

MORAL ORDER AND THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY

MORAL ORDER AND THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY
IN AN INDUSTRIAL CITY, 1890-1899: A SOCIAL PROFILE
OF THE PROTESTANT LAY LEADERS OF THREE HAMILTON
CHURCHES -- CENTENARY METHODIST, CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN
AND CHRIST'S CHURCH CATHEDRAL

By

PETER FRANCIS MACLEAN HANLON, B.A., M.L.S.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

October, 1984

MASTER OF ARTS (1984)
(History)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Moral Order and the Influence of Social Christianity
in an Industrial City, 1890-1899: A Social Profile
of the Protestant Lay Leaders of Three Hamilton
Churches -- Centenary Methodist, Central Presbyterian
and Christ's Church Cathedral

AUTHOR: Peter Francis Maclean Hanlon, B.A. (Concordia Univ.)
M.L.S. (McGill Univ.)

SUPERVISOR: Professor A.R. Allen

NUMBER OF PAGES: xi, 306

ABSTRACT

In the late nineteenth century, traditional Protestant social thought which stressed the idea of individual regeneration underwent a gradual readjustment to include the reforming impulse directed towards saving society from the collective ills of industrial life. In order to understand more precisely the origin and nature of this transformation, this study examines the social composition of three Hamilton churches -- Centenary Methodist, Central Presbyterian and Christ's Church Cathedral -- from 1890 to 1899, a critical decade in the history of religious and secular arrangements in Canada. It is premised on the proposition that local congregations provided the immediate context in which the new social gospel was often developed; they were the recipients of its message and their susceptibility to it would deeply affect its future course.

This study belies the uncritical view of businessmen as heroic "Captains of Industry" or as unfeeling exploiters of an underprivileged working class. The high degree to which most of the lay leaders participated in the business and spiritual affairs of their church and the range of their community interests is suggestive of the extent to which the sacred and the secular were intertwined. Drawn from the

middle classes, they saw themselves as directing agents responsible for the material, moral and social well-being of society. At the center of their belief system was the notion that practical consistency in character and conduct must form the basis of a rational capitalistic organization of industrial labor. While most of the lay leaders would never make the shift to the social gospel associated with the new liberalism, their action in manifesting a robust Protestant spirit engaged with social ills as they saw them clearly set a mood of social optimism and a style of activism on which the social gospel could thrive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of this project, I received a great deal of assistance from a number of individuals. I would particularly like to thank Irene whose friendship "survives through all sorrow and remains steadfast with [me] through all changes." Her unselfish support through these difficult and painful years literally made this thesis possible.

A very special thanks goes to my thesis supervisor, Dr. A.R. Allen, for his kindness and encouragement, for his painstaking reading of the manuscript in its various stages of production and for his substantive suggestions and exacting standards which guided me through a complex but fascinating aspect of Canadian social, religious and intellectual history.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to the other members of my Thesis Committee. To Dr. D.P. Gagan for his penetrating comments on my presentation and interpretation of the numerical data which I hope have resulted in a clearer and more precise description of the social characteristics of the three congregations and their lay leadership. And to Dr. E. Beame for his general remarks on style and organization as well as for his comments on Chapter VI.

To the members of my Oral Defense Committee, Dr. A.R. Allen, Dr. A. Cassels, Dr. D.P. Gagan and Dr. J.H. Trueman of the Department of History, and Dr. J.J. Mol of Religious Studies, my sincere appreciation for their time and their interest in my research.

Further, I am indebted to the following: the late Reverend George Soutar of Centenary United Church for the privilege of consulting the minute books of the Women's Missionary Society and for his other kindnesses; the former pastor of Central Presbyterian Church, Rev. Dr. A. Lorne Mackay, and his secretary, Miss Mary Laing, for allowing me free and unlimited access to the church's archives; Rt. Rev. John Bothwell, Bishop of Niagara, and his secretary, Mrs. J.H. Nunn, for so kindly permitting me the use of the diocese's annual reports; Rev. Glen Lucas, Archivist-Historian, United Church of Canada Archives, Victoria University in the University of Toronto, for his splendid cooperation; Mr. S.G. Hollowell, Records Administrator, Hamilton City Hall, for permission to work with the assessment rolls and city directories and for his prompt and courteous attention to my many inquiries; Mr. J. Stewart Callaghan for so kindly lending me The Story of the Years, a biography of his late grandfather, the prominent industrialist and notable lay leader of Centenary Methodist Church, James Orr Callaghan; the staff of the Reference

Department of the Hamilton Public Library and especially Miss Katharine Greenfield, former Head of Special Collections, and her staff who so readily and cheerfully brought me file after file of biographical and other data on late nineteenth century Hamilton and its Protestant lay elite; Mrs. Charlotte Stewart and the staff of the William B. Ready Division of Archives and Special Collections, Mills Library, McMaster University, for all their help when I was consulting the records of Christ's Church Cathedral; the National Archives of Canada; Ms. Grietje Freeseemann, formerly of the Winnipeg Public Library, who so efficiently and pleasantly serviced practically all of my inter-library loan requests and the staff of the Reference and Newspaper Divisions of the National Library of Canada who cooperated so well with Grietje's and my own requests for information.

Finally, a general word of thanks to those other individuals whom I spoke with during my research but whose valuable information I was unable to incorporate into my work. I hope to use that knowledge at some later date.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I Introduction: The Problem and the Historiographical Background	1
Chapter II The Urban Setting and the Congregational Social Structures	
Commercial and Industrial Background	19
General Religious Background	24
Historical Background of the Three Churches	31
The Congregational Social Structures	46
Chapter III The Lay Elite in Church and City	
The Social Characteristics of the Lay Elite	63
Church Activity	77
Public Affairs	85
Voluntary Associations	94
Education	104
The Ethos of the Denominations	109
Chapter IV Lay Activity: Philanthropy and Charity	
Social Welfare and Health	113
Charity	128
Philanthropy and the Evangelical Impulse	136
Wealth and Philanthropy	143
Chapter V Lay Activity: Moral Order in the Industrial City	
Temperance and Prohibition	161
Other Moral Reforms	175
Moral Order and the City	180
Capital and Labor	192
Chapter VI The Message of the Clergy	
The Conception of God, History and Human Nature	209
The Protestant Ethic -- Private and Public Morality	222
The Protestant Ethic -- Economic Action	229
Philanthropy and the Moral Order	241
The Clergy and the Laity: a Common Calling	251
Chapter VII Conclusion	257

TABLES, FIGURES AND APPENDICES

Table 2-1	Population of Hamilton, 1851 to 1901, by Religion	25
Table 2-2	Occupational Classification of the Congregations, 1899	49
Table 2-3	Ward of Residence of the Congregations, 1899	50
Table 2-4	Property Values of the Congregations, 1899	54
Table 2-5	Property Status of the Congregations, 1899	55
Table 2-6	Property Status of Workers, 1899	56
Table 3-1	Birth Places of the Male Lay Leaders	67
Table 3-2	Comparison of the Male Lay Leaders' Occupations with their Fathers' or Guardians'	69
Table 3-3	Educational Level of the Male Lay Leaders	70
Table 3-4	Occupations of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899	72
Table 3-5	Wards of Residence of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899	74
Table 3-6	Property Values of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899	74
Table 3-7	Property Status of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with That of Their Congregations, 1899	76
Table 3-8	Public Presence of the Male Lay Leaders	86
Table 3-9	Distribution of Directorships Held by the Male Lay Leaders by Type of Enterprise	87
Table 3-10	Distribution of Public Offices Held by the Male Lay Leaders	90
Table 3-11	Property Values, 1899, of the Male Lay Leaders Who Held Public Office	91
Table 3-12	Distribution of Memberships of the Male Lay Leaders by Type of Voluntary Association	95
Table 3-13	Distribution of Memberships of the Female Lay Leaders by Type of Voluntary Association	96
Table 4-1	Property Values, 1899, and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders	145

Table 4-2	Property Status, 1899, and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders	146
Table 4-3	Property Values, 1899, and Ward of Residence of the Male Lay Leaders Involved in Philanthropy	147
Table 4-4	Directorships and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders	149
Figure 2-1	Location of Centenary and Central Churches and Christ's Church Cathedral in Relation to the Other Churches in the City	27
Figure 2-2	Centenary Methodist Church -- Distribution of the Congregation in Relation to the Location of the Church	51
Figure 2-3	Central Presbyterian Church -- Distribution of the Congregation in Relation to the Location of the Church	52
Figure 2-4	Christ's Church Cathedral - Distribution of the Congregation in Relation to the Location of the Church	53
Figure 2-5	Central Presbyterian Church -- Plan of Pews	58
Appendix I	Directory of Churches in Hamilton, 1899	269
Appendix II	Occupational Classification	272
Appendix III	Directory of the Lay Officers	277
Appendix IV	Voluntary Associations of the Male Lay Leaders: Details of Table 3-12	
	IV-1 Meliorative Associations	287
	IV-2 Economic, Occupational and Professional Associations	288
	IV-3 Cultural and Patriotic Societies	289
	IV-4 Fraternal Organizations	290
	IV-5 Social and Recreational Clubs	291
Appendix V	Voluntary Associations of the Female Lay Leaders: Details of Table 3-13	292
Bibliography		293

ABBREVIATIONS

CG	<u>Christian Guardian</u>
CPC	Central Presbyterian Church
CUC	Centenary United Church
HET	<u>Hamilton Evening Times</u>
HH	<u>Hamilton Herald</u>
HPLSC	Hamilton Public Library, Special Collections
HS	<u>Hamilton Spectator</u>
HT	<u>Hamilton Times</u>
HWS	<u>Hamilton Weekly Spectator</u>
HWT	<u>Hamilton Weekly Times</u>
IB	<u>Industrial Banner</u>
MLSC	Mills Library, William B. Ready Division of Archives and Special Collections, McMaster University
NCH	Niagara Church House, Hamilton, Ontario
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
TG	<u>Toronto Globe</u>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

In the late nineteenth century, traditional Protestant social thought which stressed the idea of individual regeneration underwent a gradual readjustment to include the reforming impulse directed towards saving society from the collective ills of industrial life. To date, accounts of this transition have concentrated on the clergy, the courts and press of the church. In order to understand more precisely the origin and nature of this transformation, however, local congregations must be scrutinized. They provided the immediate context in which the new social gospel was often developed; they were the recipients of its message and their susceptibility to it would deeply affect its future course.

This study will first examine three urban congregations of different traditions in terms of their social setting and social composition. It will then turn to the church officers of these congregations, examining the extent to which their leadership represented congregational social structure and attitudes, and the nature and extent of their public action. Finally, the study will examine the social message of their clergy. This should make it

possible to conclude how far the new social ideas and action corresponded to clerical positions and what factors, if any, qualified the full appropriation of social and religious ideas emanating from the pulpit.

The attempt to relate systematically the grass roots level of church life with the encompassing themes of Christian social and intellectual history appears to have no precedents in either the church history or the secular social-intellectual history of North America or Great Britain.¹ In Canada, neither the older denominational chronicles of Sanderson, McNeill, Vernon and others, nor the newer comprehensive church histories of Walsh, Moir and Grant pretend to such close analysis.² Concentrating on the shaping of national church development and paying the laity scant attention, they, nevertheless, offer propositions this study may in some measure test. One instance is John

¹Excluding two papers done as preliminary studies to such an undertaking by Jennifer Hamblin and Elizabeth M. Smyth. See pp. 14-15.

²Joseph Edward Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada, 2 vols. (Toronto: Briggs, 1908-1910); John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925 (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925); C.W. Vernon, The Old Church in the New Dominion: the Story of the Anglican Church in Canada (London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929); H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson, 1956); H.H. Walsh, John S. Moir, and John Webster Grant, A History of the Christian Church in Canada, 3 vols. (Toronto: Ryerson, 1966-1972). See Glenn Lucas' excellent bibliographical essay "Canadian Protestant Church History to 1973," United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, Bulletin 23(1974):5-50.

Grant's assertion that the social gospel was "essentially a bourgeois phenomenon" which "failed either to change the attitudes of the business community or to retain the allegiance of working men to the church."³

E.H. Oliver's The Winning of the Frontier (1930) appears to be the first attempt to study Canadian church history in terms of a single major theme -- the challenge of the rural and urban frontiers. However, it is in S.D. Clark's Church and Sect in Canada (1948) that the interaction of religious and social forces was first systematically examined. In it he puts forward the dynamic thesis of "conflict between forces of order and separation"⁴ that operate within and upon religious groups in response to the conditioning influence of the frontier, whether in the city or hinterland. This thesis is relevant to this study, especially given his definition of a frontier as an area in which new forms of economic enterprise are developing.⁵ Clark's work and a recent study by George Emery⁶ showing the

³John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1972), p. 103.

⁴S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1948), p. xii.

⁵The conditioning influence of the economic frontier is thoroughly explored in an earlier work by Clark entitled The Social Development of Canada (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1942).

⁶George N. Emery, "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914," Canadian Church Historical Society, Journal 19(1977):104-119.

effect of rapid industrialization on the social gospel in the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches, provoke the question as to the role of commercial and industrial leaders -- and economic classes generally -- in congregational life and in the mediation of rebellious impulses in society.

Studies of the social gospel in Canada by Crysdale, McNaught and Allen differ somewhat in their interpretation of how far the lay elite impeded or promoted the new social consensus in the church.⁷ William Magney is rather more explicit in documenting the rise between 1884 and 1914 of an influential body of Methodist laymen who worked closely with leading clergy in modernizing church structures and practices and saw social issues in more of a national than a social gospel perspective.⁸ Recent biographies of Newton Rowell and Sir Joseph Flavelle, and to a lesser extent John Northway, provide strong evidence of the religious convictions of such men in the social, economic and political realms. In addition, they give suggestive impressions of

⁷Stewart Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson, 1961); Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet in Politics: a Biography of J.S. Woodsworth (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1959); Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1971).

⁸William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, Bulletin 20(1968):3-95.

their roles in congregational life.⁹

Recent studies of the urban settings in which the church lay elite functioned have done little to explore the relationship of church and city. The first serious study of a Canadian city, D.C. Masters' The Rise of Toronto (1947), demonstrated the influence of dominant Protestant families on the city's development and suggested interesting correlations between Protestant leadership and social status. Michael Katz's social reconstruction of mid-nineteenth century Hamilton is helpful on the relation of religion, class, wealth, occupation, education and family.¹⁰ However, most works of urban historians ignore the role of religion. Alan Artibise's study of Winnipeg, for example, presents a one-dimensional portrait of the commercial elite as a "community of private money-makers" who had little sympathy for the human condition.¹¹

Despite the inattention of urban historians, one has

⁹Margaret Prang, N.W. Rowell: Ontario Nationalist (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1975); Michael Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire: the Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978); Alan Wilson, John Northway, a Blue Serge Canadian (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1965).

¹⁰Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1975).

¹¹Alan F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg: a Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1975).

only to look at the urban church censuses of the 1890's to see that a substantial proportion of the population attended church regularly.¹² The growing response to social discord in the latter part of the century and church programs in urban industrial centers suggest the usefulness of closer study of the urban congregation, especially of its lay leadership.

¹²On Sunday, 3 May 1896, the Toronto Globe sent a team of reporters to conduct a census of Toronto church attendance at both the morning and evening services. In the 203 churches surveyed, the staff counted no less than 123,991 worshippers. Deducting one-third for those who may have attended both services, actual attendance was somewhere between 44.18 and 46.39 percent of the population. -- "Church-Going Toronto" (TG, 5 May 1869, p.4). These percentages compare with 44.92 or 47.72 (depending on which civic population figure one uses) obtained from an earlier census of Toronto church-goers taken by the Globe in 1882.-- "Toronto Churches and Church Goers" (TG, 7 Feb 1882, p.3). The following table summarizes the Globe's findings:

Churches	203
Seating capacity	112 852
Total attendance	123 991
Actual attendance	82 661
Population of Toronto	178 185*
% of church goers	46.39

*"Population of the City of Toronto, 1834 to the Present, Taken from Civic Sources," Department of the City Clerk, Records and Archives Division, City Hall, Toronto. Note that population figures based on Toronto assessment returns are generally held to underestimate the actual population by 5 to 10 percent.

Of the three major denominations, the Methodists led with an overwhelming attendance of three-quarters of their membership, the Presbyterians were second with nearly two-thirds of their members in attendance, while less than one-third of the Anglicans attended church.

Although urban congregations must have contained members of the working class, recent historians have ignored the question, despite heroic efforts to portray workers in their full cultural context. Bryan Palmer's illuminating exploration of Hamilton working class life against the background of industrial capitalism, the most relevant example for this study, touches on the strong appeal of the Knights of Labor. However, he ruefully admits the lack of sustained discussion on the religious life of Hamilton's workers. Palmer confesses that the omission "could ultimately prove to be a major deficiency of this study, for the church may have served as a central institution breeding passivity, acquiescence, and accommodation. Or, looking in another direction, it may have lent force to an emerging critique of the social order and buttressed the working man's developing sense of injustice in the world of the industrial-capitalist city."¹³

	Methodists	Presbyterians	Anglicans
Nominal church membership**	32 505	27 449	46 084
Seating capacity	32 770	22 749	20 676
Total attendance	36 655	25 645	21 916
Actual attendance	24 437	17 097	14 611
% of churchgoers	75.17	62.28	31.70

**Census of Canada, 1891, I, 218.

¹³Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), pp. 238-239.

The histories of urban reform and social welfare in late Victorian and Edwardian Canada are more helpful in their allusion to the urban role of the church. In his City Below the Hill (1897), H.B. Ames, a notable churchman and leading figure in the YMCA in Montreal, provides a detailed census of the wretched housing and social conditions in a working class district of west end Montreal. His belief that poverty was a social condition and not a sign of sin or a stigma of worthlessness was a radical departure from generally held opinion. The attacks of the moral crusaders against organized sin aroused the ire of many citizens, including the opinionated former newspaper reporter, C.S. Clark. His book, Of Toronto the Good (1898), castigates the reformers as a bunch of sanctimonious nuisances. Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, in their The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company (1977), scornfully refer to the Protestant evangelicals who opposed Sunday street cars in Toronto as "the Saints" and "the forces of righteousness." Yet we still have very little information about religion and reform movements before World War I, particularly at the local level. Paul Rutherford's study of urban reform in Saving the Canadian City (1974), R.B. Splane on Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893 (1965), and Neil Sutherland on child welfare in Children in English-Canadian Society (1976) make little reference to the influence of the church. Sutherland's study, however,

includes statistical evidence which clearly indicates that the churches were heavily involved in efforts to alleviate urban poverty and child neglect.¹⁴ T.R. Morrison's dissertation on "The Child and Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario" (1971) devotes an entire chapter to applied Christianity and child welfare. His analysis of the characteristics of reformers provides additional evidence of Christianity as a creative force in social reform,¹⁵ as does the recent exploration of J.J. Kelso by Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman.¹⁶

Throughout this maze of literature one gains fleeting glimpses of late Victorian Protestant culture and the possibilities for enlarging our understanding of that period of Canadian society through its study. Recent dissertations by Neil Semple and William Westfall attempt to bring together and refocus some of the elements and provide the best background for this study. Although both were students of J. M. S. Careless, Semple is somewhat closer to the perspectives of urban history. He describes how, in the period 1854-84, the influence of urban culture and ideas and

¹⁴Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1976), p. 236.

¹⁵Terrence R. Morrison, "The Child and Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 1971), pp. 80-82.

¹⁶Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1981).

the changing social character of Methodist congregations revitalized the institutional church and placed it in partnership with the wealthy, progressive-minded business class which had come to dominate its membership.¹⁷ Westfall's article, "The Dominion of the Lord," describes how Protestant Ontario in the Victorian period sought to temper the extreme individualism and licensed selfishness of economic laissez-faire through the Gothic revival. Its soaring architectural elements translated divine revelation into perceptible forms thereby contributing to the stabilization of the social order and, at the same time, providing a logical expression of the young country's national aspirations.¹⁸

The relevant British and American literature contains little material on local congregations and their leaders but does suggest useful perspectives for examining Canadian Churches that still kept their eye on the old country. Desmond Bowen in The Idea of the Victorian Church (1968) argues that the Broad Church clergy, working through the Church of England and the Non-Conformist sects, established within the middle class a sense of national mission that

¹⁷Neil Austin Everett Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Central Canada, 1854-1884" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 1979).

¹⁸William E. de Villiers-Westfall, "The Dominion of the Lord: an Introduction to the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period." Queen's Quarterly 83(1976):47-70.

organized religion ought to reach the poor. The spirit of noblesse oblige provided the middle class with a service ethic strong enough to prevent the development of class warfare. K.S. Inglis in Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (1963) describes how the class structure of the English church and the dominance of wealth excluded the working man from involvement in church government. Each of these works suggests conclusions similar to those of this study.

A.I. Abell in The Urban Impact on American Protestantism (1943) concentrates on the organizational adaptations of the American church to the growth of cities, but does not elaborate on the congregations and lay leadership of these urban churches. In his Protestant Churches and Industrial America (1949), a recreation of the spectrum of Protestant attitudes concerning industrial development, Henry F. May proceeds on the assumption that social Christianity did not impress the business leaders. On the other hand, Clyde Griffen's investigation of the reaction of wealthy laymen to social Christianity in fifteen New York City congregations during the 1880s and 1890s demolishes May's assumption. He concludes that the "tolerance and support" of clerical advocates of social regeneration by the wealthy upper class "made social reform more respectable and

gained it a much wider hearing."¹⁹

Newer studies of late nineteenth century American churches are moving away from the national experience towards the local scene to identify and explain the variety of ways in which the churches respond to the challenge of the city. Robert D. Cross in his introduction to The Church and the City (1967) defines four general typologies of the churches' response to urbanization between 1865 and 1910. Of particular interest in this collection of source texts is Ray Stannard Baker's study of Trinity Church in New York, and W.S. Rainsford's recollection of crucial episodes during his early ministry at St. George's Church in New York, which provide valuable and contrasting insights into their lay leadership. The model congregation of the age, however, was the Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims in Brooklyn, New York, where Henry Ward Beecher became one of the most famous pulpit orators and lecturers in American history. Yet none of these newer studies undertake social profiles of congregations against the background of the city, or examine the internal social structure of the congregations, or the social ideas and actions of the leading laity. Recent works have marked the need for systematic study of local congregations. A new literature is growing up around class, leisure and culture which deals with the church in terms of

¹⁹Clyde C. Griffen, "Rich Laymen and Early Social Christianity," Church History 36(1967):64-65.

attempts to maintain social dominance. This study verges on it and is in some ways preliminary to recent studies which concentrate on the significance of religious experience for the social problems of nineteenth century society.²⁰ The numerous amateur congregational and parish histories, some of which are fairly well researched, provide valuable information, and sometimes insight, into the men and women who served their church and community.²¹

Unpublished M.A. essays are not normally the stuff of historiographical surveys such as this, but it is worth noting in passing that this study had its inception in two M.A. research projects focusing on the Central Presbyterian and Centenary Methodist Churches of Hamilton, Ontario, in 1899, and initiating a systematic quantitative method for examining congregational social structure.²² In her study

²⁰See Bruce Tucker's review essay, "Class and Culture in Recent Anglo-American Religious Historiography, Labour/Le Travailleur 6(1980):159-169.

²¹Some examples are Calvin Davis, Centennial Souvenirs of First Methodist Church, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 1824-1924 (Hamilton: Published by the Centennial Committee under the authority of the Official Board of the Church, 1925?); William Barclay's historical sketch of Central Presbyterian Church entitled A Century of Beginnings, 1841-1941 (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1941); The Presbyterian Church in Canada, Presbyteries, Hamilton, Ont., The Presbytery of Hamilton, 1836-1967 [Hamilton, 1967]; and [Charles Sumner Scott], Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, 1835-1935 (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1935).

²²Jennifer Hamblin, "Central Presbyterian Church: a Study of the Congregation and Lay Leadership, 1899" (M.A. History research paper, McMaster Univ., 1976); Elizabeth M. Smyth, "Centenary Methodist Church, 1899: a Study of the

of Central Church, J. Hamblin concludes that the congregation was composed essentially of prosperous, middle-class businessmen, with some professional, clerical and skilled workers, and only a few semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Most members resided in the city's more affluent districts, and the leadership reflected and emphasized the middle class nature of the congregation. In concluding that wealth was the most important measurable factor in determining leadership, she noted that most leaders came almost exclusively from the higher occupational ranks. The link between "success" and "good works" stimulated leading wealthy middle class people to act philanthropically, Hamblin maintains, and the social gospel leanings of their immensely popular minister was an important inducement for them to act charitably. Within the framework of their highly conservative morality, the leaders were genuinely devoted to alleviating the social problems of the city, in spite of the fact that their strong class prejudices made the poor unwelcome in their congregation.

The second study by E. Smyth describes Centenary as a middle to upper middle class church. She concludes that the leadership consisted of successful businessmen and professionals who, together with their wives, assumed positions of

Congregation and the Lay Leadership of the 'Church in the Heart of Hamilton' at the Turn of the Century" (M.A. History research paper, McMaster Univ., 1976).

power and influence within the church and community. Due to their home environment and their religious experience, the lay leaders possessed a strong social consciousness which was strengthened by the example of their pastor.

This study, then, will examine, against the larger background of the influence of late nineteenth century social Christianity, the social profile, the lay leadership and the clerical message of three Hamilton churches -- Centenary Methodist, Central Presbyterian and Christ's Church Cathedral -- from 1890 to 1899, a critical decade in the history of religious and secular arrangements in Canada. Hamilton was chosen because of its importance as a manufacturing and industrial city, and the Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican Churches because they were the dominant Protestant institutions.

Many of the city's most influential businessmen and civic leaders worshipped in these churches. This conjunction raises again the old debate over the affinity between Protestantism and capitalism, a subject which has received its most tenable formulation from R.H. Tawney who reconstructed a thesis previously put forward by Max Weber.

Tawney argues that the capitalist spirit was not the offspring of Puritanism but found in Puritanism a tonic for its already vigorous temper.²³ With imaginative vision,

²³R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1938), p. 225.

Tawney reassembles the evidence into a new synthesis that Puritanism in its later stages bridged the gap between godliness and gain by idealizing business activity as an expression of faith. Hence, the religious conception of a calling became an argument for the economic virtues and directed that every man, in pursuing his own interests, should also strive to serve the public good.²⁴ Its practical application is seen in the lives of the Protestant elite whose names are intimately associated with the economic, political, social and cultural development of Hamilton.

Although the congregations seldom acted as a unit in public affairs, the religious ethos their leaders imbibed, the place they chose to give church activity and their involvement in public affairs obviously must be studied together to make sense of the religious-political culture of Hamilton at the turn of the century, even if cause and effect ultimately elude determination.

This study proceeds on the hypothesis that while there were significant religious and social variables among the Protestant lay elite in Hamilton in the late nineteenth century, the significant determinants of Protestant leadership, religious as well as public, were directly correlated to social status as reflected in wealth, occupation, level of education and number of directorships

²⁴Ibid., pp. 238-239

and/or executive positions held.

A survey of the urban setting and historical background of the congregations sets the scene for this study. The study will then briefly compare their social composition in terms of occupation, property value, property status and ward of residence. It will next turn its attention to the social and ethnic origins of the lay leaders and their response to radical social and economic change against the background of Protestant liberalism. The social factors referred to above will be used to evaluate which elements were most important in determining congregational leadership. The study will conclude with a discussion of the essential elements of the message of their clergy, drawing extensively from the newspaper accounts of sermons and other public utterances, to show the supportive and critical role they played in relation to the lay elite.

Taken together, the laity and the clergy represent the Protestant presence in Hamilton at the turn of the century and, as the study demonstrates, they exhibited a broad correlation of mind and activity. The major urban Protestant congregations across the land were clearly the irreducible locale where the elements described by Semple and Westfall came together and radiated back into the city. Nevertheless, the three churches examined in this study comprise only a fraction of mainstream Hamilton Protestantism, and the central problem is the degree to

which these small samples truly characterize the whole. However important they are for a study of the social and political dominance of the city's lay elite, research into the composition and leadership of the other congregations is necessary before any clear statement can be made about class and Protestantism in Hamilton.

CHAPTER II

THE URBAN SETTING AND THE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Commercial and Industrial Background

Hamilton in 1891 was still a city of workshops and small factories.¹ Of the 179 manufacturing establishments employing five or more hands, three-quarters depended on the local hinterland for their livelihood. Sixty-five percent of these firms were located in the central business district, which described a half mile radius (Figure 2-1, ring 2) from the downtown core at the junction of King and James Streets. In addition to Ward Five, the central business district included Ward Six south of Barton Street and west of Ferguson Avenue, the entire manufacturing area of Ward Two and the industries of the eastern edges of Wards Three and Four. The district contained most of the wood working firms; the important carriage making trade; all the manufacturers of paper products; most of the leather and the food, beverage and tobacco manufacturers; the principal clothing establishments and a number of metal working firms

¹The next four paragraphs are largely a summary of R.D. Roberts, "The Changing Patterns in Distribution and Composition of Manufacturing Activity in Hamilton between 1861 and 1921" (M.A. thesis, McMaster Univ., 1964), pp. 64-75.

which produced various products for home and office. The majority of these factories depended heavily on the local and regional trade.

There were also several other distinct manufacturing areas. The most important was along Queen Street North and to the east of the Grand Trunk Railway yards in Ward Four. All of the establishments situated here were high technology industries specializing in product lines such as boilers, cast iron pipes, elevators, nails, tacks, tin cans, train wheels and axles, and wire.

A third concentration of manufacturing activity straddled Wards Six and Seven north of Barton Street between Mary Street and Victoria Avenue. Most of the industries in this district were also highly organized, specializing in such fields as agricultural machinery, screws, sewing machines, textiles and wheels for railroad cars. A fourth area of industrial development ran south of Barton Street and parallel to the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo tracks on Ferguson Avenue, cutting through Wards Six, Seven and One and bordering Ward Two. Various industries were located here, including the manufacture of cutlery, files and tinware, as well as canning, lumber and pork packing.

At the foot of Sherman Inlet in the extreme northeast corner of the city in Ward Seven was the nucleus of a fifth industrial site. In 1891, only two oil companies and the Toronto Sewer Pipe Company had established plants here. By

the end of the decade, the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company, the Canadian Westinghouse Company, the Hamilton Stock Yards, Lawry's Packing House, the Hoepfner Zinc Refining Company, and the Edgerton Storage Battery Works had all contributed to the building up of this area. The development of this site by heavy industry was one of the most significant changes to the pattern of industrial growth in Hamilton during the closing decade of the nineteenth century.

The new power technology was rapidly transforming Hamilton's craft-based industry to one based on science. Mechanization, specialization, concentration and expansion of production was the order of the day, but it was to have important social consequences. As the number of industrial workers grew, strikes occurred with increasing frequency as workers struggled to maintain control of their workplace. Issues such as shorter hours, a living wage, the closed shop, the number of apprentices and working conditions "all tested the strength of the craft union and its shop committee."² Adjustment to industrialism was also complicated by laissez-faire notions. The Hamilton testimony given before the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in 1889 provides a good cross section of the profound effect which the introduction of the factory

²Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), p.91.

system was having on social relationships and living conditions: a capitalist gives his views on the employment of children, hours of labor and profit sharing; a molder testifies about the long, hard working hours, the uncertainty of employment, and the workers' dependency on the goodwill of the owners; a Member of Parliament and former mayor of Hamilton describes the conditions of poverty and the city's minimal efforts in dealing with destitution; a retired machinist, for whom the pre-industrial workshop was still a vivid memory, reflects on the impact of mechanization on the skilled worker; a foreman tailor describes the vicious contracting system which was employed extensively in Hamilton; a representative of the Hamilton Land Tax Club attempts to persuade the commission on the virtues of the single tax; and the District Master of the Knights of Labor declares the organization's projected sweeping reforms, including the establishment of a cooperative industrial system.³

³Greg Kealey, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1973), pp. 143-167. Richard Allen notes that the established newspapers were reluctant to publish accounts of social conditions in their own cities.--His introduction to My Neighbor by J.S. Woodsworth (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1972), p. vii. The Hamilton Spectator was no exception, but it did not refrain from reporting fairly extensively on the misery and suffering of the unemployed in London, England, the distress in Chicago, the starving of Detroit and the poverty stricken of New York during the depression of 1893. The 1895 poor riots in St. John's, Newfoundland also received good coverage.

The rapid influx of large numbers of men and women from the rural areas into Hamilton in search of work in the factories and commercial establishments resulted in overcrowded housing, inadequate or non-existent sanitary facilities and a high death rate. The sources of disease were everywhere: uncleanly slaughter houses, butcher shops, fruit and fish stores, huckster stalls, privy vaults, water closets and cesspools. Inadequate sewers caused a backup of water and excrement into cellars. Garbage wagons were overloaded, and vacant lots were used by citizens as dumping grounds. The coal-oil inlet at the east end of the city was heavily polluted by human and industrial waste, causing a stench as foul as that emanating from the factories themselves. In the hot summer months, the beach along the bay would be lined with dead fish.

