineteenth century education. Since education brought power to carry out the will of God, Christians, including Methodists, thought it "necessary to cultivate a pious frame of mind" in order to produce a 'truly liberal' education which would create a 'moral conservatism'.[36] Ralph Horner, however, would seek to maintain a conservative education to retain a 'moral conservatism'.[37]

The class meeting and the institution of the family formed the foundation of Methodist piety. In an attempt to bind "his converts into an organization admirably calculated to keep alive the good impulses aroused by the preaching",[38] Wesley had created a pyramid of organizations. These structures included a band of approximately eight members, a class with a dozen members, and a society which could be almost any size. Wesley had adapted much of his organization from Moravian and Anglican structures. The classes, however, were a Methodist invention.[39]

The role of class leader was highly respected and through time became one of the

most powerful positions in Methodism. Cameron suggests that under a skilled leader young Christians would be properly trained and wrongdoers would be rebuked.[40] In early Methodism the ticket method ensured that class members lived up to their responsibilities. After being accepted into a class a member was issued a ticket as a sign of membership. Each quarter the member's character was reviewed, and, if passed he/she received a new ticket. The principle of inclusion and exclusion was strictly adhered to. By the 1880s in Canada the 'ticket' system no longer existed in Methodism. It had been replaced by membership which usually in the larger centres involved the rental of a family pew.[41]

By the 1840s when the "corrupt alliance of church and state no longer controlled society"[42] social change allowed Methodists to enter the secular world where the class meeting and its counterpart, the 'love feast',[43] no longer provided the needed guidance to live in a secular world. Old-style Methodism became a subject of ridicule and the class leaders began to lose their authority.[44] This transition, like most of the other changes in nineteenth-century Methodism, was so gradual that its residual effects were still felt in the early twentieth century.

The role of the family was paramount in establishing and maintaining piety in early Canadian Methodism. The peer pressure felt in the class meetings was accentuated in

the family setting. The mother usually assumed the role of pastoral care to her family. This ministry was often extended to the neighbourhood where women prayed with, exhorted, and preached to their friends and neighbours.[45] This working out of Methodist piety became part of the *raison d' être* for women's participation in the temperance program and the promotion of the Sabbath.

However, the greatest creator of revivalism was the camp meeting. Westfall believes that camp meetings depended on mass participation, the isolation of sinners from the world, and a highly emotional atmosphere which played "directly upon the feelings and passions of sinners." [46] Semple insists that the excess emotionalism of early nineteenth-century American and Canadian camp meetings would not have been enjoyed by Wesley who "wanted instead 'calm, deliberate enthusiasts'. "[47] American republicanism and the indiscipline of the frontier had changed the spirit of Methodism. Clark believes that by 1850 many Methodists were so secure in their growing secular society that they no longer needed the evangelical sect for social status. The church would have to change to meet the needs of the society.[48] Such a statement suggests that humanity has only social needs. The church was also meeting emotional and spiritual needs. Many people simply felt themselves too sophisticated to believe that they were sinners. Clark ignores this aspect of society. He is, however, correct in suggesting that

"the decline of the importance of the camp meeting was a significant indication of the extent of the shift within Methodism away from an evangelistic position."[49] We must not forget that by the 1850s Methodists and other evangelicals were relying on professional, itinerant evangelists.[50] Up to that time each Methodist convert was responsible to win another person to Christ with the heip of the family and the class meeting.

Historians have begun to ask why evangelicalism became sociology. They cannot, however, entirely agree on either the causes, the timeline, or the reasons for the failure of the social gospel to totally unite the sacred and the secular. Did the social gospel fail to unite the sacred and the secular and, therefore, become irrelevant, because the Methodists and others failed to change quickly enough, or in spite of powerful political, economic, and social changes did the Methodists maintain residual strands of their past which they used to create a new society? To try to answer these questions Ramsay Cook advanced the secularization theory.

Cook believes that Darwinian science and higher criticism of the Bible caused Ontario Victorians and especially Methodists "to attempt to salvage Christianity by transforming it into an essentially social religion."[51] This secularization of society was for Cook almost inevitable in an urban-industrial culture where no consensus on social values could exist once the church's social functions, which were its main appeal, were

replaced by secular institutions. "The manner in which liberal Protestants responded to the socio-economic, scientific, and historical challenges of the nineteenth century resulted in Christianity becoming less rather than more relevant."[52] Cook states that in a desperate attempt to save religion certain key religious and secular figures tried to regenerate their society. They failed.

Michael Gauvreau disagrees with Cook. To Gauvreau the secularization theory fails "to account for either the timing or the intensity of the mood of crisis that overtook the evangelical churches" in the last quarter of the nineteenth century."[53] He believes that Cook is 'reading backwards' trying to examine late Victorian society through secular eyes of the late twentieth century. Gauvreau believes that examining late nineteenth-century Ontario society *in situ* will allow us to see that religion becomes more rather than less relevant to understanding the roots of the social gospel.[54] Gauvreau points out that the "seven decades in which the society, ideologies and institutions of English Canada took shape" [55] were the same decades which saw an intense religious revival. Therefore, Gauvreau believes, religious culture supplied the model for the newer more secular models which followed 1870. "'Evangelicalism' supplied the essential mind-set by which English Canada entered the modern age."[56] Further, Gauvreau agrees with Professor A.B. McKillop that Canadian theologians before the end of the nineteenth

century were not greatly influenced by Darwinism and higher criticism of the Bible. Most of them, both Presbyterian and Methodist, had been trained in the tradition of the Scottish Enlightenment which acted as "a buttress of reason that preserved the connection between God and mind, enabling educated Christians to withstand the assaults of infidelity on essential doctrines."[57]

Gauvreau believes not only that evangelicalism shaped the social values of Victorian Ontario but that it greatly influenced political and economic life. Based on Gauvreau's theory we can assume that Sir John A. Macdonald, a Presbyterian, Oliver Mowat, a devout Methodist, and other leading politicians made their political and economic decisions based on residual strands of evangelicalism. Was the ideology of the National Policy, immigration, and the building of the railroads based on the religious values of the politicians and business men who developed such policies? We do know that such successful businessmen as Hart Massey, Timothy Eaton, and Robert Simpson were devout Methodists.[58] Since many political and business leaders were also practicing Methodists, it would be logical to expect that they might guide Methodism in the direction of capitalist values. There were obvious parallels between the Methodist self-help doctrine and the individualism and work ethic of capitalist philosophy.

Methodism's irrelevance did not necessarily come from surrendering its theology

nor from failure to transform that theology to meet the new values and ideology of twentieth-century capitalism.[59] Ironically the society-shattering changes they effected towards the social gospel were made to accommodate those very same values and ideologies. Gauvreau argues that the individualism of the Methodist quest for God seemed at first to have a lot in common with the individualism of capitalist philosophy, but the Church was not prepared for the extreme individualist, consumerist form of monopoly capitalism that emerged early in the twentieth century. That form of capitalism approximated more to unbridled greed than to self-help (inability to cope, or indeed to resist, is not the same as failure to adapt!). Capitalism therefore used organized religion as one means of extending the hegemony of its own values; when it had obtained what it could from the churches, it crumpled them up and threw them away.

After the 1850s the secular concept of progress merged with, or came to dominate, the millennialist strand that persisted in Methodism. Understanding how Methodists reacted to these concepts helps a great deal to comprehend why Ralph Horner left the Methodist church. The spirit of progress infused Victorian politics, economics, and social institutions all "fused by religious emotion".[60] This teleological view of progress completely invaded British, American, and Canadian ideologies.

The ideology of progress, prevalent in North America since the Revolution, was

integrally linked to democracy in political thought and to technology and, eventually, to the corporation in economics and culture. Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis did much to explain why American society could only get better and better.[61] Tremendous optimism, at least after the 1850s, allowed North American society including Ontario to believe that in spite of hard economic realities, politics, economics, and culture were moving towards a utopian society.[62] Westfall points out that progress was measured by the "increase in population, the growing mileage of railway track, and the rising acreage of agricultural production... progress became a principle of social development.[63] Indeed, Oliver Mowat, premier of Ontario from 1872 to 1896 and a strong Methodist, believed in using the power of the state in regulating social and economic development to create progress. The tendency towards progress was "interventionist and individualist".[64]

Since the premier and so many leaders of manufacturing and finance in Ontario in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were Methodist one must consider that they had considerable influence in the development of the ideology of progress within the Methodist denomination. Indeed, after 1860 the Methodists' key word became 'relevancy'. The leaders of Methodism sought ways to make religion relevant in all aspects of society, to join the sacred and the secular. In doing so the Methodist church gradually became elitist and secular.

While espousing the value of hard work and moral discipline the Methodists encouraged their increasingly wealthy members to donate their surplus wealth to support programs for the disadvantaged.[65] In addition to moral suasion the Methodist hierarchy encouraged government to pass laws to prevent consumption of alcohol and to protect the Sabbath as a day of total rest for everyone. The Methodists wished to protect the individual from the progress of technology and the large corporation. To accomplish this goal they tried to structure progress along biblical and religious lines.

Since they recognized some very comforting residual strands in the concept of progress, Methodist acceptance of the ideology was not very difficult.[66] After all, once a person has accepted Christ as his/her personal saviour, usually in a revival, and then received sanctification, his or her spiritual life could only get better until they went to heaven. This ideology could help shape "the interaction between tradition and innovation, transforming new beliefs and practices into acceptable alternatives as part of the search for a usable past."[67] To meet the challenges of change from rural to urban, pre-industrial to industrial society and the influx of immigrants, Methodists could view progress as a way of changing individuals and institutions into what God had intended them to be. The architecture of the Gothic revival was evidence to many Victorians that God was willing to elevate humanity to a higher level thereby uniting the sacred and the

secular.[68] Airhart suggests that "under the banner of 'progressivism', [farmers, bankers, workers, manufacturers, politicians, and reformers] made plans to meet the challenges of this new world."[69]

Changes to Methodism did not always come directly from outside the Protestant ethos. In fact, many of the more subtle ones were welcomed from within. By the 1850s professional American evangelists such as the Rev. James Caughey and Phoebe Palmer with their emphasis on sorrow for sin and holy living were beginning to have a positive effect on clergy and laity alike. By the 1880s and 1890s professional evangelists were very much in vogue. Americans such as D.L.Moody, Samuel Jones, and Samuel Small were preaching to large crowds and seeing many conversions especially in Toronto, London, Hamilton, and Ottawa. Canadians such as David Savage, the Dimsdale sisters, and the team of Hugh Crossley and John Hunter had great success in evangelism. By the late 1880s and early 1890s Ralph Horner was preaching to hundreds mostly in the Ottawa Valley. All of these evangelists were recommended, if not financially supported, by the Methodist hierachy. Old-fashioned piety and spiritual progress were still very strong in Ontario.

But gradually, pastors and people expected that the evangelist would bring the revival. There was little effort to effect conversions in many regular services. Class

meetings, where they still existed, were largely ineffective in either gaining new converts or controlling the behaviour of present ones. Most Methodists had an intellectual knowledge of justification and sanctification but to many of them it was not a life-style. Many Methodists turned to a new perception of progress as a "new conception of piety",[70] that of the social gospel.

Within the concept of progress resided a definite ideology of temporality. Most nineteenth-century Protestants believed with the Bible that the world would experience a thousand years of peace. When tied to a concept of specific time periods, or dispensations, this ideology becomes millennialism. The problem was to decide the exact parameters of this millennium. Westfall believes that the gap between orthodoxy and heresy concerning millennialism was not great. [71] Millennialism certainly did contribute to Methodism's loss of many of its most ardent supporters. However, the crisis of millennialism created new sects and denominations which in their own way contributed to society.

The religion of experience preached by the early nineteenth century Methodists was immediate and apocalyptic. The repentant sinner was immediately received into God's Kingdom for the Kingdom of God was at hand. Everything was controlled by God and would unfold according to His plan. The religion of order, that of the Anglicans, on the

other hand, conceived time as gradually moving to a blessed end according to fixed principles.[72] While God was the originator of order, mankind could bring about the needed change. The great political, economic, and social upheaval of the 1840s and 1850s created a vacuum of authority and sparked intense debate concerning the concept of time. Such a crisis created an atmosphere conducive to many millennial theories. Methodism was torn apart by most of them. Among others, Mormons, Irvingites, Millerites, and Plymouth Brethren all had a part in determining the future beliefs of Methodism and eventually of the social gospel.

Most if not all late twentieth-century Canadian historians of religion see the attacks on Methodism as entirely negative. While suggesting that they are seeking to write the history of the 'common person' in nineteenth-century Canada, most of these same historians write about those people who followed the social gospel. Few are interested in exploring the lives of the 'irrational millennialists' like Ralph Horner who formed the 'new evangelicalism' of the twentieth century.

From the pinnacle of modern Methodism, i.e. the United Church of Canada, Semple views millennial groups as completely destructive. He not only regrets that there was no one there to stop them, but that "they placed little or no value on society's ethical standards or on its moral reformation."[73] This is blatantly untrue. Like the early

Methodists these groups firmly believed that if God changed the heart of the individual, the individual would in turn change his society. Societal change was of utmost importance to them, but it would be achieved by God working through the individual, not by the individual exercising his own will. While the Millerites, Irvingites, Plymouth Brethren, and Hornerites seemed to espouse only spiritual values, in fact, they insisted that conversion meant that the converted would become 'a new creature'. For his part, Clark believes that change came to the Methodists only because "more aggressive evangelistic religious sects "forced them to change, but that it was too little too late.[74]

Since it is true that the millennialist sects were trawling for converts in the Methodist baptismal font, and that the hierarchy attempted to stem the loss of members to them, it is instructive to examine some of those early millennialists . The Mormons, who believed in a divinely ordered society established by their founder, Joseph Smith, were among the first millennialists to arrive in Upper Canada. Smith himself visited Upper Canada at least twice and their Canadian president, John Taylor, was a former Methodist.

Although the Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingites) was founded in England by an ordained Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Edward Irving, the Rev. George Ryerson, brother of Egerton, became their most famous Canadian missionary. The Irvingites

believed in the imminent physical return of Christ to the earth and the judging of the nations.[75] Friendship with the Irvingites proved costly for some Methodists. The Rev. William P. Patrick was removed from his Methodist pulpit in York for welcoming the Irvingites as he had welcomed the Mormons before them. The Methodist hierarchy wished to keep such groups at arm's length.

Westfall calls the Millerites "the most famous (and disruptive) millennial movement in the early Victorian period".[76] William Miller, an American deist turned Baptist calculated that the world would end in 1843 or 1844. He attracted many Canada West Protestants just before the awaited event. When the prediction did not come true he established a new date of 12 October 1861. Soon after that date the faithful began to drift away.

By the 1860s, however, the Plymouth Brethren had begun to renew the millennial crusade. Founded in England by former Anglican John Nelson Darby, they found many converts among the Presbyterians especially around Guelph where they held summer meetings. They were also strong in Cumberland, east of Ottawa, where a Rev. Ferguson won many converts. Using a "mixture of revivalism and a modified doctrine of the elect"[77] their Prophetic Conferences held near Niagara Falls during the 1880s defended a literal interpretation of the Bible and attacked many of the reforms leading to modernism

and the social gospel. Thus the Plymouth Brethren became one of the cornerstones of twentieth-century fundamentalism.[78]

The appeal of these sects to Methodists lay in the fact that they, too, divided religious time into definite periods. Egerton Ryerson considered history to be one single period of grace which he divided into Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian dispensations. The Rev. Robert Burns of Knox College suggested four dispensations of God to man. This division of history into dispensations agreed precisely with the history taught in Presbyterian and Methodist colleges in Canada. All history flowed from God who transcended all dispensations. Within these dispensations Protestantism was identified with progress and liberty, Romanism with sin and decay.[79]

Although they eventually went their separate ways both millennialist and social gospellers depended, until at least 1890, on residual strands of revivalism to preach their message. Methodist pulpits were often open to millennialist evangelists and many people who followed their teachings still considered themselves good Methodists. After all, John Wesley always considered himself a good Anglican, never a Methodist.

Theologians and church members who refused to accept apocalyptic pre-millennialism (belief that Christ will return before the one thousand years of peace on earth) as an admissible description of time had to re-evaluate their theology.

Traditional Methodism accepted the post-millennial interpretation where Christ would not return physically until the end of the millennium. Gradually with the development of the social gospel Methodists taught that the Kingdom of Christ is a spiritual kingdom on earth; they believed that they could bring about this era of peace and joy on earth by changing the structure of religious society to conform with that of secular society. Christ would not return literally to earth at all . (Horner and other pre-millennialists, on the other hand, were trying to make society conform to the Bible.) Many of these reformers such as the Rev. Albert Carman, the Rev. Nathanael Burwash, and even the Rev.S.D.Chown believed in and had experienced a personal salvation.[80] But they could not abide the emotionalism of the millennialists.

For the mainliners of Methodism, time would progress towards the social gospel and eventually the formation of a new denomination, the United Church of Canada. For the pre-millennialists time would bring schism and the formation of new sects and religions leading to twentieth-century fundamentalism and pentecostalism. Both groups would carry residual strands of nineteenth-century political, economic, and social culture into the new century. John Webster Grant maintains that by the end of the nineteenth century in spite of the emergence of new religious movements, and other political, economic, and social crises, "evangelical Protestantism was still the norm, its widening

cracks largely unnoticed by the public."[81]

Methodists were embroiled in dealing with religion and changing culture, progress and millennialism. Had they neglected or completely discarded the concept of holiness? How had the doctrine of holiness changed since the time of John Wesley? What role did it play in Victorian Ontario? Holiness is the most neglected concept in nineteenth century Ontarian Protestant historiography. It is thought that such a concept was only important to the new sects like the Holiness Movement Chuch, the Standard Church of America, and the Salvation Army. On the contrary, Alden Warren Aikens in his unpublished 1987 Ph.D. thesis "Christian Perfection in Central Canadian Methodism 1828-1884",[82] shows that holiness was a primary issue in the Methodist Church even after 1900.[83]

Sanctification, Christian perfection, perfect love, entire sanctification, and holiness were considered synonyms for what John Wesley had described as the second work of grace. After justification, the experience of salvation, holiness was what the Christian was expected to pursue. Although it is possible to reach agreement on the denotation of 'holiness', its connotation, i.e. its various meanings in a given situation, is almost impossible to define. From Wesley to Ralph Horner and far into the twentieth century entirely new branches of Methodism and entirely new sects and denominations have

developed trying to define this concept.[84] Wesley preached that holiness was a subsequent and distinct work of the Holy Spirit.[85] From the time of Wesley Methodists knew what holiness was not. It was not absolute perfection, angelical perfection, adamic perfection, or sinless perfection.[86] Holiness was not expected to be held entirely responsible for the repair of defects of the intellect and manners. The experience of conversion or justification did not release the person from a sinful nature. The second experience, that of Christian perfection, would remove mankind's sinful nature and take away his/her desire to live a sinful lifestyle.[87] Although Wesley believed that entire sanctification could occur at a moment in time he regarded it rather as a process which would continue until death. He never claimed to have reached that state of Christian perfection himself.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada was more concerned with this concept of holiness than was the Methodist Episcopal Church. However, as early as 1784 the MEC had not only officially accepted the doctrine of holiness, but it was "a recurrent theme in the messages of its major representatives".[88] Aikens points out that all great Canadian Methodist leaders dealt with the concept at one time or another. Egerton Ryerson mentioned it as he summarized the doctrine of the early Methodists, Nathan Bangs was very involved in the concept of

Christian perfection, Nathanael Burwash was heavily influenced by the holiness writings of James Caughey, an American Methodist evangelist in the 1850s, and Albert Carman was connected to the Canadian Holiness Association.[89] A letter from the editor of the *Guide to Holiness*, the Rev. George Hughes, dated 14 July 1896 asks for Albert Carman's personal testimony concerning entire sanctification. A letter from the Rev. J. Mervin Smith, Secretary of the Canadian National Holiness Association, to Carman dated 8 August 1911 insists that anyone connected with "Modern Tongues movement", "Horneritism", or "Keswick Theory" would probably be denied entry to the C.N.H.A. A handwritten letter from Carman to the Rev. A.J. Terrell dated 1 September 1911 outlines the importance of a holy life for Methodists.[90] Indeed, Carman, the superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada in 1874, taught that the heart was a garden of weeds. Conversion cut the tops off; entire sanctification pulled out the evil roots.

The negative side of Christian perfection was the cleansing of the heart from sin; the positive side was love made perfect. It was the positive side of the concept of holiness that many late nineteenth-century Methodists followed. Some, such as the developers of the social gospel, saw the working out of that love through the perfecting of society, i.e. making society Christian; others, such as the Hornerites, believed that holiness could only be maintained if one separated oneself from the evils of society,

emphasizing the older Methodist stress on exclusion.

While Darwinism and higher criticism of the Bible played their role in secularizing the Methodist Church, how the Methodists dealt with their doctrine of holiness also helped determine their future. Some wished to ignore it altogether; some wished to separate it from society; some wished to make it serve society. As political, economic, and social forces transformed Ontario into a more urban and industrial society, it became very difficult to maintain the older strands of holiness. Such beliefs were cherished more in small towns and rural areas. My next chapter will deal briefly with the various holiness movements which developed from Methodism, and with Ralph Horner's Holiness Movement Church in particular.

Trying to write the history of Methodism in nineteenth-century Canada is like trying to weave a tapestry. The entire picture existed at one point in time but the late twentieth century the historian is under the tapestry looking up. He/she sees sundry threads of various colours passing in all directions. Some threads are long and seem to form complicated patterns with other threads; some are short and appear to lead nowhere. From time to time the historian is allowed a glimpse, but only a glimpse, of the upper side of the tapestry. For one fleeting moment the pattern makes sense. In any case, the historian should never grab a thread from the 1990s and trace it backwards.

He/she should instead try to sit directly under the part of the tapestry which was the last half of the nineteenth century, examine those strands which came from the past and follow them into the twentieth century. That way he/she will come as close to 'truth' as possible.

During the late nineteenth century Ontario Methodists took the strands of culture from their past and wove them, sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly, with the political, economic, and social strands of their era to create their part of the tapestry. Some Methodists let go of residual strands stretching back to Wesley to replace them with emergent strands which they liked better and hoped would be more useful in the new tapestry. Others clung desperately only to old comfortable strands and tried to stretch them to fit the new pattern. Sometimes the needle could not pass through the tough fabric of society; sometimes the fabric was so fragile it tore.

Nevertheless, religion and culture, progress and millennialism, and Christian perfection all became part of the Ontario Methodist tapestry. The social gospellers headed off to their corner with their own threads to try to weave a pattern which would unite the sacred and the secular in the service of mankind. The pre-millennialists and holiness people such as Ralph Horner moved to their own corner where they carefully chose mostly religious, mostly black and white, and especially holiness strands of the

past to create new sects and denominations. In the middle toiled the majority of Methodists, among them my own paternal grandparents, who would weave some strands from the social gospel and some from the holiness movement eventually to unite with many Presbyterians and Congregationalists to form the United Church of Canada. At least until 1900 those threads would be held together by the concept of 'revivalism'. Well into the twentieth century religious piety would be claimed by all of them.

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[1]Paul Tillich, Theology of Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 9.

[2]John Wesley, Journal, I, 24 May 1738.

[3]Richard M.Cameron, Methodism and Society in Historical Perspective (New York: Abingdon Press, 1961), pp. 25-82, gives an excellent outline of the foundations of Methodism in England.

[4]Elie Halevy, The Birth of Methodism in England (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971) hypothesized that the culture created by Methodism was partially responsible for preventing a revolution in Britain like the ones in France and the American colonies.

[5]Wellman J.Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967) outlines clearly the political and moral role that Methodism took in helping to develop British culture into an industrial society.

[6]Neil Semple, The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), pp. 179-210 traces the history of this union.

[7]William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 5.

[8]John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 11 believes that Canadian society had an economic basis rather than a religious one. Immigrants came to make money and create a new life, not to found religious utopias. Albert Schrauwers, Awaiting the Millennium: The Children of Peace and the Village of Hope 1812-1889 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), however, shows that the Children of Peace, Quakers who settled in the area of Newmarket, Ontario in the early 1800s, came to establish a moral economy where they could combine their economic and religious lives as they saw fit.

[9]Westfall, op.cit., p. 8.

[10]Ibid., p. 39.

[11]Michael Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 7-8.

[12]Ibid., p.8.

[13]Phyllis D.Airhart, Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 16.

[14]Semple, op.cit., p.3.

[15]R.C.Horner, Ralph C.Horner, Evangelist , pp. 6,9,18,39,105 and *The Holiness Era*, 24 May 1905, p.1.

[16]Semple, op.cit., p.53.

[17]Ralph C.Horner, Evangelist, p.45. Horner often debated this creeping socialism with professors, pastors, and evangelists.

[18]Westfall, op.cit., p. 14.

[19]Ibid., p. 42.

[20]Airhart, op.cit., p.29.

[21]Ibid., p. 211.

[22]Ibid., p. 25.

[23]Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 183.

[24]Semple, op.cit., p.59.

[25]Horner's memoirs are filled with Methodist terminology. The rules established in the "Minutes of General Conference" of the HMC written in 1899 make ample use of Methodist terminology.

[26]Semple, Ibid.

[27]Ibid., p. 67. Bishop Horner was quoted in an Ottawa newspaper as being greatly opposed to the use of "Electric Cars" on Sunday. See "Mr. Horner on Sunday Cars, May 1901, H.J.Morgan Collection, in the possession of Professor Elliott.

[28]Airhart, op.cit., p. 36.

[29]A.B.Hyde, The Story of Methodism Throughout the World From the Beginning to the Present Time (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1888), pp. 795-808 oulined the story of the Chautauqua, a camp ground in southwestern New York State, where Christians from many protestant denominations gathered to write Christian literature. They also produced traveling shows in small towns in the United States, England, and Canada. My father, who was born into a Methodist family in 1903, often spoke with great enthusiasm of the Chautauqua which came to his small town of Chesley, Ontario, when he was a small boy. He spoke with awe of the wonderful stories he heard and the shows they presented at 'the Chautauqua'.

[30]The Oxford English Reference Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 1102.

[31]Airhart, op.cit., p. 17.

[32]Cameron, op.cit., p. 31.

[33]Ibid., p. 230.

[34]S.D.Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 168.

[35]The idea that Horner continued Methodist piety is supported in an Ottawa newspaper article dated 2 May 1907 and entitled "Expansion of the Holiness Movement", H.J.Morgan Collection.

[36]A.B.McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), pp. 15-16.

[37]The "Minutes of General Conference" 1899 of the HMC established Holiness Movement Sunday and day schools as well as their own college located in Ottawa. Bishop Horner himself would determine the curriculum. See pp. 54-57.

[38]Cameron, op.cit., p. 35.

[39]Ibid., p. 37.

[40]Ibid., p. 39.

[41]The Holiness Movement Church established a hierarchy of members and adherents. The members had a say in a few matters in their local congregation. However, pastors were appointed by the bishop; exhorters and Sunday school workers were appointed by the pastor. Members had few rights; adherents had none.

[42]Westfall, op.cit., p.67.

[43]The 'love feast', inaugurated by John Wesley, was an intimate occasion for members to gather to confess their sins and receive spiritual nurture. In an attempt to recapture the *agape* of the New Testament, the 'love feast' involved a communal meal of the Eucharist and worship lasting about one hour. Although it was originally open only to members many converts were won after taking part in a 'love feast'. See Semple, op.cit., p. 20. Ralph Horner and the HMC made the 'love feast' a highlight of their year.

[44]Egerton Ryerson resigned as a Methodist minister in 1855 claiming that the class meeting had outlived its usefulness.

[45]Horner's memoirs inform us that it was he who led his mother to a personal salvation directly after his own conversion. See p. 8.

[46]Westfall, op.cit., p. 40.

[47]Semple, op. cit., p. 213.

[48]Clark, op. cit., p. 262.

[49]Ibid., p. 263.

[50]Michael Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867" in George A. Rawlyk (ed.) The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 64.

[51]Cook, op.cit., p. 4.

[52]Ibid., p. 6.

[53]Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century, p. 220.

[54]Michael Gauvreau, "Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture", Acadiensis (Spring 1991): 165.

[55]Ibid., p. 167.

[56]Ibid., p. 168.

[57]Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century, p. 28. See also A.B.McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), p. 29.

[58]Semple, op.cit., p. 281,335.

[59]Gauvreau, "Beyond the Half-Way House", p. 175.

[60]Berger, op.cit., p.219.

[61]Adam Smith, Robert Owen, David Hume, John Stuart Mill, and Karl Marx had all made considerable contributions to explain progress in Western society.

[62]Berger, op.cit., pp. 109.115. Randall White, Ontario 1610-1985 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1985 outlines the political and economic vicissitudes of Ontario's desire for progress in the late nineteenth century.

[63]Westfall, op.cit., p. 163.

[64]Robin Fisher, "Duff and George Go West: A Tale of Two Frontiers", in Ian McKay (ed.), The Challenge of Modernity (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson,1992), p. 123.

[65]See Semple, pp. 351-355.

[66]Airhart, op.cit., p.8.

[67]Ibid., p. 11.

[68]Westfall, op.cit., p. 160.

[69]Airhart, op.cit., p.64.

[70]Ibid., p. 142.

[71]Ibid., p. 169.

[72]Ibid., pp. 160-161.

[73]Semple, op.cit., p. 146.

[74]Clark, op.cit., p. 416.

[75]The Irvingites also believed in speaking in tongues as one of the many gifts available to

Christians after conversion. Because of their belief in the charismatic gifts the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) claim the Irvingites as part of their spiritual heritage. See Gordon F. Atter, 'The Third Force' (Peterborough: The College Press, 1962), pp. 14-17.

[76]Westfall, op.cit., p. 167.

[77]Ibid., p.168.

[78]The Rev. J.H. Blair, Superintendent of the Western Ontario District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada during the 1950s and 1960s, was originally a Plymouth Brethren born at Metcalfe in the Ottawa Valley. He abandonded fundamentalism for the experientialism of the pentecostals.

[79]Gauvreau, The Evangelical Century, pp. 104-114.

[80]Semple, op.cit., p. 353

[81]John Webster Grant, A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 220.

[82]Alden Warren Aikens, "Christian Perfection in Central Canadian Methodism 1828-1881", Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1987.

[83]Aikens researched countless issues of Methodist magazines such as the *Christian Guardian*, the official voice of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the *Canada Christian Advocate*, official voice of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Since he found continuous references to the concept of holiness throughout the nineteenth century, he concluded that Christian perfection was very important to Canadian Methodists of that era.

[84]Among many primary source references to Ralph Horner's brand of holy living an article in the *Christian Guardian*, entitled "Holiness a Thing of Power" dated 7 August 1872, p.248, Horner's book Pentecost, published in 1891, a Smith's Falls newspaper article dated October 1892 in the H.J.Morgan Collection, The Feast of 1903, The Feast of 1904, The Feast of 1908, and the Minutes of the Ottawa Conference of the Holiness Movement, 15 December 1816, p. 234 all emphasize the importance of holiness to Horner and the HMC.

[85]Aikens, op.cit., p. 31. See also Cameron, op.cit., pp. 26, 33, 34,127, and 275. Semple, op.cit. mentions holiness on seventeen occasions.

[86]Aikens, op.cit., pp. 2-3.

[87]Ibid., p. 6.

[88]Ibid., p. 93.

[89]Ibid., pp. 19, 51, 100, 105.

[90]Dr. Albert Carman Papers 1852-1917, Box 14 # 96, Box 20 #132, Archives of the United Church of Canada, Victoria University, Toronto.

