1

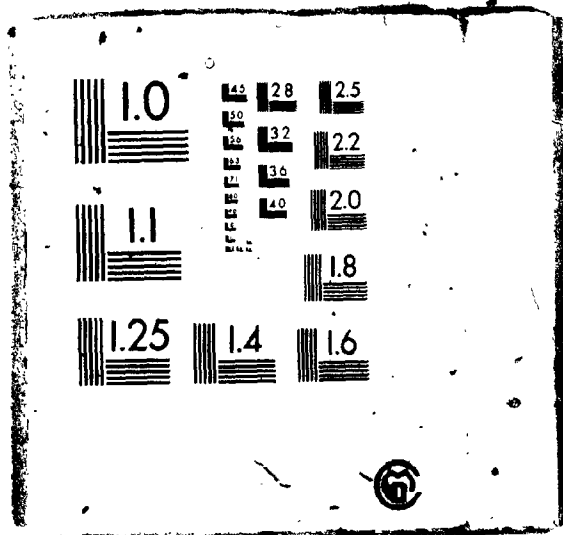| 1.0		2.8	2.5
1.1		3.2	2.2
		3.6	2.0
	4.0		1.8
1.25	1.4		1.6

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

CANADIAN THESES
ON MICROFICHE

THESES CANADIENNES
SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* ___JAMES, Peter D.___

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* ___"Righteousness Exalteth the Nation": The___

___Toronto Banner and the Evangelical Crusade in___

___Nineteenth-Century Upper Canada___

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* ___Carleton___

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/
GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THESE FUT PRÉSENTÉE ___M.A.___

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DEGRÉ* ___1981___

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* ___S.R. Mealing___

DATED/*DATE* ___15/1/81___ SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* ___Peter P. James___

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* ___33 Beverly St.___

___Toronto Ont.___

NOTICE

AVIS

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

"Righteousness Exalteth the Nation": The Toronto Banner

and the Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Crusade in Upper

Canada

by

C Peter D. James, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of

Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

January, 1981

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies acceptance of the thesis

"Righteousness Exalteth the Nation": The
Toronto Banner and the Nineteenth-century
Evangelical Crusade in Upper Canada.

submitted by Peter D. James Hon. B.A.
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts.

S.R. Mcahiy
Thesis Supervisor

Chairman, Department of History

Carleton University

Ottawa, Canada

16 January 1981

ABSTRACT

"Righteousness Exalteth the Nation": The Toronto Banner and the Nineteenth-
Century Evangelical Crusade in Upper Canada.   Peter D. James, M.A.
180 pp.   Supervisor; S.R. Mealing

A Toronto Presbyterian weekly published in the 1840s, the Banner promoted

cause of the Free Church and the ideas of the evangelical crusade in Upper Canada.

This thesis seeks to elucidate the themes of the evangelical crusade through

examination of the Banner's columns and sermon literature of the period.

The evangelical crusade was an interdenominational transatlantic movement

dedicated to ridding the world of Roman heresy, heathenism, and irreligion.

The participants subscribed to the "new" ideas concerning the individual's

ability to effect his own salvation through faith in Christ's redemptive powers.

In accordance with this reformation of men, the evangelicals sought to reform

society to more accurately reflect their idealized conception of a nation gathered

under, and dedicated to, God.   Their model of this idealized state was the

Reformation era, but the evangelicals' understanding of that historic period was

filtered through their desire for an expression of "true" religion in the nine-

teenth century.   This interpretation suggests that there are certain intellectual

inadequacies in the two prevailing schools of thought in Upper Canadian religious

history.

The thesis is divided into four chapters.   The first three deal with the

rise of the Free Church of Scotland, and the evangelical crusade in both its

religious and social manifestations.   The final chapter reviews previous attempts

at writing Canadian religious history and concludes with an attempt to construct

a historiographic model that makes sense of the religious, social and historical

ideas of the evangelical crusade.

PREFACE

My purpose in writing this thesis is to suggest another manner in which Canadian social history might be studied. The social significance of religion in America has occupied a place in that nation's históriography for two generations; the same might be said of British historiography especially with reference to the Victorian era. Canadian students on the other hand, seem satisfied with discarded ideas that place religious social significance within a narrow political or economic framework. There have been exceptions to this tendency of course, but these have been largely neglected in undergraduate and graduate history course.

What we commonly know about pre-Confederation religious history in Upper Canada can be reduced to a few statements: most colonials belonged to one of the Christian denominations--Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, or Baptist--which engaged in continual sectarian battle over the Clergy Reserves, and sought an assortment of **government favours;** the Protestant denominations were united only in their abhorrence of the Catholic faith; the Anglicans were political Tories and Compact men, and presumed to the title "National Church", while the other Protestants were middle class Reformers who held to the liberal ideal of Church and State separation; politics determined religion, and vice versa, for a generation or so (the Ecclesiastical Chart (1828) to the secularization of the Clergy Reserves (1854-7)), all the disputes being settled in the Reformers's favour. Taking account of my presumptuous reductionism, I suggest that such passes as satisfactory for students of Canadian history.

More recently scholars have studied the subject from a socio-economic perspective, analyzing the contributions made by religion in the developing Canadian society. Generally critical of religious motives, these historians view religion as a vehicle of middle class ideology, and assume that religious ideas are, in the words of Karl Mannheim, "distorted representations". In short, they argue that religion must be seen as a form of "social control" employed by the middle class to preserve its status in the turbulent province.

I tend to disagree with both these schools and I suggest that it might prove more profitable to study religious history from a less secular vantage. In order to write such a history, one must first accept the notion that religious ideas have a reality of their own: once this is granted they may be studied as a meaningful expression of human thought concerning man, society, and God. In this thesis I have assumed that a religious sensibility informed the editor of the Toronto Banner.

My study is organized around the Toronto Banner, edited and largely written by Peter Brown, a Free Church supporter whose Presbyterian convictions ran freely through its pages. This may seem a surprisingly limited means for studying something as grand as the evangelical crusade, but I think it can be justified.

What interests me as a historian is the presentation of ideas in a popular context. Newspapers are a convenient instrument for discovering popular sentiments commonly expressed. Furthermore newspapers have a circulation beyond their place of publication and so can (and did) inform a provincial audience as well as revealing something about that audience. A religious paper like the Banner has the added feature of not simply being a means of communicating "news" (a wide definition being in order here; the conversion of two 'Hindoos' six months previous is not what our journalism friends would call "hard news"); homilies, extracts from sermons and tracts, and moralistic, inspirational and devotional works (truly newspaper "stories")were published as well. Reports, political religious and inquisitorial, from Britain and America, other colonies, and mission stations, also claimed space in the pages of the Banner, offering a broad panorama of the world (if rather limited in scope) from a Christian perspective.

My argument is rather straightforward; I am convinced that the Banner was inspired and informed by Free Church thinking, itself an expression of an Anglo-American Protestant movement, operating in Britain, the United States, and Canada

determined to reform those nations. This "evangelical crusade" contained both a personal and a social gospel for its audience. In personal terms it was founded upon a belief that God had offered to man a plan of salvation which rested solely on a heart felt experience of regeneration through grace freely offered. This doctrine assumed that all men were capable of knowing and loving Christ and God, and its adherents saw it as their duty to bring forth this gospel to all men. Within this personal message there also lay a social calling; if and when the inward man was to be reborn there must be a corresponding reformation in the social man, and in the society which was to be a corporate expression of a rejuvenated Christian community.

The *Banner* was an accomplice in this crusade; its weekly releases noted the advances of Christianity in far-away places, the growth and expansion of benevolent institutions and ideas in the English-speaking nations, the on-going battle with the forces of "darkness" (atheism and Catholicism)--always offering the "true" Christian manner in which the world should be perceived. Only when Canada had become an educated, morally-rectified, Christian nation, gathered under the Lord, would it become a truly Christian nation.

The Canadian context of the thesis lies in this; the *Banner* appeared during the early years of the Union period when the upper colony was being transformed into the upper province; a society discernable from its lower neighbours. As a public journal the *Banner* assumed the duty of informing the blossoming society of its moral and social responsibilities as a rising nation dedicated to the glory of God. In fulfilling this duty the *Banner* gazed backwards to see forwards; Canada was to be a transatlantic transplant--a Christian and British nation in the North American continent.

However the *Banner* and the evangelical crusade paid little attention to physical or national barriers. Peter Brown began his weekly newspaper as a forum

for the Free Church party in the Church of Scotland Disruption. Brown was a product

of the Scottish Church and its history and witness determined his thinking on many

contemporary issues; but he reserved his greatest reverence for the Reformation era

when faith informed the nation. Brown's Reformation sensibility is one of the most

complex and interesting subjects dealt with in this thesis because it in large part

defined, and by the same token justified, his thinking on religion and society.

The work is divided into four chapters. The first deals with the Disruption

of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the consequent rise of the Free Church.

The second chapter is devoted to the elucidation of the themes that make up the

"evangelical creed" as evidenced in the pages of the Banner. The third is given over

to the Banner's "Secular Department" through which Brown expressed his ideas on the

developing nation. In all these chapters I have depended on the Banner for the

majority of my analysis but where it proves beneficial, I have also delved into the

sermon literature of the period. In the final chapter I shall review some efforts

at writing religious history in Canada before setting forth a different means of

approaching the topic that makes sense of the transatlantic and historical ideas

expressed in the Banner.

In concluding these prefatory remarks I should like to caution the reader on

one point: I mean to write history, not religion or theology, here; this cannot be

termed a history of religion nor should it be sonsidered a theological discussion--

it would fail miserably as either or both. I might be happy with a designation like

"religio-social history", or "social religious history", so long as it is understood

that my training and interests lie squarely in the historical field.

<div align="right">Peter D. James</div>

Table of Contents.

CHAPTER ONE: "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ..."

In this first chapter I plan to accomplish two things; firstly, I wish to introduce Peter Brown and the Toronto _Banner_, and secondly, I should like to sketch an outline of the 'evangelical creed' in a transatlantic perspective.

The _Banner_ had its origins in the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Canadians sympathetic to the Scottish Free Church movement desired an organ to promote their views and selected Peter Brown, an expatriate Scot living in New York, as their editor. When he arrived in the colony in the summer of 1843 the recently transpired Disruption of the Scottish Church was the topic of discussion in Canadaian Presbyterian circles. The first issue of the _Banner_ carried a report of the meeting of the Canadian Synod, emphasizing the resolutions proposed by Mr. Gale which sanctioned the work of the Scottish Disruptionists and proposed a similar policy of renunciation by the Canadian Church. Such a policy would place the Canadian Church within the Free Church fold and the _Banner_ conscientiously pursued this policy to its logical conclusion in the Disruption of the Canadian Church in 1844.

The Disruption of the Church of Scotland was the culminating event in a history of religious conflict in that country, separating "evangelicals" from "moderates". The evangelical Disruptionists were the Scottish representatives of a vigorous, morally-righteous and socially-conditioned Protestantism that arose in the late eighteenth-and early nineteenth century English-speaking nations in response to rationalist doctrines, religious apathy, and "Romanist" pretensions. The evangelical movement was interdenominational in design and international in scope; its theological precepts originated in the works of Johnathan Edwards, John Wesley, and Friedrich Schleiermacher, while its social ideal was developed within the context of nineteenth century reformism.

Within the Presbyterian churches of Britain and America the evangelical parties (Free Church in Scotland and Canada, New School in the United States) rejected the established and tradition-bound churches of their fathers. In their place the evangelicals erected new churches grounded in a religious idealism that emphasized benevolence, moral rectitude, and universal salvation premised on the Person and works of Jesus Christ. For the Scots and Canadians who gave up titles and emoluments in renouncing the Church of Scotland, this Protestant ideal was best expressed by the phrase "the sole and supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ". It was the fondly cherished belief of these men that in renouncing the Church of Scotland and establishing the Free Church, they were resurrecting the 'true' Christian ideal of the Church and honouring the memory of their Reformation forefathers. They took upon themselves the task of returning the rest of society to this idealized state, seeing in it the only means to righteousness and a meaningful relationship with God.

Peter Brown participated in this movement. The Banner was the unofficial voice of the Free Church in its early years and Brown promoted the cause of the church and the movement in which it participated with a determined heart and a vigorous pen.

....

Peter Brown was born at Edinburgh in June 1784 and enjoyed some success in the linen trade and reform politics in his early years. Involved in a financial scandal as collector of asessments in 1835 and unable to make good his debt, he was forced to leave the country and sailed for New York in 1837. In 1842 he published The Fame and Glory of England Vindicated in response to an American's attack on Britain's social institutions. Brown had nothing but praise for the new Poor Laws, the beneficial effects of the established church, and the customs and traditions that he thought had made Britain the greatest nation in the world. In

that same year he began editing the <u>British Chronicle</u>, a paper intended to serve recent British emigrants to the United States.

While successfully conducting the <u>Chronicle</u> "the Editor received a proposal from a number of Presbyterian clergymen and laymen--in the neighbourhood of Toronto, to remove to Canada and there publish a newspaper". Sometime in the summer of 1843 Brown and his son George crossed the border and began publishing the <u>Banner</u>.

> As enducement for undertaking this enterprise, a guarantee
> was given, that the circulation of the paper should within
> a certain period reach a stated number. And the assurance
> was further given, that the support of the whole Presbyter-
> ian body might be reckoned on.   4

Who had undertaken this guarantee has never been satisfactorily determined. Brown claimed that the offer had originated with "the Rev. Gentleman who is the Clerk of the Synod": this might have been either Alexander Gale or William Rintoul as the first was Clerk at the time that Brown was "enduced" while the latter was Clerk at the time of the articles's publication.   Another potential subscriber was Isaac Buchanan. In a correspondence printed in the paper (26/1/44) Buchanan wrote: "I beg to remind you...that it was our admiration of your <u>Views on the sub-ject of the Free Church of Scotland</u>...that led us to induce you to leave New York...". Responding to the letter,George Brown, as publisher, claimed that Buchanan had been absent from the country for two years prior to his coming to Canada and had therefore played little part in the negotiations. He claimed that forty-five people had been approached for subscriptions to a fund, but refused to divulge the names or amounts collected. In view of the fact that forty-five people were approached, all three of the above gentlemen could have conceivably played a part. One thing is certain: all three joined the newly-established Free Church in 1844 and consideration of Brown's "views on the subject of the Free Church" must therefore have played a decisive role in his selection as editor of the paper.

The Banner was to be "in its best sense a useful family paper". Its columns, Brown wrote, "shall be employed to unfold and illustrate those great principles which have contributed so essentially to the formation of that high national character to which so many in this country revert with delight when they speak of their Fatherland".[8] The prospectus claimed that the paper would take a deep interest "in the prominent political movements of the Province " and the proceedings of the British Parliament, carry copious extracts from English, "Scotch", and Irish papers, report "the various benevolent operations of the day", and publish "such original and extracted articles of Religious information, Literature and Sciences, as will be highly interesting and instructive".[9]

Yet the Banner was most interested in religious matters. The Paper was "under no controul but that of its Editor and Publisher" and it was motivated by the "broad principles of the Reformation, unfettered by the peculiar views of Church Government held by any one denomination". At the same time the editor notified his audience that part of the agreement entered into by the Presbyterians and himself required that he publish notice of Synodical and presbyterial meetings, acknowledge the religious and benevolent works of the church in its pages, "and that it should keep in prominent view all such subjects as were of importance to the great body of Presbyterians".[10]

Such a proclamation belied the fact that Brown was a dedicated supporter of the Free Church party in Scotland and that he had been invited to Canada to promote its cause in the colonial church.[11]

The Banner was to be employed in the Disruption debate then going on in the Province of Canada. That debate had its origins in the Disruption of the Church of Scotland wherein four hundred ministers and numerous adherents renounced their allegiance to the national church. Canadian Presbyterians sympathetic to the seceders and their new church, were loathe to continue in a communion that admitted

the claims of the civil courts to override the wishes of the people.

The connection with the Church of Scotland in Canada bespoke a firm and organic allegiance. The majority of Church of Scotland ministers and missionaries in Canada had been educated and ordained at home: even the name of the body: The Presbyterian Church of Canada in connexion with the Church of Scotland, was evidence of a bond that transcended the physical distance between Scotland and the North American colony. The Church was possibly the one remaining institutional connection with the homeland the colonial enjoyed; so much a part of the Scot's daily life at home, the religious affiliation formed part of his intellectual baggage when he emigrated to the new world. Therefore it should not be surprising that the Disruption was as catastrophic an event for the colonial body as it had been in the national church: the Church of Scotland was their church.

....

The Church of Scotland had been tardy in supplying the wants of Scottish settlers in the Canadas. While military chaplains and ministers sponsored by emigration groups had come out to the colony in its early years, it was not until the 1830s that a concerted effort was made by the established church to provide for the colonists. However Canadians were not without Presbyterian services. The Niagara Peninsula had been a regular station of the American Presbyterians and in 1824 the Assosciate Church of North America settled the Presbytery of Stamford.[12] Ten years later the American Home Missionary Society helped establish the Niagara Presbytery and in four years it had eight ministers serving seven-to eight hundred worshippers in twenty-five churches.[13]

Americans were not the only Presbyterians in Upper Canada in the 1830s. The various secession bodies of Scotland had sent ministers to Canada with emigrants after the Napoleonic Wars. In the next few years the Presbytery of

the Canadas was formed and in 1820 a Synod with three presbyteries in the eastern
section of the colony was established. [14] The Synod of the Canadas , as it was
called, proved to be a pre-mature organizing effort and it was disbanded in 1825.
Later in the 1820s the United Presbytery of the Canadas was formed and this group
in 1831 was re-organized as the Synod of Upper Canada. [15] A third Scottish church
operating in Canada at this time was the United Assosciate Synod of the Secession
Church who sent William Proudfoot to the Western District in 1832. He had
initially planned to join the United Synod but was wary of its commitment to the
voluntary principle so he joined with eight others to form the Missionary Presbytery
of the Canadas in 1834. [16]

It was the desire of the British Government and the colonial authorities
that the Church of Scotland should enter Canada to counteract the influences of
the American and secession bodies. A decision of the Law Officers of the Crown
claimed that the Church of Scotland was a co-equal establishment of the realm and was
thus eligible to share in the Clergy Reserves and other benefits granted to the
Church of England. [17] The Colonial Secretary ignored this decision but offered to
support five Church of Scotland ministers with an annual grant of $3,750. [18]

The determined policy to support only established church ministers was made clear
to the other Canadian Presbyterians when the Colonial Secretary refused a request
from the United Synod for funding in 1830 and suggested that the members join the
established church if they wished support. [19]

In 1831 the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connexion with the
Church of Scotland (hereafter referred to as "the Synod") was formed at Kingston
with nineteen ministers in attendence. The Colonial Office instructed Governor
Colbourne to increase the Church's annual funding and to persuade all
Presbyterians in the colony to join the body. In the same year the United Synod

met at Brockville and again petitioned the government for support; on this occasion they were partially successful (the church was awarded seven hundred pounds) but it was stipulated that such was only a grant; if the members wished for an endowment they should join the Synod.[20]

This was the general state of affairs in the colony until 1840. In that year the agitation over the Clergy Reserves came to a head in the Legislature and it was determined that the Reserves fund be divided amongst the various churches, the two establishments receiving the largest portions. Meanwhile talks of union between the United Synod and the Synod concluded in an agreement by which the former was absorbed into the Synod.[21] The Synod was now the largest single Presbyterian body in the colony with over eighty ministers, a college, and a share of the Reserves.

While events were thus passing in the colony, the Ten Years Conflict was coming to a climax in Scotland. During its first three years of existence the new Synod sent message of support to the home Church in its dispute with the civil authority but refused to become more entangled in the controversy. The Synod claimed it was independent of the Scottish Church; however the members feared (and events were to prove them right) that any more decided action (like renunciation) would endanger their claims on the Reserves. The situation might have remained in this ambivalent state indefinitely but for the Disruption of the Scottish Church in May 1843. For a vocal minority in the Church the time of reckoning had come.

Canadian church historians, while noting the interest sparked by the event in the Canadian church and acknowledging itsDisruption in 1844, have tended to downplay the significance of the Great Disruption in Canadian history. N.G. Smith, while noting the Free Church supporters' interest in spiritual arguments,

claimed that support for the division in Canada arose from the feelings of animosity harboured by some of the members toward the Scottish establishment which the Free Church supporters managed to provoke.[22] John Moir noted that the Synod was willing to remove the words "in connection with the Church of Scotland" from its title, but stated that this was only a convenient means of maintaining ties with both Scottish bodies, and retaining privileges in Canada.[23] In general, the historians have accepted the interpretation of the Disruption offered by those who adhered to the establishment during and after 1843: the Disruption was not within the confines of the Synod's jurisdiction, there was no patronage issue or established church in the colony, and the Synod was an independent body--in short, the Disruption did not directly affect the interests of the Canadian church.

All these facts were true of course, but saying this does not overshadow the fact that a great many ministers, elders and members of the Church thought and acted as if the Disruption was of vital interest to them as Scotsmen and Christians: more-over it is equally true that they were ready to secede from the Church of Scotland (and its Canadian counterpart) because that Church would not denounce the intrusion of the civil courts in ecclesiastical matters.

In seeking the renunciation of the Church of Scotland these transplanted Scots were aligning themselves with a religious movement of transatlantic propor-tions. Their adherence to the Free Church party in Scotland allied the Canadians with the forces and principles of the evangelical crusade operating throughout the English-speaking world.

....

The Disruption of the Church of Scotland had its immediate cause in a series of civil court decisions that placed ministers in parishes against the wishes of the congregations. The Disruptionists, angered at the General Assembly's accedence to this intrusion of the spiritual realm, renounced their adherence to the Church and erected the Free Church of Scotland. The generally accepted history of the Scottish church has thus named the issue of church-state relations, or church government, as the major cause of the Disruption. But, I argue below, this was a minor point in the debate: church government was but the effect of a fundamental disagreement

amongst the parties concerned, the cause of which lay in differing views

of what part religion, and by extension the church, was to play in

society. In order to accomplish this I would like to make brief

mention of certain ideas and concepts held dear by those eighteenth and

nineteenth century Christians commonly known as the "evangelicals".

Of first importance to the evangelical mind was the idea

of Christ as both a historic and a Spiritual figure. To the evangelicals

the spiritual figure of Christ represented the essential "love" of

God for man; as a historic figure He was the "first" among men,

and His teachings, works, and life evidenced that love of man for

his fellow man so necessary in the Christian experience.

In the formation of the evangelical creed two major

ideas then are important; love and Christology. The explication of

the doctrine of love was largely found in the works of John Wesley and

Jonathan Edwards, while Christology received its fullest examination

in the period from the pen of Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Edwards and Wesley offered their interpretations of the

Christian faith in response to the rationalist notions and religious

apathy they saw dominating the Churches of Britain and America in

the eighteenth century. Rejecting the "will", and the rational acceptance

of a Prime Mover who made his laws of nature knowable to man through

the application of reason, these evangelicals held that the religious

experience was realized through the internalization of revealed truth:

man was aware of his own (human) corruption as the result of the sin of

man as man, but more importantly, he was also aware that Christ had

died for his salvation, an eventuality conditioned by the acceptance of

grace freely offered. Religion was a means to fellowship beyond institutional and rational responses through an outward expression of Christian love: "Christianity consists rather in practise than in knowledge".[24]

Jonathan Edwards suggested that religion consisted of "holy affection": love alone moved a man from neutrality or "mere assent", and inclined "his heart to possess or reject something. Love, therefore, "'is not only one of the affections but it is the first and the chief... and the foundation of all the affections.'"[25] This feeling of love was imparted through the regenerative work of the Holy Spirit acting upon the awakened heart of the sinful man.

John Wesley premised his religion of love in the complete surrender of the will and heart to Jesus Christ. Such a love, following the example of Christ as man, carried with it a love for, and a commitment to, one's fellow man. Wesley's grand contribution to evangelical thought was his idea of Christian perfection, a three- part movement from human depravity to Christian righteousness. Believing in Christ's atonement, the human sinner was filled with the conviction that he was justified before God; such was a human achievement in that the sinner surrendered his heart and mind to Christ. This experience of justification led. to "an assurance that Christ had accepted the individual concerned", the second step on the road to perfection.[26] Filled with the conviction of righteousness the regenerated man strove to achieve the full blessing of the Holy Spirit in sanctification, the result of a maturing process in which the basic commitment to live in Christ broadened, heightened, and solidified his personality and spirit.[27]

Friedrich Schleiermacher's religion of feeling was a continuation
of the pietist doctrines enunciated by Edwards and Wesley but his break
with the rationalists was not as thorough as that of his predecessors:
Religion of the heart was different but not separate from metaphysics
and moral activity— it could not exist apart from them for man was a
social being.[28]

Schleiermacher concurred with the notion that religion was
preconditioned by a feeling of utter dependence on Christ; indeed,
he thought that "the feeling of utter dependence belonged to the highest
level of human self- consciousness..."[29] This feeling of dependence
denied the anti-thesis between self and sensuous self- consciousness by
positing the religious subject "as irreducibly present in that with which
Christian theological reflection begins".[30] Theology was the means by
which the human mind comprehended the religious object (God) through an
understanding of Christ as a historic figure (God as man) and as a
mediating influence between God and man (man as God).

The religious experience in Schleiermacher's thought was a
description of the human state of being; the world was the place in
which evil existed and was recognized by man as such, yet relative to
Christ's redemption, it was also the place where preservation and perfection
could be realized. Christ as man and God was the key to theology and
religion (knowing and feeling) for he most fully represented redeemed man
in His person and salvation.

The full force of the evangelical creed was not experienced
in Scotland before the turn of the nineteenth century, though
minor secessions from the National Church occurred throughout

31
the eighteenth century. The Person of Christ, the nature and scope of the atone-
ment, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the necessity of a heart-felt religious
experience found expression in Secession and established pulpits as well as in
popular pamphlets and devotional tracts.

The Church of Scotland was invaded by the new doctrines, and an evangelical
party grew up within its confines. While the Moderate Churchmen maintained
control of the Assembly, the universities, and many of the lower church courts,
their power was on the wane as the nineteenth century commenced. Amongst the
presbyteries and even in the universities "the evangelical outlook, which was
dependent on Scripture, looked to revelation and was comparatively indifferent to
a rapprochment with secular knowledge, was in the ascendent."[32]

This dependence on Scriptural proof and heartfelt religion, and its con-
sequent disregard for abstract thought, is what marked the evangelical different
from his Moderate brother. This is the "first principles" argument, whereby
all knowledge is defined and validated by reference to an all-encompassing first
principle--and this principle, in the evangelical argument, was most clearly[33]
(and broadly) communicated in the term "the sole and supreme Headship of the
Lord Jesus Christ".[34] Positing the Headship of Christ as his first principle,
Rev. Alexander Duff went on to explain how this principle defined the relation-
ship of the Christian with Christ. First it required, because Duff was a Church
of Scotland man, the submission of the members of the Church to the obligations
demanded in Scripture and presented by Christ as Saviour; secondly it defined the
particular relationship between Christ as teacher and saviour (in both His human
and divine manifestations) and His followers, and thereby the relation-

ship between the followers in the Church; thirdly it defined their most

solemn duty as the defense of their relationship against any ecclesias-

tical or civil intrusion or interference; and finally, it obliged the dis-

ciples to spread Christ's gospel throughout the land. Duff, as a Free[35]

Church propagandist was attempting to prove that this understanding of the

spiritual nature of the Christian and the Church had always been alive in

the Church of Scotland before the recent contendings: in short, he was

calling on the witness of the age to support his evangelic (and historical)

views.

The evangelicals' dependence on, and confidence in Christ rested

squarely on the Redeemer's presence in the world and in the Word. Henry

Gordon, a Canadian minister, combined these two themes in his farewell

address to his Gananoque congregation. It was Gordon's contention that

the Bible, informed by the Holy Spirit, held that "salvation by Jesus Christ

is its one ground pervading idea":

> It is impossible to do justice to all that the
> Bible assigns to Christ, as the subject of His
> mediatorial kingdom, without admitting that it com-
> prehends all space, all worlds, all creatures, all
> things; that, whether as subjects or agents, or
> instruments, or witnesses, in some way or another,
> all are designed to serve Him and His work.   [36]

Man, as the highest expression of God's creation, had the special duty of bring-

ing the Gospel of the Lord, and resurrecting the social designs that marked His

life on earth, to all men. There is perhaps no better exemplar of these

twin doctrines in the nineteenth-century Scottish church than the Rev. Thomas

Chalmers.

Chalmers began his remarkable career when he was admitted to St.

Andrews at the age of twelve; within seven years he had received degrees in

mathematics and theology. Continuing in Edinburgh, Chalmers added chemistry

to his first academic love while maintaining a parish nearby. He was de-

cidedly in the Moderate party until a trio of family deaths (1806-1809) and

a fear of his own death led him to re-examine his life and religious

principles. His conversion to evangelical doctrines is best described in

his own words:

> 'I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I
> urged the virtues and proprieties of social life had the
> weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners.
> And it was not till I was impressed by the utter alienation
> of the heart in all its decrees and affections for God; it
> was not till reconciliation to Him became the distinct and
> prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not
> till I took the Scriptural way of laying the method of
> reconciliation before them; it was not till the free
> offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged
> upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through
> the channel's of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask
> Him was set before them as the unceasing object of their
> dependence and their prayers...that I ever heard of any
> of those subordinate reformations that I afore-time made...'   37

While Chalmers' work in theology and his preaching won him popular

accolades throughout his life, he is remembered more for his philanthropic

work amongst the poor of Glasgow and his single-handed reinvigoration of

the parish system in that city to which he removed in 1815.

Like a great many urban evangelicals,Chalmers' social ideal

was a blend of Christian benevolence and hard-headed business sense

which produced the self-help ideal later popularized by Samuel Smiles

(another Scot). It was Chalmers firm belief that the effective means of

combatting urban poverty and improving life rested solely on the work of the poor and

38
labouring classes. However, as facts testifed, the poor seemed imper-
vious to this self-help doctrine and it was here that the Church's mission
39
lay, through education, organization and example.

Through patronage and a lack of interest in the urban areas, the Church
had made only a half-hearted attempt to come to terms with the urban prob-
lems brought about by the Industrial Revolution.in Scotland. Throughout the
industrializing period complaints were voiced concerning the inadequacy of
the traditional parish system to cope with the needs of the people, especially
with regard to the morals, manners, and health of the working poor. The
relief and education systems of the nation, so long the preserve of the
Church, were being taken over by businessmen like David Dales of Glasgow,
who blended Christian philanthropy with industrial paternalism in the best
40
of self-help traditions. Yet poverty, vice and immoral habits remained un-
checked and it was here that the social gospel of the Scottish evangelicals,
through a revitalized awareness of the potential of the parish system, was
to have its greatest effect.

Poverty, like charity and thrift, was a natural phenomenon to the
evangelical reformer. These men were not inspired visionaries but hard-
headed realists who salted their Christian benevolence with practical
economics. Ralph Wardlaw approached the question of poverty before a
Glasgow audience by reference to its universal and natural occurrence:

> From the endless diversity of talent, and taste, and
> disposition, amongst mankind, as well as unavoidable
> controlling circumstances in the providence of God, it
> is reasonable to expect, what in fact has uniformly
> occurred,a corresponding diversity in the pursuits and
> occupations of social life, and in the measure of
> success attending the prosecution of each.--Society

cannot advance a single step without presenting "the rich
and the poor meeting together", and every attempt to pre-
vent this variety...is an attempt to counteract the
tendencies of nature...   41

To overcome this natural state three principles were to be invoked in
dealing with the urban poor; they must be taught industry, have moral and religious
habits instilled, and be encouraged to practise private (and co-operative)
benevolence.[42]

Above all else however, was the doctrine of self-help. Public assistance,
higher wages, labour unions all had their place, but these were concerned solely
with the material wants of the people. The real concern lay in teaching the poor
thrift and economy (or self-denial) and Christian ideals.[43] It was here that the
Church, by means of the revitalized parish system, would be of greatest use in
promoting social harmony and Christian principles.

Chalmers' Glasgow experiment began with his acceptance of a post at St. John's,
Glasgow, which brought together sections from three parishes. To effect his plan
amongst the 10,000 people in the parish he set up twenty-five units, each with its
own deacon and elder. Each unit was to have a Sabbath school and a day school in
which the social ranks were mixed to promote co-operation amongst the classes of
society. Useful knowledge was mixed with Christian teaching, and self-help reigned
supreme; private charity, family ties, and community interests were stressed; like-
wise they were offered amongst the adults through the weekly visits by church officers.
Employment was found for those able to work and the dole was to be offered only
as a last resort. Looking back on his work in the 1820s, Chalmers was to write
in vindication;

> Nothing but the multiplication of our
> Established Churches, with the subdivision
> of parishes and the allocation of each
> parish to its own church, together with a
> pure and popular exercise of the right of

> patronage, will ever bring us back again to a
> social and wholesome state of the body politic.   44

Like the majority of those who followed him out of the Church in 1843,

Chalmers had had "no wish for a disruption";their church had assumed the mantle

of the civil state in renouncing the Headship of Christ and these men had no

recourse but to leave the church and erect the Free Church of Scotland: the true

Church of Scotland, in protest.

....

The proceedings at Edinburgh in 1843 were noted with great interest in

Canada and provoked intense debate at the meeting of the Synod in July of that

year. Free Church supporters , determined to move resolutions expressing the

Synod's endorsement of the Disruptionists' policy, advanced their cause by in-

viting Peter Brown to come to Toronto and edit a Free Church paper.

Brown was inclined to be disputatious when approaching a passionate

subject like the sanctity of the Christian church. His editorials and reports

on the growing Disruption controversy aroused the ire of members from both parties
                                                                              45
in the debate but he stood by his argument throughout the next twelve months.

The basis of Brown's argument was simple and straightforward: the Church

of Scotland had renounced the Headship of Christ by admitting the claims of the

civil courts to override the wishes of the people; it was therefore the duty of

the Canadian church, as a Church of Christ, to renounce the connection existing

between it and the mother church.

In order to attain this desired object and fulfill his mandate as a

Presbyterian editor, Brown kept a continued watch on events unfolding at home and

in the colony. Reports of the progress of the Free Church (and of the"faltering'

establishment), of presbytery and even congregational meetings, correspondence,

and editorials, all dealing with the Disruption issue, filled pages in the

Banner's first year of publication.

Brown fully concurred with the resolutions endorsed by the Synod in July of 1843, in which the members "do hereby record their deep and affectionate sympathy" with the party "who, by leaving the Establishment at the bidding of conscienceness" had lost their temporal advantages. At the same time the resolutions placed no onus on the Canadian body to defend either position because it was independent of the Scottish church and was not un-settled by civil intrusion.[46]

It was not until his third number that Brown openly cast his support for the Scottish seceders' cause "regarding it as founded on Scriptural authority, as well as consistent with the standard of the church", at the same time claiming that the issue was not relevant to Canada.[47] Eight weeks later he defined the relation of the Canadian and Scottish churches as "a connection of common belief and adherence to the Westminster Standards, such as exist between all Presbyterian bodies":

> A closer connection with the Mother Church does appear to
> have been asked for, by the Canadian Presbyterians, twelve
> years ago, but was refused by the Church, as incompatible with
> her constitution. Since that time, we consider the Church in
> Canada, Has made such progress as to be entirely independent...
> ruling within her own house with allthe authority of any other
> division of the Presbyterian Church...   [48]

Up to this point the _Banner_ had not published any opinion that went beyond the resolutions adopted by the Synod the previous summer. However the opinion expressed in an article that same issue (27/10/43), titled "Bil Respecting the Temporalities of the Presbyterian Church", was to place Brown in opposition to powerful forces in the Synod and to make certain his ultimate demand for renunciation of the Mother Church.

The Church Temporalities Bill controversy was a fine instance of a colonial tempest in a teapot, yet its overflow was a foreshadow of the storm that was to break over the Synod ten months later. The Synod of 1843 had unanimously endorsed a note that requested the Legislature pass an act to protect "the temporalities in congregations".[49]

It was the members' general opinion that the Church's claims on its lands
(and Reserves) might be adversely affected in a question of property before
the civil courts and the Bill, by declaring each congregation have a board
of trustees responsible for Church lands, was a means of protecting the
Church's interests.