Out of the disruption and discontinuity of the urban-industrializing process, which set loose human relationships from older roots, and the contrasts of wealth and poverty, criminal activity seemed to gain momentum. The annual reports of the Governor of the Wentworth County Jail afforded plenty of material for the moralist. The vast majority of those committed were reported as intermperate. Roman Catholics led the way in convictions, with Anglicans running a close second, while Methodists and Presbyterians were well down in third and fourth place respectively, statistics which reflect both a difference in religious

ethos and the class nature of law and law enforcement. Not surprisingly, the jail population was composed almost entirely of the poorer elements of Hamilton, incarcerated primarily for crimes against property or outrageous misconduct.⁴ The link between poverty and crime was not lost upon respectable Hamiltonians who regarded the poor as a threat to the stability of society. The social consequences of larger scale industry and urban growth posed serious problems for the Christian conscience in Hamilton as elsewhere. Not the least of these was how far the enlarging gulf between the industrial classes would intrude upon the social structure and organization of Protestant congregations in the city.

General Religious Background

Hamilton was not only an industrial city, but also a British immigrant and Protestant city, dominated especially by the Methodists, the Anglicans and the Presbyterians (Table 2-1). Mid-century Hamilton, however, presented a different picture. During the 1850s, the Anglicans and

⁴"Jail Statistics" (HS, 2 Oct 1891, p. 5); "The Statistics of Crime" (HS, 1 Oct 1892, p. 8); "The Criminal Population" (HS, 20 Oct 1893, p. 1); "The Annual Jail Report" (HS, 1 Oct 1894, p. 8); "Some Criminal Statistics" (HS, 1 Oct 1895, p. 8); "Behind Jail Bars" (HS, 1 Oct 1896, p. 8); "Annual Jail Report" (HS, 1 Oct 1897, p. 8); "Crimes's Year Book" (HS, 1 Oct 1898, p. 1); "Jailer Ogilvie's Annual Report" (HS, 2 Oct 1899, p. 8). John Fierheller, "Social Disorder within a City: Criminal Behavior in Hamilton during the 1890's" (M.A. History research paper, McMaster Univ., 1975).

Table 2-1 Population of Hamilton, 1851 to 1901, by Religion

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total Population	14,112	19,096	26,716	35,961	47,245	52,634
Religion						
Anglican	30.9	30.4	27.8	26.7	25.0	23.6
Methodist	16.0	15.7	20.2	23.1	25.5	26.1
Presbyterian	18.9	22.6	22.5	21.9	21.6	21.9
Roman Catholic	28.2	25.5	21.2	19.8	18.1	16.9
Others and Unspecified	6.0	5.8	8.3	8.4	9.8	11.5*

Source: Census of Canada, 1851, I, 68-69; 1861, I, 128-129; 1871, I, 98-101; 1881, I, 180-181; 1891, I, 262-265; 1901, I, 196-197.

*First figure in "Unspecified" column in the census report is given and 18 but should read 8. The column total, however, is correct.

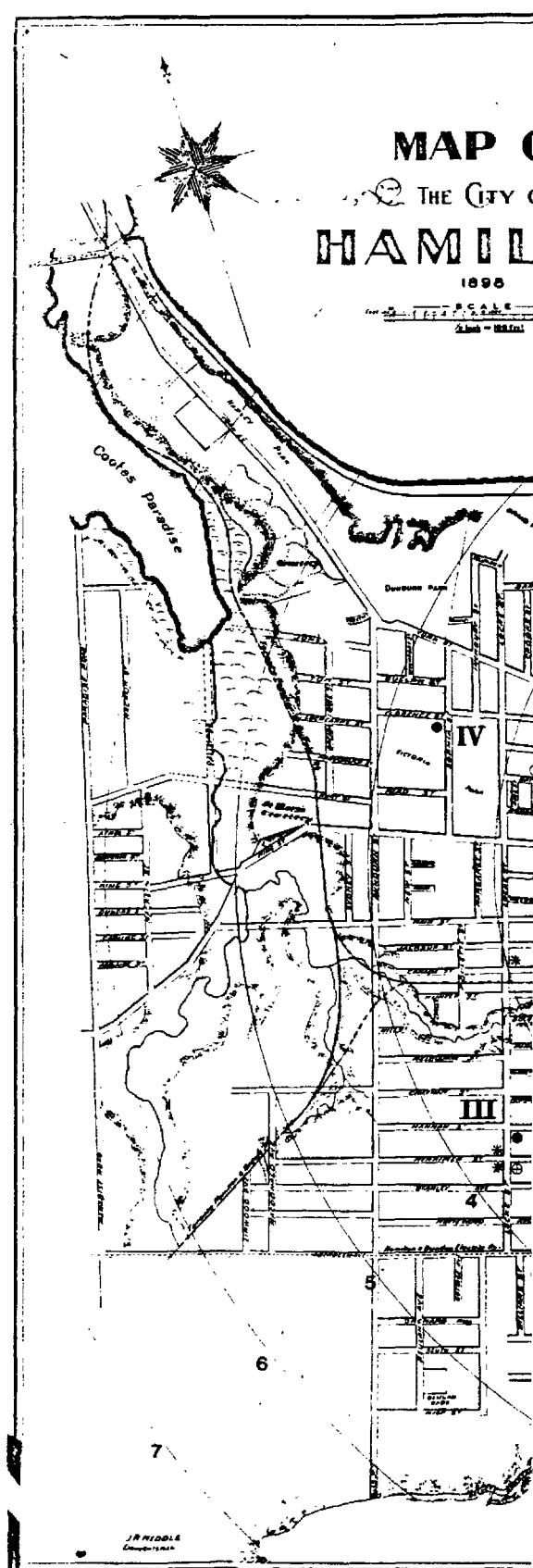
Roman Catholics were the two largest religious groups. Together they comprised nearly three-fifths of the city's total population. The immigration of the 1860s and later upset this balance. With the shift in immigration from Ireland to other parts of Britain, the proportion of the total population which was Catholic declined steadily. The proportion of Anglicans also shrank noticeably because now another major factor in Hamilton's growth was migration from the rural communities which, thanks to the enthusiasm of the circuit riders, was largely Methodist. Taken together with the surge in Ontario (as elsewhere in the English-speaking world) of evangelical religion, these developments

served to place Methodists and Protestant evangelicals generally at the forefront of Hamilton's religious culture.

Between 1861 and 1901, the urbanization of the Methodist membership swelled the ranks of their Hamilton brothers and sisters from 16 percent to 26 percent of the population, making it the largest denomination in the city. The Anglicans, whose regular ministry had failed to win the countryside, stood in close second with nearly 24 percent. Third came the Presbyterians, whose strength, although larger in absolute numbers, had never increased above the 1861 level of 22 percent. By the century's end, there were 49 churches in Hamilton: 10 Methodist, 10 Anglican, 9 Presbyterian, 6 Baptist, 4 Roman Catholic, 1 Lutheran, 1 Congregational, plus an assortment of other Christian bodies whose beliefs ranged from Unitarianism to adventist millenarianism. As well, Hamilton's tiny Jewish community, which was primarily of German and Eastern European descent, boasted Canada's first reform congregation founded in 1853 as Anshe Shalom. The conservative Bais Jacob Congregation was organized in 1883. See Figure 2-1.⁵

The central business district contained 51 percent of Hamilton's churches, including all of the churches in Wards Two and Five, one-half of those in Ward Six and one-quarter of those in Ward Three. Centenary Methodist and Central

⁵See Appendix I for "Directory of Churches in Hamilton, 1899".



Ward boundaries. Ward
 Bay Street (east side),
 3 - Bay Street (west side)
 (west side) and King St
 Hughson Street North (w
 North (east side), Wel
 Ward 7 - Wellington Av

Presbyterian, like most of the churches in Ward Two, were situated between Hunter and King Streets in the very heart of downtown Hamilton and adjacent to the city's most affluent residential area. This section had a high concentration of commercial activity and light manufacturing. The offices of most of the city's financial institutions and services, as well as its accountants, brokers, real estate agents and lawyers were located here. The section also contained two of the city's three daily newspapers, the Spectator and the Herald, the telegraph and telephone companies, the express companies, plus some coal and wood dealers, wholesale grocers and railway agents. The imposing presence of the banks at or near the corners of the main intersections stood as a constant reminder of the great influence they exerted on Hamilton's industrial and commercial development through their claims to the ownership of capital goods.

Christ's Church, on the other hand, was located in Ward Five on James Street North between Robert and Barton Streets on the periphery of the central business district and surrounded by working class neighborhoods. It served a very large parish which incorporated the entire southern section of the ward. The east-west boundaries stretched from Ward Six at the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railroad tracks on Ferguson Avenue to Ward Four at Caroline Street; its north-south boundaries reached from the Grand Trunk

Railroad tracks to Main Street. In addition to numerous manufacturing firms, Ward Five contained most of the clothiers, dry goods stores, jewelers and watchmakers, merchant tailors and steamship agents. Intermingled with these businesses were a few banks and loan companies, some coal and wood dealers, wholesale grocers and railway agents. The city's third daily newspaper, the Hamilton Times, was also located in Ward Five on Hughson Street at the corner of King William. The commercial and industrial activity of Ward Five carried over into Ward Six and into the eastern half of Ward Four.

The central business district included two-fifths of all the Methodist and Anglican churches, one-half of the Presbyterian, one-third of the Baptist and one-quarter of the Roman Catholic. Not surprisingly, the district also contained all but one of the seven churches of Hamilton's religious sects. The Believers, Christian Workers, Evangelical Congregation and the Salvation Army were situated in Ward Five, the Disciples of Christ in Ward Six and the Bretheren of One Faith in Ward Two. The nonconformity with the world of these sectarian groups, however, made them a relatively insignificant influence on the social life of Hamilton.

That religion was an important element in the cultural life of this period is attested to by the high attendance figures and the regular and lengthy reporting of

the Sunday sermons in the local newspapers. Nor can one fail to be impressed by the extent of church wealth as indicated by its impressive property holdings.⁶

The commercial-industrial city of Hamilton was a city in transition, becoming increasingly complex and segregated in social structure which, in large measure, the three churches under study reflect in various ways. The brief histories of the churches which follow will, as much as possible, be written so as to begin building bridges between the secular and the sacred. Each of these histories will conclude with a summary statement of the distinguishing characteristics of the congregations on the eve of the 1890s. The next section will then present a description of the congregational social structures in which it will become evident that these churches, especially Centenary Methodist Presbyterian, reflect the religious pretensions of the urban elite of Hamilton.

⁶Value of Hamilton church properties exempted from taxation in 1895:

Roman Catholic	\$299,700
Methodist	285,600
Anglican	201,100
Presbyterian	183,700
Baptist	55,660
Other	60,660
	<u>\$1,086,420</u>

Prepared for Alderman F.W. Watkins by the Office of the Assessment Commissioner.--F.W Watkins to the Editor, "The Exemption of Churches" (HS, 10 Oct 1895, p. 8).

Historical Background of the Three Churches

The Centenary Congregation grew out of the King Street Church (First Methodist Church), which was the first church of any denomination to be erected in Hamilton. Founded in 1824, the King Street Church was originally connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States but later merged with the British Conference as part of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada. The cornerstone of the first Centenary Church building was laid in 1846 at the corner of MacNab and Merrick Streets. The new Stone Church, earthbound and solid, undoubtedly pleased the congregation. The Romanesque style had in its very simplicity a certain sophistication and elegance that reflected the growing urbanity of the Wesleyan Methodists who were the most prosperous of the city's various religious and ethnic groups.⁷

Some part of Centenary's prominence among Hamilton's Protestant churches was due to the influence from its earliest days of the wealth and personality of its entrepreneurial elite. Prominent among its first members was Edward Jackson who, in 1833, established a stove manufacturing business on King Street near Catherine Street. He was typical of the New Englanders and New Yorkers who

⁷Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1975) p. 26.

swarmed into Western Ontario after 1820 bringing with them their ideals and predilections as well as their capital and technical ingenuity which they contributed to the industrial development of the region.⁸ Jackson soon enjoyed an extensive trade, bringing his apprentices into partnership as his business branched into Toronto, Port Hope, London and as far west as Chicago.⁹ He was one of the earliest directors of the Gore Bank, actively promoted various railway schemes to advance the commercial interests of Hamilton and was a generous supporter of local charitable institutions.¹⁰

Jackson responded generously to the call of his church. Not only did he contribute liberally to every important local and national enterprise of the church, but he was also a highly respected class leader for forty years, as well as superintendent of the King Street Sunday School and a trustee of the Stone Church and later of the New

⁸Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: Ryerson; New haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1941; reprint ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 47-53.

⁹N. Burwash, Memorials of the Life of Edward & Lydia Ann Jackson (Toronto: Rose, 1876), p. 7 "Memoir of Some of Hamilton's Progressive Citizens" (HET, Summer Carnival No., 15 Aug 1903, p. 3).

¹⁰A. St. L. Trigge, A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1919-1930, vol. 3 (Toronto: The Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1934), p. 66.

Centenary Church, of Wesley and of King Street.¹¹ His timely financial assistance assured the establishment of Methodist missions in British Columbia. He was the principal subscriber to the foundation of the Wesleyan Female College (later Hamilton Ladies' College) in Hamilton. In 1871, Jackson made plans to establish a chair of theology at Victoria College in Cobourg, but before these could be completed, he died, leaving the accomplishment of this task to his wife.

One of Jackson's great dreams was to bring about the construction of "a denominational landmark"¹² in Hamilton. In 1866, he got his wish, for the Stone Church had become too small to accommodate the growing congregation, and the shifting patterns of city development had by now left the church outside of what was once a fashionable district. The Methodists could boast of no prominent, centrally located church such as the Presbyterians possessed in St. Paul's, Central and MacNab Street Churches. The Anglicans and the Roman Catholics both had large cathedrals. Since the construction of the original building, the population of

¹¹The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men, Ontario vol. (Toronto: American Biographical Pub. Co., 1880), pp. 708-709; Hamilton, Centenary United Church, Historic Committee, The Centenary Church, the United Church of Canada, 1868-1968 [Hamilton, 1968] p. 7.

¹²N. Burwash, Memorials of the Life of Edward & Lydia Ann Jackson (Toronto: Rose, 1876), p. 19.

Hamilton had grown from some 10,000 to about 25,000, of which it is estimated that over one-fifth were Methodist.¹³ The wealth of the Methodists had increased substantially with the growing prosperity of the city, and the trustees, under the dynamic leadership of Jackson, sought to erect a monumental building that would be "worthy of the cause and of the rapidly extending city."¹⁴ Determined to seek a more appropriate location than the market square, they finally selected a site on Main Street. Two years later on 10 May, Centenary was formally opened. Begun during the centenary year of American Methodism, the new church was built at a cost of about \$40,000.¹⁵

The architectural style of Centenary was Romanesque. Its exterior walls were constructed of red pressed brick, divided into bays by octagonal buttresses, symbolizing Wesley's preferred design for his preaching-houses. It was said to be the first of the monumental churches in Canada¹⁶ and, at the time, was considered "one of the finest and most

¹³Hamilton, Centenary United Church, Jubilee of the Centenary Church, 1868-1918 (1918), p. 3.

¹⁴N. Burwash, Memorials of the Life of Edward & Lydia Ann Jackson (Toronto: Rose, 1876), p. 19.

¹⁵Hamilton, Centenary United Church, Historic Committee, The Centenary Church, the United Church of Canada, 1868-1968 [Hamilton, 1968], p. 5.

¹⁶N. Burwash, Memorials of the Life of Edward & Lydia Ann Jackson (Toronto: Rose, 1876), p. 19.

commodius Methodist churches in the Dominion".¹⁷ Its generous seating accommodation for up to 2,000 persons gives evidence of the Methodists' dominant position in Hamilton and their optimistic view of the future prospects of the "Ambitious City."¹⁸

Centenary's accommodation to secular society and culture was readily apparent in its large membership of well-to-do and socially prominent who had long since turned away from Wesley's uncompromising doctrine of property. Their control of the church was clearly established in the system of pew rents. Centenary's accommodation was also evident in its material and instrumental elements. The frescoed interior of the church building was considered one of the most handsome in the city and was richly and amply furnished in appointments and equipment: carpeted floor, cushioned pews, stained glass windows of arabesque pattern, chandeliers of incandescent lights, ceiling and walls decorated in buff, gold and rose in graceful and artistic designs, orchestra with large organ to the rear of the pulpit and individual communion cups.¹⁹ In keeping with

¹⁷"Centenary United Church Has Been Great Force in Religion" (HH, 6 Dec 1930, p. 20).

¹⁸"Methodist Centenary Church" (HS, 11 May 1868, p. 1).

¹⁹"Hamilton, Ontario, Canada" in Matthew Simpson, ed., Cyclopaedia of Methodism, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Everts, 1880), p. 424; "Centenary Improvements" (HS, 11 Feb 1895, p. 8); Ibid. (HS, 23 Sep 1895, p.1); "In City Churches" (HS 9 Jan 1899, p. 8).

the prestige and influence of the congregation, the Stationing Committee sought out and obtained some of the leading Methodist preachers to fill the pulpit. The learning and eloquence of their clergy, together with the outstanding musical services, attracted large numbers to Centenary's doors.

Methodism's pragmatic concern for success as an evangelical church was characterized by its persistent movements towards consolidation so essential to its missionary function. However, success could only be assured, as Neil Semple admirably demonstrates, by building up a strong urban base among the prosperous business and professional classes in order to acquire the financial support necessary to sustain and expand this activity.²⁰ The history of Centenary clearly illustrates the metropolitan orientation of Methodism both in the construction of its mighty 'cathedral' and in the place the congregation had secured among the successful classes of Hamilton.

Central Presbyterian Church traces its roots back to the year 1832 when the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church of Scotland sent Thomas Christie, William Proudfoot and William Robertson to begin missionary

²⁰Neil Austin Everett Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Central Canada, 1854-1884" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 1979), chaps. 1-3.

operations in Canada. Robertson died of cholera in Montreal. Christie and Proudfoot went on to western Upper Canada where they both engaged in extensive missionary work in association with the United Synod of Upper Canada. While both synods held to the same forms of worship and discipline, they parted company on the question of government assistance. The United Associate Synod strongly supported the principle of voluntarism and in 1834, its missionaries, led by Proudfoot, disassociated themselves from the United Synod and formed the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church of Scotland.²¹ In 1847, it became the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church.

Meanwhile, the Reverend Thomas Christie had become the pastor of three congregations in West Flamborough, Dumfries and Beverly. In 1837, three members of his West Flamborough church approached him with a proposal to establish a separate congregation in Hamilton, to which Christie readily consented. About four years later, the newly formed congregation, which consisted of only ten communicants, successfully petitioned the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas for official recognition as a "full and

²¹William Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada (Toronto, 1892), p. 69.

separate organization,"²² following which the congregation organized under the name of the United Associate Church of Hamilton.

The first task facing the members and adherents was to build a church. This they accomplished in less than two years, exercising the greatest frugality in construction costs. The unpretentious one-storey stone structure, located on Merrick Street, was built in the meeting-house style and devoid of any outward ornamentation. It bespoke a strong and simple faith.

Over the years the congregation grew substantially in numbers and influence. One of its most prominent members, Dr. Calvin McQuesten,²³ also belonged to that band of enterprising businessmen from the northeastern United States who helped turn Hamilton from a commercial boom town into an industrial city. The foundry which he and his cousin, John Fisher, established in 1835 for the manufacturer of plows and threshing machines eventually developed into the giant Sawyer-Massey Company. McQuesten was for many years vice-president of the Gore Bank. In philanthropy, he was treasurer and later vice-president of the Hamilton branch of

²²[John McColl] "Outlined History of the Congregation of Central Church, Hamilton," in Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont., Annual Report, 1873, p. 15, CPC.

²³Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, vol. 1 (Hamilton, 1981).

the British and Foreign Bible Society. He was also associated with Jackson and others in the establishment of the Wesleyan Female College and served as vice-president from its founding in 1861 to 1872 and afterwards as president until his death in 1885.

That McQuesten was truly a child of the revitalizing force of the Second Great Awakening and the revivals which followed it is evident in his involvement in the establishment of the American Presbyterian Church, St. Andrew's and MacNab Street Churches in Hamilton, and Knox Church in Dundas. The most striking characteristic of the Second Great Awakening as a social movement was, as Donald Matthews argues, its essential organizing impulse.²⁴ Perry Miller stresses that the appeal of evangelical Christianity after 1800 was not to "the individual shut up in his closet" but was "unabashedly communal."²⁵ Miller means not only the general community, but the specific one of the church. "We miss entirely the dynamics of the great revivals ... if we suppose them missions to the heathen: they got their demonic power because they were addressed to those already more or less within the churches...."²⁶ As socializing

²⁴Donald G. Matthews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830," in Religion in American History, ed. by John M. Mulder [and] John F. Wilson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), pp. 199-217.

²⁵Perry Miller, The Life of the Mind in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), p. 11.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 10.

institutions helping to create a new society at a time of enormous growth, when it was beset by the centrifugal forces of business cycles and competition, McQuesten was keenly aware that social order depended upon the churches to provide the "elementary 'disciplined formal organizations' which created a society accustomed to working through voluntary associations for common goals."²⁷

Excitement and a spirit of worldliness filled the air when the Central congregation decided in 1857 that a new church building was required capable of seating 1,000 worshippers.²⁸ "We are in great numbers and influential," declared some members. And soon the cry was taken up: "A new church! And it must be a fine one!"²⁹ There were many earnest subscribers towards the \$40,000 cost of Central Church³⁰ but none so energetic as Dr. McQuesten, who for many years "presented the church with the interest on large loans made by him to the trustees."³¹

²⁷Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830," in Religion in American History, ed. by John M. Mulder [and] John F. Wilson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), p. 204.

²⁸"The New United Presbyterian Church" (HWS, 13 Mar 1858, p. [4]).

²⁹"Central Presbyterian Church" (HH, 26 Jul 1902).

³⁰[John McColl] "Outlined History of the Congregation of Central Church, Hamilton," in Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont., Annual Report, 1873, p. 17. CPC.

³¹"Where the General Assembly Will Meet" (HWT, 13 Jun 1899), in "Churches in Hamilton: Presbyterian Church," vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 75, HPLSC.

The new church was built at the corner of Jackson and MacNab Streets, away from the increasing congestion of Merrick Street, and was opened in March of the following year. Constructed of white pressed brick in the Norman Gothic style, the Jackson Street Church incorporated architectural and acoustical designs recommended by McQuesten. The tastefully furnished interior contained a horseshoe gallery and some beautiful examples of stained glass work.³² Particular care was taken in the selection of material for the upholstering of the pews, and special rolls of patterned rep were imported from England.³³ With their growing urbanity, the simple worship and preaching services became more elaborate. In 1860, a choir was introduced and in 1870, the same people who desired a fine church persuaded the congregation to enlarge the area behind the pulpit for the installation of a fine, new organ, "in every way suitable to the size of the building and first-class in every particular."³⁴ Later, carpeting and incandescent chandeliers were added. In 1898-99, the interior was entirely made over and so greatly changed in appearance and

³²William Barclay, A Century of Beginnings, 1841-1941 (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, n.d.), p. 38.

³³"Central Presbyterian Church" (HH 26 Jul 1902).

³⁴Ibid.; "Where the General Assembly Will Meet" (HWT, 13 Jun 1899, p. 8).

comfort that it seemed to be a new church altogether.³⁵ The stately presence of the Jackson Street Church expressed the wealth, power and esteem which the congregation had acquired and served as a dramatic statement of its spiritual and moral function.

Christ's Church was the third church to be established in Hamilton. Planning for the erection of a Protestant Episcopal Church began in 1835, but difficulties caused by the economic depression and the Rebellion of 1837 delayed the opening of the church until 19 July 1839. It was designed by Robert Charles Wetherall, architect of Dundurn Castle, and "showed the same Regency elegance and eclectic taste as that mansion."³⁶ A city newspaper "'congratulated the people of Hamilton upon possessing one of the handsomest Churches in British North America--a lasting credit to their piety and liberality.'"³⁷ A Presbyterian minister exclaimed prophetically at the enormous size of the building that "the Committee must have intended it ... for a Cathedral."³⁸ Later, a new chancel

³⁵"Where the General Assembly Will Meet" (HWT, 13 Jun 1899, p. 8).

³⁶Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont., The Pilgrim's Guide to Christ's Church Cathedral [n.d., n.p.].

³⁷[Charles Sumner Scott] Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, 1835-1935 (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1935, p. 18.

³⁸Ibid.

and part of a stone nave were added "'to form the commencement of a handsome and commodious Church, which might last for generations, and in point of style and dimensions be somewhat in keeping with the population, wealth, and prosperity of the city.'"³⁹

From the beginning, the congregation sought to build a monument whose beauty and grandeur would serve to remind the community of the Christian values which were the cornerstone of its material, moral and social progress. The symbolic value of magnificent church buildings as indicative of the citizens' moral qualities, especially their business morals, was not lost on the prominent merchant and politician, Samuel Mills. In his appeal to Presbyterian Isaac Buchanan for a contribution to the Christ's Church building fund, Mills noted that the completed structure would stand in testimony to Hamilton's commercial vigor and affluence.⁴⁰

The church's site on James Street North was, in the early days of the city's history, the center of the town. As the city grew, the residential areas moved further away from the church until the population that was best able to support it was located south of King Street. The increasing distance between Christ's Church and the wealthy Anglican

³⁹Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁰Samuel Mills to Isaac Buchanan, 3 Nov 1852, PAC, MG24, D16, vol. 48.

inhabitants of the city represented a serious financial drain. Since 1851, Christ's Church had sponsored four Anglican churches⁴¹ at the expense of its own building needs. The question naturally arose if it would not be more practical to relocate the church "if it was to be the future Cathedral" rather than expend large sums on enlarging it.⁴² On 9 March 1874, a public meeting was held at the Court House to discuss this question. The other Anglican parishes, fearing a loss in their own congregations, opposed the rebuilding of the church in a more genteel neighborhood. As a result, the committee settled for completing three more bays of the nave. The western extension, which was to have had a magnificent tower and spire, was instead flanked by four turrets, and they "had to content themselves with an unpretentious, but perfectly suitable and correct West front, which reproduces to a large extent, though on a smaller scale, and in a different style of architecture, the outlines of that of Winchester Cathedral."⁴³

Overcome by ambition to make an outstanding contribution to their new spiritual estate in the race to keep up with the Methodists and the Presbyterians, the leaders of Christ's Church proceeded to build on a bold and

⁴¹Church of the Ascension (1851), St. Thomas' (1854), All Saints' (1873), and St. Mark's (1878).

⁴²[Charles Sumner Scott] Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton 1835-1935 (Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1935), p. 31.

⁴³Ibid., P. 35.

splendid scale. But with the buildup of the city's commercial and industrial establishments in the general vicinity of the church, what was once a fashionable district declined as many of the affluent took up residence on the slopes of the Escarpment where better living conditions were possible. Here they built their own neighborhood churches. This happened to a notably lesser degree in the residential areas north and east of the church where industry and working class citizens prevailed. Located to the north of the business center of the city, Christ's Church continued to serve large numbers of Anglican workers, but these could hardly finance the church's expansion. The leaders soon found their grand conception beyond their means. Although they made certain concessions to the original design, they faced a staggering debt of \$30,000 when Christ's Church reopened its doors on 20 February 1876 as the Cathedral Church. For the next 32 years this debt persisted,⁴⁴ a reflection not only of over ambitious planning but also of the relative decline of Anglicanism as the century progressed.

As these historical sketches show, the congregations' concerns for economic advancement and social order were

⁴⁴Anglican church of Canada, Ont., synod of the Diocese of Niagara, Journal of Proceedings, 1877-96, 1898, NCH; Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont., Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, 1885/86-1909/10, MLSC; "An Epoch in the Cathedral's Life" (HT 12 Apr 1909, p. 1).

inextricably bound up with the churches' concern for the material, intellectual and moral well-being of Hamilton. The intertwining of secular and religious ideals was not accidental but reflected the historic partnership of the Protestant clergy with the prosperous middle class in the building of the Canadian nation. These themes--the secular and the sacred--embodied a common set of values whose characteristic features were a highly conservative morality, a deep commitment to the success ethic and a belief in the inevitability of progress on all fronts.

The Congregational Social Structures

Knowledge of the congregational social structures is essential to this study. It provides a profile of the congregations by which their representativeness of the city can be determined and a measure of the extent to which the lay officers approximate the social composition of their congregations. Both congregations and their lay leaderships act as filters which separate out civic leadership, thus adding notable credentials for public eminence in the Protestant hegemony in Hamilton. The links between social class and church membership are especially salient, and it is important, therefore, to observe what secular social factors played a role as determinants in that process. Having done so, it is possible to conclude how far the leading congregations may have become captive to a spirit of social exclusiveness or, conversely, how socially

heterogeneous they remained in an era of extensive class segregation or isolation.

To establish congregational social structures, the city of Hamilton assessment rolls were used to learn the occupations, wards of residence, property values and real property status of as many adult male members as possible. Membership was determined through the membership lists extant for Centenary and Central Churches. The Centenary congregation was drawn up from the names and addresses of adult male members and pewholders in the church's Year Book and Directory for 1898. Central's congregation was taken from the lists of members and adherents in its 1898 Annual Report. The names on both these lists were then checked against the 1899 Assessment Rolls and only those names found in this document were included in the congregations. This resulted in a total congregation for Centenary of 187 adult male members and for Central, 244 members and adherents.

Determining Christ's Church's membership was rather more problematic because it did not maintain a list of congregants. Thus, a hypothetical congregation had to be constructed from the baptismal and burial records of the years 1890 through 1910. This produced in a total of 566 names. Only the names of the adult males were recorded; for example, the name taken from the baptismal register was that of the father, not of the child who was Christened. These names were then checked against the 1899 Hamilton City

Directory and only those individuals who were listed and could be accurately identified as being one and the same person named in the church records were included in the congregation. Of the 566 names, 168 were listed in the Directory. In addition to these people, every member of the Church's Committee of Management as well as every sidesman and auditor named in its annual statement of receipts and expenditures from 1886 through 1900⁴⁵ was checked against the 1899 City Directory. This produced another 36 names out of 51, thus giving a total congregation of 204 adult males.