> By the 1890s... a number of clergy and lay advocates of holiness had left mainstream Methodism for a bewildering array of sects; each claiming to preserve the true Wesleyan message in the face of the apostasy of the mother church.
>
> - Gerald Hobbs[1]

Chapter 4: The Holiness Movement Church: Child of Methodism

When nineteen year old Ralph Horner knelt at the penitent bench at a Methodist revival in 1872 near Shawville, Quebec, he considered himself a true Methodist. Although he knew little about Methodist theology he had taught Sunday school a year or two before his conversion until he was absent one Sunday and the superintendent gave his class to someone else. Horner quit in disgust and anger.[2] However, the forty-two year old ordained clergyman whose name was dropped from the rolls of the Methodist Church in 1895 knew a great deal about how late nineteenth century Methodist theology was 'progressing' and did not at all like what he saw.

In this chapter I plan to examine how Horner's views of the main issues facing Methodists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century differed from those of the Methodist hierarchy. Horner had definite opinions on culture and religion, progress and millennialism, and holiness. His views on Christian perfection or holiness were especially strong. I shall examine the story of Horner's separation from the Methodists in an attempt to discover why he was expelled and why he formed a new sect. I shall also

examine who Horner's followers were as well as his main opposition in an attempt to discover what kind of culture he created and who was for and against him. Finally, I hope to discuss various historiographical views of Horner and his followers and turn-of-the-century millennialists in general in an attempt to analyze the Hornerite phenomenon. The concept of legalism will become particularly important in analyzing why Hornerism never became mainstream.

A brief outline of some of the main events of Ralph Horner's life between 1872 and 1894 will be instructive. Two months after Horner's justification (conversion) experience he was fully sanctified.[3] Immediately after his conversion Horner began his ministry after being called to hold meetings at the home of an older sister.[4] His ministry seems to have been so successful that by 1882 the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church placed him in charge of the Clarendon circuit.[5]

From 1883 to 1885 Horner attended Victoria College at Cobourg and the following year obtained his bachelor of oratory degree from a school in Philadelphia.[6] On 29 May 1887 he was ordained to the Christian ministry of the Methodist Church. Horner persisted in declaring that he was ordained against his will. In his memoirs he claimed he had insisted that he be ordained as an evangelist, not as a pastor. He believed that he was called by God to be an evangelist never a pastor. However, since the Methodists had

only one type of ordination he finally consented to it.[7] As one of two designated Conference Evangelists working under the general guidance of the Evangelistic Society, Horner was allowed to hold revival crusades throughout the Ottawa Valley. On 27 November 1890 he married Annie McDonald of Carp.[8] In 1890, also, the Conference assigned Horner as pastor on the circuit of Portage du Fort, Quebec, just a few miles from Clarendon. Horner hired a young preacher to go in his place. Conference refused to accept the replacement but relented and appointed Horner once again as Conference Evangelist. Several times during the early 1890s Horner was called before his superiors to justify ignoring their instructions, holding tent meetings without informing the local Methodist minister, and allowing undue emotion and noise in his revival crusades. Still Horner persisted in totally ignoring his superiors' wishes.

Long before his deposition Ralph Horner had developed a loyal following. The 1895 Montreal Conference complained that Horner had "form[ed] another Society, and sent out laborers into the fields occupied by our Ministers, who solicited members to leave the Methodist Church, and unite with his organization."[9] Finally, in June of 1894 they appointed him pastor on the Combermere circuit in Renfrew County. When he did not show up his name was dropped from the roll in 1895. Ralph Cecil Horner was free to interpret God's will as he himself saw fit.

While he had little knowledge of Methodist theology in 1872, by 1890 Horner was familiar with both the teachings of John Wesley and the new social doctrines being developed during the 1880s. Ralph Horner did not like the move towards modernism with its social programs and the dawning of monopoly capitalism. In his memoirs, written sometime around 1900 (dates are seldom given), Horner assures the reader that he was very fearful entering Victoria College. "Some of the godly men in the ministry had commenced to look upon colleges as a place for young preachers to go to lose their salvation."[10] His suspicions were soon confirmed. With a ferocity and moral indignation which he would spout the rest of his life, Horner argued long and loud with fellow students and professors who wished to see 'progress' in Methodist theology. In fact, Horner would henceforth sneer at anyone who would not accept his beliefs. Professors of theology who were into 'modernism' would receive most of his invective.

In theology his differences with Methodism were ones of degree rather than ones of real substance. He left the Methodist denomination long before any real aspects of the social gospel took effect. Horner disagreed with the praxis of Methodism as he found it in the 1880s and 1890s. He firmly believed in Methodist theology as it was practiced in the 1840s. Horner's vision economically, socially, and culturally was firmly fixed on the past. He wished to hold tightly to those strands of Methodism, nurturing and protecting

them, and applying them to his generation so that change would be neither necessary nor possible. New economic, social, and environmental strands were not to be allowed to develop. With his Irish Protestant, Clarendon Township rural mentality he wished for stability, not change, conservatism not liberalism, a sacred not a secular culture.

In an *Ottawa Journal* article dated 10 June 1894 Horner revealed to a reporter that his case before the Methodist Conference was a unique one because he was following "John Wesley in conducting these red hot revival meetings out in the fields away from all churches".[11] Horner insisted that he was doing work not covered by any denomination because he was converting people from all denominations including Roman Catholics. It is evident that at this point Horner considered himself a free agent.

For Horner 'progress' was to be reserved for the spiritual realm. Once sanctified a Christian was to become more and more pure. He believed that the Bible had not changed in its meaning since it was written and, therefore, there was no room for Darwinism or higher criticism. In this respect he was one of the fathers of twentieth century fundamentalism in Canada.

Unlike many Methodist ministers of the 1890s Horner was a pre-millennialist believing that Christ would physically return to earth very shortly. Since Christ's return was imminent the Christian should forget about earthly things and concentrate on

heavenly rewards.

Like the early Methodists Horner believed in a strong individual commitment to Christ which in turn would create a strong sense of identity. Horner was also pietistic and arminian. He so strongly opposed any form of antinomianism[12] that he wrote a scathing pamphlet against the Rev. Dr. J. M. Boland who advocated such a doctrine.[13]

In an attempt to be true to Wesley, Horner followed most aspects of hierarchical and administrative Methodism. There was a definite chain of command which descended from the bishop (much like the divine right of kings) . Although pastors and evangelists were allowed considerable input in theory, in practice Horner always considered the bishop's word as final since he heard directly from God. Horner did not follow this concept as a Methodist but found it most convenient when he became bishop of his own sect.

Although the class meeting of the Methodists was adopted by the Hornerites, it soon became a prayer meeting led by an exhorter appointed by the pastor. Like the Methodists Horner's new sect insisted that everyone from the Bishop down, including exhorters, pass an examination of their character once a year.[14] During the early 1900s these examinations of character were not demanded every year; during the 1910s Bishop Horner became quite annoyed when his underlings suggested that his character had not

been passed recently. He insisted that such pedantry was for his subordinates.

The love feast was revived and extended. Although as a Methodist evangelist Horner supported the love feast, it was not until he formed the HMC that he began to gather his pastors and evangelists together for such a retreat, "the annual pentecostal Feast, a ministerial gathering held strenuously after the fashion of the upper-room convention recorded in the opening chapters of the Acts of the Apostles".[15] This was an occasion of up to ten days in length when the HMC hierarchy met, usually at a camp ground, where Horner indoctrinated his followers. The Eucharist was celebrated accompanied by singing, testimonies, and intense and loud prayer. Horner effectively used old strands of Methodism to create a new form useful to his purpose in controlling the theology and praxis of his followers.

One aspect of Hornerite theology, however, differed from Methodism. It was a belief "different from regeneration and entire sanctification in every respect."[16] Regeneration was for salvation from the transgression of God's laws; entire sanctification destroyed all the depravity mankind inherited from Adam; the anointing (the third work of grace) qualified the possessor "to do wonders and miracles in the name of the Lord".[17] At this point Hornerism became an emergent strand of twentieth century pentecostalism.

Hornerite discourse retained much of the language of early Methodism. Christians

were simply "pilgrims and strangers" on earth who are waiting for heaven.[18] During Horner's tent meetings a "cyclone of power"[19] and a "cyclone of conviction"[20] would destroy "the body of sin and purge out all carnal affections."[21] Hornerite discourse was usually didactic. It was designed to inculcate spiritual progress as opposed to economic or social progress. *The Holiness Era*, the official organ of the Holiness Movement Church published by Horner himself, constantly exhorted its readers to be more holy people and to live simple lives just as early Methodist magazines had done.[22]

A spartan life style was another strand of early nineteenth century Methodism that Horner retained. His beliefs as a Methodist and as bishop of the HMC were essentially the same on this matter. A simple existence which avoided "smoking, drinking, gambling and quarreling" [23] was expected of all Hornerites both before 1894 and after. To ensure that sinners were actually born again Horner insisted that new converts pass through the 'stripping room' where they were relieved of any jewelry and fine clothing they possessed.[24] Horner always insisted that all money realized from the sale of these items went directly to pay for future revivals. He never saw the irony in using money from the sale of products he abhorred. This concept could hardly be called a moral economy. It was capitalism pure and simple. Practitioners of Horner's life style would never spend money on luxuries, buy insurance, or belong to a secret society such as the

Orange Order.

Like most Methodists of the 1890s, Horner believed the Sabbath was never to be broken by doing any unnecessary work. In an Ottawa newspaper article in May 1901 he begged the people of Ottawa not to use 'Electric Cars' on the Sabbath. Such use caused the young men who drove the cars "to break the day of the Lord, and lose their hope of Heaven."[25]

But Ralph Horner was only one of a number of Methodists and others who clung to a belief in a holy life style. As we discovered in chapter three Christian perfection as preached by Wesley had not died out by the 1890s, but, as Alden has pointed out, was still quite important even to some members of the Methodist hierarchy.

Indeed, while there was a chasm separating Horner and some of the 'professors of religion', his theology was close to that of many of his fellow ministers. His praxis and that of official Methodism differed widely. Horner admitted that many holy people who attended his tent meetings were noisy in worship which greatly offended "professors of religion".[26] To Horner this noise only indicated that the Holy Spirit was really working in the individual's life. Like the Methodists of the 1830s and 1840s Horner believed that when seekers were truly sorry for their sins, they would reveal that sorrow by intense emotion and often agony. Horner never felt responsible for what the Holy Spirit did in an

individual's life. If an observer, even if he/she was already a Christian, did not like the noise, Horner really did not care. Christians who hoped "to build up a fashionable, popular society had no use for such demonstrative services."[27] Ralph Horner was mainly interested in spiritual change.

Horner appears to have been tolerated if not exactly loved by the Methodist hierarchy in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In fact, most of the books and pamphlets Horner wrote while still part of the Methodist denomination were endorsed by members of the Methodist hierarchy. Horner's 1888 Voice Production was introduced by the Rev. Nathanael Burwash, Chancellor of Victoria University. The introduction to Entire Consecration (1890) was written by the Rev. Albert Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, who declared himself impressed by the practical parts of Horner's work but could not understand nor endorse the metaphysical parts. In 1891 the Rev. Hugh Johnston, D.D., warmly introduced Pentecost, Dr. Carman introduced From the Altar to the Upper Room, and the Rev. Dr. T.G.Williams, President of the Montreal Conference, and the Rev. A.M. Phillips introduced To, Before, and on the Altar. Ralph Horner was not "deposed for error in doctrine" as Cornish's Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada suggested,[28] but rather as Brian Ross believes, "The Methodist Church finally had no place for Ralph Horner only because he simply had no place for it."[29] The desire

of the Methodist Church hierarchy in the 1890s to be all things to all people, to make room for all types of worship, caused many schisms rather than the unity the Methodists had worked so hard to achieve.

Of course Horner's was only one of many holiness movements in the United States and Canada during the nineteenth century. By 1900 there were some twenty-five holiness groups in Canada.[30] Ralph Horner was definitely influenced by the concept of holiness expounded by James Caughey, and Phoebe and Walter Palmer, who began holding meetings for the promotion of holiness in the United States as early as the 1830s.[31]

James Caughey, born in northern Ireland in 1810 but raised in New York State, was an Episcopal Methodist minister. Although Caughey held several revivals in the Maritimes, Quebec City, and Montreal in the early 1840s, he did not reach Canada West until 1852. Between 1852 and 1856 Caughey evangelized Kingston, Brockville, Belleville, Toronto, and Hamilton. Nathanael Burwash and Albert Carman were influenced by Caughey's preaching on holiness, but never took that doctrine to the extremes that Horner did.[32]

Born into a wealthy Methodist family in New York City, Phoebe Worrall married Dr. Walter C. Palmer in 1827. In 1837 during revival services held by the

Congregationalist preacher Charles Finney, Phoebe experienced entire sanctification. From then on she developed her own interpretation of holiness and published it through her seventeen books, many pamphlets, and preaching. Identifying sanctification with a second blessing, Mrs. Palmer stressed the instantaneous reception of this second work of grace. Semple points out that "most orthodox Canadian Methodists rejected her rather controversial easy road to holiness".[33] Ralph Horner, however, would make this strand of American holiness his own. Horner insisted that he "was born in a revival and could not be satisfied without seeing sinners coming to Jesus for salvation."[34] The Palmers held large revivals in Hamilton, Oakville and Toronto as well as in the Maritimes in 1857. Since this was shortly after he was born, their influence on Ralph Horner must have come through their writings and what older people told him of their visit.

Unlike their founder, John Wesley, these Americans believed that the second work of grace called "entire sanctification was experienced as suddenly as conversion".[35] These three evangelists not only introduced the concept of holiness to Canada but had a great influence on how it would be interpreted. They would be supported in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by "the great revival efforts of such men as [D.L.] Moody and [Ira] Sankey, and the reaction from within the Church against the rising tide of modernism, brought about a revival of emphasis on a deeper spiritual life".[36]

When Nelson Burns and Albert Truax were deposed from the Methodist ministry in 1894 for wrong doctrine (they believed that once a person was sanctified they could never again commit an act which was truly harmful), they had already developed the Canada Holiness Association which Burns founded in 1879 in the London and Niagara areas.[37] It appears that Horner had little or no contact with Burns and Truax. In fact, their theologies developed in very different directions. The Canadian Holiness Association appears to have been more radical than Hornerism. Horner did, however, belong to the Eastern Ontario Holiness Association and it is known he attended their holiness convention in 1892 at Smiths Falls.[38] While Horner appears to have had some contact with other holiness groups, he generally kept his group at a distance for better control.

What kind of people followed Ralph C. Horner into the HMC? Where did they live? What was their economic and social status? Why did they follow him? Attempting to answer these questions will help us understand the response of the people of Canada to Horner and his culture. Such answers will also help us better comprehend Canadian Protestant culture in the early twentieth century.

The Census of 1901[39] lists 2,772 people in Canada who declared themselves Holiness Movement Church followers. Of this number 2,139 lived in Ontario, 418 in

Quebec, 199 in Manitoba, ten in Alberta, and six in Saskatchewan. Hornerism had not yet reached the Maritimes nor British Columbia. In fact, it would not be until the census of 1941 that the HMC would have two members in New Brunswick and thirty-seven members in British Columbia.[40]

In an attempt to prepare a synchronic profile of Hornerites in the main areas of the Ottawa Valley in 1901 demographically, economically, and socially, I identified a sampling of 750 individuals, adults and children, who declared their religious affiliation with the HMC in the 1901 census.[41] I surveyed all holiness people in the counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Carleton, Leeds-Grenville, Leeds South, Pontiac (Quebec), and the City of Ottawa. From this data I created a circle graph "Ottawa Valley Hornerites by County in 1901". (See Chart 7) It is understood of course that Hornerites in 1901 formed a very small part of the total Ottawa Valley population. (See Chart 8 "Population of the Ottawa Valley 1901".) I then divided my findings into the following categories: ages (0-20, 21-44, 45-59, 60+), (see chart 9 "Hornerites by Ages 1901"), birthplace (Ontario, Quebec, Ireland, England, Germany, Scotland), heritage (Irish, English, Scottish, German, French, Welsh, Dutch), and occupations (farmer, housewife, labourer, merchant, clergyman, teacher, nurse, tradesperson). I discovered some very interesting results.

Hornerite demographics show that although the sect was found in all counties of the main part of the Ottawa Valley, certain counties were home to more Holiness Movement people than others. The overall numerical geographical distribution of Hornerites in Ontario and Quebec reflects the areas reached by the preaching of Horner and his clergy, centred in Ottawa in 1901. Membership in the West was largely a reflection of westward migration from the Ottawa Valley heartland. Such families of western migration as the Argues, Childerhoses, and Rowes will be discussed in Chapter six.

In the 1901 census there were 162 Hornerites in Renfrew County, seventy-three in Lanark, 189 in Carleton, sixty-two in Leeds-South, 130 in Leeds-Grenville, and 100 in the Pontiac. The city of Ottawa had only thirty-five of them including Ralph Horner, his wife, four daughters, and fourteen students and clergymen who lived at Annesley College at Bank and Flora streets. Clearly Horner's appeal in 1901 was mainly rural.

Age distribution of Hornerites is also significant. Chart 9 illustrates that the largest number of adherents were under twenty years of age. This is not surprising since Hornerites tended to have large families (often eight to ten children). Since these children were not of age they would be obliged to attend the HMC with their parents. It is, however, surprising that the majority of adult followers of Horner were in the 21-44 age range. A significant number were in the 45-59 age range, and, except in Pontiac

County, only a few (thirty-seven) were over sixty. This data would seem to indicate that Horner appealled mainly to young adults who would not remember the Methodist revivals of the 1850s and 1860s. (Horner himself was forty-eight in 1901.) Since the majority of Horner's followers were originally Methodist perhaps they were searching for an experience and culture that Methodism was not providing.

Like Horner, the majority of his followers reflected his racial origin, gender, and religious background. Most were male and of Irish origin, but were born in Ontario. In fact 70.5% were Irish, 15% were English, 9% were Scottish, 5% were German, and .5% were of French, Welsh, or Dutch origin. Six hundred and eight Hornerites were born in Ontario, 104 in Quebec, twenty-one in Ireland, nine in England, four in Germany, and four in Scotland. Twenty-seven per cent of Hornerites in my survey were adult men, 23.9% were adult women. There were eighteen couples who shared a different religion, usually Methodism, with the HMC. Twelve men were Methodist while their wives and family were Hornerites; three women were Methodist, two were Presbyterian, and one was Baptist while their husbands were Hornerite. In only three families in my survey were the parents Methodist and their adult children HMC. In Horner's home county of Pontiac his followers were found only in Clarendon and Litchfield townships. Many of them were his paternal relatives and neighbours. By 1901 none of Horner's mother's

relatives, the Richardsons and Ralphs were among his followers. They all remained Anglican.

Hornerites appear to have been almost exclusively members of a rural non-industrial society. Map 5 illustrates that the majority of Horner's followers lived in rural areas of fair to good soil conditions. None lived in large valley towns with a large industrial base. In fact, Pembroke, Renfrew, Arnprior, Almonte, Carleton Place, Smiths Falls, Perth, and Brockville did not have a single Hornerite in 1901. Table 6 indicates "Manufactures of Towns Having 5,000 Inhabitants and Over". Of the four towns in that category none contained Hornerite tradesmen. Even in towns and villages of 1,500 to under 5,000 inhabitants (Table 7) there were no Hornerites.

Tables 6 and 7 illustrate the course of industrialism throughout the Ottawa Valley between 1881 and 1901. While most towns saw a gradual increase in population the number of establishments and employees fluctuated greatly. In most towns the number of establishments increased greatly between 1881 and 1891. However, between 1891 and 1901, as not only the Ottawa Valley but the entire country went through yet another depression, many small cottage industries were absorbed by industrial capitalism. In towns such as Pembroke, Arnprior, Carleton Place, Perth, and Prescott the number of employees and their salaries decreased markedly.

Only eighteen of the 750 Hornerites in my survey were tradespeople. None lived in manufacturing centres. Table 8 shows that two were carpenters, four were blacksmiths, one was a shoemaker, and one was a cheesemaker. There was one each of the trades of baker, painter, harnessmaker, bricklayer, butcher and miller. The only female and the only tailor was seventeen year old Minnie Cook in Ross Township, Renfrew County. There were, however, 137 farmers. The Hornerites in 1901 were little affected directly by the arrival of industrial capitalism.

The Holiness Movement was both a child of Methodism and of the 'residual strands' of Ottawa Valley society that Horner made into a new dispensation. Residual social strands that survived more strongly in the more remote rural parts of the Ottawa Valley appealed most to Horner's followers. Most of Horner's spiritual descendants I interviewed unequivocally suggested that their ancestors followed Horner because the Holy Spirit drew them to his ministry and that he was a very charismatic speaker. However, the key to an academic understanding of why certain rural people followed Horner lies in the marginalization, in the context of late nineteenth-century capitalist development, of the more distant parts of the Valley more than in their mere geographical isolation. Clarendon township, and Renfrew and Leeds and Grenville counties where most of Horner's followers were to be found were not near any large

urban centres.(Goulbourn was the exception). The mass immigration of the post-1896 period little affected, directly, the eastern Ontario/western Quebec rural region that was the denomination's heartland. Similarly, they lived in areas little affected, directly, by industrialization. However, the impact of these large social processes was felt locally in indirect though very real ways: factories elsewhere combined with improved transportation and distribution linkages to put out of business many local blacksmiths, carriagemakers, etc. Gordon Graham's thesis, discussed in Chapter 2, explained how the arrival of the railway in the 1880s stimulated various forms of economic development in Pontiac County, but to a much lesser extent than anticipated. The import of external goods and materials in fact contributed to a decline in the population and service functions of the rural towns and villages. Horner found his following in a part of central Canada more marginalized by change than directly altered by it. He effectively combined orthodox elements from both traditional Methodism and Irish Protestant Ottawa Valley political, economic, and social conservatism which eschewed change to attract certain kinds of people.

The typical Hornerite in 1901 was a male farmer in a rural setting far from large towns and cities. He was between the ages of twenty-one and forty-four, was of Irish origin, had been born in Ontario, and owned his own farm. He was married with at least

five children. Unhappy with how the Methodist Church was meeting his spiritual and emotional needs he supported Ralph Horner to obtain a more emotional, old-fashioned salvation which was totally opposed to the social gospel, industrial capitalism, and modernism.

There is considerable discrepancy between the figures Horner gave the House of Commons when he was applying for a charter for his new movement in 1896 and the results of my 1901 survey. Horner told the government he had 1,000 members and 4,553 adherents[42] in 110 places of worship. He also claimed thirty-five preachers and 1,514 pupils in his Sunday schools. Most of Horner's followers enumerated in 1896 were from small towns or villages such as Eldorado, Ivanhoe, Athens, Lombardy, Newington, Casey Hill, and Munster. In fact, 95% of Horner's members and 94% of his adherents attended church in small towns and villages. Only 5% of his members and 6% of the adherents Horner claimed were from Ottawa or Pembroke. It is impossible to tell from Horner's one-page report whether his members and adherents lived in small towns or cities. It is probable that most of them were rural and attended church in a small town or village.

What happened to 2,778 people whom Horner claimed were Hornerites in 1896 and who did not declare themselves as such in 1901? Perhaps some still thought of themselves as Methodist or Presbyterian, or Church of England,[43] perhaps many of those

people listed as evangelicals in the 1901 census were really Hornerites; perhaps Ralph Horner, God forbid, inflated his numbers to make it easier to get his charter. It is also possible that some urban enumerators did not use the designation "Holiness Movement Church". (The 1911 printed statistics do not have a category for Horner's followers.) Perhaps we will never know. It is interesting that in his 1896 presentation Horner claimed seventy members and 300 adherents in Winchester, fifty-two members and 200 adherents in Ottawa, thirty-five members and ninety adherents at Billings Bridge, thirty-four members and eighty-five adherents in the town of Pembroke; twenty members and 200 adherents in Huntley, and eleven members and twenty-eight adherents in the town of Carleton Place. Perhaps numbers lie, or perhaps fewer people adhered to the Holiness movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century than Horner thought.

Because of his violent opposition to modernism, his refusal to obey the Methodist hierarchy, and his emotional preaching Ralph Horner had many enemies. Perhaps Horner's own actions had caused much of the ill-will he experienced. As long as Horner remained an acceptable member of the Methodist Church, newspaper articles of the era generally spoke positively of his ministry. When the Methodist hierarchy began to question his behaviour and particularly when he refused to go where he was sent, the newspapers began to publish condemning reports. Perhaps the most famous episode was

the 'Hazeldean Affair'. During the month of June 1888 the Rev. Mr. Horner held revival services at the Methodist Church in Hazeldean, now Kanata, Ontario.[44] On June 25 fourteen young men from Hazeldean, Goulbourn, Huntley, Nepean, and March townships created a disturbance outside the church where Horner was holding his services. These young men allegedly assaulted the Rev. Mr. McDowell who tried to stop them. After several court appearances Police Magistrate G.W.Rochester fined the young men ten dollars each and costs, or ten days imprisonment. Horner and his followers gained a few more enemies.

It is difficult to determine a motive for the violence exhibited in the Hazeldean affair other than a dislike for Horner's style of ministry. Perhaps it was a manifestation of secularism in young men raised in the new Methodism and indulging in youthful ridicule of unfamiliar forms. It was certainly a strand of violence emanating from early-and mid-nineteenth-century lawlessness which created the rule-of-law as it saw fit. In a letter to the editor of the *Ottawa Evening Journal* published 29 June 1888, the Rev. H.B. Patton, rector of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Hazeldean, deplored any violence that would disturb a religious service, but wished to inform the reader that not only Anglicans were involved as a previous newspaper article had suggested. In fact, the fourteen young men charged represented four denominations including members of upstanding

Methodist families who objected to Horner's teachings. Perhaps like the hatred they showed for anyone of a different race or religion, these young men fought against a new form of worship they did not understand.

During the early 1890s as Horner became less and less popular with the Methodist hierarchy he also became more and more vilified in the press. His problems with the Methodists were often topics in the news.[45] After Horner's break with Methodism, journalistic dislike for him continued. On 24 November 1898 the Kemptville *Advance* reported that two Hornerite preachers were arrested for "keeping a disorderly house" in Montreal.

Methodist religious hegemony in Ontario seems to have been the cause of many of Horner's difficulties. When he was deposed from the Methodist ministry, the Methodists appear to have used both the press and politics to prevent Horner from having any influence in Canadian society. At the provincial level Oliver Mowat, a loyal Methodist, as premier of Ontario controlled that province's political life during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1896 Mowat joined Laurier's federal cabinet where, as we shall discuss later, he used his political influence to prevent Horner from obtaining a charter for his new sect. The policies developed and the laws passed, not only by Mowat's Ontario government, but also by the federal government, which for much of that time

was under Tory control, but after 1896 under the Liberals and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, created an atmosphere which tried to prevent the Holiness Movement from organizing. How did the National Policy in Ottawa and Mowat's protective policies in Ontario affect the Holiness movement?[46] The politics implicated in Methodist hegemony and their effect on sects like Horner's has not yet been fully researched.

Further, what role did municipal politics play in the development of the Holiness movement? Specifically, in the Ottawa Valley, how did government officials deal with the holiness people? Although most of these questions remain unanswered we are aware of how the Members of Parliament and the Senators reacted to Ralph Horner's attempts to obtain a charter for his sect after his break with the Methodists in 1895.

When the Honourable Mr. MacDonald (B.C.) rose in the Canadian Senate to introduce "An Act to incorporate the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of the Dominion of Canada" on 15 September 1896, he lit the fuse of a social and political bombshell.[47] On its second reading, 21 September 1896, severe objections were raised by Senators Lougheed, Power, and Sir Oliver Mowat. Consequently, the bill was withdrawn by Mr. MacDonald on 29 September 1896 and Horner's $200 deposit was returned less the expense of printing. Why did this bill meet such strong opposition?

On 1 June 1896 Bradley & Wyld, solicitors for Ralph Horner and his followers,

had published a notice that "application will be made to the Parliament of Canada at the next Session thereof for an Act to incorporate a Religious Body to be called and known as 'The Wesleyan Methodist Connection of Canada." [48] This announcement caused a flurry of correspondence between the headquarters of the Methodist Church and its superintendent, Dr. Albert Carman, and his lawyers and advisors. On 23 June a petition was sent to the Senate and the House of Commons, signed by the presidents of all the Methodist conferences across Canada, asking that this bill be disallowed. Three reasons were given: (1) such a denomination would attract "the immigrants into Canada from the British Wesleyan Methodist Church, and other Methodisms in Britain"; (2) "This new and inconsiderable organization springs up at a time when the Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Methodists of Canada are seeking to form of the three Bodies one united Church for our Dominion"; (3) "the largest Body which entered the unions of 1874 and 1884, thus forming the present Methodist Church, was the Wesleyan Methodist Church".[49] In no way did the Methodists want this upstart Horner with whom they had had so much difficulty to undermine their authority or steal their members.[50] Sir Oliver Mowat did his part by writing a 'Private' letter to Dr. Carman from the Office of the Minister of Justice in which he advised the Methodist superintendent that the bill had little chance of passing but that "I think it would be expedient for you to be prepared to

resist it at all usual stages."[51] The government even supplied the Methodists with a copy of Horner's 'Schedule' showing the location of his missions and the number of members and adherents he claimed. Horner had reported thirty-five preachers in thirty chapels, 1,000 members and 4,553 adherents.[52] Politics had tried to prevent the organization of the Holiness movement outside the hegemony of the Methodist Church.

However, when Horner re-applied for a charter in 1900 under the name "The Holiness Movement (or Church)", there was less opposition. The new name of Horner's sect was not as offensive to the Methodists and they no longer saw him as a threat. In the House of Commons Mr. D. Henderson (Halton) objected to the formation of an organization "entirely uncalled for" in this day of union. Mr. U. Wilson and Mr. D.C.Fraser argued that all persons should be able to worship God as they pleased. Mr. E.G.Penny (Montreal) suggested that the Hornerites had been a disturbing influence in Montreal, to which a colleague replied that the Orange Lodge, too, had caused terrible problems in Montreal.[53] The charter was granted on 8 May 1900. In 1900 Oliver Mowat was no longer in the federal government to oppose the Hornerites. He had became Lieutentant-Governor of Ontario in 1897 where he remained until his death in 1903. The Hornerites had survived the animosity of the press, the government, and the Methodist hierarchy.

In spite of Methodist attempts to prevent him from obtaining a charter for his sect, Horner continued to outline his theology and praxis for the Holiness Movement including standards of behaviour for it members. The existing historiography of Hornerism and of turn-of-the-century holiness movements in general has dealt very little with ethical and economic ideology. The best American analysis is that of Rodney Layne Reed in his 1995 Ph.D. dissertation at Drew University.[54] Reed did not view the Holiness movement in the United States as a divisive but rather as an ethical force. He regarded the ethical emphasis of this movement as having (1) a progressive, radical and social side which dealt with the abolition of slavery, women's rights, temperance, and child welfare, and (2) a rigorous personal ethic which condemned popular amusements and was linked to fundamentalism.[55] He believed that the period 1880-1910 found the "most opulent displays of wealth and elegance 'thinly covering' a squalor of poverty and wretched social conditions among an ever expanding underclass."[56] This "embourgeoisement"[57] caused by industrialization, urbanization, and migration produced an estrangement of the churches from the new masses. The poor workers flooding in from the countryside felt uncomfortable in a community where fancy clothes and jewelry were expected and the cost of a pew was exorbitant. They felt more at home with the 'holiness folk...[who] sought to address the needs of the unemployed by providing industrial training and

temporary employment." [58]

As far as the personal ethic of Holiness movement people was concerned Reed saw it as most positive. The question was not so much the damage that would be done to them physically or spiritually by indulging in 'worldly pleasures', but rather that they would be contributing to the evils of society.[59] Indeed, rather than holiness being a manifestation of a repressive society (the 'thou shalt not' society), it was the holiness folks' "reaction to the very constructs of a repressive society".[60] To Reed it was that very holiness ethic which allowed the holiness people to survive the havoc in the lower classes caused by industrialization, urbanization, and migration. [61]

As Reed did for the American holiness groups, Louise Mussio discussed holiness in Canada in the context of industrialization and urbanization.. She emphasized the tremendous gulf created between the middle and lower classes, and the discomfort of the poor workers as they tried to adjust to city life.[62] "Holiness Movement members equated the hallmarks of urban sophistication -wit, eloquence, and humour - with the chicanery of the snake oil salesman."[63] The holiness people saw middle class revival methods with their 'magic lantern' shows, hired opera singers, and university-educated guest lecturers merely as "a bastardization of true revivalist enthusiasm, lacking in heart-felt contrition and in the witness of the Spirit."[64] Indeed, economic, social, and maybe even political

changes, caused a chasm between the middle and upper classes who generally stayed with the mainline churches and the poorer class of workers and farmers, many of whom accepted the Holiness movement. It would be simplistic, however, to classify all poor people as belonging to sects and all rich people as belonging to churches. Many poor people remained within the mainline churches; many rich and poor people had no religious affiliation at all.