However such was not the manner in which the Banner and certain Church
supporters perceived the matter. Robert Boyd, the minister from Prescott,
claimed that the Synod "had snatched at power which did not belong to it"
and by asking the parliament to legislate, had introduced "another ruler into
the throne of Christ, and thereby thrust Him out..." For his part, Brown[50]
saw a triple evil in the Bill as presented to the Legislature: first, like
Boyd, he objected to the civil courts or the Legislature determining a Church
question, for such work "utterly destroys the independence of the Church";
second, he saw sinister designs in the presentation of a Bill which included
in the subject's title the words 'in connection with the Church of Scotland',
as it thereby "fixed the Canadian Church, so far as the world will warrant,
in an alliance with the Residuary Church forever, for it alone retains the
name of Church of Scotland"; finally, he thought the timing of the Bill's
presentation to the Legislature "singularly inappropriate" in that "a large
majority of the Synod had declared their approbation of the principles and
measures of the Free Church" and were now to be placed "into irretrievable
connection with the Residuary Church." Why, he wondered aloud, was the
Bill being offered now; Because the Residualists' supporters feared a
Disruption and wished to secure all properties under their own title.[51]

In conclusion Brown proposed, after his own fashion, the basic

idea that was to form the "Protest" signed by the Canadian seceders when
they left the Church the following summer:

> The interests of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, her
> progress as a missionary and advancing branch of the
> Church of Christ, would have been better consulted by a
> declaration of absolute and entire independence; the
> title of the"Presbyterian Church in Canada" should be
> assumed, and the words "in connection with the Church
> of Scotland" withdrawn. Let the Church of Canada be
> distinguished by no connection but with the Westminster
> Confession of Faith. That keeps her in Christian and
> friendly communion with every Presbyterian body, which
> adheres to that Confession, either in Europe or America,
> and does not pledge her to follow the course of any
> other church, however far she may deviate from that
> freedom which the great Head of the Christian Church
> evidently intended to secure His followers.   52

Thus by November 1843 Brown had taken the final step of separation from the
"Mother Church. From that time forward his role was one of advocacy for the re-
nunciation party. However Brown had still to convince the ministers and elders that
renunciation was the only true course. The opinions expressed in the Temporalities
controversy had clarified one important point; if the ministers were to leave the
established connection, their title to Reserve lands would become the subject of
                                    53
acrimonious debate in the colony. While Free Church supporters might still attempt
to straddle both sides of the independence-connection fence, Brown was alive to
the inconsistencies in such a position.

In the new year he printed an extremely long editorial in which he recon-
structed the framework of the debate to that time. The immediate cause of his
diatribe was the publication of a letter from Professor Campbell of Queens,
in which the Reverend gentleman had claimed that the connection"implies that so
                                                                        54
far as the Church can possibly exist in Canada we are that Church..."

Campbell was a dedicated establishment supporter and had presented a sub-amendment to that party's set of resolutions at the 1843 Synod, suggesting that it was not within the Canadian's jurisdiction, as a subordinate church, to criticize the Mother Church.[55] His correspondence of January re-emphasized that position and hinted darkly as to the fate of the Reserves should a disruption take place.

In his rebuttal Brown upbraided Campbell for cowering before "the Old Lady"; so long as the Church in Canada "will be a good child" and not "presume to think on the subject" (i.e. the Disruption), he wrote, the Mother Church shall treat her gently; but, "if she, merely a younger and little sister, shall whisper disapprobation of her bowing her time-honoured head to the temporal power...then will the Old Lady pour all her wrath on our heads."[56] But what could the Residuary Church do? Campbell had claimed that in the case of a division the Church "would 'declare which of the parties should hold the position now held by us collectively'". But, Brown snorted, "such a division would save the trouble of the Church making such a declaration, and the very act would be an express withdrawal from her communion by one of the parties."[57] The real point of Campbell's remarks, Brown charged, was a threat to the disruptionists: "The only meaning of this passage is, that the Residuary Church would use her influence with the Government to deprive the party, which shall disown the Erastian Church, of their part of the Reserves".[58]

The full meaning of the renunciation policy was now acknowledged on both sides; there was no half-way position remaining in Brown's mind. The Canadian Residualists would never subscribe to renunciation and it re-

mained for the true of heart to resign their positions and leave the Church
of their fathers. While he claimed that the Canadian Legislature would not
dare take away their endowments, Brown knew that the power of the Canadian
Establishmentarians and their well-placed supporters in the Government
(John.A. Macdonald and William Morris to name but two), would be employed
to that end. Calling on his bold, determined and scathing powers of rhetoric
and expression, Brown eloquently called on the supporters of Free Church
principles to stand fast:

> Presbyterians of Canada, it is obvious the question is
> about to be put—will you be dutiful and obedient child-
> ren of the Residuary Church, and consent to hold all
> your rights from her benevolence, even the right of
> individual opinion, to be withdrawn or retained, just
> as she pleases? Think what answer you are prepared
> to give. You are not the true sons of Presbyterian
> Scotland, if you do not answer at once--NO. We have
> our right of individual judgement--our right of Free
> Churches, and of Free Church courts, from a higher
> power than either the Church of Scotland, or the
> Westminster Standards; we hold it from that Divine
> source, from which every TRUE church derives its
> beliefs. ...even if there was a certainty of the
> Reserves being lost, we believe that there will
> be no hesitation in the matter.. ...This choice you
> must soon make, if required. ...But you must do
> more. Erecting yourselves into the Presbyterian
> Church in Canada, you must go to that altar, from
> which your sister Free Church has taken her live coals,
> and you must raise the flame through the length and
> breadth of the land. You must strengthen and aid
> weak congregations, establish ones where they are re-
> quired, and home missions in your towns, to bring in
> the careless and neglected population.
>   Let all this be done firmly and promptly, but
> with a humble reliance on the Divine blessing. Let
> every sincere member of the Presbyterian Church
> occupy his watch-tower, and we shall hear no more of
> any attempts to bring our branch of the Church of
> Christ, under bondage, either by Parliamentary Act,
> or the management of moderate divines.   59

Brown's "watch-tower" was the Banner office which afforded a view of
events at home and in the colony. For the next seven months he reported·

the proceedings of presbyterial and congregational meetings, applauding Free
Church men and chastising the Residualists. His task was to inform local
bodies of proceedings in other parts of the colony, and thereby hope to create
the impression of a wave of sympathy for renunciation sweeping across the
province.

The first vote of support came from the Hamilton Presbytery in
January 1844. That body adopted a set of resolutions to be proposed to the
Synod by which the Canadian Church was to "make specific declaration" that the
principles "which are now contended for by the Free Church of Scotland, have
always been held by them as the original and unalterable principles of the
Church of Scotland". These principles were centered on "the doctrine of the
Headship of Christ, and, identified with the purity and liberty of the
Christian Church" and, as such, should be applied to all ministerial can-
didates coming from Scotland. Brown offered his approval of the resolutions
in the same issue, writing, "the overture carries into effect the resolutions
of the Synod of July last..[and] is an honourable testimony to the great
truth, that Christ alone is Head of the Church."[61]

The Galt congregation under Mr. Bayne, was to carry its endorsement
a step further in February, resolving "that the cause maintained by those who
have left the Establishment...has ever been the cause of Christ, and of the
liberties of His Church and people", and took up a subscription to be trans-
mitted to Scotland.[62]

The seceders had to concentrate on the western section of the
province because those in the east had long been determined to stay within

the bounds of the Established Church. The Presbytery of Bathurst, as early

as September 1843, had declared that its members were "firmly and conscientiously

attached to the National Church, to many of us the revered Church of our

Fathers, of all religious establishments the freest, the purest, and the

most highly favoured of God", but Brown held off publication of their

declaration until March 1844. [63] Two weeks later a further blow was struck

against freedom by the Presbytery of Quebec when it adhered to the connection

"inasmuch as the Clergy Reserves had been obtained, and were held by her in

consequence of that connection." [64] To this dismal record was added the voice

of Queens where Principal Liddell and Professor Campbell reigned. [65]

From March to July 1844 Brown concentrated on the congregations west

of Toronto, taking a few excursions east to record victories in Peterborough

and Cobourg. In enlisting support the Banner was aided immeasureably by

an address from the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland

sent to the Canadian Synod, commenting on the resolutions of 1843. The

importance of the Colonial Committee to the renunciation party was well

understood by all concerned; the members of the Committee had been paying

attention to events in the colonies and had already made offers of support

in the areas of money and missionaries. [66] In the address the Committee

reviewed the history of the Disruption and noted with approbation the Synod's

resolutions, admiring their "soundness of principles, purity of devotion,

and firmness of purpose", however the Committee wrote: it "may be permitted

to regard the position which the Synod at present occupies, as, in the eyes

of all, equivocal, unsatisfactory, and liable to...misconstruction, and as,

in the judgement of many, posing a marked and serious inconsistency."
The Synod had claimed its independence from the Church of Scotland and its
support of those great principles for which the Free Church contends;,
and it is not to be held responsible for the sins of the Establishment;
still,

> 'you state that you are not called upon to come
> to a decision...on these great principles; it
> would appear that, by resolving to remain in
> the peculiar position which you formerly held
> to the Establishment you have in truth resolved
> that she shall henceforth be regarded as your
> mother church.'   67

Brown was clearly overjoyed at this show of support for his party from home
and replied in a covering editorial; "The best answer to it would be by
the Synod adopting the decided step, at their next meeting in July, to
                                                                    68
shake off all connexion with the Residuary Church of Scotland."

Throughout May and June 1844 the Banner reported congregational
meetings and resolutions, giving the impression that a solid phalanx of
Free Church supporters resided throughout the central and western districts
of the province: "In Cobourg the Minister and people were unanimous,
and nobly acted up to those great principles which they have always
avowed." In Toronto, at Brown's own St. Andrews, the battle waged long:
"the constitution being thrust forward to retard or prevent the sentiments
of the congregation...from being known" but the friends of liberty held
fast and "the triumph of Presbyterian freedom, in spite of these obstacles,
                      69
was conspicuous". Two weeks later Brown was to gleefully "announce
that, in addition to Streetsville, Cobourg, and Toronto, St. Catherines
                                                                    70
has given its adherence to the good cause. ...Who will make the fifth?"

A month later (28/6/44) the Toronto Presbytery met and resolved:
"That the Synod shall declare in the strongest terms, its entire spiritual
independency and complete freedom from all jurisdiction in things spiritual
of every body whatsoever". Into early July, Zorra, Amherstburg, Peterborough,[71]
Woodstock and Picton were added to the renunciation party.[72]

The Synod was to meet in the first week of July 1844. In the last
issue before that meeting, Brown reviewed the progress of the "principled"
party noting with satisfaction that seventeen congregations had pledged
their allegiance. His claim that "a considerable number more will un-[73]
questionably follow" was a rather hollow one, but what struck him as
being of greater importance was that " the principle is in that section of
the Church, however humble may be the circumstances of its being ushered
into the world.

> Possessing that virtue...it will soon be far more
> operative than any organization however imposing
> in its numbers, and however much it may be
> propped up by external support. [74]

. . . .

The Disruption took place in July 1844 when twenty-one ministers
and nineteen elders adhered to the Rev. John Bayne's Resolutions and re-
tired from the Synod. Moving across town in Kingston they met that same
week, affixed their names to the Protest, and set themselves into
Presbyteries, assuming the name "Presbyterian Church in Canada".

This had been the policy conscientiously followed by Brown from November
1843. He had hoped that the 1843 resolutions would have led naturally to
the entire Synod's renunciation of the Established Church, but that hope had
been crushed. However Brown was an optimist: the good fight had been fought and the

Presbyterian Church of Canada was the result; what mattered now was building a strong, free, and pure, church that would resurrect and revitalize the evangelic Christian doctrines expressed in the religion of Christ and the historic Church of Scotland.

Canada was a rising nation but its spiritual and moral covenant with God could only be consummated by adopting the time-honoured divine plan enunciated in the Word of God and promoted by the Church of Christ. The manners and morals of the people would have to be reformed and made pure by the application of those great principles of Christian benevolence and fellowship.

The Banner's role in this reformation of society was to lay out the true, Scriptural path to be followed. This path was the only means to righteousness, and it was communicated to man through the medium of the evangelical's faith in the Headship of Christ. The only means of following this path after 1843, Brown believed, was by attaching the Canadian church to the ideals expressed by the evangelical crusade and found in the witness of the Free Church. He had supported the Disruption only after he had become convinced that the Church of Scotland had failed to retain its independence in the face of civil intrusions. Only the evangelical creed would promote the cause of vital godliness in the church and the nation.

....

1. For biographical sketches of Peter Brown see:J.M.S. Careless, _Brown of the Globe_, (Toronto: Macmillan 1966), "Peter Brown," _DCB_,9, pp.88-9. See as well the notice of his death in the _Globe_, "Death of Mr. Peter Brown," 1/7/63. On the _Banner_ see J.W. Grant, "The grandfather of Confederation," United Church _Observer_, April 1979.

2. Libertas, _The Fame and Glory of England Vindicated: Being an Answer to 'The Glory and Shame of England'_, (N.Y.: Wiley & Putman 1842)

3. "Prospectus of the Second Volume" 12/1/44. All subsequent references to the _Banner_ will be noted in this fashion.

4. _ibid._

5. "Church Temporalities Committee versus the _Banner_" 17/11/43

6. "Letter from Mr. Geo. Brown (of the _Banner_) to Isaac Buchanan Esq., late MPP for the City of Toronto" 26/1/44

7. _ibid._

8. "Prospectus of the _Banner_" 18/8/43

9. _ibid._

10. "Prospectus of the Second Volume" 12/1/44

11. "The Presbyterian Church of Canada'In Connection with the Church of Scotland'" 19/1/44. On another occasion he wrote:"The main object of the _Banner_...was for many months to support the principles of Free Presbyterianism in Canada". "To Our Readers" 28/2/45

12. John Moir, _Enduring Witness_, (Toronto: Bryant Press 1974), p.83

13. John Banks, "American Presbyterians in the Niagara Penninsula 1800-1840," _O.H._ 57 (1965)

14. William Gregg, _Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada_,(Toronto: printed for the author,1893), p.48

15. _ibid._ p.48

16. _ibid._ p.68

17. Moir, op.cit. p.73

18. Gregg, op.cit. p.48

19. _ibid._ p.48

20. Moir, op.cit. p.88

21. Gregg includes the following excerpt from the Synod's report to Scotland in his narrative: 'The late political disturbances and the changes now contemplated in the civil government have had their influence in hastening the settlement of this matter. During last winter, and pending discussion of the Clergy

Reserves Bill in the Legislature, the friends of the Church, both in

the Assembly and the Council, in order to secure for Presbyterians a
fair share in the distribution of the property, favoured a proposition
that, insofar as regarded the census of Presbyterians, the United
Synod of Upper Canada should be held included in the Synod of Upper
Canada...and the Bill passed the Colonial Legislature with this pro-
vision.'

Unfortunately neither of the churches had been informed of the "proposition" at the time;
see Gregg p.52

22. N.G. Smith,   "By Schism Rent Asunder," Canadian Journal of Theology, 1 (1955) 181

23. Moir, op.cit. p.103

24. Claude Welch,   Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century, (New Haven: Yale Univ
Press 1972), p.32

25. Syd Ahlstrom,   A Religious History of the American People, (New Haven: Yale Univ.
Press 1972), p.303

26. Ronald Reeve,   "John Wesley, Charles Simeon, and the Evangelical Revival,"
Canadian Journal of Theology, 2 (1956) 205

27. Thomas Langford,   "John Wesley's Doctrine of Sanctification," Papers, Methodist
Historical Society Conference, Toronto June 1978.
Langford explains the difference between justification and sanctification in the
following terms:

Justification, in Wesley's thought has a somewhat passive character,
it is the reception of God's work in Jesus Christ; Santifica-
tion has a more active character, it is the dynamism of the
Holy Spirit confronting and maturing the Christian person.
Faith, as such, is not the goal of the Christian life. Rather
love, the full love of God and neighbour, is the goal. Faith
is the necessary way to this love. The Weslayan dynamic is
love formed in faith and faith formed by love.   p.15

As Langford mentions, this doctrine of love was most fully expressed in the nineteenth
century holiness crusade.

28. Welch, op.cit. p.66. For the later Edwardsians, especially the New Divinity men, see;
George Marsden,   The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience
(New Haven: Yale Univ. Press 1970) pp.20-35

29. Welch, op.cit. p.66

30. ibid. p.60

31. James Bulloch &   The Scottish Church 1688-1843, (Edinburgh: St.Andrews Press 1973)
Andrew Drummond   pp.30-65

32. ibid. p.155

33. Alexander Munro, a licentiate in the Church, offered this expanation of "first principle"
thinking;

> Truth, it may be said, is plain; and the truth of the Gospel
> is indeed such that he who runs may read; but error is com-
> plex--subtle to insinuate itself into the expression, and
> assume the semblence of truth; and hence, the task to ex-
> tricate truth from error may often be labourious and diffi-
> cult. But everyone does not possess the liesure or the learn-
> ing necessary for such detailed investigation. It is, there-
> fore, of signal advantage to have presented to the mind some
> leading principle, or plain argument, the application of which
> may inform us, speedily and satisfactorily, concerning the
> nature of a system of doctrines; either as a key to their
> further examination, or saving us the absolute necessity, at
> least, of tracing error through its many wanderings.

Alexander Munro, "The Source and Tendency of Popery," Glasgow 4/11/1831

34. Alexander Duff, "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ as illus-
trated in the History of the Church of Scotland," Edinburgh 1844

35. ibid.

36. Henry Gordon, "Christ as Redeemer, the Delegated King and Head of Creation,"London 1857

37. Quoted in Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption (Edinburgh: Th. Nelson 1943)
p.30

38. Thomas Chalmers, "An Earnest Appeal to the Free Church of Scotland on the Subject
of its Economics," Phillidelphia 1847 (from the second Edinburgh edition

39. This raises the idea of religion as social control, which sees the nineteenth-century
evangelicals as status-anxious, middle class liberals, determined to remake society
according to their own norms. I should like to leave this topic until I discuss it
in chapter four.

40. Stewart Mechie, The Church in Scottish Social Development (Oxford 1960),dicusses
the role of parishes and social welfare.

41. Ralph Wardlaw, "An Essay on Benevolent Assosciations for the Relief of the Poor,"
delivered to the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society, Glasgow 1817.
He goes on to say:

> ...an attempt which experience has pronounced impractical
> and visionary; and which, were it possible to give it success,
> would effectively frustrate the purposes of mutual benefit
> for which men assosciate.

42. Robert Burns, "A plea for the Poor of Scotland, on an Inquirey into their Condition,"
Paisley, 1841.

43. Thomas Chalmers, "An Earnest Appeal...." op.cit.

44. Quoted in Watt, op.cit. p.66.

45. Rev. P.C. Campbell, an opponent of Brown's, claimed that the editor's "vocation is
mischief" and that he "afforded no evidence of a love of truth, or of the spirit or
professional qualifications of a religious journalist". Brown's friends, he claimed

are now "loudly disclaiming you...and I rejoice that they have the honesty to make
the amende honourable to the public for letting you loose upon the province." ("Letter
from the Rev. P.C. Campbell, as First Printed in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette,
Banner 2/2/44. John Bayne, a friend of the Free Church cause, was no less kind when
he wrote, "no one who will bend to the self-constituted dictatorship which you have
assumed over all the affairs of our Church need expect fairness, justice, or com-
mon civility from you...I have now done with you, and I mistake as to the character
and spirit of my countrymen...if the deepening disgust...will not ere long make it-
self manifest in a way even your nature will feel and lead them with scorn... to re-
nouve your friendship as a foul disgrace." ("Letter from John Bayne" 28/6/44)

46. "Report of Synod" 18/8/43. See also: Presbyterian Church in Canada in Connection With
the Church of Scotland, Minutes of Synod, Session XIII, Toronto 6-12/7/1843

47. "Contemporary Notices of the Banner" 1/9/43

48. "Presbyterian Church in Canada" 27/10/43. See also the letter from Mark Stark in the sam
issue which addresses the meaning of the words "in connection with the Church of
Scotland"; In Stark's opinion the title was " assumed by the Synod...merely to indicate
our having sprung from the Church of Scotland, as distinguished from other Presbyterian
Bodies in the colony." This view of the matter was assumed by Brown when he analysed
the history of the Canadian church.

49. Minutes of Synod, op.cit.

50. "Communications" 17/11/43. Boyd and William Smart of Brockville both resigned their
charges, largely because of the Temporalities controversy: see "Resignation of Messrs.
Boyd and Smart" 24/11/43.

51. "Presbyterian Church Bill" 3/11/43

52. ibid. see also: "Bill" 17/11/43, which gives the text of the Bill;
"The Presbyterian Church Bill" 10/11/43, including various congregational resolutions
on the matter;
"Church Temporalities Committee versus the Banner" 17/11/43;
"The Temporalities Bill" 2/2/44, in which Brown cites a Scottish paper's support of the
Banner's position;
"The Scottish Guardian" 10/5/44, same as above.

53. The importance of the connection in regard to claims upon the Clergy Reserves was the
subject of a correspondence between Mark Stark and the Rev. John Jennings of the United
Associate Church, conducted in the Banner in the autmn of 1843. Stark's idea of the
endowment flowed from his notion of the connection (note 48 above); that is that the
Church in Canada had "sprung" from a British establisment and by that fact, it was
endowed. However it was also independent of the Scottish Church and of the State.
Jennings, a voluntarist, rightly noted that Stark could not have it both ways: either
the Canadian Church was a part of the establishment or it was not: if the former was
true then the Synod was guilty of the sin of forebearance; if the latter was true
then the Synod should not be endowed. Stark replied:"Our position by the State is not
in one iota changed by the Disruption...and, as we are generally satisfied with the
privileges and advantages we enjoy, we have no wish to change our position."See
"Communications", Stark 27/10/43; Jennings 10/11/43; Stark 24/11/43.

54. "Letter from the Rev. P.C. Campbell, A.M. Professor of Classical Literature in Queens College,C.W. on the present Position of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" 19/11/44. The letter was originally printed in the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette and re-printed in the Banner: in a subsequent letter (again published in both papers) Campbell chastised Brown for intentionally misleading the public as to the basis of his argument by emphasizing certain passages (like the one in question) through the use of italics not employed in the original; see "Letter..." 2/2/44

55. "Report of Synod" 18/8/43; Minutes of Synod op.cit.

56. "The Presbyterian Church in Canada 'In Connection with the Church of Scotland'" 19/1/44

57. ibid.

58. ibid.

59. ibid.

60. "Meeting of the Presbytery of Hamilton" 26/1/44

61. "Presbytery of Hamilton" 26/1/44

62. "Movement on Behalf of the Free Church, at Galt" 1/3/44

63. "Copy Letter from the Presbytery of Bathurst, Canada West, to the Very Reverend, the Convenor of the Established Church of Scotland" 1/3/44

64. "Presbytery of Quebec" 15/3/44

65. Queens was to lose a great many theological students to the Free Church College in Toronto (Knox) following the Disruption.

66. Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, Minutes, 1843-1870. Meeting on the 8th, January 1844 "the resolutions of the Synod of Canada" were taken under considera-tion, and "it was suggested that a pastoral address should be prepared in the prin-ciples on which the Free Church was founded and sent to the Presbyterian Congregations in the colonies". From August 1844 to March 1845 the Committee kept a close watch on Canadian events, sending out ministers and money to aid the new colonial church.

67. "Reply of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church to the Synod of Canada" 10/5/44. The entire address was printed in pamphlet form by the Banner Office under the title: "Address of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland to Scotsmen and Other Presbyterians Residing in the British Colonies, Attached to the Standards of the Church of Scotland" Brown also noted other Free Church events at home and also carried a lengthly article on the English Church's renunciation of the established Church; "Presbyterian Church in England and Presbyterian Church in Canada" 31/5/44

68. "Presbyterian Church in Canada" 10/5/44

69. "Presbyterian Church of Canada" 17/11/44; see also: "Meeting of St.Andrew's Church Congregation, Toronto" for the date and resolutions adopted; and, "Meeting of St. Andrew's Church Congregation, Cobourg" 17/5/44.

Notes, continued.

70. "Declaration of St. Catherines" 31/5/44; "Meeting of the Presbyterian Congregation at St. Catherines" 31/5/44

71. "Toronto Presbytery" 28/6/44

72. See: "Meeting of Peterboro Congregation", "Woodstock Presbyterian Church", "Presbyterian Church", "Presbyterian Congregation of Amherstburg",Meeting of the Presbyterian Congregation of Picton", all 5/7/44.

73. "The Synod of Canada" 28/6/44

74. ibid.

CHAPTER TWO: "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation;..." :

The Religious Department

There are but two kinds of religion in the world; humility and
faith on the one hand pride and ceremony on the other. There
is a religion of repentance and a religion of penance; of
self-mortification from the sorrow and hatred of sin, and
self-mortification for the acquisition of merit and self-es-
teem...a religion that worships God and another that worships
the altar...

This chapter will examine what is commonly referred to as the 'evangelical creed', the dominant religious force in mid-nineteenth-century North American society.

Definitions of the evangelical creed differ amongst historians but this much can be said with little fear of contradiction: it rested upon a belief that God had revealed Himself to man in the Bible and that Jesus Christ had offered man the means to salvation through His ministry and his crucifixion. Furthermore the evangelicals believed that the Church of Christ was one, universal and catholic, and that the various divisions of the Reformed faith in matters of worship and doctrine were of a lesser importance than the great soul-saving mission on which they were embarked. Finally, and in consequence of the previous two beliefs, it was the duty of these men as Christians to bring the Gospel to all men, for Christ had taught that all men were one in the eyes of God. The evangelical creed was, in short, premised on the Headship of Christ, developed through the religion of piety, and expressed in the missionary impulse.

The proponents of the evangelical creed saw themselves as the inheritors of the religious traditions expressed in the Reformation. This Reformation note was evidence of two different but interrelated notions: firstly it suggested that their own religious ideals, inasmuch as they resembled the ideals of the Reformers, were an expression of the 'true religion' enunciated by Christ and sanctified by tradition; secondly, it implied that the nineteenth-century Christian world, like that of the sixteenth century, was locked in a struggle with the enemies of true religion (the 'forces of darkness'), the outcome of which would determine whether mankind was destined to eternal salvation or eternal damnation. To those who subscribed to it, the evangelical creed was an expression of both true religion and historical religion. In effect its ideals were at one and the same time true

in an absolute sense, and real in a historical sense; that is to say, the evangelical creed was an expression of'true religion' because it conformed to its supporters'understanding of that phenomenon as it passed through history.

While defining their creed by reference to its internal and historical merits, the evangelicals also understood it in opposition to external forces. The greatest of these was the 'enemy' of true religion, Roman Catholicism. While other systems of religious thought (like the 'Hindoo" and the 'Mohammedan') were simply the misguided delusions of ignorant heathens, the religion of Rome was at once horrifying and repugnant to the evangelical. The Roman Catholic had no idea of the Bible for his priest would never permit him to examine its truths and he prayed to statues of the saints and the Virgin rather than to Christ; in short, the Romanist worshipped the Pope instead of worshipping God.

It was an evangelical 'truth' of the age that the Pope and his minions were preparing a final assault on the bastions of Christianity; vigilance was ever needful to combat the 'son of perdition'. True Protestants like Brown recognized the depravity of Romanist practices, yet many were fooled by the subtlety of the Papist attack. For evangelicals the grand example of deluded Protestantism was the"Puseyite" wing of the Church of England, which was undermining the Reformed doctrines of the Church through the application of questionable doctrines and heretical ceremonies. Aided and abetted by the Jesuit conspiracy, the English Churchmen were undermining the Protestant ideals of the Established Church at home and in the colonies, evangelicals like Brown believed.

The very idea of an Established Church, supported by and responsible to the State, was a form of error repulsive to the evangelicals. The English Church was a fine example of how such a body could undermine the peoples' faith while still demanding their adherence. The refusal of such bodies to

participate in the crusade, and their haughty attitude towards the universal church of Christ won for the Established Churches an opposition second only to that of Rome amongst evangelicals. An Established Church was evidence of religious tyranny, the opposite of spiritual freedom and the voluntary co-operative principles which guided the evangelical churches in their mission.

The missionary impulse of the evangelical creed was expressed in the home mission and the foreign mission station. Accepting the atonement of Christ as universal in scope, the evangelicals took upon themselves the task of bringing the gospel of salvation to the sinner and the savage. The missionary spirit, and the interdenominational missionary organization, were uniquely ninteenth-century Protestant phenomena. While Protestants had often carried their gospel with them wherever they travelled, it was not until the dawning of the nineteenth century that a concerted effort was made to introduce the Gospel to Africa, India, and the Pacific, on such a grand scale.

All these ideas found expression in the pages of the Banner: making use of authoritative texts and extracts from foreign journals, the Banner offered its readers the opportunity of participating in an international religious movement. In the following pages I shall offer copious extracts from its pages, and from sermon literature of the period, on these and other topics which interested and informed the ninteenth-century evangelicals.

. . . .

Goldwin French has argued that the evangelical creed was "the dominant strand in Canadian Protestantism" in the nineteenth century; at its center "was an overwhelming conviction of the existence, the presence and the power of God in human affairs".[2]

This conviction produced in the evangelical a 'feeling' of the irreducible presence of Christ in his daily life that transcended the stiff formalism of other religious doctrines. Reverend J.H. Johnson of the Methodist Episcopal Church

dwelt on this theme in his sermon to the Bay of Quinte Conference meeting in 1850:

> The religion of Jesus Christ, my Brethren, concerns every man.
> Other systems have been adapted, by their peculiarities, to
> particular countries, and to particular portions of the human
> family; but this alone meets the wants of mankind at large. It
> defines the relations between man and man, and between man and
> his Maker. ...The Great truths which it unfolds are recorded in
> the Book of Inspiration which cannot lie. This is the authority
> to which we must appeal in the decision of all controversies and
> the solution of all mysteries. It is the chart to steer us over
> the ocean of life, and the compass by which our course should
> be directed.   3

The other systems of which the Reverend Johnson spoke had troubled the mind of the

great Wesleyan thinker Adam Clarke when he approached the question, 'what must I do

to be saved?'. Clarke studied five separate systems by which man attempted to secure

his salvation through obedience to the Word of God, and found each to be lacking in

some essential quality. The first three, works, supererogation, and purgatory, bore

a Catholic mark and were suspect in that they fixed the operation of men's souls as

more important than Christ's work; man earned God's merit rather than receiving His

gift. The fourth system, transmigration of souls, had no revelation in Scripture nor

a philosophical basis; furthermore, wrote Clarke, travelling from one body to another

entailed the acquisition of new sins which in turn demanded atonement. The fifth

doctrine, "that God, through His own mere <u>benevolence</u>, may pardon sin, purify the soul,

and confer everlasting bliss...",was a specious argument because God would never give

forth His benevolence without justice nor justice without mercy. Every sin was a

crime against infinite reason and justice, and therefore God should punish rather than

save a sinner; what is more, God's salvation of a sinner who did not merit it was a

contradiction of infinite justice, righteousness, and truth.

Thus wrote Clarke, we come to the one and true answer: "believe on the Lord

Jesus Christ and thou shall be saved". St. Paul taught that Christ had become man

and offered His own mortal life for the life of mankind: such was

the sacrifice demanded by a just God and it was only the "incarnation, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, and mediation of Christ" that secured to the believer his salvation. Salvation by faith alone implied a respect for the law of God manifested in love, "for the faith, essential to the doctrine works by love; and love is the principle of obedience, and he who receives salvation by faith, receives, at the same time, power from God to live in obedience to every moral precept".[4]

Salvation,"the only conceivable interest that is imperishable" for man, was grounded in the evangelical's faith in the sufficiency of Christ. Faith was the only reality to the evangelical; it was that quality which transcended the mundane world and linked the soul of man with everlasting life in God. If the religion of Christ was a daily experience it was surely one that would last a man throughout his life.[5]

The locus of faith for the evangelical was in the heart: "Faith works by love. It causes him to love God, and to love goodness because it is good and produces peace".[6] Reverend John Alexander was of the opinion that his task as a preacher was to "secure for our message a favourable hearing, and a cordial reception into the heart". While fine language and correct illustration of the gospel message might spark an intellectual response in his audience, the great truths of redemption "will not sustain an interest, where there is no speaking to the heart and meeting the heart's wants".[7]

Faith, conditioned by love, produced in the evangelical Christian a strong measure of piety. The Reverend James Morgan, speaking at the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church, placed the feeling of piety at the center of the religious experience: "He prayed to Almighty God...to make him feel more than he had ever felt, the connexion between personal piety and ministerial fidelity and success....He believed that therein lay the secret of their strength, whether as individuals or as a Church."

Where, he asked rhetorically, did all the great revivals of religion have
their origin?

> In God certainly; but when God was about to bless His
> people largely, He began the work in the hearts of his
> instruments..unless there was that personal piety, esp-
> ecially amongst the ministers of the Church, they could
> not be strong in the powers which they, under God,
> brought against sin.   8 ‡

This feeling of piety comforted the Christian in trouble, sustained him in
anxiety, and made him grateful in prosperity. For those whose faith did not
give them this satisfying feeling, religion was little more than a duty, or
an encumbrance. However with the true Christian;"Emminent piety is the
way to happiness. It is joy and peace and bliss..The Happiness of religion
is reserved for those whose piety is sincere, and the higher degrees of its
happiness for such as have large measure of holiness." [9]

The evangelical creed was expressed in many forms: the rigorous soul-
searching sermon in which the listener was asked to question his own piety
and zeal; the thundering oration in which the wrath of God and the fires of
Hell were laid before the mind of the complacent sinner; or the calm in-
vestigation of a specific question or doctrine proposed to stir the intellect
of the reasoning listener. One of the more common approaches was the com-
forting homily. The listener (or reader) was presented with a situation in
which he could readily imagine himself the subject under examination. The
object of the exercise was to bring home to the auditor some useful lesson
in piety or faith, either as a caution against just such a transgression or
as a reasgurance that he was traversing the proper path to salvation. The
importance of the homiletic form in evangelical circles is obvious; in
a society where literary and theological sophistication was low, the
homily proved an understandable and readily approachable means of promoting
useful knowledge. The _Banner_ carried an enormous number of these pieces
on its front page and it will prove instructive if some are highlighted here.

In a religious movement that placed a great importance upon individual

response, the duty of examining one's motives, triumphs, and transgressions was constantly stressed by the evangelicals. The <u>Banner</u> included a passage from the works of Phillip Dodderidge, the eighteenth-century Non-Conformist hymnist, on the topic of 'self-examination'. To his mind the true Christian should question his activities of the day, both at morning and in the evening, so as to glorify God and insure that he had done all in his power to stand with Christ. For those who did not possess the wherewithal to ask the essential questions of self-examination, Dodderidge compiled a short list that brought together business dealings, the family, and personal convictions:

> Did I offer my solemn promises, and renew the dedication of
> myself to God, with becoming intentions and suitable affections?...
> How have the other stated devotions of the day been attended, .
> whether in the family or in public? Have I pursued the common
> business of the day with diligence and spirituality, doing every-
> thing in season,and with all convenient dispatch, and as unto the
> Lord? What time have I lost this day...and what occasioned the
> loss of it?...Have I seen the hand of God in my mercies, health,
> cheerfulness, food, clothing, books, preservation in journies,
> success of business, conversation and kindness of friends etc.   10

Another topic for which the homily was employed was the family. Every man, whatever his station in life, had a family to support and enjoy. The comforts of the home were full satisfaction for the many hours spent in earthly pursuits, whether as man of business, scientist, or labourer. Here his true joy and happiness was found "in the diversions of his Children" and the company of his loving wife.

Let us visit one of these gentlemen:

> Take the man of trade. What reconciles him to the toil of
> business?...What rewards him for so many hours of tedious con-
> finement? By and by, the season of intercourse will arrive, he
> will be embossed in the caresses of his family...and in their
> welfare and smiles,he will find his recompense.   11

Undoubtedly the greatest use of the homily was its application to the death-bed scenario. In a society where it was an ever-present reality, the allusion to a sudden death, especially for the unrepentant, was a powerful weapon

in the craft of a gifted preacher. The death bed scene of the Christian was

often compared to that of the unregenerate sinner "to whom the approach of

dissolution brings nothing but...the gloom of utter despair...to be cast by an

unseen and mighty power, into a condition surrounded by obscurity and terror":

> Far different is the last end of the true believer. The
> spirit of the ransomed sinner contemplates death with...
> placid joy...the ardent eyes of faith seem to behold the
> present Saviour, sustaining the soul in the arms of div-
> ine affection and comforting it with the promises of
> Almighty love...   12

Faith, love, and piety determined the response of the evangelical in the

religious experience. The appeal was directed to the heart of the individual.