The examination of congregational social structures in the above terms clearly marks Centenary and Central Churches as two of the most affluent congregations in Hamilton at the dawn of the new century. Drawing from southeast Hamilton, these churches were dominated by merchants and their clerks and a few skilled artisans (Table 2-2). For the most part, the parishoners of Centenary and Central were well established in the community, many of them enjoying a good level of prestige and power. They were congregations of the elite and the upwardly mobile. At Christ's Church, on the other hand, the commercial, skilled, unskilled and clerical occupations predominated. The majority of its members belonged to the working classes who

⁴⁵Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont., Vestry, Minutes, 1885/86-1909/10, MLSC.

lived in the older portions of the city which most of the affluent had vacated because of business and industrial expansion.⁴⁶

Table 2-2 Occupational Classification of the Congregations, 1899

Occupational Classification	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
Professional	13.3	11.6	7.9
Commercial	31.0	32.4	22.8
Manufacturing	12.0	7.3	2.0
Clerical	14.6	17.9	10.9
Skilled	13.3	15.9	25.7
Semi-skilled	1.9	1.5	7.9
Unskilled	3.8	6.3	18.3
Gentleman	10.1	7.3	4.5
Total	100	100	100
Total Congregants	158	207	202
% of Total Congregation	84.5	84.8	99.0

Slightly over 75 percent of the congregations of Centenary and Central lived south of King Street where most had homes in attractive residential surroundings on the gently sloping uplands a quarter of a mile or more from the city center, whereas just over 70 percent of the members of Christ's Church resided on the less desirable low-lying land

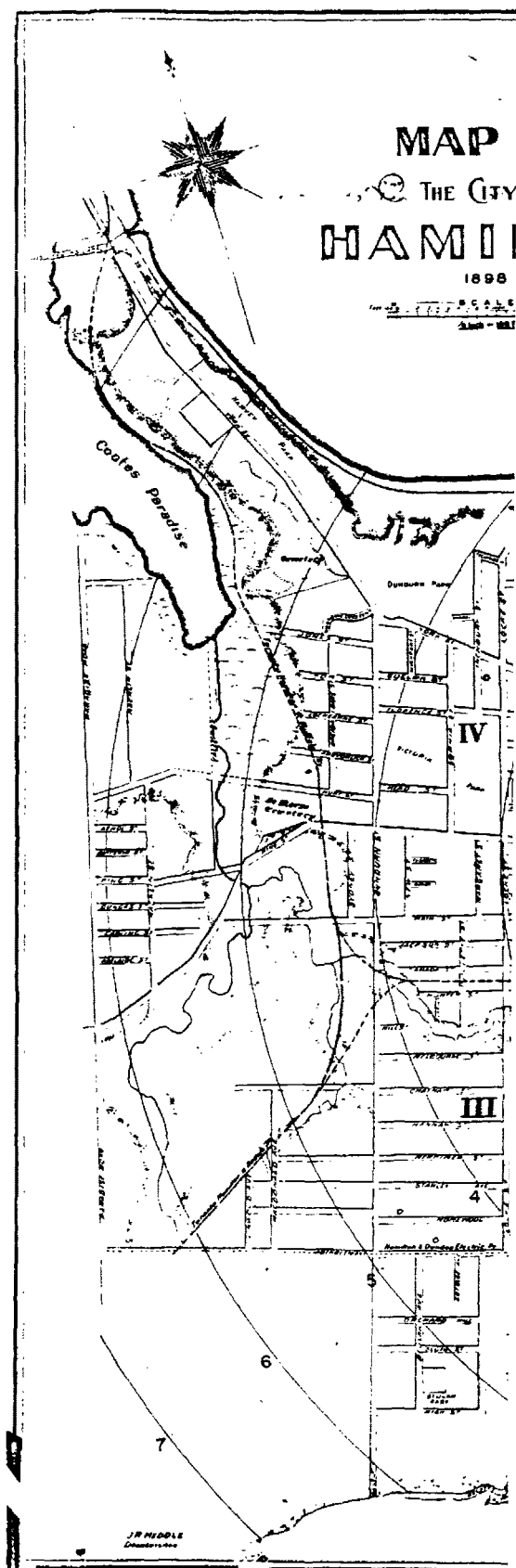
⁴⁶Michael J. Doucet, "Working Class Housing in a Small Nineteenth Century Canadian City: Hamilton, Ontario, 1852-1881," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds. Essays in Canadian Working Class History, (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1975), pp. 100-101. See Appendix II for list of occupations.

north of King Street, which was poorly drained and heavily industrialized. Comparing the three congregations by Ward as illustrated in Table 2-3, the majority of Centenary's congregation were from Wards Two and Three, while Central's were more evenly distributed across Wards One, Two and Three. In contrast, the Christ's Church congregation came principally from the working class Wards Five and Six. See Figures 2-2 to 2-4. We can conclude, therefore, that the "class" structure of each congregation broadly represents the social composition of the neighborhood in which each church was located.

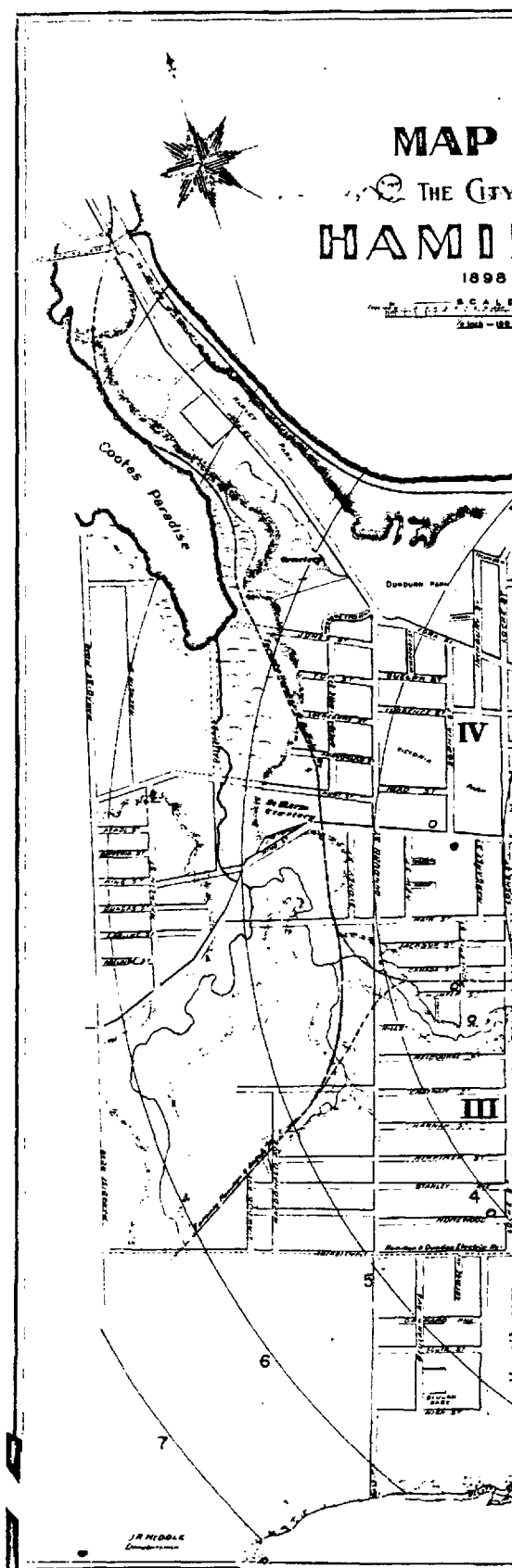
Table 2-3 Ward of Residence of the Congregations, 1899

Ward	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
One	10.3	20.2	4.6
Two	35.1	25.4	15.4
Three	29.9	32.0	8.7
Four	8.6	9.2	9.7
Five	6.9	4.8	33.9
Six	6.3	5.7	21.0
Seven	2.9	2.6	6.7
Total	100	100	100
Total Congregants	174	228	195
% of Total Congregation	93.0	93.4	95.6

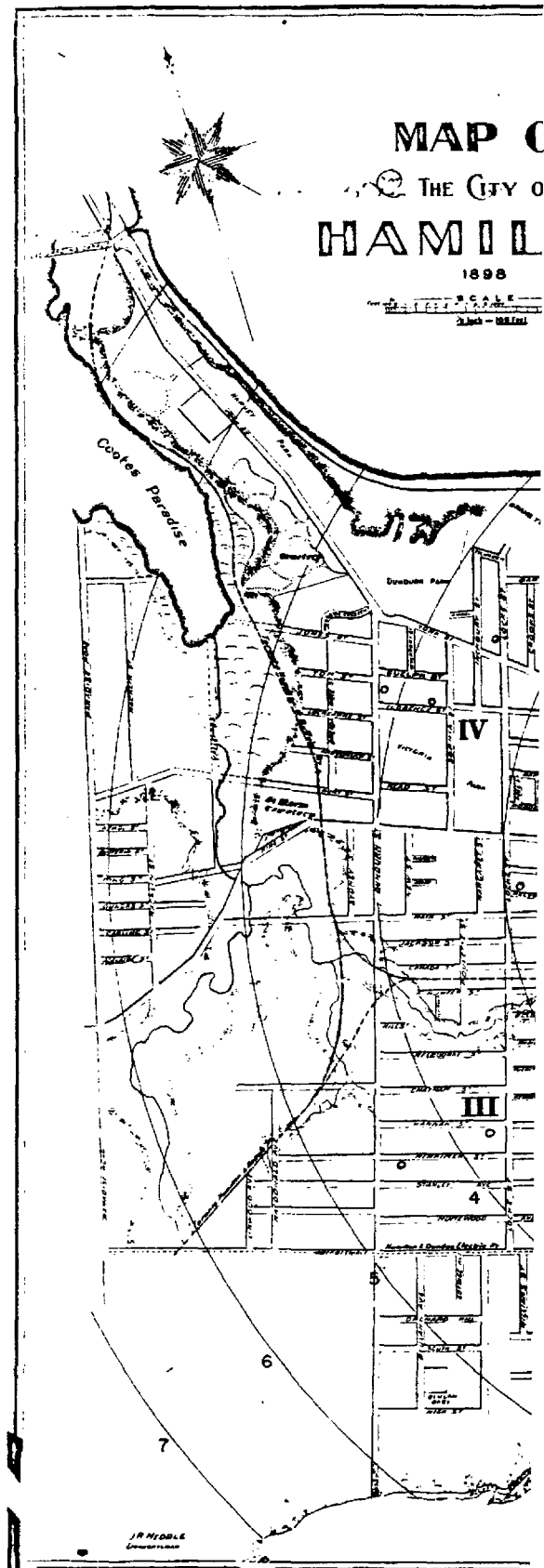
Closely correlated with occupation as a measure of social class is wealth. For purposes of this study, we have relied upon the church members' residential property values as given in the 1899 Assessment Rolls. While measurement



Ward boundaries. Ward
Bay Street (east side),
3 - Bay Street (west side)
(west side) and King St
Hughson Street North (w
North (east side), Wel
Ward 7 - Wellington Ave



Ward boundaries. Ward
 Bay Street (east side),
 3 - Bay Street (west s
 (west side) and King S
 Hughson Street North (
 North (east side), Wel
 Ward 7 - Wellington Av



Ward boundaries. Ward
 Bay Street (east side),
 3 - Bay Street (west side)
 (west side) and King St
 Hughson Street North (North
 North (east side), Wel
 Ward 7 - Wellington Av

using only one variable is risky, property values, nevertheless, do give some indication of the economic divisions which separated the congregants. Table 2-4, for example, shows the very small percentage of the congregation at Christ's Church with property values between \$2,500 and \$4,999, compared with the strong representation of those members below that range. It highlights the sharp disparity in wealth and social status in a church that was obviously most closely associated with the working class. While the proportion of those at Central with property values in the mid-range was twice that of Christ's Church, it was well below Centenary which was the least identified with the working class, particularly the unskilled. This suggests that Centenary's congregation was more established than Central's whose smaller property values may reflect an attempt to put more of their resources into their business.

Table 2-4 Property Values of the Congregations, 1899

Property Value	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
\$	%	%	%
Under 2500	52.4	59.9	67.7
2500-4999	33.3	24.2	12.5
5000 and over	14.3	15.9	19.9
Total	100	100	100
Total Congregants	147	182	136
% of Total Congregation	78.6	74.6	66.7

The general affluence and stability of the Centenary and Central congregations is suggested by their high percentage of householders as illustrated in Table 2-5. Their relatively large proportion of tenants is consistent with congregations of businessmen who had their capital tied up in inventory.

Table 2-5 Property Status of the Congregations, 1899

Property Status	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
Householder (House Owner)	54.1	55.2	39.6
Tenant	26.0	30.1	54.7
Tenant/Householder (Property Owner)	19.9	14.8	5.8
Total	100	100	100
Total Congregants	146	183	139
% of Total Congregation	78.1	75.0	68.1

Not surprisingly, Table 2-6 indicates that the working classes in all three churches were underrepresented as property owners, but the significant percentage of workers in Centenary and Central who owned property suggests that they were more settled than their counterparts at Christ's Church.

The reality of the class structure of the three congregations is symbolized by the system of pew rents. While there could be no class distinctions in religious matters, there was strong opposition to carrying religious

equalitarianism into the affairs of men where property was the "most easily recognized evidence of a reputable degree of success.... [and] the conventional basis of esteem."⁴⁷ Pew rents underscored the fact that workingmen did not enjoy the same rights and privileges as the rich.

Table 2-6 Property Status of Workers, 1899

Property Status	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
Householder (House Owner)	29.6	44.4	28.4
Tenant	44.4	37.8	70.1
Tenant/Householder (Property Owner)	25.9	17.8	1.5
Total	100	100	100
Total Workers	27	45	67
% of Total Workers	90.0	91.8	63.8

The seating arrangement by the value of the pews could be a fairly good indicator of the social structure of the congregations, modified somewhat by the degree of commitment. Until 1897, pew rents at Christ's Church ranged from \$15 to \$45 per year in increments of \$5, with ground rents fixed at two-thirds of the total. In June of that year, the rents were raised to between \$16 and \$65. Side

⁴⁷Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, with a Forward by Stuart Chase (New York: Macmillan, 1899; reprint ed., New York: Modern Library, 1934), p. 29.

aisle pews varied from \$16 to \$30, while the more desirable center aisle pews went from \$35 to \$65.⁴⁸ Pews at Centenary Church rented from \$35 down⁴⁹ -- a far cry from Wesley's democratic customs in his chapel where there was no distinction of persons.

Rents at Central Church are unknown, but it is the only church for which we have a pew plan with the names of the seat holders (Figure 2-5). An examination of the plan shows that some of the best pews were occupied by those officers who numbered among Hamilton's most prominent citizens: James Joseph Evel, coffin manufacturer (40); George Rutherford, wholesale druggist (56); Adam Zimmerman, merchant tailor (61); William Hendrie, industrialist (63); John Calder, clothing manufacturer (91); Alexander Gartshore, iron and steel pipe manufacturer (82); John Crerar, Crown Attorney for Wentworth County (106); and John Morison Gibson, lawyer and provincial cabinet minister (107). Church officers of lesser stature among Hamilton's hierarchy occupied the less desirable side pews and gallery: John Bell, manufacturer's agent (131); Augustine Villa, grocer (125); Alexander Main, rope manufacturer (129); William Hill, butcher shop proprietor (155); and R.P. Newbigging, cabinet maker (204). Of course, this hypothesis

⁴⁸Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont., Vestry, Minutes, 25 Oct 1875, 14 Jun 1897, MLSC.

⁴⁹Jaques, [pseud.] "The Centenary Methodist Church" (HH, Apr 1904).

Central Presbyterian Church.---Plan of Pews.

[illegible]

From its 1897 Annual Report

of social stratification within the churches must remain tentative without knowing the rental charges and the true wealth of the individual congregants.

People at this time were still very much divided on the ideal of a free church. The Reverend Dr. Charles H. Mockridge, Canon Edward Michael Bland's predecessor, resigned his pastorate over this question in April 1889. Six months earlier he had created a commotion among the congregation of Christ's Church by preaching two sermons in favor of abolishing pew rents.⁵⁰ At a stormy meeting the following week, the Vestry voted 23 to 14 against having the pews made free.⁵¹ Commenting on the Vestry's decision, Dr. Mockridge neatly summed up its implication in a tersely worded observation: "They are trying to make a fashionable uptown church of a church situated in the poorer part of the city."⁵² The matter also arose at Central Church but did not become an issue. Both Dr. Samuel Lyle and William Lees, Jr., chairman of the Committee of Management, strongly supported pew rents.⁵³ The only lay leader who opposed appropriated pews was Frederick W. Watkins of Centenary

⁵⁰"Pew Rents Won't Go" (HS, 27 Oct 1888, p. [4]).

⁵¹Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont., Vestry, Minutes, 25 Oct 1888, MLSC.

⁵²"Rev. Dr. Mockridge Resigns" (HS, 3 Nov 1888, p. [4]).

⁵³"Work of Churches" (HS, 10 Jan 1899, p.7).

Church. "There should be no difference between the rich and the poor in the house of God," he said, "because God was no respecter of persons." He wished that "ministers would use their influence at the conferences to prevent the use of rented pews."⁵⁴

While the churches did provide some free sittings, it is not difficult to imagine the feeling of exclusion that would color the attitude of one who might wish to attend but could not afford admission into these institutions for the privileged. If we look at the pew plan of Central Church, we immediately get a sense of possession of the church by the families making up the congregation. The resistance to regular benching went beyond the financial arguments. Not only were there great class distinctions but the pew holders' sense of property in their church reflected a desire to use religion as a means of defending their possessions and, more important, the ethos which had favored the development of the rational capitalistic organization of society.

The business and professional classes who dominated the outlook of the three congregations under study, as indicated by the practice of pew rents, viewed the city as their collective domain. Their business interests made it imperative that they protect their stake in society by

⁵⁴"Were Truly Laid" (HS, 14 Nov 1898, p. 8).

promoting the growth of the city and safeguarding it from undesirable influences. Through their financial support and management services, their churches flourished. Through their corporate and public offices, their city prospered. However, Hamilton's remarkable economic expansion of the 1880s, which was consolidated and continued in the 1890s, was attended by social dislocation evident in substantial unemployment, widespread health problems, harsh working conditions and family breakdown. The collective ills of industrial life were most visible--and, hence, most threatening--in the number of saloons and liquor outlets which had more than kept pace with the rapid population increase of the earlier decade, the pool halls and gambling dens, the prostitution and the general rise in the crime rate.

The omnipresent cultural worry of the middle class was how to maintain the moral order of society amid the turmoil of industrialization. It was a problem whose dimensions were as great as the contrast between the predominantly working class neighborhoods of the industrialized north end whose inhabitants lived mainly in small, overcrowded homes or in rooming houses and multiple dwellings and the large, distinctive residences of the entrepreneurial and professional elite who dwelled near the base of the Mountain to the south. The broad economic and social consequences, then, is the background against which

the study of the lay leaders evolves. The following chapters describe the participation of the lay leaders in the affairs of their church and their influence and activity in the public life of Hamilton. They pose a number of questions, but the two most important are: What were the significant social factors in the selection of the lay leaders? And, what was their motivation, conceptualization and response to the economic and social issues of the day?

CHAPTER III

THE LAY ELITE IN CHURCH AND CITY

The Social Characteristics of the Lay Elite

If there are those today who lament that the mainline Protestant churches are "no longer fully measuring up to the specific responsibility imposed upon them by their voluntary status in society,"¹ the nineteenth century churches proclaimed their distinctive messages for faith and morals unflinchingly. As the century progressed and the country became more urbanized, cities like Hamilton were the scene of a welding together of evangelical revivalism which stressed ethical concern rather than dogmatic zeal, perfectionism and belief in progress. The role of Protestant laymen in this process has not been clear. We know that these revivals served to elevate laymen to stations of greater prominence as the churches came to depend more and more on the time and money of the laity to carry out their spiritual and organizational work.² But we do not know who in such elite congregations as the three under investigation here rose to positions of leadership.

¹Winthrop S. Hudson, The Great Tradition of the American Churches (New York: Harper, 1953; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970), p. 21.

²Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America (New York: Abingdon Pr., 1957).

Knowledge about these laymen is most needed for the 1880s and 1890s, crucial years in the development of the social gospel.³ Of particular importance is the latter decade when the depression triggered a deep concern among a large and growing fraction of Canadian Protestants with the relations between capital and labor and with programs for the reform of society.⁴ While the period for this study is the decade 1890-1899, it was decided to draw the lay leaders only from the year 1899 to keep their number within manageable limits.

This chapter addresses itself to the following questions: What class or classes in these congregations came to the fore as leaders? And did their religious activity preclude public involvement or did it exist as an integral part of a pattern of civic activism and leadership? To answer these questions an effort has been made to compose a collective portrait of the lay leaders which examines a number of factors in their background, including their ethnic and social origins, vocational and avocational interests, levels of education, wealth, political

³Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada" in The Social Gospel in Canada, ed. by Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), pp. 2-34.

⁴Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1971), pp. 10-11; William H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914," United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, Bulletin 20(1968):32-46.

involvement, associational connections and church activity. The leaders' social origins should help us to understand the extent to which they influenced their work values, occupational aspirations and amount of formal education received and so explain their success. The economic environment, outlined in the previous chapter, and the family background of the leaders should allow us to trace the influence of their wealth and personality upon the city and permit us insights into the extent to which they exemplified the issues of the day.

The names of the male and female lay leaders of Centenary and Central Churches were obtained from the following sources: those of Centenary from its Year Book and Directory for 1898 and those of Central from its list of office bearers in the church's 1898 Annual Report. The 34 male and 18 female church officers of Centenary were drawn from the Quarterly Board, Stewards, Trustee Board, Sabbath School Board (including some teachers), Ladies' Aid Society, Women's Missionary Auxiliary, and Epworth League. The 38 male and 33 female church officers of Central were members of the Session, Trustee Board, Committee of Management, Ladies' Aid Society, Ladies' Visiting Committee, Sabbath School Board (including some teachers), Women's Board--Foreign Missions, and Christian Endeavor.

The names of the 12 male leaders of Christ's Church were taken from its annual Statement of Receipts and

Expenditure for 1899/1900 and include members of the Committee of Management, Church Wardens, and Synod delegates. The names of the female leaders presented a problem as the church maintained no official lists of female office holders. A somewhat arbitrary list of 10 names was therefore compiled. Three names were taken from the list of presidents of the Cathedral branch of the Woman's Auxiliary,⁵ and two because of newspaper reports mentioning their connection with the auxiliary. Membership in the Women's Auxiliary was assumed for the rest because of their charitable activity outside the church and because their husbands were lay leaders.

A list of the leaders with their occupations and addresses is presented in Appendix III.

The relatively large proportion of English and Scottish immigrants and sons of immigrants among the male Protestant lay leaders as shown in Table 3-1 reflects the persistent exodus from their more sophisticated economies to the less developed Canadian society which offered greater opportunity for the ambitious to satisfy their economic aspirations. Examples from the biographies of the Protestant elite support Charlotte Erickson's view that, so

⁵G[ertrude] M[audel] R[leaveley] McGarvin, "Pages from the Past; written upon the occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Cathedral Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Church of England in Canada, March 15, 1866 to March 13, 1951," p. 2, HPLSC.

far as the English and Scots were concerned, it was not the pressure of want that induced them to emigrate but the uncertainty about the future and the desire for independence and wider economic opportunity.⁶ An important influence affecting some of their decisions to emigrate was the encouragement and assistance of an influential family member who was already well-established in Canada. The encouragement of employers with Canadian connections was a further motivating factor. But however strong their hope of

Table 3-1 Birth Places of the Male Lay Leaders

Birth Place	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
Canada	64.7	57.1	30.0
Novia Scotia	5.9		
Ontario	53.0	52.4	30.0
(sons of immigrants)	(11.7)	(19.0)	(20.0)
Quebec	5.9	4.8	
Foreign Born	35.3	42.9	70.0
England	23.5	4.8	60.0
Ireland	5.9		
Scotland		28.6	10.0
United States	5.9	9.5	
Total	100	100	100
Total Leaders	17	21	10
% of Total Leaders	50.0	55.3	83.3

⁶Charlotte Erickson, Invisible Immigrants (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972).

economic betterment, all were propelled by some fairly concrete life goals.

Most of the Protestant lay elite had a good headstart in life by virtue of their birth and background. Of the 34 leaders whose fathers' or guardians' occupations could be ascertained, only one was identified as the son of a laborer.⁷ Table 3-2 illustrates that the thrust of intergenerational mobility was from the agricultural, artisanal and professional to the commercial and industrial occupations. This is most striking for Centenary and slightly less so for Central which, however, is the only leadership group, as far as can be ascertained, with a manufacturing component in the earlier generation. Christ's Church shows a similar drift from the professions to commerce but with an evident absence of movement towards manufacturing. Moreover, it should be noted that the Christ's Church leadership contains the only example of downward mobility from the professional to the clerical category. Each after his fashion had made his own way--and, for many, a little better than his father.

While nearly all the lay leaders were born into comfortable circumstances, the prime advantage which their families provided was an environment that stressed the importance of education in the face of profound social and

⁷General Register Office, London, Eng., Certified copy of the birth of James Joseph Evel.

economic changes. Indeed, regardless of background, one could not hope to succeed without some kind of special training in the skills of an art or trade under the guidance

Table 3-2 Comparison of the Male Lay Leaders' Occupations with Their Fathers' or Guardians'

Occupational Classification	Centenary Methodist		Central Presbyterian		Christ's Church	
	S*	F*	S*	F*	S*	F*
	%		%		%	
Professional	10.0	20.0	33.3		33.3	55.6
Commercial	60.0	30.0	33.3	33.3	55.6	22.2
Manufacturing	30.0		33.3	13.3		
Clerical					11.1	
Artisan		30.0		6.7		
Farmer		20.0		33.3		22.2
Laborer				6.7		
Ship's captain				6.7		
Total	100		100		100	
Total Cases	10		15		9	
% of Total Cases	29.4		39.5		75.0	

*S = son; F = Father/Guardian

of expert practitioners in the field. Harnessing the forces of nature to the service of man required professional knowledge. Science and technology had combined to revolutionize commerce. Old ways of conducting business were being modified, introducing new forms of business organization at the same time. Success was to be won not so much by practicing the time-honored virtues (though they

were revered) as by acquiring special skills and knowledge.⁸

Educational data were available for only 55 percent of the leaders (Table 3-3); however, the majority probably had no more than a high school education. Most learned their trade through a long and rigorous apprenticeship program. At the end of this period, they joined their father or employer in partnership.

Table 3-3 Educational Level of the Male Lay Leaders

Education	Centenary Methodist %	Central Presbyterian %	Christ's Church %
University	44.4	26.3	44.4
Normal School	5.6	10.5	
High School	44.4	47.5	55.6
Common School	5.6	15.8	
Total	100	100	100
Total Leaders	18	19	9
% of Total Leaders	52.9	50.0	75.0

Table 3-3 indicates that education was an important adjunct to intergenerational occupational mobility. Education was the key to the advancement of society, as well as the road to status, property and power. The lay elite's aggressiveness in their personal affairs carried over into their public affairs. They lived by implanted conscious

⁸Allan Smith, "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914," Canadian Historical Review 59(1978):193-196.

goals which provided compelling ideals of character and powerful sanctions for initiative. Not only did they seize every opportunity to identify themselves with the great wave of industrial and commercial advancement that was sweeping across Hamilton and the rest of Canada, but more specifically, they identified themselves as agents of progress which encompassed a belief in a steady cumulative increase in verifiable knowledge, material prosperity and ethical amelioration.

How representative were the male lay elite of their congregations? Did these congregations function as instruments of social integration spanning the class divide? Or, were they institutions of the privileged intent on preserving their own group? Utilizing the key variables of occupation, ward of residence, property value and property status, the rest of this section attempts to provide a partial answer to these questions by comparing the lay leaders with their congregations.

Table 3-4 illustrates the preponderance of the upper occupational ranks among the leadership of the three churches. While 56 percent of the Centenary congregation belonged to the professional, commercial and manufacturing group, 90 percent of its leaders were drawn from its ranks. Similarly, over four-fifths of the leaders of Central Church were of the upper occupational ranks which constituted but one-half of the congregation. In a perfect distribution,

workers would have composed nearly one-fifth of the Centenary leadership and over one-fifth of the Central leadership, with skilled workers making up 13 and 15 percent of the total respectively.

Table 3-4 Occupations of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899

Occupational Classification	Centenary Methodist Lead. Cong.* %		Central Presbyterian Lead. Cong.* %		Christ's Church Lead. Cong.* %	
Professional	25.8	13.3	17.7	11.6	33.3	7.9
Commercial	38.7	31.0	47.1	32.4	41.7	22.8
Manufacturing	25.8	12.0	20.6	7.3	8.3	2.0
Clerical	6.5	14.6	8.8	17.9	8.3	10.9
Skilled		13.3	5.9	15.9		25.7
Semi-skilled		1.9		1.5		7.9
Unskilled		3.8		6.3		18.3
Gentlemen	3.2	10.1		7.3	8.3	4.5
Total	100		100		100	
Total Cases	31	158	34	207	12	202
% of Total Cases	91.2	84.5	89.5	84.8	100	99.0

*Congregation (includes lay leaders)

At Christ's Church the overrepresentation of the upper occupational ranks is particularly noticeable. Here the leadership was largely confined to the professional and commercial classes, with only a small manufacturing component. The domination of these groups is even more striking among the Anglicans where they composed slightly less than one-third of the congregation yet over four-fifths of the leadership. If the leadership of Christ's Church had

been perfectly distributed, then workers would have composed one-half of its members, with skilled workers making up one-quarter of the total. The almost total exclusion of the working class from church affairs is clear indication of the hegemony of bourgeois values.

In keeping with their occupational status, the overwhelming majority of the lay leaders had firmly established their presence on the tree-shaded uplands of Wards One, Two and Three on the city's south side. Table 3-5 shows that most lived within the prestigious surroundings of Ward Two where "streets with exclusive airs which had been implanted in the 1850s"⁹ filed past the elegant houses of Hamilton's elite. Of the three congregations, Central was the most representative in terms of where the lay leaders resided. Basically its leaders were overrepresented only in Ward Two and underrepresented only in Ward Four. On the other hand, Centenary's leaders were overrepresented in Wards Four, Five and Six, while the leaders of Christ's Church were overrepresented in Wards Two and Three and underrepresented in Wards Five and Six.

Wealth, like occupation, was obviously an important factor in the selection of the lay leaders. As Table 3-6 shows, the leadership of all three congregations was biased towards their richer members. This was particularly true of

⁹John C. Weaver, Hamilton: an Illustrated History (J. Lorimer and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1982), p. 103.

Table 3-5 Wards of Residence of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899

Ward	Centenary Methodist Lead. Cong.* %		Central Presbyterian Lead. Cong.* %		Christ's Church Lead. Cong.* %	
One	19.4	10.3	23.5	20.2		4.6
Two	45.2	35.1	32.4	25.4	54.6	15.4
Three	25.8	29.9	29.4	32.0	27.3	8.7
Four	3.2	8.6	2.9	9.2		9.7
Five		6.9	2.9	4.8	18.2	33.9
Six		6.3	5.9	5.7		21.0
Seven	6.5	2.9	2.9	2.6		6.7
Total	100		100		100	
Total Cases	31	174	34	228	11	195
% of Total Cases	91.2	93.0	89.5	93.4	91.7	95.6

*Congregation (includes lay leaders)

Table 3-6 Property Values of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899

Property Value \$	Centenary Methodist Lead. Cong.* %		Central Presbyterian Lead. Cong.* %		Christ's Church Lead. Cong.* %	
Under 2500	34.5	52.4	44.1	59.9	18.2	67.7
2500-4999	27.6	33.3	29.4	24.2	27.3	12.5
5000 & over	37.9	14.2	26.5	15.9	54.5	20.0
Total	100		100		100	
Total Cases	29	147	34	182	11	136
% of Total Cases	85.3	78.6	89.5	74.6	91.7	66.7

*Congregation (includes lay leaders)

the Anglicans and the Methodists. The greatest contrast in property values was at Christ's Church where the leaders were underrepresented in values below \$2,500 by 3 1/2 times their actual number, overrepresented in the mid-range by three times their actual number and again at the top by twice their actual number. The discrepancy between the observed and expected results among the leadership of Central Church followed a similar pattern of elitist representation but was considerably smaller at all levels. In the case of the Centenary leadership, however, it was slightly underrepresented at both the bottom and mid-ranges but highly overrepresented at the top by nearly three times its actual number compared with Central's leadership which was overrepresented by only 1 1/2 times. Clearly, one's position as a church officer was determined more by wealth than by the more purely social factors.

Another determining factor in who became a leader was property status as illustrated in Table 3-7. Again, the greatest contrast was at Christ's Church where home owners and other property holders outnumbered renters among the lay leaders by 4 1/2 to 1 as opposed to the congregation where renters exceeded owners by just over 1 1/3 times their number. At Centenary Church the ratio of owners to renters among the leaders was over 4 1/2 to 1 but at the congregational level, owners exceed renters by a little more than 2 1/2 to 1. Turning to Central Church, we find once

more that its leadership was the most representative of its congregation, for at both levels the ratio of owners to renters was almost 2 1/2 to 1. Thus, the male lay leaders are seen as men whose roots were firmly planted in the community, men of substance and standing whose money, time and talents could be called upon in the service of their church and their society.

Table 3-7 Property Status of the Male Lay Leaders Compared with Those of Their Congregations, 1899

Property Status	Centenary Methodist Lead. Cong.* %		Central Presbyterian Lead. Cong.* %		Christ's Church Lead. Cong.* %	
Householder (House owner)	64.3	54.1	50.0	55.2	72.7	39.6
Tenant	17.9	26.0	29.4	30.1	18.2	54.7
Tenant/Householder (Property owner)	17.9	19.9	20.6	14.8	9.1	5.8
Total	100		100		100	
Total Cases	28	146	34	183	11	139
% of Total Cases	82.4	78.1	89.5	75.0	91.7	68.1

*Congregation (includes lay leaders)

The lay leaders were chosen not just for their spirit but for their realization of class. Success in a career as indicated by occupation, residence, wealth and property clearly influenced their selection as church officers. All of these factors stood as outward signs of that sterling inner quality--character, the fully actuated human nature or the realization of the individual self. The leaders'

material success reflected the churches' identification of their interests with the prosperous middle class and the exaltation of the prudential virtues which bring cash returns in a capitalistic society. H. Richard Niebuhr describes the church's appeal to the middle classes:

As is the case of the poor, the sanction of religion is invoked upon the peculiar virtues of the group itself; honesty, industry, sobriety, thrift, and prudence, on which the economic structure of business as well as the economic and social status of the individual depend, receive high veneration while the virtues of solidarity, sympathy, and fraternity are correspondingly ingored.... The religious ethics of the middle class is marked throughout by this characteristic of individualism.¹⁰

The religious ethics of the middle class aimed to encourage the development of men of character, men possessed of strong will power who consistently strove to conduct their business in such a way as to make it both a financial success and a triumph of the moral virtues.