Socially, spiritually, and economically many parts of the Ottawa Valley were fertile ground in the early twentieth century for the growth of a sect like the Hornerites. The development of the National Policy and other immigration and economic policies taken by the federal and provincial governments in the last quarter of the nineteenth century caused tremendous upheaval in society. These policies gradually transformed Canada from an agrarian into an urban society with all its attendant joys and frustrations. For the rich it meant more wealth; for the poor farmers and labourers it usually meant more hardship. The ditch between the middle and upper classes, and the lowest class became a chasm, socially and economically. In the economically marginalized Ottawa Valley the divisions were accentuated. Because of the arrival of monopoly capitalism many workers had lost their jobs. There was no welfare system. As the Methodist Church followed the social gospel, ironically the very poor people whom the Church wished to

reach, no longer felt welcome in many congregations. For many of these poor people their spirituality was all they had left. They would readily accept a culture which they could call their own, a culture which reminded them of their childhood in the Methodist Church; a culture where riches were vilified and only emotions were important. Ralph Horner was crafting such a culture.

However, while many of the findings of both Reed and Mussio can be applied to Ralph Horner and the Holiness Movement Church, others cannot. At least in the early 1900s, and in my survey of Hornerites in 1901 in particular, Horner's followers were low-paid workers and farmers. Very few of them were merchants or tradesmen. The majority were farmers, most of whom owned their own land and were born in Canada. . Only a handful of families such as the Anglins, Argues, and Jameses in Ontario and the Hodgins, Horners, and McDowells in Clarendon Township, Quebec could make a comfortable living from their land.

Economically and socially very few Hornerites, at least in 1901, lived close to or were in any way connected to a large town. Indeed, the Hornerites tended to isolate themselves from urban society.[65] This isolation allowed them to retain the economic, social, and religious strands of 'old' Methodism rather than accept emergent strands of the social gospel.

That does not mean, however, that Ralph Horner and his followers must be totally classed in Reed's second category of a rigorous, fundamentalist, personal ethic. Unlike the American holiness people Reed describes, the Hornerites did lean more to the personal ethic than to the social one. However, they did develop their own version of the 'social gospel'.

The HMC certainly was an exclusive society. However, anyone could enter it. Anyone, that is, who would obey the rules of entry. In that respect the Hornerites were no different from the Orange Order, the Roman Catholic Church, or the Methodists. Membership in any organization depends on obeying the rules. However, by 1901 many middle class Canadians were more interested in the social gospel of the Methodists. Many lower class urbanites had not yet been attracted to Hornerism. By the 1910s, however, many of Horner's followers lived in small towns.

Ralph Horner was interested in a kind of 'social gospel', but only on his own terms and in a context that he could completely control. Being a sanctified, holiness believer implied for Horner social responsibility. His 'social gospel' would apply only to his close followers, only to those who had already accepted Hornernism. Horner sought what Mussio calls a "pre-industrial, rural island community".[66] Such qualities as mutual cooperation, sobriety, personal responsibility and thrift were the main elements of

Horner's culture. Christian perfection, as taught by Horner, would help the poorer people regain some economic and cultural losses by reinforcing the bonds of community.

Horner's 'social gospel' was a counter-culture, an alternative to the modernity he believed the Methodist Church was espousing. The Hornerites firmly believed that once a sinner was 'saved and sanctified' he/she would become a perfect social and cultural being. Christian perfection implied social and cultural perfection. In his memoirs Horner was very fond of recounting the stories of former drunks who became upright citizens, greedy people who became generous, and blasphemers who lost the ability to swear.[67]

Although I am not aware of any Hornerites who worked on committees with the Methodists and Presbyterians to support the Temperance movement, they certainly were against drinking. They did everything within their power in their own communities not only to destroy the tavern but to rehabilitate the drunkard. Their 'social gospel' involved not only the elimination of alcohol but also smoking, dancing, card playing, and other 'social evils'. It was their view that society had to be changed from within, within the heart and will of the individual. Like Reed's American holiness people most Holiness Movement people in Canada were not so much afraid of being contaminated by 'the things of the world' as they were concerned about contributing to society's evils.

Reed's progressive ethic as applied to the Hornerites would also involve their view of women. While they certainly did not support female emancipation nor suggest that women should have the vote, the HMC, like the Methodists of the same era, envisioned a strong role for women in Canadian society. Horner suggested in his Entire Consecration that women can be eloquent speakers and as gifted as men.[68] He believed, like the Methodists, that mothers should have a powerful influence over their children.[69] The 27 October 1910 General Conference of the HMC records that a Sister Castle admitted that she had violated Discipline, felt sorry and begged foregiveness. It appears that she had committed a minor crime such as wearing a forbidden piece of clothing or taken steps towards matrimony without the approval of the bishop. Conference forgave her, examined and passed her character.[70] Although women's names never appear on the roll of the General Conference of the HMC it is obvious they had a role in the Ottawa Conference. At the same 1910 Conference Eva James moved a motion to accept a report. The 1912 Conference was most concerned about the size of women's hats and the wearing of pleated skirts.[71] The 1916 Ottawa Conference used strange terminology to introduce women. It records that "the following brethren were called: Annie Argue, Ida Craig, Lydia Connaughy."[72] Not a single man's name was on that list. Although they could be ordained, as in the rest of Canadian society in the first quarter of the twentieth

century the role of women in the HMC was always subservient to that of men.

Indeed, Hornerites did possess both a social and a personal ethic. However, in time they became so interested in controlling their culture and society that they slipped into legalism. When Ralph Horner and thirteen of his collegues met on 25 November 1899 at the Holiness Movement Institute in Ottawa in their first General Conference, it was ostensibly to establish the rules for the operation of their movement. Many of the rules adopted at that conference had already been put into practice by Horner as early as 1895. As the meeting progressed, however, it became obvious that these men were not only interested in establishing the rules by which the organization should run but also how each individual member should be forced to live his/her life.[73] There were rules for establishing Christian education, for the choosing and singing of hymns, for evangelists opening up a new field, for the conduct of exhorters, for the exact questions to ask when examining local preachers, for forbidding the collection of money in 'our places of worship', for the control of architecture (round windows would not be allowed in either churches or parsonages), and for how preachers and evangelists should dress. Plainness in dress, the avoidance of the desire for pleasure, ease and amusements, and the value of hard work so important to the old producer-orientated society, would allow Hornerites to avoid "the economic sins of fiscal irresponsibility or greed".[74] A strict economic and

personal morality as opposed to the social gospel of the Methodists would allow the Hornerites to be closer to God and, therefore, more aware of how to serve their fellow human beings.

It was when they reached the question of dress that the HMC entered into the area of legalism. They moved from how the society should be run to how the individual must conform to the wishes of the majority. Legalism, in the religious sense, is a branch of political power and of behaviorial control. Premised on the idea that the individual is not capable of making the 'right' decisions, the group, or at least its leaders, must control the behaviour of everyone in the group and make them conform to preconceived notions. Charles R. Swindoll, professor of theology at Dallas Theological Seminary and author of thirty-five books, gives an apt description of this phenomenon:

> The bite of legalism spreads a paralyzing venom into the Body [of Christians]. Its poison blinds our eyes, dulls our edge, and arouses pride in our heart. Soon our love is eclipsed by a mental clipboard with a long checklist... a thick filter requiring others to measure up before we move in. The joy of friendship is fractured by a judgmental attitude and a critical look. [75]

Swindoll's definition of legalism precisely describes the fundamentalism of the early twentieth century which was an outgrowth of Horner's ministry. The moment Horner and his followers entered into legalism they began to sow the seeds of their own deterioration. Here they were following the Mosaic law of the Old Testament rather than

Christ's injunction to "love one-another".[76] Horner had created a 'social gospel' which was far from that of the Methodists. However, it was a culture which allowed the Hornerites to largely escape, or at least postpone, modernism with its accompanying economic, social, and cultural upheaval.

The career of Bishop Ralph Cecil Horner illustrates the concept of change and continuity in time and place. Soon after his conversion and entire sanctification at a Methodist revival in 1872 it became clear that Horner was a maverick who would depend on his own interpretation of God's will rather than on the obedience demanded by any religious hierarchy. The years 1872 to 1921 would show considerable change in Ralph Horner but it would always be change on his own terms. He would continue to use the residual strands of 'old' Methodism to create his own emergent strands of a new religious culture. The place would be mainly the Ottawa Valley.

Horner's culture would contain old-fashioned piety forged in the heat of revivalism, and fanned by the winds of strong emotionalism. Only a soul in agony for its sins could prove to Horner that it was worthy of God's forgiveness. Progress was to be considered only in spiritual terms. The perfected soul would be ushered into heaven when a pre-millennial Jesus Christ would return unannounced to snatch up the pure in heart to live forever in spiritual bliss. The conduit to this event was entire holiness whereby the

human soul was made perfect in Christ.

During the 1880s and early 1890s Ralph Horner preached his own brand of holiness. When he was dropped from the roll of the Methodist clergy in 1895 he already had an acceptable following. At least in the 1901 Canadian Census Horner's followers were mainly farmers, living away from urban centres on their own fair to good soil. The majority, between twenty-one and and forty-four years of age, had been born in Canada, and had been raised Methodist.

Horner's culture possessed both a social and a personal ethic. However, his followers leaned more to the personal ethic. Totally opposed to the social gospel being developed by the Methodists and other Protestants in Ontario, the Hornerites developed their own version of a 'social gospel'. The justified, sanctified, spirit-filled HMC follower, since he/she was completely controlled by God, would help create a society where God ruled and reigned, a theocracy which would be absolutely perfect both on earth and in heaven. However, since the sanctified common Hornerite could not be trusted to always act 'in God's way' he/she had to be supplied with a list of rules governing every aspect of life. This descent into legalism created a closed, negative, intrusive society where everyone became their brother's (and sister's) keeper in order to sustain the movement. Only a strong-willed, autocratic leader could keep the troops in

line. Ralph Cecil Horner was such a leader.

[1]R.Gerald Hobbs, "Stepchildren of John Wesley: The Gospel Workers Church of Canada" Papers vol 8, Canadian Methodist Historical Society, 1991: 174.

[2]Ralph Horner, Ralph C. Horner, Evangelist: Reminiscences From His Own Pen (Brockville, Ontario: Henderson Printing Inc., 1994), p.3.

[3]Ibid., p.9. The various publications of the *Christian Guardian* for 1872 mention the "erection of a fine brick parsonage...[and] a commodious brick church" The *Christian Guardian*, 11 September 1872, p.293, under the ministry of the Rev. George Stenning, but there is no mention of a tent crusade that Horner remembers so fondly.

[4]Horner, op.cit., p. 15.

[5]Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada vol 11 1881 to 1903 (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1903).

[6]Brian Ross, "Ralph Cecil Horner: A Methodist Sectarian Deposed 1887-1895" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society vol. xix, no. 26, (1977): 94-103 explained in detail Horner's problems with the Methodist Church.

[7]Horner, op.cit., p.75.

[8]Newspaper article entitled "Married" in the H.J.Morgan collection possessed by Bruce S. Elliott.

[9]Minutes of the Montreal Annual Conference of The Methodist Church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 66.

[10]Horner, op.cit., p. 43.

[11]Newspaper article entitled "Mr. Horner's Position Respecting Conference", 10 June 1894, in the H.J.Morgan Collection.

[12]Antinomianism, from the Greek meaning 'against the law', is the doctrine that faith in Christ frees the Christian from an obligation to obey the moral law established in the Old Testament. This doctrine is based on the Pauline Epistles' insistence that salvation is through faith rather than through works. There was fear that some Christians might interpret this to mean that once they had accepted Christ as Saviour they could live however they pleased rather than follow God's laws.

[13]See Horner's 1893 pamphlet entitled Notes on Boland.

[14]Minutes of the General Meeting of the Holiness Movement Church 1899, p.62.

[15]Introduction by E.H.Claxton in R.C. Horner The Feast of 1903, pamplet printed by the *Holiness Era.*

[16]Horner, Ralph C.Horner, Evangelist., p.13.

[17]Ibid., p.14.

[18]Ibid., p.21.

[19]Ibid., p.99.

[20]Ibid., p.103.

[21]Ibid., p.10.

[22]See *The Holiness Era*, 24 May 1905, 11 October 1905, and 20 January 1906.

[23]Horner, op.cit., p.55.

[24]Ibid., p.124.

[25]Newspaper article entitled "Mr. Horner on Sunday Cars", H.J.Morgan Collection .

[26]Horner, op.cit., p.129.

[27]Ibid., p.88.

[28]George H. Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada (Toronto: Willliam Briggs, 1903), vol. II, p. 185.

[29]Brian R. Ross, "Ralph Cecil Horner: A Methodist Sectarian Deposed 1887-1895", p. 101.

[30]Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, "Cyclones of Power/Noisy Display: The Holiness Conflict in the Methodist Church" Papers of the Canadian Methodist Historical Society, June 1997, and "Sailing for the Shore: The Canadian Holiness Tradition" Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), has done extensive research on several of these early holiness groups in Canada.

[31]Neil Semple, The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p. 139.

[32]Ibid., p. 141.

[33]Ibid., p.139. I find it difficult to believe that this was the "easy" road to holiness. The holiness people agonized over their spiritual lives even after they were entirely sanctified.

[34]Horner, op.cit., p.18.

[35]Louise A. Mussio, "The Origins and Nature of the Holiness Movement Church: A Study in Religious Populism", a presentation given at the Canadian Historical Association 20 May-2 June 1996 at Brock University, St. Catherines, Ontario, p.1.

[36]Gordon Atter, "The Third Force" (Peterborough, Ontario: The College Press, 1962), p. 18.

[37]See Ron Sawatsky, "Unholy Contentions about Holiness: The Canada Holiness Association and the Methodist Church, 1875-1894", the Canadian Society of Church History, 1982.

[38]*Holiness Era*, 22 March, 1950, p. 4.

[39]Fourth Census of Canada 1901 vol 1, Population, S.E.Dawson, Printer to the King's

Most Excellent Majesty 1902.

[10]The Canada Year Book 1943-44 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944), pp. 108-110.

[11]A diachronic study of the Hornerites, using the census results from 1911 and 1921, would be much more useful for our purposes. However, it is still not permissible to identify individuals from these censuses.

[12]It is curious that he knew he had an odd number of adherents but an even 1,000 members.

[13]A certain interest in holiness was evident among the Canadian Anglicans as evidenced by T.Bedford-Jones' sermon "Perfecting Holiness" which was preached before the Synod of Ontario at its eleventh session, 4 June 1872 in the Cathedral Church of St. George in Kingston, Ontario.

[14]See the *Ottawa Journal* 7 June, 29 June, 1 July, 25 July, 26 July, and 27 July 1888 in the H.J.Morgan Collection.

[15]See "Evangelist Horner and His Meetings", 20 April 1894, "A Lady Ejected from the Tent", 30 May 1894, and "Mr. Horner's Case", 27 August 1894 all in the H.J.Morgan Collection.

[16]Although Professor Wise does not mention the Holiness movement his discussion of Ontario political culture in God's Peculiar Peoples would prove to be a good resource. So, too, would be Michael Bliss's article "The Protective Impulse: An Approach to the Social History of Oliver Mowat's Ontario" in Donald Swainson (ed.), Oliver Mowat's Ontario (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970). Peter Hinchliff Holiness and Politics (London: Dorton, Longman and Todd, 1982) would provide good information on the role of politics in the concept of holiness, especially in post-Wesleyan Britain.

[17]Debates of The Senate of the Dominion of Canada 1896 (Ottawa: S.E.Dawson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1896), p. 166.

[18]Dr. Albert Carman papers 1852-1917, Box 14 file 96, United Church Archives, Victoria University.

[19]Ibid.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Letter from O.Mowat to Bishop Carman, Box 14 file 96.

[52]Carman, Box 14 file 96.

[53]House of Commons Debates, 26 March 1900, p. 2667.

[54]Rodney Layne Reed, Toward the Integrity of Social Ethics in the Holiness Movement, 1889-1910 (Ph.D. dissertation, Drew University, 1995), p. 231 argues that holiness was a stronger concept in the northern states than in the south.

[55]Ibid., p.8.

[56]Ibid., p. 19.

[57]Ibid., p. 26.

[58]Ibid., p. 187.

[59]Ibid., p. 248.

[60]Ibid., p. 300.

[61]Ibid., p. 300-301.

[62]Mussio, op.cit., p. 8.

[63]Ibid., p. 10.

[64]Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[65]Horner later claimed many followers in the cities and towns of the Ottawa Valley, but in 1901 his followers were almost entirely farmers.

[66]Mussio, op.cit., p.4.

[67]Horner, op.cit., pp. 16, 54, 55, 117.

[68]Horner, Entire Consecration, p. 26.

[69]Ibid., p.34.

[70]"Minutes of the Ottawa Conference of HMC 1899", p. 65.

[71]Mrs. Cassie Warren, daughter-in-law of the Rev. A.T.Warren, recalled the chagrin of her mother who was reprimanded by Ralph Horner for wearing a 'gored skirt'.

[72]"Minutes of the Ottawa Conference of HMC", 24 October 1916, p. 153.

[73]"Minutes of the General Conference of HMC 1899", pp. 53-68.

[74]Mussio, op.cit., p.18.

[75]Charles R. Swindoll, The Finishing Touch: Becoming God's Masterpiece (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1994), p. 388.

[76]John 13:34.

> I did not pay attention to his [the chairman of the district] appeals or commands. I went on in special evangelism and results were greater than any previous year that I had been in ministry.
>
> -Ralph C. Horner[1]

Chapter 5: Ralph Cecil Horner: The Man and His Culture

Ralph Cecil Horner never seemed to be afraid of controversy. In fact he seemed to go out of his way to meet it. Horner always did what he himself considered best, rather than what any other human being or group of human beings wanted him to do. Bishop Horner was pleased to use residual strands of an older culture as long as they served his personal purposes. When they did not suit him he began to weave strands of a new, emergent culture he could control. A fresh crisis usually called forth a new plan of action which would allow Horner not only to survive the crisis but to appear to be the winner because God was on his side. Horner was a very complex individual who never appeared to suffer from doubt or indecision. Various sociological theories will help me to analyze how Ralph Horner managed these crises by manipulating the symbols of inner grace.

Since he was such a controversial figure there are many images of Ralph Horner. His followers and admirers viewed him in a very positive light; his enemies saw him negatively. He always portrayed himself as being absolutely perfect after his conversion

because he was entirely sanctified. Though it was never possible to determine what he was really thinking, we can examine Horner's writings and how he reacted to certain situations to develop a profile of what he may have been thinking. It is my objective in this chapter to describe Horner in such a way that we may see his world both from outside and inside, to try to view it as he saw it as well as how others saw him.

By posing a series of sociological questions I hope to examine certain crises in Horner's ministry rather than in his life as such. Rather than explore his full biography, which would be difficult since I lack access to his personal papers, I shall deal with key events that are especially revelatory in Horner's life and career. Such questions include the following: (1) What crises did Horner face? (2) Why did they occur when they did? (3) What were Horner's favourite ways of adapting to crises? (4) How did Horner develop the framework for his new culture and new institutions? (5) What elements symbolized this new culture and new institutions?

Certain anthropological and sociological theories, especially in the field of ethnohistory and in particular those of L.L. Langness and Gelya Frank concerning the writing of biography will be most helpful. So, too, Paul Ricoeur's use of text can allow the historian to describe Horner's response to certain crises from the inside. Max Weber's concept of social change in the sociology of religions can allow me to analyze Horner as

a prophet, popular orator, and mystagogue. Finally, Raymond Firth's concept of symbols can inform me as to the possible meanings of some of Horner's actions. I hope to apply these theories to various stages of Horner's life: his background, his early life, and his ministry and final years.

As an aid to understanding how Horner dealt with his crises I feel it is necessary to remind the reader of some of the primary sources available for this work. Some of these sources are copious; others are scant. Most present problems since much of the primary material is Horner's own writing. He has left us a wealth of such writings including his partial memoirs, books, sermons and magazine articles. All of this material must be read very carefully for personal bias, both his and mine. In the late 1880s and early 1890s while Horner was still a Methodist evangelist he was often mentioned in newpaper articles in the Ottawa Valley press and in the *Christian Guardian*.[2] So, too, he received a great deal of negative press in 1895 when he was expelled from the Methodist ministry. From then until 1917 it is rare to find his name in a newspaper. The *Athens Reporter* dated 6 June 1917 mentions in the bottom left-hand corner of page nine that the Holiness Movement members were trying to force Horner to abdicate as bishop. As we observed in Chapter 4 Horner had a large following of Holiness people in the Athens area. This infrequent mention of Horner and his activities as he grew older reveals a pattern.

Horner was first isolated, even alienated, from the Methodist Church and from the mainstream of Ottawa Valley society, and then from the Holiness Movement Church as he moved to create his next culture, the Standard Church of America. Since I lack access to his personal papers, his partial memoirs must remain my main primary source to examine how Horner adjusted to each crisis in his career.

A study of Langness and Frank will allow me to discuss the crises that Horner faced, and to try to discover why they occured when they did, as well as to examine Horner's personal responses to those crises. Langness and Frank suggest we analyze a life history be using three categories: (1) the *dimensions* of a person's life, (2) the principal *turnings* in that life, and (3) the person's characteristic means of *adaptation*.[3] These categories will allow me to examine various cultural, social, and psychosocial aspects of Horner's life.

Ralph Horner faced four major crises in his religious career, each of which became a turning point for him: his conversion in 1872, his entry into the Methodist ministry in 1887, his expulsion from the Methodists and the resulting formation of the Holiness Movement in 1895, and the formation of the Standard Church of America in 1917. According to Horner his conversion in 1872 occurred because he had a deep-seated feeling of his own sinfulness, and need for a spiritual change. Indeed, he had been

invited to a revival service once before but since no one spoke to him about seeking God, he was afraid to ask. In fact it was two days after he went forward to repent of his sins that he finally had the assurance that God had forgiven him.[4] However, he often considered the event of his entire sanctification, two months later, as superior to his justification experience. After entire sanctification he felt he had no more desire to sin. As explained in Chapters 3 and 4 this was where he differed with many other Methodists, but by no means all, and certainly with John Wesley himself.

Writing a dozen years after the event of his ordination as a Methodist preacher in 1887 Horner claimed that he had been forced to become an ordained minister. He vehemently insisted that when he was asked if he would "reverently obey your chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over you"[5] he answered that he would not do so. He insisted that God had called him to be an evangelist, not a pastor. Since the Methodist Church had no separate category for the ordination of evangelists, they ordained him anyway. Horner would use this argument during the early 1890s to justify his defiance of the Methodist hierarchy. In 1894 after years of acrimony with Horner the Montreal Conference of the Methodist Church placed him without a posting. In 1895 they deposed him. The incredible patience of the Methodist hierarchy finally ran out.

Although Horner's fourth and final crisis came to a head in 1917, like his trouble with the Methodists, it had been simmering for many years. The Minutes of General Conference of the Holiness Movement record many occasions when the other preachers and evangelists were totally exasperated with their bishop. On several occasions when he did not seem to be receiving enough attention and respect he tendered his resignation in anger. It was always graciously refused. He brethren usually apologized and humbly begged his forgiveness. Finally, in May 1917 all of Horner's crises seemed to come to a head when his coworkers, like the Methodists before them, were no longer willing to abide his autocratic, manipulative personality.

Each of these crises demonstrates Horner's ability to use a new situation to his advantage. Immediately after his conversion in 1872 he began preaching to his family and neighbours. Gradually, he created for himself a role of leadership and trust. By 1880 he was asked by the Methodist hierarchy to oversee the Clarendon circuit. Therefore, he was an excellent candidate for entry into Victoria College in 1885 and for ordination in 1887. By the late 1880s he had developed such a following that he would easily weather the next crisis, that of being expelled from the Methodist Church. During the 1900s and early 1910s Horner was so entrenched as bishop of the HMC that his position and role seemed almost unassailable. However, as he began to realize sometime between 1914

and 1917 that he was losing power and influence, Horner simply gathered his main supporters around him and started a new sect. Although slightly shaken in each crisis, especially the latter one, Horner easily adjusted to his new life. In his early crises he had tried to create a culture without creating a new institutional structure that could define the rules. The rules were, in fact, created and enforced by the Methodist hierarchy. In his two last crises he created a culture which included a new institutional framework which he himself could control.

Ralph Horner had two favourite ways of adapting to crises: First he justified his previous actions in terms of his theological understanding. Of this we obtain the most clear evidence from his self-justifying memoirs. These he actually set to paper c. 1900[6] apparently to validate his actions to himself; they were only published by his wife after his death. Secondly by moving on to create a new culture that he could once more control, through the manipulation of symbols, Ralph Horner coped with his crises. Although his memoirs were not a true adaptation in the same order as leaving/creating a new religious organization, Horner used them as a justification for his past actions as a Methodist. He always seemed to maintain a firm exterior; no one, including his wife, it seems, was allowed very close to him.[7] Part of his justification was always to blame his problems on other people.

A study of Horner's partial memoirs allows us to concentrate on how the author interpreted his own story. Following the methodology of Langness and Frank we can ask what is included in our subject's story, how it is interpreted by the author and other people who support him, and how believable his story is. The silences revealed in the text become of utmost importance.[8] Published by his widow several years after his death, and republished in 1994 by Henderson Printing of Brockville, Ontario, Horner's memoirs are recounted in the first person with a glowing introduction by his wife.[9] Presented as the truth as it really happened, it appears to have been written to justify Horner against the opposition he met in his early ministry. But what Horner intended to say and what he actually does say are often very different.

The style of his memoirs is almost conversational with a stream of consciousness flow. The narrative jumps from one story to another often without much linkage.[10] The names of people and places are rarely given and dates appear only occasionally. Events reveal only the information the author wants the reader to know. The author is never shown in a bad light; he is always the hero of his own narrative.[11] He strongly proclaims that he did all things well because God had chosen him for a special purpose.[12] Although he often reveals his spiritual feelings one rarely sees his personal human side, except in his invective against his enemies.[13] Horner briefly mentions that he took a preacher

friend sixty miles by train to perform his (Horner's) marriage to a young lady. He does not inform the reader who the minister or the young lady were.[14] Nowhere else in the memoirs does one read a word about his wife or children. His emphasis, page after page, is on how badly he was treated, but how God always vindicated him.[15] Horner's point of view, which is almost mystical, gives the impression that everything he does is controlled by God and, therefore, that Horner himself cannot be accountable to anyone but God. He suggests that it is for that reason that he must disobey all voices which do not agree with his own.[16] Horner's silences regarding sexuality, family life, personal finances, and responsible behaviour are deafening but not surprising since he was writing to vindicate himself.

It is not my intention to savage Horner but rather to try to get inside his world, to understand his motivation. The theologian Paul Ricoeur's use of text can help us to accomplish this feat.[17] Ricoeur posits that a text can be read and understood in different ways, the reader's purposes determining what it can say. The interpretation the reader gives to Horner's text and to mine will depend greatly on his or her own attitudes and values. The reader who shares Horner's beliefs will no doubt interpret much of his text in a positive (emic) light: one who abhors his beliefs will probably give it a negative (etic) interpetation.I share many of Horner's beliefs while disagreeing with many of his actions.

It is, however, incumbent upon me to try to determine why Horner said what he did.

The world of Ralph Cecil Horner, as revealed by his memoirs, his sermons, and his magazine articles, is a world where God is in charge of everything.[18] Its theology is based mostly on the Methodist interpretation of the New Testament. God works with mankind on three levels or rather through three stages of grace through which people may pass spiritually.[19] First the Holy Spirit convinces a sinner (often with the help of a preacher) of his need for pardon for his transgressions. This is called regeneration.[20] The second work of grace (sanctification) is reached when the 'born again' Christian asks forgiveness of 'inbred sin'. This state of holiness allows the Christian to be "endued with power from on high".[21] He/she now has no inclination to sin and is filled with perfect love.[22] Unlike most Methodists Horner preached a third work of grace he called 'baptism of the Spirit' which gave the possessor spiritual power and 'holy boldness' to win other souls for Christ.[23]

The 'baptism of the Spirit' led Horner to his second way of adapting to a crisis: creating a new culture and a new institutional structure. Consequently, when God calls a person to a certain ministry, only He can remove that call. Therefore, spiritual man must obey what he believes God told him rather than what man demands. This entire culture is based on a specific interpretation of Scripture. Every action by every member of the

Holiness Movement and later of the Standard Church of America must conform to the leader's, i.e. Ralph Horner's interpretation of Scripture.

Almost from his youth Horner believed that the Methodists were turning from Scriptural to the social gospel.[24] He seemed to feel that if he did not follow precisely what the Wesley brothers had taught, he would be turning his back on them and God.[25] He, therefore, had to form his own culture and crush all opposition. By 1890 Horner felt that the Methodists no longer followed their founder.[26] Therefore, he must oppose them. When the battle of 'them versus us' escalated Horner could no longer stay within Methodism. He did not realize that by adding a third work of grace he was no longer following the Wesleys, but was, in fact, creating a new culture and a new institutional structure.

Ralph Horner did not just arrive at personally satisfying answers; he attempted to convince others of what he had discovered.[27] Max Weber's theories of social change in religion can inform us greatly concerning this stage of Horner's experience. To Weber the development of conceptions of the supernatural order, and the claims of the supernatural order upon human attention and performance were of the utmost importance. He was also interested in how certain agencies could use these claims to change a given social order. Ralph Horner was such an agent for the creation of a new

culture, that of a new view of holiness in a Canadian context.

Weber distinguished the role of prophet by which he meant a "purely individual bearer of charisma, who by virtue of his mission proclaims a religious doctrine or divine commandment",[28] from that of priest who claims his authority by virtue of his service to a sacred tradition. Horner always claimed to be an evangelist (prophet) never a pastor (priest).[29] By insisting that he was the former and not the latter Horner could justify preaching to sinners without having to meet their daily needs as a pastor. A pastor lives in the community with his congregation on a daily basis. The community sees his humanity, the positive and negative aspects of his personality. As an evangelist Horner could be superior to both the daily routine of a community and to the common person. Thus he could remain considerably aloof at the apex of the culture he was creating.