The gospel of salvation was a personal message: God was calling 'you', the un-

regenerate sinner, to take a stand in Christ. Assured of his justification

the awakened sinner became an enthusiastic follower of Christ seeking salvation.

This feeling of joy brought to his daily task, whether he be a missionary or a

mason, a measure of self-righteousness sanctified by the knowledge that he was

chosen by God. Brown, as an evangelical and a newspaper editor, subscribed to

to this gospel,and its expression found an outlet in the Banner.

....

> If there is anything we would urge with more anxiety than
> another, it would be a friendly and Christian union amongst
> all classess of Protestants, and to cast into the shade
> every difference which does not interfere with the great
> principles of the Christian faith.   13

The appeal of the evangelical gospel was a personal one,—come and be saved.

However the acceptance of salvation by the individual sinner placed him within

a movement, a collection of like-minded individuals whose unity rested upon a

sense of shared values and common goals. Faith, love and piety were, to the

evangelicals, the marks of true Christianity, founded upon the Word of God.

Positing their religious beliefs as an expression of true religion, the evangelicals

were determined to show that they were the inheritors of the Reformation, the

last historic period in which unity and evangelism had ruled the Christian world.

The Reformation note was a favourite of the Free Church proponent. Separating from the Church established by the Scottish Reformers, the Free Churchmen went to great lengths to show that their church was the true Church of Scotland in protest.[14] The Reformation Church to the Free Churchman, expressed the full measure of a Scriptural body, with Christ as prophet, priest,and Head, bringing all the people in the nation under its pale. Religious liberty begat civil liberty and the Church took on the responsibility of administering the education, welfare and religious wants of the people.[15] John Knox, the Reformation divine, was determined to rid the land of profligacy, profane-swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and intemperance:"the entire framework of society...would have been pervaded with the lifeblood of a pure Gospel" had Knox completed his work.[16]

The continual reference to the the Reformation church and the evangelical spirit pervading that body by the Free Churchmen evidenced their need to attach their ideal to something beyond their own time and space. By claiming that they were the inheritors of the Reformation they were conscientiously attempting to give their church an intrinsic validity beyond the bounds of nineteenth-century Protestantism. Undoubtedly for Presbyterian evangelicals there was something of an admission that theyhad overthrown the doctrine of predestination in joining with the evangelical crusade. However that may be, it was the decided policy of the Free Churchman to view his church, not as a product of the Ten Years Conflict, but as a rebirth of that spirit which had informed the sixteenth-century Reformers, a spirit eclipsing the ages, sanctified and made known to man through the Scripture and the mission of Christ.[17]

The allusion to the Reformed nature of the Free Church was most forcefully put by Robert Candlish,when addressing the Assembly on the third anniversary of the Disruption, when he claimed for it a direct inheritence from John Knox '
> Some three short years ago, on this day and in this place a deed was done that gave Scotland and the world to know that the soul . of Knox's work was neither dead nor sleeping. Here...was the real foundation of Knox's monument laid...[18]

Knox was a Presbyterian to Candlish's mind, but more importantly he had been an evangelical. While differences of worship and discipline in the Reformation era had prevented the establishment of an all-encompassing Church, the Reformers had been united in cause and mind:

> For varieties-even considerable-of creed and constitution, did not, among the Reformers, interrupt evangelical communion; they felt that Protestantism is not a dividing but a uniting principle: disapproving of many things in one another's Churches, they yet delighted to cultivate personal acquaintance and Christian alliance with all the faithful; and none had a larger or warmer heart for all Christendom than our own Reformer-John Knox; none could be more anxious to prevent minor and formal differences from interrupting harmony...and none more cordially kept up friendly, Christian, and even ecclesiastical intercourse with good men in a sister Church that he disapproved of.... [19]

The Reformation faith had been debased by "the rude hand of military violence" and the ascension of the Stuarts had destroyed the ideal of the Church. "When rest and outward prosperity returned to the Churches, none were found to rescue it from the oblivion into which it had fallen":

> When two hundred years had almost passed away, the age of a cold and blasting scepticism drew to an end, and a generation arose like minded with that which witnessed the Westminster Assembly. Faith once more visited the earth, and asserted her ancient and undying power on the conscience of men. [20]

The members of the Upper Canada Bible Society were of the opinion that the agitation over religious questions "in the present day, is greater than in any former age of the world, and is even more widespread than at the period of the glorious Reformation." [21] The Reverend John James of Birmingham, Alabama warned his audience that the present condition of the world was such that all professing Christians should "arise from their slumbers and...look around them":

> Do consider the present aspect of the world. Old institutions are changing or falling around us; society is in a state of fluctuation and transformation: the dread of innovation has arisen into almost a passion for it; the authority of venerated names and systems has perished; and a grand struggle for mastery is coming on between the spirit of infidelity and the Word of God. [22]

For his own part, Peter Brown thought that the progress and changes "now going on

with such unexampled rapidity" must surely result "in the complete triumph of evangelical Christianity...for it is so decreed in the infallible Word of God." [23]

The triumph of evangelical Christianity depended upon the communion of all Protestants who shared the same essential principles of religion. The period from the Reformation to the nineteenth century had been the era of the sects. In the past,"wherever sects have flourished the gospel has been most purely and energetically preached" and "the cause of Christ has been materially promoted". [24] Sects and churches had been useful in their contribution to gospel ministration but they were like "plants which our Master had not planted. His design was, that His disciples should be ONE". [25]

> If we believe that all who hold the great doctrines of the
> gospel, who love the Lord Jesus Christ, and are endeavoring
> to follow him through life, are received in the Kingdom of
> God above-who can dare to refuse them the right hand of
> fellowship below? [26]

"The time will come, may the Lord hasten it," wrote Reverend Brown, "when the SECTS shall be utterly abolished". [27] That time, to Peter Brown's way of thinking, was now upon the earth; the extension of education amongst Protestants and "the foundations of deep Christian feeling pervading the mass of the community" were preparing the way for a new Reformation developed through a unified Protestant Christian community. [28]

Evidence of this phenomenon was to be found in the extension of home and foreign missions, the increased attention paid to benevolent ideas and bodies, and in the increasing awareness of evangelical ideas amongst the people.

Of especial import to Brown's mind were the various attempts to bring together those sects and churches which shared evangelical principles. In this regard two movements, one at home and the other in the colony, were noted with great interest in the Banner.

The first great movement of unity was the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in Great Britain during the autumn months of 1845/46. The purpose of the

Alliance was "'to associate · and concentrate the strength of an enlightened Protestantism against the tyranny of Popery and Puseyism, and to promote...a Scriptural Christianity'". It was distinctly understood by the participants that the Alliance was to be a union "'not of churches or of parties, but of individual Christians'" and that by associating with one another they were in no way compromising or concealing "'principles conscientiously held by any of the parties.'" [29] The Alliance was to be a non-denominational association consisting of those "'holding the sentiments usually known as evangelical on such points as the following:

> the authority of the Holy Scripture as the sole and efficient rule of faith and practise; the Trinity; the total depravity of human nature; our redemption by Christ the only Mediator; justification by faith alone; regeneration by the Spirit; the Ministry and the Sacraments.'" [30]

Reverend Mr. King, a Secession minister and leader of the Scottish delegation to the Liverpool Conference, found the organization just the thing necessary to combat evils then existing in the world. There was a need for a new Reformation, claimed King, for a number of reasons: first, there was an increase in size and scope of Popery, the heretical doctrine that held much of Europe in darkness; second, the inroads made by infidelity amongst the several European nations demanded an increased evangelization; the condition of ignorance and superstition found throughout the heathen world was a further area that cried out for a full measure of gospel works; finally the agitation then going on in the Protestant churches demanded that all Christians take an interest in the undertakings of this great body. Reverend King stated that the assemblage of such an august body of respected gentlemen put him in mind of the Reformation:

> The Reformation was a European work; and it is amazing to think how the Reformers, raised up for the crisis, in ways so different, and belonging to countries so remote and dissimilar, should have reached so much identity of sentiment and aim, and contributed so largely, in the Providence of God, to advance the glorious cause, not only each in his land, but throughout a general Christendom. [31]

However not all Scots were as willing to join in the Alliance as King.
Dr. Campbell, the editor of the _Christian Witness_ and an ardent Free Churchman
was one who dismissed the body as frivolous; in an exchange of correspondence
with Sir Culling Smith, an advocate of the Alliance, Campbell questioned the
practicality of the organization noting that this was not the first attempt
by Smith to form a group larger than a single Church; "Sir Culling, when will
an enthusiastic benevolence among a portion of the people of God give place to
common sense?...Is the voice of experience to be forever drowned by the self-
excited plaudits of an unintelligent and misguided charity?" [32] The Glasgow
Presbytery of the Free Church objected to members joining the Alliance as it was
conducted "'upon principles which greatly compromise the truth, and which con-
travene the rules of God's house'". [33] The Presbytery petitioned the Assembly,
asking that all connection with the Alliance cease until the annual meeting of
Assembly and a letter was dutifully sent, over the names of Drs. Candlish and
Cunningham, informing the Chairman of the Glasgow Committee of the Alliance that
they wished to discontinue attending meetings though they were convinced of the
rightness of the cause. [34]

The _Banner's_ editor fulminated on the mean, sectarian spirit evidenced by
the Glasgow Free Churchmen. The Alliance was a great work for evangelizing
the world;

> Much as we respect Presbytery, we cannot forget that the
> blessing of God has descended in copious streams on the
> exertions of Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and
> Episcopalians; and we hold that such a sectarian assertion
> of the exclusive claims of Presbytery is altogether anti-
> Christian and calculated to injure instead of promoting the
> progress of Presbytery, or the cause of vital godliness...
> Drs. Candlish and Chalmers\ and the leading men of the
> Free Church adhere to their desire for the Evangelical
> Alliance. [35]

When the Assembly met that spring the question of assisting the great work
was resolved in the affirmative "and the result must be gratifying to all who em-
brace in the arms of Christian affection those who love the Lord Jesus Christ." [36]

While the Evangelical Alliance controversy was going on in Britain a union
movement within the colony also sparked the interest of the editor of the _Banner_.
From the time of the Canadian Disruption, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church
(Free) had sought an alliance with the Secession Presbyterians. The first notice
of union talks appeared in the _Banner_ of September 1845. A meeting was to take
place the following month and the editor was **optimistic** that a union could be
effected, the two bodies holding "the same Scriptural doctrines, and the same
Church government"; "The Secession would bring to the Free Church an **accession of**
good and zealous ministers, with minds clear from any bias towards Establishment
or State endowments".[37]

Messers. Gale, Stark and Bayne attended the meeting on behalf of the Free
Church; Mr. Proudfoot and Thomas Christie represented the Secessionists.
The report of the proceedings was cautiously **optimistic** both parties agreeing
on the essential doctrines of the Headship of Christ, the Westminster Standards and
forms of worship and discipline;

> the chief point in which we differ, is...whether it is, under
> any circumstances, lawful for the Civil Magistrate to devote
> any portion of the public funds for the support of the Church;
> and whether it is lawful for the Church to receive such
> support.   [38]

The members of the committee decided to return to their respective churches to get
opinions as to whether such differences on the foregoing points "ought to be
regarded as a barrier to union; or, whether satisfactory grounds of union may not,
nevertheless, be found."[39]

The following spring the _Banner_ published two letters from Secession ministers
discussing the establishment principle and the hindrence to union entailed by the
Free Church's official policy favouring endowments. Rev. Jennings, a frequent con-
tributor to the Letters column, was of the opinion that the Free Church still
held to the establishment ideals especially on the point of the power of the
Civil Magistrate to interfere with the Church. These powers, he argued, were

contained in section three, Chapter 23, of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and
until they were renounced by the Free Church no union could be effected.[40] Mr. Barrie
wrote the next month, claiming that the Free Church should define its policy on the
matter of establishment especially as it applied to the terms of communion in the
Church; until this was done no union was possible.[41]

In the same issue in which Mr. Barrie's letter appeared (19/6/46), Brown printed
a long editorial endorsing union and calling on the Free Church to renounce the
establishment principle. That Church, he claimed, had never endorsed the establishment
ideals of the Church of Scotland but did enjoy its witness, its Confession, and a large
part of its history. "It is not easy" he wrote, "to disengage the mind from long-
cherished attachments," but a great many within the Free Church must surely question
an endowment from a State willing to endorse the error of the Churches of England and
Rome. What is more, the "power of the voluntary principle in maintaining itself with-
out the aid of State support...has received a noble illustration in the brilliant
career of the Free Church during the last three years."[42] The issue raised by the
Secession ministers on the power of the Civil Magistrate contained in the Confession
of Faith was the only impediment to union; those powers, wrote Brown, "are totallly
inconsistent with religious liberty, and no church is free in principle which holds
them.

> We know the fears entertained of touching any part of the Confession
> of Faith, which as a whole...is an imperishable monument of the clear
> Scriptural views on Doctrinal subjects of the Divines of the day...
> still it would be a desertion of duty to posterity and ingratitude
> to God, who has given the present generation the benefit of other
> ages, to shrink from a due use of that experience...   [43]

Determined to see union effected, Brown was willing to renounce a portion of the
Westminster Confession. This was indeed a surprising statement from one who had
made great use of that same document in the Disruption debate to defend the Free Church,
but Brown was calling on the witness of the age in behalf of his belief. It was not
he who was transgressing the Confession of Faith, Brown argued, but the Civil
Magistrate whose duty to supress heretical doctrines and insure that "the truth of God be

kept pure and entire" had been abdicated by endowing the Church of England and
the Church of Rome.

The following year a union between the Relief and the United Secession   44
Churches of Scotland was finalized,the new body titled United Presbyterian Church.
Commenting on the union, Brown was moved to write:"And who, that loves to see
those who are separated by no essential principle dwelling in unity, can avoid
hoping that ere long the Free Church and the 'United Church' may become one.

> In this Province there exists no opposing views as should
> prevent a union between the two bodies, and we have yet to
> hear some good reason why the basis of such a union has not
> already been devised and submitted to the members of the
> Church for their consideration. It is only the connection
> of Church and State which has separated the Presbyterians
> here or elsewhere;..the practical renunciation of allState
> support, such as the Free Church now follows, would at once
> unite all Presbyterians in the Province, who hold the ess-
> ential doctrines of the Gospel, including the spiritual
> independence of the Church from State controul.   45.

The union hoped for by Brown and members of the Free Church was not to be
effected until 1860. However Brown was willing, as has been shown, to go to
great lengths to insure that all evangelical Christians in Canada and around the
world were united in body as they were in aim.

....

> A Church is a combination of individuals, whose very
> foundation implies a common assent to certain leading doc-
> trines of religion; and those who think stability in the
> faith is best preserved by written confessions or creeds
> founded on the Word of God, are bound to make use of them..
> Others as conscientiously adopt the Scripture as their only
> standard.   46

The Evangelical Alliance began as a Protestant organization to combat the
increasing influence of Roman Catholicism in the world. The plan of union be-
tween the Canadian Presbyterians failed because of the Free Church's adherence to
the establishment principle. "Popery" and Establishment were, to the nineteenth -
century evangelicals, two enunciations of "error" that pervaded the Christian
world at mid-century. Evangelicals were convinced that part of their task in

Christianizing the world lay in exposing the fallacies of these two systems.

For British and colonial evangelicals like Brown, the truly alarming news of the 1840s was the ascendency of Popery in England. For centuries England had been universally acknowledged as the repository of the true Christian virtues of civil and religious liberty. While maintaining the vestiges of an establishment, England had ever remained tolerant of her dissenters, especially when compared with the Catholic tyrants of France and Spain. The advent of Puseyism in the Church of England shattered this comforting truism; beneath the staid exterior of the Protestant establishment seethed an insidious conspiracy masterminded by a Jesuitical cabal to weaken and ultimately undermine the Reformed faith.

Brown held that religious unity must not be thought of in terms of a single universal church body, for such was not possible "until the age of the millennium has commenced"; rather unity must be seen as the cause of religious freedom over-against religious despotism. "We lament that freedom has produced the Millerite folly and deception, and the Mormon blasphemy," he wrote in 1847, "but we have to contemplate evils a thousand times greater, which a spiritual despotism ever creates."[47]

The essence of religious despotism was the corrupting influence it exerted on both those who imposed it and those whom it was imposed upon;"Man cannot be intrusted with supreme and irresponsible power over his fellows, whether in civil or ecclesiastical matters, without abusing it".[48] Contrawise, a free society was one in which freedom flowed through every institution: "He must have very false notions of religion, who would make it a ground for despising the blessing of freedom on which our very liberty to read the Word of God, worship Him according to conscience, and to propagate the Gospel to others, is founded."[49]

Popery and Establishment provide an important clue in the study of nineteenth-century evangelical religion. They are evidence of the "enemy complex" which points up the rigidity and shrillness of many of its practitioners. What is more, the "enemy complex" gave a further validity to the evangelicals'claim on the Reformation. Like their forefathers, they were the disciples of true religion in battle with the Pope and his forces of darkness.

The greater of the two forms of error was Popery. The Church of Rome claimed an authority, historic and spiritual, from man, not from God; it demanded obedience to the dictates of the Pope instead of the Bible, and then assumed an infallibility for its authority and doctrine.

The Romish practises of penance, purgatory, martyrology, and the last rites of the Church, denied the sufficiency of Christ's atonement for man's sin. Its service and worship bespoke an excessive formalism which paraded ceremony and mystery as piety.

> It touches the fancy, but leaves the heart unwarmed.
> Every affection, and sympathy, and passion, is work-
> ed up to its highest point, and is then taken for
> piety. But it is only its shadow-like specious
> counterfeit. No spiritual life is all the while
> awakened:—no just view of the requirements and pro-
> mises of the Gospel, remain to guide and animate the
> soul. But something is done; the natural tastes are
> gratified; the forms of religion are venerated; the
> temples are crowded; the shrines are enriched; the
> priesthood is pampered...while the souls of men are
> left degraded and undone.   50

The adherent of Rome was taught to believe, but never to question: Christ had directed His followers to 'search and see' but the Romanist was satisfied with the responses of the priest even if they were contrary to the dictates of common sense. The Scriptural foundation of religion, so important to the evangelical, was completely absent in the Roman Catholic's religion.

Were the Romanist permitted to study Scripture and evaluate the truths of his

doctrine, he would undoubtedly renounce that confession. The priests well knew

this and so had conspired through the ages to keep the Word of God from their

followers. When they could not keep the Bible from circulating amongst the people,

the priests set about persecuting those who propagated its truths. From the time[51]

of the medieval Popes through the Inquisition and down to the nineteenth century,

"Rome is calculated to have shed, in all, the blood of 68,000,000 of the human race".[52]

The bane of all religious truth, Romanism was also destructive of all civil

and social improvement. Popish doctrine and its decrees were pernicious to all

who held them for "as far as possible it keeps them in ignorance...in abject sub-

jugation and slavish bondage to those whom it places over them--and in degrada-

tion and poverty.

> In proof of this, contrast Popish countries with Protestant.
> Contrast Spain, for example, with any Protestant country you
> please, and mark the difference between them in point of
> physical improvement, social elevation, and happiness. What
> makes the difference? Why is Spain so far in the shade?
> Popery is the cause...proof that this system, if not des-
> tructive of physical and social improvement, does, in no
> small degree, retard them, and does degrade any people.   [53]

The millennial excitement of the 1840s was in large measure a result of the

perceived agrandizements of the Papacy. The Book of Revelation spoke of a struggle

between the forces of light and darkness which would usher in a thousand years of

peace. Revelation mentioned false prophets and doctrines being spread by the forces

of the Antichrist and how many would succumb to the tempter and his pernicious

notions; atheism would rule the world and Christ's followers would be despised and

persecuted. For many an evangelical the time of sorrow was upon the world; the

Antichrist resided in Rome.

> Christ will appear when His Church's enemies are most confident
> and secure; and particularly when the Romish harlot is lifted
> up with pride by her success in this or that kingdom

and begins to say,"I sit as a queen and shall see no sorrow'.
But then it is that her plague shall come as in one day.   54.

The Reverend John Roaf of Toronto lecturing on the millennium, spoke of a time in

the age of the Reformation, "when the saints of God have yet to undergo another

trial by sore persecution." Speaking of the times of trial and sorrow which must

precede the final triumph, he claimed that Revelation prophesied the following;

> that ere the persecution of the saints three evil spirits were
> to go forth from the mouths of the Dragon or infidelity, and
> the beast or the Papacy, and the second beast or Protestant
> Episcopacy-and you will have reason to think these predictions
> fulfilled in the spirit of Deism, Popish proselytism and
> Puseyism which have of late years gone abroad. Here then we
> have another proof that we are on the eve of the period in
> which the persecution of Christ's faithful people, and then
> the overthrow of the Anti-Christ, are to usher in the Millennium.

55

The struggle preceding the Millennium was upon the world in the 1840s. The

forces of the Anti-Christ, seducing the credulous, the vain, and the weak-hearted,

were invading the bastions of Protestantism. The Jesuit Order, crusading legions

of the Papacy, had been reorganized to lead the attack upon the Reformed faith.

Jesuits fascinated the evangelicals;

> There is a feeling of the romantic mingled with the disgust
> which arises in the mind at the contemplation of the gross
> dishonesty and atrocious crimes of the Jesuits. Strong as
> the disgust is, it does not prevent the mind from entertain-
> ing a feeling of interest, almost of admiration, towards
> a society so secret, so perfectly organized, so widely ram-
> ified, so persevering,, so powerful, so terrible.   56

The Jesuits had sworn "unlimited submission" to the Pope, "whose authority

and infallibility" they were "at all hazards, to maintain". Reverend Duff, in his

able pamphlet "The Jesuits", expressed the opinion the Jesuits were "in plenty

around us, under the various disguises which their allowance of perjury affords them

57

so ample facility for assuming". A correspondent of the Edinburgh Witness opined

that the Order was embarked upon a course of overthrowing Christian religion through-

out the world. Some, he wrote, claimed that the Jesuits had yet to invade Britain;

"Sir, I apprehend that so far from this being the case, it is in these very realms

that it is at the present moment achieving some of its greatest triumphs, and

58

awakening boundless expectations of future success!' In proof of his assertion

the correspondent pointed out that the head of the Jesuit Order in Ireland had recently been named president of Maynooth College where Catholic clergy were trained; the clergy held the minds of the inhabitants and they, in turn, elected parliamentarians—how else could one account for the government's policy of endowment for the college? In England Stoneyhurst College, the Jesuit school, had for years been educating the youth of the noble and influential Catholic families of the nation.

However the Jesuits greatest triumph lay in their conquest of the Church of England. The gentleman was firmly convinced that the Oxford Movement was the work of a Jesuit conspiracy:

> Supposing the movement to have begun altogether irrespective
> of the Jesuits, could it be doubted, that, after it commenced,
> the strongest temptations were presented to the Jesuits to
> enter the English Church for the purpose of accomplishing their
> own ends.   59

The notion that some agents of the Pope had filled impressionable minds with false doctrines and evil intentions was a favourite of the evangelicals. There was no other reason to account for the defection of so many Protestants to the heresies of Rome. Reverend John Parker, an Anglican minister in Bristol, was firmly convinced of this idea:

> For some of them, I think, were simple and honest men, who were
> scarcely aware of their danger before they fell over the precipice
> into the abyss below. So imperceptibly were they led to adopt
> one sentiment and practise after another, which estranged them
> from the pure and simple services of our beloved, because
> Scriptural Church, that they glided down the inclined plane,
> without perceiving whither they were going.   60

Whether the Tractarians were conscious of their culpability or not, many evangelicals were convinced that the movement was the vanguard of Anglo-Catholicism.

Peter Brown was convinced that the Puseyites were determined to resurrect Roman doctrines and ceremony in the Church of England, and hinted darkly in his first number that the "Episcopo-Papist party" had played no small part in Parliament's
decision to uphold the civil courts in the Disruption controversy. In the five
61

years of the _Banner's_ existence hardly a month passed when Brown did not print some blast at the Puseyite party in England and their adherents in Canada. There was no doubt in the editor's mind that the leading members of the Church of England were determined to overthrow the Reformed faith and promote the heresy of Rome in Britain.

Brown was of the opinion that the Reformation had been halted prematurely in England. There the Church yet retained Papist offices and was held in sub-jugation to the State. Given the bigotry of High Churchman everywhere, he reasoned, might not that Church as easily return to Rome as join with the other Protestant Churches in opposition to the Pope. Certain he was of one thing; were the Puseyite ideas became the orthodoxy of the Church, "it would not be too long before their avowed principle of enforcing a uniformity of religion, and punishing all Dissenters,[62] would form a subject of reccomendation to parliament."

In the autumn of 1843 Brown gave over a great deal of space to a discussion of the history of the Church of England. He began by claiming that the "doctrine of the leading members of the Church of England, in the present day, is that there is no church of Christ except where their Bishops can show a lineal descent from the Apostles in an unbroken chain."[63] For the next three weeks he set out to prove that such an idea had not been held by the early English Reformers, that apostolic succession did not exist, and that the Gospel gave no warrant to such a[64] ridiculous idea or doctrine. The whole was a lively, sarcastic, and caustic historical frolic that touched down in the third century to show a break in the apostolic chain; 'proved' that the culdees of Columba were Presbyterians and had ordained some English Bishops; questioned the ordination of Cramner; and stated that the baptism of George III had been officated by a heathen (Secker) who also performed the King's marriage, thereby implying that the entire Royal Family was illegitimate and all the Bishops thereafter heathens.[65]

Most of Brown's attacks on the Church of England were not as flighty nor half as funny. Commenting on a proposed Convocation of the Church in the autumn of that same year, Brown feared that the Puseyites would use the occasion to advance their hateful heresies. He expressed an utter lack of confidence in the English clergy's powers of resisting such a move, writing:

> But if a Convocation is summoned, would a majority maintain the principles of the Reformed faith? We fear not. It is more probable they would adopt all the intolerance and all the heresies of High Churchmen. The evil, however, would then be seen by all the world. At present it is confined to individuals. 66

That same month he carried an extract from the London _Record_ on the progress of the Tractarian movement in England. While the official adherents at Oxford constituted a small minority in the Church their doctrines were spreading throughout the country;"Nothing is more common than to hear of country clergymen who have recently embraced the Oxford views, and who yet retain their predilection for the ballroom and the theatre." The High Church party was rapidly being won over, while the Moderates were in disarray in the schools and universities "the pupils eagerly embrace the mere ritual observances, and gladly assume the priestly domain...but that is all." 67 A new catechism proposed by the Puseyites to be used in Sunday schools affirmed the use of "pictures and Holy symbols" in the Church, confession and absolution by "the _bishops_ and _priests_", and titled the Church 68 "the holy Catholic Church".

The end of the year 1843 brought some hopeful news from the Mother country. Pusey's sermon on the Eucharist had been condemned by the Vice-Chancellor and scholars of the university, Newman had resigned his vicarage at St. Mary's, and the _British Critic_, a journal supporting their views, had undergone an editorial purge.

> Time will tell whether the decline of that noxious sect has finally taken place, and that the truth of the gospel will rapidly revive and be more generally taught, or whether this is only one of those little reflexes of the tide which may soon be overwhelmed by that flood which has for several years threatened to overwhelm the Church of England. 69

The turn of the year gave pause to reflect and Brown turned his attention to affairs
in Ireland. The late troubles in that country had not a little to do with the religion
professed by the majority of the inhabitants and the poor example and instruction
offered by the Established Church.

> Roman Catholicism has been the grand cause of keeping back the im-
> provement of the generous and devoted inhabitants of that country.
> With a princely Episcopal Establishment, the Church of England has
> done little to convert the Catholics to the knowledge of the Gospel;
> but its overweaning usurpations, and its frequent oppressions have
> done much to turn, from the calm examination of the truth, many who
> might long ago have embodied it. This is the cause of why Ireland is
> still Catholic.   70

Catholicism and Establishment, the two seemed inseparable. The ministers of the
princely establishment felt no compulsion to go out and proselytize, but were ready to
maintain their livings in splendid isolation. To Brown's mind the Established Church
was willing to accomodate the Catholics where it was not actively seeking to invite them
into its communion. Puseyism had so infected the Church of England that it could
scaree any longer be thought a Church of Christ. This was the great lesson to be learned
from studying all establishments: injurious to the peoples' religious interests because
they were motivated solely by worldly gain, established Churches eventually succumbed
to noxious doctrines and false testimony.

> Let the corrupt systems of the two grand apostate divisions of
> the Christian world be examined and they will be found mere state
> machines, engines of worldly pomp and oppression, and their minis-
> ters often choice specimens of indolence, ignorance and incapability.
> It is not the sword of the Spirit, but the power of the State which
> binds these masses of corruption. It is not to enlighten the
> people that these Institutions are maintained, but to keep them in
> darkness. ...A mighty effort is now being made to extend and
> perpetuate that tyranny over the human mind in the concerns of
> religion; that effort is not confined to the dark regions of the
> earth. It extends its most powerful attacks on the Reformed Churches.
> It is bending the Church of England under the full power of its
> influence, till Oxford and Rome are almost united.   71

The "chains of superstition and priestcraft" were steadily bringing the Church of
England within the realm of the Anti-Christ, and the State seemed powerless to halt the
drift, if it wanted to at all. Such was the likely result where the Church

was endowed and ministers enjoyed livings irrespective of the peoples' wishes.

In Canada the debate over establishment had long engaged the members of all religious bodies. In his first issue Brown had proclaimed that there was "no established Church in Canada" and that he would "resist...every attempt at the usurpation of powers to which they have not the slightest title" of any Church that attempted to win that title. Canadians had to carefully preserve their religious freedom, for the forces of tyranny and darkness were here, as everywhere, preparing a final assult;

> The times require the utmost vigilance from all who are sin-
> cerely attached to Protestant truth. The open attempts to
> introduce Jesuitism into the Province, under the immediate
> sanction of Government, and the decided Puseyism of the
> English Church, render it a bounden duty, both on pastors
> and people, who love the truth, to take every means to dis-
> seminate correct views on religious subjects, and especially
> to guard the rising generation from every attempt to sub-
> vert the faith 'once delivered to the saints'.

A thousand incidents conspired to undermine the peoples' freedom in the Province: the Anglican Rectories; the State endowments; the university question; all bore the mark of a conniving, grasping, tyrannical man, 'John Toronto'. Con- vinced of Strachan's Puseyism, Brown took to labelling the Bishop and his cabal, "Strachanites". Every time the Episcopal Bishop had attempted to grasp at power, the people, through the good forces in the Legislative Assembly, had beaten him down. When the Banner began publishing the Bishop was attempting his last plot, the assumption of the Clergy Reserves into the Church of England.

In all great public questions of the day Brown would acquaint himself with the past history of the subject before making public his predetermined views. How had the Tories and High Church bigots attempted to usurp the powers of the people? What had been the policy of the Home Government? Had the people, always the wronged victims, managed to resist the encroachments on their sacred British

liberties? What was the effect upon the physical and social improvement of the
colony? So it was with the Clergy Reserves;

> For a quarter of a century the question of the Clergy
> Reserves has been the bane and annoyance of Canada. It has
> created and perpetuated strife and division among the in-
> habitants,-it has fostered the spirit of domination and
> party supremacy which are the peculiar characteristics of the
> High Church and Tory party,-it has created a feeling of
> coldness and dissatisfaction to the British Government,
> driven many settlers from the country, and prevented
> thousands from making it their place of abode.   75

Entering into a historical discussion of the various attempts to grab the Reserves

and the "firmness and perseverance" of the Legislature in resisting the usurpers,

Brown quickly arrived at the present confrontation. The High Church bigots wanted

to remove their share of the Reserves from   . Government control and place them

within their own clerical corporation:"The most determined resistance must be   .

given to this claim for intersecting the land with unpurchaseable Reserves,"

Brown wrote in 1845, even if they were to be sold at a later date. It would

raise up, in the midst of a society of sturdy independent yeomen a class of

tenants and a landed clerisy. However the real cause of Brown's indignation at

the land grab was the unfair advantage it would give to that sect which approp-

riated the title of Established Church. Holding lands in its own right

awarded by the Government, the Church of England would be implicitly recognized

as an establishment, and this was more than the Presbyterian editor could accept:

> It was bad enough in a young country,like Canada, to have
> the clergy of almost every denomination placed on the State
> for support. Dangers of no small moment, both to the religious
> and political condition of the country are involved in such
> an arrangement, and the world is everyday becoming more alive
> to these dangers....If the arrangement of 1841 is to be   .
> broken through, why not at once revert to the plan which had
> so long been denied by the country,viz; to give the whole
> proceeds to education, and to leave the ministers of the
> gospel to be supported by their own hearers.   76

Ownership of the Reserves by the clergy was a temptation "to sloth and indolence",

such as had "lowered the standards of clerical attainments, and done more injury

to religion than all other causes whatever". The people had to be made "sensible

of the evils arising" from the Church's plan to take over the Reserves, for it

was both the first achievement of that body's claims to be named "the Established

Church in Canada";

> Are the people of this Province prepared to submit to this
> claim? They will give the High Churchmen the means of obtaining this, the great object of their ambition, if they
> let the Clergy Reserves Bill pass.
>   77.

In demanding that the Reserves be preserved in their entirety and turned over to

the support of public education, the editor felt he was "asking no favour" but

simply exercising the right of any British subject to worship God according to

his conscience and be free "from being OBLIGED to give either directly or indirectly,

our personal property, or the property of the State, for the support of any

religious system whatsoever." 78

The establishment of any religious body in so young and progressive a country

as Canada would deny the independence of mind and soul so necessary for the main-

tenance of the British constitution. It would import all that was obnoxious, res-

trictive and tyrannical from Europe to the New World. Establishment brought an

uncaring clergy to the country whose interest in its welfare extended only so far

as their church lands. 79

The establishment of the Church of England was doubly dangerous in the 1840s.

Led by the arrogant Bishop of Toronto, the leading Episcopalians of the Province were

Puseyite to the core. Given the opportunity to be independant of the State's con-

trol, but with huge financial interests bequeathed by the Government, there was

little doubt that they would eventually effect common cause with the Catholic

Church. Once established, the Episcopo-Papist party would not hesitate to oppress

the people. Christianity would be doomed and the physical, moral, and social

improvement of the country retarded. The missionimpulse, so dear to the evangelicals

would be checked and the victory of the Antichrist complete.

. . . .

> That all true missionaries have a high sense of justice,
> honesty of purpose, and reverence for truth, cannot be
> questioned; they require these qualities in no ordinary
> degree-and yet, but for their _ardent love to the Saviour_
> and the souls of men, they would never have the courage that
> is needful to toil patiently amidst great difficulties, or
> die triumphantly for the furtherance of their work.   80

The sense of righteousness, of self-righteousness, endemic in the evangelical creed reached its pinnacle in the missionary impulse.   Convinced that they alone adhered to the path of salvation made plain in the Gospel, evangelical Protestants approached all other religious people as ignorant or benighted souls needful of a strong dosage of soul-satisfying Gospel warmth.   It was the missionary spirit of the creed that gave evangelical religion the aspect of jingoistic cultural imperialism which critics so often decried in it.

The engine employed to bring the Gospel to the ignorant and the heathen was interdenominational missionary organization.   Bringing together members of the various Protestant bodies, the Missionary and Bible Societies were the perfect expression of evangelical unity.

In a real sense, the missionary organization was the crowning glory of mid-century evangelism.   The mission organization became an institution of Protestantism in the evangelical age, the first society being formed at the turn of the nineteenth century.   The purpose of missions was the preaching of justification by faith alone premised on the atoning grace of Christ, the 'message' of the evangelical creed.   The mission society was the primary vehicle of interdenominational unity, subsuming the idiosyncratic views on doctrine and discipline to the higher call of preaching the universal gospel of salvation.   Finally, to satisfy their historical and religious demands, the evangelicals saw their missionary impulse as a reflection of the spirit pervading the primitive church and resurrected by the Reformers.

Peter Brown was alive to the importance of the missionary spirit and enter-
prise in evangelical religion. His first editorial in the _Banner_ gave over a
large amount of space and thought to the missionary impulse. The recent history
of Christianity, he wrote, was a catalogue of the triumphs of the Christian
bodies joined together and motivated by a zeal for the Redeemer over Papist
and pagan beliefs.