Church Activity

For the Protestant elite the church was the traditional center of stability and moral influence. Not only did they play an important part in the executive and legislative departments of the church but they also shared a common interest in its philanthropic and missionary work.

¹⁰H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Holt, 1929; reprint ed., New York: New American Library, 1957), pp. 86-87.

George Lang Johnston, a teacher at the Collegiate Institute and session clerk of Central Church, probably expressed the sentiments of most (if not all) of the lay elite when he said, "I have always considered the church the greatest institution of all, because it goes beyond the physical and the material."¹¹

The elaborate lay structure of Methodism with its lay preachers and notably its class leaders, who exercised pastoral responsibility over the members living in their area, was like a "church outside the church."¹² The lay initiative of the Methodists was particularly evident in their Sunday school and youth work, their missionary endeavors, their givings and, as we shall see later, in their membership in associations whose object was the diffusion of the Scriptures and their involvement in prohibition and moral reform. Typical of the practical and spiritual leadership exercised by the Centenary elite were such men as John Joseph Green, secretary-treasurer of the Sanford Manufacturing Company. A deeply religious man, Greene was especially interested in the formation of the moral nature of the child and, for thirty-eight years, was superintendent of the Centenary Sunday school. As a local

¹¹"Worry, Not Work, Shortens Life, Is Sage Admonition" (HS, 14 Jan 1944, p. 11).

¹²E. R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City (London: Lutterworth, 1957), p. 267.

preacher and class leader, he exercised a quiet but effective spiritual leadership in the life of the congregation. In 1899, Greene succeeded Senator Sanford as secretary of the Trust Board and in 1917, succeeded Stephen Franklin Lazier as recording steward.

The well-known class leader, Seneca Jones, founder and proprietor of the Canadian Miller's Mutual Fire Insurance Company, was one of the oldest members of Centenary Church, having been with the congregation when it was located at its former MacNab Street site. Not only was he a trustee of Centenary for many years but he was also a trustee of the Hannah Street Church since its founding in 1874 and continued in this capacity after it became the Charlton Avenue Methodist Church in 1907. Like Greene, he was deeply concerned with the development of Christian character and served on the Sunday School Board of Centenary Church for over thirty years and as superintendent of the Sunday school of the Boys' Home for over fifteen years. He was also the first president of the Hamilton District Class Leaders' Association.¹³

S.F. Lazier, lawyer, led a long and distinguished career in the religious affairs of Centenary Church. In 1892, he succeeded his father-in-law, Joseph Lister, as recording steward, the highest office that can be conferred

¹³"Class Leaders Organize" (HS, 22 Oct 1897, p. 1).

on a layman in the Methodist Church. He held this position for nearly a quarter century. He was also a class leader, Sunday school officer and trustee and represented Centenary at the district meetings, as well as at the annual general conferences. In addition, Lazier was a director of the Grimsby Park Association.

For over thirty years, William Aspley Robinson, president and general manager of the D. Moore Company, served Centenary Church as a steward and as a member of the Trustee and Quarterly Boards. As well, he was connected with the Sunday school.

W.W. Robinson, vice-president of the D. Moore Company, was also a trustee and a member of the Quarterly Board, as well as a local preacher and class leader for many years of "one of the largest classes in connection with Centenary church."¹⁴

A leading member of Centenary Church since 1868, Senator Sanford, founder of the Sanford Manufacturing Company, carried on the tradition established by his stepfather, Edward Jackson. He was a steward, secretary of the Trust Board, treasurer of several of the most important church funds, as well as a lay delegate to every general conference since the union of the Methodist bodies. A devoted member of the Music Committee, it was much to his

¹⁴"Tokens of Esteem" (HS, 31 Dec 1896, p. 8).

credit that the musical services were considered to be the best in the city.¹⁵ He was one of the principle subscribers to the building fund for the erection of Centenary Church,¹⁶ and contributed liberally to the missionary, educational and other agencies of the Methodist Church.

Like his father, F.W. Watkins, Sr., who was one of the original trustees of Centenary Church and numbered among its principle subscribers,¹⁷ F.W. Watkins, Jr., owner of Pratt and Watkins and founder of the Frederick W. Watkins' Department Store, was a trustee, as well as a steward and a member of the Quarterly Board. He took a particular interest in the promotion of Christian knowlege and living and , in his earlier years, had been a Sunday school officer and teacher. Watkins accepted the Bible as his sole religious authority and placed special trust in the literal interpretation of prophetic passages.

Similarly, the Presbyterian policy of resting the governance of the church on a body of elders produced a high level of lay involvement. And like Methodism, the social humanism of Presbyterian theology drove many of Central's lay leaders into an active, strenuous life directed towards

¹⁵"All Classes Mourn His Untimely Death," "His Death a Great Loss" (HS, 11 Jul 1899, p. 1).

¹⁶Centenary United Church, Hamilton, Ont., Historic Committee, The Centenary Church, the United Church of Canada, 1868-1968 [Hamilton, 1968], p. 6.

¹⁷Ibid.

the realization of Christian ideals of conduct. James Joseph Evel, partner in the casket manufacturing firm of Semmens and Evel, taught in the Sunday school at Central Church for several decades and was its superintendent from 1907 to 1918, continuing in an honorary capacity thereafter until his death in 1932. He was also chairman of the Mission Committee and president of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.

J. M. Gibson, lawyer and provincial cabinet minister, was described as a "staunch Churchman and a generous giver to all the schemes of his church."¹⁸ His strong interest in youth is reflected in the positions of honorary president which he held in the Boys' Brigade and the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor.

The Lees family was well represented among the officers of Central Church. All were descendants of George and Jane (Ramger) Lees who belonged to the tiny congregation which separated from the West Flamborough church and established the first Secessionist church in Hamilton. Their son, William, Sr. bakery shop proprietor, was a trustee for nearly thirty years and a Sunday school officer as well. His son and namesake was chairman of the Committee of Management. The grandsons of George and Jane, George and Thomas, Jr., jewelers, continued the family tradition

¹⁸"Sir John Gibson Dies and Distinguished Son Is Lost to Dominion" (HS, 4 Jun 1929, p. 7).

through their long tenure on the Sunday School Board which spanned more than thirty-five years respectively.

George Rutherford, senior partner in the wholesale drug firm of J. Winer and Company, served the Presbyterian Church in all its courts and on many boards and committees of the General Assembly.¹⁹ He also generously assisted in the support of Knox College, Manitoba College and other educational institutions associated with his Church. For over a generation, he held the position of Sunday school superintendent at Central Church. Well-known throughout the province for his progressive views on the Christian training of young people, Rutherford warmly endorsed the Boy's Brigade movement.²⁰ In 1897, he was elected vice-president of the Ontario Sunday School Teachers' Association.²¹ A liberal churchman in his views, Rutherford was a strong supporter of the church union movement.²²

Compared to the dispersed power of the Methodist and Presbyterian laity, the episcopal form of government appeared to severely limit the role of the Anglican laity to

¹⁹The Presbyterian Church in Canada, Presbyteries, Hamilton, Ont., The Presbytery of Hamilton: 1836-1967 [Hamilton 1967], p. 144.

²⁰"To Make Them Good Men" (HS, 22 Mar 1895, p. 5).

²¹"Children Still the Theme" (HS, 29 Oct 1897, p. 5).

²²Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario, vol. 3, (Toronto: Dominion Pub. Co., 1927), p. 40.

the management of the church's temporal affairs. Seven members of the Board of Management of Christ's Church -- Alexander Bruce, lawyer; George Harcourt Bull, postal clerk; Dr. Edwin Alexander Gaviller, physician; John James Mason, head of his own accounting firm; James Edwin O'Reilly, Master-in-Chancery; George Roach, gentleman; and Charles Sumner Scott, head of the accounting firm of C. S. Scott and Company -- occupied the chief lay position of church-warden and all, except Bull and O'Reilly, served as synodical delegates. Mason was also honorary lay secretary of the Provincial Synod, and both he and Scott were for many years delegates to the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada. However, the activist and humanistic conception of Christian life which especially characterized the lay leaders of Centenary, and to a lesser extent those of Central, was not a feature of the Christ's Church leadership who perforce tended to emphasize the mechanics of church operation rather than goals which emphasized the implementation of religious ideals.

By encouraging the adaptation of the personality to secular life, the churches gave universal significance to the leaders' activist orientations, such that it made sense of the whole of their life. Hence, they threw themselves into the support of their church in the same way they did their other pursuits. But unlike the benevolent society or the jockey club, the church existed as an agent

in society to give meaning to these and all their other secular activities.

Public Affairs

Wealth and the ownership of property were the hallmarks of Hamilton's highly structured society where those in possession of economic means, as determined by their power to dispose of goods and skills for the sake of income, became not only the rich members of society but also its political and social leaders. At least two of the leaders, W.E. Sanford of Centenary and William Hendrie of Central, were millionaires. Another prominent leader of Central Church, William Augustus Wood, was the son of the millionaire entrepreneur and politician, Andrew Trew Wood. The rest of this chapter, as well as the next two chapters, seeks to discover who among the lay elite were the participants in Hamilton's business, political and cultural life, their level of involvement and in what ways they contributed to the city's growth and development. Table 3-8 provides the reader with a general picture of the comparative public presence of the lay leaders of each church.

As one would expect, the lay leaders took for granted the general structure of capitalistic class relationships. Their entrepreneurial aspirations, couched within the framework of national goals and ideals, reflected the opportunities for new enterprise and profit created by

Table 3-8 Public Presence of the Male Lay Leaders

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Total Number of Male Lay Leaders	34	38	12
% with Directorships	20.6	21.1	66.7
% Who Held Public Office	35.3	18.4	41.7
% in Voluntary Assns.	61.8	52.6	91.7
% in Public Office Who Owned Property	35.3	15.8	33.3

industrialism. As Table 3-9 shows, just over one-quarter of the 84 male leaders, 7 from Centenary and 8 each from Central and Christ's Church, held one or more directorships or executive positions in a wide range of businesses. Directorships in financial institutions accounted for 38.9 percent of their interests; transportation, 24.4 percent and manufacturing, 21.1 percent. The 49 directorships held by the leading men of Central Church attests to the dynamic and creative role that Scottish immigrants played in shaping the Canadian economy. Of the 90 directorships represented in this table, 55.6 percent were held by only 17.4 percent of the leaders with outside business interests. By far the largest number belonged to the financier, industrialist and railway magnate, William Hendrie, who sat on the boards of 22 companies. His colleague at Central, John Morison Gibson, was a director of 13 companies; yet Gibson's career

especially both stimulated and reflected the immense change in Hamilton from a bustling commercial city to an urban, industrial center.

Table 3-9 Distribution of Directorships Held by the Male Lay Leaders by Type of Enterprise*

Type of Business	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Finance	5	15	15
Banks & Loan Companies	3	7	8
Insurance		2	3
Land		3	1
Mortgages, Securities & Trusts	2	3	3
Manufacturing	3	13	3
Clothing & Textiles	1	1	
Food & Beverages		1	3
Glass		2	
Iron & Steel Products	2	9	
Transportation	4	15	3
Inter-Urban Railways	2	10	1
Steamships & Ferries	1	2	1
Street Railways	1	3	1
Other**	5	6	3
Total Directorships Held	17	49	24
Number of Leaders	7	8	8
% of Total Leadership	20.6	21.1	66.7

*Includes all directorships and executive offices held during the lifetime of the leaders.

**Includes coal importing firm, drainage company, electric power and gas companies, hotel, laundry, mining company, publishing companies, refinery and stock yards.

A lawyer by vocation, Gibson was an industrialist and financier by avocation. He was a dominating figure with "unlimited determination and unmistakable inclination and power to lead."²³ He was responsible for bringing to the city the Hamilton Iron and Steel Works which began operations in December 1895. Through his efforts, negotiations with the city for the establishment of a Canadian branch of the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company were brought to a successful close in 1896.²⁴ Gibson was one of the original promoters and long term president of the Cataract Power Company, a pioneer in the long distance transmission of electricity. In this large undertaking, he was associated with John Dixon, John Patterson, John W. Sutherland, and John Moodie. Gibson was long connected with the Hamilton Radial Railway and one of the backers of the Terminal Station Company. In 1899, Gibson, Patterson, Moodie and other industrialists from Canada, the United States and Germany incorporated the Hoepfner Refining Company, with a capital stock of \$600,000 for the purpose of the mining and refining of zinc, lead, silver, nickle and copper ores.²⁵ Like Hendrie, Gibson was also involved in

²³Hector Charlesworth, ed., A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1919), p. 245.

²⁴"Negotiations Renewed" (HS, 17 Oct 1896, p. 1); "Current Topics" (HS, 19 Oct 1896, p. 4, cl. 2).

²⁵"The First One" (HS, 3 Jun 1899, p. 1); "'Hurrah for Hamilton'" (HS, 4 Dec 1899, p. 8); "Four Times as Big" (HS, 26 Dec 1899, p. 8).

land and securities, banking, insurance and transportation.

Two other leaders with a large number of directorships were George Roach of Christ's Church and William Eli Sanford of Centenary Church. Among the more important of Roach's eight directorships were the Bank of Hamilton and the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway. As well, he was chairman of the Omnium Securities Company and president of the Anglo-Canadian Mortgage Company. Sanford's seven directorships included the Manitoba and North Western Railway Company, the Exchange Bank and the National Trust Company of Toronto. He was vice-president of the Provident and Loan Company and was also associated with Hendrie and others in the proposal to form a Canadian bicycle trust, the Canada Cycle and Motor Company.²⁶ The other nineteen leaders held an average of two directorships. But whether the lay elite sat on the board of a company or the Board of Trade or City Council, they were persistent and effective advocates of the city's interests and brought a high level of expertise and business efficiency to their positions.

The Protestant elite who held public office represented one-quarter of the 84 male lay leaders (Table 3-10). All belonged to the professional, commercial or manufacturing ranks and were highly successful in their chosen careers. Clearly, business success was a prime

²⁶"To Form a Trust" (HS, 7 Apr 1899, p. 1).

Table 3-10 Distribution of Public Offices Held by the Male Lay Leaders*

Offices	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Municipal			
Mayor			3
Alderman	4	3	4
Board of Cemetery Govs.	1		1
Board of Education	6	3	1
Board of Health	1		
Central Market, Clerk of		1	
City Hospital Board	1	1	1
Court of Revision			1
Public Parks Board	2		
Public Library Board	1		1
Sanitary Board		1	
Provincial			
Lieutenant-Governor		1	
Provincial Cabinet		1	
Board of License Comms.	2	1	
Ontario Hospital Board	1		
Toll Roads Commission			1
Federal			
Senator	1		
Member of Parliament		1	
Collector of Customs		1	
Total Offices Held	20	14	13
Number of Leaders	12	7	5
% of Total Leadership	35.3	18.4	41.7

*Includes all offices held during the lifetime of the male lay leaders.

requisite for community leadership. More important, a large number were wealthy as Table 3-11 illustrates. Nearly three-fifths of their properties were assessed at \$5,000 or more. The significance of wealth is illustrated by the

Table 3-11 Property Values, 1899, of the Male Lay Leaders Who Held Public Office

Property Value \$	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Under 2500	1		
2500-4999	4	4	
5000-7499	3		2
7500-9999	2	1	1
10,000 & over	2	1	1
Number of Leaders	12	6	4
% of Total Leadership	35.3	15.8	33.3

inheritance George Roach of Christ's Church received on the death of his father which made him financially independent and thus enabled him to resume his political career which the pressure of business had forced him to abandon in 1859 after only two terms as alderman.²⁷

The chief preoccupation of the leaders, particularly the Anglicans, was the administration of the city and the development of industry and commerce. The first thing that strikes our attention in Table 3-10 is the monopolization of the mayor's chair by the Christ's Church elite and their

²⁷G. Mercer Adam, ed., Prominent Men of Canada (Toronto: Canadian Biographical Pub. Co., 1892), p. 124. The exact amount of Roach's inheritance is not known. However, when he reentered city politics in 1872, Roach held 1,212 shares, valued at \$60,600, in the Canadian Bank of Commerce, plus 100 shares in the Bank of Hamilton valued at \$10,000. In 1871, his share holdings in the Commerce were valued at \$40,500, and he had no stock in the Bank of Hamilton. Prior to then, Roach's shares in the Commerce amounted to \$15,000 in 1869 and \$10,000 in 1867.--Canada, Sessional Papers (1868), no. 12; (1870), no. 6; (1872), no. 13; (1873), no. 11.

strong representation on City Council reflecting the Church of England's historical identification with established authority and its urban character. By 1891, the Methodist's numerical superiority and their solid economic position, which they had maintained since the mid-century, appears to show signs that his situation was changing. While 3 of the 4 aldermen from Centenary entered politics in the 1890s, the aldermanic and mayoral careers of the Christ's Church leaders belonged to earlier decades. Of the two aldermen from Central Church, one served in the 1890s.²⁸

The large percentage of Centenary's leaders who served on the Board of Education reflects the historic role of Methodism as a potent force in the spread of popular education. No less than six of its lay officers were elected to the board. All functioned on its important standing committees and, with the exception of Thomas Henry Pratt, all served as chairman. Their lengthy terms attest to the competence and dedication with which they conducted its affairs. In contrast, only three of Central's lay officers were represented on the board and only one from

²⁸Centenary Church--C.V. Emory, 1897; F. W. Fearman, 1866; T. H. Pratt, first elected in 1891; F.W. Watkins, 1895, 1897. Christ's Church--R.A. Kennedy, dates unknown. J.J. Mason: ald., 1878-83, 1886-89; mayor, 1884-85. J. E. O'Reilly: ald., 1865-68, 1870-78; mayor, 1869, 1879-81. G. Roach: ald., 1858-59, 1873-74; mayor, 1875-76. Central Church--J. Crerar, 1880; W. Hill, 1897-1900.

Christ's Church.²⁹ Like their Centenary brothers, they did important committee work and all presided over the board. The Methodists also dominated in the areas of hospital administration and public parks. Although each church contributed one leader to the Hospital Board of Governors, it was under the chairmanship of Pratt (1912-1928) that the hospital was brought to the forefront as a major treatment center.

Of the 24 leaders who participated in Hamilton's public life, 13 were active in the riding associations of both major political parties. Practically all were sought as candidates for provincial or federal office; however, most declined the honor for business reasons or because their interests lay in civic affairs. The Methodists and Presbyterians played the most important political roles at the provincial and federal levels. Centenary boasted a senator, W. E. Sanford, and Central a provincial cabinet minister, John Morison Gibson, who later became Ontario's tenth Lieutenant-Governor. As well, Central's Adam Zimmerman represented Hamilton West in Ottawa from 1904 to 1908 where he "proved an able defender of the best interests

²⁹Centenary Church--J. O. Callaghan, 1901-20; F. W. Fearman, 1867-84; S. F. Lazier, 1886-1910; T. H. Pratt, 1896-1901; A. Ward, 1903-17; T. W. Watkins, 1904-12. Central Church--J. M. Gibson, 1871-84; J. W. Lamoreaux, 1906-12; A. Zimmerman, 1896-1905. Christ's Church--J. J. Mason, 1891-1900.

of his city."³⁰ As a reward for loyal service to the Liberal Party, Laurier appointed him collector of customs for the Port of Hamilton on 26 April 1910.

Voluntary Associations

The involvement of the Protestant elite in public affairs in Hamilton in the last decade of the century was one measure of their rising social status and the elan of evangelical Christianity. Another indication was their widespread interest in new types of association for cultural, economic and recreational purposes, as well as for the advancement of social objectives. While the typology in Tables 3-12 and 3-13 gives the broad picture of the patterns of membership, it provides little information about the function of these organizations. Indeed, the distinction between meliorative and non-meliorative while useful for statistical purposes is nonetheless arbitrary since there was some overlap in their activities. Some fraternal societies, for example, did support charitable enterprises, and both fraternal and patriotic societies sought to inculcate good citizenship, loyalty to country and love of home as did the Hamilton Council of Women (HCW), the YMCA, the YWCA and some religious groups.

³⁰Jesse Edgar Middleton and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario, vol. 3. (Toronto: Dominion Pub. Co., 1927), p. 198.

Table 3-12 Distribution of Memberships of the Male Lay Leaders by Type of Voluntary Association*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Meliorative			
Benevolent Societies	5	9	9
Charitable Institutions	16	17	15
Education	8	5	3
Health and Welfare	28	18	5
Pressure Groups	10	1	
Religious and Church	7	4	1
Temperance	7		1
Other	4		2
Total Memberships	85	54	36
Number of Leaders	14	15	11
% of Total Leadership	41.2	39.5	91.7
Non-Meliorative			
Economic, Occupational & Professional	23	16	12
Cultural and Patriotic	16	13	13
Fraternal	16	23	12
Social & Recreational	16	29	27
Total Memberships	70	81	63
Number of Leaders	16	18	11
% of Total Leadership	47.1	47.4	91.7
Combined Memberships	156	135	100
Number of Leaders	21	20	11
% of Total Leadership	61.8	52.6	91.7

*For details, see Appendix IV.

The diverse religious traditions of the three leadership groups is emphasized in the patterns of associational memberships, as well as of public offices and directorships. The detailed and effective method Wesley

Table 3-13 Distribution of Memberships of the Female Lay Leaders by Type of Voluntary Association*

Association	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Charitable Institutions	10	17	12
Health & Welfare	7	19	10
Religious & Church	2	1	2
Temperance	3	1	
Other		1	1
Total Memberships	22	39	25
Number of Leaders	5	9	7
% of Total Leadership	27.8	27.3	70.0

*For details, see Appendix V.

developed for forming the kind of character he thought requisite for social as well as individual salvation made the Methodists predominant in meliorative associations and in public office. The Scottish Calvinist tradition with its strong sense of the productive function of capital saw the Presbyterians predominate in company board rooms and in non-meliorative associations, while the corporate structure of the Church of England and its traditional identification with the state gave the Anglicans a higher political profile and a lower philanthropic profile.

The complexity of problems confronting Hamilton's businessmen and the consciousness of their mutual concerns underlying competitive activities led a number of the lay leaders to join various economic associations in order to

protect and advance their business interests through the exercise of their collective influence in civic affairs and on government economic policy. The principal economic organization at the local level was the Hamilton Board of Trade, to which Centenary contributed two presidents and Central one. When W. A. Robinson of Centenary Church was president, he was "instrumental in preserving Niagara power rights for Ontario at a time when they were threatened by American interests."³¹ His colleague W. E. Sanford, who also served as the board's president, became the first president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1886 when he and other prominent industrialists reorganized the Ontario Manufacturers' Association making it a Dominion organization. Two other members of the board's executive, William Hendrie of Central Church and George Roach of Christ's Church, led in the founding of the Hamilton Central Fair Association in 1871.

The rapid urbanization of Canadian society during the late nineteenth century with its consequent dissolution of traditional family relationships and social ties witnessed the growth of a multiplicity of fraternal societies. Membership in these societies not only provided economic security and served as a forum for the affirmation of cultural values but also conferred definite business and

³¹"W. A. Robinson, After Life of Good Works, Summoned by Death" (HH, 31 Aug 1921, p. 1).

social advantages. Applicants had to conform to a certain social, moral and financial standard. As Max Weber observed, these fraternities were the "typical vehicles of social ascent into the circle of the entrepreneurial middle class [and] ... served to diffuse and to maintain the bourgeois capitalist business ethos among the broad strata of the middle classes...."³² It is not surprising, therefore, that at least one-third of the lay leaders were members of a fraternal organization.

Devoted to the ideal of universal brotherhood, Masonry attracted more members of the Protestant elite than any other fraternal order: 11 from Central Presbyterian, 9 from Centenary Methodist, and 5 from Christ's Church. One of the most distinguished Masons of his time, the Honorable John Morison Gibson of Central Church undoubtedly expressed the sentiments of all members when he characterized the order as a "formative power in national life and in the making of better men and better citizens."³³ From 1892 to 1893, Gibson was Grand Master of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada and for nine years, Sovereign Grand Commander of the

³²Max Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" in From Max Weber, translated, edited and with an introduction by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1948), p. 308.

³³Norman Macdonald, The Barton Lodge, A.F. and A.M., No. 6, G.R.C., 1795-1945 (Toronto: Ryerson, 1945), p. 170.

Scottish Rite in Canada. Other prominent members of Freemasonry among the Central Church elite were James Joseph Evel and Thomas Lees, Jr., both of whom ranked as 33d degree members of the Scottish Rite, and Adam Zimmerman, a holder of the 32d degree and "prominent in the activities of the craft."³⁴ Lees was an honorary member of the Supreme Council A&ASR in Canada and, along with Evel and Zimmerman, belonged to the Royal Order of Scotland.

Among the notables of the Masonic fraternity from Centenary Church were James Orr Callaghan who held the 32d degree, Dr. C. VanNorman Emory, district Deputy Grand Master of Hamilton, Dr. Herbert Spohn Griffin, a member of the 33d degree who rose to the rank of Grand First Principal of the Grand Chapter of Canada, and Stephen Franklin Lazier. Widely known in Masonic circles throughout Canada and the United States, Lazier was a member of Barton Lodge, a Master of Temple Lodge and a member of all the Scottish Rite bodies.

The outstanding member of Freemasonry from Christ's Church was John James Mason who in 1874 was elected Grand Secretary of the Masonic Grand Lodge of Canada. Such was his popularity that Mason was reelected to this position year after year as a matter of course. In addition, he was

³⁴"Collector of Customs Died This Morning" (HS, 21 Nov 1919, p. 1).

First Principal of the Grand Chapter, Grand Registrar of the Great Priory of Canada, Deputy for Ontario of the Supreme Council A&A Rite for Canada and Provincial Warden for Canada of the Royal Order of Scotland.

Other fraternal associations which the lay leaders belonged to were the Ancient Order of United Workmen, Canadian Fraternal Association, Canadian Order of Chosen Friends, Canadian Order of Home Circles, Independent Order of Foresters, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Royal Arcanum and the Travelers' Circle. The outstanding name among these various memberships is that of John Burgess Turner of Central Church who was Grand Master of the Odd Fellows of Ontario and a key figure in the establishment of the Ontario Odd Fellows' Home in Toronto.

The exclusive social and recreational clubs offered business and professional men a wide range of pastimes, such as bicycling, bowling, cricket, curling, fishing, football, golf, horse racing, shooting and yachting. The Methodists appear to have been less supportive of this type of organization, their interests running more in the direction of fraternal, occupational, religious and service associations. The 16 club memberships of the Centenary leadership were distributed among only 5 of the 16 leaders who belonged to non-meliorative associations compared with 29 club memberships held by 10 of the 18 leaders from Central Church and 27 club memberships held by 8 of the 11

leaders from Christ's Church. Of the 72 different clubs which the male leaders belonged to, the prestigious Hamilton Club was the clear favorite of the socially active elite in all three churches. It claimed 13 members: 6 from Christ's church, 3 of whom were charter members; 4 from Centenary and 3 from Central. Other favorite clubs of the elite were the Hamilton Cricket Club; Hamilton Golf and Country Club; Hamilton Jockey Club, founded by George Roach and other sporting enthusiasts led by William Hendrie of Central Church; Royal Hamilton Yacht Club of which W. E. Sanford was a charter member and commodore; and the Thistle Curling Club. A leading advocate of a club for businessmen, James Wilmot Lamoreaux of Central Church founded the Commercial Club which he presided over for many years. He also helped to organize the Twentieth Century Club.

There were still other arenas of voluntary association in which the lay elite were involved, not the least of which were cultural organizations for the advancement of the arts and sciences. Laymen such as F.W. Fearman and W.A. Robinson of Centenary Church; J.M. Gibson, George Lang Johnston, George Lees and John Burgess Turner of Central Church; and Dr. Edwin Alexander Gaviller of Christ's Church were involved in the long standing Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art. Founded in 1857 by an intellectually lively community of leading citizens, the Hamilton Association served not

only as a vehicle for self-culture and rational uplift but as well sought to advance the practical utility of knowledge. Johnston served two consecutive terms as president of the association from 1904/05 to 1905/06. Around 1885, Gibson used his political connections to secure for the association an annual grant of \$400 from the Ontario government which made possible the publication of its Proceedings and helped with the rent of the museum.³⁵

Drama and music were also well served by the leading laity. The organizer of the Garrick Club, J. Crerar, took a prominent part in amateur theatricals produced by the club on behalf of the city's charitable institutions. Founded in 1875, the Garrick Club "played to scores of audiences and earned a national reputation" before it was disbanded in 1910.³⁶ W.A. Robinson was president of the Philharmonic Society at the time it secured the services of Prof. Frederick Herbert Torrington of Toronto. And Arthur Douglas Braithwaite of Christ's Church, noted as a fine singer, was the first president of the famed Elgar Choir.

Likewise, Mrs. John Calder and Mrs. Newton Denick Galbreith of Central Church who "cherished great dreams for

³⁵Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art, 100th Anniversary, 1857-1957 (Hamilton, 1958), pp. 36-37.

³⁶C.M. Johnston, The Head of the Lake, 2d ed. rev. (Hamilton: Wentworth County Council, 1967), p. 231.

the encouragement of art in Hamilton,"³⁷ were principals in the organization of the Hamilton Woman's Art Association in 1894. The object was "to create an interest in art and assist the local painters,"³⁸ but led directly, with the cooperation of the HCW, to the acquisition of the old Public Library building as a municipal art gallery and museum.³⁹

Finally, local history caught the imagination of the lay elite, and local historical societies were an important means by which they sought to recapture the past and perpetuate the memories of the settlers and their descendants whose industry and loyalty to British institutions laid the foundations for national greatness. Berger notes that fifteen such societies were established in Ontario between 1882 and 1896.⁴⁰ Among them was the Wentworth Historical Society founded on 8 January 1889 by F.W. Fearman, J.M. Gibson and other leading citizens, including Mrs. Calder, president of its first Ladies' Committee, which was later reorganized as the Women's Wentworth Historical Society.

³⁷"Mrs. Calder Is Claimed By Death" (HS, 16 Mar 1914, p. 1).

³⁸"Noble Workers Among Hamilton Women," "Mrs. John Calder," (HT, 19 Dec 1908, p. 13).

³⁹Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 30.

⁴⁰Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1970), p. 96.

History was a celebration of the lay leaders' British inheritance and its striking record of material progress, the advancement of liberty and the growth of free institutions which had revolutionized the conditions of life and showed every promise of continued improvement. Each scientific discovery, each technological innovation had removed one obstacle after another, bringing man closer to a state of general happiness. The inexorable march of reason which, as they thought, disclosed itself in the British genius was a sure sign to the lay leaders that the Empire had been blessed with the gift of divine favor as the torch bearer of civilization. "The destiny of man was not left to blind chance," Dr. James Alexander McLellan of Centenary Church told the members of the Hamilton Club. Through laymen of keen intellect, strong convictions and will power, "God rules in history."⁴¹

Education

On the boundary of the public and the voluntary was the domain of education. Nothing was of more consequence than the school for instilling the principles of conduct important in their achievement-oriented society. As usual J.M. Gibson seemed to be everywhere, prodding and promoting where he was not originating. When the University of Toronto Act was revised in 1873 allowing for the Senate to

⁴¹"Men of a Northern Zone" (HS, 12 Nov 1897, p. 8).

become, in part, an elective body, Gibson was among the fifteen members elected for a five year term. He was reelected in 1878 and again in 1883. He was also a director of the Toronto Conservatory of Music. As a member of the Hamilton Board of Education he contributed substantially to the raising of standards in the public schools. During his tenure, the Collegiate Institute, which he represented, became one of the leading secondary schools in Canada.⁴² Gibson was ready to give his support to any institution "that was likely to add to the prestige of the city," says J. H. Smith, a former school inspector for Wentworth County. The establishment of the Hamilton Art School in 1886, a mechanical arts college designed to serve the emerging industrial society with a work force skilled in the new technology, is a perfect illustration of his generous public spirit and vision. "He can fairly claim to be its founder," continues Smith, "for he not only gave of his means to support it, but he used his personal influence in its favor and acted as its president for five years."⁴³ Gibson's influence also made it possible for Hamilton to obtain the Ontario Normal College.⁴⁴ The several scholarships and

⁴²J. H. Smith, The Central School Jubilee Re-Union, August 1903 (Hamilton: Spectator Print. Co., 1905), pp. 55-56.

⁴³Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁴"Now Formally Opened" (HS, 2 Oct 1897, p. 5).

prizes which he established were symbolic of his belief that everybody should have an equal opportunity to succeed and that life should hold out incentives to encourage industry and reward the deserving.⁴⁵

In the second half of the eighties, Gibson and F. W. Fearman figured prominently in the movement to establish the Hamilton Public Library.⁴⁶ They were supported by Mayor J.J. Mason who "argued that a free library could be maintained without increasing taxation."⁴⁷ Fearman made his voice heard throughout the city not only in his writings on the subject but at public meetings called in the interest of the by-law.⁴⁸ "This public-spirited citizen," says Jaques, "never posed as an orator. When speaking in council, at the board of education, or upon any public platform, fitting were the words used, brief and pertinent. He was rather a thinker and do-something than a talker and a do-nothing."⁴⁹ He was one of the first members of the Public Library Board

⁴⁵W. H. Ballard, "Sir John Gibson," University of Toronto Monthly 21(1921):403.