According to Weber's definition Horner was a prophet but not a magician because, although he exerted his power by virtue of his personal gifts, he claimed definite revelations from God based on doctrine not on magic.[30] However, the Weberian prophet often practiced magical healing and counseling. Horner often prayed for physical healing for the sick.[31] Like Weber's prophet Horner seemed to be more interested in the propagation of ideas rather than in monetary remuneration.[32] Weber informs us that in Greek society there existed emotional cults and emotional prophets who practiced

'speaking in tongues'. This aspect of Horner's ministry is very controversial.[33] In his memoirs and in sermons Horner claimed to have been prostrated by the Holy Spirit in extreme ecstasy for hours at a time in his home, in the woods, and in church services.

Weber's prophet often became a teacher of ethics and passed his doctrine of salvation through personal revelation on to his followers.[34] Horner founded his own holiness college in Ottawa in 1895 where he would train his own evangelists. In addition to the Wesleyan doctrines Horner had learned over the years, he developed his own version of the holy life. This included nothing considered worldly. Dress had to be simple and unpretentious. No unnecessary expense was ever to be incurred.

Although Horner was a prophet according to Weber's definition he was not a mystagogue. Rather than perform magical actions that contain the possibility of salvation,[35] Horner preached his doctrines based on Wesley and the New Testament.[36] Much of Horner's success as an evangelist seems to have come from his gift of oratory. In his memoirs he informs us that he was born with an impediment in his speech. He was literally born tongue-tied. He claimed the surgeon did not cut deep enough. After his call to preach, Horner recounts that it took three operations to free his tongue.[37] Even then it took him several years to overcome old habits. Probably studying in Philadelphia for a degree in oratory helped develop those needed skills of the prophet (evangelist).[38]

In any case Horner's oratorical skills convinced thousands of people in the Ottawa Valley, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the states of New York and Michigan to convert to the Holiness Movement or Standard Church of America between the 1890s and 1921.

As an ethical prophet Horner preached obedience to the doctrines[39] and by implication obedience to himself, the leader. Like Weber's prophet, Horner and his followers possessed "a unified view of the world from a consciously integrated and meaningful attitude toward life."[40] The Hornerite culture was an entire lifestyle built around the concept of holy living. The followers of the Holiness Movement had no need to associate with the world because they could live and die almost entirely within their own culture. Only the symbols of this culture could give meaning to life. This was especially true if one lived in the country or in a small town where almost everyone believed alike. Weber points out that the conflict that exists between this view of the world and empirical reality can cause great emotional tension for the followers of such a doctrine.[41] Horner, however, would not admit to succumbing to such conflict. Anyone who did not follow his way was considered extremely weak if not of the devil. Weber's concept of the prophet applies very well to Ralph Cecil Horner as he manipulated the symbols of Christianity to create a new culture which he could control.

Raymond Firth's concept of culture as a symbol which both conceals and reveals

touches on the Weberian concept of the ethical prophet.[42] For Firth the conceptualization of how social change can take different shapes is the key to an understanding of certain objects and symbolic actions.[43] People operating within certain symbols can create an atmosphere in which entirely new social structures can evolve.[44] The various reactions of different people to the same symbol can help us to contextualize the use of rite and symbol as a key to understanding social structure and social process.[45] Symbols also help us to grapple with the concept of disjunction which is the difference between a superficial statement of action and its underlying meaning.[46] Horner was a master of the manipulation of symbols, using them to create a new culture which in many ways resembled the old one.

I wish to contextualize the following ideas in relation to Horner: (1) the ways in which Horner's use of symbols shaped his society; (2) the ways in which Weber's analytic distinction between ethical and exemplary prophets can act as a symbol to create an atmosphere in which a new culture can be constructed; (3) the levels of meanings involved in the reaction of Horner's followers and those of his opponents to the development of this new culture; (4) an analysis of the disjunction between the overt superficial statement of action and its underlying meaning. I hope to be guided by three main foci: those of holiness, power, and alienation. The concept of holiness is the one

Horner himself believed he was developing; those of power and alienation are viewed by the outsider. Horner would have probably denied any power but that from God, and would have understood little of the concept of alienation even though it was one of his empirical driving forces.

Horner's symbols which involve the focus of holiness are centred around the concept of separation and can be discussed under the rubrics of spiritual symbols and physical symbols. For Horner holiness was achieved in three symbolic stages: pardon from transgressions, entire sanctification, and Holy Spirit baptism with power to witness to other people. Various symbolic actions indicated an inner change. The symbol of seeking pardon from transgressions was found in the action of coming forward and kneeling at the penitent form. This symbolized for Horner and for his followers that the person was serious about asking God's forgiveness of sins. For both Horner and his followers it symbolized the surrender of one's will to Another, something many of his opponents refused to do. However, to most Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists of the 1880s and 1890s this was a most acceptable step.[47] It was at the next levels of seeking sanctification, repenting of inbred sin and being spirit filled, that most of his opponents violently disagreed with Horner because the symbols of such actions usually involved noise and prostration. Horner encouraged his people to pray out loud.

Consequently, his services became very noisy. This was a symbol for Horner that they were seeking God; to his opponents it symbolized fanaticism.[48] The act of prostration to Horner meant that God was changing the seeker's life from the inside out; to the observer it often symbolized 'holy rollers', to them synonymous with insanity. The sermons of Horner and his fellow evangelists were an aid in creating this atmosphere of change. By oratory and quoting of Scripture they convinced their hearers that the act of kneeling at the penitent form symbolized forgiveness from sins and the beginning of a new life.

Other physical objects had spiritual symbolism for Horner and his followers. The bread and wine taken at communion were symbols of Christ's broken and bleeding body, symbols accepted by most Christians. However, as time advanced many of Horner's followers began to feel that it was wrong to drink real wine so grape juice was substituted thus changing the culture which had existed since the foundation of Christianity.[49] The culture of the nineteenth-century Temperance Movement[50] was much stronger than the symbolism of the New Testament.

Baptism, too, became a controversial symbol, not so much in what it symbolized but rather in how that symbol should be displayed. Although Jesus himself baptised adult believers by complete immersion in water, most Christians of nineteenth-century Canada sprinked babies at their baptism to symbolize a future possible commitment to Christ.

Horner insisted that water baptism "is an outward or visible sign of an inward grace, promised or conferred upon, those who, by a renunciation of sin, and acceptance of Christ, thereby avow their faith in him as the only means of salvation."[51] However, Horner also insisted that his water baptism for adults must be by sprinkling since Jesus only immersed because "there was water in that place."[52]

A much more controversial symbol often involved prostration and excessive noise. Horner called this third work of grace baptism by fire.[53] To Horner this symbolized that the receiver now had no more desire to sin and that he/she now had the 'holy boldness' to witness for Christ. To many observers it signified spiritual snobbery. Unfortunately, the physical manifestation of such a symbol should be a life totally without sin. This simply did not happen either with Horner[54] nor with most of his followers. Another physical sign of this baptism by fire in Acts 2:4 of the Bible was glossolalia, or speaking in tongues. The belief in speaking in tongues created the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada many of whose early founders were followers of Horner.[55] Outward signs to Horner that this third work of grace was taking place was the action of being prostrated before God indoors and outdoors.[56]

According to Firth's conception of symbols Horner tried to use these signs and symbols to create an 'us and them' culture. Not only would the glow that a believer

showed on his or her face be symbolic of an inner change, but his or her behaviour would mirror this separation from 'worldly' things. This person would behave in ways diametrically opposed to the actions of the person who had not been baptised with fire. Many external symbols would signify this change. The believer would wear plain clothing. Almost everything was to be seen as black and white. Women could wear no lace.[57] Great discussions ensued at annual meetings about the proper dress for men. Men were not to wear shirts with white fronts. Ties were forbidden. Jewelry was also forbidden.[58] Even the plain architecture of HMC churches and parsonages would symbolize that Holiness people were not like the rest of society. They were buildings set aside for God's holy use.

Of course such activities as smoking, dancing, drinking, and formality in religion were strictly forbidden.[59] An educated English woman had moved in respectable circles but had fallen to selling whiskey and gambling along the railway line. She was converted in one of Horner's services and brought a young gambler who became a minister.[60] A man at whose house Horner was staying went out and got drunk and did not return for three days. Then he went to Horner's service, ran to the penitent form and gave Horner his tobacco and pipe to put in the stove. Horner insisted that that man was saved from "smoking, drinking, gambling, quarreling, and all inward and outward sins."[61] To Horner

and his followers all these outward actions were symbolic of a radical inward change. To his opponents they were plain crazy.[62]

Sunday observance, which was a strong theme of early twentieth-century Ontarian society,[63] was also very important to Horner. Such outward observance would for him show inward change. Indeed, Horner's address to the "Christian People of Ottawa"[64] published in an Ottawa newspaper in May 1901 and alluded to in Chapter 4, lamented that while these fine people were worshipping at the feet of Jesus, the Sabbath was being desecrated by the running of Electric Cars. Apparently the problem was that the use of these cars caused the young men who operated them to break the day of the Lord and lose their hope of heaven. Horner then appealed to the good people of Ottawa in the name of God not to use such evil contrivances on Sunday. It is reported that Horner himself never took a train on a Sunday.[65]

The Bishop had descended a long way from John Wesley's concept of simple repentance from sin. By using his own interpretation of Scripture, Horner employed nineteenth-century Canadian symbols and concepts based on New Testament culture to represent a new culture which he and followers wished to create. Thus Horner created an atmosphere in which his new culture could develop. He was totally unaware that the culture he was creating was more dependent on nineteenth-century Ontario than on

first-century Christianity for some of its symbols.

Unfortunately, Horner's new culture and institutional structure were legalistic, and his followers came to earn their way to heaven through good works rather than justification by faith. All symbols became so tied to Horner's specific interpretation that no one could be allowed to think for himself. The symbols which Horner used to explain the concept of holiness transmuted into following Horner, the prophet. A new mythology had been created in which most of his followers could not separate Horner, the saved-by-grace human being from Horner, the prophet.

For Weber the ethical "prophet is above all the agent of the process of breakthrough to a higher... cultural order, an order at the level of religious ethics."[66] His role is that of a prototype of charismatic leadership.[67] This individual takes the responsibility for announcing a break from the established order and declares the new culture morally legitimate. This was definitely Horner's role.

Weber's ethical prophet also involves the concept of power. The "assumption of power by the prophets came about as a consequence of divine revelation, essentially for religious purposes."[68] Horner always claimed, as did his followers, that his authority came directly from God. Mrs. Horner declared that he "was undoubtedly apprehended by the Spirit of God for a special work."[69] Weber sees the work of the prophet as close to

that of the popular orator.[70] Horner could control a meeting and his followers by the power of his voice.

A more biological mode of analysis involves the physical structure of the prophet. Horner was not averse to using his physical size for spiritual ends. A picture taken at his ordination into the Methodist ministry in 1887 shows a fairly tall, muscular man with an angular nose, piercing eyes under bushy eyebrows, a full beard and a receding hairline.[71] A picture taken in 1917 shows the same stern profile but with less hair. In his younger days Horner had brawled in the taverns of Pontiac County; later he broke up fights in his meetings.[72] His mere physical presence seems to have deterred many trouble makers. The prophet claimed his rights by emphasizing his physical prowess. Might symbolized right.

By extension the Weberian prophet controls all symbols of power to meet his goal of creating a new culture. In Horner's case this involved the powerful symbol of education. At age twenty-five Horner obtained his high school certificate, then studied at Cobourg and Philadelphia. After that he himself wished to control how education would be disseminated. This included building his own institutions and controling the curriculum in the Holiness Movement Sunday schools.

When Horner founded his own denomination and college in 1895 he wrote the rules

for the denomination; he wrote the curriculum for the college. He even decided where pastors would be placed. In the early years the pastors and evangelists who met for annual conference would simply rubber stamp what Horner in his infinite wisdom had already decided. Even though there was a mover and a seconder for each item passed, it was obvious that they were merely following Horner's instructions. He controlled all printed matter through the publishing company he managed.[73] In most administrative aspects Horner simply replaced the hierarchy of the Methodist Church with his own hierarchical structure. He and his close followers even controlled the right of their pastors and evangelists to marry. The person, male or female, wishing to marry had to apply to Horner. He would never have tolerated such behaviour from the Methodist Church.

However, over the years younger pastors and evangelists wished to have a say in how the HMC was run. Whenever the old prophet was challenged he became conveniently ill,[74] or simply ignored the wishes of Conference. Although he no longer seemed to identify his will so closely with God's, Horner still tried to justify his behaviour by sending long, rambling letters to Conference demanding that the pastors and evangelists beg his forgiveness for how they had treated him.[75] When that ploy no longer worked Horner simply ignored his fellow labourers. By 1917[76] he was faced with

eight charges of misconduct.[77] Rather than face his accusers Horner sent an occasional letter vindicating himself. But quietly he and several of his followers, as he had done in 1895, prepared a new sect, but not a new culture, the Standard Church of America. Therefore, when he was removed as Bishop of the Holiness Movement he did not really lose any power. He merely moved over to the new structure already in place. His power over that group continued not only to his death in 1921 but continues among some of his elderly followers today. The only difference between the HMC and the SCA after 1917 was that Horner controlled the latter but no longer the former.

The symbol of power to Horner was his ability to do everything his way and claim that it was God's way. In his early days he could claim favourable results as a sign that God had indeed led him in all ways. However, near the end of his life he could no longer pull this trick. At this point Horner changed from being Weber's ethical prophet to being an exemplary one who wants people to follow his example. He seemed to have lost his vision and was trying to use a type of magic to retain his old power structures. He became a pathetic old man repeating a mantra which he hoped would save him from his fellows, many of whom followed him faithfully, and with whom he refused to communicate.

Rather than admit he was wrong he often kept silent. Power to Horner meant never

having to say you were sorry. Since the Holiness Movement boasted of 11,000 members in 1901, even though the census reported only 2,775, Horner obviously had considerable power especially among the rural classes in the Ottawa Valley who were the centre of his ministry. His physical size, his magnificant voice, his physical and spiritual manifestations, all were symbols of power effectively used by Ralph Cecil Horner for his own ends.

A third focus of Horner and symbolism, which also involves Weber's prophet, concerns the concept of alienation. Although modern philosophy usually considers alienation only in Marxist terms, the concept is as old as Adam and Eve. To be alienated is to become unfriendly or hostile or to feel isolated or estranged from friends, and society.[78] This ideology of isolation, estrangement, and hostility certainly applies to Ralph Horner. Indeed, the symbolism of most of Horner's actions involved a separation from the 'other'. The Weberian prophet was alienated from his followers because of his lonely position of leadership. No one else had reached his high level of achievement. This separation was symbolized by Horner's aloofness. The main symbols of Horner's alienation were his tendencies to disobey anyone but God, to quit all organizations which disagreed with him, and to always justify his actions at least in his own mind.

Weber discusses the "propensity to alienation"[79] of certain groups of people who are

ready to break with the established, institutionalized order to form a new group. It only takes an ethical prophet like Horner to use that sense of alienation to help create a new religious institution. I shall examine alienation as it applied to the leader and his followers.

Ignace Feverlicht suggests how the concept of alienation can be used to understand the individual's personal condition.[80] I shall consider three basic evidences in Feverlicht's sense, in relation to Horner: (1) the transfer of rights or property, (2) the act or result of turning away from friends (estrangement), and (3) insanity.

Ralph Horner gave up his rights to the farm he inherited from his father (a very prosperous farm) to become an evangelist. When James Horner was killed in 1871 Ralph as his eldest living son became heir to his farm in Clarendon Township. After his call to the ministry Ralph deeded the farm to his next oldest brother George.[81] Giving up the farm symbolized for Ralph Horner the surrender of all things temporal to follow the Lord. Other than his Ottawa house at 16 Cameron Avenue, his printing presses and his books, Ralph Horner did not seem to have owned any property. Annesley College was owned by the HMC. To surrender all that one owned symbolized for Horner and his followers that the individual was truly willing to surrender all for Christ. The spirit-filled Christian was alienated from his earthly possessions so he/she could store up treasure in

heaven.

However, concerning the alienation of one's rights, the story is not quite so simple. Horner did grieve the loss of what he considered his God-given right to be an evangelist. Time and again he reiterated that he was called to be an evangelist, not a pastor.[82] Because he twice refused to take a pastorate, held tent meetings without the permission of his superiors or the knowledge of the local pastor, and refused to curb the noise and prostration in his services, Horner pushed himself to be alienated from the Methodists. He justified his actions by seeing them as reversing an interference with God's will.

Feverlicht's second sense of alienation, that of turning away from friends (estrangement) followed Horner throughout his life and increased in intensity as he grew older. The symbols of this alienation were the dropping of some of the residual strands of Methodism and their replacement with those symbols of an emergent culture, including noise, prostration, and the choosing of new friends. Most of this estrangement was self-produced by Horner.

Anyone who opposed Horner in his Methodist days was quickly replaced with someone who would support his point of view. New, young pastors and evangelists who followed him soon discovered that as long as they bowed to the bishop and his desires to control his new culture, they would receive positions of authority and honour within the

institution; when they opposed him they were sent to small parishes or were left for a term with nowhere to go. This subborn, egotistical, alienated bishop was the symbol of everything that was the nascent Holiness Movement Church. In fact, when anyone thought about the HMC they thought of Horner himself, the symbol of the Hornerites.

Horner's sense of alienation extended to anyone who did not listen to him, Christian or non-Christian. But it also had ethnic, gender and denomination overtones. To Horner, it was significant that it was a Roman Catholic boy who tried to make Ralph's younger brothers dance and sing vulgar songs like they had done before they were converted.[83] And again, "His wife was Roman Catholic, but she rejoiced in his salvation."[84] In Horner's memoirs women were rarely mentioned except as Jezebels who wished to trick innocent men, or as sinners wearing expensive clothes and jewelry who must be saved from their wicked ways. However, in his book Entire Consecration written in 1890, the year of his marriage, Horner suggested that women could be effective, gifted, and even eloquent evangelists.[85] His new wife was such an evangelist. He often mentioned the Irish suggesting that they were less than desirable.[86] Italians seemed to be the lowest in Horner's social order. "He was Italian by birth and lived a wicked life."[87] Horner was politically incorrect living in a politically incorrect period of Canadian history.

However, there was one group of humans from whom Horner did not seem to be

alienated. In fact, he seemed to thoroughly enjoy the company of children. Perhaps he remembered Jesus' injunction 'to suffer the little children'. Horner's soft, gentle side was symbolized by his treatment of children. In his memoirs he speaks kindly and lovingly of his younger brothers.[88] Ninety-year old Miss Mary Rowe of Nepean, Ontario, remembers Horner fondly. Her father was one of Horner's evangelists. Miss Rowe recalls that Mr. Horner was very affectionate to children, and very, very kind to them.[89] To Miss Rowe, Bishop Horner symbolized the hand of a loving God.

Eighty-year old Miss Orla Mee, a retired teacher from Shawville, Quebec, also remembers Horner with fondness. When Miss Mee was three or four years old she had a crippling disease. Rev. Horner prayed for her and she was healed, not immediately but gradually. Her healing was confirmed by the local doctor. Miss Mee recounts that when Rev. Horner prayed for her, "I didn't shut my eyes but I looked up into the Bishop's face. It was the kindest most wonderful face I had ever seen."[90] To Miss Mee, Ralph Horner's face symbolized a kind, loving, healing God. Horner was easily separated from adults who disagreed with him, but never from the child-like faith of a four-year old girl. To many Ottawa Valley people, Ralph Horner was the most god-like person they had ever met. He symbolized hope, peace, love, and spiritual prosperity.

Although Horner might be viewed by an outsider examing his behaviour as insane,

he does not really enter into this third meaning of Feverlicht's concept of alienation. There were many people of his time who believed as Horner did. Thousands of Canadians and Americans of the day believed that being 'filled with the Spirit' involved noise and prostration. Although Horner took great pleasure in separating himself from those who did not agree with him, especially professors of religion, he considered that he was not in the least alienated from God, nor from those of "like precious faith".[91] Horner's actions and reactions symbolized an individual who, if not severely self-alienated, and alienated by choice from most other people, at least was a religious separatist wishing to forge emergent strands of his own institutions and culture.

Ralph Cecil Horner does not appear to have planned to create a new culture and new institutions. Instead they were the result of his response to four main crises in his career. He responded to these crises in two ways. First he wrote his memoirs up to c. 1900 to justify his own behaviour following his personal conversion to Methodism in 1872, his ordination in 1887, and his expulsion from the Methodist ministry in 1895. Secondly he created a new culture and new institutions that he could once more control through the manipulation of symbols.

In an attempt to analyze the behaviour of Horner during these four crises, I employed the methodology of Langness and Frank, ways of reading a text by Ricoeur,

Weber's definition of the ethical and exemplary prophet, and Firth's use of cultural symbols. These various methodologies and concepts have allowed me to view Horner externally and internally. One of my purposes was to describe the behaviour of Horner during these crises and his response to them with a view of allowing my reader to determine what kind of individual Horner was.

My personal reading revealed an egotistical, arrogant, alienated individual who refused to obey anyone but God, but who demanded complete loyalty from his own followers. It also showed an excellent orator, and a man who spent hours in prayer and deeply cared for children. Ralph Horner was an extremely complex individual. He was a Weberian prophet who by the force of his will could create a new culture and new institutions. However, as he aged he changed from the ethical prophet who created a new culture to an exemplary one who just wanted people to follow him wherever he went. Holiness, power, and alienation were the foci of his new culture; noise, prostration, and simplicy of dress were some of its symbols. Horner had left a legacy to his followers.

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[1]Ralph Cecil Horner, Ralph C. Horner, Evangelist: Reminiscences From His Own Pen (Brockville, Ontario: Henderson Printing Inc., 1994), p. 110.

[2]Horner is mentioned thirteen times between 1888 and 1895 in the *Christian Guardian*, the official voice of the Methodist Church. An article from 26 September 1888, p. 613 reports, "Avonmore- Rev. J.H.Robinson, pastor. A glorious revival has been held here since Conference [with] Rev. Bro. Horner... A large number were converted to God and

many believers experienced the blessing of sanctification." An article from 5 June 1895, p. 360 quoted from the Pembroke District meeting, "... Mr. Horner [is] hereby deposed from the ministry."

[3]L.L.Langness and Gelya Frank, Lives: An Anthropological Approach to Biography (Novato, California: Chandler & Sharp Publishers, 1981), p. 71. I am not writing a biography in the comprehensive sense of the word, but rather I wish to examine Horner as a religious leader.

[4]Horner, op.cit., pp. 3-6.

[5]Ibid., p. 71.

[6]Under the title of his memoirs appear the words "Early Life and First Two Decades of Ministry". This would suggest that it was written around 1900. No actual dates are given.

[7]He does, however, suggest on page 22 of his memoirs that God had made their home a heaven. Unfortunately, he was talking about when he was still living in Clarendon with his mother, not after his marriage.

[8]Langness and Frank, op.cit., p. 89-96.

[9]The publishers of the 1994 version of Horner's memoirs are not sure themselves when his wife published his original book. They state in the introduction "The unabridged reprint was first produced by the Standard Church printers in Brockville, Ontario, probably in the late 1920s."

[10]For example on page 4 of his memoirs Horner talks about never having been troubled about the salvation of his soul. He immediately launches into a discussion of his father's death, but makes no connection between the two ideas.

[11]Horner tells how many people are beginning to follow a Rev. Boland who disagreed with the holiness doctrine. "They had discovered that where I had preached on the doctrine of entire sanctification for a few weeks, the circuit was spoiled for an opposer of this truth." p. 109.

[12]Horner's wife in the introduction suggests "Ralph C. Horner was undoubtedly

apprehended by the Spirit of God for a special work. The operations of the Spirit on his soul were distinct and were definitely understood by his mind." p. xvii.

[13]Ministers particularly opposed Horner. "The minister gave much opposition, but the people were not carried away by his dissension." p. 113.

[14]Page 120 of Horner's memoirs gives little information about the wedding. "We were on our way for the next service and our marriage was solemnized where we remained over night on the way." One wonders if Horner had received the permission of the Methodist hierarchy to marry as he would always insist other do when he formed his own denomination.

[15]Horner, op.cit., p. 127.

[16]Ibid., p. 110.

[17]Paul Ricoeur, "What is a Text? Explanation and Interpretation", David M. Rasmussen (ed.), Mythic-Symbolic Language and Philosophical Anthropology (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), pp. 137-139.

[18]There is never any question that Ralph Horner was completely serious about his spiritual relationships. They entirely dominated his life.

[19]Horner, op.cit., p. xviii.

[20]Ibid., p. 13.

[21]The Bible, Luke 24:49.

[22]Horner, op.cit., p. 12.

[23]Ibid., p. 13.

[24]Ibid., pp. 45-46. Horner was very much against the Social Gospel and other new ideas he saw creeping into the Methodist Church. He blamed the growth of these ideas on the college professors.

[25]Ironically Horner had his own interpretation of Wesley. Many of his ideas would have shocked the Wesleys. Horner, however, would not have accepted the proposition that he was not following the Wesleys precisely.

[26]Horner, op.cit., p. 63.

[27]Notes by Professor John Cove, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Carleton University, 10 December 1997. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Cove for helping me grasp the rudiments of certain anthropological and sociological ideas as a background to this chapter.

[28]Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 46.

[29]Horner, op.cit., p. 63.

[30]Weber, op.cit., p. 47.

[31]Although Horner did pray for sick people for physical healing he was much more interested in helping them develop holiness.

[32]Even though Horner always claimed not to be interested in money, he frequently asked the Conference for more of it. See Minutes of the General Conference, 24 January 1911, p. 135 and 29 July 1913.

[33]Horner's followers could never decide if the idea of Holy Ghost fire included speaking in tongues. Even today many Standard ministers are very opposed to any pentecostal idea which includes speaking in tongues. Others, while not practicing glossolalia, do not condemn it.

[34]Weber, op.cit., p. 52.

[35]Ibid., p. 54.

[36]Often Horner's teachings depended more on the demanding, ferocious God of the Old Testament rather than the loving, forgiving God of the New Testament.

[37]Horner, op.cit., p. 25.

[38]In 1888 Horner published a book on Voice Production. The foreword was written by the Rev. N. Burwash, Chancellor of Victoria University.

[39]Weber, op.cit., p. 55.

[40]Ibid., p. 59.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Raymond Firth, Symbols, Public and Private (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 15.

[43]Ibid., p. 18.

[44]Ibid., p. 20.

[45]Ibid., p. 25.

[46]Ibid., p. 26.

[47]Phyllis D. Airhart, "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism 1867-1914", George A. Rawlyk (ed.), The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990 (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), p. 109.

[48]An article in the *Kemptville Advance* dated 12 December 1895 suggested that "The Hornerites are indulging in queer tactis in Leeds." Apparently large number of Hornerites were marching around a Methodist Church seven times. The editor wondered if they were trying to cause the walls to collapse like those of Jericho.

[49]When some of Horner's followers left to found one of the first Pentecostal churches in Canada at Kinburn, Ontario, they used wine at first for communion. However, they soon changed to grape juice. See C. Roy Fortune, Love in Action: A History of West Carleton Christian Assembly (Kinburn, Ontario: West Carleton Christian Assembly, 1996), p. 20.

[50]William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 6.

[51]Standard Doctines of the Holiness Movement Church (Ottawa: Holiness Movement Publishing House, n.d.), p. 2.

[52]Ibid., p. 15.

[53]Horner, op.cit., p. 79.

[54]As Horner grew older he became more and more cantankerous.

[55]This phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[56]Horner recounts the story of a girl so filled with the Spirit that she could not speak in school.

[57]One anecdote suggests that Horner would visit the clotheslines of his parishioners every Monday morning to search for lace on ladies' underwear. Supposedly if he found any he would preach against it the following Sunday. When I related this story to the Rev. William McDowell, a United Church minister in Shawville whose grandparents were good friends of Mr. Horner, he immediately called it 'bunk'.

[58]In fact, each of Horner's meeting venues had a stripping room where ladies and gentlemen were expected to deposit their watches, rings and other jewelry before going to the penitent form. These objects were then sold to support the ministry. Causing someone else to sin by buying them did not seem to be a concern. Horner tells with evident glee the story of a jeweler who knew that the evangelist was coming to town and would not be able to sell his stock after the visit so tried to sell it all before without loss. He was so convicted in Horner's meetings that he sold his stock back to the supplier at a great loss, but he "was wondrously saved and sanctified". See Horner, op.cit., pp. 117,122.

[59]Horner used a woman named Emma to illustrate how this inner change was symbolized by giving up such worldly activities. Emma was addicted to dancing. She would make her husband borrow fifty dollars so she could buy an outfit in Kingston for a ball in Pembroke. Not only did Emma give up dancing but she sang and prayed in church services and even became a Class Leader. See Horner, op.cit., p. 65-67.

[60]Ibid., p. 69.

[61]Ibid., p. 68.

[62]A newspaper article from the collection of H.J. Morgan and dated 30 May 1894 tells the story of a row which nearly became a fight at Horner's tent meeting in Birchton when a lady was ejected from the tent.

[63]See Lynne Marks, Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

[64]"Mr. Horner on Sunday Cars", May 1901, from the collection of H.J. Morgan.

[65]C.Roy Fortune, Interview with Miss Orla Mee, Shawville, Quebec, 16 July 1996.

[66]Weber, op.cit., p. xxxiii.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Weber, op.cit., p. 51.

[69]Horner, op.cit., p. xvii.

[70]Weber, op.cit., p. 53.

[71]Horner, op.cit., p. 72. An article in the *Ottawa Journal* of 14 May 1960 by Charles Lynch described Horner as "five feet and 11 inches tall and weighing 235 pounds."

[72]While his opponents especially in the newspapers recount stories of fights in his meetings, the most famous of which was the bustup at Hazeldean, Horner said that some young men came to disturb the meeting, but he talked to them alone and they did not bother him again. See Horner, op.cit., p. 119.

[73]Horner owned the printing presses and a large quantity of books at the Holiness Movement Publishing House at 480 Bank St., Ottawa. He later tried to sell the presses and the books to the HMC for $8,000. One wonders whether he needed the money for another project or to pay off debts.

[74]Horner requested a leave of absence with pay on at least three occasions: 1906, 1911, 1914. It appears that he always received such leaves with pay.

[75]Between 1914 and 1917 Horner did not lower himself to go before Conference to explain his behaviour but on several occasions merely wrote letters trying to justify himself.

[76]*Athens Reporter*, 6 June 1917, p. 9.

[77]Minutes of the General Conference, 20 December 1916, pp. 251-252.

[78]The Oxford English Reference Dictionary, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 34.

[79]Weber, op.cit., p. xxxviii.

[80]Ignavce Feverlicht, Alienation: from the past to the furture (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 3, 18, 19.

[81]According to item number 7762 in the deeds book of Pontiac County, George R. Horner granted his mother one half acre of the farm in 1886. Obviously, George, who became a Hornerite preacher in the late 1890s, still owned the farm in 1886.

[82]Horner, op.cit., pp. 15, 18, 23, 63. This chant became the *leitmotif* of Horner's justification in his memoirs.

[83]Horner, op.cit., p. 20.

[84]Ibid., p. 55.

[85]Entire Consecration, p. 26.

[86]Horner, Evangelist, p. 145. Horner's use of the word "Irish" suggests that he, though a scion of a strongly Orange Order township, saw himself as Canadian. "Irish"to him seems from context to have meant "Irish Catholic".

[87]Ibid.,p. 54.

[88]Ibid., pp. 20-22.

[89]C. Roy Fortune, Interview with Miss Mary Ann Rowe, 12 August 1996.

[90]C. Roy Fortune, Interview with Miss Orla Mee, 16 July 1996.

[91]Horner, op.cit., pp. 15, 18,23,63.