> The exertions of Protestant philanthropy amongst the
> distant nations of the earth were daily being crowned
> with more abundant success. In India and Africa the
> powers of darkness were fast giving way under the light
> of Gospel truth--whole islands in the Pacific had
> thrown away their idols, embraced the truths of
> Christianity, and, to the astonishment of the world,
> taken their place in the ranks of civilized nations.   81

These great changes had proceeded "from the Christian zeal of the British Islands"
which was gradually spreading over the earth and mingling its wholesome and
purifying power with the counsels of Kings..."[82]

This task of Christianizing the world was the work of evangelical bodies
joined together by their shared ideal of bringing all nations under their
cultural view. For evangelicals the spread of the Gospel was the most im-
portant aspect of religion. The call for unity in missionary work was part of
the entire evangelical union movement and it was justified by reference to the
historic ideal of the Church. A speaker at the annual meeting of the American
Presbyterian Board of Foriegn Missions in 1844 claimed that the missionary spirit
had been the animating force in the Church founded by Christ and the Apostles.
"But as she lost her missionary spirit she declined--she sunk into corruption.
What is the essence of religion?" he asked rhetorically. "Is it not love to God?

love to the soul? And can this love exist without a missionary spirit?"

Reverend Candlish, in his eulogy to John Knox, had claimed that the duty of

the Christian Church in the nineteenth century, as in the sixteenth cnetury,

was evangelization:

> First then—and last, and middle—and still chief
> above everything else—we have to preach the glorious
> Gospel of the free and soverdign grace of God;...
> We call for evangelists—spirit-stirred and spirit-
> stirring men—who, like Knox himself, or like the
> Wesleys and Whitefields of another Church—shall
> leave stone walls and take to the streets and lanes...
> making whole countries their parishes, and everyday
> their Sabbath, and every crowd...their chosen con-
> gregation.   84

Mission stations were operated throughout the world. The English Baptists

had stations in Africa, India, Ceylon, the Bahamas and Jamaica ; the American

Bible Society distributed literature in the West Indies, South America, Africa,

India, and China, ås well as Spain, France and Switgerland; the Free Church had

Jewish Missions in Hungary, Constantinople, Corfu, Jassey, and BoMbay; the American

Presbyterians preached in Ipdia and also in France and Germany—all intent upon

turning men's minds from superstition and ignorance to God.

While preaching in Europe and among the Jews figured in the work of the mission-

aries, it was often the newly discovered and explored regions of the world that

received the greatest attention. As the British and Americans invaded Africa and

the Indian sub-continent, mission stations were commenced as part of the over-

all plan to civilize the natives. Success was counted in a mission station where

the native religion was whole-heartedly renounced by the convert and replaced with

Christian ideals, Mission stations were often the only Western settlement in a

region and thus education and medical attention were dispensed with Gospel

teaching; in short, the mission station was a Western cultural center plunked down

in an area which had little or no relation to Western thought or customs. The

conflict of culture⁵ produced curious but interesting situations, the most

interesting being the Westerner's lack of understanding and total disregard for the native style of life.

While the Banner reported on missions throughout the world, it was the work in India that received the greatest amount of space. Here Christian missionaries from Britain and America met with stiff resistance from adherents of a religion and civilization as established as their own. Not to be daunted, the Christians forged ahead, converting and educating but never trying to grasp the intricacies or validity of the Hindu religion. The Reverend Joseph Warren, an American Presbyterian stationed at Allahabad, visited the temple there to observe the ceremonies on a feast day. What most interested him aside from the indecent clothing of the people, was the lack of reverence observed by Brahmin and worshipper alike, and the debasing 'paganism' of the affair. The people prayed to the sun and the River Ganges filling vessels with its water to be used in the temple; the Brahmins sold flowers and rice to be used in the cermony, each trying to sell more than the others; meanwhile a group of musicians banged and clashed their instruments making a great deal of noise which seemed to the missionary to be their sole purpose. The ceremony took place "amid many jokes and much laughter, bustling and scrambling" wrote Warren, while the Brahmins paraded about carrying tall poles "on which is painted the absurd and distorted figure of some one of their deities, or a group, representing some Hindu mythological story, or the symbol of some deity."

> This is the worship-there is no sign of seriousness,or fear.
> All is done lightly, jocosely, boisterously....The reflections
> arising from this story are very painful-the vanity of the
> faith of this people-the degradation of such worship, des-
> troying all proper ideas of God and holiness- the impossibility
> of anything man can do to effect hearts so frivolous and blind,
> having any serious influence on them-these are the subjects
> on which we must think. Let us pray for the Spirit's power-
> the Holy Ghost can turn them from darkness to light.   85

Mr. Owen, another Presbyterian from America, had travelled up the Ganges to Allahabad to preach the Gospel on a day given over to the worship of the Indian goddess of Knowledge. While walking through the village "we saw the image of the goddess of knowledge adorned with various kinds of trinkets...and before them were

cast garlands of flowers in profusion, as offerings from these deluded people."

Reaching the place where he was to preach, Owen had just begun when,

> a procession came up, bearing two images of the goddess of
> knowledge, beating drums, tom-toms, and other noisy in-
> struments, making ludicrous gestures, burning incense to
> the images...and all presenting such a spectacle as I never
> before beheld. 'All their actions had more the appearance
> of buffoonery than of religious worship. In the strength of
> my Master I now commenced preaching the unsearchable riches
> of Christ, in this stronghold of Satanism.   **86**

The missionaries were not unacquainted with the destructive influence of Western life on the Indian people. On his journey to Allahabad Owen had met an Indian youth who possessed some mathematical instruments and several English books including a New Testament "in which he could read very well". Seizing the opportunity to "speak some of the truths of the Gospel" Owen engaged the young man in conversation; while the youth paid attention "I perceived he cared more about studying English" than learning "what is infinitely more important" and so he was dismissed, the missionary realizing forlornly that the native youth was more alive to the benefits of the traders' and educators' than his own line of cultural goods. The Reverend J.H. Morrison also inveighed against the Westerners' greed and corrupting influence. While Hinduism was breaking down amongst those connected with the whites, Morrison questioned the usefulness of such contact;

> ...it should be borne solemnly in mind by every disciple of
> Christ, that these superstitions are giving way under two
> distinct and separate influences. Other superstitions-
> the influence of men of the world and infidelity, on the
> one hand, are all at work breaking down old and long estab-
> lished usages and doctrines, but substitute either nothing
> in the place of what they destroy, thus leaving the mind open
> to every destructive influence, or something worse than what
> bound them before.   87

The _Banner's_ most frequent contributor from India was the Reverend Alexander Duff, the Free Church missionary in Calcutta. Duff had arrived in India in 1829 to set up a school and mission station. Joining the Free Church, he was forced to leave his mission and begin anew in 1844. Duff employed the usual mission pro-

cedure of educating bright Indian youths in Western thought and religion, and then
sent them out to preach the Gospel to their fellow heathens. In 1845 he lost one
of his most promising disciples Mahendra, who succumbed to the "indian scourge"
(cholera). Mahendra was a young man of shining abilities with a mind "capable of
mastering almost any theme, literary,scientific, metaphysical, or theological."
He had been an assistant in the English school and was effective in both English
and Bengali having delivered a talk on justification by faith alone in the
latter tongue a week before his death.

> Naturally quick,ingenious, inventive and endowed with an ex-
> cursive imagination....his manner was so affectionately earn-
> est-so grave and solemn...with all this he was most bold and
> fearless, most stern and uncompromising, in his denunciation
> of everything foul, and false, and erroneous in the belief
> and practise of his countrymen.   88

One of the Indian youths Mahendra assisted was Umesh, the son of a well-placed
Hindu official. Umesh was eager, perhaps a bit over-zealous in his quest, wishing
for "an exciting force to stir him up" before publicly converting to Christianity.
After having studied its doctrines for upwards of two years and becoming
"fully persuaded in my mind, that it is the only and true revelation from God"
and the only scheme of salvation "suited to my present state as a sinner", Umesh
and his wife converted to the Christian faith. Questioned by his brother on the
firmness of his new-found convictions he replied:"I am not ignorant of the Hindu
Shastras. I know enough of them to justify me in despising and rejecting them". 89

When Umesh and his young bride were baptised a furor broke out in the
Indian press villifying the dastardly work going on in the mission compound.
Demonstrations took place in the streets and Duff was summoned to appear before
the local authorities and justify his actions. Diplomatic notes were sent to
England questioning the motives of the English missionaries and the wisdom of
allowing them to continue their work. The matter was raised in Parliament and there
were demands that the Government curb the activities of the missionaries.

61.

c.

Observing these events from the comfort of his Toronto office, Brown quickly

came to the aid of his fellow evangelicals:

> A blow has been struck in the very center of British India, at
> the degrading superst██ on which, has for so many centuries,
> held the many millions of that region in bondage to the prince
> of darkness....The influence of such an example,-men of great
> wealth and high family, casting aside all worldly considerations...
> must have the most beneficial effects on the progress of
> Christianity in our vast Eastern Empire.   90

The British Government must stand behind the missionaries. The purpose of the

British presence in India, aside from commercial considerations, was the civiliza-

tion of the natives, Brown wrote,"and here the introduction of Christianity breaks

the long established prejudices of __Caste__ , and alters the very framework of Society."

While men who were always willing to "make religious questions bend to political

expediency" were pressing the Government to disavow the actions of the missionaries,

it could not surrender to such demands and remain the Government of a free and

Christian nation.   If the Government does not permit the missionaries to con-

tinue their work, Brown prophesied,"a dark day is coming fast on the British

Empire".

> If they are faithful, and protect this great movement, we may
> rationally hope that the seed which had been sown in India,
> by so many missionaries of various denominations, and which
> has hithero produced so inadequate a result, is about to burst
> forth into a rich and abundant harvest.   91

Missions were not only conducted in the dark regions of the world; the

'home mission' was the local extension of the missionary impulse. 92 One of the more

common types of home mission was the Bible Society, like that existing in mid-

century Upper Canada. In 1846 the Upper Canada Bible Society was a fairly exten-

sive operation with receipts in excess of fifteen hundred pounds, an increase of

of one hundred and thirty four pounds over the previous year's total. For the

year ending in March 1846, the Society had issued more than three thousand Bibles,

eight thousand Testaments, and one hundred parts of Scripture. The Canada Tract

Society, distributing Psalms and Paraphrases, had delivered a quarter of a million

pages of Scripture and good news to local institutions in the Toronto area.   The

annual meeting of the Bible Society held at St. Andrew's Church with the Rev. William

Rintoul in the Chair and representatives from the major evangelical denominations

present, pledged itself to continue in the great work "till every family on the face

of the earth is supplied with two Bibles at least". [93]

A particular mission that engaged Brown's interest for a number of years was

the mission to the French Canadians at Montreal. The French Canadian Missionary Society

was begun as a joint effort of Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and

Church of England adherents in 1839; the Toronto Auxiliary was formed in 1843 but soon

died, as did a number of the more western branches, and had to be revived in 1845. The [94]

attitude exhibited towards the Catholic population of the lower Province by the Toronto

evangelicals was similar to that of the Western missionaries resident in India; the

French were ignorant, priest-ridden, superstitious bigots in need of gospel salvation.

Typical of the reports made to the Society meetings in Upper Canada was that delivered

at Knox College in Toronto, 1847:

> 'The Lower Canadians speaking the French tongue...are extremely
> ignorant in elementary learning, and deficient in agricultural
> knowledge. They are like the Belgians of Europe, almost wholly
> under the influence of their priests, and generally devoted to
> their Church. ...The marked features in the revival of Romanism,
> the almost exclusive worship paid to Mary, the traffic in beads,
> medals, scapularies, bones and bodies of the saints, are also seen
> in Lower Canada.' [95]

To counteract this evil influence and offer the hopes and joys of a pure Gospel, the

Society set about establishing an educational institute, supported public preaching, and

distributed Bibles in the French language, five hundred of which were given out in 1846. [96]

The work excited responses in a number of centers. The Peterborough Presbyterian

Missionary Society's meeting of January 1844, attended by "Ministers of most of the

Evangelical denominations in the neighbourhood", reported the expenditure of five

pounds on the mission the previous year and raised another four at the meeting for

future use. The St. Eustache Presbyterians raised almost thirteen pounds in the [97]

same year for the mission prompting Brown to editorialize: "When

such an interest is awakened in the cause of the missions and such liberality

evinced on the part of the country congregations, what may we not anticipate from
98
our populous and wealthy cities." The following summer two meetings were held in

Toronto to raise money for the purchase of a farm and the erection of a house out-

side Montreal for children converted from "the errors of Roman Catholicism".

The Society had to raise three thousand pounds for the project, a thousand of

which had already been subscribed in the city of Montreal. A committee of prom-

inent Torontonians was appointed to assist the Society and seek contributions from

local citizens. In promoting the cause in the pages of the Banner, Brown wrote;

> We know of no Institution in this Province more decidedly
> deserving of support than this Society . The class of our
> fellow subjects for whose benefit it has been established,
> have the strongest claims on the attention and sympathy of
> all Evangelical Christians. 99

In its last notice of the Mission before ceasing publication, the Banner

reported that the Society had finally selected a site at Pointe aux Trembles for

the home and school. The structure was capable of housing one hundred pupils and

had already enrolled forty-one. The cost of the work was three thousand pounds

and in spite of two years of fund-raising, half the amount remained to be paid.

Brown again urged all evangelical Christians to aid "the good and holy cause...

in rescuing our beloved French Canadian fellow countrymen from the blighting and

impoverishing influence of Romanism, and making them partakers of gospel hopes
100
and joys.

....

The recurrent theme in the evangelical creed was the interaction between

truth and righteousness on the part of God's chosen. Overly simple in exposition,

the creed was nevertheless complex in its manifestations, its usefulness as a test

underscored by its rigid application.

What was most striking about the creed as evidenced in the Banner and the

sermons, was the contradiction between the ideas expressed and the attitude of the expostulator. Preaching a gospel which they claimed embraced all mankind, the evangelicals eschewed all communion with those who would not first subscribe to their creed. There was little in that creed that was warming to the Catholic, the Hindu, or the Muslim. Approaching all who did not worship Christ as ignorant heathens or worse, the evangelicals promoted conflict which could only be resolved by converting 'sinners' to their casue.

The attacks upon the error of Puseyism and the 'evils' of Romanism were conditioned by the evangelicals sense of righteousness, itself a product of their historical and theological sensibility. Puseyism was the false doctrine of misguided men because it promoted ceremony and doctrine at the expense of the heartfelt Christian experience so favoured by the evangelicals. The alarming increase and influence of Papist notions in England and the colonies, much of it the product of their imagination, created a sense of fear mingled with disgust amongst evangelicals. The Pope and his charges were preparing a final assault on the churches: the evangelicals claimed that this would be the last battle and its conclusion would usher in the millennium. This result, they believed, was certain, for it had been foreordained in the Word of God.

Puseyism was only one of the many error prevelant in nineteenth-century society. Implicit in many of the articles and sermons was a feeling that society was falling away from its dedication to God's service. There was a constant sense of uneasiness amongst evangelicals on this account: the formation of the Evangelical Alliance, the Tract and Bible Societies, and the home mission bodies were all a part of the evangelicals campaign to return society to their ideal of the Christian community. In a very real fashion they were 'reacting' to forces and ideas in society developed with little regard for religion. In short, the evangelicals saw them-

selves as outsiders in a society that, so they believed, was founded on Christian principles.

The reaction of the evangelicals to the crisis in western Christianity was but part of their over-all mission. In the nineteenth century vast sections of the globe where paganism was gloried , were finally being investigated and invaded by Protestant missionaries. Here also the evangelicals witnessed ignorance, folly, and superstition, promoted as spiritual religion. Again the response was one of shock and disbelief mingled with loathsome fulmination against the heathens; the path of Gospel righteousness was one trodden by few men.

The reaction of the evangelicals to the condition. of society in the nineteeenth century was a product of their sense of time. The ideas and customs enunciated in the evangelical creed were those of true religion and the Reformation, or more properly, of what the nineteenth-century evangelicals read into the Reformation. The concept of time in the evangelical creed was its most complex phenomenon. At one and the same instance the evangelicals looked forward and backward; progress to the millennium recalled the glorious days of the Reformation when Christianity was pure and the Gospel was its creed. Infidelity, heathenism, and Popery, the 'enemies' of the Reformers, were again making a stand in the world. Taking the Gospel as their truth and history as their witness, the evangelicals were determined to repulse the enemy, restore the Church, and reform the nation.

Peter Brown, as an evangelical and a journalist, participated in this crusade and subscribed to these ideals. He was firmly of the opinion that if a concerted effort was not made to rout the enemy that 'ere long the time of persecution would return. Calling forth the spirit of true religion, diminished in men since the Reformation, he lent his influence to the cause of vital godliness.

1. G.B. Cheever, "Spiritual and Formal Religion" printed in the <u>Banner</u> 25/8/43

2. Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in <u>The Shield of Achilles</u>, W.L. Morton 'ed. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1968), p.18

3. J. H. Johnson, "The Christian Ministry," Brockville, C.W. 1 50

4. Adam Clarke, "Salvation by Faith Proved; or An Answer to the Important Question, 'What Must I Do to be Saved'," London 1819

5. John Bruce, "Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Free Church, Edinburgh November 22, 1844. Being the Sabbath Succeeding the Funeral of John Abercrombie, First Physician to Her Majesty in Scotland," Edinburgh 1844

6. Fisher Day, "A Sermon on the Love of God to Man Manifested in Jesus Christ," Waterloo, C.E. 1862

7. John Alexander, "Who is Sufficient?" sermon preached in Brantford Town Hall, C.W. 17/9/54

8. "General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland" 15/8/45

9. "Strong Faith Productive of Eminent Piety" 12/4/44

10. Phillip Dodderidge "Self Examination," printed in the <u>Banner</u> 25/8/43

11. <u>Christian Herald</u>, "The Joys of Home," printed in the <u>Banner</u> 27/10/43. A similar feeling was the reward of the pious female: see the article "Female Piety" taken from the N.Y. <u>Evangelist</u> printed in the <u>Banner</u> 17/11/43.

12. Bishop Hopkins, "The Unbeliever and the Christian on the Bed of Death," printed in the <u>Banner</u> 27/10/43

13. "Religious Department" 18/8/43

14. On this note see especially; Alexander Duff, "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ as illustrated in the History of the Church of Scotland," (Edin.1844) and James Hamilton, "The Trials and Triumphs of the Free Church of Scotland--the Harp on the Willows," Montreal 1844.

15. "A pastor for every thousand, Church Government based on the Bible alone, and with a free infusion of the popular will--a civil rule in harmony with the discipline of the Church...a wise provision, also, for the helpless poor and maimed:" R.S. Candlish, "John Knox, His Time and His Work," Edinburgh 1846.

16. <u>Ibid.</u>

17. Evidence of this belief abounds in the records of the Free Church. Thomas Brown, the second Moderator of the Church, told the Assembly in 1843 that there was no need to develop a new constitution.
    "'We meet not at this time for the purpose of framing a new constitution for the Church of Scotland. That Constitution, under the guidance of the

Notes, continued.

> of the Spirit of God, has been framed by the skill, and the wisdom of
> our forefathers--men of eminence, and men of God of former times--our
> Protestant Reformers;...Our Standards, Our Book of Discipline, Our
> Creed, Our Confession of Faith, we retain in their original integrity,
> To them we have adhered; to them we have appealed; by them we have
> sought to be tested in all our recent contendings. ...we therefore,
> this being the case, maintain that we are the Church of Scotland.'"

Quoted in George Collins, "The Free Church: An Outline of its History and Witness," in
Hold Fast Your Confession, Don Macleod ed. (Edin.:Knox Press 1978)
p.17

18. Candlish, op.cit.

19. ibid.

20. "Union of Evangelical Christians" 1/9/43

21. "Upper Canada Bible Society" 8/5/46

22. Rev. John James, "Means to be employed for a Revival of Religion," printed in the
Banner 19/9/45

23. "Religious Department" 5/1/44

24. "Christian Union" 10/4/46

25. J. Brown D.D., "Christian Unity," printed in the Banner 13/10/43

26. "Christian Union"10/4/46

27. "Christian Unity" 13/10/43

28. "Christian Union" 10/4/46

29. Northern Warder, "The Liverpool Conference," printed in the Banner 14/11/45

30. ibid.

31. "The Late Protestant Meeting at Liverpool" 21/11/45

32. "The 'Christian Witness' on the Evangelical Alliance" 3/4/46

33. Brown at the Banner scoffed:

> It would have been more candid to have stated 'that whereas Presbyter-
> ian Church government is the only lawful form of organization authorized
> by the Word of God, we cannot expect a blessing if we attempt to pro-
> mote Christian objects through any other mode';--for this seems the real
> meaning of the overture.

"Evangelical Alliance" 3/4/46

34. "The Evangelical Alliance" 3/4/46

35. "Evangelical Alliance" 3/4/46

36. "Meeting of the Free Church Assembly" 26/6/46. Brown went on to say: "This is a great
triumph of high Christian principle over bigotry and as advanced the cause of
Christian union many degrees."

37. "Proposed Union Between the Synod of Canada and the Secession Presbyterians" 19/9/45

38. "Presbyterian Union" 31/10/45

39. ibid.

40. "Letter of Reverend Mr. Jennings" 29/5/46

41. "Letter from the Rev. Mr. Barrie" 19/6/46. A typographical error in this issue offered two spellings of the Rev. gentleman's name: "Barrie" and "Barry".

42. "Letters from Rev. Messrs. Jennings and Barry" 19/9/46

43. ibid.

44. Free Church Magazine,-   "Union of the Relief and United Secession Churches," printed in the Banner 15/1/47

45. "Union of the United Secession and Relief Churches in Scotland" 11/6/47. It should be noted that the Free Church of Canada effectively adopted the voluntary principle in 1848; see John Meir, Enduring Witness, (Toronto: Bryant Press 1974), p.109

46. "Letter on King's College" 27/3/46

47. "Thoughts on Religious Denominations" 12/2/47

48. ibid.

49. "What Has Religion to do With Politics?" 16/4/47

50. Alexander Munro,   "The Source and Tendency of Popery," Glasgow 4/11/1831

51. James Green, .   "The Bible and Popery; or, incidents of Bible distribution from the Reformation to the present time," Montreal 1877

52. A. Wilson,   "A Sermon Preached July 12, 1855 in the Brock Street Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Before the Loyal Orange Lodges of the Midland District" Kingston 1855

53. ibid.

54. Willison's Balm for Gilead,   "The Latter Times," printed in the Banner 8/9/43

55. John Roaf,   "Lectures on the Millennium," printed in the Banner 17/1/45

56. Alexander Duff,   "The Jesuits," printed in the Banner 31/10/45

57. ibid.

58. A Friend of Protestantism and the Principles of the British Revolution,   "Growing and Alarming Influence of Jesuitism in Great Britain," printed in the Banner 7/11/45

59. ibid.

Notes, continued.

60. John Parker,   "Papal Aggression and Tractarian Preparation for it," Bristol 1850

61. "Religious Department" 18/8/43

62. "Dangers to the Protestant Religion" 11/5/44

63. "Unwarrentable Pretensions of Episcopacy" 6/10/43

64. "Unwarrentable Pretensions of Episcopacy" 6/10/43; "Unwarrentable Pretensions of
    Episcopacy II" 13/10/43; "Unwarrentable Pretensions of Episcopacy III" 27/10/43

65. ibid.

66. "Proposed Episcopal Convocation" 27/9/43

67. The London Record,   "The Church of England" printed in the Banner 15/9/43

68. "A Church of England Cathecism" 6/10/43

69. "Puseyism" 1/12/43

70. "Religious Department" 5/1/44

71. "Deputation from the Free Church" 29/3/44

72. "The New Year" 2/1/46

73. "Religious Department" 18/8/43

74. "Evangelical Lectures" 9/1/46

75. "The Clergy Reserves Question" 22/8/45

76. ibid.

77. "The Clergy Reserves Question" 15/8/45

78. "Address to the Friends of Civil Liberty and Religious Equality in Canada" 15/8/45

79. "Clergy Reserves" 1/5/46

80. James George,   "Moral Courage," address delivered at the opening of the fifteenth
                       Session of Queens College, Kingston 1856

81. "Religious Department" 18/8/43

82. ibid.

83. N.Y. Tribune,   "Presbyterian Board of Foriegn Missions," printed in the Banner
                       17/5/46

84. Robert Candlish,   "John Knox, His Time and His Work," Edinburgh 1846

85. "American Presbyterian Mission—Allahabad" 3/11/43

86. American Missionary Chronicle, "Allahabad Mission," printed in the Banner 5/1/44

87. N.Y. Missionary Chronicle, "Allahabad Mission," printed in the Banner 2/2/44

88. "Letter of Dr. Duff announcing the death of Mahendrea" 15/8/45

89. Free Church Record, "Highly Important Intelligence from India," printed in the Banner 5/9/45

90. "Most Highly Important Intelligence from India" 5/9/45

91. ibid.

92. The subject of home missions as it related to the colonies brought the following opinion from the Free Church Colonial Committee:

> 'Independently of the value which attaches to it as a great missionary undertaking, it has a special claim upon the favour of our church, in-asmuch as its object is to promote the spiritual interests of Scotsmen and their descendents in foriegn parts....There must,therefore, be something spurious and unhealthy in our zeal for the conversion of the heathen, if suitable efforts are not made to preserve those who are descended from the same ancestors, and who have been nurtured in the same faith with ourselves from lapsing into infidelity and heathenism.'

"Missionary Record of the Free Church, for December" 24/1/45

93. "Upper Canada Bible Society" 8/5/46. Those present included: Ministers—MESSRS. Barclay (Pres.), Esson (Free Ch.), Fyfe (Bap.), Lillie (Cong.); Lay Members—Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Peter Brown, Mr. Howard and Mr. McMaster. See also: "Annual Meeting of the Upper Canada Tract and Book Society" 15/5/46 which gives a list of locations and institutions that received tracts that year. For the following year see "Annual Meeting of the Upper Canada Bible Society" 7/5/47

94. "French Canadian Mission of Montreal" 19/3/47

95. ibid.

96. ibid.

97. "Peterborough Annual Missionary Meeting" 23/2/44

98. "Presbyterian Church" 24/1/45

99. "French Canadian Missionary Society" 22/8/45

100. "French Canadian Mission of Montreal" 19/3/47

CHAPTER THREE: "...But Sin is a Reproach to Any People";
                    The Secular Department

If we will examine the history of the past, we will find that
most of the great religious reformers held liberal political
opinions. The genius of Christianity is utterly opposed to
tyranny in every shape, and whenever force or exclusive
privilege assume its name--the spirit of true religion
declines within the whole range of such unhallowed agencies.   1.

This chapter will examine the opinions of the Protestant evangelical reformers on the great secular issues of the day. It is not surprising that the evangelicals were greatly concerned with the condition of the world in which they lived: the reformation of the "inner man" which they espoused necessitated a reformation of the society of men.

The nineteenth-century evangelicals believed that God had divided the world into distinct nations. Each nation had a peculiar genius which distinguished it from the others and determined its particular destiny in the grand scheme of things. The nations of Anglo-Saxon origin were defined by their peoples' ardent love of civil and religious liberty, their literary and commercial talents, and their beneficent philanthropy. The destiny of the Anglo-Saxon nations lay in civilizing the world through the infusion of free institutions of government and the Protestant religion.

The nation and the national character were the highest order of God's creation and as such, had to be preserved from various social and religious degradations which tended to weaken a people's vitality. First amongst these evils was the supression of liberty by tyrannical despots; this could only be combatted by a free and judicious expression of the popular will by the people's representatives in the civil government. A second threat to the nation arose from the ignorance of the inhabitants. No people could long maintain their freedom if they were without knowledge of their God, their history and their rights. The creation of a school system was thus essential to the evangelicals' notions of a free people. Finally, philanthropic ideals and benevolent associations were required to assist the sick and poor, the widow and her orphans; Nothing so lowered a person's self-esteem or made him the ready prey of tyrants and demagogues as poverty, loose morals and intemperance.

In the preceding chapter I noted the determination of the evangelicals to validate their knowledge of religion by reference to the Reformation. That same historical understanding was put to use by the evangelicals when approaching the secular world. This was especially true for a Scot like Brown who saw in Reformation Scotland an era of history in which Protestantism had sanctified the people's civil and religious liberty. The system of Presbyterian Church government, developed through the local community with its kirk session and presbytery, provided the balance between popular rights and central authority. The Scottish divines, ever mindful of the need for popular education, had erected a parish educational system by attaching a school to every church. Finally, the Church had operated a scheme of social agencies which provided assistance for the sick and impoverished.

This Reformation world had been shattered by the civil and religious despotism of the Stuart monarchs; while the Scottish Church maintained its control of social works, the loss of the people's rights and religion was equated with a loss of freedom--a nullification of the national character. It was not until the Glorious Revolution removed the tyrant from the throne that civil

and religious liberty was re-established in the two kingdoms. In the reformers' historical view, the constitutional balance achieved by the Revolution in 1688 established the concept of popular expression within the framework of monarchal government. Furthermore, the Revolution settlement insured the religious freedom of the people by denying the throne to an adherent of the Church of Rome. Thus the Glorious Revolution, with its protection of civil and religious liberties, achieved a significance second only to the Reformation amongst nineteenth century evangelical reformers. The two were seen as evidence of a single phenomenon--the true form of a Christian nation.

The elucidation of these ideals and this history was found in the pages of the *Banner*. They were used there to provide a historical justification for the attempts which Peter Brown made to influence the development of Canada. To his mind, the colony was a trans Atlantic re-creation of the British nation, and provided an opportunity to re-establish all that was great in Britain while overcoming the social and economic prejudices inherent in the Mother Country. Moreover, in remaining true to its British heritage, Canada would not succumb to the tyranny and upheaval of the United States where liberty was an empty term and social tradition an unknown quality.

To achieve this desired result the *Banner*'s pages were filled with the editor's opinions on the issues of the day. He heartily endorsed the demands for responsible government in the colony, seeing in that principle and its practise the noble tradition of the British constitution. Likewise, he gave unequivocal support to appeals for a full system of common education and a public, non-sectarian, provincial university. Finally, he reported and promoted various benevolent operations in the young province, seeing in the philanthropy of the people the generosity which a firm Christianity ever provided.

In concentrating on these themes and issues I shall again make use of sermon literature to emphasize the importance attached to them by religious men but, as usual, my major source of information will be the *Banner*.

....

We are to obey the civil magistrate not merely from fear of punishment but from the desire of keeping a clear conscience towards God.....Let this mind, my hearers, be also with you, and then your every duty, whether as Christians or as citizens, will become both easy and delightful; then will you be obedient to the laws and loyal to your Sovereign, from motives purer and higher than any which mere expediency can supply;...See to it then, that while you maintain inviolate your allegiance to the civil government of your country, you also endeavour so to live that at last you may be acknowledged as faithful subjects of the Eternal King. 2

These were the concluding remarks in the St. Patrick's Day sermon delivered
by Reverend Alexander Sutherland to his Hamilton congregation in 1866. The ser-
mons delivered on national holidays were the perfect vehicles for promoting
social harmony, political obedience, and glory to God. For those who had emigrated
to a new land, the national holiday service was also an occasion for remembering
family left behind, past deeds of greatness, and the glory of the Mother Country.
The common theme developed in such sermons was the patriotism of the people,
conditioned by a proper system of free government and sanctified by the bless-
ings of a benevolent Deity. To the colonial mind patriotism, that "manifestation
of affection" rising in the bosom at the mention of the homeland, was not simply
an example of civil pride--it was a virtue of human nature. John McCaul, the
principal of Upper Canada College promoted this theme in a St. Patrick's Day
sermon preached to the Societies of St. George, St. Patrick and St. Andrew in
1842;

> Nor would it be extravagant to assert, that the man who has
> ceased to feel the pulse of patriotism throb within him, and
> whose heart no longer beats with a quickened movement, when
> called on in a foriegn land to prove that he remembers his
> country or countrymen, cannot have the same principle of
> vitality in his frame, which circulates through the veins of
> human nature.

3

The appeal to patriotic feelings was always a favourite of the Protestant
preacher. It was an accepted truth of the age that God had divided the human
race into distinct nationalities. Thus the appeal to patriotism was not mean
in its expression nor was the acceptance of home feelings evidence of a narrow
sympathy or philanthropy. On the contrary, regulated by intelligence and a
proper regard for religion, patriotism respected the highest dictates of
Divine reason. Should any man doubt the validity of this assertion, he was
invited to search the annals of human history and he would there find"...that
where the feeling of Nationality has been destroyed, or from any cause weakened

among a people, that they soon sink in the scale of humanity, lose those manly virtues which are a people's glory, and become an easy prey to the lordly tyranny of oppressors and conquerors."[4]

The lesson of history taught that a civil freedom, the product of a manly patriotism, was forever bound up with religious freedom—a freedom founded upon the clear and unfettered enunciation of the Bible. This truth had animated the designs of the great Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century and, as such, became a reference point for the nineteenth century evangelicals. The Scots evangelicals especially made repeated reference to the religio-political struggles of their Reformers to reinforce their own ideals of a free church and a free state. Alexander Duff, recounting the noble resistance of the Scots divines to the tyranny and oppression of the Stuarts, was moved to write;

> Thus, in passing, it may be noted that our Fathers, in re-
> sisting the encroachments of an Erastian supremacy over the
> House of God...resisted in the most effectual way the en-
> croachment of a despotic supremacy of the civil commonwealth;
> that, in preventing the Church from becoming the degraded tool
> of a civil supremacy, they preserved the nation from becoming
> the fettered tool of civil tyranny...   [5]

This theme was echoed by the Reverend Kemp in his St. Andrew's Day sermon when he noted that from the time of the Reformation forward,"The learning and religion of the people became bound up with their National Freedom and life, so much so that the enemies of learning and religion came to be regarded as the enemies of the nation."[6] Peter Brown at the _Banner_, appealed to the same idea when he wrote;

> Strange that in this age it should be sought to disunite
> Religion and Freedom.....It was not so that the Fathers of
> the Reformed Churches acted. Well they knew that without
> Free Government, that faith of the Gospel would have been
> supressed.   [7]

A free religion and a free government, this was the grand inheritance of British subjects. It was the endowment left by the Protestant Reformers and, as such, formed the basis of any appeal to history, the constitution, or the political process. In his first number of the _Banner_, Peter Brown called on this witness of the past

in defining the paper's political allegiance:

> Whether we look to ancient or modern times we believe no
> government will be found, which has secured so large an
> amount of national and individual prosperity as the govern-
> ment of Great Britain, none which has passed so many equit-
> able laws, and administered those laws with so much regard
> to individual rights, and to the protection of personal
> property. 8

The genius of the British Constitution lay in its evolutionary development
based on the experience of past ages but ever determined by a high regard for the
law. The nineteenth century reformer, seeking analogies to validate his own con-
stitutional struggles, regarded this historical evolution as the consistent pro-
gression toward civil liberty from the time of the Magna Carta down to the Reform
Act of 1832. Each step on this path was marked by popular agitation on the part
of an enlightened people determined to overthrow despots and those purveyors of
exclusive privilege. In this evolutionary process the great victory was the
Glorious Revolution of 1688 by which the people, through their representatives
in Parliament, renounced the Catholic despot, and established the rights of
Parliament.

The importance attached to the Revolution by the reformers revolved
around two interrelated concepts: In the first instance it defined the role of
Parliament in the political process; secondly, it determined who was the ultimate
possessor of political power. Parliament, perceiving the agitation in the nation
and the danger to the social fabric if it were not checked, had adapted the
Constitution in 1688 to settle the issue. This was the handiwork of men of
social standing who understood the collective desires of the people and resolved
to deal with a concrete situation in a proper and direct manner. Of equal impor-
tance was the way in which the Revolution settled the fundamental principle of
political power: as Brown wrote in 1843,

> The Revolution settlement by which the two branches of the
> legislature ordered the great seal to be affixed to the Deed
> that dismissed the tyrant, has shown that when the balance of
> the Three Estates is deranged, the power reverts to the
> people.   9

Brown was not advocating the democratic principle of majority rule nor was it his

contention that revolution, as a means of attaining limited ends, was justified

either in theory or in practice. Nothing could be further from the true spirit

of Britain's Constitution nor the practice of its mixed system of government and

equal justice under the law.