⁴⁶C. M. Johnston, The Head of the Lake, 2d ed. rev. (Hamilton: Wentworth County Council, 1967), p. 224.

⁴⁷Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, vol. 1 (Hamilton 1981), p. 152.

⁴⁸"Fearman, Frederick W.," from Mrs. L. F. Stephens' scrapbook, HPLSC.

⁴⁹Jacques, [pseud.] "An Aged and Honored Citizen (HH, 27 Jan 1905).

and succeeded J. E. O'Reilly of Christ's Church as chairman in 1891.

One of the representative institutions of the city was the Hamilton Art School. In 1891, W. A. Robinson, one of the school's principle founders and generous benefactors, succeeded J. M. Gibson as its president. The school's board of directors included S. F. Lazier, W. E. Sanford and George Rutherford. J. G. Cloke of Centenary Church and his colleague, F. W. Watkins, as well as Dr. E. A. Gaviller of Christ's Church, were members of the Presiding Committee at Examinations.

Carrying on the tradition of his step-father, Edward Jackson, Sanford served as president of the Hamilton Ladies' College and sat on the Board of Governors of Victoria University. In connection with the latter institution, he founded the Sanford gold medals in mathematics and divinity. George Roach was also associated with the Ladies' College as vice-president.

Among the sixty-five founding members of the Hamilton Law Association were Alexander Bruce of Christ's Church and John Crerar and J. M. Gibson. Established in 1877, Bruce became the association's first treasurer. Other leaders who served the cause of education were George Rutherford who supplied a silver medal to be awarded to the student with the highest standing in commercial work at the Collegiate Institute, and Dr. H. S. Griffin who was an examiner in

obstetrics at the University of Toronto.

Not everyone would have agreed precisely with Dr. James Alexander McLellan's formulation of educational theory or, indeed, have gone so far in systematic reflection. Few, however, would have disagreed with his idealist characterization of the process and goal of education -- and nothing better described their own sense of what they were about in all their community activity. The object of knowledge, McLellan held, was an ideal of character to be realized through the active striving of the will in the harmonious development of man's physical, moral and intellectual natures. He restricted knowledge to the realm of experience but attributed to the mind an a priori constructive function in building the raw materials of sensations into the systematic structure of experience where God was the ideal by which all perceptions were measured and judged.

That alone is education which fits the young for modern life and civilization. The whole man should be educated--the mind and emotional nature. With self-control an active and useful part might be played in any circumstances. Education should raise and harmonize development of all bodily and mental powers. Self-control led to moral and intellectual freedom. Recalling old experiences and making new ones was the sole instrument of learning. Important it was that children should have proper images placed before their minds, or they would invent some curious ones. If education be not a remaking of experiences, all education is mechanical and not worth the name of education. Trust in Divine Providence was the main image to impress on the youthful

mind, and all other images would fall into their fitting place.⁵⁰

The idealistic interpretation of human experience viewed reality as a unified dynamic process, with God as its creator and animating spirit working through finite minds towards the full realization of man's potential. Thus, the ethical goal of education was to lay the foundations of character formation in the early years of childhood through the development of the will. Such an education tended to produce inner-directed men and women who assumed their place in society and executed its obligations and those of their church with punctilious regard.

The Ethos of the Denominations

The intense involvement of the lay leaders in the business of their church at all levels was matched by the wide participation of many of them in Hamilton's economic, political, social and cultural life. In developing strategies to meet the opportunities and difficulties presented by the growth of the city, interdenominational voluntary associations were of central importance in the evangelical impulse to impose cohesion and rectitude on a society in upheaval. From the early missionary and humanitarian societies, the voluntary principle gradually expanded with the rise of industrialism as consciences

⁵⁰"Ontario Educationists" (HS, 5 Apr 1899, p. 7).

quicken to the alarming catalog of evils which menaced the city. Initially these associations concentrated on specifically focused crusades against strong drink and the saloon, prostitution, betting and gambling, violence in sports, and immoral literature and theatrical performances. However, the specter of moral chaos soon led to the creation of such new agencies of moral order as charitable institutions, the YMCA, YWCA, Hamilton CAS, HCW and, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, various undertakings which centered on the urban environment.⁵¹

There may have been some irony in the involvement of many of the laymen in associations at least part of whose purpose was to provide a balance to the hard driving business pursuits so many of them embraced. Whether they sensed the irony is far from clear, and Dr. McLellan's idealism may have seemed a satisfactory rationalization of their activity in both domains. Whatever unity such theory may have provided, there were, nonetheless, notable similarities and differences in the characteristics and typical activity of the lay elite of the three congregations.

Evangelicalism was strongest in the Methodist Church, and it is here that the great moral crusade of the last

⁵¹See Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1978).

quarter of the nineteenth century found its most fervent support. More than the Presbyterians or the Anglicans, the Methodist leadership responded the most vigorously to the needs of industrial Hamilton. As membership in pressure groups indicates, passion in politics was a characteristic of a small group of the Centenary leadership who were determined to reintegrate Hamilton's fragmented society by invigorating its morals and purifying its government. Their membership in the Equal Rights Association, the Hamilton Plebiscite Association and the Prohibition and Moral Reform Association as well as in temperance organizations was an expression of their anxiety over the distressing social conditions wrought by industrialism. The outstanding figure of this group was F. W. Watkins whose career exemplifies Methodism's perfectionist theology. The leaders' mission to spread holiness is particularly noticeable in the link which Methodism had forged between religion and philanthropy. Wesley's doctrine of a socialized will,⁵² emphasizing experience and ethical results, stimulated a vigorous and tireless philanthropy which became the hallmark of Methodism.

Like the Methodists, the Presbyterian leadership were also very much men and women of conscience whose concerns for the moral character of the city and the nation gave them

⁵²Wellman J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Russell & Russell, 1930), pp. 211-214.

a cause for which to live and work. While the activism of the Methodists was much less in evidence among the Presbyterians due to the doctrinal character of Calvinism, the variety of their philanthropic activities points up their acknowledgement that as God's moral agents life was to be lived in service among one's fellow men. However, with the exception of Mrs. John Burgess Turner who was a member of the WCTU, the leaders of Central Church stopped short of temperance crusades. Yet they were not opposed to coercive reform, such as immorality in the theater, betting and gambling, and brutality in sports.

Anglicanism, on the other hand, was the major bearer of the British concept of order. The leaders of Christ's Church followed a strictly conservative path with respect to change and reform, confining themselves to traditional frameworks within which human affairs may be conducted. They distrusted enthusiasm and shunned any alliance with groups committed to agitation. While they sympathized with all judicious efforts to further the moral order, they warned that "legislation in advance of public opinion leads to dishonor of the law, and retards the attainment of the object it seeks to promote."⁵³

⁵³Anglican Church of Canada, Ontario, Synod of the Diocese of Niagara, Journal of Proceedings (1890):71, NCH.

CHAPTER IV

LAY ACTIVITY: PHILANTHROPY AND CHARITY

Social Welfare and Health

By 1890, Hamilton was well on its way to becoming one of the leading manufacturing centers in North America. Tax concessions, free land and cash bonuses had encouraged a number of new industries to locate in the city. A heavy metal and engineering industry had already established itself, and the Hamilton Blast Furnace Company, founded the year before, promised a new era of prosperity. The enlargement of the Welland Canal in 1887, giving Hamilton direct access to the iron ore fields of Minnesota, meant that steel manufacturers could produce pig iron cheaper than the Americans or British. With the completion of the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway in 1896, Hamilton's future was secured, for the new line provided a direct connection to the Appalachian coal fields via Buffalo which substantially reduced coal costs and forced down freight rates charged by the only other line out of Hamilton, the Grand Trunk. Thus, raw materials could be shipped in and the finished products distributed abroad at very competitive rates. But there was another future to secure--the health and welfare of its citizens. Beneath the evidences of steady growth and solid prosperity, urbanization and the

development of a technological society concentrated attention as never before on the debilitating influences of city life upon the individual. Industrialism resulted in the emergence of new and disquieting familial patterns which made it more difficult to keep the family together and to socialize the children in homes where often both parents worked, produced much sickness and disease which was attributed to poverty, ignorance, and generally filthy environmental conditions, and created a new social category of the poor which became identified with the working class.

The lack of positive discipline within the home and the whole range of environmental conditions associated with poverty resulted in an alarming increase in the number of young children whose parents left them to shift for themselves. One answer to the problem of neglected children was education. But getting them to school was another matter. As a member of the Board of Education, S. F. Lazier supported compulsory education for children between the ages of seven and thirteen years and favored the appointment of a truant officer to get the children off the streets at an early age before they became criminals. Not all members of the board, however, saw the need to send these "street Arabs" to school. One member opposed the appointment on the grounds that "it would not be fair to have the children contaminated by scholars who had been allowed to run the streets and were to a certain extent of the criminal

class."¹

One of the most significant pieces of social legislation passed by the Ontario government during the final decade of the nineteenth century was the Children's Protection Act of 1893. The act was intended as a preventative measure to reduce the level of crime by removing neglected and dependent children from their unfavorable surroundings and placing them in foster homes. "Remove the young from schools of crime, and place them under virtuous and benign influences," said the act's sponsor, the Honorable J. M. Gibson, "and almost in the same proportion do we cut off what, later on, will form part of our criminal population."² While the act affirmed the realm of the natural family as the matrix of character, it also undermined the family in relation to the state by claiming the prior authority of the latter over that of the parents in protecting the rights of children as full citizens in cases of cruelty and unfair treatment.³

¹"For Uneducated Children" (HS, 12 Dec 1890, p. 5).

²J. M. Gibson, "The Children's Act," Methodist Magazine (Jan-Jun 1894):39.

³This development may illustrate Robert Morrison MacIver's observation that as society becomes more complex and business extends its range of interests, new tasks are generally imposed on government regardless of "the particular philosophies that governments cherish."--R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government, rev. ed. (New York: Free Pr., 1965), p. 236.

Gibson's support of the legislation is typical of how liberal theory was being redefined to permit state intervention for the welfare of society.⁴ "There is no surer and more effective mode of improving society," said Gibson, "than the rescuing of neglected and dependent children from dangerous environments, wisely caring and providing for them during their early years, and giving them a good chance for a fair start in life."⁵ Training in the habits of industry would make successful men and hence a successful nation. At the 1898 annual meeting of the Children's Aid Society, Gibson remarked that "from a purely mercenary business view an hour a week could not be better spent by business men than in child saving work [for] it would result in the regeneration of the nation."⁶

To carry out the provisions of the Children's Protection Act, a group of over fifty prominent Hamiltonians met in the Board of Trade room on 22 January 1894 to form a Children's Aid Society (CAS). Gibson and the General Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, John Joseph Kelso, another notable Presbyterian, addressed the audience. Among those lay leaders in attendance who later

⁴"Protection of the Young" (HS, 26 Apr 1893, p. 5); J.M. Gibson, "The Children's Act," Methodist Magazine (Jan-Jun 1894):40-41.

⁵J.M. Gibson, "The Children's Act," Methodist Magazine (Jan-Jun 1894):48.

⁶"Saving Little Children" (HS, 10 May 1898, p. 6).

served as officers of the society or on the visiting committee were: Mrs. J. Calder, Mrs. Benjamin E. Charlton, the Honorable and Mrs. J.M. Gibson, M.A. Pennington, and G. Rutherford from Central Church; T.H. Pratt of Centenary Church; and J.M. Burns of Christ's Church who was elected the first treasurer of the society.⁷ Senator Sanford, who was not at the meeting, also served as an officer of the society.

With the expansion of urban industry and a depressed agricultural economy, thousands of unmarried and relatively poor young people migrated to the cities in search of work. The competition between men and women further undermined the traditional roles of man as the breadwinner and woman as the homemaker. As well, the dark side of the city posed a serious menace to individual morality and hence to the family and the nation. The single most important secular agency the lay leaders promoted for dealing with young, urban workingmen was the YMCA. Its general aims were to provide a wholesome alternative to doubtful secular entertainments and places of unquestionably bad reputation and to promote a fully developed manhood. It would almost seem that the YMCA was a Methodist institution from the large number of Centenary leaders who helped to shape and direct its activities. Five of the seven male leaders who sat on the Board of Management served as president, and three of

⁷"Children's Aid Society" (HET, 23 Jan 1894, p. 5).

the four female leaders held executive positions in the Ladies' Aid. They were all men and women whose names were prominently associated with philanthropy in Hamilton: J.O. Callaghan, Mrs. F.W. Fearman, J.J. Greene, Seneca Jones, S.F. Lazier, Mr. and Mrs. W.A. Robinson, Mrs. Mary Rosebrugh, F.W. Watkins and Thomas W. Watkins.

The opportunity which the YMCA offered to young men to develop strong and healthy bodies, to grow both socially and intellectually and to strengthen their spiritual lives prompted J.J. Greene to comment: "The association is one of the good forces of our city, and is probably doing more to neutralize the baneful effects of the saloon and other places of evil than any other institution in the city."⁸ Above all, the leaders involved in the movement saw its primary tasks as fostering the spiritual welfare of its members and pressing for worldwide cooperation and unity among the Christian churches. Following his return from the International YMCA Conference in Amsterdam in August 1891, F.W. Watkins addressed the annual meeting of the Hamilton Association. In the course of his speech, he asked rhetorically what was the value of such a conference and then proceeded to answer his own question.

I would say that if no other good were attained, I consider that meetings of this kind tend to hasten on that day when throughout the length and breadth of the

⁸"The Y.M.C.A. Extension" (HS, 21 Jan 1897, p. 7).

world, 'peace on earth and goodwill toward men' shall be of the highest importance. I believe a conference such as this one I was privileged to attend helps to break down the barriers which separate nations, bringing each one closer to the other, making all feel that they are brethren, children of the one common Father, and having the Lord Jesus Christ as their one and only Savior. I believe that while general good of this kind may have been accomplished by the conference, I am also of opinion that the result of the meetings held, the listening to the addresses, the grasping by the hand of the world's workers in this great cause, all tended to inspire those who were present with a more earnest desire that the Y.M.C.A. of our land and all other lands might be made a blessing to all connected with the work.⁹

G. Rutherford regarded the YMCA as the common ground upon which all the denominations could unite and hence as one of the most powerful agencies in helping to bring about the organic unity of the Christian churches.¹⁰

The national importance of the family was embodied in the objectives of the YWCA which aimed at the preservation of home life and the fostering of a higher ideal of women's duties. The Hamilton YWCA was organized in December 1890 and provided a home and recreational facilities for young women new to the city, as well as for transients. It was a place where women of leisure and education could share with less fortunate women the benefit of their talents and "by sympathy and practical help form a band of earnest Christian workers, who, by their united efforts, may extend an

⁹"The World's Y.M.C.A. Work" (HS, 30 Sep 1891, p. 6).

¹⁰"Twenty-Fifth Anniversary" (HS, 16 Nov 1892, p. 8).

elevating influence throughout the city...."¹¹ One of the original members of the Managing Committee was Miss Martha Julia Cartmell of Centenary Church who served as president of the Hamilton YWCA from 1902 to 1903. Among the lay leaders of Centenary who served as officers in the organization were Mr. And Mrs. S.F. Lazier, treasurer and vice-president respectively, and W.A. Robinson, a director. Central Church was represented by Mrs. B.E. Charlton, Finance Committee, and J.W. Lamoreaux, Advisory Board. Mrs. C.S. Scott of Christ's Church served as treasurer. Mrs. Newton Denick Galbreaith, Mrs. W. Hendrie, G. Rutherford of Central and Mr. and Mrs. F.W. Watkins of Centenary generously contributed to its support.

To meet the threat to home and family, the National Council of Women resolved to "do all in its power to promote the incorporation of a system of manual training in the public schools of Canada, believing that such training will greatly conduce to the welfare of Canadian homes."¹² They argued that "in a time of rapid change and consequent social stress, society had to come to the support of the home."¹³ In July 1894, a delegation from the Hamilton Council of

¹¹"Ladies Doing Noble Work" (HS, 29 Sep 1891, p. 5).

¹²"Manual Training for Girls" (HS, 13 Jul 1894, p. 5).

¹³Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1976), p. 190.

Women (HCW) petitioned the Minister of Education that the public school regulations be amended to permit the teaching of domestic science. The Honorable J.M. Gibson advised them on the construction of the memorial. The delegation included Mrs. S. Lyle, president of the HCW and wife of Central Presbyterian's minister, Mrs. J.M. Gibson, second vice-president, Mrs. J. Calder, Mrs. B.E. Charlton and Mrs. S.F. Lazier. Their reception by the minister was polite but not encouraging.¹⁴

Over the next two and a half years, the battle to have domestic science included in the school curriculum was waged with the Hamilton School Board and the Minister of Education. The breakthrough finally came in January 1897 when J.J. Mason of Christ's Church, who was chairman of the Internal Management Committee, recommended that the board make a \$400 grant to the YWCA for a six month trial period until the end of June so that twenty to twenty-five pupils a day from grades four and five could be given instruction in domestic science Monday through Friday in the association's building. Mason argued that, as a test case, these classes would assist the Minister of Education in deciding whether to include domestic science in the curriculum.¹⁵ The recommendation was adopted. Opponents of the program, like

¹⁴Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton, Ont.,: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 9.

¹⁵"Will Be Put to the Test" (HS, 13 Jan 1897, p. 8).

A. Zimmerman of Central and T.H. Pratt of Centenary, questioned the need for such instruction and pointed to the high cost of education. Pratt objected on the grounds that he did not want taxes "rolled up," adding that "there was a demand for fewer subjects being taught."¹⁶ Nevertheless, on a motion from Lazier, the grant was renewed for the 1897/98 school year.¹⁷ In 1897, the Minister of Education granted school boards the authority to permit the teaching of domestic science.

The dark side of the city had many other threatening aspects, not the least of which were the distressing conditions of poverty, filth, overcrowding and destitution. The lack of sanitation in Hamilton was believed to be a major cause of disease. The alarming death rate of people under the age of twenty was frequently attributed to three contagious diseases: scarlatina, diphtheria and typhoid fever. Unsanitary conditions were also believed responsible for the widespread incidence of the "white plague," as tuberculosis was then popularly known. It was most prevalent in areas of overcrowding and poverty and was the leading cause of death at the time.

The antituberculosis campaign in Hamilton began in 1896 when Mrs. S. Lyle, president of the HCW, alerted the

¹⁶"Vote Resulted in a Tie" (HS, 14 Jan 1898, p. 5).

¹⁷Ibid.; "Off for Another Year" (HS, 3 Feb 1898, p. 8).

members to the necessity for isolation and fresh air treatment of those suffering from this dreaded disease.¹⁸ Having set the wheels in motion, Mrs. Lyle became like an "apostle preaching the new religion" in her efforts to educate the public on the importance of fresh air, both as preventive and therapy, as well as the need for rest and proper diet. But her principal objective was for Hamilton to have its own sanatorium and, to this end, she tirelessly sought out help from those who might assist the plan. As a result of her persistence, a site on the Escarpment was obtained in 1906 and deeded to the recently formed Hamilton Health Association.¹⁹

The Hamilton Health Association grew out of a meeting called in 1904 by Mrs. J.M. Gibson, president of the HCW, for the purpose of convening a representative group of citizens, under the chairmanship of the mayor, to create a fund raising organization that would be responsible for the establishment and management of a sanatorium. Among those elected to the first Board of Directors were T.W. Watkins of Centenary Church; and J.J. Evel, the Honorable J.M. Gibson, and A. Zimmerman of Central Church; among those elected to the first Ladies' Board were Mrs. W. Southam of Christ's

¹⁸Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 13.

¹⁹Marjorie Freeman Campbell, Holbrook of the San (Toronto: Ryerson, 1953), p. 66.

Church, vice president; Mrs. S.F. Lazier and Mrs. T.W. Watkins of Centenary Church; and Mrs. J.M. Gibson and Mrs. S. Lyle of Central Church.

Another moving spirit in the establishment and development of the Hamilton Sanatorium was J.J. Evel. As the result of his work with the Hamilton City Improvement Society, he took a special interest in this disease. He was elected vice-president of the Hamilton Health Association in 1907 and three years later became its president, in which capacity he served for nearly a quarter of a century. Guided by Evel's vision and administrative ability, the Hamilton Health Association went on to build one of the finest institutions for the treatment and prevention of tuberculosis in Canada. His name is commemorated in the Evel Pavilion.

Centenary Church also contributed an outstanding figure to the field of health care, Thomas Henry Pratt. For over thirty years, his name was associated with the Hamilton City Hospital. He was one of the original members of the Hospital Board of Governors which was established in 1896. Prior to then, he had served on the Hospital Committee of Council. Elected chairman of the board in 1912, Pratt was a dominant force in transforming the institution into a modern general hospital.²⁰

²⁰Hamilton General Hospital scrapbook, pp.18-44 passim, HPSLC.

The Hamilton City Hospital was the recipient of very generous support from the Hendrie family of Central Church.²¹ Their benevolence was largely directed through Mrs. William Hendrie who, in 1891, initiated a campaign to build a maternity hospital.²² The secretary of the committee described the hospital as being primarily for the "care and relief of married women who are too poor to receive proper treatment and care in their own homes. Of course," she hastened to add, "the unfortunate and fallen will not be refused admittance, and the chief object in taking them in will be to reclaim them."²³ This building, which still stands, was erected in 1892.²⁴

The formation of the Hamilton branch of the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON) brought home medical and nursing services under the direction of a physician to those who

²¹E. King Dodds relates the story that when William Hendrie's horse, Martimus, won the Futurity of 1898, he donated a substantial part of his winnings to the Hamilton City Hospital for the construction of a wing which was named the Maritimus Annex.--E. King Dodds, Canadian Turf Recollections (Toronto, 1909), p. 141. The anecdote is apocryphal. No record of such a donation exists in the archives of the Hamilton City Hospital nor was any annex ever named the Martimus Annex. Records at the Hamilton City Hall also make no mention of such a donation. It is likely that the money was donated and put with other revenues to support the work of the hospital.--Peter L. Hill, Director of Public Realitions, Hamilton Civic Hospitals, to the author, 30 Aug 1982; S.G. Hollowell, Records Adminstrator, Hamilton City Hall, to the author, 17 Feb 1983.

²²"The Maternity Hospital" (HS, 26 Mar 1891, p. 1).

²³Ibid. (HS, 1 Apr 1891, p. 1).

²⁴Ibid. (HS, 1 Sep 1892, p. 8).

could not afford the luxury of private care. In spite of fierce opposition from the medical profession, the HCW, together with the backing of a number of prominent and influential citizens, saw to it that Hamilton became one of the first cities in Canada to establish a branch of this impressive public health organization.²⁵ Senator Sanford and the Honorable Gibson were both strong supporters of the HCW and fully endorsed the district nursing plan. Sanford not only commended the project for being "in the interests of suffering humanity," but also believed it would advance the cause of higher education for women. While women were already being trained in the arts and "knocking at the doors of the law courts," Sanford felt that women's education would not be complete "until she was able to take her place by the bedsides of the sick and suffering."²⁶ At a meeting in the Centenary Church schoolroom called by the Executive of the HCW to acquaint the public with the nursing order, Senator Sanford rather pompously related how he and Gibson had "recently sounded public opinion on the matter to such good purpose that in an hour they had secured encouragement

²⁵Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton, Ont.: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 16.

²⁶"More About the V.O. of N." (HS, 10 May 1897, p. 8).

to the amount of \$1,300."²⁷ Following Sanford, Gibson turned the attention away from himself and praised the efforts of the council.

The aims of the Council are lofty; they are the result of deliberation; they are far reaching and will effect legislation, as has already been done. This new effort of the Victorian Order deserves the support of all citizens.²⁸

After two years of concentrated public relations, the goal was realized. On 8 May 1899, the following lay leaders were elected to the Management Committee of the VON: W.A. Robinson, Senator and Mrs. W.E. Sanford, and Mr. and Mrs. T.W. Watkins of Centenary Church; Mrs. J. Calder, the Honorable and Mrs. J.M. Gibson, Mrs. S. Lyle, G. Rutherford and Mrs. Andrew Trew Wood of Central Church; and Mrs. Charles Edward Doolittle and Mrs. A.E. Woolverton of Christ's Church. Senator Sanford was elected president of the Board of Management, and the women formed themselves into an Auxiliary Board.²⁹ Other leaders connected with the movement were: Dr. C. VanNorman Emory and F.W. Watkins of Centenary Church; Mrs. B.E. Charlton, Mrs. W. Hendrie and A. Zimmerman of Central Church; and former mayors J.J. Mason

²⁷Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton, Ont.: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 17; "Woman's Wit and Wisdom" (HS, 10 Nov 1897, p. 5).

²⁸Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton, Ont.: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 17.

²⁹Ibid.

and G. Roach of Christ's Church.³⁰

Charity

The negative effects of rapid industrialization posed a serious challenge to the building of the nation. The great accumulations of wealth by the business elite, symbolized by their elegant residences on the rising ground approaching the Mountain, focused public attention on the dingy workers' blocks and the unwholesome environment of Hamilton's factory neighborhoods. The poor were looked upon as a class apart from the rest of the population, not as victims of social disorganization. Relief was given only in cases of extreme necessity, and the controlling factor was to enable the deserving poor to help themselves. During the civic nominations for 1885, Mayor J.J. Mason of Christ's Church, reflecting on his record over the past year, described the steps that he had taken to prevent abuses in the administration of the poor fund so as to ensure that assistance would be given only to those who merited charity.

I felt that I could not distribute the money put in my hands for relieving the poor without knowing personally whether the object of charity were [sic] deserving or not. To that end I made a personal investigation into almost every application for relief, and I have, I think, succeeded in bestowing charity where it was needed and been able to refuse those who were undeserving of it.³¹

³⁰"They Wanted More Light" (HS, 1 May 1897, p. 8).

³¹"The Civic Nominations" (HS, 30 Dec 1884, p. [4]).

Charity in Hamilton was also dispensed by the individual churches and the various benevolent societies under their own mandates. However, the lack of a central authority in its distribution resulted in some people making the rounds taking all they could get.³² In keeping with the prevailing attitude towards poverty as a sign of personal failure, the Ladies' Benevolent Society (LBS) in 1891 proposed that the city's charities be organized under an umbrella association in order to eliminate the duplication of effort and to prevent assistance being given to the underserving.³³ Senator Sanford and Dr. Lyle were among those who endorsed the proposal. A committee, which included Mrs. Lyle, was established to consult with the mayor. While the mayor approved the idea, he did not agree that the churches should be represented.³⁴ Two months later, the Associated Charities was organized.

In addition to its primary objective to screen out the "professional" applicant, the Central Committee of the Associated Charities established a Labor Bureau to find work for the deserving and sought to encourage thrift through a

³²"Its Charity Is Threefold" (HS, 7 Oct 1891, p. 5).

³³Ibid.

³⁴"A Charitable Committee" (HS, 22 Oct 1891, p. 1). The mayor gave no reason for excluding the churches.

savings bank scheme.³⁵ The real intent of the savings bank plan was to save the city money by encouraging the poorer classes to put aside a portion of their earnings to meet hard times, particularly in winter when unemployment was high. The Central Committee hoped that the cultivation of the habit of regular saving, reinforced by the example of the rich as the two classes mingled at the bank, would teach the poor moral independence.³⁶ Not surprisingly, the plan failed, for those who needed assistance could not afford to save. And because so little useful work could be found for the unemployed, City Council refused to continue its grant after 1893, with the result that the Associated Charities was disbanded.

Some among the laity were not prepared to let the matter rest, however, and attempts to revive the Associated Charities were begun in November 1894 when Mrs. Lyle

³⁵"Adopted the Stamp Scheme" (HS, 22 Apr 1895, p. 5). The plan adopted was that of the Nickle Provident Fund of Minneapolis.

³⁶"The Associated Charities" (HS, 5 Jan 1893, p. 8). Thrift and industry were seen as the keys to working class independence, and independence secured by frugality was considered to be one of the sure indicators of character. "A brief announcement in the Spectator of Saturday conveyed the sad intelligence to many people in Hamilton that their old esteemed friend, Mr. William Collins, of Burlington, was dead. Mr. Collins was a bumper member of society. He never wrote for the public, never spoke in public, and had no hand in shaping the opinions of men. He never invented anything, and so far as we know, he added nothing to the world's industrial appliances. He was just a skilled mechanic, an intelligent observer of the world's doings, a genial companion, a faithful friend, an upright man, a good

proposed that the HCW take up the work.³⁷ On 17 January 1895, through the efforts of the Ministerial Associations's Committee on Charitable Work, a meeting of the various benevolent societies was held at the YMCA where it was agreed that the Associated Charities should be re-established.³⁸ The secretary of the meeting, the Reverend W.E. Pescott of Centenary Church called a further conference for the following week. The matter was again discussed, but no action was taken, the chief stumbling block being the city's refusal to provide the necessary grant. The meeting

citizen. The first thing that was remarkable about him was that, after working at his trade for about 30 years he threw aside his hammer, bought a little cottage at Burlington and lived the rest of his life on the savings of the 30 years. He inherited nothing, he met with no stroke of good fortune; he simply lived frugally, invested his savings, and at 50 years of age found himself in a position to live without further manual labor. His history is interesting because it shows what a Canadian mechanic can do if he is industrious and frugal. Mr. Collins never denied any necessity or comfort to himself or his family; his one care was to waste nothing--to indulge in no superfluity. He enjoyed life as well as most men, and grudged no expense which was essential to the enjoyment of life. Then, having earned and saved the means for his support in his declining years, he cultivated his little garden at Burlington, and for twenty years or more lived as happily as it is given to men to live." Commenting on this parable, the editor made sure that the moral was abundantly clear. "The lesson of his life is that one need not be poor unless he wastes his substance."---"The Workingman's Problem" (HS, 12 Jun 1893, p. 4); see also Greg Kealey, Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1973), pp. 153-157.

³⁷"Its First Annual Meeting" (HS, 30 Nov 1894, p. 5).

³⁸"A Small Jag of Newlets" (HS, 31 Dec 1894, p.8); "The Associated Charities" (HS, 10 Jan 1895, p. 8).

did agree to request City Council to try and find as much work as possible for the deserving poor.³⁹

For the next two years the Spectator had nothing further to report on the Associated Charities. Then on 1 February 1897, the Ministerial Association held a meeting to consider the "best means of relieving the present distress in the city." The meeting was well attended by the ministers, prominent church workers and women associated with the various benevolent associations. The Reverend Dr. Alexander Burns, a member of the Quarterly Board of Centenary Church, who chaired the meeting, thought that the city should deal with the problem of poverty but as it had not done so, it was up to "charitably disposed" citizens to tackle the matter. Dr. Lyle of Central Church said that the only solution to combat distress was for all the charitable societies to unite in the distribution of assistance throughout the entire city. He suggested that the LBS might act as the coordinating agency whose function would be to collect information concerning both deserving and undeserving cases. Centenary's Dr. John Vipond Smith expressed the opinion that poor laws were the best solution in the long term but in view of the urgency of the present situation, he agreed that a central body should be established at once. Lyle's suggestion was adopted, and among the nine names recommended to the LBS to be its

³⁹"The Associated Charities" (HS, 17 Jan 1895, p. 1).

Central Committee of Relief were Ald. F.W. Watkins and Senator Sanford of Centenary Church, and G. Rutherford and W. Hendrie of Central Church. At Watkins' suggestion, a subscription list was opened and the drive kicked off then and there with \$61 worth of practical generosity.⁴⁰

In the meantime, the LBS, having taken charge of the work of relieving the poor, divided the city into 33 wards or districts and appointed visitors to each.⁴¹ It was estimated that some 600 heads of families were out of work.⁴² By March, subscriptions to the Poor Fund amounted to only \$685.⁴³ There was no way that the society could sustain this tremendous undertaking on such a pittance.

At a meeting of the Ministerial Association in October 1897 to discuss providing for the needy during the coming winter, Lyle referred to the inefficiency of depending upon voluntary donations for the support of charitable work. He pointed out that because so few citizens were disposed to contribute to the work of charitable institutions the LBS was already in debt. Lyle also blamed the city for its inadequate support and urged

⁴⁰"A System Agreed Upon" (HS, 2 Feb 1897, p. 8).

⁴¹"Visitors of the Poor" (HS, 12 Feb 1897, p. 8).

⁴²"Benevolent Enterprise" (HS, 5 Feb 1897, p. 1).