> Books are the legacies that a great genius leaves
> to mankind, which are delivered down from generation
> to generation, as presents to the posterity of those who
> are yet unborn.
>
> -Joseph Addison[1]

Chapter 6: The Legacy

The legacy left by Bishop Ralph Cecil Horner is much greater than just the books and magazine articles he wrote. It also involves his ideas on theology and culture, the sects he created and those based on his ethos, missionary groups and churches around the world, and his own progeny. Indeed, he left a complex mythology which is often difficult to delineate.

I wish to examine certain aspects of Horner's legacy through a further study of Max Weber's concept of the prophet and elements of the development of the sect and denomination. Malcolm B. Hamilton's historiography of various writings on sects, cults and movements should also prove to be of use in this discussion. As part of this methodology I wish to pose and try to answer four questions: (1) What effect did Horner's ministry have on the future of the two churches he founded? (2) How did Horner contribute to the development of other denominations? (3) What lasting effect did Horner have on the Ottawa Valley? 4) What lasting effect has Horner had outside the Ottawa Valley?

Here again Weber's concept of the prophet and priest can help us to establish a theoretical basis for our study of Ralph Horner's legacy. Although many of Weber's categories apply more to the development of a religion than to that of a sect or denomination, certain ideas will be most valuable. Weber claims a distinct difference between the charismatic prophet and the nurturing priest. It is almost impossible for someone who has the characteristics of the prophet to become a successful priest.[2] Weber claimed that on occasion in times of crisis when a new social order was being developed, the prophet could also be a legislator, codifying a law systematically.[3] The prophet as a teacher of ethics gathers disciples around him who then carry his message to the people. "Preaching as one who has received a commission from god, he demands obedience as an ethical duty."[4] For the prophet and his followers his prophetic revelation is "a unified view of the world derived from a consciously integrated and meaningful attitude towards life." [5] Strong tensions arise between this inner life and empirical reality.

If the prophecy is successful the prophet will gather around himself permanent followers, (pastors, evangelists, etc.) and supporters of lodging and providers of money who will probably develop into a congregation.[6] This religious community arises as a result of "routinization, i.e., the result of a process whereby either the priest himself or

his disciples secure the permanence of his preaching ... hence insuring the economic existence of the enterprise." [7] These disciples or apostles of the prophet become teachers, priests, and pastors to develop a congregation of laymen.[8] The development of this sect as a congregation depends on the relationship between the priesthood and the laity. The priest (pastor) must meet the spiritual, emotional, and social needs of the laity to be successful.[9]

As the followers develop into a congregation a power struggle can occur between the prophet and the priests. If the prophet is successful he will control the laity, if not, they may turn him into a martyr.[10] Should the prophet continue to live among the laity he will become a cult object. If the prophet does not indeed become a god to be worshipped the laity will at least ensure that his teaching will last for a long time.[11]

It is the responsibility of the priests to decide what must and what must not be regarded as sacred and to infuse those ideas into the education of the laity. These writings will be grouped into two categories: canonical writings and dogmas. The canons will contain the revelations and traditions from the prophet; the dogmas will contain the priests' interpretations of the canonical writings.[12] By his interpretation of Scripture and his pastoral care the priest (pastor) develops a powerful control over his laity. He will probably be consulted on all matters of life and death. At this point the

priest (pastor) has more immediate power over the people than does the prophet.

In his 1995 book The Sociology of Religion: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, Malcolm M. Hamilton outlined the social historiography of the concept of sects, cults and movements. He maintained that the study of sects allows the sociologist to have insight into the concept of religious change.[13] Because sectarian movements and schisms also involve social divisions and conflicts, the study of sects is useful as a study of social divisions.

Hamilton enumerated the various definitions of sect from Weber to Stark and Bainbridge. Weber saw the sect as a voluntary association whose members are not born into it but who, when old enough to do so, must make a positive commitment to meet the requirements of membership. For Weber sects usually develop into denominations where the attachment to the charismatic leader of the sect is transferred to the office or offices of the denomination. With the passage of generations "charismatic authority is replaced by traditional or legal-rational authority." [14] Ernst Troeltsch accepted the premise of Weber's definition and amplified it believing that "the sect is a small grouping which aspires to an inward perfection and aims at direct personal fellowship between its members." [15] For Troeltsch the sect more than the denomination embraced the early ideals of the Gospels. Instead of the claims of the Church to control divine grace through

the sacraments, the sect emphasized instead the religious value of daily life and personal relationships. Sectarianism was for R. Niebuhr "a product of increased division and differentiation in society." [16] A pluralistic society developed where different social classes adapted religious forms to suit themselves. The second generation would create a denomination because the asceticism of their parents made them more wealthy. With this increased wealth came the desire for more worldly goods. This social mobility created a middle-class denomination. Individualism became a fundamental value and opted to coexist with other religious groups rather than be antagonistic to them. For his part, Liston Pope believed that "as a sect grows it acquires a sense that it can exert more influence in the community and the attractions of this often lead it away from its more sectarian attitudes." [17] Milton Yinger developed several different typologies to analyse these changes in religion and Bryan Wilson concluded that "the sect is exclusive and regards itself as an elite in sole possession of the truth." [18] Stark and Bainbridge thought these typologies only caused confusion. They preferred to see the sect as a "deviance and breakaway from an established religious organization." [19] The sect stood in a relationship of tension with its surrounding socio-cultural environment.[20] Stark and Bainbridge saw these tensions as being resolved by the creation of at least two new cultures. (Both the denomination and the sect will have a different constituency after the

schism.) These various definitions of sect and denomination will be applied to the Holiness Movement Church and the Standard Church of America as a part of Horner's legacy.

Ralph Horner always maintained he was an evangelist (prophet), not a pastor (priest). As Weber's charismatic prophet Horner was able to use the power of his oratory to persuade many people to follow his beliefs. He was capable of making the breakthrough to a higher level to create a new culture based on many elements of the old but with innovations. In time of crisis when a new social order was being developed Horner was even able to be the legislator, codifying systematically the new law of holiness with entire sanctification . Presenting this preaching as a commision from God, he was able to demand obedience as an ethical duty. Horner never seemed to experience (or at least he never admitted to it) the strong tensions involved in creating a new culture. His unified view of the world, based on his own interpretation of Wesley and the Scriptures, gave him all the meaning he needed. He demanded that his followers do the same.

Horner was, indeed, successful in gathering around himself permanent followers, pastors, and evangelists, and supporters of lodging and providers of money. Unfortunately, because he had no idea, and no interest in learning, how a pastor should

act, he trained evangelists just like him and became Weber's exemplary prophet. Like Horner himself, his evangelists were never close to the people. This was one of the long range reasons for his problems not only in 1917, but throughout his career as a bishop.

Four present-day, ordained, holiness preachers and one United Church minister have revealed some guarded and some candid opinions of Ralph Horner and his ministry. The Rev. Lawrence Croswell, pastor of Brockville Standard Church, believes that Horner's doctrine was correct but that his followers caused him and the Holiness movement to fall into legalism. What was intended as a holy lifestyle for pastors was extended to parishioners and ended as legalism because pastors and congregation would spy on each other to ensure that the rules were being obeyed.[21] The Rev. Robert Votary, pastor of Metcalfe Independent Holiness Church, agrees with Mr. Croswell and feels that most of the acrimony was caused by Horner's followers rather than the Bishop himself.[22] These spiritual descendants of Horner believe that although he was autocratic in his younger days, as he grew older he listened more to a few of his close advisors and they led him into legalism.

The Rev. Eldon Craig, pastor of Wesley Community Church, Pembroke, Ontario (the building is owned by the Standard Church of America, but the congregation is more Wesleyan) was particularly frank. He feels that Horner was a goal setter, and that the

Rev. A.T. Warren who replaced him after the split was a problem solver. He speculates about the wonderful work that could have been done had the two men been able to agree. Although Mr. Craig does not find Horner blameless he is inclined to agree that it was his associates who led him into legalism. By producing evangelists rather than pastors, Horner helped to develop individuals who were out of touch with the common person. These evangelists created a legalistic culture which they wished to impose on clergy and parishioner alike.[23] Retired Free Methodist pastor, The Rev. William Woodland, is a first cousin of the Rev. Mr. Craig's wife. His father was the Rev. John Woodland, one of Horner's clergy who stayed with the Holiness Movement Church after the split. Mr. Woodland strongly believes that Horner was "a born evangelist but he couldn't manage. He was too autocratic."[24] He was very hard on young pastors. None of his pastors was allowed to owe money, and each pastor was given a posting of six months. Moving so frequently crushed many young pastors and their families. Mr. Woodland blames many of Horner's problems on his two closest advisors, the Revs W.J.Watchorn and George Monahan whom he accuses of wanting to control Horner and the Holiness movement. The Rev. Mr. Monahan who replaced Horner as bishop of the Standard Church in 1921 was removed a few years later because of a moral issue. He was never fully reintegrated into the denomination.

Finally, the Rev. William McDowell, a retired United Church minister in Shawville, Quebec, whose parents and grandparents were close friends of Horner but never joined his organization, claims to have a balanced view of the bishop. Mr. McDowell strongly believes that Horner was a fine, honest, man. He was not greedy! His one great fault was that he was autocratic: he had to be boss. Mr. McDowell speculates that Horner may have had pre-senile dementia.[25] It seems that oral history is kinder to Ralph Horner than is written history.

According to Weber, if the prophecy is successful the prophet will gather permanent followers which will result in a congregation. Horner gathered these followers long before he left the Methodist Church. When he was expelled by the Methodists in 1895 he simply moved this group of pastors and laymen into Concession Hall in Ottawa and started his new movement. Again in 1918 when he was rejected by the Holiness Movement Church he and his followers simply started another new movement.

It is the responsibility of the priest (pastor) to meet the spiritual, emotional and social needs of the laity so they will wish to stay with the new group. The foreshadowed power struggle between Horner (the prophet) and his priests (pastors) was not long in coming. From at least 1900 to 1918 this power struggle had been well documented in the

Minutes of the General Meetings of the Holiness Movement. Horner had too often interfered between the priests and their congregations. After the split of 1918 Ralph Horner practically became a martyr in the eyes of the members of the Standard Church. Many of the older members of that denomination still regard him with such respect that when they speak of him they do so in hushed tones. Indeed, the showcases full of Horner pictures and memorabilia in the upstairs library of the Brockville Standard Church reveal someone who is deeply loved and respected. Had he been a Roman Catholic Ralph Horner would already have achieved sainthood.

Bishop Horner's books, magazine articles, and other writings have, indeed, become the canon of his followers. The dogma is the interpretations of his work given by pastors and evangelists who referred often to his sermons as the mythos, the model to be followed. In fact, the official magazine of the The Standard Church of America, *The Christian Standard*, October 1996, contained a full page about the death and funeral of Ralph Horner seventy-five years earlier. Even *Gospel Tidings*, the official publication of the Independent Holiness Church, July-August 1995, contained a one and one-half page article entitled "Experience of Bishop R.C. Horner". The pastors who argued with Horner and those who wished to depose him are long since forgotten. The memory of the prophet is still strong. Many clamber over the priest to get to the prophet.

Both the Holiness Movement Church and the Standard Church of America started as sects. In Troeltsch's words they were "a small grouping which aspires to an inward perfection and aims at direct personal fellowship between its members." Using the Scriptures and the teachings of Bishop Horner they crafted their new culture without concern for the world or what the people outside their organization thought. Perhaps it would be much longer than the second generation before they would become a denomination. It would be the 1960s and even later before very many of the descendants of the founders of these sects would have gathered enough material wealth to be considered middle class. By that time the Holiness Movement Church would be part of the larger Free Methodist denomination. For some time to come the Standard Church would remain more interested in serving and caring for it own members than in the local community at large. However, missionary work was always a very important part of both sects begun by Horner.

In agreement with Niebuhr theirs was a pluralistic society where their own social class would adapt religious forms to suit itself. The forms established by Bishop Horner were good enough for them and for their families. Change, which would conform to the standards of the world, was anathema to them. Unfortunately, many of the children of these holiness pioneers preferred to follow the ways of the world and soon had little or

nothing to do with the religion of their parents.

Few if any of Horner's own children followed in his footsteps. Many of his children did, however, appear to remain living with him until four years before his death in 1921. Indeed, according to the Ottawa Directory of 1917 six of his children were still living at 16 Cameron Avenue in Ottawa with Ralph C. and his wife, Annie. Annie K. was a baker at 304 Bank Street, Arnold B. was a student, Asa J. worked as a clerk for the National Cash Register, and Ralph M. was a clerk (the store was not given). The occupations of Hilda S. and Myrtle were not given. Some time between 1917 and 1920 four of the six children must have left home. The Ottawa Directory for 1920 lists only Asa J., a clerk, and Arnold B., a student, as living with their parents. In fact, the other Horners are not listed as living in Ottawa at all. By 1937, two years before Mrs. Horner's death, only Arnold, auto mechanic, and Annie E., widow, are listed as living at 512 Riverdale Avenue, not far from 16 Cameron.

In the early 1990s the Rev. Eldon Craig interviewed the son Ralph M.Horner, then in his nineties. He found him to be a bitter old man who had long ago abandoned the HMC and the SCA but not his father's hallowed memory. He said he could never forgive the Holiness Movement Church for what they did to his father. The tension between the new sects and their surrounding socio-cultural environment was often too

difficult to resolve for the second generation who did not have the same vision as their forefathers.

Between Horner's death and the 1960s most of the laity of the HMC and the SCA were members of the founding families and their relatives. Although some people not associated with the Holiness Movement were converted during this time, holiness appealed more to people who already had a holiness background. Indeed, there was considerable crossover among the various holiness groups. There was also considerable intermarriage with members of other holiness groups. Nazarene, Alliance, Wesleyan, Free Methodist, and Pentecostal people frequently attended HMC and SCA services and even became members. So, too, members of Horner's denominations joined those other holiness groups. However, because of a stricter adherence to holiness principles few new people joined the SCA. Others were so disillusioned by the split that they left the Church.

Ralph Cecil Horner always had a great sense of the need to deliver his message of justification by faith and holy living to the world. He never intended to compromise but rather to convince the world that his mission was entirely correct: his mission was sent from God himself. His missionary work began a few days after his own conversion in 1872 and continues in the 1990s, seventy-seven years after his death. By the first General Conference of 1899 there were already two conferences formed, one in Ontario and one

in Manitoba. This format of an eastern and a western conference would continue until amalgamation with the Free Methodists in 1959.[26]

As early as the General Conference of 1899 permission was granted "that Allen Moore be sent Examination Papers and that he have authority to act as Examiner on our course of Study in the British Isles." [27] At this meeting also the delegates were to examine the financial need of the missionaries stationed in the British Isles. The main mission station was at Belfast, Northern Ireland. In the October 1905 edition of *The Holiness Era* Allen Moore writes from Belfast that "twenty-three members have been enrolled during the year, seven excluded, three withdrew and one transferred, leaving a total of thirty-seven at present." He also informed the Conference that in the coming year they hoped to open two additional places of worship.

In the January 1906 issue of *The Holiness Era* Herbert E. Randall, the first missionary sent to Egypt by the Holiness Movement Church in 1899, informed the Conference of the growth of the church at Assiout, Egypt. He also explained that in Egyptian society women were not allowed to speak in the church. However, since the Canadian women insisted on speaking out, permission was granted to them because they were from the West, but Egyptian women had to remain silent.

Although other mission fields were developed over the years the Egyptian one

became the most stable. In the 1930s and 40s the Rev. Dr. Roy Mainse, father of David Mainse of 100 Huntley Street, was one of their main missionaries. In fact, during the Second World War he left his wife and children with relatives at Metcalfe, Ontario while he laboured in Egypt alone.[28] Miss Naomi Lindsay of Nepean, Ontario, now retired, spent over thirty-five years as a missionary in Egypt. Her father, the Rev. Harvey Lindsay, was one of Horner's pastors but stayed with the Holiness Movement Church in 1918.[29] When they joined the Free Methodists in 1959 the HMC was still sponsoring camps at Stittsville and Cobden, Ontario, Shawville, Quebec, and Killarney, Manitoba. The Killarney camp, Western Canada's first holiness camp, had existed since 1896 with the exception of two years.

The Independent Holiness Movement Church which did not join the Free Methodists in 1959 still supports missionaries in China, Senegal, and Mexico as well as sponsoring children in Haiti.[30] They have congregations at Metcalfe,[31] and Sydenham, Ontario as well as several small works in the West. They also sponsored three camp meetings in 1997. Certainly, Horner's legacy of holding camp meetings is still very strong among his spiritual descendants.

John Sigsworth, historian for the Free Methodist Church,[32] informs us that by 1959 the HMC mission field in Egypt was the second largest Protestant mission in the country

with 5,000 self-governing members in eighty churches mainly in the Nile Valley with several in Cairo. Sigsworth also informs us that by 1959 the Chinese mission work was still strong in Hong Kong under the direction of the Rev. Alton Gould. The mission started by Rev. and Mrs. M.A. Campbell was progressing and the General Conference on Evangelism had accepted Ireland as a church extension district.[33]

Some second generation HMC young people volunteered for missionary work with the Holiness Movement Church in the late 1940s but finally did not get to go. In 1948 Bessie Peever of Kinburn, Marion Clow of Picton, and Phyllis Joynt of Lombardy, all in Ontario, had graduated from Annesley College in Ottawa, trained as practical nurses and prepared to go as missionaries to Hunan, China. However, the outbreak of violence in China prevented them from leaving. Eventually, only Phyllis Joynt and her husband, Alton Gould, served as missionaries there.[34]

The Standard Church of America has also given and still gives a strong prominence to missions. The October 1996 edition of *The Christian Standard* advertised a special missions emphasis for the month of October. The church supported missionaries in Ghana, Egypt, and Mexico. A missionary convention with special speakers, workshops, and music would be held at North Gower Standard Church and at Kingston, Ontario, October 18-20. The edition included pictures of the Ocran family

ministering in Ghana, the seventeen native Egyptian missionaries of the Egyptian Conference, and Pastor Eduardo Ortega, his wife and daughter of Tijuana, Mexico. By the 1990s the foreign mission fields were being run by nationals with financial and emotional support coming from the Standard congregations in Canada.

A very special part of Horner's legacy included his program to educate the clergy and the laity through the establishment of his own publishing company in Ottawa with a book store, a Sunday School paper, and two magazines - the *Holiness Era* and the *Missionary Challenge*.[35] With his founding of the Standard Church of America in 1918 Horner created another magazine, *The Christian Standard*. In fact, one of the reasons that Horner was removed from the HMC was because he had already established the *Standard* and was using it as his official voice to speak directly to the people who subscribed. He used that unauthorized publication to call the Ottawa Annual Conference of 1917.[36] The leaders of the HMC considered this action completely illegal. Part of Horner's legacy is the fact that the *Holiness Era* was published until 1959 when it was amalgamated into the *Canadian Free Methodist Herald*. Its editor at that time, the Rev. Arthur Votary, was named associate editor of the new magazine.[37]

Another part of Horner's legacy was the importance of education in preparing the clergy and the laity to carry the gospel to the world. In addition to the Sunday School

program attached to every congregation, Horner established colleges of education. The Holiness Institute which he founded in Ottawa in 1895 was renamed Annesley College and existed into the 1950s. In Winnipeg the Holiness Bible College operated until 1957 when it united with Moose Jaw Bible College. Brockville Bible College which was founded by Horner after the split with the Holiness Movement Church, like its sister colleges, has trained many holiness preachers and evangelists. BBC not only trained people for the ministry but offered high school education based on Ontario education standards.[38] Perhaps its most well-known graduate is the Rev. David Mainse, founder of Cross Roads Communications.

The students of Annesley College even produced a year book called "*The Challenge*". The 1947 edition lists the Rev. R. L. Mainse as Principal, and his wife as Matron of the college. That year there were fifteen students in residence from all parts of the Ottawa Valley. Three students were from Belfast, Ireland. Bessie Peever and Marion Clow, who would later try to get to China, were students that year. Bessie Peever Headrick remembers David Mainse as the Principal's mischievous, outgoing, ten-year-old son who was loved by everyone. It is extremely interesting that one of the highlights of their year was a trip to Brockville Bible School where they received a warm welcome from the Principal, the Rev. I.L.Brown and his students. It would appear that the second

generation of Hornerites were at least on speaking terms.

This was not, however, the case when the split occurred in 1917-18. Horner's legacy at that point was one of anger and extreme bitterness. The decision by the HMC to replace Ralph Horner as bishop caused tremendous acrimony. All thought of entire and instantaneous sanctification was forgotten. Mankind's true nature raised its ugly and sinful head. Not only were families and churches torn apart but fist fights resulted. While the Rev. Mr. Price was preaching in the Metcalfe Holiness Church the Revs Watchorn and Monahan removed his furniture from the parsonage. Many parishioners never spoke to each other again.[39] It was one of the darkest hours in the history of Canadian evangelicalism.

However, the Rev. William Woodland believes that it was a stock scandal which eventually helped cause Horner's death in 1921 by adding undue stress to his life. There is no evidence that Horner himself had invested in the stock market. Given Horner's strict belief to trust God for everything, it was very upsetting for him to discover that his closest advisors had invested in the stock market. The Hornerites refused to buy insurance of any kind. Every member was expected to trust God come what may. Part of the Horner mythology is that Watchorn and Monahan had discovered a mine stock in Western Canada that was really going to make money for its investors. They apparently

invested Standard Church money in the mine. Soon after committing their money the Standard people discovered that the mine did not even exist. Mr. Woodland sees this episode as further proof that Watchorn and Monahan were trying to control Horner and the Standard Church.

In their theology the Holiness Movement Church (until 1959) and the Standard Church (today) have changed very little. The *Discipline*, the catechism which outlined how a holiness person should live is almost identical to what Horner laid down in the late 1890s. A personal salvation, including a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, is the most important doctrine. The praxis of that theology has, however, changed. While the doctrine of entire sanctification is still taught there is much less emphasis on it being an instantaneous act. Most pastors I interviewed were rather hesitant to support that concept. Although most congregations still baptize babies many pastors will immerse adults in water if they request it. The third blessing, that of baptism of the Holy Spirit, is seen by most Standard Church, and almost all Free Methodist people, as a baptism without tongues. While it is still preached and talked about by both clergy and laity, it is not often practised. However, in certain congregations in the West speaking in tongues occurs about every twenty years, but is usually kept quiet.

The outward signs of grace- plain dress, lack of jewelry, etc.- are less evident

among holiness people today than in Horner's time. Certainly there is little or no external way to distinguish HMC people who joined the Free Methodists from other Christians. Many SCA members are more modest. The women of the Independent Holiness Church who did not join the Free Methodists dress very plainly, usually without any jewelry, even wedding rings. They prefer to wear their hair long. Some of the older women still wear hats to church.

Although among certain SCA congregations, especially urban ones, there is considerable concern about social issues and care for the poor, many rural congregations still focus on the external signs of grace. Residual strands of holiness still determine the behaviour of many older people who were raised HMC or SCA but abandoned those denominations long ago. Although they deny that the external signs of grace have anything to do with their salvation, they still feel comfortable maintaining the old appearance. Perhaps it is in deference to the memory of their parents who were so strict. My wife's aunt, whose mother and uncle were Horner evangelists, still dresses very plainly. Her dresses have high necks and little adornment. She does not like jewelry, and until recently refused to have her hair cut shorter than shoulder length.

Eighty-eight-year-old Earl Duncan of Metcalfe first remembers being in the HMC when he was eight years old. Rev. Johnston Price was the pastor. This would be in 1918

when the split occurred but Mr. Duncan remembers nothing about it. He only heard about it. Mr. Duncan believes all that the Holiness movement taught but he does not think that the churches have the power that they had in the old days. He had a prostration experience in the church once in the 1940s. He fell flat on his face like a tree but did not hurt himself. Mr. Duncan says he has never felt the same since that day. It was a wonderful experience, but it certainly did not involve tongues. They are only for the pentecostals.[40]

Several other groups in their formative years were heavily influenced by Horner and his evangelists. The Rev. Wesley Wakefield, Bishop-General of the Bible Holiness Movement, Vancouver, British Columbia, founded that denomination in 1949 as an outgrowth of his own father's ministry. Although his father was of Salvation Army background Bishop-General Wakefield claims a great influence for his background through his mother to Bishop Ralph Horner. Mr. Wakefield's maternal grandfather, an Irish Fenian who arrived in Canada during the Irish potato famine, was converted to the Salvation Army. However, two of his daughters were converted to the Holiness movement in Smiths Falls, Ontario, by Horner evangelist, W.G. Burns. Bishop-General Wakefield, himself, was mentored by the late Bishop G.L. Monahan. The Rev. W..J. Watchorn was Wakefield's mother's cousin. He holds both men in very high esteem.

Bishop-General Wakefield's wife, the former Mildred June Shouldice, was a Standard minister for a number of years in her early ministry.[41] The Bishop-General himself often preaches in Standard, Salvation Army, and Pentecostal Holiness churches and camps. In spite of a few doctrinal differences he has always enjoyed an exchange of ideas with these other denominations.

Bishop-General Wakefield is particularly pleased that the doctrines of his denomination are almost identical to those of Bishop Horner. His group, because of their Salvation Army influence, does put more emphasis on street ministry and social concerns such as slavery, child labour, and drug abuse. Like Horner they hold to the older plain dress code and do not pass the offering plate at their meetings. The Bible Holiness Movement, while headquartered in Vancouver, has branches in the United States, India, Nigeria, Philippines, Ghana, Liberia, Cameroons, Kenya, Zambia, South Korea, and Haiti. It also ministers to eighty-nine countries in forty-two languages through literature, radio, and audio-cassettes. Ralph Horner's legacy has reached all parts of the world. Mr. Wakefield believes that there are more than twenty-six denominations that have ministers who were either directly converted under Bishop Horner's ministry, or from his churches.

The Rev. Eldon Craig of Pembroke, Ontario, informs me that there is even a

Wesleyan church in Australia which was started by a Standard Church Canadian. Kingsley Ridgeway was converted under the ministry of the Rev. Benson Carson from North Gower, Ontario. Ridgeway, who was Carson's first convert, married the oldest Carson daughter. When they moved to Australia he started a Wesleyan church with Hornerian influence. Horner's legacy had even spread to Australia.[42]

An influence on Canadian politics which was mentioned by the Rev. William Woodland is supported by Bishop-General Wakefield. Former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's finger waving and evangelistic style may have come from his formative years when he watched the Rev. S.A. York, a Horner evangelist, in Saskatchewan. York was also Diefenbaker's elementary school teacher. The Rev. Mr.Woodland confirms that in the late 1950s when the leaders of the HMC were researching their charter in preparation for union with the Free Methodists, Prime Minister Diefenbaker was most helpful. He told the committee, "There will always be a Holiness movement as long as I'm alive."[43] Perhaps Horner even had an influence on the development of Canadian politics.

Horner's influence on the Goffites, or Gospel Workers' Church, in the Meaford, Ontario area was first documented by John Sigsworth in 1960.[44] In the past few years that influence has been given excellent treatment by Gerald Hobbs, and by Marilyn

Whiteley. Professor Hobbs's discovery of Albert Mills's diary has added greatly to Canadian evangelical history. In 1959 the Gospel Workers churches joined the Free Methodists.[45] However, the camp ground near Thornbury, Ontario went to the Nazarenes.

Pentecostal Assembly of Canada historians have been searching for several years to discover a direct link between Ralph Horner and the founders of their denomination. The Rev. Earl Conley of the Standard Church insists that they will not find one because none exists. He believes that Bishop Horner had absolutely no influence on the pentecostals. However, doctrinally Horner was very close to the early pentecostals in Toronto, Winnipeg, and the Ottawa Valley. His third work of grace, Holy Spirit baptism, is pentecostalism without emphasizing speaking in tongues. The prostration and intense feelings were exactly what the pentecostals experienced. The great difference was that the latter were delighted to express those intense emotions by speaking in tongues. While Horner said he did not encourage, but neither did he discourage, those emotions, the pentecostals revelled in them.

Perhaps the most research to date in this area has been that of Clare Fuller in an unpublished 1988 essay at Ontario Theological Seminary entitled "Holiness People In Early Canadian Pentecostalism 1906-1919".[46] Using a variety of primary and secondary

sources Fuller has traced the holiness background of several prominent early pentecostals. Although many can be traced to the Hebden Mission in early twentieth-century Toronto, and others to Methodist and Mennonite Brethren in Christ backgrounds, a number of Ralph Horner's pastors and evangelists had, after 1906, definite pentecostal connections. Several of them even became pentecostal pastors and evangelists.

Although no one has yet discovered correspondence between Horner and the Rev. R.E. McAlister, one of the founders of Bethel Pentecostal Church, formerly in Ottawa, now in Nepean, Ontario, they must have had fairly close contact. The 1911 Ottawa Directory lists the Holiness Institute at 480 Bank St., Ottawa, and McAlister's Apostolic Faith Mission, later Bethel Pentecostal Church, a few blocks away at Bank and Somerset. McAlister's *The Good Report* paper of May 1911 would suggest that he and Horner had clashed over holiness theology and policies. Speaking of a holiness group in Ottawa McAlister stated, "... the ecclesiastical whip was introduced and the gag law enforced... a soul-murdering weapon."[47] McAlister certainly did have family connections to Horner's ministry. His oldest brother, James of Cobden, and his family are all listed in the 1901 census as Hornerites.[48]

Herbert E. Randall who was Horner's first missionary appointment to Egypt in 1899 visited the Hebden Mission in Toronto and received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with

speaking in tongues, an experience he says he long sought.[49] A picture taken at the Apostolic Faith Mission (later Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada) Conference of 1911 shows Randall with his arms around the shoulders of R.E. McAlister, Harvey McAlister, and George Chambers. This George Chambers was, however, from Toronto and not the George Chambers who was one of Horner's pastors.

A.H.Argue, a young businessman from Winnipeg, had been raised near Fitzroy Harbour, northwest of Ottawa.[50] When he heard of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with speaking in tongues he left his business in Winnipeg and travelled to Chicago to seek this experience.[51] On his successful return his home was used by holiness people seeking this experience. Among these seekers was Ella Goff, a relative of Frank Goff, founder of the Gospel Workers. She later married George Paul, one of Horner's pastors. A.H. Argue's son and two daughters became Pentecostal ministers. Two of his daughter, Beulah's, two sons became Pentecostal ministers; the third is the Honourable David Smith, cabinet minister in the government of Pierre Trudeau, and now one of Jean Chretien's right-hand men in Ontario.

However, it is David Mainse of 100 Huntley Street, graduate of both Brockville Bible College and Eastern Pentecostal Bible School, Peterborough, Ontario, who has the most direct line to Ralph Horner. David's father was Roy Mainse, HMC missionary and

pastor who was present at the 1959 merger with the Free Methodists. His mother's uncle was the Rev. Manly C. Pritchard, respected Hornerite preacher who stayed with the HMC in 1918. Perhaps more than any other evangelical in Canada David Mainse has tried to bring the various denominations and sects into one worshipping whole. By focusing on what evangelicals have in common rather than on what divides them he has convinced many HMC, Standard, Presbyterian, Anglican, Roman Catholic, United Church, Baptist, and Pentecostal laity that they worship the same God. Even a number of the clergy have been able to forget their petty differences and worship together at least on occasion.

And, finally, the pentecostal connection with Horner is a personal and a genealogical one. My wife's paternal grandmother was May Anderson Peever, who was trained in Horner's Holiness Institute, and served as an evangelist along with her brother, the Rev. David Anderson, who is often mentioned in HMC minutes. With her husband, Albert Peever, May was one of the founders of Kinburn Pentecostal Church (West Carleton Christian Assembly) in 1911. One of their daughters was Bessie Peever Headrick, graduate of Annesley College and missionary designate to China.[52] Although Bessie never saw China, thirty years later, one of her nieces, Dr. Ruth Peever, went to Hunan to teach English in a university. Some of Ralph Horner's legacy was rather

indirect, but observable nonetheless..