> Whatever tends to create agitation of such a character as to
> weaken attachment to the Laws and Institutions of a country,
> ...and creates animosity and distrust among various classes,
> if pursued to a great extent, must ultimately endanger the
> stability of the social fabric.   10

The terms used here, "the social fabric","attachment to the Laws and Institu-

tions of a country", bespeak an allegiance to a conservative theory of govern-

ment. The Revolution of 1688 had determined that "power reverts to the people"

but this was only when "the balance of the Three Estates was deranged"; thus the

truly animating force behind Brown's views on the Constitution was the preserva-

tion of "the social fabric" and this could only be maintained by a firm allegiance

"to the Laws and Institutions of a country". The real lesson to be learned from

the Revolution, as far as Brown was concerned, was not some republican ideal of

the people's right to overthrow the government; rather it was the fact that the

Revolution settlement "forever incorporated into the sacred ark of the British

Constitution" the "principle...that all power is derived under God from the
11
people, and to be used for their good." Claiming that power was derived from

the people was not the same as saying that it resided in the people; on the

contrary, it flowed from the people to "the Three Estates" where it was"to be used

for their [the people's] good." It was the avowal of the principle of

Parliamentary legitimacy that had been incorporated into "the sacred ark of the

British Constitution."

To return to Brown's original statement of political beliefs wherein he had already
noted the historical benefits of the British Constitution, he continued in this manner:

> The mixed government of Great Britain is in our opinion most
> admirably adapted for conferring the greatest amount of legis-
> lative benefits on the people, by its happy medium between
> absolute monarchy on the one hand, and the tyranny of a demo-
> cratical majority on the other. Popular rights are most
> judiciously blended with the influence of property, rank,
> and station. Such a system of government is best fitted
> secure respect from foriegn nations, and to preserve the
> rights of every class of the inhabitants.   12

This was the true manner in which to view the development and establishment of
British Institutions. They were politically sensible because they rested on a historical
validity sanctioned by the law and also because of the manner in which they preserved
the sacred religious and civil liberty of a free people.

....

The Canadian evangelical reformers made frequent mention of the Mother Country
in their sermons, tracts, and newspapers. As an organ of evangelical ideals, the
Banner promoted home affections and a reverence for the glorious history of Great
Britain and its free Institutions because Brown was convinced that the Mother Country
offered the materials necessary to construct a new, British, nationality in North
America.

However the references to the Mother Country were most often presented in the
past tense: Members of the audience were British subjects, but they were colonial
Britons residing in a new land. When the topic of Canada, the present community,
was broached, it was just as often described in the future tense—the glorious future
of Canada. The means of combinig the past and the future in the present was accomplished
by alluding to the strength inherited from the connection with Britain while maintaining
the prospects to be obtained through the resources, population and expansion of the
colony. In short, Canada was in an enviable situation; its British character would
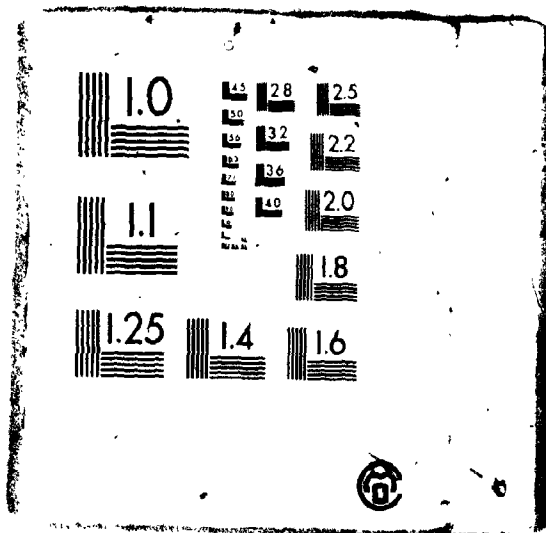
prove invaluable in exploiting its hitherq untapped resources.

An integral part of this doctrine of future glory was the firm belief that Canada was the last frontier in which all that was great in Britain could be re-established in a New World setting. Implicit in such an assumption was the idea that British institutions like constitutional government, Protestantism, and social customs, could be transported to Canada in much the same manner as manufactured goods and population, without, at the same time, importing the factionalism and social prejudice, alive in the Mother Country.

The examination of these themes evidenced a desire on the part of the evangelical reformers to create a unique Canadian nation and national character. The basic thesis of this paper creation was that the limitless expanse of land and natural resources, combined with the inheritance of British traditions, afforded a ready means for developing a vigorous people of hardy British stock who, with hard work and a steady determination, would eventually become prosperous, independent yeoman and men of commerce residing under the freest government in the world. Unhampered by the restricting economic conditions of Europe with its subdivided farms, absentee landlords and class prejudice, the colony would also be saved from the social upheaval and lack of moral rectitud existing in the neighbouring Republic.

While the distribution of wealth offered the opportunity for material prosperity, it was the social values and virtues of Canada's institutions, nurtured in the British tradition, that fixed the true wealth of the young nation. Of these the representative nature of its government institutions, freedom from religious establishments, the philanthropy of the people, and the benefits of the educational system were the most conspicuous examples of a free community.

The Reverend John Roaf, addressing the Toronto Mechanics Institute in 1846,

spoke at length of the bright prospects of the young nation. He was convinced
that the blending of natural resources with material opportunities, historical
forces and socio-intellectual ideals was a sure recipe of success for the rising
nation. A report of the lecture printed in the _Banner_ noted;

> Then he contended that the people to be thus formed is
> likely to possess an energetic character, referring in
> proof of this to their Anglo-Saxon origin, our literary and
> commercial intercourse with Great Britain and the United
> States, the bracing character of the climate, the labour
> required by the soil, the renovating tendency of inter
> marriages amongst the various populations that here meet,
> the independence of our land owners, the representative
> nature of our Provincial and District institutions, and
> the struggles for liberty that have in early days of the
> colony been called forth. The character is likely to be
> tempered by a taste for the fine arts which will grow up
> as a large commercial class is formed....These circumstances
> are operating to raise an influential community, which may
> greatly affect not only the destinies of the western part
> of this continent, but the affairs of older and more power-
> ful nations. 13

One of the great effects Canada would have on the older and more powerful nations
was the alluring quality of its soil and climate on the populations of Europe.
Brown of the _Banner_ more than once averred to this topic, especially in the
years of the Irish potato famine. He thought the famine and the consequent rise
in the price of bread likely to drive the English labourer to the brink of star-
vation. The plight of the Irish farm labourers was worse, thousands of them
starving because of the blight. The Irish peasants had long been victims of
"the high rents...aggravated by the ruinous system of middlemen and factors, who
all live off the labours of the people"; Were the peasants to obtain their fair
share of the produce of the nation "they could never pay such enormous rents." 14

The crop failure had thus, to Brown's way of thinking, further complicated the
inequitable distribution of a repressive economic system. It was hard not to
see the hand of God intervening in the life of the nation "showing how dependent
the creatures of His bounty are upon Him for the supply of their daily wants". 15

The Providence of God in blasting the produce of that hithero prolific article of food, and in directing more attention to the growth of bread stuffs, may have intended to correct this great evil.   16

To Brown's mind the true remedy for the situation was "<u>Emigration</u> on a large scale." The soil and climate of Canada were "peculiarly fitted for the inhabitants of the British Isles" and the vast expanse of the "wastelands belonging to the Province" combined with its abundant harvests and need for labour could "remedy all the evils of poverty of the class able to labour in the three kingdoms."   17

Canada was the economic panacea for the Mother Country's starving, unemployed masses. God had smiled on its independent farmers who had not suffered the agricultural deprivations of the Irish peasants. The money which the Home Government was spending on relief in the three kingdoms, amounting to half a million sterling annually, could be halved by providing an extensive emigration scheme:

> Let them come to Canada. They who are willing and able to work, will receive immediate employment as farm labourers, at wages from 2s6d to 3s6d sterling per day. In a few years they will be the owners of their own farms, and have a comfortable independence. They must buy their account with hard work, but their success is certain, if only they use the means....   18

The truly curious aspect concerning this invitation was that it was addressed, by and large, to an audience of British subjects who had already emigrated and were, hopefully, enjoying the material benefits of the country. Why did Brown expend so much energy preaching to the converted? The answer lies in the future tense of the message' in a few years'. In a few years was the great phrase of the reformers; if this or that policy or program or ideal was pursued by stout-hearted men, in a few years "a vast nation will grow up". The Canadian reformers claimed that if the people were only true to their heritage they could not fail to achieve the great promise

that their young country held for them. Here again the combination of the past and the future was used to promote the present.

This idea was most forcefully enunciated in the realm of politics. If Canadian political reformers would but remain true to their principles, their triumph was imminent in a few years. That Brown was firmly convinced of the ultimate victory of reform politics, and that this would lend itself to a blossoming nationhood, is fully borne out in an article of 1843 wherein he asserted:

> If a system of just and equal government is only pursued, a vast nation will grow up, speaking the same language, having the same laws and customs, and bound to the Mother Country by the strongest bonds of affection,—which will be a refuge for her over-crowded population,—a vast market for her manufactures,—and her zealous and faithful friend in peace and war. [19]

This short statement fairly expressed the principles which motivated the _Banner's_ editor when he turned his attention to the political arena. Brown's allegiance in colonial politics was decidedly reformist: the British Constitution, the connection to the Mother Country, local self-government, the Durham Report, national works,—all of which were reduced to one simple term: Responsible Government.

To Brown Responsible Government represented all that was true and virtuous in the British constitutional system. The achievement of it in Great Britain had been fixed by the Reform Act of 1832, the culminating event in a century and a half of political struggle. Furthermore the principle distinguished the British Parliamentary form of government from absolute monarchy (the policy of Tories) on the one hand, and from tyrannical mobocracy (the republican principle) on the other. Finally, Responsible Government was the grand ideal that Britain was to pass on to its colonial possessions as each, in its turn, reached political maturity. Thus in contending for the full working of Responsible Government in Canada, Brown and the reformers were implying that the colony had attained the

necessary level of political and constitutional sophistication to be self-governing

in its internal affairs. In short, Canada was no longer simply a colony--it was fast

becoming a nation.

Brown's allegiance to Responsible Government was further conditioned by his aversion

to the republican and democratic system of government operating in the United States.

The Americans' "with all the advantage of British origin...with all the experience of

modern times to guide them" had failed to live up to their own inflated views of their

system of government and their social "experiment". The republican system was a failure

to Brown's mind because it promoted chaos in office while at the same time denying

liberty and popular rights to the people.

> We are asked by some of our liberal friends why we are so hostile to
> American Institutions. We have no reason but one. Because these
> Institutions have proved themselves unfavourable to the growth of liberty.
> We love liberty for its own sake, and cannot accept the shadow for the sub-
> stance, the form for the reality, under whatever name it comes. Sixty years
> experience have deprived the people of the United States of the very lowest
> apprehensions of liberty and justice. A sense of pride and of national
> independence they have, to a degree as great as any country. But the same
> exists in Russia, in Afghanistan, and in every country, however barbarous,
> where individual rights have never been heard of.   20

The experiment in self-government had "been made under favourable circumstances,

viz., by the descendants of the staid and thoughtful people of the British Empire", but

it had degenerated into a race for the spoils of office, promoting mere numbers at the

expense of wealth and intelligence. When Americans admitted "the failure" of the republican

system they generally imputed the blame to the Irish labourers residing in the country

"who cast the scale in favour of the greatest demagogue". However Brown was not deceived

by such an argument, claiming that the Irish were "misled by American office seekers, and

we do not believe that their votes are given with less regard to the interests of the coun-

try than Americans of the same rank." If fault was to be found, "and who can doubt it",

it was "with the people";

> It is the system which has produced this selfish and degraded race
> of politicians and office holders. Everyman who reaches twenty-one,
> however thoughtless, or ignorant, or foolish, the moment the clock

> proclaims his majority has arrived, is a soveregn legislator for a
> vast country. The wisest and wealthiest, the most learned and patriotic
> individual in the country has his vote neutralized by any person of
> the proper age, however unfit he may be for judging the matter. 21

Brown's tirades against American democracy reflected his own political ideal

which was utterly opposed to any system that undermined the power of property, and the

authority of the legislature to act in the people's best interest. What is more, his

opposition to the American experiment was in line with his preference for the British model

which judiciously blended "popular rights ...with the influence of property, rank, and

station", and this, in its own turn, he made use of when refuting Tory claims that

Reformers were disloyal republicans.

Canada, too, had "all the advantage of British origin", and it was Brown's opinion

that the colony could avoid the chaos and excesses of the former colonies by remaining

true to its English and Protestant heritage. This opinion offered little to those of

non-British origin, particularly the French-speaking, Roman Catholics of Canada East; in

fact Brown was a firm supporter of Lord Durham's policy of assimilation with regard

to the French Canadians in political matters, as he had been in spiritual affairs.

Roman Catholicism was the bane of all individual liberty to Brown's way of thinking; any

Canadian who loved freedom but subscribed to the Church of Rome had not received the

impetus to civil rights from that religion, he wrote, "but from the more free atmos-

phere of the society in which they lived...". 22

The _Banner_ appeared in the years of the Baldwin-Lafontaine alliance in which reformers

from the two sections of the province united to advance "liberal measures". Brown

supported the alliance despite his aversion to Roman Catholicism because he was con-

vinced that the French Canadians were overcoming their religious prejudices by subscrib-

ing to reform politics. Rebuked by Tory and Catholic papers for his seeming inconsistency,

Brown maintained that he still subscribed to "the Reformation cause" and that his support

of the alliance was determined by the advance of reform thinking amongst the French

Canadian Catholics: "We ally ourselves with you as Liberals," he announced in 1845,

"and when you cease to support Liberal men and Liberal measures, we go not one step

further with you." In effect Brown was denying to the French Canadian Catholics that

consistency of politics and religion that had always guided English Protestants. The

only manner in which English Protestant reformers and French Catholic politicians

could associate, he claimed, depended upon the latter's rejection of their natural

religious inclinations brought to the political realm; in short, the French Canadian

Catholics had to choose betweeen Catholicism and liberalism.

> The state of the question may thus be summed up. The Roman
> Catholics in the province are Liberal in spite or defiance of
> their religious principles. The High Church are illiberal in
> politics, in consequence of their illiberal religious principles.
> We are liberal in politics because we are liberal in religious
> principles. The Roman Catholics can join us in politics, be-
> cause we are both liberal as far as politics go.   .23

Brown's conciliatory attitude towards the French Canadians was in reality a policy

of assimilation. However he never launched into the tirades against French Canadians,

nor held them responsible for the failure of reform policies, in the manner in which

his son did in the following decade. Brown's policy in colonial politics was to court

the French Canadian vote so long as Lafontaine maintained the alliance with Baldwin and

carried his supporters into the reform caucus.

The Banner's first great foray into the world of colonial politics centered upon

the resignation of the Baldwin-Lafontaine Council in late 1843. The paper expressed the

opinion that Governor-General Metcalfe's conduct in the affair meant"...the denial of

that great principle of 'Responsible Government' which was solemnly and deliberately

incorporated within the political framework of the colony." In calling to office men

who did not enjoy the confidence of the Legislature, Metcalfe had upset the balance

of government and altered the "constitution without the consent of the contracting par-

ties". The new system instituted by the Governor-General made the Executive Councillors

little more than "First Clerks" in their departments.

24

> If the members of the Executive Council are <u>not</u> to be members of the
> Legislature, a most happy approach will be made to the system of the
> neighbouring Republic. Instead of the frank explanations and official
> communications, which is the peculiar privilege of the British
> Parliament to receive through the Responsible minister of the Crown, as
> members of the Legislature, we should have the formal and unsatisfactory
> repulican practice of message and answer from the Parliament to the
> Executive on every little matter. 25

Those who support the new measures, the paper went on to say, were of the opinion that

the colonies were inferior creations and that the colonists should not enjoy the full rights

of Englishmen. Finally, it claimed that such a political system returned the colony to

the Rebellion era where the Governor-General entered into daily politics and became the

object of scorn while the people were incited by "the hands of the turbulent and designing."

The <u>Banner</u> had thus turned the loyalty issue on its head. Reformers, it claimed, held

fast to the British connection--it was the Tories who were subverting the Constitution.

All that the <u>Banner</u> demanded was the full political rights of the colonists as British

subjects; the principles "incorporated within the political framework of the colony."

Early in 1844 the <u>Banner</u> carried an article copied from the London <u>Times</u> on the

topic of Responsible Government in the Province. The <u>Times</u> was of the opinion that

Governor-General Bagot had been forced to concede the principle in 1841 thanks largely

to the mistaken policy of the Whig Ministry and "Lord Durham's handiwork".

> 'The Whigs bestowed upon Canada a paper constitution; the colony was
> dissatisfied, and they gave it a representative theory, and in theory,
> a Responsible Government. It was a regular Whig <u>charlatanerie</u>--rather,
> we should say, <u>the</u> Whig recipe for quieting refactory multitudes by
> stuffing their mouths with political privileges which they do not under-
> stand.' 26

The <u>Times</u> continued by denouncing the "experiment" and claimed that experience had shown

the working of Responsible Government to be incompatible with a colonial system. The

Governor-General must take a firm hand in setting colonial policy so that it followed

in line with Imperial strategies; to admit any other working of colonial government

could only result in a lessening of the power of the Home Government to direct

Imperial policy and must eventually result in the colony's withdrawal from the Empire.

In conclusion the <u>Times</u> suggested that it was the responsibility of the new

Tory administration in Britain to set things straight, and for Governor-General Metcalfe

to align himself with responsible colonials rather than give in to the "'ci-devant

traitors and actual agitators'" who had formed the previous Council. The Banner [27]

responded:"We borrow our analogy of Colonial Responsible Government from Home Responsible

Government, and we believe that we are on strictly constitutional grounds." [28]

At the heart of the dispute was the differing opinions entertained by the two papers

on the ability of colonials to grasp the subtlety of constitutional matters. The Times

believed that the colonial "refactory multitudes" had had their mouths stuffed "with

political privileges which they do not understand"; for his part, Brown was convinced

that "the calm and enlightened expression of public opinion" guided colonial politicians

in much the same manner as it did British politicians. Brown's argument was conditioned

by his thinking on the nature of colonies and the means employed to insure their satis-

factory development.

> When a colony is first planted with the sanction and countenance
> of the Home Government, it is the duty of the Government to give
> it the support required during its infant state. The consent given
> to the planting of such a colony necessarily implies that the
> Mother Country is to derive benefit from it in some way or other-
> it may be of a commercial kind, or to relieve an over-crowded popu-
> lation, or it may be to gratify ambition, to have the power and
> influence of the Parent State extended over distant lands. One
> of the most important duties which devolves on the Mother Country
> is to furnish the colony with a system of government as is most
> suitable for its early state. The unlimited power which is given
> to a Governor appointed by the Crown, · arises only from the
> necessity of the circumstances of the colony.   [29]

Colonists were, of necessity, more concerned with their economic enterprises and thus

quite content to leave public administration in the hands of a capable Governor secure

in the knowledge that he would coordinate the wishes of the inhabitants with the de-

mands of the Home Government. "But everyone must be aware that this is only a temporary

state of things" especially amongst a people that had enjoyed a measure of popular

control in their former country. To see the matter in any other way, the Banner

argued, would mean that the colonists had gained "a greater amount of mere animal en-

joyment" but "lost what is above all price the right of legitimate popular influence in

the management of public affairs" which was surely "a poor exchange".

Those who argued that the colonists were not prepared to exercise their full con-
stitutional rights as British subjects exhibited a desige to maintain exclusive privil-
eges for the few which was, the editor claimed, not in keeping with the progress of
political developments.

> It has been fortunate for Canada, that while the antiquated system
> of exclusive rights was maintained ther in all the vigour of a dark
> age, the development of the principles of liberal government was
> rapidly being made in the Mother Country.   30

Evidence of this new spirit in colonial administration was most prominent in the manner
in which India was afforded the rights of British justice and Freedom of the Press,
the freeing of the slaves throughout the Empire "and the raising of all these men to
the rank of free and responsible human beings". Such benevolent works on the part of
the British Government "Has proclaimed to the world, that as far as Britain is concerned,
the knell of Colonial bondage has been tolled, and every part and portion of the
British Empire shall taste, to the fullest possible extent, of the freedom enjoyed
in the Mother Country." ·

> The question is no longer how much benefit can be got from a colony,
> and how few privileges can a Colony be governed with, but how it can
> be most speedily brought up to the full enjoyment of the British
> Constitution....It is only necessary that the people of Canada be
> true to themselves, in order to enjoy the full benefit of Respon-
> sible Government, which we shall not say was ceded to them, for it
> was only a natural consequence of the change in the amount and
> character of the population of the Colony.   31

Two years later the whole question of colonies aroused intense interest at home
when the British Parliament debated the free trade measures introduced by the Peel
Ministry. Protectionists in the British House claimed that Canada would quit the connection
if Britian renounced its economic protection of the colony. This thinking, Brown wrote,
was not representative of colonial views, but it was indicative of Tory loyalty which
was always a matter of pounds and pence:

> The Reformer has always declared that the attachment of the colony to
> the Mother Country may be founded on respect, gratitude, and natural
> affection—but that it can only be perpetuated . by mutual benefit
> accruing to both parties from the connexion, and by a uniform regard
> being had to the rights and privileges of each other.   32

Canada "wants no buying or coaxing" to maintain her connection with Britain he wrote:

"All she wants is Justice". If Britain was to adopt free trade it must give Canada the

same opportunity to seek advantages in the United States, or any other country.

All Canada wanted, Brown claimed, was good roads, cheap postage, local improvements

"and we fear no rivalry and ask no merchantile protection".

> But one thing more we must have, and without it, all is in vain. We
> must have the full—aye the very fullest rights of British subjects.
> We must have no more drivelling about 'a colony not being entitled
> to responsible government in the same sense as in the Mother Country.'   33

If Canada was to be Britain's equal in world economic affairs, there was no sense in

maintaining the pretext of an outdated colonial political system. Brown was not demanding

political independence; rather he was claiming the right of British subjects to conduct

their own affairs in the political as well as in the economic field. It was high time,

he wrote, that Britain recognize Canadians as fully responsible and intelligent British

subjects, and not a collection of inferiors who did not understand their political

privileges.

> Do we value our rights less than they do at home, or are we less
> fit to enjoy them? We admit that there are enlightened con-
> stituencies in Great Britain and Ireland, which are superior to
> any constituency here. But we have many constituencies equal,
> and superior to many in England; and the advancing wealth and
> intelligence of the Province is introducing, we trust, a more
> independent state of public opinion. The Governors and Lord Butes
> of Canada have preyed on the ignorance or selfishness of a portion of
> the electors, and taken advantage of the want of that concentration
> of opinion which is only found in old settled countries, to deprive
> the people of their just privileges as British subjects.   34

The force of Brown's argument was thus conditoned by this historical awareness:

political sophistication was determined by a "concentration of opinion" that developed,

over time, "in old settled countries" where "enlightened constituencies" guided people
in the exercise "of their privileges as British subjects". Until recent times, Canada
had lacked the "independent state of public opinion" that comes with age, but "the ad-
vancing wealth and intelligence of the Province" was overcoming the deficiency and
provided the colony with "many constituencies equal, and superior to many in England".
In short, Responsible Government was the practice of British subjects responsible to
their rights, alive to their privileges, and judiciously exercising both.

The Banner's New Year editorial of 1847 reviewed the past year's advances in
Canada's progress and spoke glowingly of the achievements of the young nation; there
was still much yet to be gained and success was imminent if only the colony held fast
to the true principles that guided all great nations.

> Two crowning blessings can alone give security and stability to this
> picture. Good government and genuine religion. The first se-
> cures our temporal and religious privileges, and it should never
> be forgotten that to free institutions, Great Britain owes under
> Divine Providence the high rank she bears among nations. We
> find religious papers professing to shrink with horror from all
> approach to what is called political subjects as foreign to their
> purpose. We deny it. To maintain free institutions is a part
> of religion, and he is ungrateful to Him who has bestowed so
> many blessings through their means, who shrinks from an avowal
> of the great fact, or who withholds his hands from supporting
> them.--Canada has had a hard struggle to get her due share of
> British institutions. Let her be but true to the cause herself in
> time to come, and the battle is won. But although wealth and know-
> ledge and power and good government were all hers, there can be
> no true happiness for a nation or a people without the fear of
> God. Canada has much to learn and much to struggle with in this
> respect. ...Let us hope that the year '47 will witness great ad-
> vance in vital godliness, and that Canada will become as 'a
> well watered garden', planted by the hand of the Most High God,
> and then only will she be truly blessed.   35

....

The true happiness of a nation was measured in terms of the freedom and abundance of its social institutions. Of these, good government and genuine religion were the foundation upon which to erect the social structure and they were competently secured by a system of general education. Education was the means to enlightenment, to knowledge of God and therefore, a means of discovering truth. Truth, the revelation from God, was locked in mortal combat with error, the force of the Prince of Darkness, and it was the duty of Christians everywhere to promote the cause of truth through education. Truth had received its modern impetus during the Reformation when general education advanced "those principles which were then the means of emancipating many nations from the civil and religious tyranny under which they laboured."[36]

In promoting the cause of education in Canada, the Banner was guided by three general principles: the education of children was first and foremost the duty of parents; following from that was the notion that schools should be locally-administered secular institutes; however this last view in no way contradicted the third principle, that schools should promote vital godliness without the restricting limitations imposed by sectarian prejudices.

Brown's policy in education, as in most social matters, was conditioned by his respect for, and understanding of, the Scottish church and its history. The Reformers in Scotland "must have studied well the noble duty of the moral improvement and regeneration of their society" for they had erected a school in every parish.[37] In this respect the Reformers in Scotland had been more advanced than their English counterparts who had never been friendly to universal education. The result was a populace which held "the sacred flame" of general education to be "next to the knowledge of true religion, and inseparably interwoven with an enlightened faith".[38]

The working of educational schemes in the Mother Country was of great interest to the editor of the _Banner_. There the State, until recently, had not taken an active part in education and it was dominated by charitable organizations or by churches, in addition to the exclusive public schools. "The greatest disgrace in the history of British legislation, till within the last few years", Brown opined in 1846," has been the neglect to educate the mass of the people."[39] A national scheme for the support of education was introduced in Parliament in that year which provided salaries and pensions for 50,000 school teachers operating in government-approved schools. The scheme was to be administered by the central authorities and Brown feared that such an arrangement increased the potential for government patronage. The State should provide supplementary support for education where the inhabitants could not afford dues, he wrote, and such aid should always be administered by local authorities.[40]

It was Brown's firm belief that the education of children was above all the duty of parents. It was the "natural right" of every parent to oversee "the education of his children" and a duty "which he should cherish as one of the most important duties he has to discharge this side of time."[41] However parents did not possess the qualifications to educate their own children and it was therefore the responsibility of every citizen,

> to examine which scheme or schemes are best fitted to promote
> the great object in view, to give the people a good intellectual,
> moral, and religious education, and to do so without inter-
> fering with the controul of the parent, and the right of
> private judgement.   [42]

The benefits of education were so self-evident "that no enlightened or benevolent man should hesitate in taking the best means of contributing to universal education." A national school system, financed by the State, appeared to the editor to offer the greatest potential in this cause: "It is a national effort which can alone stay the plague of ignorance, and send the schoolmaster to the door of every cottage and every hamlet."[43]

> In a new country such as Canada, where all our institutions
> have to be formed, it seems almost unavoidable that some
> united effort should be made to provide education. The
> division of power among the City and District Councils and
> the people, should prevent any danger from a great increase
> of Government patronage.   44

Provisions for a general scheme of education, jointly financed by the State

and local contributions and administered by locally elected trustee, had been

features of the School Act of 1843. That measure had won Brown's hearty en-
                   45
dorsement. The generous expenditure on common schools by the Provincial leg-

islature, which was greater than the sum spent by the Mother Country, was

particularly gratifying to Brown's mind;

> Money expended in such a cause will be most bountifully re-
> paid in the increased skill, intelligence, taste and indus-
> try with which the community will be pervaded.   46

The principle of local control determined Brown's reaction to the School

Bill introduced in 1846. That measure contravened the Resolution of 1841 by

placing the Superintendent of Education and the Provincial Board beyond the con-

trol of the Legislature. Because of its community nature "the important duty

of providing instruction for the people should be discharged with responsibility
                                                   47
to the Legislature" he wrote at that time. Likewise he deplored the amendments

B to the School Act proposed in 1847 which did away with the election of local school

trustees and substituted a board appointed by the Town and District Councils.

The loss of local control through the election of trustees was "the severest blow

yet aimed at the integrity and liberality of the Common School System, and it
                                                   48
should be met with the most determined resistance."

A national system of education, while concerned with the pursuit of secular

interests, could never forget the great duty of inculcating religious principles

in its scholars. The School Bill of 1846 proposed that no child be forced to take

part in religious instruction that was objectionable to his parents. While Brown

agreed in principle with the idea he found an exception for the Bible warranted;

> That book is adopted by every enlightened Christian people
> as the foundation of faith, and the standard of morals, and
> no parent has a right to withhold from his child the revela-
> tion of God to man....Should a parent or guardian of infidel
> principles be allowed to enter into a schoolhouse of a
> Christian community and prohibit the Bible from being given
> to his own children? Assuredly not.   49

Brown was of the opinion that religion could be inculcated through a public,
secular,school system as easily as through a denominational scheme. However there
were those who claimed that only a system dominated by the churches could pre-
serve the Christian principles so necessary to a well-rounded education. But
secular education conducted by the churches was "a doctrine unknown to the Word
of God, and fraught with the most dangerous consequences to civil and religious
liberties".[50] Churches were charged with the spiritual wants of the people and
their effectiveness in this quarter was diminished when they attempted to add
secular education to their duties. Furthermore,education by churches was only
available to those who adhered to the denomination and left uneducated "the
children of the worthless and of many poor"; it also dashed"all hope of reaching
the children of Roman Catholics, Puseyites and Infidels. Instead of such a sys-
tem serving the cause of true religion, it would be the very opposite". Finally,
the Banner stated, turning secular education over to the sects gave them too much
power over men's minds, affording the possibility for tampering with their vital
freedoms.

> It is said that education should be all pervaded by religion.
> This will be at once admitted;but may not a teacher be as
> religious who is employed on his own account, or for the
> nation or Province, as he who teaches for a Church Court.   51

The debate between the forces favouring secular education and those who
supported sectarian education occupied space in the Banner's pages from the time
the paper appeared in 1843. The debate was most lively when it revolved around
the charter of King's College, the Provincial university located in Toronto. The
college had originally been the preserve of the Church of England but amendments

to its charter were proposed in 1843 in an effort to open it to students of all denominations. The proposed Charter established a University of Toronto in which secular topics would be taught, with affiliated theological colleges for the separate denominations. Public meetings were held on the Bill and they pointed up the divergence of opinions surrounding the whole question of higher education in the Province. At Toronto the Reverend John Wilkinson, "maintained that the purity of the youth required that King's College should not be connected with any sect.

> Education without religion I do not approve of; but I do not
> wish religion in Education. I defend trade accompanied with
> religion; social intercourse with religion—the administration
> of an estate with religion—but not in religion. Let it not
> infringe on Education." 52

In Hamilton a similar meeting elicited responses of antagonism to the sectarian presence in the university. Reverend Mr. Green was of the opinion that "the sectarian influence and management of King's College, justly deprive that Institution of public confidence—

> and to shut out the community generally from a full, free and
> safe participation in the benefits it was destined to confer
> equally on all, when so amply endowed from the public resources
> —and affect most injuriously the interests of sound learning
> and academic education, as well as the harmony and content-
> ment of the province." 53

A meeting of the residents of Gananoque adopted the following resolution:

> That the circumstances and condition of the mutliform popula-
> tion of this country demand a liberal, comprehensive and even-
> handed system of Education; such a system as shall draw forth
> merit by awakening the laudable ambition of aspirants for lit-
> erary and scientific honours and preferments, without the in- 54
> vidious distinctions of names or sects...

Brown agreed with the sentiments expressed at those meetings, writing: "every species of political or social exclusion on account of religious views is opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and inconsistent with the spirit of the British Constitution."

Chemistry, Mathematics, and the Languages, are the same to
every sect of religion. All are admitted in the Scotch
Universities without one question being asked about their
religious views, and no bad effect ever flowed from this
liberal system.   55.

The endowment of King's College, claimed the _Banner_, was for the people of

Canada and the talk of sectarian privileges and un-Christian education was

nothing but a High Church plot to rob the people of their patrimony. The endow-

ment should be used, Brown wrote, for the study of the liberal arts and sciences,

and if a surplus arose it might then be applied to theological schools. There

was no need for the public to endow theological studies in an effort to retain

religion in education, Brown argued:

Do we wish to give a preference to other studies over that of
theology? Assuredly not. That is the grand study; and with
professors of a Christian character, there is nothing from
the most minute botanical examination, to the wonders of
the starry heavens, which may not lead the mind of the student
to the great Author of all.   56

Brown readily admitted that all of the old universities in the Mother Country had

endowed theological chairs "of the Established Faith...as all were expected to

conform to an exclusive and persecuting standard."

But this principle is breaking down on every side, and if it
had not, it is entirely unfit for Canada, where the inhabi-
tants are setting out in a new world, with their opinions all
made up on religious matters.   57

Still the demands for religious tests for graduates persisted from those who

feared that a secular university was a godless one. "If any test must be had"

he retorted,"let it be belief in the Trinity, or in the authority of the Bible

as the rule of faith. This may quiet the fears of the timid if it does no other

good."   58

The poor management of the college accounted for its faulty performance ,

Brown wrote in 1845. The college was operating on a budget of roughly seven

thousand pounds annually and was thus spending one hundred and fifty pounds

educating each student every year. It was Brown's contention "that under good

management its annual income would amount to £11,000 or to £12,000"; equally,

a system of better administration, attracting a wider body of students would educate
"five hundred" for the amount spent on one student. [59] The endowment was enough
to support a single university but it was to be torn apart, and a few over-reach-
ing grammar schools, parading as colleges, offered in its place to satisfy sec-
tarian demands.

> It is a libel...on our common Christianity, to say that the
> youth of the province must draw off into a number of divisions,
> and study every branch of science and literature removed from
> each other.   [60]

Canadians might as well build towns and conduct business and law upon the same
principle the editor wryly suggested.

A large part of the discussion over the college endowment revolved around the
relative claims each denomination made upon it. The Baldwin scheme had been lost
when the Council resigned and the succeeding Council had proposed to divide the en-
dowment amongst the denominations without creating a secular institution. This
arrangement, ultimately rejected in the Legislature, won the support of influential
voices including that of the Christian Guardian. That editor claimed that Methodist
Victoria College did not have an adequate supply of students, a problem, he noted,
common to all the colleges in the province. Therefore the editor continued, the
idea of a single, magnificent university beyond the colleges was premature. Brown
agreed that there were not a great number of students in the Province but claimed
that it was "utterly erroneous to say that Upper Canada is not ripe for a university."

In proof of this he pointed to Scotland which had a population of two and a half
million and four well-established and highly regarded universities. Again, the
United States had a college for every "160,00 white people, while Canada has above
three times that population, and can surely support one." The Guardian's argument,
Brown wrote, was correct in only one point; there were far too many colleges in the

Province and this, he was convinced, was the real problem.

> It is evident that such small institutions could not com-
> mand the services of eminent teachers in the secular
> branches, and that in none of them would science or lit-
> erature be taught in the best manner. [61]

The true intent of the Guardian'position, Brown argued, was to downplay the idea
of a great secular university in Canada so that the Methodist college could loot
the endowment for its own purposes.

> Again we would press on the people of the province never to
> allow the funds of King's College to be applied for sectarian
> purposes. If any class of the community are so bigoted and
> narrow-minded as to withdraw their youth from society, that
> they may herd by themselves, let them do so, but let them do
> it at their own charge. [62]

The notion that all education must be conducted "under the controul of some re-
ligious denomination" was, Brown contended,"a monstrous principle, destructive of
the very bonds of society." [63]

Brown's ideas on education were a part of his over-all Christian ideal.
Education was a means of defeating ignorance, error and prejudice, and uniting
all the people under a single system of thought that promoted secular knowledge
but conditioned by a respect for the religious precepts of a British nation.
Furthermore his demands for a general system of secular education fostered in
the common schools and headed by the university was an integral part in the formation
tion of a Canadian national character, so important for a rising country.
"No cause so raises a nation in the scale," Brown had written in 1845, "as
the possession of an eminent university, where learning may be obtained in every
department, through the most accomplished scholars of the age." [64]

....