⁴³"Collection for the Poor" (HS, 13 Feb 1897, p. 1); "Additional Donations;" (HS, 18 Feb 1897, p. 7); "The Poor Fund" (HS, 25 Feb 1897, p. 5); "The Charity Fund" (HS, 10 Mar 1897, p. 1).

that the association appoint a delegation to appeal to City Council to make a substantial grant for poor relief. Burns moved the formation of such a committee. The motion carried, with Burns, Lyle and Smith among those appointed.⁴⁴ The delegation met with the Finance Committee in January 1898 and asked that the charitable grant be increased to \$10,000.⁴⁵ However, the appeal fell on deaf ears. The result was that the LBS disbanded in October after fifty-two years of heroic service.⁴⁶

The year 1899 put an end to the continuing discussion for reestablishing the Associated Charities. At a meeting of representatives of local charitable organizations in the mayor's office on 6 February, the consensus was that the present system of giving relief whereby each society collected its own funds and distributed charity was working well enough. J.O. Callaghan, president of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, could see no need for the various charitable societies to amalgamate. He implied that the executive of these societies knew their welfare cases better than some central officer could and were therefore in a better position to determine who deserved relief. As to

⁴⁴"Aid for the Needy Poor" (HS, 19 Oct 1897, p. 5).

⁴⁵"Will Remove the Tax" (HS, 28 Jan 1898, p. 8).

⁴⁶"Ladies' Good Work" (HS, 11 Oct 1898, p. 3). Its two branches, the Orphan Asylum and the Aged Women's Home, were not affected by this decision.

the question of overlap, he saw no problem. His attitude was surprisingly refreshing. "No society could look after all its poor, and even if people did get aid from other societies it was because they needed it," he said. The Labor Bureau, however, was a different matter. All the representatives of the benevolent societies and the Trades and Labor Council were unanimous that it be reestablished.⁴⁷ Despite differences of opinion among city officials as to the value of the Labor Bureau, City Council decided to give it another chance.⁴⁸ While the Associated Charities failed to get off the ground, it was an historic step towards finding a remedy for poverty.

Another type of philanthropic endeavor which illustrates lay concern for poverty was the work relief program which was designed to prevent vagrancy, begging and pauperism and to help every self-respecting workingman to get work or be tided over a period of unemployment without having to resort to begging. The lesson of the program was that a man must work for what he gets. To assist the unemployed, City Council appointed a Potato Patch Committee in February 1897. Ald. W. Hill of Central Church was a member of the committee whose mandate was to secure vacant land for the cultivation of potatoes and other vegetables by the poor. J.M. Gibson and G. Rutherford were among the

⁴⁷"The Labor Bureau" (HS, 7 Feb 1899, p. 7).

⁴⁸"City Labor Bureau" (HS, 13 Apr 1899, p. 8).

philanthropic citizens who contributed land and seed. The project was patterned after Hazen Stuart Pingree's successful plan of gardens for the jobless during the depression of 1893 when he was mayor of Detroit. His primary concern in creating this program of self-help was to remove the shame of going on relief.⁴⁹

Hamilton's free farming scheme was inaugurated on the Queen's birthday on a lot at the corner of Gibson Avenue and Common Street. Over 50 men and women showed up with hoes and baskets, but there were only 37 quarter acre plots to be given out. They could choose to plant either corn, turnips or potatoes; most chose potatoes. In 1897, there were over 70 applications for land, but only 40 families were assigned plots at a cost to the city of \$550. The following year, the committee had 70 quarter acre lots at its disposal. While more land was available, there was less seed due to higher prices.

Philanthropy and the Evangelical Impulse

The lay leaders' concept of philanthropy embraced any activity designed to alleviate human ignorance and misery and so hasten God's kingdom. It had everything to do with

⁴⁹Melvin G. Holli, Reform in Detroit (New York: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1969), pp. 70-73. Holli notes that "Pingree had few illusions about the long range value of work relief or almsgiving in any form" and that he ultimately concluded that charity served as an excuse for employers to avoid paying a living wage.

good works, personal service and labors in the public interest, as well as "specifically religious and reforming campaigns."⁵⁰

It was in this spirit that J.O. Callaghan sought to encourage Sunday school attendance and increase missionary offerings, by instituting the "Callaghan Shield" in 1898 which was competed for annually until 1963. The Sunday School Rally began in Centenary Church and appropriately was always held on the first day of the New Year. This event grew rapidly in popularity and soon other churches had to be called upon for support. What had begun as a single rally multiplied into a series of rallies all held on the same afternoon at selected churches throughout the city. Initially, Callaghan, with the assistance of Alfred Ward, planned and organized the entire event, but as the rallies increased in size, a committee was formed to undertake all the arrangements. Until about 1930, his familiar figure could be seen travelling from church to church addressing the assemblies and awarding his prize to the Sunday school "for best regular attendance, all the year, and greatest increase in members."⁵¹

It was as a tangible expression of his deep pride in his Methodist philanthropic heritage that Sanford had

⁵⁰Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians," Victorian Studies 9(1965-66):355.

⁵¹Mary Theresa Callaghan, The Story of the Years (Hamilton: Privately Printed, 1931), pp. 60-61.

installed, in 1891, at his own expense and on behalf of the Methodist Church of Canada, a memorial window in City Road Chapel, London, England, which contained the names of four prominent and representative Canadian Methodists: Egerton Ryerson, John McDougall, Senator Ferrier and Edward Jackson.⁵²

Philanthropy and profit marched hand in hand for F.W. Watkins when, to mark the grand opening of his splendid department store, he presented the public with limelight views of the passion play with a running commentary by Prof. Smith Warner.⁵³ A minimum purchase of 25 cents entitled a customer to a free ticket. There were four showings daily and during the two weeks of its presentation, the play attracted over 20,000 people. Watkins clearly understood the drawing power of religion at a time of marked urban evangelism as he combined "bargains in every line" with this "grand optical sermon."⁵⁴ But to impute individualistic pecuniary motives as his sole consideration would be grossly

⁵²"A Century of Methodism" (HS, 5 Mar 1891, p. 9); "Senator Sanford's Memorial Window" (HS, 11 Mar 1891, p. 7). Sanford had considered honoring the name of President Nelles of Victoria University.

⁵³Smith Warner was formerly professor of sacred and ancient history at White College in Peoria, Illinois.

⁵⁴"The Passion Play," Advertisement (HS, 6 Mar 1899, p. 6); "Big Crowds--Immense Success," Advertisement (HS, 8 Mar 1899, p. 6); "The Passion Play" (HS, 8 Mar 1899, p. 8); "The Frederick W. Watkins Department Store," Advertisement (HS, 16 Mar 1899, p. 6); "An Apology," Advertisement (HS, 20 Mar 1899, p. 6).

unfair. Above all, Watkins was a man with a mission who passionately believed in the redemption of the whole man, and there was no sounder philanthropy than to get the message of Christ across to the largest possible number.

Again, the spirit of lay philanthropy readily embraced one of the many organizations engendered by the evangelic revival of the Wesleys, the British and Foreign Bible Society. This interdenominational lay society was mainly concerned with the spreading of Scriptural knowledge and study by making inexpensive vernacular translations of the Bible available to people of all races. The Methodists were the most passionate exponents of the "grand results wrought by the Bible in the past and its present influence in the world."⁵⁵ Four officers of Centenary Church -- Jones, Lazier, F.W. Watkins, and Sanford -- were members of the local society's executive; two officers of Central Church -- Rutherford and Wanzer; and Roach from Christ's Church.

The vision of the missionary as an heroic crusader sallying forth in the armour of Christ to do good at home and abroad captured the imagination of many church women who enthusiastically took up the sword of the Spirit by banding together on the home front in support of this great civilizing enterprise. In 1885, the Woman's Auxiliary to the Church of England in Canada was founded. "The time was

⁵⁵"Holy Bible, Book Divine" (HS, 25 Mar 1892, p. 5).

ripe for the work," says Mrs. G.M.R. McGarvin. "Church women were eager and willing in their response. Their hearts were on fire for the cause of the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth, especially in distant fields of the young Dominion, among the Indians and settlers in remote places."⁵⁶ The Christ's Church Cathedral branch was formed on 15 March 1886. Mrs. E.A. Gaviller was elected its first treasurer and later appointed by the vicar to the Diocesan Board. Mrs. G. Mackelcan succeeded Mrs. Gaviller as treasurer at the end of her second term. Among its presidents were Mrs. C.S. Scott, Mrs. William O. Tidswell and Mrs. Henry Buckingham Witton. One of the auxiliary's most prominent members was Miss Margaret Ambrose, church organist, who also sat on the Diocesan Board.

The primary function of the Woman's Auxiliary was to provide clothing, quilts and other useful articles to the various missions for distribution among Indian families. The Woman's Auxiliary also served as a sacramental agency for conferring the life of grace through prayer and the practice of virtue. The regular monthly business meetings were preceded by corporate communion. "At the monthly meetings, as well as at the work meetings," recalls Mrs. McGarvin, "we got right down on our knees to say our

⁵⁶Mrs. G[ertrude] M[aud] R[eaveley] McGarvin, "Pages from the Past; written upon the occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Cathedral Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Church of England in Canada, March 15, 1866 to March 13, 1951," p. 2, HPLSC.

prayers, nor considered hard or dusty floors of any importance whatever."⁵⁷ A fund that inspired every member of the Woman's Auxiliary was the Extra Cent-A-Day Fund established by Mrs. Scott in 1890. It was appropriately called "The Romantic Fund" and was set up to aid and encourage missionaries with supplementary assistance in maintaining their stations and meeting other expenses.⁵⁸

One of the pioneer women in the missionary field was Miss Martha Julia Cartmell⁵⁹ of Centenary Church. Although she did not figure among the lay leadership, no account of Centenary during this period would be complete without reference to this extraordinary person who not only helped to found the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) but was also the first woman missionary of the Methodist Church in Canada. On 23 November 1882, Miss Cartmell set sail for Tokyo, Japan where she spent nearly the next fourteen years of her life. Through her Toyo Eiwa Jo Gakko School (commonly called the Azaba School) for girls and her evangelistic work, Miss Cartmell succeeded in opening the

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁹Major sources: Centenary United Church, Hamilton, Ont., "Sunday Service and Weekly Program" (25 Mar 1945); [Myra E. Simpson] "Centenary Sends Japan's First Woman Missionary," Centenary News (Mar 1964):9; Ibid., "Hamilton Girl was Pioneer Missionary in Japan," Centenary News (Oct 1964):7; Mary H. Stephens, "Miss Martha Cartmell--a Tribute," Missionary Monthly (May 1945):209-211, CUC.

doors of Tokyo homes to the influence of the Methodist Church.

Returning to Canada for reasons of health around 1890, the WMS sent Miss Cartmell to Victoria to assist in planning for the extension of work among the Chinese in that city and to visit the Indian homes in Western Canada supported by the Methodist Church and other denominations for the purpose of improving the society's work among the Indians.⁶⁰ About two years later she resumed her duties in Japan until poor health forced her to return home for good in 1896. For many years thereafter Miss Cartmell was extremely busy with speaking engagements on behalf of the WMS. She travelled extensively across Canada and was a most effective promoter of the home and foreign mission work of the Church. Through her efforts, some of the best female talent in Canadian Methodism was attracted to the Azaba School. Her great contribution to the mission field was recognized by naming one of the missionary institutions of Centenary Church "The Martha Cartmell Evening Auxiliary."

By the end of the century, almost universally among the lay leadership, the missionary movement was an opportunity to join hands with the clergy as "God's fellow workers." Placing great stress on civilization as a partner of evangelism, they also reached out to embrace the entire

⁶⁰"Methodist Missions" (HS, 25 Sep 1890, p. 5).

world in an attempt to raise the whole human race. Obviously ethnocentric, the enterprise was nonetheless well intended both in its national and international implications. As Carl Berger observes, "The view of the Empire as a divine agency of progress and civilization ... became so firmly fused with the imperialist conception of Canadian nationality and purpose that the attainment of nationhood itself was made contingent upon the acceptance of the white man's burden."⁶¹

For the Protestant lay elite, then, philanthropy was a master passion which embraced not just traditional charity, but organized activity concerning the church and family, young working people, the poor, health, education, the propagation of the gospel and the reclamation of the world. It could be combined with any other legitimate activity, and no lay person was immune to the enthusiasm of philanthropy.

Wealth and Philanthropy

The possession of wealth, however, was clearly a determining factor in philanthropic capacity. As Table 4-1 illustrates, four-fifths of those who concerned themselves with the amelioration of the human condition held property valued at \$5,000 or more. Wealth carried with it the obligation to promote the general good. While Calvin taught

⁶¹Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1970), p. 218.

that business success is an evidence of God's grace, he also taught that money should be used in the service of God for the needs of the individual and the community. "'Since God has united men amongst themselves by a certain bond of fellowship, hence they must mutually communicate with each other by good offices. Here then it is required that the rich succour the poor and offer bread to the hungry.'"⁶² Wesley early on idealized wealth when he exhorted his followers to "gain all you can...save all you can...give all you can..."⁶³ Interestingly, the first charitable bequest to the city was made by Lydia Ann Sanford, wife of Edward Jackson, who donated \$4,000 in 1875 for the construction of a wing on the Orphan Asylum to be used as a home for aged women.⁶⁴ The Church of England also sanctioned the giving of one's wealth to those in need, but charity was viewed as a supernatural virtue, to be given as pleasing to God and deserving of merit. The emphasis on a reward for good works thus tended to separate charity from considerations of social conditions and objectives.

⁶²Comm. on Ezek. 18:7, C.O. 27: 609 cited in Ronald S. Wallace, Calvin's Doctine of the Christian Life (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959), p. 153.

⁶³John Wesley, "The Use of Money" in Albert C. Outler, ed., John Wesley, A Library of Protestant Thought (New York: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1964), p. 249.

⁶⁴"The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Aged Women's Home, Hamilton, 1846-1946," HPLSC; "A Peep into the Past" (HET, Summer Carnival No., 15 Aug 1903, p. 5); "A Sanitarium for Children" (HS, 1 Jul 1890, p. 8).

Table 4-1 Property Values, 1899, and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders

Property Value \$	Philanthropic Yes %	Activity No %	Total Cases
Up to 2400	22.2	77.8	27
2500-4999	52.4	47.6	21
5000 & over	80.8	19.2	25
Total Cases	37	36	73
% of Total Leaders	44.0	42.9	86.9

Home ownership, as illustrated in Table 4-2, provides further evidence of a strong positive relationship between wealth and philanthropy. Nearly two-fifths of the philanthropical Protestant elite were property owners and just over one-fifth of the property values of this landed aristocracy were in excess of \$5000. Clearly one's material share in the community provided the means to respond to human distress.

The imposing mansions of the cream of the Protestant elite reflected the prosperity of the city and the stability of its institutions. Their extensive grounds and commodious internal arrangements made them suitable for entertaining on a generous scale appropriate to the public role of these stewards of the community. Many of the homes were the scene of numerous charitable benefits. Table 4-3 shows that nearly half of the laity who were charitably disposed lived on the wooded slopes of the exclusive residential section of

Table 4-2 Property Status, 1899, and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders

Property \$	Householder (House owner)		Total Cases
	Phil %	No Phil %	
Up to 2499	12.5	87.5	8
2500-4999	61.5	38.5	13
5000 & over	86.4	13.6	22
Total Cases	28	15	43
% of Total Leaders	33.3	17.9	51.2

Property \$	Tenant		Total Cases
	Phil %	No Phil %	
Up to 2499	27.3	72.7	11
2500-4999	50.0	50.0	6
5000 & over			
Total Cases	6	11	17
% of Total Leaders	7.1	13.1	20.2

Property \$	Tenant/HH* (Prop. owner)		Total Cases
	Phil %	No Phil %	
Up to 2499	25.0	75.0	8
2500-4999		100.0	2
5000 & over	66.7	33.3	3
Total Cases	4	9	13
% of Total Leaders	4.8	10.7	15.5

*Householder

Table 4-3 Property values, 1899, and Ward of Residence of the Male Lay Leaders Involved in Philanthropy

Property Value \$	Ward			
	1 %	2 %	3 %	4-7 %
Up to 2499	50.0		27.3	
2500-4999	16.7	16.7	54.5	33.3
5000 & over	33.3	83.3	18.2	66.7
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Cases	6	18	11	3
% of Total Leaders	7.1	21.4	13.1	3.6

Ward Two, while over one-quarter lived in Ward Three to the east of Queen Street, for the most part, in the same general pocket of wealth. However, the greatest concentration of wealth was in Ward Two where slightly more than four-fifths owned property valued in excess of \$5000, compared to one-third in Ward One and just under one-fifth in Ward Three.

The names of their residences conjure up images of the English gentry whose aristocratic life style they tended to imitate--"Rosearden," the Italianate, towered residence of T.H. Pratt ... "Elmhurst," J. Calder's castle in miniature with its battlements and asymmetrical keep ... "Fernhill," the dignified and well contained Queen Anne Revival residence of G. Rutherford ... "Idlewyld," R.A. Kennedy's large, commodious Queen Anne Revival house with its broad verandah and offset tower ... "Rableston," the baronial residence of Alexander Gartshore with its

projecting center tower fronted by a large circular verandah ... W.A. Wood's urbane, classical "Elmwood" with its medium pitched roof and open portico across the facade supported by fluted columns ... W. Hendrie's "Holmstead" with its classical elegance and temple-like facade. The Hendrie residence "was the site of several state occasions, including two visits by George V and one by Edward VIII, as well as those of many governors general such as Minto, Grey, Connaught, and Byng. Sir John A. Macdonald was also a guest."⁶⁵ One of the most handsome residences in Ontario was W.E. Sanford's stately mansion, "Wesanford", with its spacious grounds and splendid conservatories which were always filled with the most costly and rare tropical plants. Its richly decorated interior was filled with paintings, statuary and other art treasures collected in the course of his numerous trips abroad and suggested not only opulence but order and refinement. The house was originally built by Edward Jackson and later remodeled and rebuilt by Sanford. The solid and substantial stone structure with its pinnacled tower, colonaded portico and circular drive stood in conspicuous salute to his esteemed position in the community.

Evidence of wealth as a factor in philanthropy is also seen in the fairly strong relationship between the

⁶⁵Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, vol. 1 (Hamilton, 1981), p. 102.

business directorships held by the leaders and their benevolent activity. Just over one-quarter of the total leadership who assisted the poor and needy sat on the boards of one or more companies (Table 4-4).

Table 4-4 Directorships and Philanthropy of the Male Lay Leaders

Philanthropy	Directorships	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	95.7	29.5
No	4.3	70.5
Total	100	100
Total Cases	23	61
% of Total Leaders	27.4	72.6

Philanthropy in the 1890s was obviously, then, conducted by wealthy benefactors and voluntary associations of well intentioned and civic minded individuals who focused primarily on patching up the rents in the fabric of their industrial society. The laity's response to social problems was to be found not so much in their givings as in the Christian environment of the charities and other institutions which they helped to support through their good works and personal services. With few exceptions, the individual donations of the lay leaders were small indeed in relation to their wealth. If the rich contributed too much, the average citizen might tend to shirk his social responsibility. Aside from Elsinore, W.E. Sanford's

financial contributions were of very modest amounts: \$10 to the general prize fund of the Hamilton Art School,⁶⁶ \$50 to the Salvation Army,⁶⁷ \$100 to the Women's Council,⁶⁸ a like amount towards the building fund debt of the Emerald Street Methodist Church,⁶⁹ and \$200 towards the erection of a Hamilton Cottage at the Muskoka Home for Consumptives.⁷⁰ A well-wisher of the Royal Canadian Humane Society, Sanford donated in his name, each year until his death in 1899, the gold medal for heroic activity of life-saving.⁷¹ Similarly, the sums contributed to the Boys' Home building repair fund were also moderate: G. Rutherford and T.H. Pratt each donated \$25; F.W. Watkins and J. Calder, \$20; J. Crerar and W. Hendrie, \$10, and J.M. Burns, \$5.⁷² But the mainstay of the Boys' and Girls' Homes was the regular monthly donations of food and clothing. The YMCA was another favorite charity

⁶⁶"Hamilton Art School" (HS, 31 Dec 1891, p. 8).

⁶⁷"Senator Sanford's Gratitude" (HS, 29 Jul 1890, p. 8).

⁶⁸Aberdeen and Temair, Ishbel Maria (Marjoribanks) Gordon, Marchioness of, The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898, ed. with an intro. by John T. Saywell (Toronto: The Champlain Soc., 1960), p. 172.

⁶⁹"In the City Churches" (HS, 7 Dec 1896, p. 7).

⁷⁰"Brief Local Items" (HS, 1 May 1895, p. 1).

⁷¹T.W.D. Farmer, History of the Royal Canadian Humane Association, updated to 1976 by J.G. O'Neil (Hamilton, Ont.: Royal Canadian Humane Association, n.d.), p. [4].

⁷²"A List of Givers" (HS 17 Jan 1891, p. 5).

of the leaders. T.W. Watkins gave the association \$100,⁷³ however, G. Rutherford and F.W. Watkins' deep concern for the fabric of citizenship led each to contribute \$1,000 to the association's extension fund.⁷⁴

Of all his philanthropic endeavors, Sanford is best remembered for the establishment of Elsinore,⁷⁵ originally built as a nonsectarian summer home for the sick and destitute children of the city. Founded in 1890, the construction of the building was personally undertaken by Sanford at a cost of \$10,000 and its management given over to the trustees of the Infants' Home. About 1896, however, the original admittance policy was revised to reflect Elsinore's new purpose as a convalescing home for adult poor, and the management was transferred to the Deaconess Home of the Methodist Church on Vine Street. All operating expenses were assumed by Sanford.

Situated on Hamilton Beach immediately to the east of Bethel Chapel at Church Crossing Station with a commanding view of both lake and bay, Elsinore was designed after the style of summer resorts with large open verandahs and pleasant, airy rooms decorated with appropriated pictures

⁷³"Brief Local Items" (HS, 27 Oct 1893, p. 1).

⁷⁴J. Greene, president of the YMCA to the Editor, "The Y.M.C.A. Extension" (HS, 21 Jan 1897, p. 7).

⁷⁵Major Sources: "A Sanitarium for Children" (HS, 1 Jul 1890, p. 8); Jaques [pseud.] "Elsinore and Its Guests" (HH, 23 Jul 1904).

and texts. The people who came to Elsinore were always referred to as guests. To avoid creating feelings of diffidence on the part of those receiving charity, Mrs. Sanford expressly forbade the use of the word "inmate" and instructed the matron to "extend the heartiest welcome to all, and take every precaution to remove anything in treatment having a tendency approaching the custom prevalent in institutions where the term 'inmate' is used."⁷⁶ When Senator Sanford died, his wife assumed many of his business responsibilities, including the management of Elsinore in which she was assisted by her two daughters.⁷⁷

Strong social obligations made it customary for the prosperous, at death, to will part of their fortune to philanthropic enterprises. The estates of J.J. Evel and J.J. Gibson each left \$1,000 to the Hamilton Health Association, which was placed in its endowment fund. Of the \$348,395 estate left by W.A. Wood, \$1,000 went to the Victorian Order of Nurses and a like sum to the Caroline Street Mission.⁷⁸ W.A. Robinson was a generous contributor and active supporter of many of Hamilton's philanthropic institutions. When he died on 31 August 1921, he left an

⁷⁶Jacques [pseud.] "Elsinore and Its Guests" (HH, 23 Jul 1904).

⁷⁷Devoted Life Comes to End Here To-Day" (HS, 22 Feb 1938, p. 10).

⁷⁸Hamilton, Surrogate Court, Will of William Augustus Wood, Grant No. 299.

estate valued at \$73,415. Of this amount, he bequeathed \$500 to the Aged Women's Home and \$1,000 to each of the following: YMCA, YWCA, Boys' Home, Girls' Home, Childrens' Aid Society, Home for the Friendless and Infants' Home, Hamilton Health Association, Methodist Church Extension Fund and Trustees of Centenary Church.⁷⁹ After the provision for a new Hamilton Art Gallery, relatives and employees, and the payment of legacies, the remainder of Mrs. N.D. Galbreath's \$450,000 estate was divided into twelve portions and given to the following charitable organizations: Aged Women's Home, 3 parts; YWCA, 2 parts; and one part each to the Missionary and Maintenance Fund of the United Church of Canada, St. Giles United Church, Victorian Order of Nurses, the Canadian Red Cross Society, Girls' Home, Hamilton Health Association and the Hamilton branch of the Salvation Army.⁸⁰

This tradition of social responsibility, however, was not always practiced. T.H. Pratt designated his estate of \$63,690 for charity only if his heirs did not survive.⁸¹ The Canadian holdings of Senator Sanford were valued at over

⁷⁹"Willed Much of His Estate to Local Charities," (HS, 30 Sep 1921, p. 1).

⁸⁰"Leaves \$55,000 for Art Gallery in Hamilton (HS, 7 Sep 1948, p. 10).

⁸¹After providing a legacy of \$1,000 to his housekeeper, Pratt's entire estate went to Mrs. Ralph (Ottilia V.) McKay, a granddaughter. Upon her death, the residue was to be divided between her two children. Should the great grandchildren not live to inherit, it was to be shared equally by the Hamilton Day Nursery and the Aged Women's

one million dollars.⁸² On his death, his entire estate went to his family. There were no charitable bequests. As the Spectator explained, Sanford "has given nothing to charities, as he was of the opinion that the Ontario Government takes enough for that purpose by its succession duties."⁸³

The motives of the philanthropic elite, if indeed they can be uncovered, were complex. Sanford's great wealth and the concomitant responsibility of stewardship must have weighed heavily upon him, for the man of riches, like Sanford, considered that he was constantly being tested so that he might be strengthened spiritually. Yet hard work and thoroughgoing service failed to allay his anxiety over salvation. This would seem to be the implication of a sermon outline that he once suggested to the Reverend Salton. The theme was "'No night in heaven.'" The headings were: "Night is a symbol of fatigue; a symbol of insecurity; a symbol of trials and troubles; a symbol of sin, and, lastly, a symbol of death; but there were none of these in heaven."⁸⁴ But clearly there was night on earth.

Home.--"T.H. Pratt's Will Probated Today" (HS, 13 Jan 1937, p. 7).

⁸²"All Classes Mourn His Untimely Death," "His Death a Great Loss" (HS, 11 Jul 1899, p. 1); "Mr. Sanford's Will" (HS, 10 Nov 1899, p. 1); "He Left Over a Million," in Gardiner scrapbooks, vol. 201, pp. 60-61, HPLSC.

⁸³"Senator Sanford's Will" (HS, 21 Jul 1899, p. 1).

⁸⁴"Memorial Service" (HS, 17 Jul 1899, p. 8).

Sanford must have felt keenly the impact of Christ's teaching about work: "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work."⁸⁵ What was it that troubled Sanford? Was it a constant awareness of his own shortcomings in fulfilling his place in God's plan, "the strain of Puritanism" as W. E. Houghton calls it?⁸⁶ Was it the fundamental ambivalence of the Christian attitude toward wealth? Christ admonished his disciples that money was to have little place in their lives. Seeking first the kingdom of God, the rest would take care of itself. But neither did Christ condemn the possession of wealth, for riches were presumably the product of one's God given talents and were therefore to be used to His glory. However, he warned that man cannot be both a servant of God and of money. Great wealth is rarely acquired without some sharp practice. As the senior member of the Manitoba and North Western Drainage Company, Sanford received a huge tract of land from the Manitoba government for draining the Big Grass Marsh and the Westbourne Bog. "By 1884," say M.M. Fahrni and W.L. Morton, "though the work was alleged to have been done unsatisfactorily, he received fifty-two thousand acres for his services....a source of controversy at the time, in which [C.P.] Brown as Minister

⁸⁵Jn., 9:4 (King James Version).

⁸⁶Walter-E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1957), pp. 61-64.

of Public Works was involved, and a source of embarrassment to the municipality for years, as it had exempted the lands from taxation. Of the work itself it is perhaps enough to say that the Marsh and the Bog were not completely drained until forty years later."⁸⁷ Such was the origin of Sanford's Westbourne ranch whose acquisition made him one of the largest land owners in Manitoba.⁸⁸

Money purchased power but not social honor. Sanford's wealth and personal influence made him a Senator. But his secret longing was for a knighthood, and he badgered Ladies Aberdeen and Thompson to use their influence to get him this honor. However, they refused to give him any satisfaction on this point. "He is too hopelessly vulgar and indelicate for anything...", records Lady Aberdeen in her journal,⁸⁹ a point of view in which she was not alone. Sanford loved to grandstand. When he accompanied the body of Sir John Thompson back to Canada after his sudden death at Windsor Castle in December 1894, Sanford made sure that his role as escort became "a medium for his self-advertising as Sir John's intimate friend."⁹⁰ Among the tangled motives

⁸⁷Margaret Morton Fahrni and W.L. Morton, Third Crossing (Winnipeg: Advocate Printers, 1946), pp. 49-50.

⁸⁸Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1898-99, p. 32.

⁸⁹Aberdeen and Temair, Ishbel Maria (Marjoribanks) Gordon, Marchioness of, The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898, ed. with an intro. by John T. Saywell (Toronto: The Champlain Soc., 1960), p. 209; also, p. 172.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 185; also, p. 174.

that inspired Elsinore was obviously the desire to increase his prestige. For the gala opening, Sanford chartered a special train of seven coaches to carry the 350 people invited to attend the ceremonies. Following speeches of a "highly complimentary character" by many of the city's clergymen, the mayor and others, a flotilla of six yachts arrived "in tow of the Maggie Mason" and lined up opposite Elsinore. "Salutes were fired, while the sultry air was rent with huzzas of the jolly yachtsmen [and] the flag on the building was dipped in acknowledgement of the compliment."⁹¹ But to argue that a perfectly pure motive is absolutely necessary for a morally good action would condemn nearly all human behavior. Despite his desire for self-perpetuation, Sanford exhibited in all his philanthropy a strong sense of Christian duty which was clearly inspired by the example of his uncle and aunt, Edward and Lydia Jackson. Then, too, there was the early loss of his parents which left a lasting impression on Sanford, a profound yearning to be wanted and his worth to be recognized. At the fortieth annual meeting of the St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, he said:

My heart is always drawn with especial sympathy when I see homeless little ones....I say I feel real sympathy for them, for in my days of childhood I knew nothing of a mother's love and a father's care, and perhaps no experience will draw one's heart

⁹¹"A Sanitarium for Children" (HS, 1 Jul 1890, p. 8).

to these little ones more than an experience of this kind.⁹²

While wealth as an expression of property value, ward of residence, home ownership, and business directorships was a distinctly measurable factor in philanthropy, Tables 4-1 to 4-4 clearly show that not all those who engaged in good works were what one would describe as wealthy. Certainly all had comfortable earnings, but then not everyone in the three congregations who was well off concerned himself with the plight of others. Something more was involved than simply money, and late Victorians like to think that that ingredient was character. It is said that G. Rutherford "prized wealth as potential service and reputation as latent influence... [to be] used for the advancements [sic] of the Kingdom of God."⁹³ J.M. Gibson's summing up of his own life reflects the simple wisdom of a great man who clearly saw that the duty of man is not to himself but in service of a greater principle.

It is not necessary for a man to have arrived at his life's goal to be able to give of himself, his time and means for the betterment of his community, its business life, its social life and political life.⁹⁴

⁹²"The Orphans of St. Mary's" (HS, 15 Feb 1893, p. 5).

⁹³The Presbyterian Church in Canada, Presbyteries, Hamilton, Ont., The Presbytery of Hamilton: 1836-1967 [Hamilton, 1967], p. 144.

⁹⁴From an address given in 1926, quoted in J. Lawrence Runnals, Sir John Morison Gibson (1842-1929),

As the temple was the principal architectural feature of the ancient communities, so too the Sanford mausoleum, situated on a beautiful and commanding knoll overlooking Lake Ontario, is one of the outstanding monuments of the Hamilton Cemetery. The mausoleum is a scaled down version of an ancient Greek temple, measuring 30 feet by 18 feet, with polished columns and richly carved capitals and bases. On top of the roof above the entrance stands a statue of Hope with the right hand of grace raised heavenward and the left hand resting on the anchor of faith.⁹⁵ Sanford sought not merely to perpetuate his name as a merchant prince, legislator and Christian citizen but hoped that his example, symbolized by this work of art, would prove "instructive and inspiring to Canadian young men, as that of a business man who, beginning with almost nothing, became wealthy and influential, while adhering strictly to Christian

Canadian Masonic Research Association, Papers, 64 (Toronto, 1962), p. 7.

⁹⁵Construction of the Sanford mausoleum began soon after the death of his son, Edward Jackson. It was "the costliest and most imposing mausoleum ever erected in Canada." Built at a cost of about \$100,000, it is made entirely of light grey Vermont granite and weights three hundred tons. The entrance is protected by massive bronze doors. To ensure absolutely that the ten catacombs were burglar proof, Sandford had the mausoleum lined with steel, making it "as impregnable as the vaults of the sub-treasury in Wall Street." Being one of the wealthiest men in Canada, he feared lest someone might steal his son's body and hold it for ransom.--"A Beautiful Mausoleum" (HS, 17 Jan 1898, p. 8).

principles."⁹⁶ Clearly the role of philanthropy was meant as much or more to affirm this creed as it was to cope with the problems of the poor and underprivileged in society.