Further, my wife's maternal great-uncle, George Godfrey from England, was ordained as a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada minister in 1921. His wife, May Johncox, was a Hornerite from Pontiac County. In fact, May Johncox's mother was Ralph Horner's first cousin. The Hornerites certainly did have many pentecostal connections.

The continuity of families within the Holiness movement ethos is a topic that needs to be examined as part of Horner's legacy. Although many families were Hornerites only in the first generation, several prominent holiness families remain faithful to Bishop Horner's preaching today. Five such families among many are the Croziers, the Childerhoses, the Jameses, the Woodlands, and the Warrens. Weber's ethical prophet was able to command loyalty to his cause long after his death.

When William Crozier, his brothers John and Christopher and their younger sister Jane were growing up in the comparative wilderness of 1890s Renfew County, they no doubt expected to remain Methodist forever. After all, the Croziers had been faithful Methodists for generations. However, thirty-year old William is listed in the 1901 census as being a Hornerite. His twenty-two year old wife, Mary was Presbyterian; his brothers and sister and, indeed, all the other Croziers were still Methodists. However, sometime

before Horner's death in 1921 most of the Croziers became his followers. As the Croziers married and raised their families they remained a faithful part of the laity. Today many of them still attend Free Methodist and Standard Churches.[53] Rev. Eldon Craig of Pembroke, who was raised in a Standard home, is married to a Crozier.

The 1901 census lists forty-three year old Robert Childerhose, his thirty-three year old wife, Rose, and their four children as Hornerites. Later the Childerhoses homesteaded in Saskatchewan taking their Holiness Movement beliefs with them. One of their sons became a Hornerite evangelist. His son, Elmar, became Bishop of the Western Conference of the HMC during the 1940s and 50s. Migration had helped the spread of Horner's culture.

While the Croziers and Childerhoses were converting to holiness in Admaston Township, Renfrew County, the John James family was doing the same in Goulbourn Township, Carleton County. In 1901 forty-nine year old John James and his forty-eight year old wife, Jane were busy raising eight children ranging in age from twenty-four year old Annie to three year old Delmer.[54] Although most of the Jameses and their descendants would remain loyal to Horner's teachings, two of the girls and one boy, Herman, born in 1895, would make the family name well-known in holiness circles for years to come.

Deaconess Eva James was born on 14 March 1884. Her name appears frequently in the Minutes of the Ottawa Conference of the Holiness Movement and later in the Minutes of the Standard Church of America. She was the only woman, other than Horner's widow, privileged to speak at his funeral. Eva James called Horner "a great leader, a great General".[55] She touted him as a great man of prayer and one so dedicated to the Lord's work that often his wife did not see him for the entire day. After her talk Miss James sang "Beyond the Silent River". Obviously Eva James was highly esteemed by her Standard brethren.

Eva James was six years old when her sister Lola was born on 13 August 1890. They would often work as a team, Eva playing the guitar and Lola the piano. Lola would later team up with her husband, one of the Willow boys from a Hornerite family in Lanark County, to do mission work in Egypt, China, Hong Kong, Ireland and Scotland.[56] At the age of ninety-seven she returned to the Ottawa Valley from her home in Winnipeg to preach at a Wesleyan camp meeting at Roblin and a Standard Church camp at Ivanhoe. Her nephew, Reynold James, was the pastor of the Free Methodist Church at Enterprise, near Kingston. Many of her nieces and nephews attend other Free Methodist and Standard Churches throughout the Ottawa Valley.

The Woodland family, too, has been well-known and well-respected in holiness

circles in the Ottawa Valley and beyond for the past century. Both John R.Woodland and his brother Stuart pastored Holiness Movement churches in the Metcalfe, Shawville, and Kingston areas. The Rev. William Woodland, retired Free Methodist pastor at Kingston, is considered a *pure laine* Hornerite since his father was John Woodland and his mother was a daughter of William Crozier, the first Crozier in Renfrew County to follow Horner. One of his Crozier cousins is the wife of the Rev. Eldon Craig, Standard pastor at Pembroke; another cousin on his paternal side is Stuart Woodland's daughter, Mrs. Ida Reaney, a prominent member of the Metcalfe Independent Holiness congregation. They have many Free Methodist and Standard relatives throughout Canada.

Perhaps the best-known name in holiness circles next to that of Horner himself is that of Warren. Rev. A.T. Warren's name appears in the minutes of almost every HMC annual meeting from 1899 to 1918 and beyond. A careful reading of those minutes shows him to be extremely kind and cool-headed. He was often the one who played Barnabas to Horner's Saint Paul.[57] Warren was so well thought of by his peers that in 1914 it was suggested to Horner that Warren be his assistant bishop to handle the administrative end of the HMC. Horner was insulted and the battle lines were drawn. After Horner's deposition in 1918 A.T. Warren was unanimously chosen to replace him.

The Rev. A.T.Warren's son, Lloyd, owned Warren's Men's Wear, a prominent and well-respected Ottawa business. He and his family were active members of Fifth Avenue Free Methodist Church. Lloyd Warren was also a member of the committee to merge the HMC with the Methodists in 1959.[58]

A.T. Warren's nephew, Barclay Warren, was a prominent HMC and Free Methodist pastor in Eastern Ontario and Toronto. Barclay extended his holiness roots by marrying into the Anglin family from Pine Grove, near Gananoque. Fifty-eight year old John Anglin, his wife and three children were all listed in the 1901 census as Hornerites. One of the grandaughters of this generous, kindly farmer married Barclay Warren. Their daughter, Helen, is married to the Rev. Mervin Saunders, a Free Methodist pastor.[59] The Warren family, while being well-connected within holiness, has connections to many branches of the evangelical ethos of the Ottawa Valley.

Ralph Horner could not know what kind of legacy he had left to his followers. His autocratic influence is felt down to the present. His two sects went in divergent but roughly parallel directions. Their theology basically remained unchanged at least until 1959 when the HMC joined the Free Methodists. It took until the 1960s for the children and grandchildren of Horner's contemporaries to accumulate enough wealth to form a denomination. Gradually, however, his two spiritual children grew less legalistic and

more concerned about social issues. They fit Weber's and other writers' concept of change from a sect to a denomination quite well.

Horner also acquired step-children. The Nazarene, Alliance, Bible Holiness Movement, Goffite, and Pentecostal churches all claim a certain spiritual influence. Perhaps the most significant person to help spread Horner's doctrine of holiness is the Rev. David Mainse of 100 Huntley Street. By audio, visual, and print methods Mainse tries to reach the world with the gospel, to get all evangelicals to cooperate, and to meet the physical needs of the destitute. Horner's external legalism has been stripped away to expose a desire for a holy lifestyle combined with a strong emphais on social concerns.

Horner's sects were always small in number both within and outside the Ottawa Valley. In fact, most people in the Valley have never even heard his name. Many others are not at all interested in hearing about him. It would seem that Horner had no lasting effect on Canada's capital area or on the world. Although his numbers were always small and he certainly never changed the course of canadian or world history, the people whose lives his influence helped change remember him fondly. To them alone his story is important. But the Ottawa Valley and the world are richer because of his life.

One usually expects a legacy to contain money or at least a precious family heirloom. However, the legacy could be a good family name, or the ability to get along

with people. It could also hide an embarassing family secret. Ralph Cecil Horner's legacy contains both negative and positive qualities. He is Weber's ethical prophet who by the power of his oratory can break through to a higher level and create a new culture. His legacy also includes a horrendous family 'divorce' that left many of his followers devastated. Dad (Ralph Horner) took some of the children and started a new family, the Standard Church of America; Mom (Horner's opponents) kept the other children and tried to pick up the pieces and start a new life. Both 'parents' tried to keep the neighbours from seeing there ever was a 'divorce', but the children's fist fights and other bad behaviour exposed the secret. In the true fashion of children raised in nineteenth-century Victorian Canadian Protestantism, it was not until the second and in some cases the third generation before anyone was willing to talk about grandma and grandpa's 'divorce'. As the children and grandchildren of the particpants of the split got together, slowly they began to realize they had more in common than they had thought. The healing process could begin. Perhaps some day, having excised their wound, all elements of Ottawa Valley holiness groups can find unity in the one Christ they all claim to serve.

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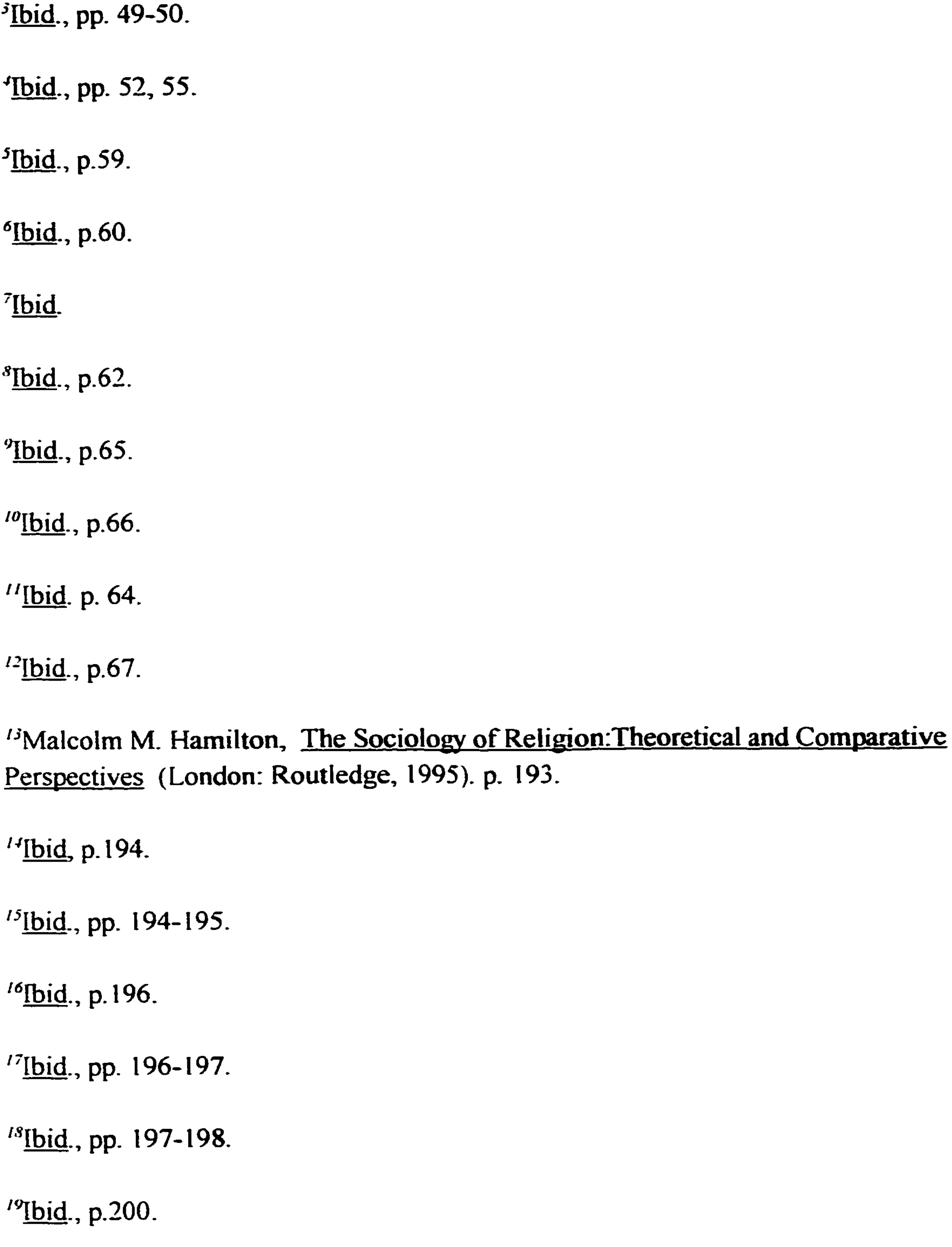
[1] Joseph Addison, The Spectator no.124, 10 September 1711.

[2] Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964) p. 47.



[3]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[4]Ibid., pp. 52, 55.

[5]Ibid., p.59.

[6]Ibid., p.60.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p.62.

[9]Ibid., p.65.

[10]Ibid., p.66.

[11]Ibid. p. 64.

[12]Ibid., p.67.

[13]Malcolm M. Hamilton, The Sociology of Religion:Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives (London: Routledge, 1995). p. 193.

[14]Ibid, p.194.

[15]Ibid., pp. 194-195.

[16]Ibid., p.196.

[17]Ibid., pp. 196-197.

[18]Ibid., pp. 197-198.

[19]Ibid., p.200.

[20]Marilyn Whiteley effectively uses the concept of tension when discussing the formation

of the Holiness Movement Church, the Standard Church of America, and the Gospel Workers.

[21]C. Roy Fortune, Interview with the Rev. Lawrence Croswell, Brockville, Ontario, 24 July 1996.

[22]C. Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. Robert Votary, Metcalfe, Ontario, 02 June 1997.

[23]C. Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. Eldon Craig, Pembroke, Ontario, 02 June 1997.

[24]C. Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. William Woodland, Kingston, Ontario, 16 February 1998.

[25]C.Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. William McDowall, Shawville, Quebec, 05 July 1996. The Rev. Elmar Childerhose, retired superintendent of the Western Conference of the Holiness Movement Church (09 January 1998) confirmed that his father, who was one of Horner's pastors, seldom mentioned the split. Mr. Childerhose suggests that most conflicts were caused by Horner's personality. "He was a poor leader but a good evangelist. If he had stayed with evangelism and hadn't tried to administer, he would have been okay."

[26]The Free Methodist Church, which since 1959 includes most of the Holiness Movement and the Gospel Workers churches, claims 135 churches with a membership of about 7,500. The Sunday morning attendance is estimated at about 13,000. They support eighty-eight missionaries in fifty-three countries. This information was supplied to me by Dennis Camplin, Director of Church Services for the The Free Methodist Church in Canada. His own background is through the Gospel Workers Church of Frank Goff.

[27]Minutes of the General Conference of 1899, p.67.

[28]See Roy Lake Mainse, A Happy Heart... One Man's Inspiring Story of God's Fulfilment in His Life (Toronto: Crossroads Christian Communications Inc., 1988).

[29]C. Roy Fortune, interview with Naomi Lindsay, 25 June 1996.

[30]*Gospel Tidings*, February 1997, pp. 7-8.

[31]The first Hornerite church built there in 1904 is still in use.

[32]John Wilkins Sigsworth, The Battle Was the Lord's: A History of the Free Methodist Church in Canada (Oshawa, Sage Publications, 1960, p.239.

[33]Ibid.

[34]See the Cornwall, *Daily Standard Freeholder*, 25 October 1948, p.8.

[35]Sigsworth, Ibid.

[36]Minutes of the Annual Conference, 8 May 1917, p.291.

[37]Sigsworth, op. cit., p.239.

[38]Brockville Bible College celebrated sixty years of ministry in 1987.

[39]C. Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. William Woodland, Kingston, 16 February 1998.

[40]C. Roy Fortune, interview with Earl Duncan, Metcalfe, Ontario, 26 May 1997.

[41]Letter from Bishop-General Wakefield to C.Roy Fortune, 22 October 1996.

[42]C. Roy Fortune, interview with the Rev. Eldon Craig, Pembroke, 02 June 1997.

[43]C. Roy Fortune, interview with Rev. William Woodland, Kingston, 16 February 1998.

[44]Sigsworth, op. cit., p. 187,241,251,257-259.

[45]According to the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada 1918, p. 489, the Gospel Workers received their charter 19 May 1818.

[46]Clare Fuller, "Holiness People in Early Canadian Pentecostalism, 1906-1919", unpublished essay for a course at Ontario Theological Seminar, 1988. Rev. Lawrence Croswell of the Brockville Standard Church very kindly allowed me access to a copy of this essay in his possession. Fuller apparently did some of her research at the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives in Mississauga, Ontario.

[47]*The Good Report*, p. 2. This pentecostal and missionary paper was to be published "as the Lord supplies the means for the same through his children." (p.4) This May 1911 edition seems to be the only one extant. In this edition McAlister clearly believes that sanctification as taught by the holiness people is of lesser importance than speaking in tongues.

[48]R.E. McAlister's youngest brother Harvey had a son Walter Elmo who became a well-known pastor and evangelist with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Walter's wife Ruth Manley was my paternal grandmother's cousin.

[49]Fuller, op.cit., p. 8.

[50]A relative of A.H.Argue was Annie Argue, one of Horner's women evangelists. Ernest McCallum of Nanaimo, British Columbia and formerly of Manitoba, has kindly supplied me with a copy of his maternal family genealogy. It is not certain that the Annie Argue mentioned is Horner's evangelist. However, there is a definite connection between the Argue and James family in Goulbourn Township. Many of the Argues in Mr. McCallum's genealogy became pentecostals.

[51]Gordon F.Atter, "The Third Force" (Peterborough, The College Press, 1962), p. 68. Atter was cousin to Ruth Manley McAlister and to my grandmother.

[52]Bessie Peever Headrick, a patient in the Grove Nursing Home, Arnprior, is a member of Glad Tidings Pentecostal Church in Arnprior. She often speaks fondly and emotionally of her many years associated with both the HMC and the Standard people. A graduate of Annesley College, Ottawa, she was for several years the matron of the Brockville Bible (Standard) College. Bessie is the daughter of May Anderson Peever, one of Horner's evangelists, and my wife's aunt.

[53]Mrs. Velma Crozier Berry of Renfrew, whom I have known for many years, was kind enough to interview ninety-three year old Jennie Smith Crozier for me. (Mrs. Crozier was too shy to talk to someone she did not know) She did, however, remember Mr. Horner. When Horner stayed at their house Jennie and her sister had to give him their room. They slept on a narrow cot next door and the Bishop's snoring kept them awake. She always wondered as a child why Horner wore a skull cap on the platform. She was told later that it was to cover his bald spot about which he was rather sensitive.

[54]A ninth child was born after 1901.

[55]*Christian Standard*, 07 October 1921, p. 6.

[56]Article by Dave Cleland, Kingston *Whig-Standard*, 1987. (The exact date is not given.)

[57]A.T.Warren was the supportive assistant who helped his superior and made him look good; Horner was the tragic hero who often caused his own problems.

[58]Letter to C.Roy Fortune from John W.Sigsworth,08 January 1998, author of The Battle was the Lord's: A History of the Free Methodist Church in Canada (Oshawa: Sage Publishers, 1960).

[59]Rev. Mervin Saunders married my wife and me 12 October 1963 while he was youth pastor at Bethel Pentecostal Church, Ottawa.

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players;
They have their exits and their entrances;
And one man in his time plays many parts,
- Shakespeare[1]

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Finally, one can analyze the life and times of Ralph Cecil Horner as a stage play where Horner and his contemporaries explain in their own voices what they wish to say. The audience listens to them and analyzes their actions. Such a presentation would be one other way to examine our subject and his use of time and space. It would help us make use of the "thick description" that Clifford Geertz aimed for.[2]

Such a stage play would consist of three main acts, a prologue and an epilogue. Each act would contain many scenes. Since Horner was a religious figure the three acts of this play would distinguish the three main divisions of his religious life. This is really the methodology of Langness and Frank discussed in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Such a method allows us to examine the dimensions of Horner's life, the principal turnings in that life, and Horner's characteristic means of adaptation to change. The prologue would briefly discuss Horner's background and his early life growing up in Clarendon Township, Pontiac County, Quebec. Act I would begin in 1872 with Horner's conversion and end in 1895 with his deposition from the Methodist Church. Act II would cover the years 1895 to 1918 and would represent Horner's apogee as bishop of the Holiness

Movement Church. This act would also contain the denouement since it is at this point that the hero's life begins to unravel and the end is foreshadowed. The cause of the tragic hero's downfall is revealed. Act III would be very brief representing 1918 to 1921 as Horner built his new sect, the Standard Church of America. The epilogue would cover 1921 to 1998 and explain Horner's legacy. The three principles of dramatic construction: unity of time, place, and action, would not apply to this Victorian drama.

The scenery for such a stage play would be fairly limited during the three acts. Act I would begin during the last quarter of nineteenth-century Clarendon Township and then switch briefly to Renfrew, and Cobourg, Ontario with a side trip to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The remainder of the act would unfold in various parts of the Ottawa Valley. Act II would be set almost exclusively in the Ottawa Valley, but would begin in Rochester, New York, and end with Horner's deposition in Carleton Place and Ottawa, Ontario. Act III would begin in Ottawa and end at Ivanhoe Camp near Belleville, Ontario where Horner died. The prologue would find its space almost exclusively in Pontiac County, while the epilogue would rapidly cover Canada, west of Montreal, and parts of all continents of the world.

Imbedded into this scenery the audience would observe many geographic, economic, and cultural items. The spectators would be impressed by the variety of rock

formation, soil types, and waterways found in the triangle bounded by Deep River, Brockville, and Cornwall. They would be moved by the two major rivers, the Ottawa which traverses the upper section of the triangle from northwest to southeast, and the Saint Lawrence which forms its base.

The audience would realize, nevertheless, that many of the values that they observed in the prologue were ones that Horner later used to create his new religious culture. Impressed by how the hard life the pioneers sustained created the culture found in the Ottawa Valley as the nineteenth century became the twentieth, the audience would appreciate the contribution of settlers from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and Poland. Theatre-goers would, however, be shocked by the privileged position occupied by Irish Protestants in the Hornerite narrative.

Many of the values of these pioneers became those of Ralph Cecil Horner and his followers. The audience would observe Horner as he capitalized on the insecurities of some residents of a marginalized region that suffered the indirect backblows more than the direct transformations of industrial capitalism. They would understand that Horner was convinced that change, especially of one's faith in the context of a changing world, signified weakness. The use of the residual strands of economic and religious conservativism from pre-industrial Ottawa Valley culture crafted by Horner into a culture

that feared change would be evident. Modernists would be horrified to watch Horner use this fear of progress to recreate the culture of the pre-industrial Ottawa Valley. The sociologists among them would recognize the Weberian prophet who was able to convince his followers that his ideology was correct and that he was the only person to offer stability in an apocalyptic world.

Older theatre-goers who came through the Depression of the 1930s would identify with the economic circumstances of the pioneers of Clarendon Township between 1850 and 1885. They would be excited with the 1885 residents of Shawville who expected that the coming of the railway would give them the economic advantage that the Ontario side of the Ottawa Valley had been enjoying since the 1850s. They would empathize with the residents of Pontiac County when they discovered that although the arrival of the railway did increase production and some export of mining and dairy products, the expected boom did not come. Unless they were totally postmodern, theatre-goers would rejoice with the teleological concept of progress. Where there is hope, improvement is always possible; where there is no vision (no hope) the people perish. The audience would also note that James Horner's farm was much more economically advantaged than those of many of his neighbours. Foreshadowing would suggest to then that the Horner family would have a prosperous and exciting future.[3]

The audience would also note that the culture of Clarendon Township from 1850 to 1885 was almost totally Irish Protestant. French-Canadian Catholics would appear only downstage, often as lumberjacks. The majority of this Protestant hegemony in 1850 would be Anglicans with many Methodists and Presbyterians. However, as the 1870s arrived the number of Methodists would increase markedly. Methodist revivals would create citizens who were more interested than formerly in living a holy lifestyle which did not include smoking, drinking, or premarital sex. If the theatre-goers are etic in their worldview they will be horrified at these "holy Anns" who dared to remove all pleasure from society; if they are emic they will be pleased that society was becoming purer.

As the minor players of this drama act out their parts on stage the audience will become aware of the changes in the Methodist denomination between the 1730s of John Wesley and the 1890s of Ralph Horner. They will observe British, American, and Canadian societies changing as the various Methodist revivals work their way through the culture. Finally, with the arrival of Darwinism, higher criticism, urbanization and industrialization, they will observe the majority of Methodists become secularized as they develop the social gospel. The audience will be mesmerized by the college professors of the late nineteenth century who gradually convince the majority of Christians that millennialism is merely a term used by the Christian Bible to talk about one thousand

years of peace on earth, an eldorado created by the goodness of humankind as they reach out to make the world a better place to live. It no longer means that Jesus Christ will literally return to earth and rule here for a peaceful one thousand years.

Into this arena of complacency will stride the hero, or a least the leading character of our play, Ralph Cecil Horner. Like Jesus in the temple of money changers, Moses before Pharaoh, and the blind Samson before the Philistines, Horner rushes on stage in righteous indignation creating tremendous tension which must somehow be resolved before the end of the play. He will not accept the secularization of the Methodists. After intense struggles and sword fights[4] the villain, Horner, is thrown off the Methodist stage, only to reappear almost instantaneously on another stage, one that he himself had prepared. The audience develops the impression of an almost mystical act whereby Horner had created this new stage without the audience being conscious of it. Here he is the hero of his own world; here he will no longer have to explain his actions to anyone. He is bishop, lord, and master. Horner will attempt to cope with major crises in his religious life by writing his memoirs to justify his behaviour in the Methodist Church and by creating a new religious and social order. He is Max Weber's ethical prophet who by the force of his oratory can persuade all the other actors that he is their leader. They must obey implicitly. If this ethical prophet is successful he and his followers will break

through to a new social order, a new culture which he believes will be closer to first-century Christianity than are the Methodists.

The audience will marvel as Horner creates all the new structures necessary for his new sect. They will be impressed by his oratory, his charisma, and his physical presence. As Horner preaches, the audience will observe tremendous social changes taking place. People will stop smoking, drunkards will stop drinking and beating their wives and families, and many people will have the courage to face their day to day problems. Before the eyes of the transfixed audience tableaux of drunkenness and debauchery become scenes of happy homes with love, cleanliness, and enough food to feed the family.

However, tremendous tension will be observable among the actors as these social changes lead to legalism. Horner and his followers are not content with these outward symbols of an inner change, but insist that sombre clothing and the lack of any jewelry will be the accepted symbol of any inner change. Everyone must dress and act as the leaders do. External symbols of grace will signify an inner change.

As with any tragic hero there is at least one pathetic human flaw that causes their fall.[5] Legalism was one result of this flaw. Ralph Horner, like many leaders of his age, could not admit he was wrong. This sense of arrogance was accentuated in Horner's case

by his interpretation of the doctrine of entire sanctification. Unlike his hero, John Wesley, Horner believed that, like personal salvation, entire sanctification or holiness, was a one-time, instantaneous act. From that point on the worshipper had no more desire to sin. How could Bishop Horner make serious mistakes if the Holy Spirit had removed all his desire to sin? The human ability to do wrong would have to be denied. This denial of doing anything wrong and of refusing to ever apologize was Ralph Horner's hamartia, or "flaw".

As the scene changes in Act II the audience, with the dread of *déjà vu*, becomes aware of tremendous tension between the leading character and his acolytes. Each time he is challenged Horner either falls ill or refuses to show up to explain himself to his accusers. Nor will he accept the idea that he needs help to administer a growing organization.

As the lights dim on the actors in the last scene of Act II the observant theatre-goer watches Ralph Horner slowly move downstage and slip out only to reappear in Act III on a brand new stage that he had, like in 1895, prepared beforehand. As the Standard Church of America comes into focus the audience realizes that Horner is still the hero of his own play. However, this time there seems to be no tension and at times he may even be influenced by his closest advisors. All the troublemakers have been removed; a

heavenly atmosphere of pure harmony reigns. Surely this heaven on earth will last forever. All opposition has been removed. Tragically, too, where there is no tension there can be no character development. However, up to this point Horner had not changed, nor would he in Act III. There remains only the epilogue to be played out.

This epilogue will reveal the tragic hero's strengths and weaknesses. It will show his demoralized followers, the Holiness Movement Church and the Standard Church of America, who fought each other physically and emotionally. It will be the second and third generations before these two sects become denominations and feel comfortable in each other's presence. However, the epilogue will also show the dozens of denominations, countries, and cultures that have been touched by Horner's influence. The lives of thousands of people have been changed spiritually and emotionally for the better. Perhaps the audience will recognize that in Horner's mythos[6] the good outweighs the bad. If Ralph Horner had only accepted his humanity and not believed himself to be a god, or if not a god (because he would have been horrified by the term) at least vastly superior to anyone around him, his dianoia[7] would have been much different.

In spite of his tragic flaw Horner did create a new culture for his followers. Many of them saw their lives greatly improved because of his intervention. In time the wounds between his two groups of followers would heal, and the sects would become

denominations more concerned with the world around them rather than just their own immediate society. In fact, by the 1980s both the HMC and the SCA would cooperate with other evangelical denominations for common missionary emphases.

Ralph Cecil Horner certainly was a product of the Ottawa Valley. He even became an export product reproducing his brand of faith throughout the world. The geography, economics, and culture of the late nienteenth-century Ottawa Valley made Horner the person he became with all his beliefs, abilities and prejudices. He in turn created a new culture that affected a small part of the Valley, parts of Canada and the world.

However, every stage play must have its critics. Members of the audience will form their own opinions of what they have witnessed on stage. The newspaper and other media critics will file their opinions on the success or failure of the play, the ability or lack of it of the various *dramatis personae*, and the resemblance of the play to reality. Some would give the play of Horner's life and times a failing grade; others would give it two thumbs up. But the purpose of a stage play like that of life is to create passion and tension. If the viewer leaves the theatre moved to some kind of action, at least in thought, the play has been successful.

There is one nagging problem with this stage play: the hero of high mimetic tragedy usually undergoes a character change. She, usually he, is deeply affected by the

circumstances in her/his life and becomes a different person. Ralph Horner was the same strong, socially unrepentant individual in 1921 that he was in 1895. Although his family and followers may have seen a loving, caring preacher, the audience sees a stiff-necked, arrogant man who takes great pride in the fact that he has not changed. Change to Horner would symbolize weakness and loss of one's principles. In Horner's case it is difficult to determine whether art imitates reality or vice versa.

The final word will be given to Ralph Horner himself. I can only image what he would think about the thesis I have written. He would be pleased that at times I allowed him and his followers to speak in their own voices. He would like the description of the changed lives he wrote about. He would be pleased that he was shown as a strong individual who never changed either his principles or his mind.

However, he would be insensed that I made his life into a stage play. Christians were to avoid the very appearance of evil. The theatre represented the height of corruption. Horner would also no doubt be furious that I analyzed the split between his two sects. In his day one did not point out problems but rather did eveything possible to shield them from outsiders. Ralph Horner would feel that I should be spending my time evangelizing the world, wining souls for Christ rather than writing such nonsense. He would have fulminated at what those "godless college professors" did to the twentieth

century. Even though his followers constitute a small minority both in the Ottawa Valley and in the world, they create his continuing legacy. Ralph Cecil Horner was a character who never left an observer without an opinion either in the 1890s or the 1990s.

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[1]William Shakespeare: As You Like It, II, vii, 139.

[2]Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture", Joyce Appleby et al (eds.), Knowledge and Postmodernism in Historical Perspective (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 310-323. Geertz's methodology of "thick description" helps the ethnographer create a text that tries to be faithful to the particularities and details of the situation he is trying to explain. This is what I have hoped to achieve by allowing Horner to be examined from all sides, and described in his own voice and that of his contemporaries and since. Greetz views culture as essentially semiotic.

[3]These well-educated theatre-goers of the 1990s would be well aware that Ralph Horner's cousin, Byron Horner, uncle William's son from two farms away on Range 5, Lot 20 of Clarendon Township, became a Canadian Senator. They would also know that Byron's brother, Asa, graduated from the University of Toronto with Lester Pearson, and that Byron's son, Jack, was a cabinet member in John Diefenbaker's Conservative government. The two branches of the Horner family seem to have had little contact as Byron followed politics and Ralph followed religion.