Brown addressed his message to an audience made up largely of prosperous
farmers and businessmen. When he used the term 'the people' he was almost always
referring to the independent yeoman and men of commerce; they were the people who

formed 'enlightened constituencies', whose "advancing wealth and intelligence" would develop the characteristics so necessary in the creation of the Canadian nation.

When approaching the other members of the community, those whose lack of wealth and intelligence kept them from fully participating in society, Brown adopted a firm measure of benevolent paternalism. Referred to variously as 'the poor','the working classes', 'the lower orders', these people exerted a claim on the benevolence of all Christian men. The task of benevolent activity was wholly directed towards transformingthe'lower orders' into men of some substance; in short, making them over to more closely reflect the reformers' self-image. In order to arrive at this agreeable state of affairs it was necessary to instil the appropriate virtues in the working poor and this was best accomplished by means of three interrelated ideals; first there was the work of charitable organisations and the State; following from this was the idea that a concerted effort had to be made to lead the poor from those vices which accompanied poverty;finally, the reformers had to foster a proper respect for religion amongst the poor.

It was an accepted truth of the age that poverty was a natural phenomenon which had existed in all times. While efforts might be made to alleviate the evil, there was no possibility of eradicating it. Brown subscribed to this belief, writing in 1846;

> There are evils attending society, and afflictions in-
> separable from humanity, which no human power can remedy.
> All poverty and all suffering can never be banished from
> this world, and governments and nations are only to blame
> when they do not remedy such as are within the poor.   65.

Accepting the fact that all poverty would not be banished it nevertheless devolved upon the upper classes to attempt to alleviate the suffering, ignorance, and folly of the poor. An article in the Westminster Review reprinted in the Banner in 1843 asked;"What is there to prevent the whole body of our working classes (with some few exceptions) from becoming, under wiser laws and better

teaching, as frugal, as virtuous, as well instructed, and as happy as some among

them even now are?"

> No condition upon earth, no position in society which the dis-
> pensations of Providence have rendered necessary; no station,
> however low; no occupation, however humble; which God has or-
> dained can be, or at least need be, otherwise than most res-
> pectable. That there should be a class of men who live by
> their daily labour is the ordinance of God, and it is doubt-
> less a wise and righteous one; but that this class should be
> otherwise than cultivated, virtuous, and contented, is the re-
> sult, not of the ordination of Providence, but of the folly,
> the weakness, and the wickedness of men.   66

The author's reference to the folly and wickedness of men indicated at least

a nominal acceptance on the part of the reformers that the economic system of com-

petition and efficiency had something to do with the continuation of poverty.

An article reprinted from the London Spectator in that same year questioned the

effects of the system of competition with regard to poverty and sickness, sar-

castically commenting;"the process is according to rule: for competition does it,

and competition is the stimulus of industry, and industry the source of all our

greatness."

> Lancashire can make cloth without limit; and in doing so it
> increases the risks of gluts, of 'distresses', of pauperism,
> of starvation riots, and social disorganization. It is, how-
> ever, part of the study of the man who desires peace and the
> welfare of his kind. Is the system of competition, he will
> ask, so very admirable ?   67

Brown's general agreement with this statement was reflected in the support he gave

to various attempts at home to alleviate the suffering of the poor and the work-

ing classes. "It is one of the consequences of an overgrown population, and of

the keen competition for employment, that the workers are too often taxed beyond

their strength, and early decay or disease, and premature death are the consequences"

he wrote in 1846. A factory Bill presented to Parliament that session aroused the

editor's support and won an expression of sympathy for the workers. While he

questioned "the interference of the Legislature in such matters", believing that

"regulating hours of labour is somewhat like regulating wages, which on general

principles should be only the business of the employer, and the employed", he ex-
pressed greater concern for the condition of the workers and was confident
that the defeated Bill would be re-introduced and passed in the next session.

> The true glory of a country consists in such measures, and it
> is delightful to reflect that British legislators sometimes
> step aside from the great business of maintaining national
> rights, or the fostering of national wealth, to the more
> noble employment of casting the shield of their protection over
> the humbler classes of the community, who have few to take
> part with them. In entering on the great and almost new
> field of what may be styled humane legislation, errors will
> be committed which time and experience will correct. But
> the duty is clear and the call urgent, from many quarters,
> to do everything possible to ameliorate the condition of
> the working classes.   68

While Brown supported legislative means to rectify the suffering of
British workers he was of the opinion that such laws were unnecessary in Canada
where hard work and frugality would net any man an honest and handsome reward.
The only legislative work Brown advocated was the provision of education for the
children of the poor without fees so that they might intermingle with the
children of the other orders and receive a good social, as well as academic,
education. However he did not hesitate in printing and applauding the letters
and notices of Canadians involved in philanthropic work. A report from the
Toronto Indigent Sick Society was printed in 1844 in which the Committee noted
that one hundred thirty five pounds had been subscribed for groceries and fuel
and distributed by men and women visiting the poor in their homes. "The
Committee appeal to all who have felt the chastening hand of their Heavenly
Father, to bear witness how many wants are created...

> The poor are generally improvident, and seldom make pro-
> vision for illness, which, when it comes upon them, esp-
> ecially in the winter season, increases their destitution
> and distress that to be known must be seen.   69

A Correspondent of the Banner claimed that more attention needed to be directed
towards the poor if Canadians were to "call ourselves a Christian people"; it
was, the writer observed, "a distinguishing characteristic of Christianity to
relieve the bodily as well as the spiritual wants of mankind." The writer re-

minded readers that Christ had said the poor were always to be in the world:

> The poor He has left as a legacy to his people; they are bound
> to care for them,—and upon the great day of final audit,...
> He has declared as a characteristic of those who will enter
> the eternal, that they have ministered to the hungry...   70 .

To "relieve the bodily as well as the spiritual wants" of the lower orders was the first duty of Christian philanthropy. While food distribution and visitation were looked upon as necessary tasks, they were considered methods of last resort. To many of the evangelical reformers the only successful means of combatting poverty lay in teaching the poor valuable social lessons in the hope that, by and by, they would reform themselves. In this matter popular education was a great crusade and it was joined with two other movements: temperance reform and Sabbatarianism.

Intemperance was considered by many of the reformers to be the greatest evil attendant upon poverty. The Reverend Robert Burns, secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society and later a Free Church missionary to Toronto in the 1840s, expressed a commonly-held opinion when he said that intemperance was the great cause of poverty:

> Of the adventitious causes we may notice—unhealthy occu-
> pations, unproductive seasons and dearth, adversities in
> trade, want of befitting or profitable employment, slothful
> and indolent habits, extravagance and profligacy—above all,
> intemperance and its attendant vices.   71

Intemperance was the cause of misery, starvation, and ultimately, death. Drunken workers were of little use to employers and their alcohol habits left their families without proper food or housing. There were a great number of temperance bodies founded in the Province during the period; the Total Abstinence Society, the Temperance Reform Association , the Sons of Temperance, that took upon themselves the task of preaching restraint. One of the impediments to success in the movement, according to the Officers of the Total Abstinence Society, was that the various bodies operated in isolation and had not established

effective means of communication between themselves. "In these circumstances, promoted by an ardent desire to subserve the cause, and in the hope of leading to union of _effort_ amongst those who are already united in _principle_ and _aim_" the Society had acquired the services of an orator who had enjoyed great success in the Western District to speak to all interested in temperance reform in the Home District.[72]

The opening of the Temperance Hall on Temperance Street in Toronto in 1847 provided an opportunity for the members of the Temperance Reform Association. to reassert their policy of discouraging intemperance everywhere. Temperance reform exerted an "important and salutory influence...upon the social, moral, and intellectual condition of mankind" the members declared at their eighth annual meeting; such high ambitions commended the work "to the countenance and the active support of the Christian and Philanthropist irrespective of social, religious, and political distinctions."

> That as in all large communities, such as commercial and manufacturing towns, habits of intemperance are founded generally
> to prevail, it is highly important that Temperance men, in
> such, should labour assiduously to lessen the temptations
> to that evil, and to disseminate principles of sound morality
> and virtue.   [73]

The Temperance Reform Association, while having no overt religious affiliation, called upon the churches to take part in the crusade by bringing the subject to the attention of the congregations. The Association, at its meeting in 1846, appealed to Ministers of the Gospel in the following terms:

> That as success in the Temperance cause can alone be expected
> through the Divine blessing on the use of right means, Christians of every name are earnestly entreated to employ in its
> behalf and in a larger measure than heretofore , the prayer of
> faith; and Christian ministers are respectfully invited to
> bring the subject before their people.   [74]

The Synod of the Free Church, meeting in Hamilton that year, entertained an overture from several ministers and elders to adopt resolutions to discourage the use of intoxicating drink by all members of the church "and to discourage, by influence

and example, drinking usages, which prove the bane of society."

> that inasmuch as it appears that habits of intemperance have
> of late been greatly on the increase in not a few places of
> the Province, and that these habits are a prolific source of
> a large portion of the sins of society and the church; and
> whereas the sins of intemperance operates as a strong bar-
> rier in the way of the success of the Gospel Ministry; and
> whereas there is reason to fear that the sin will go on with
> rapid strides, just in proportion as the Province increases
> with population and in wealth; unless some strenuous effort
> be made to check its progress: the Synod agrees to enjoin...
> all Presbyteries and Sessions to use their best endeavours
> to the same effect, in the exercise of faithful and Scriptural
> discipline. 75

While the temperance crusade was an effort to relieve the bodily wants of

the poor, evangelical reformers were equally concerned with their spiritual

needs. The best means of providing moral improvement was to instil a healthy

respect for religion amongst those whose need for salvation arose from their

almost total ignorance of the Gospel. Evangelicals were convinced that the poor

hadto be visited in their homes, provided with tracts and literature, and offered

the message of joy; "the precious measure must be carried to them for they are

too ignorant, and too indolent to go forth and seek it. Christians, there are
76
thousands of immoral creatures perishing in sin at your doors."

The best means of promoting religion was to preserve the holiness of the

Sabbath. Peter Brown was convinced that the availability of vain amusements on

the Sabbath, grog shops, gambling dens, races and the like, only increased the

potential for the working poor to ignore or lose any sense of religion. A

motion introduced in the House of Commons to open the museums and Galleries on

Sundays so as to make these recreations available to the lower orders on their

single day of rest, raised his ire;

> Stringent laws, such as were passed in former days for com-
> pelling the observance of the Sabbath, would be unwarrantable.
> But for the Legislature to interfere to relax the obligations
> of that holy day, by providing amusements for the people, is
> monstrous, and it cannot fail to provoke the wrath of Him who
> will not suffer His laws to be broken with impunity. Once let

> the impression be made that the Sabbath is the same as another
> day, and it will be inferred that if it may be used as a day of
> pleasure, it may also be used as a day of business, and the
> precious blessings derived from the Sabbath, even in a worldly
> sense, will be lost. [77]

A year later Brown was prepared to change his mind on the passage of Sabbath laws.
Many in the Mother Country and not a few in Canada expressed the opinion that legis-
lative enactments protecting the Sabbath were an infringement of the sanctity of
private judgement. While Brown was a firm advocate of private judgement he stated:
"it will be difficult indeed to show that they who would relax the existing regula-
tions for the observance of the Sabbath, would not inflict a grievous wound on both
the religious and temporal interests of every class of the community." In proof of
this he claimed that every society had always set aside one day in the week for
"spiritual duties". Brown was especially concerned for the worker who needed one
day of rest to gather his thoughts, enjoy his family, and prepare for eternity. If
the State had the right to legislate on the matter of working conditions, he argued,
surely it had the right to legislate on the matter of the Sabbath; both were, to
Brown's mind, aspects of the same phenomenon. "It is a painful aspect of the times,"
he wrote,"that observance of the Sabbath should be called into question." [78]

> ...we cannot see how any man who reverences the authority of the
> Word of God, or who regards the welfare of man, both in time and
> in eternity, can withhold his support from those who "remember the
> Sabbath Day to keep it Holy". Religion withers and dies wherever
> the Sabbath is forgotten. [79]

Brown's advocacy of Sabbatarianism, temperance, and humane legislation was
determined by his historical understanding of the Christian community. It was
the duty of social betters to relieve the distress of those less fortunate be-
cause this had been the example of Christ and the Fathers of the Reformed Church.
An intemperate, irreligious, and impoverished worker was the easy prey of dema-
gogues and tyrants, and therefore an enemy of any free society. The task of the

benevolent evangelical was not to ignore the lower orders but to raise them
up to the level of freedom enjoyed by responsible men and thereby preserve
civil liberty and the social order.

....

The evangelical reformers were determined to create and foster a Canadian
national character in the 1840s.   The means employed in this task centered on
references to history and the Mother Country, and allusions to the future pros-
pects of the Province as it increased in wealth and intelligence.

References to history offered the reformers a set of ideal types, constitutional
government, civil and religious government, philanthropy, which were then specifi-
cally applied to British institutions. Thus the notion of parliamentary govern-
ment, the true working of a mixed constitutional system, animated the colonials'
regard for responsible government because it was the highest manifestation of the
ideal type. Likewise, allusions to patriotic feelings, the necessary virtue of the
citizen, were promoted as the proper response to those institutions and that country
which had preserved civil and religious liberty.

The historical argument points up the transatlantic inclinations of the
reformers' view; Canada was a British nation in the new world. The implication
here, as I pointed out in the body of the paper, was that British institutions
could be transplanted and applied in a foreign environment. Furthermore Brown
argued, they could be transplanted without including all the attendant evils
which accompanied them in the Mother Country, and it was here that the new world
orientation told. The physical and social resources of Canada would raise the
lowly English labourer and the Irish peasant to the level of independent yeoman
whose new-found wealth would lead him to intelligence and responsibility.

The attempt to define and develop a Canadian nation was a precarious balance
of the past and the future. Brown was convinced that no better model existed

than the British example and yet he was cautious in advocating its thorough transplantation. This was most evident on the question of public education. The great object of giving the people "a good intellectual, moral, and religious education" was a noble ideal, one readily admitted by all men, and it had received its impetus in the Reformation era churches. Britain, caught in an established church tradition, had not developed a public, secular, education system and had left the task to the churches. Canada on the other hand, being free of establishments and the people having made up their minds on religious matters, developed a publicly-supported system of non-sectarian education that met the needs of a rising nation. Here then was an area in which British ideals were promoted while British institutions were found inadequate.

However this point aside, it is safe to say that the validity of Canadian institutions was measured in terms of their resemblence to British types. The dependence on history, on traditions sanctified by time and usage, also gave the reformers' doctrine a conservative orientation. This was most evident in their approach to constitutional issues. The principle of parliamentary government had triumphed in the Glorious Revolution and the working of that principle, in a colonial context, was all that the reformers demanded. The reform of Canadian government institutions was measured in terms of progress but progression towards a state already existing in the Mother Country. The argument for responsible government was adopted by the reformers as an expression of their political maturity; the Province had reached the level of sophistication attained in the Mother Country with its 'enlightened constituencies' of responsible citizens judiciously exercising their rights as British subjects. Above all, however, the constitution, the 'Laws and Institutions' of the country, had to be preserved in order to maintain the social fabric. Once the policy of responsible govern-ment was achieved the reformers would make no more demands for the country would be prosperous, healthy and safe. British institutions would guarantee the future prospects of the Province.

The future prospects of Canada were thus conditioned by an appeal to historical forces: Britain's institutions had given that nation glory and freedom in the past; Canada had British institutions; therefore Canada would become a great nation. That such a false syllogism made for a specious argument did not seem to trouble the reformers like Brown; a specious argument, after all, is one characterized as being of good appearance on the surface. One is led to conclude that the reformers were good rhetoricians but poor logicians.

This lapse in logic did not deter Brown in his quest for national senti-ments. The example of Britain was plain for all to see, he claimed; it was the duty of Canadians to follow the course already mapped out for them. The future was bright indeed, because the past had determined its outcome.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. "Canada Christian Advocate" 22/1/47

2. Alexander Sutherland, "Politics and Christianity: Or, Scriptural Doctrine of Civil Government," Hamilton, C.W. 1866

3. John McCaul, "Emigration to a Better Country," Toronto, C.W. 1843

4. A.F. Kemp, "The Beneficial Influence of a Well-Regulated Nationality," Sermon preached to St. Andrew's Society, Montreal 30/11/1857

5. Alexander Duff, "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ as Illustrated in the History of the Church of Scotland," Edin., 1844

6. Kemp, op.cit.

7. "What Has Religion to Do With Politics?," 16/4/47

8. "Secular Department," 18/8/43

9. "Humble Address to the Governor-General," 29/5/46

10. "The News by the Cambria--Corn Laws &c," 6/3/46

11. "'The Church's'View of Responsible Government," 1/9/43

12. "Secular Department," 18/8/43

13. "Rev. John Roaf's Lecture," 10/4/46

14. "Remedy for the Distress in Ireland and Scotland," 26/2/47

15. "The New Year," 7/1/48

16. "Remedy for the Distress in Ireland and Scotland," 26/2/47

17. ibid.

18. "The News by the Cambria--Corn Laws &c," 6/3/46

19. "The Present Constitutional Crisis," 15/12/43

20. "Liberty in the United States," 12/1/44

21. "Republican Government-Symptoms of its Failure," 25/8/43

22. "Religious Department," 5/1/44

23. "Reformers Not Liberals," 24/1/45

24. "The Present Constitutional Crisis," 15/12/43

25. ibid.

26. "The London Times and Responsible Government," 2/2/44

27. ibid.

28. ibid.

29. "Responsible Government," 2/2/44

30. ibid.

31. ibid.

32. "Affairs in the Lower Province," 24/7/46

33. "Debate on Canadian Affairs in the House of Commons," 12/6/46

34. ibid.

35. "The Past Year," 8/1/47

36. "The Prussian System--Despotism," 29/1/47

37. "Education," 16/2/44

38. ibid.

39. "The New School Bill," 17/7/46

40. "Education Question--Great Excitement in England," 7/5/47

41. "Education--The Montreal Witness," 25/12/46

42. "Education--The Free Church Scheme," 1/1/47

43. "Great Movements on the Education Question," 2/4/47

44. "Education Question--Great Excitement in England," 7/5/47

45. "The New School Act," 5/1/44

46. "Finances of Canada," 3/11/43

47. "The New School Bill," 17/7/46

48. "The New School Bill," 23/7/47

49. "The New School Bill," 1/5/46

50. "Education by Churches," 11/9/46

51. ibid.

52. "King's College Meeting," 6/10/43

53. "Great Public Meeting at Hamilton on the Subject of King's College," 20/10/43

54. "Meeting at Gananoque," 3/11/43

55. "The University Bill," 20/10/43

56. "The King's College Question and the Christian Guardian," 19/9/45

57. ibid.

58. ibid.

59. "King's College," 7/11/45

60. "'They Can't Live Together'," 31/10/45

61. "King's College," 5/9/45

62. ibid.

63. "The University Question," 12/2/47

64. "The King's College Question and the Christian Guardian," 19/9/45

65. "Presbyterian General Assemblies in the United States," 5/6/46

66. Westminster Review, "Elevation of the Working Class," printed in the Bannner, 1/9/43

67. London Spectator, "The 'Factory System' and 'Our Social Condition'," printed in the Banner, 3/11/43

68. "the Factory Bill," 26/6/46

69. "First Report of the Toronto Indigent Sick Society," 16/2/44

70. "Necessities of the Poor," 20/4/46

71. Robert Burns,   "A Plea for the Poor of Scotland, upon an enquirey into their condition," Paisley, 1.41

72. "Circular," 12/1/44

73. "Opening of the Temperance Hall," 15/10/47

74. "An Appeal to Christians, and Especially Christian Ministers in Canada," 17/7/46

75. Presbyterian Church of Canada, Minutes of Synod, Hamilton, 10/6/46

76. Rev. John James,   "Means to be Employed for a Revival of Religion," printed in the Banner, 19/9/45

77. "Sabbath Desecration," 18/9/46

78. "The Observance of the Sabbath," 12/3/47

79. "The Sabbath Question," 5/2/47.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Historical Imagination; Peter Brown and the Evangelical Creed

> Much has been said about that event [The Disruption] ,
> and yet the half has not been told. There was a moral
> sublimity about it which will employ the pen of the
> future historian.   1

I have tried to argue in this paper that evangelical religion and social reform shared a number of common ideals and informed one another in nineteenth-century Upper Canada. Furthermore I have attempted to portray Peter Brown and the Banner as manifestations of a transatlantic religious movement that undermined traditional denominational loyalties amongst English-speaking Protestants so as to promote a unified set of Christian ideals simple in enunciation but vast in their application. Finally I have argued that this movement and its ideals were developed with reference to a historical imagination in which the nineteenth-century evangelicals saw themselves as the inheritors of a religious tradition enunciated by the sixteenth-century Reformers; and they in turn were viewed from the nineteenth-century perspective as the true followers of Christ and His disciples.

This view involves the rejection of two schools of thought which have provided the accepted interpretation of Canadian religious history to the present day. The first, developed in the 1950's, is the liberal nationalist interpretation, which conveniently postulates religion as a progressive and political force in Canada serving the interests of a liberal, progressive march from colonial dependency to independent nationhood. The second interpretation is that of the 'social control' school, which views religion as a middle-class phenomenon used to fashion society in accordance with middle-class ideals.

Liberal nationalism has a tendency to blur the transatlantic orientation of the evangelical movement and further tends to mar the discussion by its attempts to reduce religious ideals and issues to the realm of politics. While the liberal nationalist interpretation contains a historical understanding, it is one of Whiggish inclinations that confines issues, movements and periods to a point in a linear progression which obscures the uniqueness of any given moment. In short, the liberal nationalist views the past as a set of antecedents which help explain how and why we have arrived at the present; that is to say, his history is the story of 'now', not the story of 'then'.

The social control argument is equally inapplicable in the case of the _Banner_ and evangelical reform, but for subtly different reasons. Social control has a tendency to reduce all ideals and movements in society to thoughts and actions defined by the twin determinants of power and dominance. Like the liberal nationalist, the social control advocate operates in a presentist vacuum; because he sees economics and political power as controlling forces in his own time, he assumes that this was the same in all ages. In an argument governed by this assumption of class conflict, the religious ideals of the evangelicals are excluded from a place of independent significance, no matter how seriously contemporaries may appear to have taken them.

There is a third manner in which the history of religion can be studied which takes fuller account of the evangelical movement and therefore of the _Banner_. Intellectual in interpretation, it is transnational in application and contains a historical understanding which does justice to the nineteenth century. At the heart of the interpretation is the idea that faith can mould society and the historical awareness that the first ideas and institutions developed in a culture have predominantly religious significance. The major exponent of this interpretation in Canadian religious historiography is Goldwin French; and it is interesting to note that he, alone of all the Canadian religious historians cited here, devoted an article specifically to the evangelical creed in Canada.

In this final chapter I shall discuss each of these three schools in turn, prefacing my remarks with a short review of the preceding three chapters. My intention here is to try and place the _Banner_ within a religious tradition that makes sense of its editor's religious and social thought, of his transatlantic orientation, and, above all, of his historical consciousness.

. . . .

In reviewing the three foregoing chapters some general conclusions may be offered which give an insight into Brown's thinking on matters of religion and society. First among these is the notion that all ideas and institutions are, or should be, pervaded by a religious sense. Religion is not understood here as meaning simply a reliance on the Bible, adherence to the forms of worship, or reverence for the Sabbath; rather it is man's acceptance of God as his Lord, the animating force in his life. Brown's religious sense was not a facet of his mind to be placed alongside his civil and social ideas; it was the informing agent, that which imparted meaning to all his other thoughts. The true measure of "good government" for example, was the manner in which it secured "our temporal and religious privileges": "To maintain free institutions is a part of religion, and he is ungrateful to Him who has bestowed so many blessings through their means, who shrinks from an avowal of the great fact, or who withholds his hands from supporting them."[2] Similarly, it was unthinkable to Brown that a system of education, even one administered by secular bodies, would not place religion at the apex of pedagogy.

Flowing from this religious sense were two interrelated concepts of time, the past and the future, which were often combined in the present tense. When approaching a contemporary issue Brown often recalled the past, or traditional view of the matter and then incorporated the experience of modern times into it. This in turn became the orthodoxy to be applied in all future instances. To take but one example; the discussion of union between the Canadian Free Church and the Secession Church was stalled over differing opinions on what Brown considered a non-essential article of the Westminster Confession. Brown as a Presbyterian dearly loved the Confession of Faith because it had defined the faith of the Reformers, and he would not tamper with its truths under any circumstances. However the experience of the modern age proved that strict, formal adherence to all of the Confession's articles, particularly those on civil establishment, did not adequately serve the interests of gospel ministrations and Brown was willing

to dispense with the controversial article so as to effect union. This resolution of
the matter would then become the means to further union movements in the future until
all Christians were united in body as they were in aim. This is not to imply that
modern experience was a better teacher of wisdom or a more proper authority of conduct
than traditional doctrines; rather it was Brown's intention to bring the spirit of
modern times in line with the spirit of the past. The Westminster Confession was not
a persecuting dogma to his mind, but a uniting, evangelical creed; it expressed eternal
truths applicable in all ages. It is this reverence for the past, particularly the
Reformation when the great truths of religion had been enunciated, that informed Brown's
thinking when he approached contemporary issues.

The above discussion raises another aspect of Brown's thinking which should be
noted here, although further elucidation must await the final section of the chapter.
The Reformation was a series of events that had occurred in the past, in historical
time. Brown knew it as such, but its significance as a time when faith ruled the world
transformed the purely historical character of the Reformation and raised it to the
level of spiritual event transcending the ages, uniting man with God. The implica-
tion here must be drawn out. In viewing the Reformation as a resurrection of true
religion, that is to say, the faith enunciated by Christ and the Apostles, and by
aligning themselves with this spirit, the nineteenth-century evangelicals were explicitly
claiming that they were the sons of the Reformers, the advocates of true religion
in the world. Proof of this abounds in the sermons and addresses of the Free
Church and the pages of the Banner; The Reverend Thomas Brown's assertion at the second
General Assembly of the Free Church "that we are the Church of Scotland"; Robert
Candlish's eulogy to Knox in which he claimed that in the Free Church "was the real
foundation of Knox's monument laid..."; and the Westminster Assembly cenntenial
meeting, reported in the pages of the Banner, in which the members declared that

after two hundred years of "a cold and blasting scepticism...a generation arose like-
minded with that which witnessed the Westminster Assembly. Faith once more visited the
earth, and asserted her ancient and undying power on the conscience of man."[3] In all
these and countless other examples recorded in this paper one sees the evangelicals
conscientiously affixing their allegiance to the Reformation because they viewed
that event as the fullest expression of faith visiting the earth since the time of
Christ. Here again one sees the attempt made to incorporate the modern experience into
the spirit of the past.

A third insight into Brown's thinking, again dependent on his religious sense,
is the transatlantic scope of his message. In advocating the evangelical creed Brown
tied the Canadian movement to an international crusade to re-assert the power of
faith in society. Here too he, like other evangelicals, sought the vindication of the
Reformation which had been a transnational movement. Brown was not only concerned
with the reformation of Canadian society; the gospel was to be preached throughout
the world: to the poor of Britain and North America, the Hindoo and the African; anywhere
that man assembled the evangelical hoped to spread the message of salvation. In the
case of Canada this task was made all the easier because the Church of Scotland, the
Reformation church, had been firmly planted in the British colony.

Brown was raised in the Church of Scotland and his understanding of religion and
society was a product of that environment. The Church was truly established: its
parish structure defined the local community, education and social services operated
through its agencies, and its discipline influenced the people's thought and actions.
Brown had happily supported the establishment and his first published work in North
America had spoken favourably of the establishment ideal.[4] But the passing of events
at home, the conclusion of the Ten Years controversy and the Disruption, soured his
taste for establishments, and he became a bitter foe of the "establishment principle".
What had caused this change of heart? Basically it was Brown's belief that the Church
of Scotland had forsaken the cause of Christ in an effort to preserve its establishment

status. In accepting the State's decision on the question of patronage, the Church
had given to the secular power the right of determining who was a member of the
church and who in the church had the authority to make decisions affecting her
worship and discipline, and by that fact the Church had renounced its power to
define its relationship with the world.

The Churches of England and Scotland were state engines, Brown thought. The
performance of spiritual duties, and the role of religion in society, were never
defined or defended by these churches; as long as their ministers were paid and
their rights defended, the established churches cared not a whit for the Gospel.
They were man-made and man-oriented structures,"useful for keeping the world in
order", Brown wrote. As a Scot Brown approved of the establishment principle"in
the abstract", but the manner in which the civil authority had interfered with the
Church of Scotland's discipline, and its tolerance of the Puseyite intrusions upon
the Church of England led him to question "whether it be possible for a State
Church to be as independent as a Church of Christ ought to be." In short, the two
churches, as established under the present regime, had fallen away from that sense
of mission that the Church of Christ ever demanded, and they had become the
enemies of true religion.

When Brown approached the principle in Canada, he cast his weight in opposition
to establishment of any kind. If any church was to be established in the province
it would be the Church of England, and the Puseyite inclinations of that church's
leadership made establishment doubly obnoxious to Brown. The experience of modern
times offered proof that establishment undermined the religious and civil rights of
the people. The Clergy Reserves, the prize sought by the Episcopalian establishmen-
tarians, had been "for a quarter of a century...the bane and annoyance of Canada"
creating "a feeling of coldness and dissatisfaction to the British Government" and
driving prospective settlers away from the province. Furthermore, the condition of the

young country "where the inhabitants are setting out in a new world with their opinions all made up on religious questions" militated-against the establishment of any church.

Only through an outpouring of true religion matched by a grand effort to stem the Roman and Puseyite tide could the world be reunited with God. True religion was expressed in the exertions of Protestant benevolence and through the inter-denominational united front.

> The mighty operations carried on in Britain by Bible and Missionary Societies for saving and civilizing the world brought together many classes of Christians who had looked at each other with cold-ness and dislike on account of differences regarding Church Government or some minute and non-essential views in the matter of faith. On the platforms of those noble institutions, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Methodists met with joy and found that although their names were various, their hearts were knit together in love, and they embarked with ardour in the cause of their common Lord and Master. There the friends of Established Churches and the supporters of the Voluntary Churches threw asided their differences and joined hand to hand in advancing the cause of the Redeemer's Kingdom. [7]

The 'true religion' Brown professed was grounded in the emotions: it was an individual feeling produced by an infusion of sanctifying grace. The evangelical gospel appealed to the heart. The message of salvation preached by the evangelicals was simple in presentation and easily understood: 'repent, accept Christ, and you shall be saved'. The evangelicals preached a gospel that called to all men, for Christ's salvation, they claimed, was offered to all who would accept Him. The message was one of relief from the dull and profane life members of the audience led: it promised release from the mundane state of affairs by revealing the rich and full life that came with the acceptance of grace.

While Brown and the evangelicals claimed that their religious sense was a pro-duct of their understanding of historic religion as expressed in the Reformation, in a very real sense they had transgressed the theological ideals of the Reformers in their promotion of a more liberal Protestantism. Generally speaking, the nineteenth-century evangelicals overthrew the Calvinist doctrine of predestination in favour of

an Arminian idea that stressed a religion of the heart grounded in a belief that
Christ's salvation was available to all those who sought it. What is more, as
George Marsden pointed out in his study of the American New School Presbyterians,
the evangelicals dismissed the Calvinist notion that man was inherently evil and
that sin was a natural consequence of that evil, and in its place suggested that man
"had the natural ability to do good" and that sin was a result of improper action:
that is to say, that sin was "the responsibility of only the individual involved"
and not a consequence of a sinful (evil) nature. By accepting religion and[8]
awakening the internal motivation towards goodness, the evangelicals believed that
the outer man would come to realize the error of his past life and mend his ways
accordingly.

In order to rectify the anomaly between the Reformers' theology and their
own, the evangelicals read their own ideals back into the Reformation and in this
manner distorted history to serve their own purposes. Thus Robert Candlish's Knox
was an evangelical who "kept up friendly, Christian, and even ecclesiastical inter-
course with good men in a sister Church that he disapproved of". In a similar vein,[9]
Peter Brown claimed that the spirit alive in the Reformation was once more visiting
the earth preparing mankind for a second Reformation that would result "in the com-
plete triumph of evangelical Christianity...for it is so decreed in the infallible
Word of God." In short, the evangelicals saw the Reformation as a united, evan-[10]
gelical movement intent upon renewing the religious sense in society and, in turn,
viewed themselves as the inheritors of this tradition.

To accomplish their task the evangelicals developed the interdenominational
mission society. These societies, responding to the expansion of the British Empire
and the new international responsibilities of the United States, sent missionaries
to Africa, India, and the South Pacific to preach the gospel of salvation to the
heathen in his darkness: as Brown wrote:"whole islands in the Pacific had thrown away
their idols, embraced the truths of Christianity, and to the astonishment of the world,
taken their place in the ranks of civilized nations."

However the more important task of the evangelical crusade was the reformation of Western society, and this was to be accomplished by the home mission. The grand task, the mission, of the evangelicals, was marked by a sense of urgency and even anxiety. This anxiety was brought on by the belief that religion no longer imparted its wisdom to man and that faith did not inform his social activity. To resurrect the the deadened feeling of the people and re-assert the role of religion in the community was the evangelical mission. To accomplish it they erected benevolent organizations and called upon the people to reform their lives. This message was to be carried to the poor and the labourer; it was to be preached to the indolent, the intemperate, and the irreligious. Evangelism was largely an urban religion and its preachers and supporters sought to overcome the vices of urban life through the vehicle of popular education and social reform.

Sobriety and piety were the likely attributes of the reformed man. There was no reason to think that men would reform themselves without help; the continued existence of vice, crime, indolence, and intemperance were proof of that. But, the evangelical said, let the individual be reformed from within through the application of Christianity and there would be a corresponding reformation of the outer man. Urban vices, they argued, were the result of misdirected actions, a condition of individual sin. However the evangelicals were well aware that nineteenth-century society, the growth of cities, the development of laissez-faire capitalism, and the ravages of the economic system, all played a part in leading the individual to sin. If there was to be a religious reformation of men there must be a corresponding reformation of society. Let the institutions of the social man, the schools, the work place, and the government, be pervaded by a religious sense, they argued, and the individual would be led naturally to respond in kind.

This religious sense informed Brown's thinking on the notion of nationhood. When he approached the topic of the British Constitution, Brown applied a religious body of knowledge to its workings. The Constitution should embody all the noble values and traditions that informed the national character. His belief in the unwritten British Constitution as the most perfect product of human social thought was

conditioned by his reverence for its sacred character. Having taken its wisdom
from the Fathers of the Reformation, the British Constitution preserved inviolate
the civil and religious liberties of the people. It was Brown's opinion that a
properly ordered society was one in which the sacred and the secular were co-equal
expressions of a Christian ideal. A free religion ever demanded the voice of a
free people: "He must have very false notions of religion, who would make it a
ground for despising the blessings of freedom on which our very liberty to read
the Word of God, to worship Him according to conscience, and to propagate the
Gospel to others, is founded.".

When he approached the concept of the civil state, Brown defied the notion
that man's first allegiance was to the King. Rather, he quoted the first question
and answer of the Catechism of the Westminster Assembly wherein it was stated that
the "chief end of man" was to "glorify God and enjoy Him forever". "Man is the
property of God alone", Brown intoned:"Man cannot be the property of the State or
of any individual. He has a higher owner whose claim cannot be gainsayed."[12]
Religion, as the first principle of human existence, must inform politics in the
same manner in which it informed the individual and all social activity;"to glorify
God." "When we hear a man allege he is'of no politics'", Brown wrote in 1847, "we
see in him a foe to freedom and to the British Constitution." Brown did not mean
politics in the narrow sense of party,place, or personal gain:"We speak of it in
the broad basis of civil liberty, on which the true happiness and well-being of
society so much depends."[13]

When he advocated the cause of Responsible Government in Canada, Brown was
not promoting a radical policy, nor was he demanding a new system of government.
He called only for "the full privileges of the British Constitution"; the full rights
of British subjects. But this was not for the purpose of increased trade or more
colonial power; rather it was promoted by a desire to participate in a noble tradition,

and preserve the sacred rights and liberties of the people. In calling for the full
working of the Constitution in Canada, Brown was attempting to tie the colony to an
idea that existed beyond its insignificant borders and beyond the nineteenth century:
like the Protestant religion, the British Constitution was part of a legacy left
by the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

The same religious sense prompted Brown's demands for a system of education
in Canada. Education had been a cornerstone of the Church of Scotland's social mission
from the time of the Reformation because learning promoted religion. An educated people
was a free people, Brown wrote;"nothing so raises a nation in the scale"as a general sys-
tem of education. It was another means of uniting the community through the application
of secular thought "all pervaded by religion". All study, he claimed, led "the mind of
the student to the great Author of all." A public system of secular education was a
great benefit to the nation, giving"the people a good intellectual, moral, and religious
education". It produced good citizens because it produced good Christians.