⁹⁶"The Late Senator" (HS, 13 Jul 1899, p. 4).

CHAPTER V

LAY ACTIVITY: MORAL ORDER IN THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Temperance and Prohibition

The views presented in this chapter represent only one-quarter of the combined male leadership of the three churches. While the individual ideas and opinions expressed here cannot be construed as a balanced sample, it must be remembered that human actions occur within social and cultural contexts. Most people are influenced by the groups and organizations to which they belong. The relevant contexts for this analysis are the institutional characters of the leaders' denominations in relation to the secular problems of the day and, more generally, the impact of the Protestant ethic which emphasized uninterrupted labor as the "core of moral life."¹ The public response of the lay leaders should help illuminate some of the mental attitudes that characterized Hamilton's Protestant elite in their search for ways to restore moral order and direction to urban-industrial society.

The Protestant lay elite were primarily business and professional men of significant accomplishment who thought

¹Daniel T. Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1978), p. xi.

the value of education and religion to be the formation of character. Chapters III and IV make it plain that, while they conceived of such character in large philanthropic terms which appeared to embrace a broad spectrum of activities in social welfare, health, charity, public education and culture, their primary solution to the disorder of their industrializing city was the moral values and discipline of character on which they molded themselves.

The advocates of moral reform among the lay leaders perceived the Hamilton of the 1890s as a city beset by a number of unsavory institutions which pointed not merely to a moral breakdown of individual lives out of touch with honest labor and faithful endeavor but also to a serious failure on the part of society to discipline the lives of its members. Thus, restoring the place in life of hard work and simple living among the industrial working classes became their primary task.

The abolition of the liquor trade was seen as the key to vastly improved social conditions. Where moral suasion had failed, legal prohibition would succeed "by the bringing ^{the} of law into harmony with right principles."² One of the dominant figures in the temperance campaigns in Hamilton and

²F.S. Spence, comp., The Facts of the Case: a Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic, compiled under the direction of the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic (Toronto: Newton & Treloar, 1896; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1973), p. 270.

Ontario was F.W. Watkins of Centenary Church. Possessed of the same tremendous energy and perseverance as his uncle, Thomas C. Watkins, who had written a series of tracts on the temperance question³ which he had published in the hundreds of thousands for free distribution,⁴ Frederick saw himself on the side of truth and justice in the great cause of prohibition to which he whole-heartedly committed himself. President of the Central Temperance Executive of Hamilton and a prominent Royal Templar,⁵ he was elected chairman of the prohibitionist rally in Toronto which endorsed the ill-fated Marter Bill in April 1893 forbidding the retail sale of intoxicating liquors.⁶ The following August, Watkins was elected Dominion chairman of the Advanced Prohibitionists.⁷ When the Union Prohibition convention opened in Toronto on 3 October 1893, he was appointed to the Executive of the Standing Committee on Campaign Work which had charge of the whole organization of the provincial plebiscite campaign.⁸

³Thomas C. Watkins, Prohibition Series (Hamilton, 188-). For contents, see Bibliography.

⁴William Cochrane, ed., The Canadian Album: Men of Canada, vol. 1 (Brantford, Ont.: Bradley, Garretson, 1891), p. 265.

⁵Templar, Hamilton, Ont., Men of the Movement (Hamilton, 1894), p. 48.

⁶"Mr. Marter's Bill Approved" (TG, 21 Apr 1893, p. 3).

⁷Templar, Hamilton, Ont., Men of the Movement (Hamilton, 1894), p. 48.

⁸"The Prohibition Convention" (HS, 5 Oct 1893, p. 6).

Watkins defended total abstinence as an absolute duty not only to one's self and family but to the whole of society.

It seems to me that in this great battle of right against wrong, prohibition against strong drink, that the working men of the city of Hamilton have a duty to perform, which they owe to themselves, their wives, and their families. Do the working men of our city want to improve their condition? If they do, then I say that they have the matter almost entirely in their own hands. What is the greatest enemy of the working man today? Not capital; for capital rightly used is the friend of the working man and gives him employment. The worst enemy of the working man is the saloon.⁹

Rural poverty was not unknown, but industrialization created a more acute and widespread problem of relieved and unrelieved poverty. Prohibitionists considered not so much the conditions which led to drunkenness as the concomitants of drink. Watkins equated opposition to prohibition as opposition to the best interests of the city. In his words, prohibition was "the most important factor ... which above all other things would go towards reducing crime, vagrancy, misery, drunkenness, taxes, and which would tend toward making our people law-abiding, happy and prosperous." Drink, indeed, was the cause of the current severe depression:

⁹F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "A Strong Appeal" (HS, 5 Dec 1893, p. 7). Note that Watkins mistakenly speaks of capital when he means capitalism.

'The destruction of the poor is their poverty.'¹⁰ Why should there be so many poor? Why are there so many persons out of work now? Why is there so much destitution in our midst? Why? Because, largely on account of the drink curse. It was true what Sir Oliver Mowat said that three-fourths of the crime, misery and wretchedness is due to strong drink.¹¹

It was wealth that built Hamilton, wealth born of self-discipline and self-restraint, and if Hamilton was to stay healthy and prosperous, it must ensure a sober, serious and conscientious work force.

Benjamin Franklin said that 'The way to wealth was as easy as the way to market.' That maxim is as true to-day as it was in his day. In this fair province of Ontario ... there ought to be almost no poverty and no hard times. Work ought to be in plenty for all. 'By industry we thrive.' 'The hand of the diligent maketh riches.'

Given health and strength, together with honesty, industry, right doing, economy, a fair amount of brains, and a determination to taste not, touch not, handle not the accursed liquor, then I say that almost every man who adopts such principles may place himself in a position of independence.¹²

¹⁰Proverbs 10:15. The appropriateness of the maxim becomes apparent when we recall that its antithesis is, "The rich man's wealth is his strong city."

¹¹F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "A Strong Appeal" (HS, 5 Dec 1893, p. 7).

¹²Ibid. The spirit of modern capitalism with its emphasis on the seriousness of life as a business was effectively expressed by Benjamin Franklin in his Advice to Young Tradesmen (from which Watkins' first quotation is derived) and Necessary Hints to Those That Would Be Rich. Contrasting this spirit with earlier rules for achieving material success, Max Weber observed that Franklin regarded infractions "not as foolishness but as forgetfulness of

Inspired by moral idealism and infused with extravagant hopes, prohibitionists sought to eliminate from commerce an article that was believed to destroy man's reason, paralyze his moral nature, hurt business and deprive thousands of their livelihood, and undermine the very foundation of religion and political democracy. In their efforts to smash the liquor industry with its ties to commercialized vice and politics and restore the workingman to respectability and high principle, a Citizens' Committee headed by F.W. Watkins, and including S.F. Lazier and George Rutherford, was established in 1891 to bring out an independent candidate for mayor in the 1892 elections.¹³ Among the names mentioned for the honor of carrying the temperance standard were F.W. Fearman, S.F. Lazier and F.W. Church.¹⁴ All declined; however, Watkins later accepted a call from the electors of Ward Five to stand for alderman.¹⁵

There was a strong symbolic element in Watkins'

duty. That is the essence of the matter. It is not mere business astuteness, that sort of thing is common enough, it is an ethos. This is the quality which interests us. -- Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, translated by Talcott Parsons, with a foreword by R.H. Tawney (London: Allen & Unwin, 1930; reprint ed., New York: Scribner's, 1958), p. 51.

¹³"Carscallen's Advice Taken" (HS, 14 Nov 1891, p. 5); "The People's Sovereignty" (HS, 9 Dec 1891, p. 5).

¹⁴"Divided Counsels" (HS, 16 Nov 1891, p. 1).

¹⁵"Ward 5" (HS, 28 Dec 1891, p. 8).

decision to pit the sword of righteousness against the "dread demon of destruction" in a face to face confrontation and run, not in his home Ward One, but in the workingman's Ward Five which contained more saloons than any other ward in the city. He came in dead last out of a slate of five candidates. "'Ward 5 is the devil's ward,'" he cried.¹⁶ Undoubtedly the worker attributed Watkins' defeat to his class attitude and not to the forces of evil. In the 1893 elections, Watkins again took on Ward Five and once more failed to win. Unable to defeat the Devil on his own turf, he retreated to the more congenial environment of homeground in Ward One where he was finally elected to City Council in 1895 and again in 1897. During his two terms as alderman, Watkins tried unsuccessfully to have the number of liquor licenses reduced from 75 to 50.¹⁷ When he retired from City Council at the end of his second term, Watkins reminded the members that he had always voted according to his conscience, "whether he was in the minority or not."¹⁸

While the great majority of Methodists had always been vocal exponents of total abstinence, Presbyterians had remained divided on this issue until 1888 when the General Assembly announced its full support for a Dominion

¹⁶"Blaicher" (HS, 5 Jan 1892, p. 1, cl. 6).

¹⁷F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Municipal Reform" (HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 5).

¹⁸"Granted an Extension" (HS, 24 Dec 1897, p. 8).

prohibitory law. Nevertheless, there still remained pockets of Presbyterian opposition to banishing liquor permanently by law on the grounds that the use of alcoholic beverages was a moral, not a political, question and could only be decided by the enlightened^{en} conscience of the people. Dr. Lyle and most of the laity of Central Church were of this persuasion.

In the opinion of Crown Attorney J. Crerar of Central Church, a license system controlled people's drinking habits better and was easier to enforce than a prohibitory law. He told the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada that he was opposed to prohibition unless "demanded by an overwhelming majority of the people," for without universal support, it would be "impossible to enforce.... [and] an interference with the rights of the public."¹⁹ People could not be coerced into prohibition. "I do not believe in the sentiment which is produced by what you might call the organized efforts of the temperance party," Crerar replied to Judge McDonald. As a former temperance lecturer himself, Crerar considered that such a revolution in attitudes must spring from "the voluntary demand of the whole people, without being forced or organized into bands to bring about the change, otherwise it will never last, and the last state

¹⁹Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1895), p. 133.

will be worse than the first."²⁰

For the most part Anglicans firmly rejected coercive reform as an affront to the rule of law. There was nothing inherently evil about liquor as far as they were concerned but agreed that the public must be educated to moderation in its use. The only Anglican leader who belonged to the Royal Templars of Temperance, J.E. O'Reilly,²¹ does not appear to have been an active member. Former mayors Mason and Roach, however, were deadset against prohibition. Roach had long been connected with the liquor trade as manager of the Great Western Railway restaurants and later as a director and vice-president of the Grant-Lottridge Brewery. Mason, too, was one of the brewery's principal shareholders and directors. In his testimony before the Royal Commission, Mason emphasized his preference for a license law as opposed to a prohibitory enactment because the latter only encouraged a flagrant disregard for the law as his experience under the Scott Act had proved. He saw nothing wrong with the sale of light wines and beer in parks and other places of public resort and thought that the temperance sentiment in Canada was growing steadily and that the drinking habit was becoming less and less prevalent. He believed that extravagance was a major cause of poverty and

²⁰Ibid., p. 135.

²¹G. Mercer Adam, ed., Prominent Men of Canada (Toronto: Canadian Biographical Pub. Co., 1892), p. 284.

wretchedness. In his official capacity as mayor from 1888 to 1889, Mason said that he had visited five or six hundred families which had applied for public relief and had learned first hand that only in one case out of ten or twenty was poverty due to drink. According to notes which he took at the time, unemployment, particularly during the winter months, was the primary factor in creating destitution among the masses of the population.²²

Roach did not believe that the liquor traffic injured the moral interests of the community. He described Hamilton as "a very orderly city" where violations of the Liquor Act were "very rare." The license law is "the best system we can have," he told members of the Royal Commission.²³

Besides the moral arguments against the liquor trade, strong economic reasons were advanced in favor of its abolition. Indeed, the two arguments were inextricably linked, as Watkins makes clear in his analysis of the issues at stake in the 1896 municipal elections.

I take strong ground against the saloon, because I believe it is an enemy to the commercial interests, the peace and order, and the moral well being of the community. The fewer drinking places we have the better it will be for the city's material and moral prosperity.²⁴

²²Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1895), pp. 183-187.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁴F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Municipal Reform"

While he believed that the council of 1894 made the right decision when it reduced the number of liquor licenses from 96 to 75, Watkins did not regard the reduction "as an advanced temperance measure," but merely as a significant step towards the curtailment of the liquor trade.²⁵

Some businessmen among the lay elite objected to the location of taverns near their premises on the grounds that the proximity of public houses harmed trade and commerce. On 20 April 1892, F.W. Watkins appeared before the license commissioners with a request that the Hub license not be renewed because it "drew away the clerks from his own and other neighboring establishments." At this same hearing, J.O. Callaghan of Centenary Church and several of his business colleagues²⁶ appeared on behalf of the manufacturers in the vicinity of York and Queen streets to protest the granting of a saloon license to William McDonald in their neighborhood. They said that it was customary for workers to go into saloons at noon hour and if the workers took too much to drink, they might seriously injure themselves or damage valuable machinery which could result in a temporary shutdown of operations. The manufacturers

(HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 5).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ James Orr Callaghan, Ontario Tack Company; W.C. Beckinridge, Norton Manufacturing Company; George T. Tuckett, George E. Tuckett and Son; M. Turnbull, Leitch and Turnbull; T.B. Greening, Greening Wire Works.

also argued that a saloon would depreciate their property values. Callaghan said that some of his employees had signed McDonald's petition but were now sorry that they had.²⁷ We do not know what disciplinary action he took. However, in an attempt to awaken the moral conscience of the neighborhood, the Ontario Tack Company, the Norton Manufacturing Company and the Greening Wire Company issued circulars in reference to McDonald's petition. They enclosed a list of the signatures to the petition and asked all those who had signed to appear before the commissioners and have their names removed.²⁸

The belief that the liquor trade prejudiced the business interests of the community was not shared by J.J. Mason,²⁹ G. Roach,³⁰ and J. Crerar. However, Crerar held that the drinking habit did have harmful consequences. While he disagreed with those who claimed that an increase in the number of licenses tends to increase drunkenness, he

²⁷"Want the Number Reduced" (HS, 20 Apr 1892, p. 1).

²⁸"To Cut Off Shop Licenses" (HS, 21 Apr 1892, p. 1). In spite of the manufacturers' opposition, William McDonald got a license.--"Five Licenses Struck Off" (HS, 30 Apr 1892, p. 1) The Spectator called the granting of a license to McDonald an "outrage," and temperance advocates determined to scrutinize his application for any irregularities.--"An Outrage" (HS, 2 May 1892, p. 4).

²⁹Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Minutes of Evidence, vol.4 pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1895), p. 183.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 203.

did believe that "within certain limits the restriction of licenses ^{was} ~~has~~ a good tendency." For example, Crerar maintained that drinking establishments should be kept as far away as possible from factories and other places where there are large numbers of workingmen "because they test too severely the man's capacity to resist temptation." He defended the license inspectors whom he said were usually careful to observe public opinion and not issue licenses to saloons near factories.³¹

In response to the contention that prohibition would entail a serious loss of revenue to the government, F.W. Watkins replied that "a sober people would spend their money on other things and increase the revenue in that way."³² He estimated that the \$300,000 wasted on liquor each year in Hamilton would be better spent among the merchants. Moreover, he claimed that the city would realize significant savings in maintaining the House of Refuge, the jail and the police department.³³ Dr. C. VanNorman Emory of Centenary Church agreed with Watkins that the country would benefit economically by closing down the liquor traffic. In a speech before 700 to 800 people at the Palace Rink, he declared that it was the duty of Christians to remove the

³¹Ibid., pp. 134-135.

³²"In City Churches" (HS, 11 Jul 1898, p. 7).

³³"Shirked the Responsibility" (HS, 29 Jan 1895, p. 8).

temptation of drink and exhorted his audience to adopt as their motto, "What would Jesus do?"³⁴ On the other hand, J. Crerar believed that if prohibition was enacted, the loss in revenue would have to be made good by personal taxation.³⁵

While the lay leaders were interested in bringing order and direction to society by promoting individual moral responsibility through temperance, they were not all equally persuaded as to the legislative remedy that would most effectively achieve the desired end. Prohibitionists like Watkins responded to a challenge that threatened to destroy cherished middle class convictions and institutions. In particular, they battled to preserve the commitment to self-discipline and personal independence--the heart of the work ethic that gave the middle class its unique historical identity and had made Hamilton a city of enterprise and opportunity. By attacking the liquor and brewing industries, prohibitionists hoped to eliminate the corruption of politics while, at the same time, demolish what they considered to be the single most important cause of social disorder among the working classes. On the other hand, opponents of prohibition among the lay leaders disputed some of the facts of its advocates. They asserted

³⁴"Plebiscite Campaign" (HS, 9 Sep 1898, p. 8).

³⁵Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 4, pt. 1 (Ottawa, 1895), p. 133.

that drunkenness was rather the accompaniment than the cause of pauperism and crime and argued that, in any event, a prohibitory law could not be enforced and would only encourage immorality by creating a general disrespect for the law. Furthermore, they rejected the prohibitionists' propaganda that total abstinence was good for one--socially, morally, physically, and economically. Nevertheless, they believed that the liquor industry should be licensed, controlled and regulated.

Other Moral Reforms

The issue of Sunday observance, like the temperance movement, was a direct response to the threat that the new industrial order posed to social, moral and spiritual values. Presbyterians and Methodists were foremost in the battle to preserve the religious significance of Sunday as a day of worship and rest. Men like F.W. Watkins and J.M. Gibson, a director and vice-president respectively of the Ontario Lord's Day Alliance, saw the need for a strict observance of Sunday as essential to the welfare of the individual and the nation. Setting aside one day in seven represented efforts to raise men on the scale of spiritual and intellectual being as well as to rationalize competition and enable men to produce more and better work.³⁶ However,

³⁶S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1948), pp. 256-257; Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 129-130.

the degree to which Sunday should be closed to commercial and recreational activity was a matter of some debate. For example, S.F. Lazier, a director of Grimsby Park, termed a resolution condemning open Sundays at the park as "preposterous."³⁷

The full force of ascetic Protestantism was also brought to bear against all idle and unwholesome amusements which threatened to undermine the moral importance of work. In May 1895, members of the clergy and laity met in Association Hall to protest against immorality in theatrical performances and betting and brutality in sports. The tone of the meeting indicated a growing concern for a more stringent application of the law in upholding the community's sense of propriety and correct living. The participants called for prompt legal action to suppress all "'manifestly immoral presentations on the stage, and the indecent advertisements connected therewith.'" The rationale of the theater was in its fitness to deepen man's moral perspectives and to stimulate him to explore the potential of creation. George Rutherford of Central Church said that all entertainment should appeal to the whole family. He felt that stage productions in poor taste were becoming much too common and should be closed down by the police for the protection of youth.³⁸

³⁷"Want the Gates Closed" (HS, 21 May 1896, p. 7).

³⁸"Truesport and Pure Drama" (HS, 10 May 1895, p. 5).

Betting at athletic events was emphatically denounced as rendering sports "'more mercenary than manly.'" Brutality in sports was also strongly condemned, for athletics were viewed as providing a discipline for the proper discharge of man's work by encouraging the development of such qualities as self-restraint, alertness, resolve and readiness to seize an opportunity. J.J. Evel of Central decried that most football matches were nothing more than contests of brute force but defended amateur boxing which emphasized skill and agility and believed that all boys should be taught the art. S.F. Lazier of Centenary moved the final resolution of the meeting which condemned the recent "slugging match" at the Opera house³⁹ "'as being revolting in character and degrading to the community.'" He berated the press for encouraging such exhibitions and hoped that all those who approved of boxing "as a wholesome and improving exercise" would rise up in support of his resolution.⁴⁰

When City Council declared June 1893 a half-holiday on the occasion of the grand opening of the Hamilton Jockey Club, F.W. Watkins strenuously denounced the action.

There are other things more important to a city's welfare than horse-racing. I have yet to learn that the morals or tone of

³⁹"Buffalo Men Knocked Out" (HS, 27 Apr 1895, p. 8).

⁴⁰"Truesport and Pure Drama" (HS, 10 May 1895, p. 5).

a community have ever been or ever will be improved through the medium of the race track, and its usual accompaniments of betting, gambling and drinking. I fail to see that it is for the best interests of Hamilton that its business should suddenly be stopped for half a day, its schools closed, its manufactories cease to work, its stores shut up, and all its citizens take a half-holiday, in order to see some horse races. I, for one, will not close my establishment (Pratt & Watkins), on Thursday afternoon next.⁴¹

Social purists, like Watkins, were so convinced of the righteousness of their cause that all else was blasphemy. During the moral reform agitation of 1895, Watkins accused the police commissioners of dereliction of duty and charged that the police force was infiltrated with "rascals, rogues and thieves." He spoke out against barrooms that kept open after hours, the prevalence of gambling and the lucrative trade in prostitution. Watkins claimed that on one street alone there were thirteen "immoral houses" and that two hundred women worked the sidewalks.⁴² Following his charges of police corruption, policemen refused to salute him and turned their backs whenever he approached.⁴³

It is important to remember that while some reformers among the lay elite exercised a strict code of conduct, they

⁴¹F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Strong and to the Point" (HS, 31 May 1893, p. 1).

⁴²"Moral Reform Movement" (HS, 4 Nov 1895, p. 5).

⁴³"The Watkins Mayoralty Boom" (HS, 11 Nov 1895, p. 8).

did not all share the "gospel of earnestness" to the same degree. S.F. Lazier, for example, objected to the list of sins which had been appended to the Methodist discipline. At the 1898 Methodist General Conference held in Toronto, he and the Reverend Dr. James Mills of Guelph proposed a resolution to strike out the list and substitute it with a general note enjoining members to conduct their lives in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Scriptures. In speaking to the resolution, Lazier contended that the list was an infringement on individual rights and noted that such restrictions had never been incorporated into the discipline of Great Britain. He found amusing remarks by a previous speaker that card playing and dancing were vehicles to hell and damnation. He said that the rules were never kept or enforced and in his opinion, succeeded only in driving many young people into the arms of the Presbyterian and Anglican churches "which were doing quite as good work as the Methodist was." The Committee on Temperance, however, refused to recommend the change.⁴⁴ Likewise, not all lay leaders opposed horse racing. William Hendrie of Central Church was a guiding light in the development of the "Sport of Kings" in Ontario. However, he never bet on the races and was outspoken on the evil of the gambling habit. He

⁴⁴"A Hot Discussion" (HS, 13 Sep 1898, p. 6); Methodist Church (Canada), General Conference, Journal of Proceedings of the Fifth General Conference, held September 1st to September 22nd, 1898 in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, Ont. (Toronto: Briggs, 1898), p. 269.

considered such conduct unbecoming of a gentleman and a violation of sporting principles.⁴⁵

Moral Order and the City

The need to create cohesion and rectitude in Hamilton's daily life ultimately focused on the quality of municipal government and the character of its elected officials. George Rutherford believed that there was a need for bright young men to devote their lives to the pursuit and study of politics.⁴⁶ During the 1896 municipal elections, Ald. F.W. Watkins appealed to the "deacons, class leaders, elders," and other church officials to come forward as aldermanic candidates. He was disturbed with the attitude held by a large number of citizens who considered politics a dirty business and wanted nothing to do with it lest it taint their character. Watkins believed that "all true and loyal citizens" had a Christian duty to serve their community in some public capacity. Bad men must be replaced by "good, respectable and honest" men to represent the different wards. "If good men object to the conditions of politics as they now exist, then I say why do not good men come forward and endeavor to purge politics from bribery and

⁴⁵"Death of William Hendrie" (HS, 27 Jun 1906, p. 4); H.F. Gardiner, "Young Scots Who Made Good in Hamilton" (HS, 4 Oct 1924, p. 17).

⁴⁶"Canadian Citizenship" (HS, 3 Nov 1893, p. 5).

corruption which are in the same?" Watkins believed that state of war existed within society.

I think that to-day while we have no internal or external war which requires the use of the bayonet and musket, yet we have, or ought to have, a war going on at the present time against the evils which surround us. It seems to be admitted on all hands that bribery and corruption, gambling, betting, intemperance and unchastity are, to a greater or less extent, prevalent in the community. The saloon flings its doors wide open and beckons the youth of our country to enter and be destroyed body and soul. The gambling houses entice young and old to come within their precincts, and, upon the throw of a dice, [sic] or the shuffle of the cards, to gamble away their manhood, their honesty, their own money, and oftentimes the money of their employers, which they have stolen. The house of ill-repute seeks to destroy and take away the virtue of young men and old. Even many who are supposed to be respectable citizens in our midst, alas, too frequently patronizing the latter. The race course endeavors to throw around itself an air of respectability by enticing men of influence and position to become stockholders and directors of the [Hamilton] Jockey club, and the so-called [Dundas] Driving park, and then tries to fool some of the silly people by giving a high sounding name like Gymkhana to the races, and thus to allure men to the race track who ought to be ashamed of being seen aiding the gambling, betting and liquor selling carried on there. In other words, any fairly observant person may easily see that the brewer, the distiller, the liquor seller and the Jockey clubite are the individuals who run our city, and who, to too great an extent, pull the wires from behind and really make the laws for us, or prevent good laws from being enforced.⁴⁷

⁴⁷F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Christian Citizenship" (HS, 14 Dec 1895, p. 7).

Unselfish men who are prepared to sacrifice their time, money, energy and talents and take up this warfare in the interest of good government would be the salvation of the city."

As the new age demanded new forms of social organization, so too did it demand new forms of political organization. Simply electing good and capable men to office was not enough as Watkins well knew. Of fundamental importance was the need to redesign Hamilton's governmental structure and modify or discontinue practices which complicated and retarded the administration of the city.

It is my own impression that certain fundamental reforms are needed in our municipal system. In other words, our cities are outgrowing a village system of government. I think we should profit by the difficulties, experience and experiments of other cities, and not wait until we get into the mire before we commence reform. I think we need some men in our city council of wide experience and broad views who will not be content to potter along with inadequate machinery, but will be able to present and advocate advantageous changes in our municipal system.⁴⁸

Watkins may have had in mind the Board of Control reform then being debated in Toronto but he made no specific recommendations regarding the organization of municipal government and its decision making process. The only comments on the form of local government came from W.A. Robinson and T.H. Pratt. Robinson believed that ward

⁴⁸F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Municipal Reform" (HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 5).

representation should be abolished and that aldermen should be elected by the people at large,⁴⁹ a suggestion which looked to undermine the strength of the lower-class vote.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Pratt favored a reduction in the number of aldermen from each ward from three to two, making a total Council of fourteen.⁵¹ He also denounced aldermanic control of the Court of Revision as "iniquitous," and said that he had known of such courts being used "as machines to catch votes." He called for the appointment of an independent body of commissioners to form the Court of Revision.⁵²

The demand for clean government, public efficiency and businesslike administration in the face of a growing need for increased revenue to finance municipal services and improvement led naturally to a concern for the quality of the urban environment. While this concern was motivated primarily by economic factors, it was hoped that environmental changes would instigate ideals of civic loyalty and virtue.

One of the more contentious issues of the day was the question of tax exemptions of plant and machinery for new

⁴⁹"The Government of Cities" (HS, 8 Oct 1892, p. 5).

⁵⁰Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: the Urban Reform Movement in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 213.

⁵¹"Important Matters Discussed" (HET, 26 Jan 1894, p. 5).

⁵²*Ibid.*

industries. Watkins was indignant that manufacturers should enjoy the protection and facilities of the community and not be compelled to share in the responsibility of supporting them as were the merchants and the rest of the citizenry. In his opinion tax concessions were simply a license to "coin money,"⁵³ thus depriving Hamilton of badly needed funds for a variety of public works projects.⁵⁴ Watkins took the city to task for the deplorable conditions of its streets and sidewalks, the need for an up-to-date water works system, the demand for electric lighting, and the inadequately equipped fire brigade.

Look at the streets of Hamilton today. The condition of many of them is terrible. Where the block pavement has become worn, there are holes in some places from 2 inches to 10 or 12 inches deep. Many of the streets which are block-paved are simply in a condition at the present moment which any country village might be ashamed of. Then take our sidewalks. Something must be done to give us better foot pavements. Take a glance at our waterworks system. It is a well known fact that in this department, too, before many years roll round, the city will be compelled to spend a large amount of money in order to keep or bring the waterworks system up to a proper state of efficiency. Electric lights are being demanded in all parts of the city.

⁵³F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Against Tax Exemptions" (HS, 30 Sep 1895, p. 8).

⁵⁴In September 1895, Alderman Watkins requested the Assessment Commissioner to compile a statement of exemptions which City council had granted to manufacturers. The list of exemptions, which included real estate, plant and machinery, and personal property, totaled \$1,066,385 and contained some of the wealthiest firms in Hamilton.-- "Fortunate Hamilton Firms" (HS, 27 Sep 1895, p. 8).

People are not satisfied without them. We have a fire brigade not inferior to any in the Dominion, and it, too, ought to have more money spent upon it in order to have it properly equipped. In fact, in many other ways our city has suffered for the want of sufficient funds to make it what it ought to be in every respect.⁵⁵

The neglect of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants was visible in the lack of parks to relieve living congestion and provide healthful outdoor exercise.

I am among those [said Watkins] who believe that people are of more importance than property, and that the health and happiness of the people stand before mere wealth getting. We need more parks to beautify our city, to make breathing spots and playgrounds for the citizens, and it is false economy to put off the provision until property values increase.⁵⁶

He argued that the money saved in the refunding of the city debt should be spent in developing a system of public parks.⁵⁷ The discharge of sewage and industrial waste into Burlington Bay had created a serious health hazard. Referring to the coal-oil inlet nuisance, Watkins said:

We cannot go on forever polluting our inlets and bay with the sewage of the city. The price that our people are paying in the death of their children from diphtheria and scarlet

⁵⁵F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Against Tax Exemptions" (HS, 30 Sep 1895, p. 8).

⁵⁶F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Municipal Reform" (HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 5).

⁵⁷"Saturday Night Speeches" (HS, 28 Dec 1891, p. 5); "Ward 5" (HS, 28 Dec 1891, p. 8); also "Preparing the Estimates" (HS, 6 Mar 1895, p. 7).

fever is too great to be endured.⁵⁸

Of the one hundred or so miles of streets that existed in Hamilton in 1897, only thirty-five miles were paved.⁵⁹ Nine and one-quarter miles were constructed of cedar blocks⁶⁰ which after a few years' use became uneven. Watkins protested that the cedar pavements were unhealthy as they absorbed noxious liquids, gave off offensive odors in damp weather and were dusty in dry weather.⁶¹ The macadamized streets were also poorly built and in a state of neglect. Watkins wanted to see all streets properly laid with asphalt. To pay for the reconstruction of Hamilton's streets and provide revenue for their maintenance, he argued that the street railway, telegraph, telephone and electric light companies should pay rent to the city for the use of the streets for their rails, poles and wires.⁶² In the 1897 civic campaign, Watkins went a step further and advocated that the city ought to own and operate its own electric lighting plant and the Hamilton Street Railway Company.⁶³

"This city's experience with the cedar block and the

⁵⁸F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Municipal Reform" (HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 5).

⁵⁹"No Crack Visible Yet" (HS, 11 Jan 1897, p. 8).

⁶⁰"For Macadam Roads" (HS, 5 Nov 1896, p. 1).

⁶¹"Talking for Copp" (HS, 21 Dec 1891, p. 5).

⁶²Ibid., "Ward 5" (HS, 28 Dec 1891, p. 8).

⁶³"Ald. Watkins' Views" (HS, 31 Dec 1896, p. 8).

so-called asphalt on James street is quite enough to make any citizen ashamed of our streets," said F.W. Fearman of Centenary Church who had just returned from a visit to Battle Creek, Michigan where he was favorably impressed with its vitrified brick streets. He did not think the borrowing of large sums for purposes of road construction was a good plan. Instead, he suggested that a good portion of the city's revenue be set aside each year for the paving of the streets and that this amount be allocated among the wards on a pro rata basis according to their assessment.⁶⁴

From the early days of Hamilton's growth as a manufacturing center, Fearman and other lay leaders showed a concern for mixing beauty with the city's commercial atmosphere. Fearman took great pride in his city and helped to bring about many civic improvements. He was one of the first to agitate for a city waterworks system and had called the first public meeting on the matter in 1855.⁶⁵ The dry, dusty conditions of those early days led Fearman and others to plant the first shade trees in Hamilton along Park Street.⁶⁶ The example was quickly followed until nearly all the residential streets were lined with lovely, full-

⁶⁴F.W. Fearman to the Editor, "Vitrified Brick" (HS, 25 Apr 1898, p. 3).