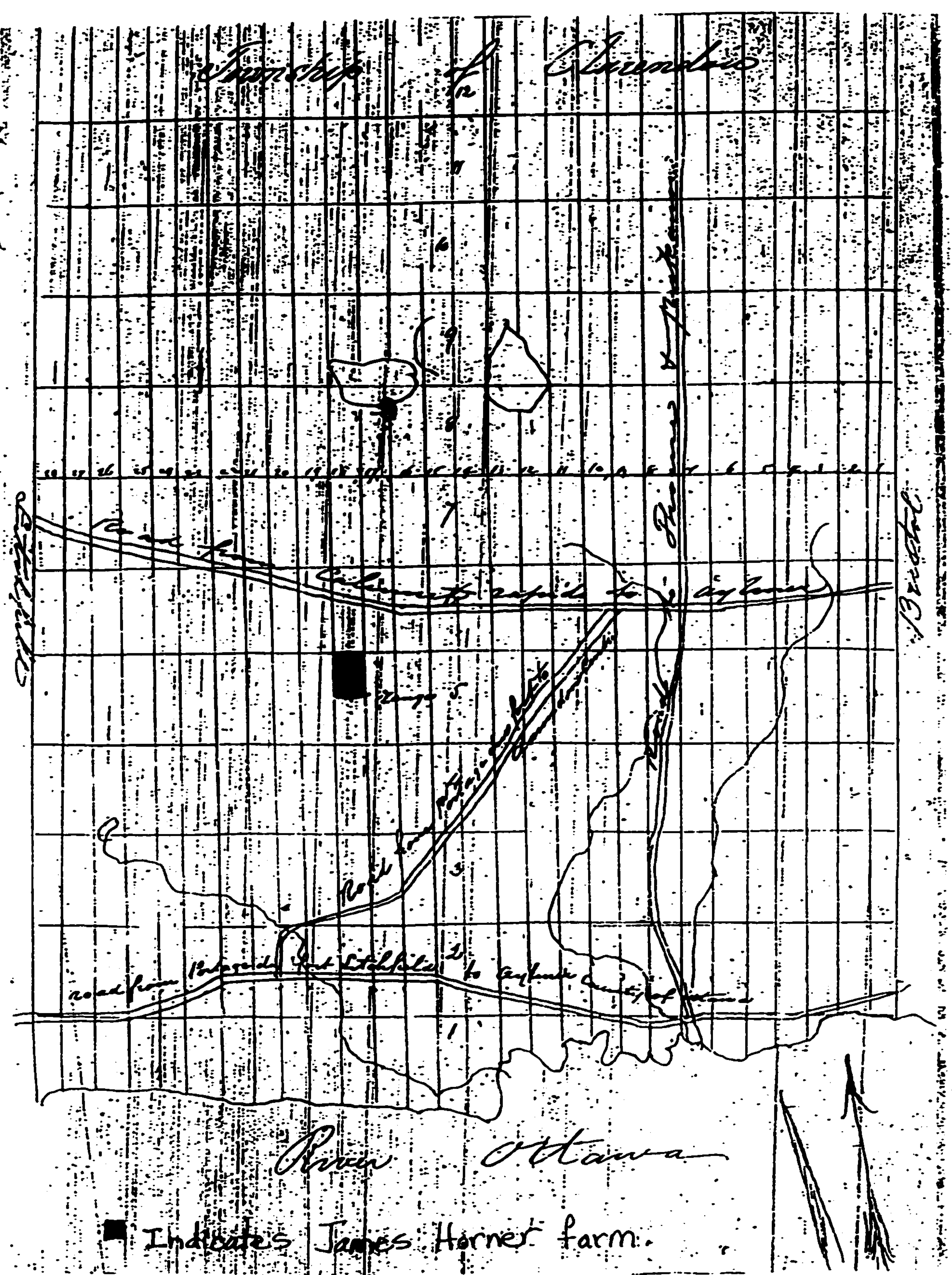
[4]Scripture is often referred to as a two-edged sword. When evangelicals talk about doing spiritual battle they usually mean the use of prayer and the quoting of Scripture. However, in Horner's case real fist fights did occur.

[5]Northrop Frye, Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 38 insists that in high mimetic tragedy "the particular thing called tragedy that happens to the tragic hero does not depend on his moral status". The tragedy is in the inevitability of the tragedy of an act that the hero has committed or failed to commit. This hamartia or "flaw" may simply be a strong character in an exposed area where he/she cannot win.

[6]Frye describes the mythos element of poetry as the literal narrative, the plot or argument in a descriptive narrative. The mythos can be one of four archetypal narratives: comic, romantic, tragic, or ironic. Homer's story is tragic with a touch of irony.

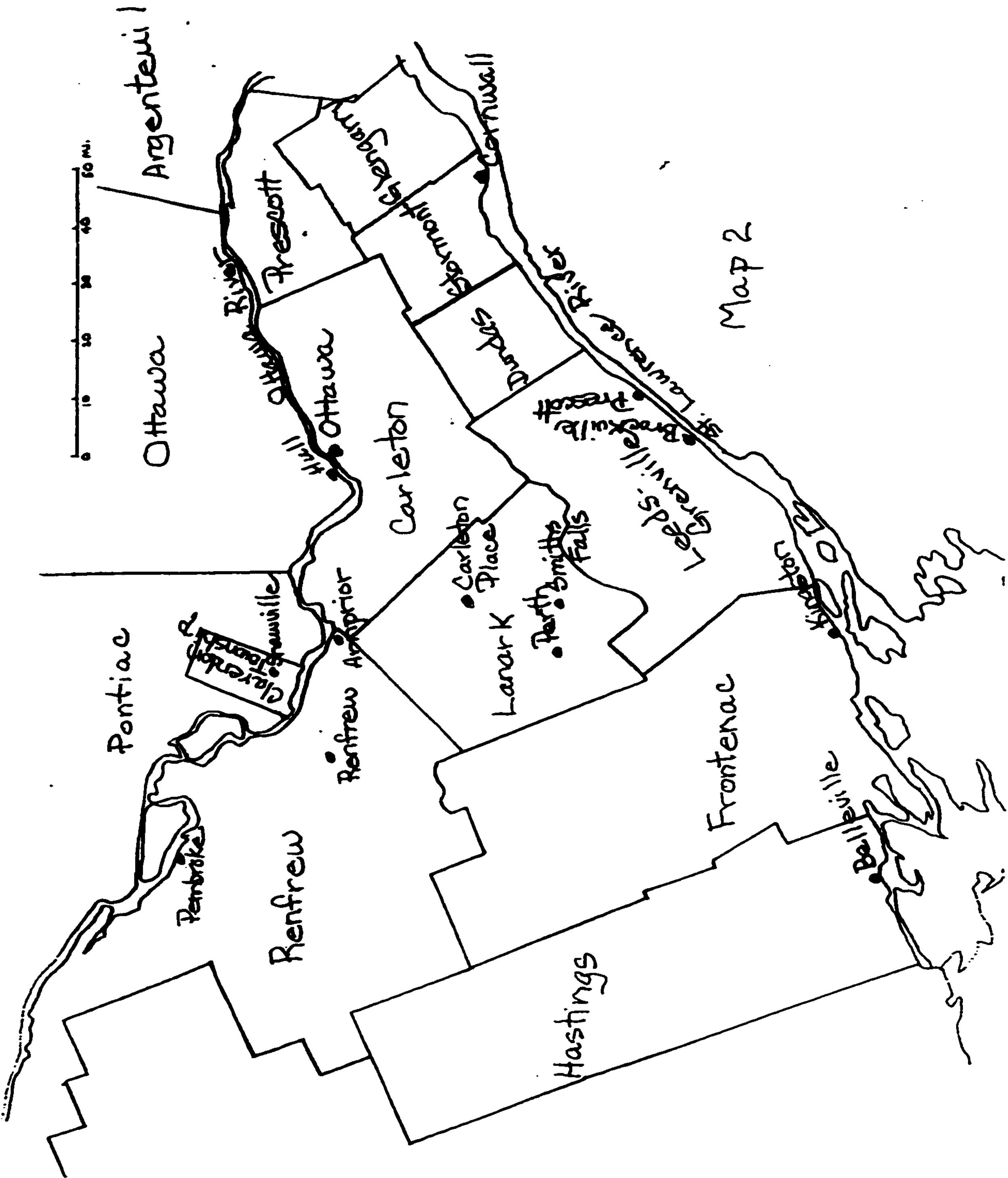
[7]Frye describes the term dianoia as the meaning of a work of literature. It contains the total pattern of its symbols. The literary dianoia would support Raymond Firth's sociological use of symbols.

Map 1 **Clarendon Township in 1861**

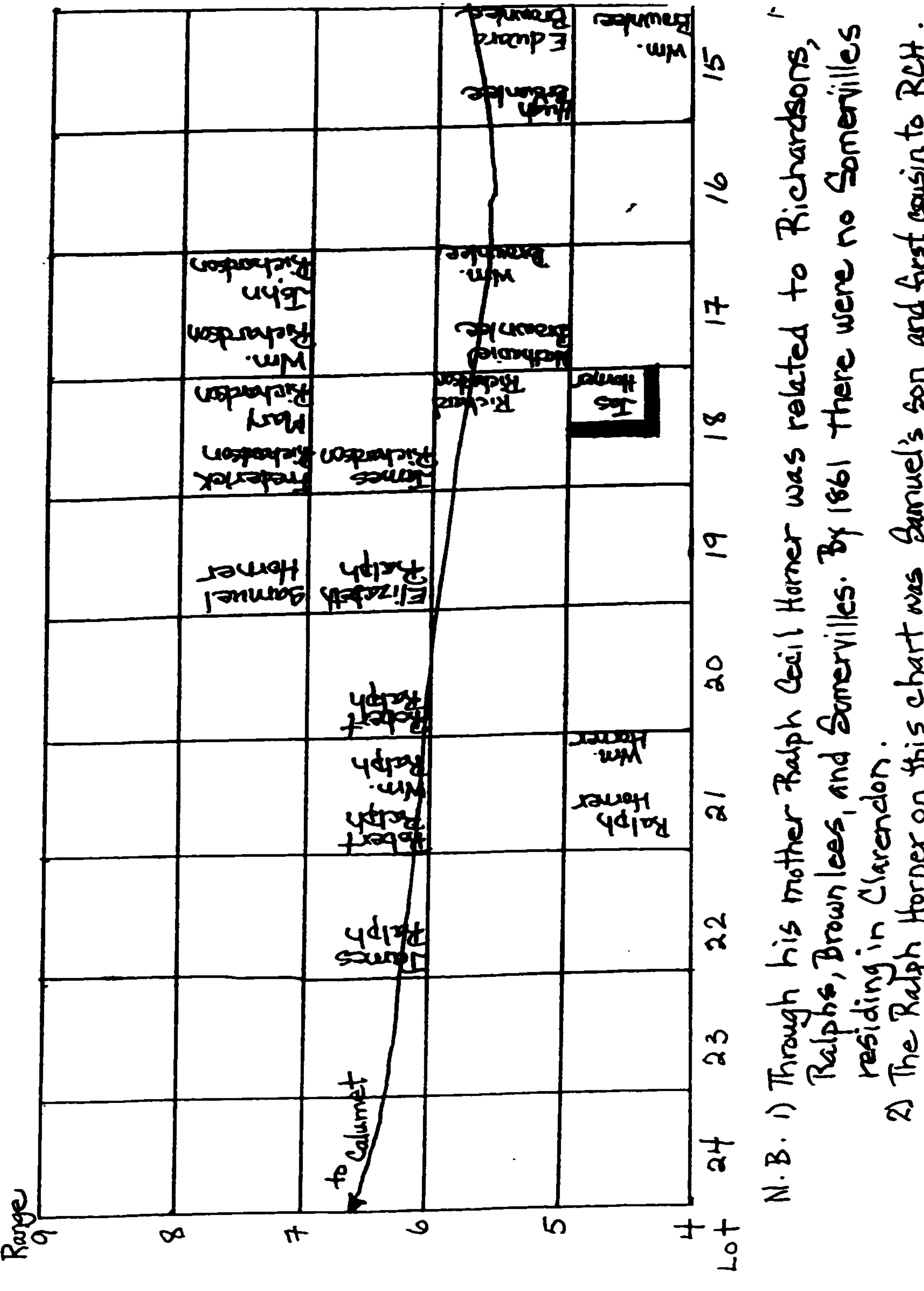


Source: Census Returns for 1861

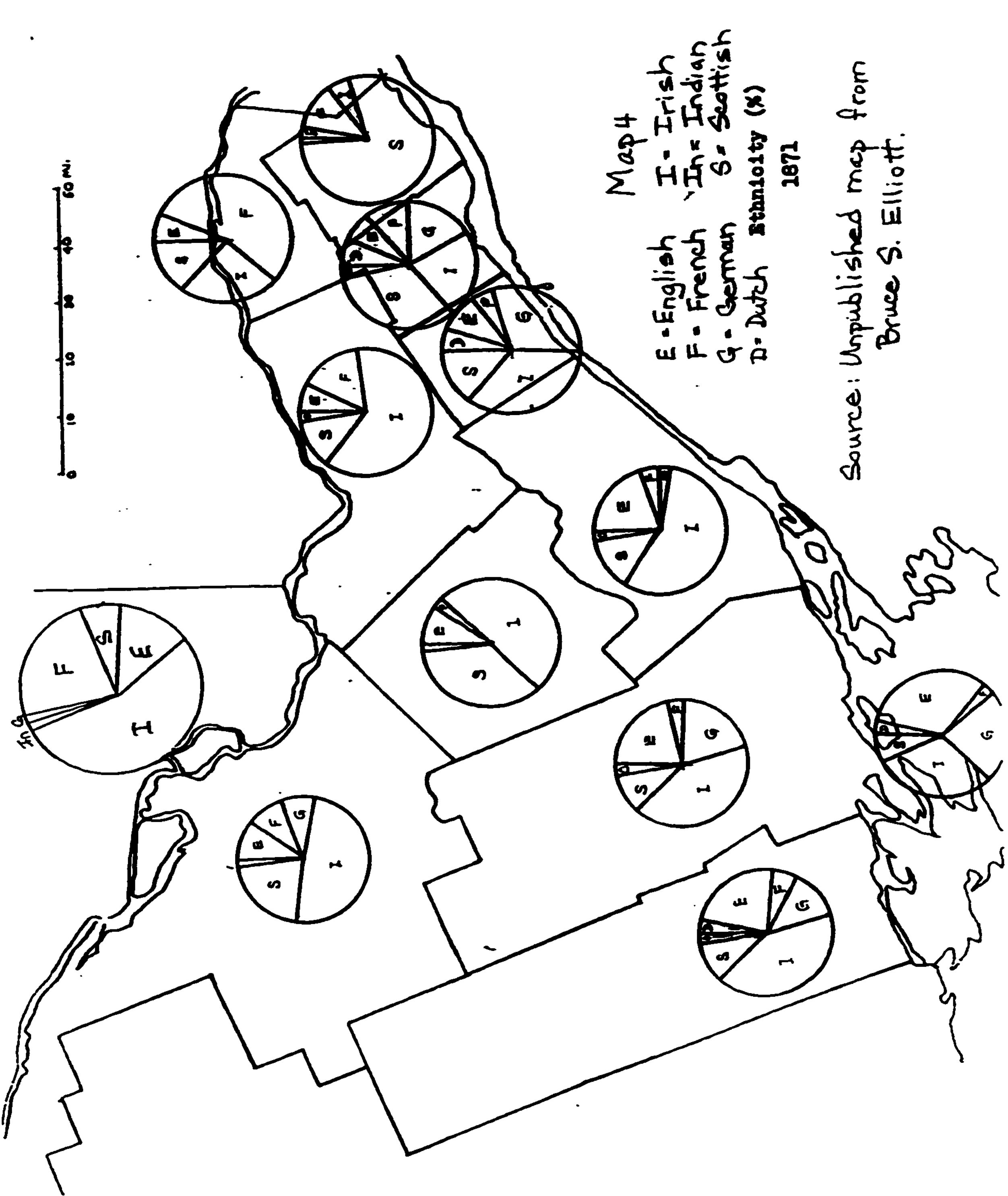
Map 2 **The Ottawa Valley**



Map3 **Horner/Richardson Settlement in Clarendon 1861**



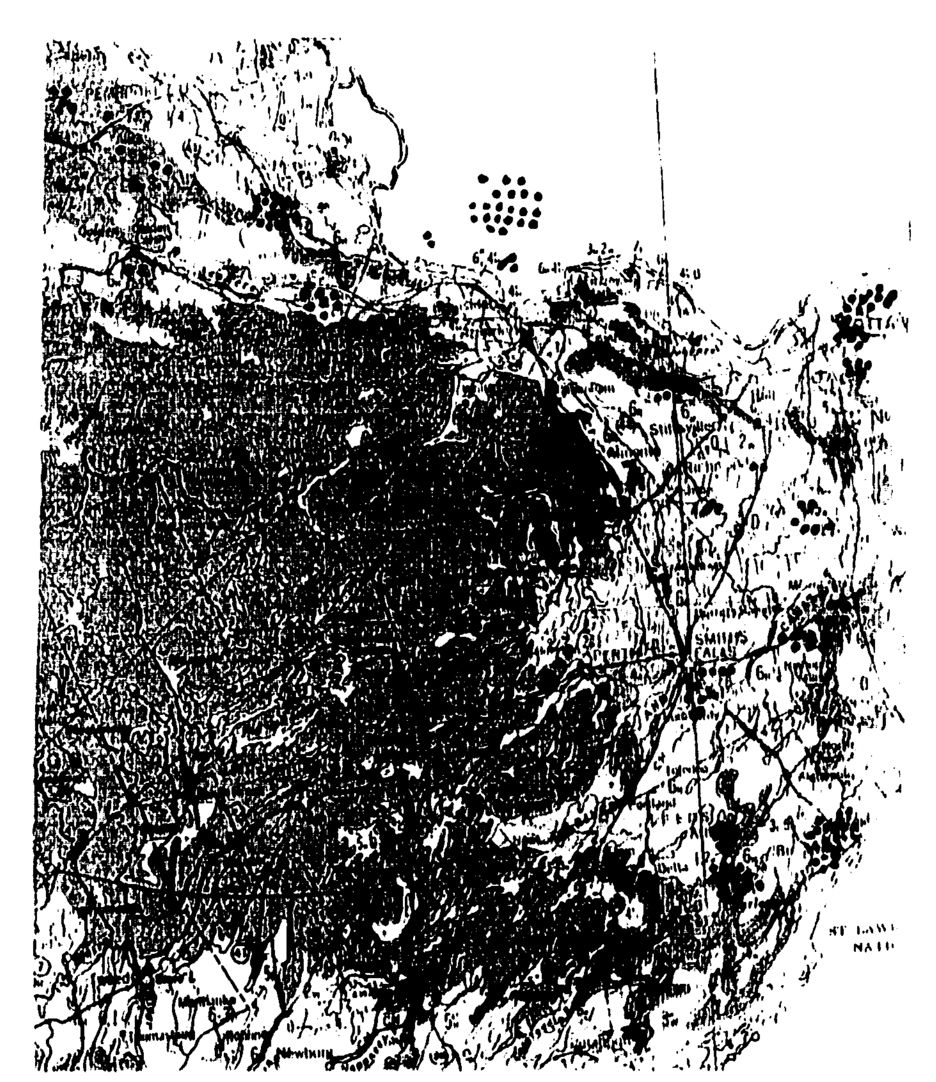
Map 4 **Ethnicity as a Percentage in 1871**



Map 5 Suitability of Soils for Farming: Location of Hornetite Families in 1901

Map 5 Suitability of Ottawa Valley Soils for Farming

Location of Hornerite Families in 1901



CLASSES

Class	Description
CLASS 1	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE NO SIGNIFICANT LIMITATIONS TO USE FOR CROPS
CLASS 2	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE MODERATE LIMITATIONS THAT RESTRICT THE RANGE OF CROPS OR REQUIRE MODERATE CONSERVATION PRACTICES.
CLASS 3	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE MODERATELY SEVERE LIMITATIONS THAT RESTRICT THE RANGE OF CROPS OR REQUIRE SPECIAL CONSERVATION PRACTICES
CLASS 4	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE SEVERE LIMITATIONS THAT RESTRICT THE RANGE OF CROPS OR REQUIRE SPECIAL CONSERVATION PRACTICES, OR BOTH.
CLASS 5	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE VERY SEVERE LIMITATIONS THAT RESTRICT THEIR CAPABILITY TO PRODUCING PERENNIAL FORAGE CROPS, BUT IMPROVEMENT PRACTICES ARE FEASIBLE
CLASS 6	SOILS IN THIS CLASS ARE CAPABLE OF PRODUCING PERENNIAL CROPS ONLY, AND IMPROVEMENT PRACTICES ARE NOT FEASIBLE
CLASS 7	SOILS IN THIS CLASS HAVE NO CAPABILITY FOR CROP USE OR PERMANENT PASTURE
	ORGANIC SOILS (not placed in capability classes)

Source: "Soil Capability for Agriculture Maps", Department of Agricultre Canada

Table 1 **Ralph Horner's Genealogy**

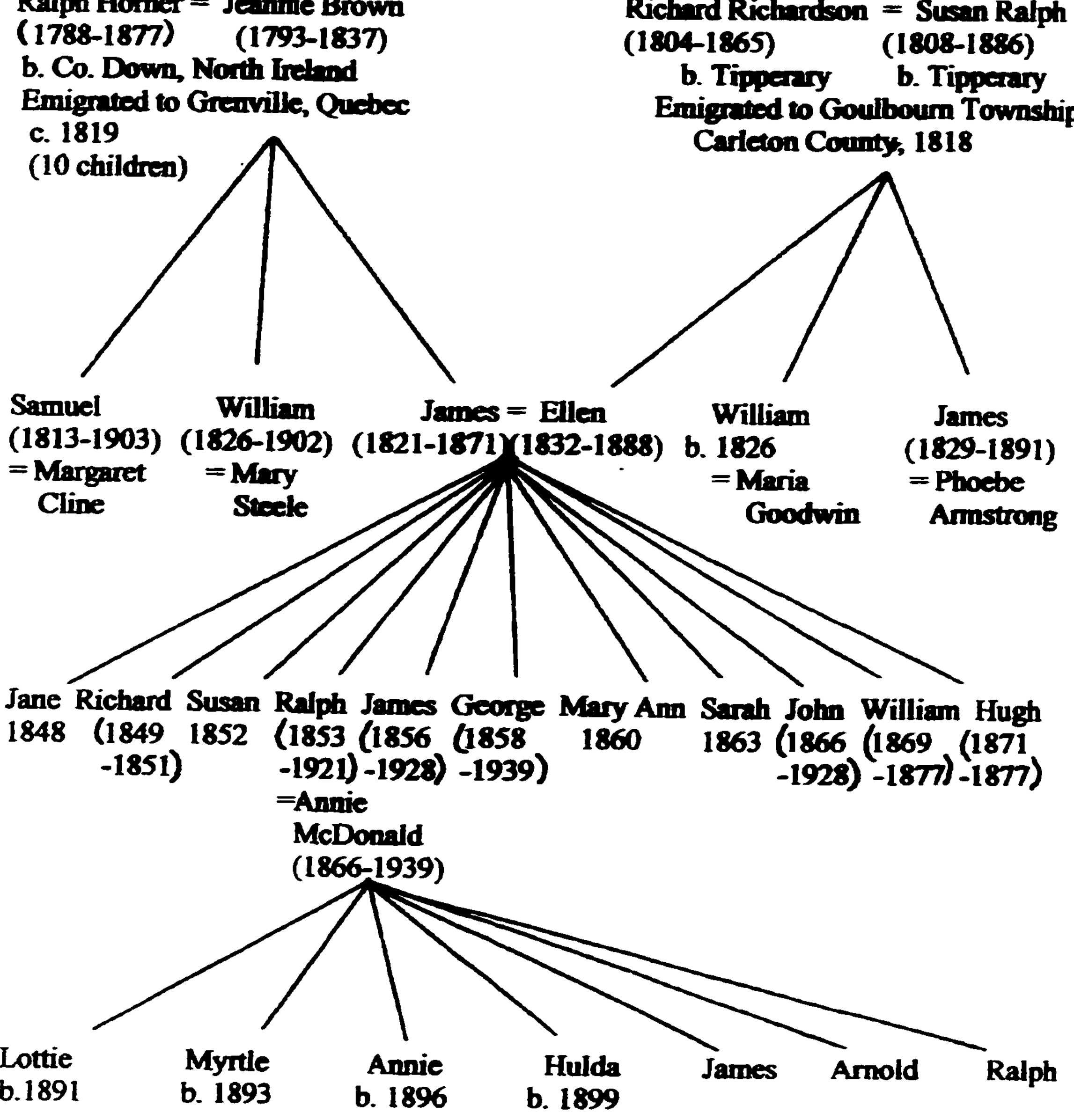


Table 2

Occupations in Pontiac County and Clarendon Township

	Pontiac			Clarendon		
	1861	1871	1881	1861	1871	1881
Blacksmith	35	53	68	2	8	9
Carpenter	69	78	68	10	1	11
Clergy	9	15	22	2	3	5
Dressmaker Tailor	31	n/a	44	4	5	18
Farmer	1615	2737	3340	323	458	703
Labourer	1187	427	n/a	169	41	20
Miller	14	24	15	3	4	4
Shoemaker	7	n/a	n/a	4	5	6
Teacher	15	48	79	4	13	12
Weaver	9	33	n/a	3	6	7

Note: The figures for 1851 are excluded because the census for that year included Pontiac County as part of Ottawa County.
Source: Canadian census returns for 1861-1881.

Table 3

An Economic Profile of Ralph Horner's Neighbourhood

1851 Range	Lot	Owner	Acreage	Cleared	In Crops	Pasture	Bush	Wheat Acres	Wheat Bushels
5	16	Robert Prendergast	50	10	9	1	40	3	30
5	17	Thomas Prendergast	200	30	28	2	170	7	100
5	18s	William Armstrong	100	20	19	1	80	10	200
5	18n	James Horner	100	30	29	1	70	5	100
5	19	Thomas Fisher	100	40	34	6	60	9	100
5	19	Matthew Sinclair	50	24	18	6	26	3	30
5	19	John Sinclair	50	6	5	1	44	2	10
5	20	William Horner	100	40	36	4	60	6	70
5	20	William McKnight	100	40	37	3	60	12	150
6	17	Nathanial Brownlee	100	90	88	8	10	8	100

Source: Census Returns for 1851.

Table 3

An Economic Profile of Ralph Horner's Neighbourhood

1861								Wheat	
Range	Lot	Owner	Acreage	Cleared	In Crops	Pasture	Bush	Acres	Bushels
5	16	James McDowall	50	10	8	2	40	2	35
5	16	John Crainer	50	10	10	0	40	1	12
5	17	Thomas Prendergast	200	110	99	10	90	20	300
5	18s	William Armstrong	100	60	52	8	40	10	150
5	18n	James Horner	100	70	59	10	30	10	180
5	19	William Wallace	100	50	40	10	50	5	90
5	19	Matthew Sinclair	100	33	25	8	67	4	60
5	20	William Horner	100	60	53	7	40	8	130
5	20	William McKnight	100	54	48	8	46	8	140
6	17	Nathanial Brownlee	50	42	40	2	8	4	65
6	17	William Brownlee	50	46	26	20	4	5	74

Source: Census Returns for 1861

Table 3

An Economic Profile of Ralph Horner's Neighbourhood

1871						Wheat	
Range	Lot	Owner	Acreage	Improved	Pasture	Acres	Bushels
5	16	James McDowall	50	16	5	1	15
5	16	Thomas Prendergast	100	40	0	8	80
5	17	Thomas Prendergast	130	116	16	17	200
5	18s	William Armstrong	100	60	20	4	50
5	18n	James Horner	240	150	20	25	200
5	19	Matthew Sinclair	70	40	10	0	0
5	20	William Horner	100	100	20	10	100
5	20	William McKnight	100	80	10	8	100
6	17	Margaret Brownlee	50	40	15	1/2	50
	17	Adam Brownlee	50	40	15	0	0

N.B.: (1) John Crainer left Range 5 Lot 16 sometime between 1861 and 1871, but he did not resettle in Clendon Township.

(2) James Horner bought William Wallace's part of Lot 19.

Table 4

Average Number of Livestock Per Farm in Pontiac and Carleton Counties

		Bulls/Oxen	Milch Cows	Calves	Horses	Sheep	Pigs
1861							
	Pontiac	0.81	2.54	2.9	1.2	4.2	3.7
	Carleton	0.34	3.28	3.2	1.8	5.7	6.6
1871							
	Pontiac	0.016	2.9	2.7	1.6	7.6	3.5
	Carleton	0.017	2.8	2.2	1.4	5.7	2.4
1881							
	Pontiac	0.045	2.9	3.07	1.5	5.53	3.2
	Carleton	0.005	3.8	4.4	1.8	7.24	2.6

Source: Canadian Censuses for 1861-81

Table 5

Percentage of Children in School 1851-1881

	Ages 5-15				Ages 6-16			
	1851		1861		1871		1881	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ottawa Co (Pontiac)	20.4	17.2	40	37	45.8	43.7	51.7	49
Lanark Co.	60	51.8	75.6	69.5	88	87	98.8	89.8
Carleton C	48.7	40.5	79.9	69	80	77.9	84.3	79.8
Clarendon Township	26	23	48.6	42.4	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nepean Township	54.8	38.7	74.6	65	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Sources: (1) Bruce S.Elliott, The City Beyond: A History of Nepean, Birthplace of Canada's Capital, 1792-1991 (Nepean: City of Nepean, 1991) Table 4, p. 58
(2) Census Returns for 1851-1881

Notes: (1) The 1851 census for Ottawa County includes Pontiac County.
2) Township censuses are not available for 1871 and 1881.
3) The 1881 Lanark census includes all people in school.

Table 6

Manufactures of Towns Having 5,000 Inhabitants and Over

Town	Year	Population	Establishments	Capital	Employees	Salaries	Material	Value in Dollars
Brockville	1881	7,699	73	536,465	808	243,476	442,128	908,369
	1891	8,791	135	1,207,107	1,161	374,630	664,269	1,404,638
	1901	8,940	23	1,536,485	1,130	439,433	724,251	1,551,590
Ottawa	1881	31,307	302	2,891,080	4,242	1,038,722	3,374,764	5,269,072
	1891	44,154	553	6,540,037	6,683	1,854,749	5,265,261	8,822,051
	1901	59,928	208	10,358,711	6,886	2,414,822	3,768,663	7,638,688
Pembroke	1881	2,820	62	215,340	369	103,889	274,763	479,620
	1891	4,401	98	602,115	594	160,994	274,763	479,620
	1901	5,156	24	587,638	500	165,231	234,651	616,581
Smiths Falls	1881	2,087	33	274,533	339	86,381	199,023	363,415
	1891	3,864	91	899,635	627	236,196	389,635	966,355
	1901	5,155	11	2,164,003	793	373,500	670,696	1,397,075

Source: 1901 Census Report, Voll III, pp. 333-338.