In all that has been reviewed here oneecan see a constant effort on the part of
Brown to tie the Canadian province to a greater community. Brown was a product of the
transatlantic community. His argument on church establishments was based on a British
ideal that in and of itself had little to do with the religious life of Canada. Likewise
his support for moral reform bespoke an allegiance to a world-wide religious movement
in which Canada was included but did not provide leadership. His recognition of the
importance of foreign missions allied him with the thinking of British and American
evangelicals;Canada itself was a mission station for the European and American churches.
Finally the admiration expressed for the British Constitution,the "Laws and Institutions"
of the British nation, is evidence of his conservative and transatlantic political thought.
When he approached Canada, Brown was more inclined to stress its similarities to,
rather than its differences from Great Britain. His message was one of conformity;
Canada was a Christian, British colony. Its glory was in the future but that was based
on the province's respect for past traditions and acceptance of its transatlantic heritage.

The writing of Canadian religious history in the past generation was largely the work of men whom I have called 'liberal nationalists'. Their liberal predilections were of a two-fold nature: in the first instance they viewed the history of Canadian religion in a Whig fashion whereby its evolution, based on the achievement of certain principles, offers us a comforting linear progression from the earliest times to the present day; secondly, they identified the major Protestant denominations (with the exception of the Anglicans) with the 'liberal' or 'reform' politics of the day, the two forces co-operating to overthrow Tory elites. Their nationalist orientation was a direct consequence of this liberal interpretation; the progress of reform politics led the country from colonial dependency to national independence.

To accomplish their task the liberal nationalists made use of four general propositions: 1)Canadian religious history is the story of European churches falling apart in the frontier setting and being reconstituted as distinctly Canadian entities; 2) the liberal churches joined forces to rid the colony of Anglican establishment pretensions; 3)to achieve this last objective the churches joined with political reformers, reducing all questions to the political level; 4)once this victory had been assured the Protestant churches became a vital force in Canadianizing the country. In order to make their analysis meaningful the liberal nationalists played down the transatlantic orientation of the churches, operated within a narrow, institutional framework, and tended to ignore the theological subtleties of religious movements.

While there are many scholars who might be studied in an effort to understand the liberal nationalist interpretation (the names H.H. Walsh and J.W. Grant being prominent), I will confine my analysis to the work of John Moir. My reasons for doing this is rather straightforward: Moir has largely concerned himself with the Union period (1840-1865) and has addressed himself, by and large, to the general historical audience. The themes of liberal nationalism all received due regard in Moir's work: adaptation to the frontier;[14] the alignment of the sects against the establishment;[15] the political implications of Church and State;[16] and the united effort to promote Canadianism.[17]

In his first major work, <u>Church</u> <u>and</u> <u>State</u> <u>in</u> <u>Canada</u> <u>West</u> (1959), Moir defined the
major thesis in Canadian religious history as the conflict existing between centrifugal
denominationalism, the established church claiming privileges as the temporal arm of
the State, and centripetal nationalism, all denominations attaining equal status through
the separation of Church and State, and applied this concept to three essentially
political issues: the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, the establishment of a
school system, and the charter of King's College. It was Moir's contention that religion
played an integral part in shaping the political spectrum of the Canada's in the Union
period:

> The natural inference that religion played no significant part in our
> national development is the antithesis of truth. These studies are
> offered as a partial proof of the important role of Christian denom-
> inations in the history of Canada, and specifically in the political
> history of Canada. [18]

In detailing his thesis Moir claimed that the denominations had joined the political
reformers to do away with the Clergy Reserves, nationalize the school system, and pro-
mote a non-sectarian university. He explicitly states that the "Reform Party" was
"wrecked on the shoal of Clergy Reserves",[19] that the antagonism between Protestants and
Catholics hindered the inhabitants' wish to have a single, all-encompassing school sys-
tem,[20] and expressed surprise, denoting a sense of contradiction, at the votes of the
members for Canada East in the Legislature on Baldwin's University Bill cast "for
political rather than religious reasons."[21] In this last notion he reflects Brown's idea,
noted in chapter three, that Catholics vote for liberal measures against their religious
inclinations; only Protestants, Moir seems to be claiming, align their politics and
religion.

In sum, Moir argued, the end of the Clergy Reserves marked the removal of the last
obstacle to a "Protestant unity" and made possible "the development of a sort of omni-
bus Protestant denomination" which was less an organization than "an attitude".
"The process of union among Protestant churches began soon after Confederation, and
though organic union is still incomplete the 'Protestant outlook' exists today even
more certainly than it did in Canada West."[22]

While Moir chose three issues that gave meaning to both his political and his nationalist inclinations there is a sense running throughout Church and State in Canada West that I find unconvincing, given what I have already said about Peter Brown and the evangelical crusade. Moir claims that the development of an "omnibus Protestant denomination", or "an attitude", had to await the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, thereby placing it around 1855. My own work has suggested that this "attitude" was fully alive in the 1840s. Furthermore his suggestion that denominational unions which began after Confederation (the major one being the Presbyterian Union of 1875) tends to downplay the calls for union by Brown and the evangelicals twenty years prior to Confederation; and this in spite of the fact that the evangelical union demands had more resemblance to an "omnibus Protestant denomination" that was less an organization than "an attitude", than the strictly denominational unions of the later period.

But my disagreement with Moir's analysis runs deeper than a difference of opinion over dates. In the first place I suggest that Moir's "attitude" has less to do with religion than it has to do with politics; that is to say: Moir depends upon the political resolution of issues in a political forum to make sense of religious unity. In short, one might ask: if the Clergy Reserves question had not been settled by the government in 1853-4 would religious unity have had to await its settlement at a later date? Furthermore, if the Clergy Reserves question had been settled in a different manner, say for example the government had recognized the Anglican claims as genuine and established the church, would the "attitude" never have developed? These questions are not simple conjecture on my part; the development of a Protestant "attitude" in the 1840s that incorporated moral reform and anti-establishment principles beyond the realm of the political arena, is central to my thesis. And these sorts of questions are important to Moir's analysis as well, because they tend to highlight the Whiggish linear progression based on the achievement of certain principles, that flows throughout his book.

A second disagreement I have with Moir's work is the 'presentist' outlook that it promotes. This outlook is made plain by Moir's statement of fact that the process of union "is still incomplete" despite the drift towards it from 1867 to 1959, coupled with his assertion that "the Protestant outlook exists today even more certainly than it did in Canada West." While it may be comforting to know that contemporary society has progressed along this path in the last eighty years, I would question whether the attitudes and decisions developed within the confines of the nineteenth century can have any impact on decisions and attitudes which are the result of social forces relevant to the modern era. I suggest that they can only if one is willing to accept Moir's liberal predilections. In place of Moir's linear progression I would suggest that the men of the nineteenth century can no more dictate the future to us than we can dictate the past to them. The nineteenth century, like the twentieth century, can only be responsible to itself.

In his short works of the 1960s, the introduction to Church and State in Canada 1627-1867 (Toronto 1967), "The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition" (1967), and "The Upper Canadian Roots of Church Disestablishment" (1968), Moir returned to the liberal nationalist themes of his previous works, highlighting various issues in each. It was not until the publication of The Church in the British Era (1972) that Moir re-worked his analysis. Unlike his earlier works, The Church in the British Era concentrated on the Maritimes and the Canadas in the years prior to Confederation and he was hesitant to apply the narrow, political notions as a unifying theme. Indeed he claimed that the period was characterized by lack of a unifying theme or factor, the churches sharing "a common heritage of Christianity and western civilization" but maintaining separate, individual existences.[23] In this respect even the frontier "could never supplant the centuries-old transatlantic heritage."[24] The religious history of the British era, Moir now wrote, was not one of

triumph but one of tragedy; instead of colonials resolutely marching towards nation-

hood, it was the hasty retreat of the British Government and churches that brought

about independence. The Age of Reform and Free Trade "had repercussions affecting both

the secular and religious life in British North America."

> The thrust of events was towards...self-reliance, and for the colonial
> churches this meant greater autonomy and greater dependence on the vol-
> untary support of the faithful. ...The mission status which characterized
> their early religious life had ended...the religious bodies were forced,
> reluctantly in some cases, to accept more responsibility for their future
> development.   25

However Moir had not lost touch with all the old themes. The Church of England,

the villian in former works, was unable to assume "a more Canadian appearance" be-
                                      26
cause of its "connection with the State." The Church was unable to convince its

adherents "to give voluntarily to the support of their church" because they had

always enjoyed "free religion"at home; "here was another obvious weakness of a
                                                                      27
church-state connection in the democratic atmosphere of North America." The frontier

was still a viable concept in the study of religion; "the highly efficient and flexible

Methodist circuit organization" drew adherents where the "traditionally parish-oriented
                                                                            28
churches" failed to adequately serve""the spiritual needs of the settlers". Finally,

the nationalist theme was still prevalent in Moir's work. While the conflict over

establishment and the effects of the frontier were noted, it was the nationalist theme

that was highlighted in The Church in the British Era: "The basic challange to all the

churches was to Canadianize--to provide services in the Canadas adapted to Canadian
                29
conditions."

The Church in the British Era offered evidence that suggested that nationalism

was overtaking political liberalism in Moir's analysis of Canadian religious history.

This inversion was completed in 1974 with the publication of Enduring Witness, a his-

tory of the Presbyterian Church written to commemorate that body's cenntenial.

Political themes, the Clergy Reserves and education, were played up, but they were

used to promote Canadianism rather than the reform party. The secularization of

of the Reserves combined with the 'no popery' cry in the late 1850s led to "in-creased Protestant co-operation and the discussion of church union in all the colonies."[30] The "Catholic Bishops of Canada, supported by the solid block-voting of Lower Canadian Catholic members of parliament" had forced a separate, publicly-funded school system upon Upper Canada. "Objections to the extension, and indeed to the very existence of denominational schools, was founded in part on the new sense of Canadian nationalism which demanded a unitary, province-wide, secular system of education."[31] Where Responsible Government had provided the political milieu for Protestant co-operation in Church and State in Canada West, Confederation now supplied the impetus for the development of a Canadian Church made up of the various denominations.

> A first step, however, would be Presbyterian union, and
> Confederation was an important stimulus in bringing it
> about. A united Canada, needed, even demanded, one
> Presbyterian Church from sea to sea. [32]

When Presbyterian union was effected in 1875 it was largely shaped by the Free Church-Secessionist "traditions of evangelism, voluntarism, and Canadianism...for better or worse the new church represented the aggressive Presbyterianism of urbanized, industrialized, expansionist central Canada."[33]

Moir was determined to create a 'Canadian church' which reflected his own liberal, whig, and nationalist inclinations. He accomplished this by following the growth of the institutional churches from missionary station to independent denominations, relating it in a direct manner to the growth of the nation from frontier colony to independent country. Moir represents the more politically-determined side of liberal nationalism--political affiliations and political issues tear down and unite his Protestantism. His later work tended to downplay politics in an effort to promote nationalism, but this in no way rectified the short-comings of his analysis. In both instances it is socio-political forces (the decision of the legislature in the first, the demands of Confederation in the second) which define, and give meaning to religion, and not vice versa.

The only mention of the Banner in Moir's work centers on Brown's voluntarism in
the latter half of the 1840s. This is not surprising because it falls in line
with Moir's liberal nationalist outlook. In short, it is another example of the
manner in which European churches are reconstituted as Canadian entities. However
it gives us little insight into the evangelical crusade.

Peter Brown's religion defined his socio-political outlook and that religion
was a product of forces that operated beyond the confines of the nineteenth century
and the Upper Canadian locale. To understand Brown and the Banner, and by extension
the evangelical crusade, one must go backwards in time and cross the ocean to
Scotland. Furthermore one must see the evangelical creed as a nineteenth-century
response to nineteenth-century conditions; a set of ideas that drew upon a tradition
in formation but were applied to the contemporary situation. Finally, in dealing
with the Banner one must end the narrative at mid-century because that is all it
offers for analysis; that is to say, the Banner ceases to be an object of study when
it completes its run in 1848.

The examination of the historical and the transatlantic forces of the evan-
gelical crusade is not to be found in Moir's work for the simple reason that it
undermines the uniqueness of the Canadian experience. Moir's sole interest in evan-
gelism is its contribution to the development of the Canadian church. This is be-
cause his religious history is grounded in the Canadian church and the evangelical
crusade must be incorporated into that structure. To study the crusade in its own
right would interrupt Moir's narrative which is the story of the Canadian church from
earliest times to the present.

....

A second means of analyzing the role of religion in society is the social
control interpretation. Briefly stated, social control views religion as an
ideological expression of the dominant social class used to enhance its own
position in society. I use 'ideological' in the sense of the word as defined by

Karl Mannheim: "the characteristics and composition of the total structure of the
mind" of the group being studied. Ideologies are not understood by accepting the
opinions, propositions and so on, of the group at their face value "but are inter-
preted in the light of the life-situation of the one who expressed them." That is
to say, it is only when one looks beyond the personal to the social factors that
ideology can be legitimately treated.[34] Ideology, as the preserve of the socially-
dominant class, proposes a situationally-transcendant social order; but the idealogue
never seeks to achieve this state, for its achievement would radically alter the
status quo and thus undermine his dominance. In short, Mannheim sees ideology as a
form of deception: "Ideas which later turned out to have been only distorted repre-
sentations of a past or potential social order", espoused by the dominant class to
effect a social order which subscribes to their own ideas and thereby enhances their
social position.[35]

The social control interpretation of religion has been applied in two manners
in North American work: the first, offered by R.H. Niebuhr in the United States and
S.D. Clark in Canada, confined itself largely to an examination of churches, while
the second, following the pioneering work of Max Weber, broadened the field of study
to incorporate the social reform activity of the middle class in the nineteenth century.

Niebuhr and Clark were interested in uncovering the transformation of the
associational sect into the socially-determined church. Niebuhr saw the sect as a
minority, closed-group, voluntary association of individuals, which stressed spiritual
values and the religious experience as an entrance fee, and defined itself in opposition
to the conventions of society. On the other hand, he viewed the church as a pre-
dominantly institutional and inclusive structure, which demanded conformity to its
creed and form of worship as the first requirement of the Christian, and sought to
accomodate the secular world in its social ethic by promoting the views of the
"respectable majority". In short, the church is the spiritual institution of the
socially-dominant class:

> Membership in a church is socially obligatory, the necessary con-
> sequence of birth into a family or nation. ...for it is an
> educational institution which must seek to train its youthful
> members to conformity in thought and practise and so fit them
> for the exercise of rights they have inherited. ...The church as
> an inclusive social group is closely allied with national,
> economic, and cultural interests; by the very nature of its
> constitution it is committed to the accomodation of its ethic to
> the ethics of civilization; it must represent the morality of the
> respectable majority.   36

Clark accepted Niebuhr's definition of sect and church and proceeded to examine

the transformation within a society evolving from a backwoods frontier into a "closed"

frontier. His basic thesis was simple: the forms of social organization relevant

to the Old World broke down in the new environment; attempts by the established churches

to re-order society along traditional lines were resented by the inhabitants because

they did not reflect the realities of the new country. The sects grew in this

vacuum preaching a gospel of anti-authoritarianism that stressed the individual's

relationship with God and the invisible church at the expense of his interaction

in society. As the backwoods became the closed frontier and the independent settler

became the respectable farmer, the sects withered and church membership grew, be-

cause the church expressed the new social position of the individual.

In Upper Canada Clark made use of the Church of England as representative of

the church ideal and the Methodists as an expression of the sect in detailing the

breakdown on the open frontier. The Church of England, to Clark, was intricately

bound up with the Tory and Imperialist aspirations of the dominant class in society.

An "outside" religious body, it lacked any relation to the sentiments and lives of

the people and thus failed to gain hold over their minds, or become the dominant

37

religious body in the colony. The Methodists, preaching a gospel of individual

salvation and damning the vices of luxury and idleness (the preserve of the established

class), appealed to the hardy sentiments of the backwoodsman excluded from the com-

forts of the urban setting. Furthermore their efficient system of class meetings led by

relatively uneducated laymen, together with their itinerant preaching system, brought religion to the man in the frontier. [38] However as the backwoods became closed with the advance of the economy and the increase in the population, the Methodists began re-structuring their organization, effected union with their more conservative British brethren and became, in short, a church. The union with the English Wesleyans meant an end to the exhortive,emotional evangelism of an earlier day: schools and colleges were developed, church buildings were erected, a trained and educated clergy was organized, and an imperial tie was formed. The former association with reform politics was ended by the Wesleyan merger which "constituted an effort to neutralize Methodism politically" as well as aligning its structure with the more conservative elements in society. [39] In short, Clark argued, the development of a productive economy and the social respectability resulting from it undermined the individualistic and other-worldly ideal which was the basis of the sect's appeal, and promoted the establishment of a socially conservative church. Religion thus becomes a means of reinforcing the dominant ideas of society and preserving the status quo by positing a divine justification for the social order.

The interpretation offered by Clark does not take account of the evangelical crusade of the 1840s. The evangelical gospel was not evidence of a growing sophistication in the churches or the religious men of mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada. Toronto was fast becoming the commercial center of the province at this time and its social and economic influence was felt throughout the hinterland. [40] But the growing economic maturity and the development of middle class values did not produce a corresponding maturity or sophistication in religious ideas. A case may well be made for the opposite view: as Toronto

and indeed the whole province developed from a backwoods frontier to a closed

one, the expression of religious beliefs became less doctrinal and in the case

of Brown, less denominational. A church, to Brown's mind, was "a combination

of individuals whose very foundation implies a common assent to certain leading

doctrines of religion." Some thought a church's stability was best preserved "by

written confessions and creeds" but others, and here Brown included himself and

his evangelical colleagues, "assconscientiously adopt the Scripture as their only

standard". [41] It was true that Brown was a Free Churchman and favoured the presbyterian

system of Church government, but he was equally convinced that "the blessing of

God" had descended on other denominations; to hold a sectarian jealousy that prevented

co-operation amongst the churches was "altogether anti-Christian" and injured "the

cause of vital godliness." [42] In this regard, I would also point out that the

Evangelical Alliance was to be a union "'not of churches or of parties, but of

individual Christians'": that is, gathered outside the confines of the institutional

structures. [43] The "minute and non-essential" differences in matters of doctrine

paled beside the grand task of promoting vital godliness. Furthermore the trans-

atlantic Disruption that Brown highlighted in his early years at the _Banner_

tore apart a European institution that was already firmly established in the New

World, and in its place he proposed erecting another European church that reached

out beyond the traditional Presbyterian community to include individuals who

"adopted the Scripture as their only standard"; however, the Free Church in

no way conformed to Clark's definition of a sect. In short, Clark's 'church

and sect' analysis does not adequately address the history of the evangelical

crusade, nor does it comprehend the _Banner_ and Peter Brown as representatives

of that crusade.

The second form of the social control interpretation revolves around the concept of 'status anxiety' which, stated briefly, holds that the dominant class in society, perceiving an assault on its established position, makes use of religion and the moral code developed through it to re-assert its paramouncy in the community. The fullest expression of the analysis is found in Max Wber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Weber wished to discover "the influence of those psychological sanctions which, originating in religious belief and the practise of religion, gave a direction to practical conduct and held the individual to it", and "what concrete aspects of our capitalistic culture can be traced to them."[44] In short, he attempted to uncover a secular ethic in the Protestant religion.

Weber confined his study to two general doctrines enunciated in the Reformation era and later re-interpreted by Calvinist popularizers in the nineteenth century: the doctrine of predestination, and the concept of the calling. He claimed that the contemporary Calvinist's acceptance of the two ideals promoted the belief "that God in creating the world, including the order of society, must have willed things to be objectively purposeful as a means of adding to His glory."[45] Enjoined to work for objective ends, the modern Calvinist sought an outlet for his calling (in order, Weber claims, to self-justify his election) beyond the bounds of the organized church. This impersonal benevolent action, which promoted the common good, thereby adding to God's glory, was thought to be an adequate calling. Moreover the demand for rational activity gave to capitalism a measure of religious sanction, for it was viewed as the objective pursuit of gain to be applied for the common good. Likewise the division of labour, insofar as it was rational labour which benefitted society, was also a consequence of God's calling to the individual.[46]

The idea that the socially-dominant group in society formulates social ideals which are then used to acculturate those beyond the social group, has gained a measure of acceptance among American, British, and Canadian historians although they have not, in general, cited Weber as an inspiration. The analysis has been specifically applied to nineteenth-century social reformers in the areas of religion, temperance, and education schemes.

Clifford S. Griffin, an American historian, made use of the social control idea when he studied the activity of benevolent institutions in the years 1815-1860. It was Griffin's contention that the majority of the leaders of these organizations were wealthy, educated, and Federalists in politics, who saw their role as social arbiters undercut by the democratic influences of the Jacksonians: that is to say, they had become anxious about their own status in society in relation to the new forces controlling the centers of power. To correct the situation they established social, benevolent organizations to proselytize amongst the lower orders. Benevolence, as interpreted by these men, "was the idea that certain persons, having received God's sanctifying grace, were obliged to extend to all men the means of obtaining that grace."[47] It was hoped that by educating the poor, the immigrant, and the frontiersman in the rudiments of Christianity, they would become good citizens, aware of, and respectful to their social betters, and thereby insure the stability of the social order. Furthermore, the work and its hoped for results would re-establish the social leadership of the dominant social group.[48]

The combination of status anxiety and social control also informed A. Allen MacLaren's study of the Scottish Free Church, Religion and Social Class (1974). Isolating the commercial city of Aberdeen, MacLaren suggested that the Disruption of 1843 and the resulting dynamic Free Church owed as much to the social aspirations and status anxiety of the church's members as to any doctrinal dispute.[49] These men, he argued, were economically and socially prominent, characterized as a group by their "rapid social mobility", who had not received adequate recognition in the eldership of the established church. Having seceded from the old church, these

socially-mobile men set about developing an entirely new structure and counted its success as a measure "of their own acceptance by, and integration within, the totality of middle class society."[50]

The concept of social control has also found sponsors in the study of nineteenth-century temperance agitation. Joseph Gusfield, in his study of American temperance movements, suggested that the early advocates were "assimilative" reformers who saw their own cultural values as an objective norm which they invited those outside the group to share. Issues of moral reform, he stated, are "one way through which a cultural group acts to preserve, defend, or enhance the dominance and prestige of its own style of living within the total society."[51] Temperance was one of a cluster of ideas subscribed to by an elite group "who feared the common man as the new source of power". Again there was the sense of status anxiety on the part of the elite in the face of new forces. Gusfield was of the opinion that as this elite lost power and prestige it sought, through temperance agitation, to re-assert its status by means of moral arguments rather than politics or economics.[52] Gusfield suggested that these moral reformers masked their intentions by blending religiously-inspired social benevolence with a strong dose of nativism.

Canadian historians have accepted some of the status anxiety/social control argument in analyizing the temperance movement in this country. James Clemens was of the opinion that middle-class businessmen, artisans, and clerics led the temperance organizations whose message was directed, by and large, at the lower orders and the Irish immigrants of Upper Canada in the Union period.[53] Intemperance brought to the surface the "animal instincts" of a man, the reformers argued, and these had to be tamed if he was to become a full, productive member of society. Their literature created the ideal of a happy, sober, prosperous labourer "who could expect moral, spiritual and, perhaps most of all, material benefits" as a result of his temperate habits. The result of temperance reform, its advocate claimed, would "forge the foundations of a prosperous and moral society".[54] M.G. Decarie, carrying the analysis tc the post-Confederation period, stressed the nativist assumptions of the temperance reformers. It was his contention that the main

proponents of temperance were the urban middle class, the Protestant clergy, and rural
Ontarians: each, especially the first two, feared a loss of prestige in the new indust-
rial urban environment, and sought to reform the working class and the immigrants.
"They had committed their societies, and many of their churches and politicians to this
objective. They had a position to defend against the shock of the non-British in the
Laurier years."[55]

The ideologically-inspired, conservative ideal was also, according to the inter-
pretation, prominent in the field of education in Upper Canada. There middle class
reformers made use of Sunday, Normal and Common schools to inculcate loyalty, instil
good work habits, and promote their own moral and social values as ideal-types for the
students. The middle class feared that the ignorance, poverty, and vice endemic in
north-eastern American cities would spread to Upper Canada, specifically Toronto, unless
a system of education was established which adhered to the Christian and British precepts
of their own ideal society. Moreover, the urban middle-class reformers were quite
willing to pay the cost of educating the children of the lower orders, seeing it as a
small price to pay for social peace.[56] Furthermore, many of the reformers saw education
as a means of forging a national identity based on their own ideals. In this respect
Egerton Ryerson fully expressed the conservative social argument for common education
when he wrote,

> "'not the mere acquisition of certain arts or of certain branches of
> knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose
> the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments in life,
> as Christians, as persons for business and also as members of the civil
> community in which he lives.'"[57]

Sunday schools, the special preserve of the churches, also strove to inculcate these
ideals in their students. Children were considered to be unformed adults sharing man's
depravity and sinfulness, and it was the duty of the school to re-mould them into God-
fearing Christians. This was to be accomplished, by and large, through a great infusion
of the Bible and lessons in civil obedience.[58]

I have little disagreement with the evidence presented by the advocates of social
control, but I tend to question the interpretation arrived at through their analysis
of that evidence. It seems common sensical to view evanelical re-

formers as social conservatives determined to re-make society accord-
ing to the dictates of their own ideals, but these historians have tend-
ed to isolate one aspect of the evangelical creed and offer it as a
thorough analysis. Convinced that economics and social positions are
determinants of positions of power, and seeing power conflicts as the
motive force in society, the proponents of social control reduced all dis-
cussion of social ideals to the level of power, or dominance by one group
over all others. I suggest that this is a rather presentist argument,
not in the sense of liberal nationalist presentism (the past is used to
explain the present), but presentist in that theories relevant to
modern society have been taken out of context and applied to the past.
This owes a great deal to Mannheim's definition of ideology as a form
of deceit. Those who belong to a dominant social class, jealous of
their power, erect a social ideal they have no intention of seeking.
The 'out' groups, having subscribed to this deception, thereby forfeit
and hope of enunciating a different or opposing vision of society and in
this manner insure the continued dominance of the 'in' group.

My disagreement with social control and ideology rests on the assump-
tion that it takes no account of religion as a total vision of man and
society. There is little doubt that the evangelicals were using religion
as a means of social control. But it was not the class-oriented, power-
determined, idea that modern critics accuse them of. The whole pur-
pose of the moral reform movement was to raise up those in society who

had lost the feeling for religion. In this matter it was directed at the greedy businessman, the unscrupulous employer, and the irreligious political leader, as much as at the lower orders. The evangelical creed did promote a social order but it was premised on the belief that society as it was constituted had fallen away from God; that is to say, there no longer was an ordering of society. The evangelical creed was an integrating doctrine bringing all members of society under its pale; there was no attempt on the part of the evangelicals to pit class against class, or to keep the lower orders 'in their place'. By promoting the the creed Brown and the others were firmly convinced that they were re-establishing man's relationship with God, and thereby making human life meaningful. It was a call to return to a time when the truth of the Gospel informed the workings of the social mechanism. In Upper Canada the need for this return was made all the more accute by the fact that the inhabitants were setting forth on a new journey in a new world; the rising nation, Brown thought, had to insure that all its social institutions reflected the divine will and expressed the Christian commitment to live 'in Christ' for this alone would insure its future glory.

> But although wealth and knowledge and power and good
> government were all hers, there can be no true happi-
> ness for a nation or a people without the fear of
> God. Canada has much to learn and much to struggle
> with in this respect. ...Let us hope that the
> year '47 will witness great advance in vital
> godliness, and that Canada will become as 'a well
> watered garden', planted by the hand of the Most
> High God, and then only will she be truly blessed.

....

In the two preceding sections of this paper I have attempted
to point out the failure of two interpretations of religious his-
tory in addressing the questions raised by the evangelical cru-
sade and Peter Brown of the _Banner._   In general, I disagree with
the liberal nationalist and social control arguments not merely
because they maintain that religion is a product of social,
political and economic forces, but because they are so content
with that secular emphasis that they are incurious about religious
faith and ideas as phenomena in themselves.

The social control argument has not been without its
critics in American historiography. Lois Banner notes that
Griffin and others draw an artificial line between the early
reformers and later abolitionists, seeing the former as social
control conservatives and the latter as humanitarian reformers.
It is Banner's argument that many of the abolitionists had
cut their reforming teeth in the temperance, tract, and
education organizations of the earlier period. The aboli-
tionists were, she states, "the radical sons of liberal
fathers who had learned about humanitarianism and its methods
from the older generation"; they viewed their anti-slavery
work as a continuation of that noble tradition.   The reformers,
she argues, were motivated by two ideals: millennialism, and
the need to restore the Christian republic to its former state
as a nation dedicated to God's glory. It was the reformers'
contention that American society had fallen away from the
religious vigour and the social virtues which had informed

the early republic. To correct the situation they promoted education and Christianity through the means of the voluntary organization. The two aims, Banner writes, would instil moral virtues like humility, civic responsibility, and charity; the means employed, the voluntary organization, was an example of democracy within republicanism she states, "bringing together in harmony people of the various competing classes and sections, and of providing stable organizations and a sense of community in a continual state of flux."[61] The hoped-for results would prepare America for the millennial kingdom and return the Republic to the Golden Age of its virtuous past.

Banner placed primary importance on the role played by religious figures in the moral crusades of the nineteenth century. There is nothing new in this; indeed the relationship between evangelical religion and moral reform has received a great deal of attention from British and American historians in the last twenty years. In the same year that Clifford Griffin inaugurated the contemporary social control argument in the United States, Timothy Smith published his study, Revivalism and Social Reform. The basic argument of Smith's work is that evangelical religion, the product of revival techniques, was conditioned by a millennial assumption; man must reform himself and society and usher in the thousand years of peace that would herald the Second Coming. Stressing ethics over dogma, the revival movement soon spread beyond the task of reviving a heart-felt religious experience in the individual to the reformation of society through interdenominational co-operation, benevolent organizations, and social activism. Smith introduces the study in this way:

> The gist of it is simply that revival measures and perfectionist aspirations flourished increasingly between 1840 and 1865 in all the major denominations—particularly in the cities. And they drew together a constellation of ideas and customs which ever since have lighted the diverging paths of American Protestantism. ...Far from disdaining earthly affairs, the evangelists played a key role in the widespread attack upon slavery, poverty, and greed. [62]

In a similar light, George Marsden studied the New School Presbyterians who

formed a separate church following a disruption of the American Presbyterian Church remarkably similar to that of the Scottish Church. The New School radically re-interpreted Calvinist-doctrines Marsden writes, and adhered to the 'new' idea that man could play a part in his own salvation: this interpretation of man's ability to "do good was the major ideological issue that divided the New School from the Old in the 1830s."[63] Joining with their Congregational allies, the New School men actively prosecuted an evangelistic moral and social reform programme that "stood near the center of American religious life in the first half of the nineteenth century.

> Emphasizing revivalism, moral reform, interdenominational co-operation, and evangelical piety, New School Presbyterianism embodied the characteristics that virtually all observers agree were typical of the mainstream of American Protestantism."[64]

Nor was the movement for moral reform confined to America. Howard Temperley, studying the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, writes that abolition was but part of a complex of issues and ideals to which men of religious and philanthropic inclinations subscribed. The majority of British abolitionists were religious men, Temperley claims, and their motivation was as much directed towards reform at home as raising-up the slaves of the world. "In short, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was part of a great complex of organizations, many of them with interlocking committees, dedicated to education, peace, temperance...and innumerable other worthy causes."[65] What is interesting about Temperley's book is that it covers the period following the passage of the British Emancipation Act: the Society's efforts, in other words, were directed outside Great Britain to Portugal, South America, and America.

Finally I mention the work of Richard Carwardine on the transatlantic nature of evangelical revivalism. It is Carwardine's contention that evangelism was the "main" form of religious expression in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century and that the tradition harkens back to the Great Awakening and the introduction of Methodism to the new nation. The Americans, he claims, perfected the techniques of revivalism, wedded it to moral and social reform, and returned it to England which experienced a religious revival similar to that enjoyed in America in the nineteenth century.[66]

This type of analysis has not received its due attention in Canadian religious history although some recent accounts, most notably Janet Noel's study of temperance agitation, suggest that its validity is finally being recognized.[67] A major reason for this neglect is that the writing of Canadian religious history has depended upon an institutional or denominational approach in the past. This is exactly the point made by Goldwin French in a review of A History of the Christian Church in Canada published in 1973. The History was a three-volume work under the general editorship of J.W. Grant; one of its volumes, The Church in the British Era by John Moir, has already been reviewed in this paper. French expresses admiration for the work as far as it goes, but questions its validity given the fact that Canadians now recognize the demise of Christianity and the rise of secularism in their society; in short he asks: "should we not re-examine the assumptions on which works such as this are based? Specifically should we continue to refine the history of the Christian Church in Canada or should we begin to write the history of religion in Canada."[68] If the history of Christianity in Canada

> were seen as a particular instance in the history of religion
> in human society, it would be possible to move from the level
> of overt activities such as the prohibition movement to an
> analysis of the ways in which Christian beliefs and institutions
> gave legitimacy to or undermined, social values and agencies.   [69]

This approach would offer a means of evaluating the relative merits of religion in society, and whether, as a thought system, it promoted change, progress and so forth, or whether it was used to maintain the status quo. Thus, he suggests that a study of a phenomenon like evangelism should be related to its social effects "as opposed to its otherworldly function as understood by the church and the individual."[70]

French is perhaps best known for his study of the Methodists (Parsons and Politics, 1962), but it is his later studies on culture and evangelism which provide an insight into the ideas he writes about above. In 1968 French published an article titled, "The Impact of Christianity on Canadian Culture and Society Before 1867".

In it he claims that the two general interpretive themes of the liberal nationalists, frontierism and secular issues, had been discarded in the United States and suggests that the same should be done in Canada. While the two had been useful at one time,

> Equally vigorous efforts should be made...to write the religious history of Canada in the light of two related convictions: that religious beliefs and organizations have an independent existence which can never be wholly explained in social or economic terms; and that faith can mould society as well as being moulded by it. 71

French suggests that membership in a church offered the individual a means of participation in a distinct social unit complete with its own presuppositions concerning society. Accepting this premise he sees the task of the historian as one of discovering the impact this had on the individual's relation with the broader community and, by extension, how the churches attempted to shape the communities in which they existed. French is of the opinion that the churches were an integrating force in society, in that they helped to re-orient the recent immigrant. The churches could provide this service, he argues, because they maintained transatlantic ties and imported a great deal of their thinking, some of it irrelevant, to the new environment from Europe. The Protestant churches in Canada were of a similar mind in thinking that man was sinful, that he needed to restore his relationship with God, and that the churches should broaden their understanding of the role played by religion in defining man's relationship with God and the world. However, French claims, the churches, because of their transatlantic heritage, failed to effect an over-all interpretation of God's relationship with Canada and thereby denied Canadians a nationalizing myth like the Americans' 'redeemer nation', although English predestination often served the purpose when encountering other cultures. While 72 the lack of a national myth is lamented, French is of the opinion that it saved Canadian religion and society from "that sense of historylessness so characteristic of nineteenth-century American Protestantism." 73

What French did in a single article was turn the entire liberal nationalist argument on its head. The forces used by the liberal nationalists to erect the Canadian church, institutionalism, frontierism, and politics, became in French's hands

the means for denying a nationalizing myth. The uniqueness of the North American continent was really a "sense of historylessness" that implicitly denied the sense of tradition and authority the European churches and their members imported to Canada.

French's idea of locating religion within the social culture is most pervasively applied in William Edward Westfall's doctoral thesis, "The Sacred and the Secular: Studies in the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period" (1976). It is Westfall's contention that a complex relationship existed between the sacred and the secular and that this determined and defined, in large measure, the culture of Victorian Ontario. Gothic sensibility and evangelic ideals defined the sacred tradition while rational self-interest determined the secular ideal.