Table 7

Manufactures of Towns and Villages 1,500 to Under 5,000 Inhabitants

Town	Year	Population	Establishment	Capital	Employees	Salaries	Materials	Value in Dollars
Almonte	1881	2,684	58	423,273	622	75,241	494,046	773,400
	1891	3,071	77	971,620	708	198,717	426,829	867,680
	1901	3,023	10	995,167	671	211,210	450,758	845,800
Arnprior	1881	2,147	28	253,180	845	190,750	231,710	502,500
	1891	3,341	49	1,134,705	1,215	462,580	636,374	1,436,914
	1901	4,152	8	1,059,975	628	197,340	465,108	1,117,322
Carleton Place	1881	1,975	28	388,00	409	75,967	309,845	570,470
	1891	4,435	88	1,178,510	906	233,240	613,576	1,002,177
	1901	4,059	15	357,760	368	129,226	201,069	392,735
Gananoque	1881	2,871	63	535,860	541	148,100	472,210	761,745
	1891	3,669	72	1,105,640	809	280,597	530,039	1,081,272
	1901	3,526	16	1,030,412	674	281,380	430,078	863,079
Perth	1881	2,467	77	182,910	309	68,219	161,826	298,856
	1891	3,136	70	286,448	385	129,305	399,043	722,278
	1901	3,588	20	379,138	303	90,910	131,928	273,369
Prescott	1881	2,999	38	215,300	212	68,350	232,700	423,275
	1891	2,919	67	457,765	334	103,048	256,923	605,113
	1901	3,019	7	575,900	134	51,220	202,635	290,742
Renfrew	1881	1,605	61	104,140	214	51,220	202,635	290,742
	1891	2,611	69	256,553	243	61,766	160,268	308,334
	1901	3,153	15	358,443	163	60,722	270,968	379,525

Source: 1901 Census Report, Vol III, pp. 333-338.

Table 8

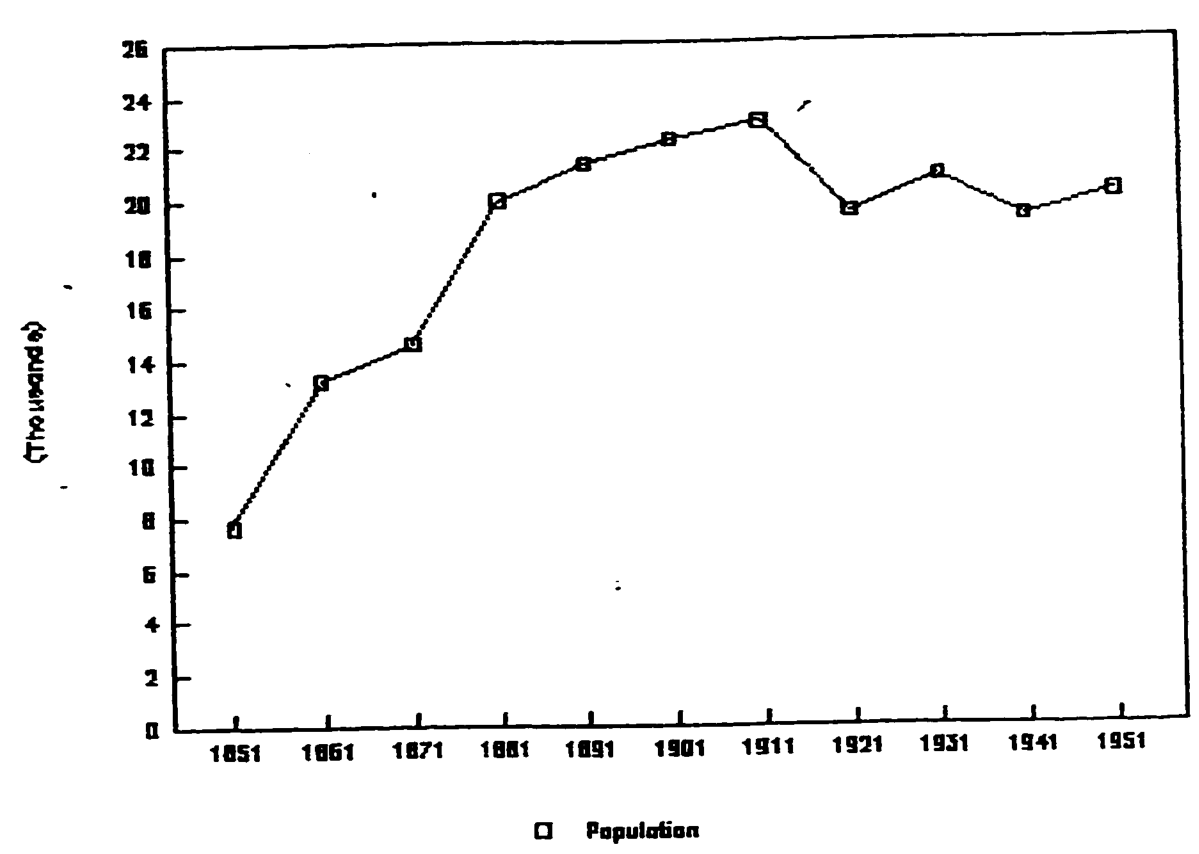
Homerite Trades People in 1901

County	Town or Township	Name	Age	Occupation
Renfrew	Ross & Cobden	Minnie Cook	17	tailor
Lanark	Drummond	James Gibbit	42	carpenter
	Lanark	Benjamin Leader	34	shoemaker
Carleton	Goulbourn	George Londinson	42	carpenter
	Goulbourn	William Manchester	37	blacksmith
	Nepean	John Falls	58	baker
	North Gower	Thomas Goode	55	carriage maker
	Osgoode	James Smith	37	blacksmith
Leeds-Grenville	Athens	Adam Puchon	45	cheesemaker
	Bastard	Albert Brown	45	merchant
	Kemptville	William Spotswood	37	blacksmith
		Edwin Watson	45	painter
Leeds S.	Lancaster & Front	Reuben Smith	42	blacksmith
Pontiac	Shawville	John Dodd	41	harnessmaker
		Glenn William	22	merchant
	Clarendon	Ralph Hodgins	33	bricklayer
		Samuel McDowall	40	butcher
	Litchfield	John Smith	37	miller

Source: Developed from the 1901 Canadian Census

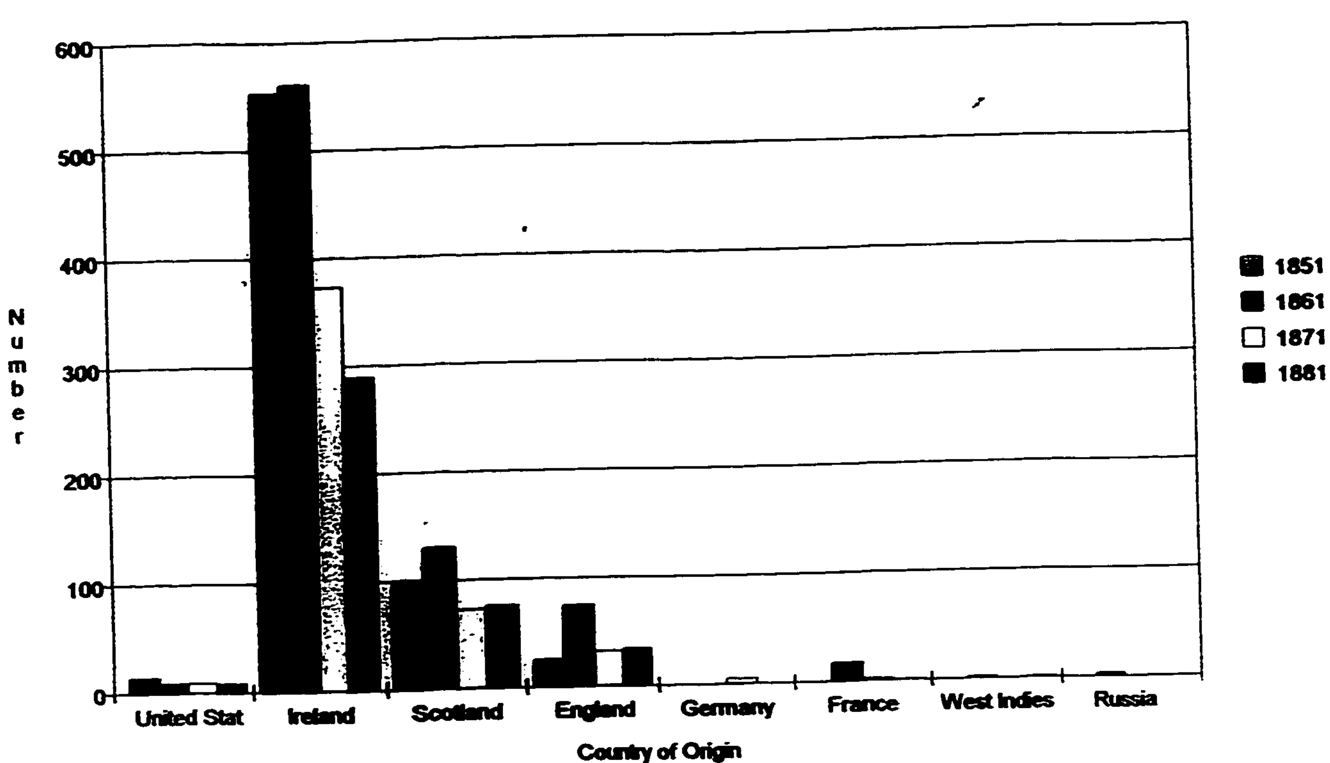
Chart 1

General Population Curve (Pontiac County)



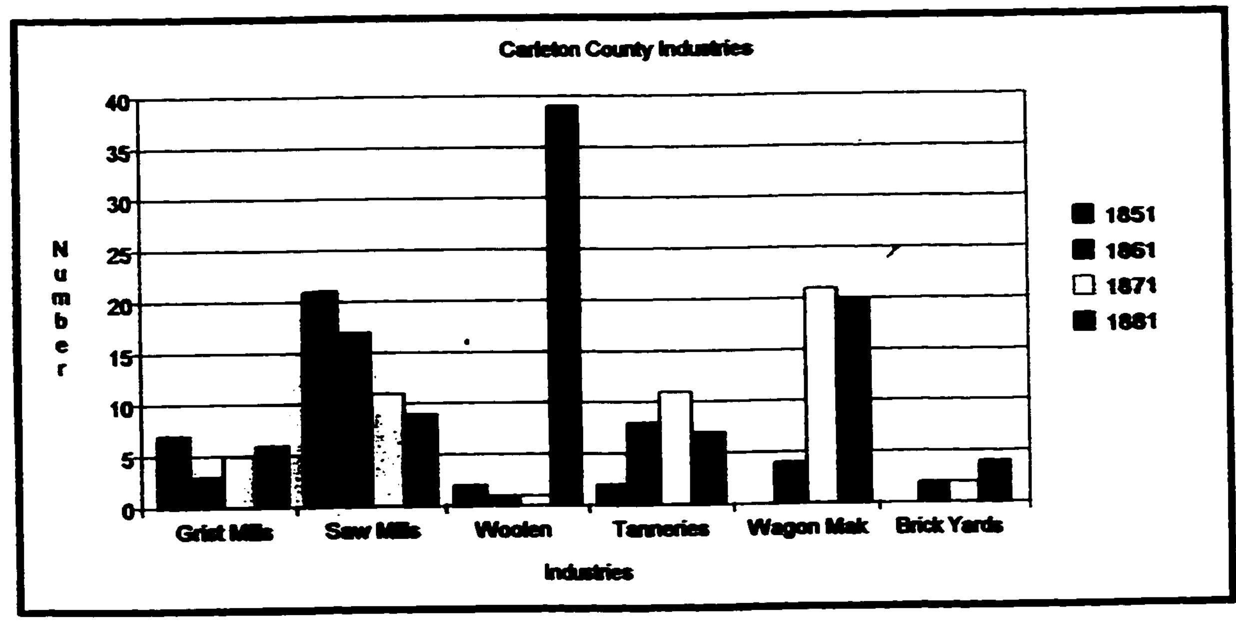
Source: Gordon G. Graham, unpublished chart in the possession of Bruce S. Elliott.

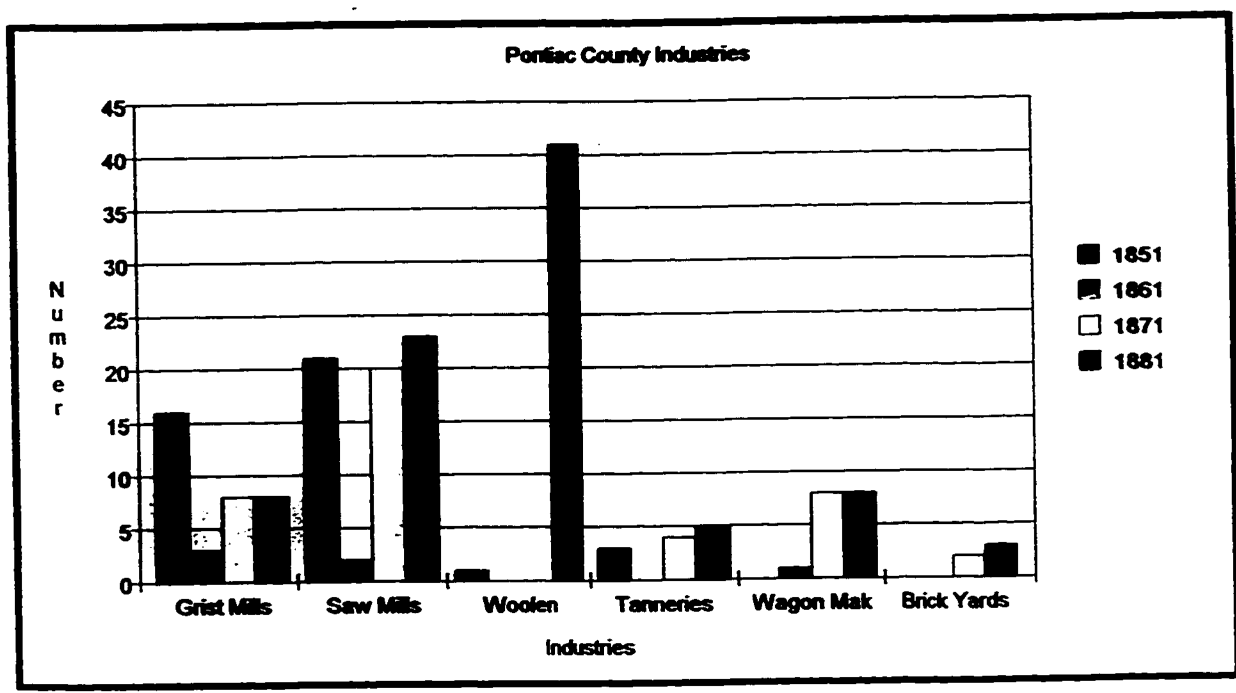
Chart 2 **Foreign-born Population of Clarendon Residents**



Source: Canadian Census Returns 1851-81.

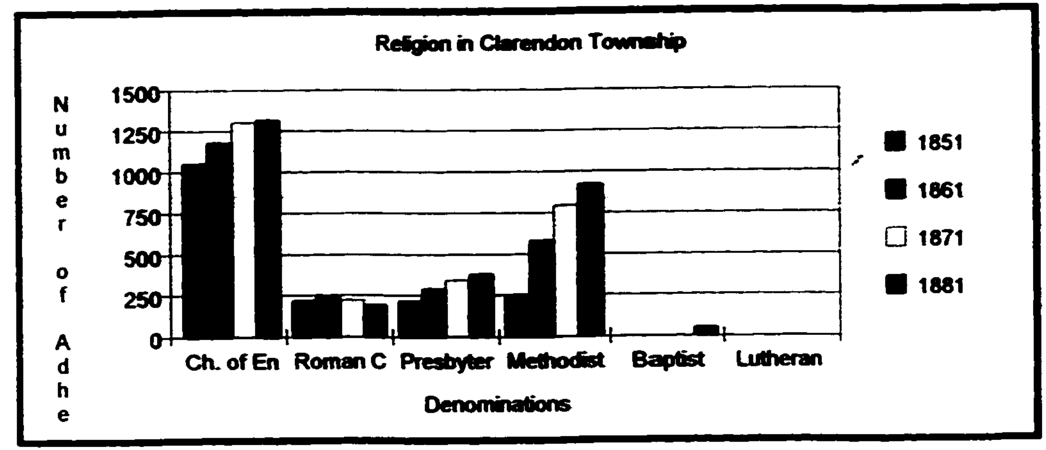
Chart 3 Comparison of Key Industries in Carleton and Pontiac Counties

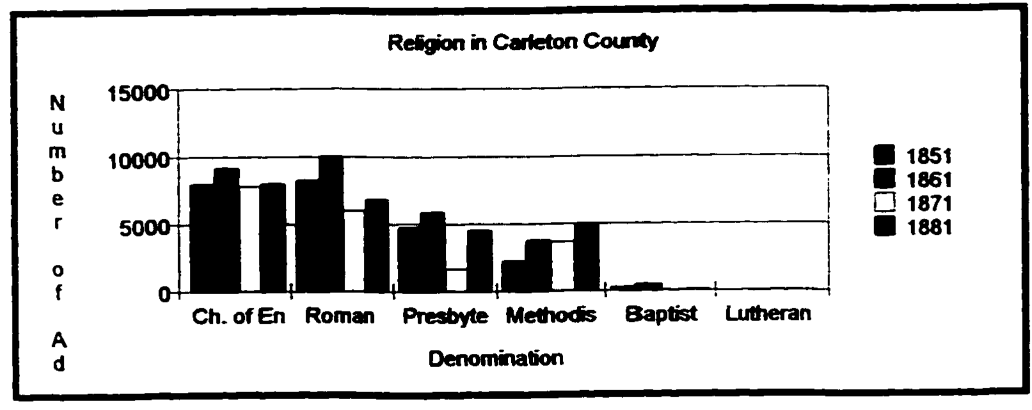




Source: Census Returns 1851-81.

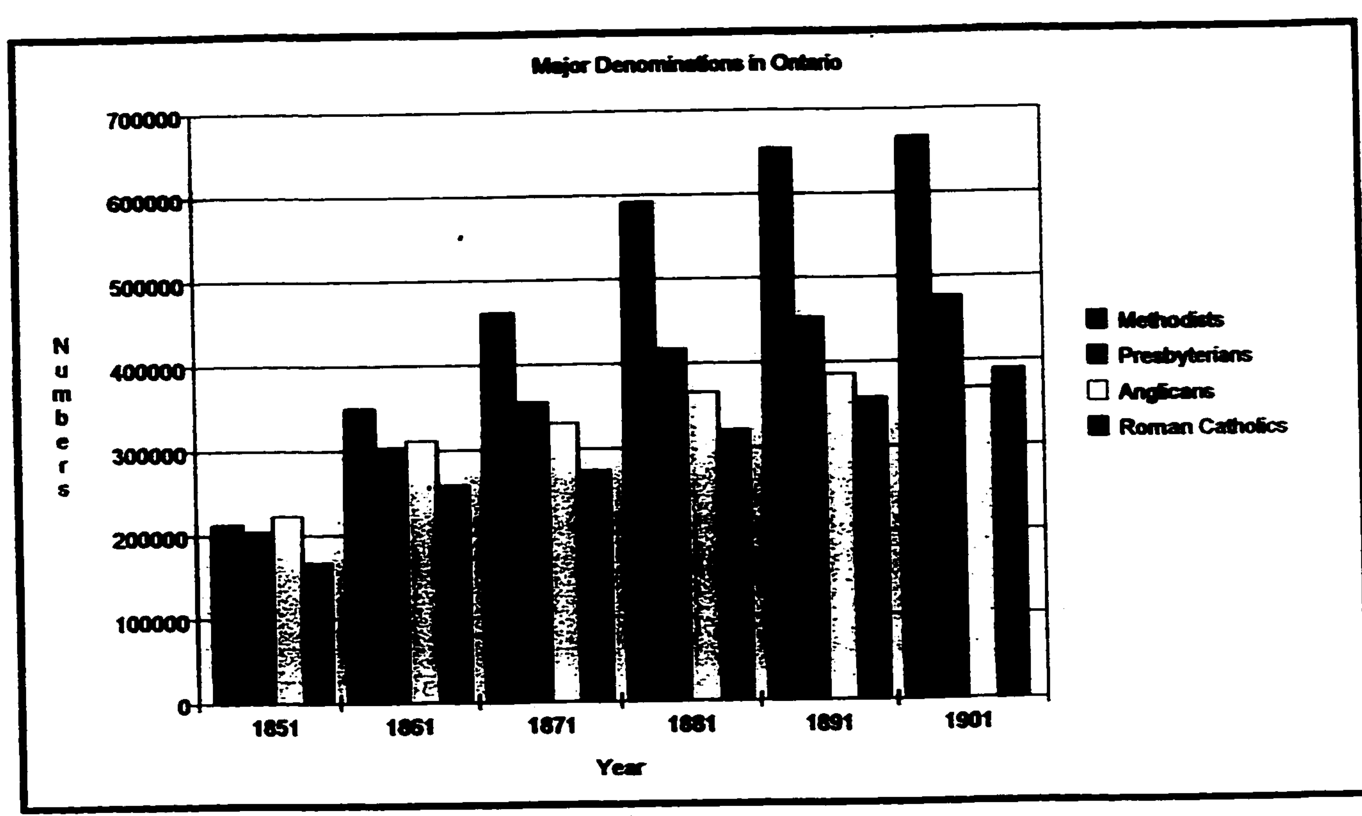
Chart 4 Religion in Clarendon Township and Carleton County





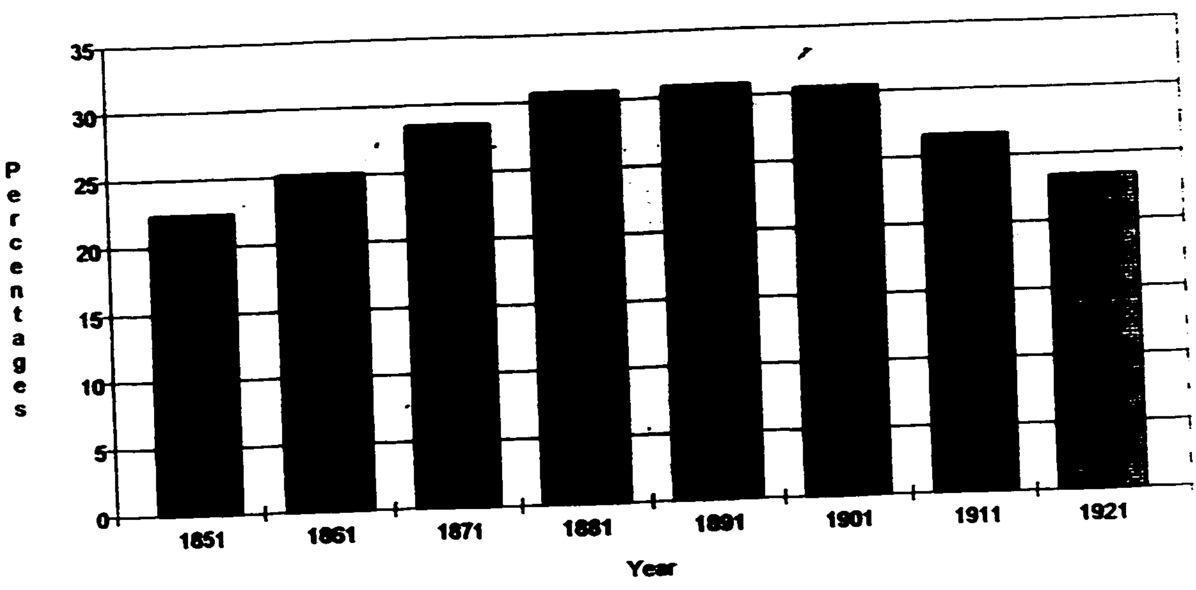
Source: Census Returns 1851-81.

Chart 5 Major Denominations in Ontario



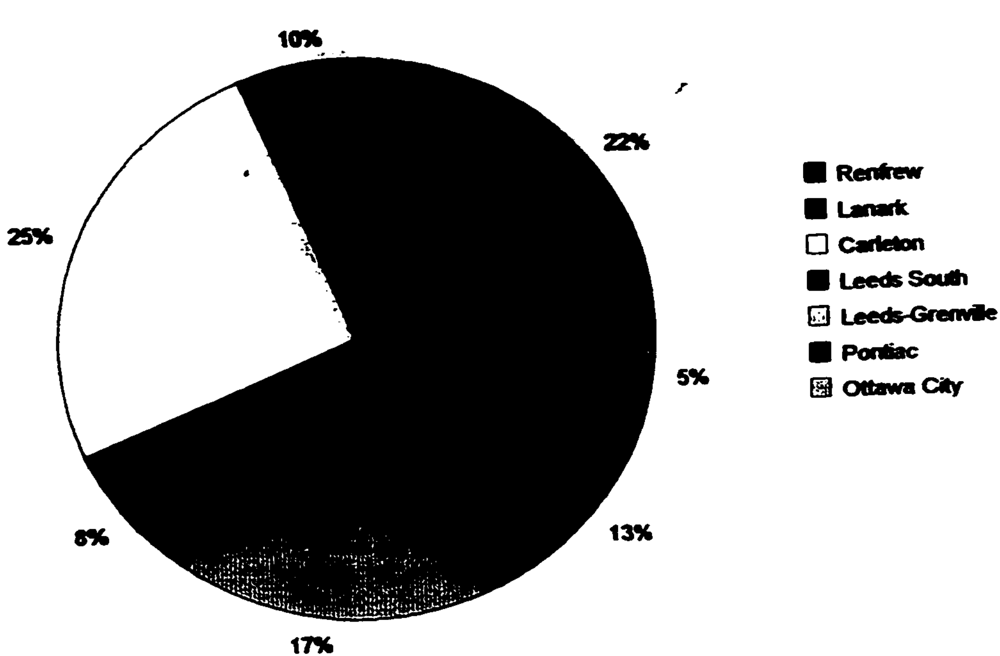
Source: Census Returns 1851-81.

Chart 6 Ontario Methodists as a Percentage of Ontario Population



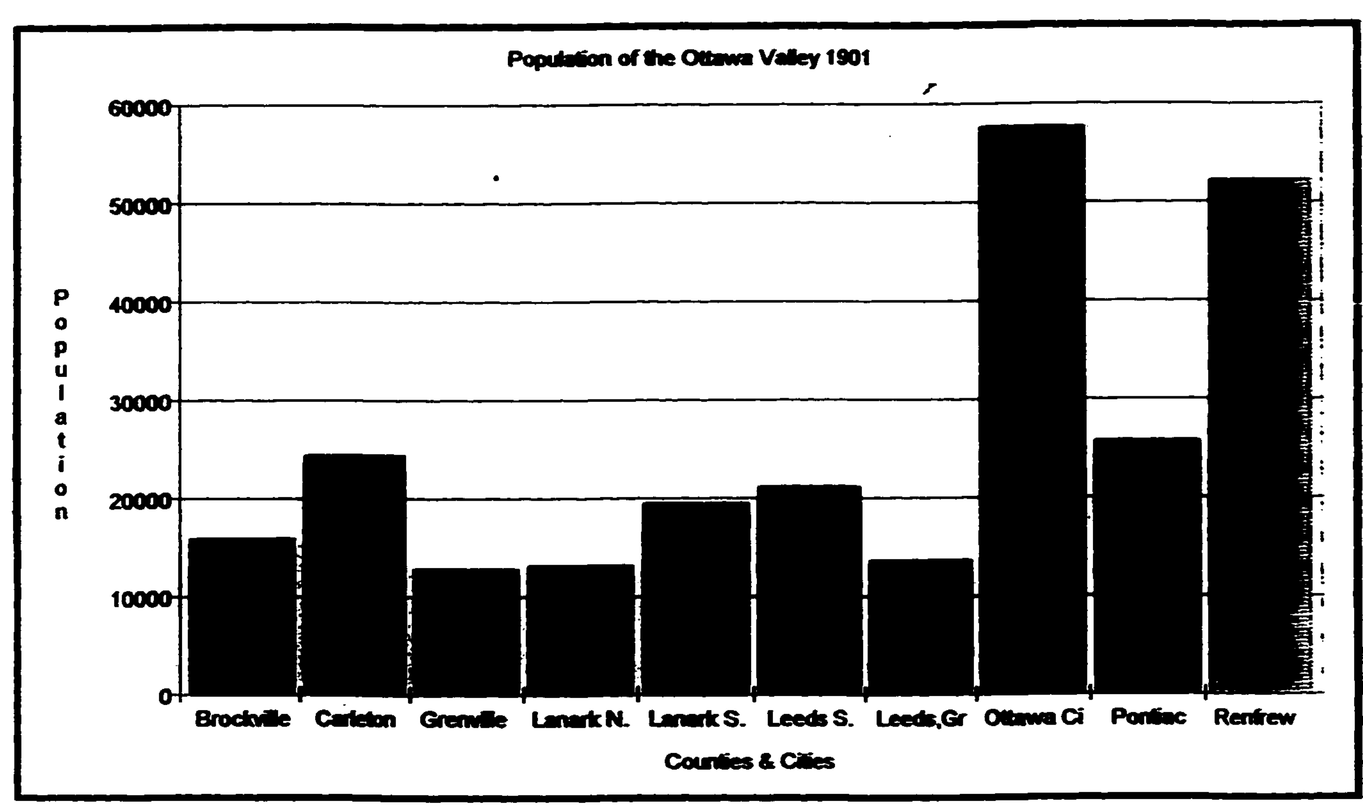
Source: Census Returns 1851-1921.

Chart 7 Ottawa Valley Hornerites by County in 1901



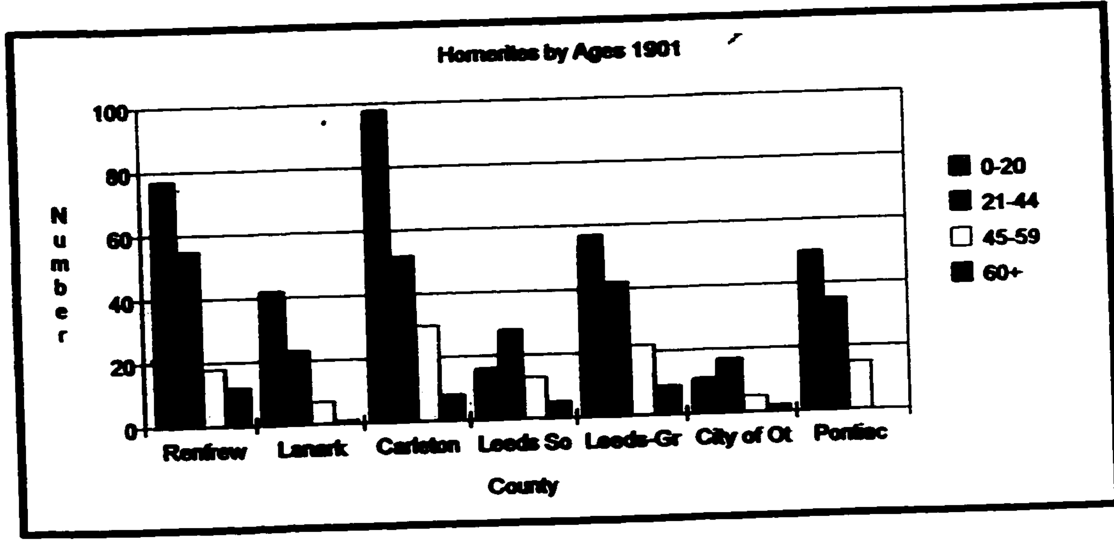
Source: Census Returns 1901

Chart 8 **Population of the Ottawa Valley in 1901**



Source: Census Returns 1901

Chart 9 Hornerites by Ages in 1901



Source: Census Returns 1901.

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Naomi Lindsay, Nepean, Ontario
Clem Marks, Nepean, Ontario
Lillis McDonald, Ottawa, Ontario
Rev. William McDowall, Shawville, Quebec
Orla Mee, Shawville, Quebec

Ida Reaney, Metcalfe, Ontario
Mary Ann Rowe, Nepean, Ontario
Ruth Twiddy, Ottawa, Ontario
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