To present his thesis Westfall makes use of three arguments which are loosely related to a sense of progress. John Strachan in his hands becomes an evangelical reformer with a Gothic vision who was determined to see the church reforming and informing the spiritualess materialism of the secular world. Strachan's was a[74] conservative social vision, and he saw in civil society the means of inhibiting antisocial action in the same manner in which church discipline restricted the evil of fallen man. Strachan's religious vision is seen over-against Lord Durham's materialism. The Report was not an abstract of constitutional ideals Westfall claims, but a specific set of proposals for the rapid development of the economy, which would insure the stability of civil society by promoting self-interest. The two ideals were in conflict and each continually attempted to dominate society; however, Westfall states, a reconciliation was effected:"The development of the Canadian economy could not have proceeded if not balanced by a coherent national aspiration for the sacred. Without the sacred, the quest for unlimited economic profit would have degenerated into chaos."[75] The Gothic sensibility of the period was a product of the architectural designs of innumerable churches and Westfall sees this as "a visual and symbolic confirmation of the growing unity of Ontario

Protestantism itself." [76]

, All these ideas are related to a sense of post-millennial time, Westfall argues;
the millennium would predate Christ's return but His spirit would inhabit the world
bringing a thousand years of peace. .This sense of time was clearly progressive
and included a part for man in ushering in the millennium by reforming society.
"this system of time told mankind that they were ascending by stages or dispensations
to a glorious future. It also affirmed that moral action in the secular world
was one of the principle means to complete this progressive design." [77]

It is Westfall's belief that this was a uniquely Canadian phenomenon. However
his principal characters (Strachan, Durham, and John Roaf), as well as his major
themes (evangelism, Gothic architecture, and post-millennialism), were all part
of a transatlantic heritage, a sense of which is missing in Westfall's work. Where
French had been alive to the traditions and importations inherent in Canadian religion,
claiming that they mediated against the establishment of a distinctly Canadian ideal,
Westfall sees things from a nationalist perspective. There is little attempt in
the work to tie the themes or the actors to a tradition that existed outside of
Canada; in short, Westfall promotes "that sense of historylessness" which French
cautions against.

However Westfall's accomplishment is not to be dismissed. Making use of French's
methodology he works a number of facets of Victorian culture into a coherent vision
of Christian proportions. His dialectic of sacred and secular producing the
Christian nation makes sense of Brown and the evangelicals, though it fails to
adequately address the transatlantic community.

In the same year that he published "the Impact of Christianity on Canadian
Culture and Society", French offered a short article that addressed all the issues
he had previously raised for discussion and applied them to the nineteenth-
century evangelical movement. In"The Evangelical Creed in Canada" French succeeds
in locating religion at the center of Canadian cultural attitudes in the period
prior to Confederation.

> Since British North Americans took their religion so seriously,
> it necessarily affected the cultural atmosphere. What they read,
> what they saw, what they heard, were influenced by, or filtered
> through, the tissue of their religious beliefs and practices.
> The history of religion is indeed an essential clue to the mode
> and language of Canadian thought about human nature and human
> destiny and hence about Canadian culture.   78

Clark's church and sect idea is dismissed by French, who claims that the

religious communions were held together by their distinctive aims as determined by

their transatlantic historical backgrounds. Specifically, he writes, the Anglican,

Presbyterian, and to a lesser extent the Methodist churches, were closely linked

with their respective British heritages and "developed in some measure in the con-
                                                       79
text of the intellectual evolution of British culture."

The religious tradition which informed the Canadian churches, French argues,

was the evangelical creed. The evangelical looked to culture to reinforce God's

design on earth and rejected as unworthy all ideas and institutions which did not

further this design. Thus the demand made in the Union period for non-denominational

schools was conditioned by the evangelical's desire to inculcate Christian ideals

and establish a Canadian national character regardless of denominational prejudices.

Similarly they felt the need for a body of national literature which reflected the
                                                                                  80
ideas and character of the people with specific reference to their common Christianity.

. . . .

What was truly distinguishing about the evangelical creed, French claims, was

the evangelical's historical consciousness. History to the evangelical was a con-

tinual process of God coming forth at certain times to save 'true religion' from

the sinfulness of men. This idea promoted a strong sense of history ('when had this

happened in the past'), and a traditional perspective in the evangelical's understanding
                                                                                       81
of human knowledge and the evolutionary nature of religious doctrine.

French's discussion of the historical awareness of the evangelical is very

applicable to Brown. Brown's understanding of religion and society was conditioned

by his respect for history. By invoking the ideal of the traditional Christian

community and placing it front and center in his historical consciousness, Brown reconciled the inherent conflict between the sacred and the secular in his own world. This historicism was developed by the use of an organic argument in which events (the Reformation, the Revolution, the Disruption) were integrated into a totality (the Christian community) that was greater than, or qualitatively different from, the sum of its parts. [82] To Brown, history not only provided a set of norms by which to measure the passage of current events;it was an irreducibly real phenomenon,a presence that held validity in the contemporary world. His historicism conforms to Mannheim's definition of the conservative utopian mind which makes use of history "in the discovery of time as the creator of value". Time, to the conservative, is not a single point on a linear progression from the past to the future; it has "an imaginary third dimension which it derives from the fact that the past is experienced as virtually present". [83] Mircea Eliade links the concept of history with myth in a religious vision:

> ...the recollection of a historical event or a real personage
> survives in popular memory for two or three centuries at the
> utmost. This is because popular memory finds difficulty in
> retaining individual events and real figures. ...The historical
> personage is assimilated to his mythical model, while the
> event is identified with the category of mythical actions...   [84]

Brown's continual reference to the Reformation was his attempt to construct "a fully integrated community realizable iN historical time". [85] But the Reformation was only an element of the whole, a historical period in which the Christian community had been realized on earth. As such it was idealized by Brown, and was accordingly raised to the level of myth, or "banished to a realm beyond history" [86] as Mannheim says.

Mannheim sees such idealization as myths and therefore dismisses them as the wicked tools of the idealogue. However, as Charles Sanford points out, myth is not necessarily a deception. History is loaded with myth, he writes, because it moves "in the mass, and mass psychology is peculiarly dependent on myth".

> To the true believer myth is not a fiction, but a "retrospective, ever-present, living actuality" which puts humankind in touch with some transcendent reality. [87]

This understanding of the word 'myth' gives us an insight into Brown's religious thought. Religion is peculiarly dependent on myth because it reveals an aspect of the human condition that is not determined by time and place. Eliade writes about 'cosmogonic myths' which account for the creation of the universe, nature, and man. These myths suggest a historical perspective with an initiating event; taken as a whole they represent a "sacred history", the totality of significant myth. This sacred history is "fundamental because it explains, and by the same token justifies, the existence [88] of the world, of man, and of society." The implication here must be drawn out; by premising its knowledge of time on myth, religion provides a transcendent reality. That is to say, it confers "meaning" on man's drives and experiences by positing the notion that there is something "irreducibly real" in the world. As Eliade writes:

> Through the experience of the sacred, the human mind grasps the difference between that which reveals itself as real, powerful, rich and meaningful, and that which does not--i.e. the chaotic and dangerous flux of things, their fortuitous and meaningless appearances and disappearances. [89]

Brown's Reformation belongs in this realm of sacred history. The Reformation world that he 'knew' did not exist as what we moderns call a historical reality. That the Reformation took place is indisputable, but that it was as concrete as Brown claimed is open to question so long as we continue to operate only in historical (secular) time. In effect Brown's Reformation consciousness was a product of two concepts of time, the secular and the sacred. In secular time the Reformation took place in the sixteenth century; it was a historical moment that had existed before Brown walked the earth-- that is to say, it was a part of the past, of history. However in sacred time, which I maintain is the manner in which Brown viewed the matter, the Reformation was a re-living of that moment in which God imparted His wisdom to man, and faith informed the community. In perpetuating this myth in the nineteenth century, Brown was

consciously attempting to resurrect the ideal of faith informing the community. In French's words, Brown saw the spirit of God coming forth to purify the community, saving true religion from His enemies. Brown was not so simple-minded as to think that man could return to the sixteenth century, nor did he think they had to in order to be saved; but he did believe that the spirit alive at that time, as a manifestation of the sacred, could be re-established. Brown's myth, faith determining social culture, abolished history in its secular aspect by positing the idea of the sacred as a totality which existed beyond the realm of time and space: it had existed and it would do so again because it was always attainable when men ascended to it.

To Brown the way to God's service was realized through faith in God's eternal wisdom informing man's actions. Religion was the only means of unifying the community he believed, because it alone held a personal as well as a social message, both conditioned by faith in God. God was a reality, a living actuality to Brown-- the presence of God in the universe formed the nucleus of Brown's understanding of himself and the world. Wilfred Cantwell-Smith in his book Belief and History discusses the term 'belief' in relation to the concept of faith. From the seventeenth down to the nineteenth century the term 'belief' in its religious connotations meant a loyal pledging to God's service; "Belief in truth" he argues, meant loyalty to what one knew to be indisputable.[90] However modern men have altered the meaning of 'belief', making it into a term that implies assent to rational propositions. But, Cantwell-Smith argues, what a man or a culture takes for granted can never be formulated into propositions. When moderns began using the term 'belief' as one implying assent they gave it an innovative meaning and this meaning has had a disasterrous affect on the concept of faith. The modern usage, Smith claims, has led to a fundamental re-ordering of the Christian viewpoint where one must now 'believe' in God to have faith in Him. Such an ordering, he writes, is backward:"We must first come to Him and only then believe in Him".

> Belief follows after faith...This is radically more healthy than
> the notion that has gained ground in Western society that one must
> first believe in order to have faith; that believing is the price
> that one must pay. If there be any entrance fee for faith, this
> is not it,...it would not be too fanciful to think of faith as in
> the first instance insight. Faith at this level is the ability
> to see.   91

I have argued with Goldwin French and others that faith moulds society, in-

tegrating the personal with the communal. The development of a society depends upon

the erection of a body of knowledge, or a set of precepts, which informs the individuals

making up the community; in short, the creation of a culture. A common way of life .

implies a common view of life, common standards of behavior and values, and so on.

Christopher Dawson is of the opinion that all cultures are informed by the sacred;

a "religious law of life". He claims that the first creative acts in a culture are

"due to a religious inspiration and dedicated to a religious end" and that this is

also true when the culture establishes "social institutions". "Throughout the greater

part of mankinds' history...religion has been the great unifying force in culture. It

has been the guardian of tradition, the preserver of the moral law, the educator and
                            92
teacher of wisdom." Furthermore, he argues, as a culture represents a natural way of

life "it reflects a distinct aspect of reality" with its own scale of values which

provide a means of approaching transcendent truth "and opens, as it were, a new

window to heaven as well as to earth".

> Every way of life is therefore a potential way to God, since the
> life that it seeks is not confined to material satisfaction and
> animal activities but reaches out beyond itself towards eternal
> life. ...The way of life must be a way of the service of God.
> Otherwise it will be a way of death.   93

This, I think, fairly explains Brown's mission in Upper Canada. Grounded

by his faith in God and conditioned by his respect for history, Brown attempted to

portray a "way of life" that was a way of service to God. His demand that all

social institutions should be pervaded by a religious sense bespoke an allegiance

to a set of precepts he found residing in all Christian cultures. As a journalist

he was committed to expressing opinions on a wide variety of topics and he always

144.

attempted to promote the Scriptural, Christian view of the matter.   Brown took

his task seriously, and he was determined to stand on the side of truth.   He was of

the opinion "that the Press never ought to occupy an equivocal position, but should

speak out honestly and fully the views of its conductors. "

> Come weal, come woe, he who has controul of a Public Journal
> has a responsibility of no ordinary character, and must urge only
> what he believes to be the claims of truth.   94

. . . .

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. "Attack by the _Patriot_ on the Free Church of Scotland," 23/4/47

2. "The Past Year," 8/1/47

3. See Chapter two above, pages 36,37 and the accompanying footnotes.

4. Libertas, _The Fame and Glory of England Vindicated: Being An Answer to 'The Glory and Shame of England'_ (N.Y.: Wiley&Putman 1842), p.177

5. "Religious Establishments," 22/8/45

6. "The Clergy Reserves Question," 15/8/45

7. "Religious Department," 18/8/43

8. George Marsden, _The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience_ (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press 1970), pp.230-9

9. Robert Candlish, "John Knox, His Time and His Work," Edinburgh 1846

10. "Religious Department," 5/1/44

11. "What Has Religion to Do With Politics?" 16/4/47

12. "The Prussian System-Despotism," 29/1/47

13. "What Has Religion to Do With Politics?" 16/4/47

14. John Moir, _The Church in the British Era_ (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson 1972)

15. John Moir, "The Upper Canadian Roots of Church Disestablishment," _O.H._, 60 (1968)

16. John Moir, _Church and State in Canada West_ (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press 1959)

17. John Moir, "The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition," in _Profiles of a Province_ ed. Edith Firth (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society 1967?)

18. John Moir, _Church and State in Canada West_ p.3

19. _ibid._ p.74

20. _ibid._ p.150

21. _ibid._ p.105

22. _ibid._ p.xv

23. Moir, _Church in the British Era_ p.3

24. _ibid._ p.3

25. _ibid._ p.143

26. _ibid._ p.111

Footnotes, continued.

27. ibid. p.108

28. ibid. p.85

29. ibid. p.110

30. John Moir,   Enduring Witness (Toronto: Bryant Press 1974), p.121

31. ibid. p.122

32. ibid. p.135

33. ibid. p.143

34. Karl Mannheim,   Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge,
     trans. Louis Wirth&Edward Shils (1936; rpt. N.Y.: Harcourt,
     Brace&World 1964), pp.56-61

35. ibid. pp.192-204

36. H.R. Niebuhr,   The Social Sources of Denominationalism, 2nd.ed. (N.Y.: Meridian
     Books 1957), p.18

37. S.D. Clark,   Church and Sect in Canada, 2nd.ed. (Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press
     1965), pp.93-131

38. ibid. pp.146-170

39. ibid. p.223

40. F.H. Armstrong,   "Metropolitanism and Toronto Re-examined 1825-1850," C.H.A.R.,1966

41. "Letter on King's College," 27/3/46

42. "Evangelical Alliance," 3/4/46

43. See chapter two above, pages 38-41 for a discussion of the Evangelical Allaince.

44. Max Weber,   The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott
     Parsons (N.Y.: Charles Scribners&Sons 1958), p.90

45. ibid. p.224

46. ibid. pp.160-4

47. Clifford Griffin,   "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1818-1860,"
     M.V.H.R., 44 (1957), p.425

48. ibid. p.444

49. A.Allen MacLaren,   Religion and Social Class (London: Routledge&Kegan Paul 1974),
     p.27

50. ibid. p.50

51. Joseph Gusfield,   Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance
     Movement (Urbana: Univ. Chicago Press 1963), p.3

52. ibid. p.58

53. J. Clemens,   "Taste Not; Touch Not; Handle Not: A Study of the Social Assumptions
     of Temperance Literature and Temperance Supporters in Canada West
     Between 1839 and 1859," O.H., 64 (1972), p.143

54. ibid. p.149

55. M.C. Decarie,   "Paved With Good Intentions," O.H., 66 (1974), p.18

Footnotes, continued.

56. Susan Houston,   "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada,"
                      C.H.R., 53 (1972), p.251, 261

57. Egerton Ryerson, quoted in ibid. p.265

58. Allen Greer,   "The Sunday Schools of Upper Canada," O.H., 67 (1975), p.178

59. "The Past Year," 8/1/47

60. Lois Banner,   "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an
                      Interpretation," J.A.H., 60 (1973), p.35

61. ibid. p.40

62. Timothy Smith,   Revivalism and Social Reform (N.Y.:Abingdon Press 1957), p.8

63. George Marsden,   The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience
                      (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press 1970), p.235

64. ibid. "preface"

65. Howard Temperly,   British Anti-Slavery 1833-1870 (London: Longmans 1972), p.73

66. Richard Carwardine,   Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelism in Britain
                      and America 1790-1865 (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press 1978)

67. Janet Noel,   "Temperance Evangelism: Drink, Religion, and Reform in the Province
                      of Canada 1840-1854", M.A. Thesis University of Ottawa 1978

68. Goldwin French,   'review' of "A History of the Christian Church in Canada,"
                      Acadiensis, 2 (1973), p.97

69. ibid. p.98

70. ibid. p.98

71. Goldwin French,   "The Impact of Christianity on Canadian Culture and Society
                      Before 1867," Theological Bulletin, McMaster Divinity
                      College, 3 (1968), p.16

72. ibid. p.34

73. ibid. p.18

74. William E. Westfall,   "The Sacred and the Secular: Studies in the Cultural
                      History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period",
                      PhD Thesis University of Toronto 1976, pp.155-59

75. ibid. p.75

76. ibid. p.140

77. ibid. p.240

78. Goldwin French,   "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in The Shield of Achilles,
                      ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland&Stewart 1968), p.16

79. ibid. p.20

80. ibid. p.31

81. ibid. p.27

82. Hayden White,   Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century
                      Europe (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press 1973), pp.1-20

83. Mannheim, op.cit. pp.230-5

84. Mircea Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return:or, Cosmos and History,
trans. W.R. Trusk 2nd.ed. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press 1973),
p.43

85. White, op.cit. p.23

86. Mannheim, op.cit. pp.230-5

87. Charles Sanford, The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination
(Glencoe: Univ. Illinois Press 1961), p.25

88. Mircea Eliade, The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion (Chicago: Univ. Chicago
Press 1969), p.76

89. ibid, "preface"

90. Wilfred Cantwell-Smith, Belief and History (Charlottesville: Univ. Virginia Press
1977), pp.44-65

91. ibid. p.79

92. Christopher Dawson, Religion and Culture (London: Sheed&Ward 1949), p.47

93. ibid. p.62

94. "Mr. Buchanan's Letter," 5/1/44

AFTERWORD

The _Banner_ ceased publication in the summer of 1848. The immediate cause of the papers' demise is unknown but a number of factors indicate financial failure. In January 1847 Brown issued an appeal to the public for greater support, claiming that the paper was "entitled to the support of the great bodies of Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Evangelical English Churchmen, as well as Presbyterians". It was a desparate plea; the editor needed to double his subscription list of 3,000 if he was to continue the enterprise. His hope that the _Banner_ would become the recog-nized voice of the Free Church of Canada was dashed in 1848 when the _Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record_ became that body's official organ. Furthermore it appears that Brown was a poor businessman; the obituary notice of his death in the _Globe_ claimed that he "did not possess the faculty for business detail...and his proud spirit un-fitted him for meeting difficulties which the lack of that faculty entailed". Finally George Brown's _Globe_ was becoming the major operation of the office on Yonge Street and demanded the attention of all three Brown's.

Peter Brown maintained his interest in religion, politics, and the various benevolent causes he had supported in his years at the _Banner_. The _Globe_ obituary mentioned "the uprightness of his character, his love of justice, his hatred of wrong, his clear judgement, his manly firmness, and his genuine kindness of heart."

> As a writer he was vigorous and logical in thought, bold in expression, but ever, even in the heat of controversy, kind and courteous in his language. There are hundreds yet living in the backwoods and towns of Canada who talk with enthusiasm of his editorials in the _Banner_... 4

However it was the person Peter Brown, and not the public figure, who died on the thirtieth day of June in 1863. In a letter to a relative dated the second of July, his son George spoke of the last hour of Peter Brown's life. "my poor dear Father has gone to his rest", he began:

We have just returned from the last sad scene & I avail myself of
a few minutes to write you these lines, though in a very unfit state
for letter writing. ...I have called him poor--but the word is
little applicable to him. He passed away from this world to the
next as man ever did. Up to within five minutes of his death he
was as bright & firm in his intellect as he ever was in his life--
and he looked death fearlessly--rejoicingly--in the face. He
asked the Medical attendant--"Doctor, is this death?"--"Yes, Mr.
Brown". "Will it be soon, Doctor?"--"Very soon, Mr. Brown".
"Ah, well, I am ready--I will soon be with dear Mother & Katie."
--and then he prayed feverently for a few seconds, & spoke as
confidently & naturally of what was coming as of any ordinary
incident. I never saw Christianity <u>lived</u> <u>out</u> in such a way before.
It was genuine faith. Altogether, except for the sorrow of part-
ing, his death was only a subject of rejoicing. He had lived to
a good old age--his mind was fresh--he had dearly loved ones gone
before--& he was resting solely & undoubtingly on the death &
mediation of his Saviour. Why are we not to rejoice over such
a death?   5

....

1. "Increase the circulation of the <u>Banner</u>," 1/1/47
2. "Death of Mr. Peter Brown," <u>Globe</u>, 1/7/63
3. J.M.S. Careless,   "Peter Brown," <u>D.C.B.</u>, IX, p.88
4. "Death of Mr. Peter Brown,"
5. George Brown to Mrs. Nelson, 2/7/1863. Brown Papers, PAC vol.4, pp.768-771

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

a) Personal Papers:
    Issac Buchanan Papers, PAC

    George Brown Papers, PAC

    William King Papers, PAC

b) Church Records:
    Free Church of Scotland: Colonial Committee, Minutes 1843-1870   UCA

    Presbyterian Church of Canada,   Minutes of Synod 1844-1861   UCA

    Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, Minutes of Synod
                                                                                    UCA

c) Newspapers:
    Toronto Banner   PAC

d) Printed Sermons:
    Alexander, John.   "Who is Sufficient?" Brantford: Herard Book Co. 1854

    Antliff, William.   "Woman: Her Position and Mission? Haslingden, U.K. 1856

    Armstrong, W.D.   "The Christian Ministry in relation to Politics and Public Questions"
                         Ottawa 1889

    Bayne, John.   "Is Man Responsible for His Beliefs?" Galt 1851

    Bruce, John.   "Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's Free Church, Edinburgh November 22,1844.
                    Being the Sabbath Succeeding the Funeral of John Abercrombie First
                    Phyisician to Her Majesty in Scotland." Edinburgh 1844

    Burns, Robert.   "A Plea for the Poor of Scotland, and for an Inquiry into their Conditio:
                      Paisley 1841

                      "A Letter Addressed to the Ministers and Elders of the Synod of Canada."
                      Montreal 1844

    Candlish, Robert.   "John Knox, His Time and His Work." Edinburgh 1846

    Chalmers, Thomas.   "An Earnest Appeal to the Free Church of Scotland on the subject
                          of its Economics." Phil. 1847 (from the second Edin. edition)

Clarke, Adam.   "Salvation by Faith Proved; Or, An Answer to the Important Question
                   What Must I Do to be Saved." London, U.K. 1819

Day, Fisher.   "A Sermon on the Love of God to Man Manifested through Jesus Christ."

Duff, Alexander.   "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ as
                      illustrated in the History of the Church of Scotland." Edin. 1844

Esson, Henry.   "An Appeal to the Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Church
                   Under the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Canada." Montreal 1844

Finlay, James.   "The Gospel a Sweet Savour of Christ." Bytown 1850

George, James.   "Moral Courage" Kingston, C.W. 1856

Gordon, Henry.   "Christ as Redeemer, the Delegated King and Head of Creation."
                    London 1851

Green, James.   "The Bible and Popery; or, incidents of Bible distribution from the
                   Reformation to the present time." Montreal 1877

Hall, A.G.   "Progress: A Discourse" Rochester 1853

Hamilton, James.   "Farewell to Egypt." Montreal 1844

                      "The Trials and Triumphs of the Free Church of Scotland--The Harp
                      on the Willows." Montreal 1844

Holt, E.   "Union of Christians Essential to the World's Conversion" N.Y. 1836

Inglis, David.   "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation." Hamilton 1866

Johnson, J.H.   "The Christian Ministry." Brockville 1850

Kemp, A.F.   "The Beneficial Influence of a well-regulated Nationality." Montreal 18

MacGill, Robert.   "Brief Note on the Relation of the Synod of Canada to the Church
                      of Scotland." Niagara 1844

McCaul, John.   "Emigration to a Better Country." Toronto 1842

McLaren, William.   "The Unity of the Human Race." Belleville 1860

Mesoc, Thomas.   "The Destiny of the Anglo-Saxon Colonies." London 1861

Morrison, Duncan.   "The Glorious Future of Canada." Owen Sound 1872

Munro, Alexander.   "The Source and Tendency of Popery." Glasgow 1831

Parker, John.   "Papal Aggression and Tractarian Preparation for it." Bristol 1850

Sutherland, Alexander. "Politics and Christianity; or, Scripture Doctrine of Civil
                        Government." Hamilton 1866

Wallace, Robert.   "Remarks Upon the Late Disruption and Present Position of the
                     Synod of Canada." Toronto 1844

Wardlay, Ralph.   "An Essay on Benevolent Assosciations for the Relief of the Poor."
                     Glasgow 1818

Wardrope, Thomas.   "The Present War." Ottawa 1855

Welch, Charles.   "The Prosperity and Stability of a Christian Church." London 1830

Wilson,A.   "A Sermon Preached July 12,1855 in the Brock Street Presbyterian Church,
             Kingston, Before the Loyal Orange Lodges of the Midland District.'
             Kingston 1855

Secondary Sources:

a) American and British, Sacred and Secular Works:

   Ahlstrom, S.E.   A Religious History of the American People. New Haven: Yale Univ
                                                                  Press,1972

   Altholz, Jossef.   The Churches in the Nineteenth Century. N.Y.:Bobbs-Merrill,196

   Altick, Richard.   Victorian People and Ideas,. N.Y.:W.W. Norton, 1973

   Banner, Lois.   "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an
                     Interpretation." J.A.H. 60 (1973) 23-42

   Barzun, Jacques.   Darwin, Marx, Wagner: Critique of a Heritage. 2nd. edition NY:
                        Anchor Books, 1958

   Bendix, Reinhard.   Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. 2nd.edition Berkley:
                        Univ. California Press, 1977

   Burleigh, J.A.S.   A Church History of Scotland. London: oxford Univ. Press,1960

   Cantwell-Smith, William.   Belief and History. Charlottesvilee, Virg.: Univ.
                                Virg. Press, 1977

   Carwardine, Richard.   Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelism in Britain
                            and America 1790-1865. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press,19

   Chadwick, Owen.   The Reformation London: Pelican Books,1964

   Chalmers, R.C.   "The Active Character of Calvinism." Canadian Journal of Theolog
                      2 (1956) 27-35

   Collins, George.   "The Free Church: An Outline of its History and Witness."
                        in Hold Fast Your Confession. ed. D. Macleod. Edinburgh:
                        Knox Press, 1978, pp,9-21

Cragg, Gerald.   The Church and the Age of Reason.   2nd. edition. London: Penguin Books,
1972

Dawson, Christopher.   Religion and Culture. London: Sheed & Ward, 1949

Donaldson, Gordon.   The Scottish Reformation. Cambridge: Univ. Cambridge Press, 1960

Drummond, Andrew &   The Scottish Church 1688-1843. Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1973
Bulloch, James.   The Church in Victorian Scotland. Edinburgh: St. Andrew's Press, 1974

Eliade, Mircea.   The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion. Glencoe: Univ. Chicago Press
1969

                   The Myth of Eternal Return: or, Cosmos and History. trans. W.R. Trask.
                   2nd. paper edition. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1974

Elliot-Binns, E.   Religion in the Victorian Era. 2nd. edition London: Lutterworth Press, 1964

Graham, Clement.   "The Westminster Confession of Faith." in Hold Fast Your Confession.
                   ed. D. Macleod. Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1978, pp.21-43

Griffin, Clifford.   "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815-1860.", M.V.H.R. 44 (19:
                     423-445

Gusfeild, Joseph.   Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement.
                    Urbana: Univ. Illinois Press, 1963

Haller, William.   The Rise of Puritanism. 2nd. edition. N.Y.: Harper Torchbooks, 1957

Harrison, J.F.C.   The Early Victorians. London: Panther Books, 1973

Kelley, Robert.   The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal Democratic Mind in the Age of
                  Gladstone. N.Y. Alfred A. Knopf, 1969

Langford, Thomas.   "John Wesley's Doctrine of Sanctification." Papers, Canadian Methodist,
                    Historical Society Toronto: (unpublished CMHS) 1978

Lehmann, William.   Scottish and Scotch-Irish Contributions to Early American Life and
                    Culture. Pt. Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1978

Leith, John.   Assembly at Westminster: Reformed Theology in the Making. Richmond, Virg:
               John Knox Press, 1973

Littell, F.H.   From State Church to Pluralism. Chicago: Adline Pub. Co., 1962

Macleod, John.   Scottish Theology. 3rd. edition. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1974

Macleod, Neil.   "Church and State." in Hold Fast Your Confession. ed. D. Macleod
                 Edinburgh: Knox Press, 1978 pp.43-73

MacLaren, A.Allen.   Religion and Social Class. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974

Mannheim, Karl.   Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge.
                    trans. Louis Wirth & Edward Shils. (1936) rpt. N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace &.
                    World, 1964

Marsden, George.   The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience.
                    New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970

McCoy, F.N.   Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation. L.A.: Univ. California Press
                    1974

Mechie, Stewart.   The Church and Scottish Social Development. London: Oxford Univ. Press
                    1960

Neill, Stephen.   A History of Christian Missions. 2nd. edition. London: Pelican Boooks
                    1966

        Colonialism and Christian Missions. London: Lutterworth Press, 1966

Niebuhr, H. Richard.   The Social Sources of Denominationalism. 2nd. edition.
                    N.Y.:Meridian Books, 1957

Reeve, Ronald.   "John Wesley, Charles Simeon, and the Evangelical Revival." Canadian
                    Journal of Theology 2 (1956) 203-215

Sanford, Charles.   The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination.
                    Glencoe: Univ. Illinois Press, 1961

Shepard, Victor.   "Calvin's Doctrine of Church, Ministry, and Sacraments." Papers,
                    Canadian Methodist Historical Society Toronto: (unpublished CMHS) 1978

Smith, Timothy.   Revivalism and Social Reform. N.Y.: Abingdon Press, 1957

Temperly, Howard.   British Anti-Slavery 1833-1870. London: Longmans, 1972

Vidler, Alec.   The Church in an Age of Revolution. 2nd. edition. London: Penguin Books
                    1965

Watt, Hugh.   Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1943

Weber, Max.   The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. trans. Talcott Parsons.
                    (1958) rpt. N.Y.: Charles Scribners,1976

Welch, Claude.   Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century 1799-1870. New Haven:
                    Yale Univ. Press, 1972

White, Hayden.   Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe.
                    Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973

Wills, Garry.   Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence. N.Y.: Doubleday
                    1978

Secondary Sources:
b) Canadian, Sacred and Secular Works:

Armstrong, F.H.   "Metropolitanism and Toronto Re-examined 1825-1850." C.H.A.R. Toronto
                   1966, 29-41

Banks, John.   "American Presbyterians in the Niagara Penninsula 1800-1840." O.H. 57 (1965)
                                                                            135-141

Bell, David V.J.   "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada." J.C.S. 5 (1970) 22-34

Bill, Beatrice   "The Influence of the Frontier on the Church of England in Canada."
                  M.A. thesis. Bishops Univ., 1951

Careless, J.M.S.   "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History." C.H.R. 35 (1954),
                                                                           1-22

                    Brown of the Globe vol.1. (1959) rpt. Toronto: Macmillan, 1966

                    "Metropolitanism ans Nationalism". in Nationalism in Canada,
                    ed. Peter Russell. Toronto: Macmillan, 1966

                    The Union of the Canadas. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967

Clark, S.D.   Church and Sect in Canada. 2nd. edition. Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1965

Cook, Terry.   "John Beverly Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for the Upper
                Canadian Community." in Historical Essays on Upper Canada ed. J.K. Johnson
                Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975, pp.338-360

Copp, Terry.   "The Whig Interpretation of Canadian History." Canadian Dimension 6 (1969),
                                                                23-25

Evans, A.M.   "William Bell: Upper Canadian Pioneer." in Called to Witness. ed. W.S. Reid
               Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 195, pp.128-143

Fallis, Lawrence.   "The Idea of Progress in the Province of Canada." in Shield of Achille:
                     ed. W.L. Morton. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968, pp.169-184

Fingard, Judith.   "The Winter's Tale: Contours of Pre-Industrial Poverty in British North
                    America 1815-1860." C.H.A.H.P. 1974, 65-95

French, Goldwin.   Parsons and Politics. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962

                    "The Evangelical Cree in Canada." in Shield of Achilles. ed. W.L. Morton.
                    Toronto: McClelland& Stewart, 1968, pp.16-36

                    "The Impact of Christianity on Canadian Culture and Society Before 1867."
                    Theological Bulletin, McMaster Divinity College 3 (1968) 15-38

                    "review of A History of the Christian Church in Canada" Acadiensis 2 (197:
                                                                            91-98

Garland, M.A.   "Some Phases of Pioneer Religious Life in Upper Canada Before 1850."
                 O.H.S.P.R. 25 (1929) 231-248

Grant, J.W.　　　The Church in the Canadian Era, vol.III, A History of the Christian Church in Canada.　Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1972

"The grandfather of Confederation" United Church Observer. April, 1979, pp.19-2

Greer, Allan.　　"The Sunday Schools of Upper Canada." O.H. 67 (1975),169-184

Gregg, William.　Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.　Toronto: printed for the author, 1893

Harrison, Paul.　"Robert Burns: Founder of the Free Kirk in Upper Canada."　in Called to Witness.　ed. W.S. Reid.　Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1975 pp.141-161

Henderson, J.L.H.　"The Abominable Incubus: The Church as By Law Established" J.C.C.H.S. 11 (1969),58-67

Houston, Susan.　"Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada." C.H.R. 53 (1972), 249-272

Killbourn, William.　"The Writing of Canadian History to 1960." in Literary History of Canad ed. C. Klink.　2nd. edition.　Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1973 pp.496-519

Lucas, Glenn.　"Canadian Protestant Church History to 1973." Bulletin, United Church Archiv 23 (1974) 5-51

Mackenzie, J.　"John Bethune: The Founder of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada."　in Called to Witness.　ed. W.S. Reid.　Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1975, pp.95-11C

Masters, D.C.　The Rise of Toronto 1851-1891.　Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1947

Mealing, S.R.　"The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History." C.H.R. 46 (1965) 201-218

Moir, John.　Church and State in Canada West.　Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1959

Church and State in Canada 1627-1867.　Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967

"The Upper Canadian Religious Tradition." in Profiles of a Province ed. E. Firth.　Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967, pp.189-196

"The Upper Canadian Roots of Church Disestablishment." O.H. 60 (1968) 247-258

The Church in the British Era.　vol. II A History of the Christian Church in Canada.　Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1972

Enduring Witness.　Toronto: Bryant Press, 1974

Noel, Janet.　"Temperance Evangelism: Drink, Religion, and Reform in the Province of anada 1840-1854" M.A. thesis, Univ. Ottawa, 1978

Patterson, Graeme.   "Whiggery, Nationality, and the Upper Canadian Reform Tradition."
             CHR 56 (1975),23-45

Rea, J.E.   Bishop Alexander Macdonall and the Politics of Upper Canada. Toronto: Ontario
             Historical Society Publications, 1974

Royce, Marion.   "Arguments over the Education of Girls--Their Admission to the Grammar
             Schools in this Province." O.H. 67 (1975) ,1-14

Smith, Allan.   "Metaphor and Nationality in North America." C.H.R. 51 (1970), 247-276

Smith, N.G.   "By Schism Rent Asunder." Canadian Journal of Theology.1 (1955), 175-184

             "The Presbyterian Tradition in Canada." in The Churches and the Canadian
             Experience. ed. J.W. Grant. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963, pp.38-53

Talman, J.J.   "The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada." in Historical
             Essays on Upper Canada. ed. J.K. Johnson. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 197_
                                              pp.58-74

Thomas, Clara.   Ryerson of Upper Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969

Walsh. H.H.   "Research in Canadian Church History." C.H.R. 35 (1954), 208-217

             "Canada and the Church: A Job for the Historians." Queen's Quarterly 61 (1954)
                                              71-80

             The Christian Church in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956

             "A Canadian Christian Tradition." in The Churches and the Canadian Experience.
             ed. J.W. Grant. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963, pp.145-162

Westfall, W.E.   "The Sacred and the Secular: Studies in the Cultural History of Protestant
             Ontario in the Victorian Period." Diss., Univ. Toronto, 1976

Wilson, Alan.   The Clergy Reserves: A Canadian Mortmain. Toronto: Univ. Toronto Press, 1968

Wise, S.F.   "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition." in Profiles of a Province,
             ed. E.Firth. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967, pp.20-34

             "God's Peculiar People."in Shield of Achilles. ed. W.L. Morton. Toronto: McClella
             & Stewart, 1968, pp.36-62

END

0 1 0 9 8 2 1

FIN