⁶⁵F.W. Fearman, "Mr. Fearman's Memories" in Hamilton Spectator, Carnival Edition, August, 1889 (Hamilton: Spectator Print Co., 1889), p. 3.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 4.

branching trees. His attempts to beautify the city and make it a more pleasant place in which to live did not stop here. Fearman also played a prominent role in the movement to purchase Dundurn Park and the establishment of a parks system in Hamilton.⁶⁷ "Those who recall the parks campaign," writes Mrs. L.F. Stephens, "will remember that never in his long and honorable public career did he show to better advantage than then. His speeches were full of force and sound argument, and based on his wide observation abroad, he was able to handle the subject in a way that made many converts. He was one of those chosen for the first Public Parks Board, and was the unanimous choice of the members for chairman. He stoutly declined but the Board insisted that he must be the first chairman, even though he should resign at the close of the first meeting, for they felt that his name should be handed down as chairman--and so it was."⁶⁸

Among the other leaders who favored the purchase of Dundurn Park were J.O. Callaghan and T.W. Watkins. Both viewed the acquisition primarily from its commercial advantages to the city. Callaghan believed that the park

⁶⁷"Preparing the Estimates" (HS, 6 Mar 1895, p. 7); "Asphalt Favored" (HS, 27 Apr 1899, p. 8); "Mr. Fearman on Parks" (HS, 28 Apr 1899, p. 4); "Street Pavement" (HS, 28 Apr 1899, p. 8); "Mr. Fearman on Dundurn" (HS, 5 Sep 1899, p. 4).

⁶⁸"Fearman, Frederick W." from Mrs. L.F. Stephens' scrapbook, HPLSC.

could serve as a focal point in advertising the benefits of Hamilton. However, he felt that some improvements were needed, such as better railway communications and a steamboat wharf, with an overhead approach.⁶⁹ Similarly, Watkins spoke of the "increased prominence" it would give to Hamilton in promoting it as a convention center.⁷⁰

When the Beckett Drive was first broached in the early 1890s, W.E. Sanford suggested that, in conjunction with the proposed mountain driveway, an electric railway line be constructed to run along the brow in order to afford all Hamiltonians an opportunity to enjoy the "commanding view of hill and plain, bay and lake." Sanford's travels through the mountain drives of the fashionable resorts of southern France and Italy with their observation sites convinced him of the feasibility of building a similar attraction in Hamilton. His idea was to develop the summit, with suitable grounds for a park, into a summer resort of the first rank which he envisaged would become a major drawing card for excursion parties throughout southern Ontario.⁷¹

At the time City Council was pressing for the annexation of Hamilton Beach, F.W. Watkins, ever mindful of

⁶⁹"All Want Dundurn" (HS, 19 Aug 1899, p. 8).

⁷⁰"Dundurn Park Purchase" (HS, 5 Sep 1899, p. 8).

⁷¹W.E. Sanford to the Editor, "Senator Sanford's Scheme" (HS, 29 Nov 1892, p. 8).

the all important tourist trade, proposed that it be transformed into a holiday center for the entire family, with a grand promenade similar to the one at Atlantic City. Naturally, he was determined that the beach would be dry.⁷²

The environmental method of social uplift culminated with the founding of the Hamilton City Improvement Society in 1899. Among its members were J.O. Callaghan and W.A. Robinson of Centenary church, the Reverend Dr. Samuel Lyle and J.J. Evel of Central Church, and the Reverend Canon E.M. Bland and George Roach of Christ's Church.⁷³ The objectives of the society illustrate the close connection between civic beautification and economic interests. To create a healthy and attractive urban environment was a means of "putting the advantages of Hamilton before those who are looking for manufacturing locations, and ... generally keeping Hamilton in the eye of the world."⁷⁴ For some, the society was probably nothing more than an instrument for generating business profits. For others, perhaps, the esthetic appeal was paramount. But the underlying assumption of the society was that Hamilton could and ought to become a cohesive community knit together by shared moral and social values.

⁷²F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Government of the Beach" (HS, 5 Oct 1895, p. 8).

⁷³"Citizens Take Hold" (HS, 7 Jun 1899, p. 4; "For a Clean City" (HS, 26 Jul 1899, p. 8); "Notable Life Draws to End, City Mourns" (HS, 27 April 1934, p. 10).

⁷⁴"A Good Scheme" (HS, 8 Jun 1899, p. 4).

By operating indirectly on the people through the example of its members, the society sought to create an "active interest in all ranks in those things which, properly handled, make a town beautiful and progressive."⁷⁵

Although the lay leaders were by no means unanimous in their evaluation of the legitimacy of various amusements, they were generally opposed to any activity which in their opinion impaired the usefulness of man as a producer and led to the neglect of his social obligations. Whatever the concern of a particular crusade or movement, its thrust was to impose moral order upon what its advocates regarded as a society in upheaval. The negative and coercive style of moral reform typified by efforts to outlaw the liquor industry and eradicate other evil institutions was one method of uplift. Another strategy that was just beginning to emerge, as part of the crusade to purify Hamilton's municipal government, emphasized assimilative reform through environmental changes which hopefully would call forth more spontaneously the good behavior and the social harmony that all desired. They did not see the root problem in the social environment, but rather the problems in that environment were finally the failure of countless individuals to rise to the heights of manhood.

⁷⁵Ibid.

Capital and Labor

The vignettes of industrial life presented here show that the lay leaders were, with one exception, unsympathetic to the needs of working people and the unionization movement. At stake was "the social order," that is, the accustomed relationships and patterns of social organization that provided benefits to the already privileged. Although the evidence is limited to a small number of businessmen among the lay elite who spoke on some of the problems of capital and labor, it suggests that they generally conceived of the workplace, under their tutelage, as a major, if not the major, instrument of social discipline and moral order.

In so far as the lay leaders gave forth with generalized opinions, it was usually in response to a particular problem or a specific criticism. There was only one F.W. Watkins who expressed himself so volubly on the subject of capital and labor. However, most clearly accepted the paternal model of industrial relations laid down by St. Paul:

I think that employers of labor should bear in mind Paul's injunction, 'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven;' but also workingmen should bear in mind the advice, 'Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye service, as men pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the

heart; with good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men.⁷⁶

Under the principle of mutual obligation, they assumed a paternalistic responsibility for their employees' moral and social well-being and suitably rewarded faithful service when they could by the giving of a Christmas turkey, sometimes accompanied by a week's wages, to each employee or holding a Christmas banquet with its impromptu program of toasts and songs which were customary practices of Hendrie and Company, John Calder and Company, Ontario Tack Company, William Lees and Son and A. Zimmerman.⁷⁷ Employees at Pratt and Watkins received an extra pay envelope on Christmas eve.⁷⁸ Such occasions served to cement the loyalty of the employees. The head of the firm would usually make a brief speech stressing their mutuality of interests and a spokesman for the employees would respond with appropriate expressions of devoted attachment and affection.

The exercise of benevolent paternalism meant keeping an open eye for the abuse of authority by one's supervisor, as when one of Sanford's foremen arbitrarily dismissed Mr.

⁷⁶F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "On Capital and Labor" (HS, 20 Mar 1897, p. 8).

⁷⁷Hendrie: "Brief Local Items" (HS, 24 Dec 1894, p. 1, cl. 3); "Christmas Presentation" (HS, 23 Dec 1895, p. 1). Calder: "Around the Festive Board" (HS, 24 Dec 1898, p. 1). Ontario Tack Company: "Brief Local Items" (HS, 24 Dec 1894, p. 1, cl. 4). Lees: Ibid. (HS, 27 Dec 1898, p. 1.). Zimmerman: Ibid. (HS, 26 Dec 1896, p. 1); Ibid. (HS, 23 Dec 1897, p. 1); Ibid. (HS, 24 Dec 1898, p. 1); Ibid. (HS, 23 Dec 1899, p. 1).

Belz, a long-term employee, because he had grown too old to do a full day's work and replaced him with a younger man. Disturbed by the foreman's thoughtlessness, Sanford snapped, "That won't do. You and I have been working here for over 30 years and we are getting old, too, and somebody will be wanting to replace us with younger blood. Send for the old man and put him back in his old place.'" The next day when Belz returned, Sanford told him that "as long as he was able to stand opposite a cutting board there would always be a cutting board for him."⁷⁹

The Christian employer modelling himself on Paul's injunction would be alert, as F.W. Watkins was, to the benefits of early closing for his employees as well as for himself. In 1890, Watkins began experimenting with shorter store hours and by 1895 was advocating an almost half holiday on Saturdays. Finding that this did not restrict his business and, at the same time, observing the benefits of a more relaxed Sunday for religious observances, he exhorted the clergy and the Trades and Labor Council (TLC) to agitate the idea.⁸⁰ When the Ontario Lord's Day Alliance

⁷⁸D. Turner, E. Mason, J.A. Marshall, R. Rogers and G. Hall on behalf of the employees to F.W. Watkins, "They Are Well Pleased" (HS, 4 Jan 1895, p. 8).

⁷⁹"Senator Sanford's Way" (HS, 12 Apr 1897, p. 5).

⁸⁰Pratt & Watkins to the Editor, "Good Results of Early Closing" (HS, 4 Jan 1895, p. 8); "Current Topics" (HS, 5 Jan 1895, p. 4); F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "Saturday Afternoon Half Holiday" (HS, 23 Jan 1897, p. 6).

in 1897 began memorializing the provincial government to legislate a Saturday half holiday, Watkins had already proved its viability. Needless to say, his employees were delighted with the arrangement, and their fulsome gratitude exemplifies further the moral response the Pauline model was intended to elicit.

We, the employees of the firm of Messrs. Pratt & Watkins desire to convey to you through this medium our appreciation of the thoughtfulness and consideration of the health and pleasure of your large staff in deciding to close your place of business at three o'clock on Saturday afternoons during the months of January, February and March.... We can assure you, sir, that if dilligence and perseverance on our part can tend to prevent any discrepency by reason of this step in the year's business upon which we are just entering, in comparison with former years, we are prepared to do our utmost, not only to keep pace with, but exceed all former years in the history of the firm....We realize the fact, sir, that we are all identified with the business, and that our prosperity depends upon the success of our employer. We are therefore determined to serve your interests and our own by greater zeal in the future than in the past.⁸¹

Subscribing to the Smilesian doctrine of thrift and self-help, employing laymen of Watkins' stripe established employees' savings banks. In 1891, Watkins went so far as to distribute among those who had been with his firm for one or more years a \$1,000 bonus in the form of a credit which was deposited with the store's savings department at five

⁸¹D. Turner, E. Mason, J.A. Marshall, R. Rogers, and G. Hall on behalf of the employees to F.W. Watkins, "They Are Well Pleased" (HS, 4 Jan 1895, p. 8).

percent per year.⁸² If such a practice did not necessarily make potential entrepreneurs of his workers, it at least encouraged them to act with prudent self-regard as well as to reflect on their stake in their employer's business.

The protective tariff policy of 1878, the keystone of Sir John A. Macdonald's national strategy for industrial prosperity, provided many occasions for celebrating the mutual interest of employer and employee, of master and man, of which the epistle spoke. But, spurring the development of large scale industry, the protective policy also catalized the nascent labor movement. Although unions had won legal status in 1872, prevailing capitalist sentiment a generation later was still overwhelmingly hostile to the organization of labor. Just as most late nineteenth century businessmen opposed the ruinous self-interest of laissez-faire enterprise, so also did they oppose organized labor which they perceived as out to subvert the right of employers to manage their business by seeking to prescribe the wage rate, set prices and control recruitment through apprentice regulations.⁸³ Nevertheless, the lay leaders regarded themselves as a friend of labor and exhorted the

⁸²"A Good Scheme" (HS, 27 Apr 1891, p.1).

⁸³On workers' control in the late nineteenth century, see Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), pp. 71-75, 91 and 242-245.

worker to trust to enlightened self-interest and the power of mutual dependence as the only practical course to improve his position.

Watkins, whose own sense of obligation to the working man had been sufficient for him to present himself as a working-man's candidate in the federal election of 1896, turned out to be one of the most pronounced opponents of the union movement. His anti-union label stance earned him the wrath of the local TLC,⁸⁴ but Watkins defended himself in terms his fellow employing laymen knew well and often echoed: a labor contract should not interfere with the "fair and legitimate rights" of others. The trade union's attempt to control their branches of industry, he said, is an unwarranted interference with competition and the inexorable laws of supply and demand and productive of nothing but harm. He implied that unions checked a worker's incentive and pulled him down to the level of the inferior worker. He frowned upon the strike as injurious to the worker and inimicable to the social order and suggested instead compulsory arbitration for resolving controversies.⁸⁵ Watkins declared himself opposed to class legislation⁸⁶ but in reality he was opposed to putting in

⁸⁴"Disapprove of Watkins" (HS, 13 Mar 1897, p. 8).

⁸⁵F.W. Watkins to the Editor, "On Capital and Labor" (HS, 20 Mar 1897, p. 8).

⁸⁶"Will the Curfew Toll?" (HS, 26 Jan 1897, p. 5).

question his own status as a paterfamilias of the industrial order. His Pauline (one hesitates to say Christian) model of industrial relations could conceive of no fundamental conflict between master and man. Both were equal in the moral responsibility placed upon them.

The disparity in bargaining power between employer and employee, however, resulted in many bitter disputes throughout the 1890s, particularly over the question of wages. Some employers, like Hendrie and Company, objected to paying overtime.⁸⁷ Men were hired to do a job, and when there was additional work to be done, it was difficult for an employer to understand why he should pay extra wages for the same work when he himself often put in much longer hours than his men. To give into such an "unreasonable" and "exaggerated" demand would destroy individual responsibility and knock out initiative.

As older notions about the identity of interests between master and man were undermined by the changed conditions of industrialization, labor was reduced to a simple commodity to be bought and sold according to the imperious commands of the price system. One of the most iniquitous employment practices in Hamilton of the day was the sweating system which was extensively made use of in the manufacture of ready-made clothing. The sewing machine not

⁸⁷"Teamsters Strike" (HS, 17 Jun 1893, p. 8).

only speeded up the demand for hand finishers but was carried into the home and crowded sweatshops to be run by a new army of industrial slaves manipulated by unscrupulous middlemen or contractors. The fierce competition among middlemen for outwork resulted in contracts for ruinously low wages. "One contractor makes war upon the others," noted one report, "and the demand for cheapness is not satisfied."⁸⁸ While clothing manufacturers kept themselves informed as to prices paid by their competitors, they neither sought "to control or in any way interfere with the wages paid by their contractors, or to keep themselves informed as to the rate of wages paid."⁸⁹

The lay businessman's self-interested pursuit of a living profit and his treatment of wages as a price, determined solely by the forces of supply and demand, flew in the face of the parallel need of the workingman for a living wage. In November 1896, the Sanford Manufacturing Company announced a general wage reduction of ten percent which remained in effect for one year.⁹⁰ Three months later, Sanford attempted to impose a further and more

⁸⁸Ontario, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 1897, No. 28, p. 23, "Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the Province of Ontario, 1896;" also Ibid., 1899, No. 30, p. 26, "Reports of Factory Inspectors for the Province of Ontario, 1898."

⁸⁹Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, 1896, No. 61, p. 7, "Report Upon the Sweating System in Canada."

⁹⁰"Wages Reduced" (HS, 3 Nov 1896, p. 1); "Brief Local Items" (HS, 3 Nov 1896, p. 1).

drastic reduction. Determined to protect his profit margin against the cheaper prices of the Toronto and Montreal clothing manufacturers, this beneficiary of sweated labor, in callous disregard of the serious hardships a great many families would suffer, informed the coatmakers that he intended to slash prices on two popular lines of overcoats by as much as 35 percent. The 3,000 to 4,000 men and women employed by Sanford were among the lowest paid workers in the city⁹¹ and they claimed with justification that they were barely able to make ends meet under the old rates and could not afford to do more for the money paid. As a result, the coatmakers refused to accept the work. The rest of the city's garment makers rallied to their support and threatened a mass strike. Within the space of two days, Sanford conceded to a lesser price reduction.⁹² A small victory perhaps, but the garment workers had shown they were not deceived by the lay businessman's plea that in pursuing his own self-interest, he was naturally securing their interests as well.

The shutdown of John Calder and Company in May 1899 by the firm's 11 contractors provides further illustration of the deeply opposed interests which the Pauline model

⁹¹The average weekly wage for women and girls was \$3, while men averaged somewhere between \$3 and \$4 a week on an annual basis.

⁹²"An Impending Strike" (HS, 30 Jan 1897, p. 1); "An End of the Trouble" (HS, 3 Feb 1897, p. 1).

addressed only with difficulty. The immediate issues were price cuts and the importation of alien labor. Nearly 1,500 garment workers walked off the job. Calder was adamant in his insistence that the company must "have complete control of everything." Nevertheless, a settlement was quickly reached when Calder announced that his firm would abolish the contract system and establish its own workshops and, at the same time, attend to the workers' grievances. While an important victory for the union, the abolition of the letting-out system met Calder's demand for full management control by putting the operatives under the company's direct supervision.⁹³

Just how far the polarizing effect of capitalist organization of industry undermined the practices of the Pauline ethics of benevolent employers is sharply revealed by the iron molders strike. In January 1893, the D. Moore Company and five other Hamilton stove foundries⁹⁴ collectively informed their molders that they intended to reduce wages for piece work by ten percent and for day work by twenty-five cents from \$2.25. The manufacturers claimed that they could no longer compete with foundries in Toronto,

⁹³"Are Out on Strike" (HS, 26 May 1899, p. 4); "Strike Is Still On" (HS, 27 May 1899, p. 1); "Calder & Co.'s Plan" (HS, 30 May 1899, p. 1); "Coming to Terms" (HS, 2 Jun 1899, p. 1).

⁹⁴The other firms were Copp Brothers; Bowes and Jamieson; Burrow, Steward and Milne; Gurney-Tilden Company; and Laidlaw Manufacturing Company.

London and Brantford which employed non-union men at substantially lower wages.⁹⁵ The Hamilton branch of the Iron Molders' International Union rejected the wage reduction. As a result, the companies locked out the molders, affecting the jobs of over 350 men. They resolved to break the union and run their foundries as open shops under new principles. Specialization of labor would keynote the reorganization.⁹⁶

The crude beginnings of assembly line production struck at the molder's traditional shop-floor autonomy. The issue of workplace control, not wages, was the heart of the matter. "Against industrial-capitalist work discipline," says Bryan D. Palmer, "the skilled worker posed the rules and regulations of his trade."⁹⁷ The new economic system stressed large-scale production of goods, competition of markets and wide distribution of products. Inasmuch as the restrictive rules and regulations of the union inclined against all three principles, the foundry owners were prepared to hold out indefinitely rather than submit "to the dictation of the Union."⁹⁸ The collective action of

⁹⁵"Molders' Wages" (HS, 11 Jan 1892, p. 8).

⁹⁶"The Molders Won't Accept" (HS, 20 Jan 1892, p. 1).; "How the Shops Will be Run" (HS, 1 Feb 1892, p. 8).

⁹⁷Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), p. 75.

⁹⁸"How the Shops Will be Run" (HS, 1 Feb 1892, p. 8).

the stove founders was a clear example of class consciousness.

With the battle lines drawn, the foundries lost no time in bringing in non-union labor from Quebec, Toronto and the United States. As a counter-measure, the union attempted to buy off the "scabs."⁹⁹ There were many incidents of violence and intimidation.¹⁰⁰ W.W. Robinson, vice-president of the firm, dismissed these hostile demonstrations. He implicitly censured the strikers for their lack of self-respect and self-discipline by commending the good character of his new employees. "The latter," he said, "are respectable, industrious, sober, orderly and self-respecting.... So far, they have refused to accept the offers, twice made, of the union, to quit work for a financial consideration."¹⁰¹ Some months later, President

⁹⁹"More Non-Unionists Come" (HS, 9 Feb 1892, p. 8); "Gurney's First Contingent" (HS, 10 Feb 1892, p. 1); "The Strike of the Molders" (HS, 4 Mar 1892, p. 1); "Induced to Leave Town" (HS, 22 Mar 1892, p. 8); "More Molders" (HS, 25 Mar 1892, p. 8); "Molders for Gurneys'" (HS, 29 Mar 1892, p. 8); "Nine Molders Leave Town" (HS, 18 Apr 1892, p. 1); "More Non-Union Molders" (HS, 28 Apr 1892, p. 1); "Payette Has Left Us" (HS, 27 Feb 1893, p. 1).

¹⁰⁰"Non-Union Men Attacked" (HS, 11 Feb 1892, p. 8); "The Strike of the Molders" (HS, 4 Mar 1892, p. 1); "Intimidating Molders" (HS, 19 Mar 1892, p. 5); "Roach Returns to Town" (HS, 29 Mar 1892, p. 8); "Intimidated Molders" (HS, 30 Mar 1892, p. 8); "Afraid of the Whitecaps" (HS, 2 May 1892, p. 1); "Another Molder Bound Over" (HS, 3 May 1892, p. 8); "Who Struck Bailey" (HS, 11 May 1892, p. 8).

¹⁰¹"The Strike of the Molders" (HS, 4 Mar 1892, p. 1).

W.A. Robinson expressed the opinion that strikes "were largely the result of ignorance of existing conditions, and a lack of faith in the employers on the part of the employees." He looked forward to the creation of a government labor bureau which would set wage rates in certain industries and in times of economic stress would have the authority to examine a company's books to determine whether the employer could afford to pay higher wages.¹⁰²

The strike engendered much bitterness and polarized the community. "Millionaires are enemies of society and ought to be shot, and paupers should be dealt with in the same way," blurted out a local executive of the molders' union.¹⁰³ At a benefit concert sponsored by the TLC for the striking molders in Arcade Hall, Thomas Wisdom, vice-president of the Iron Molders' International Union, voiced the rancor felt by all the molders when he "denounced in emphatic terms and amid loud applause those good Christian philanthropists, who hold prayer meetings in their shops, but who send out hirelings to scour the whole United States for the scum of that country, and who grind and tyrannize and extort from employees who have served them faithfully and helped to create the wealth they now possess."¹⁰⁴ Amid all this hostility, the Ministerial Association remained

¹⁰²"Labor and Capital" (HS, 22 Oct 1892, p. 8).

¹⁰³"The Molders and Bosses" (HS, 7 Mar 1892, p. 1).

¹⁰⁴"Sympathy with the Strike" (HS, 22 Apr 1892 p. 8).

neutral. Its only comment was a mild expression of regret and a meek hope for an amicable settlement through arbitration.¹⁰⁵

Not all lay leaders were hostile to trade unions. James Wilmot Lamoreaux of Central Church who was secretary of George E. Tuckett and Son, Hamilton's leading cigar manufacturer, naturally supported his firm's enviable record as a humane and enlightened employer. The cooperative labor relations which prevailed between the company and its employees was the product of the elder Tuckett's recognition that serving the interests of his workers advanced and protected his own economic interests. He had voluntarily instituted the nine-hour day, distributed annual merit bonuses and rewarded faithful employees of twenty year's service with a deed to a lot which was accompanied by a substantial check to assist in the erection of a house.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in September 1895 when the pressures of competition forced the Tuckett cigar company to the painful decision that a cut in wages was necessary to stay in business, it was typical that the firm went directly to the union "with

¹⁰⁵"The Molders and Bosses" (HS, 7 Mar 1892, p. 1).

¹⁰⁶Greg Kealey, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1973), pp. 145-147; "Gave Them Turkeys and Money" (HS, 24 Dec 1892, p. 8); "All Employees Remembered" (HS, 23 Dec 1893, p. 8); "Generous to the Employees" (HS, 24 Dec 1894, p. 1); "Tuckett's Christmas Cheer" (HS, 26 Dec 1894, p. 8); "Kind to His Employees" (HS, 24 Dec 1895, p. 1); Harry B. Witton to the Editor, "Mr. Tuckett's Benefactions" (HS, 31 Dec 1895, p. 6); "Tuckett's Lots" (HS, 4 Jan 1896, p. 4).

the hope that a course can be decided upon mutually satisfactory" [sic]. The proposals were to pay the Toronto bill of prices, the second highest rate, with "an advance over this bill of one to two dollars per thousand for certain handwork jobs," or to stay with the Hamilton prices "less one dollar, all round...."

Our company [said Secretary J.W. Lamoreaux] has always considered the interests of its employees, and we assure you nothing would afford us greater pleasure than to be able to continue the present scale of prices and develop our business; but the present conditions of the cigar business will not permit it. We are willing to submit the matter to arbitration, you to choose one arbitrator, we to choose another, and the two arbitrators, if they cannot agree, to choose a third in the person¹⁰⁷ of one of the judges of the county courts.

On 26 September, a deputation from the Cigar Markers' Union met with Lamoreaux and presented a counterproposal. The union agreed to accept a reduction of one dollar per thousand on straight cigars only. It also asked for a change in apprentice regulations from five per shop to only one per shop, with an additional apprentice for ten or more men. The union's counter-proposal as to wages was accepted without argument.¹⁰⁸

While the lay leaders were much more concerned with the "tyranny of over-competition" than they were with

¹⁰⁷"A Cut for the Cigarmakers" (HS, 20 Sep 1895, p. 1).

¹⁰⁸"Will Accept a Reduction" (HS, 27 Sep 1895, p. 1).

holding down wages, nevertheless, the emphasis of their response was on the law of supply and demand in so far as the price of labor was concerned. Their defense of profits and property rested on an individualism which depended upon each man building his own character. That they failed to see any contradiction in their retreat into collective security to guarantee markets and their invoking the virtues of the success ethic against workingmen who combined for a fair return on their labor was a measure of the business community's confusion over individual and social values.

The leaders' vision of a unified moral order which impelled them to such enterprises as the temperance movement, Sunday observance, prohibition of gambling and the placing of honest men in government and which underlay their own role in education and industrial leadership was part of a single cultural quest for a meaningful and disciplined work experience. The emphasis on the moral duty of continuous industry on the part of everyone in order to achieve maximum material success equated production with social duty, idleness with depravity, discipline with success and labor time with creativity. One and all the lay leaders identified machines and mass production with progress and sought to adapt people to the needs of an industrial economy while somehow preserving as far as possible the ancient notion of work as a sign of moral character and personal fulfillment. The vision of a self-

directed worker pulling together with others to realize the potentialities of the new technology epitomized the moral centrality of work. Through work men and women would obtain a better life for themselves materially and be freed from dependence on others.

What was significant for their own lives, however, was inappropriate for their men, whose skills and work relationships were being undermined by the machine and whose control of the tools of production and the product of labor was being even further attenuated by the rationalization of industrial organization in the 1890s. Work, as social critics like J.W. Bengough, Canada's famed cartoonist, were cogently observing, was being systematically trivialized.¹⁰⁹ The most central and pervasive antinomy derived from the fact that the work ethic attempted to recall the old sentiment of partnership and independent production of preindustrial Hamilton, while the actual world of industrial labor, legitimated by the ideals, was characterized by a drudge-like, interdependent production. This basic contradiction was reflected in such other inconsistencies between ideal and reality as creativity and machine labor, independence and harsh discipline, and mobility and class stasis.

¹⁰⁹ Stanley Paul Kutcher, "John Wilson Bengough: Artist of Righteousness" (M.A. thesis, McMaster Univ., 1975), pp. 148-160.

CHAPTER VI

THE MESSAGE OF THE CLERGY

The Conception of God, History and Human Nature

The clergy molded their world view on a sense of growth as well as on a sense of peril. Over the final decades of the nineteenth century, Hamilton had changed from a city of small factories and workshops into an incipient large-scale industrial center. Railways, the telegraph and telephone systems, and electricity had revolutionized commerce and brought Hamilton into close communication with all parts of the world. The rapid increase in Hamilton's wealth, the expansion of its markets and the growth of its manufactures were seen by the clergy as the unfolding of the human potential under God. While the clergy embraced the notion of historical development, they did not refer to it as inevitably good but as conditional upon man's realization of his inherent spiritual gifts. Generally they condemned a competitive economic order and supported the organization of labor but ascribed the social problems brought about by Hamilton's prosperity largely to a lack of Christian character. From their sense of the indwelling presence of God in the world, they called men to a revitalized Christianity in which the central and distinctive idea was that the victory of spirit over nature in human life would

come through the cultivation of large conceptions of truth and duty. The emphasis of the clergy's message was on the actualization of moral personality. They sought to counteract the sway of economic individualism and the growing secularism by fostering in man the mental or moral nature of Jesus. At the same time, however, they stressed the spiritual interdependence of all men and hence an organic unity of society. They acknowledged man's responsibility as God's agent to help further human progress through the application of the Golden Rule. While the actualization of moral personality might counter the more blatant forms of individualism, it could and did also foster the development of the strong personalities among the lay leadership who dominated those congregations. Certainly it was a message which appealed to them and offered them more in the way of ego endorsement than it did those farther down the social scale. It was not an irrelevant creed, however, for able artisans, as the career of a James Simpson¹ in Toronto or an Allan Studholme² in Hamilton eminently displays.

The message which the clergy preached and acted upon was informed by a complex of intellectual developments in

¹Printer, municipal reporter for the Toronto Star, Socialist, and labor leader who was elected mayor of Toronto for the year 1935.

²Stove mounter and labor leader who represented Hamilton East in the Ontario legislature from 1906 to 1919.

science, history and philosophy which struck at the root of the fundamental dichotomies of orthodox Christianity and combined to make religion less doctrinaire and more humanistic. It stressed the continuity between man's total personality and nature and "held that the entire evolutionary process must be interpreted in the light of its culmination in mind and spirit."³ The thesis that God transcends the world in His nature but is not separated from it in His agency was the normative philosophical expression of liberal Protestant Christianity in Britain and America in the late nineteenth century, and broadly speaking was no less the central note that sounded from the Protestant pulpits examined here--but preeminently from those of Centenary Methodist and Central Presbyterian Churches.

While an important strain in that thought focused on the search for the timeless and transcendent in the human experience, the business-end of their message expounded a "broad moral code that would constitute the core of a way of life reconciling belief and inquiry, tradition and innovation, [community-centered moral] concern and [democratic, individualistic] freedom."⁴ The most articulate spokesman of Protestant liberalism in Hamilton

³David E. Roberts, "Philosophical Theism," in Liberal Theology, ed. by David E. Roberts and Henry Pitney Van Dusen (New York: Scribner's 1942), p. 181.

⁴A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), p. ix.

was the Reverend Dr. Samuel Lyle, pastor of Central Presbyterian Church. Well-read in Scottish philosophy, his world vision was influenced by William Hamilton, who attempted to reconcile the Common Sense philosophy of Thomas Reid with the ideas of Kant, and by Edward Caird, in particular, whom he described as "the greatest pupil of Thomas Hill Green, and the best English expounder of German thought".⁵ Lyle regarded Luther, Schleiermacher and Ritschl as the three men who had most influenced the development of Protestant thought in Germany.⁶ Like Green, Lyle insisted that consciousness provides the necessary basis for both knowledge and morality. He argued that man's highest good is self-realization and that the individual can achieve self-realization only in activities and goods shared with other persons. Similarly, he maintained the importance of individual responsibility and of individual rights.

The strong social emphasis of liberal Protestantism was intimately related to evolutionary theory and the conception of divine immanence. These twin concepts fed the clergy's confident expectation of man's continuing progress in intellectual enlightenment, in material improvement and in ethical amelioration. To this end, the Methodist and Presbyterian clergy sought to unblock man's moral vision and

⁵ Samuel Lyle, Scotland's Contribution to the World (Hamilton, 1904), p. [2], HPLSC.

⁶ "German Theology" (HS, 5 Apr 1898, p. 8).

make him aware of his own potential in terms of achievement and service, stressing devotion to the ideal and the infinite but warning against neglect of the imperative claims of the actual finite world. The shift from dogma to life emphasizing the inner dynamic and self-perfecting character of being struck a responsive chord in the minds of their congregations and was broadly compatible with the wide ranging pursuits of the commercial and professional elite who dominated the churches' leadership.

From the beginning the Central and Centenary pulpits were dominated by a succession of clergymen whose strong personality, organizing ability and intellectual leadership exercised a pervasive influence on the life and thought of their congregations. The pastors of these churches during the crucial last decade of the nineteenth century were noted for their strong sense of missionary endeavor, high admiration of the nobility and earnestness of the consecrated life and concern for Christian education. While adhering firmly to the universal tenets of Christianity, they stressed that the essence of religion was devotion to moral duty and believed that mental or moral growth proceeded in evolutionary stages from a lower self to a higher, social self which found fulfillment in a community of Christian love and service.

The Reverend Dr. Samuel Lyle arrived in Hamilton at a formative period in the city's intellectual life when

Mechanics' Institutes and debating societies were important centers of influence. A man of tremendous breadth of mind and strong opinion, Lyle's spirit was that of the church militant. Always the optimist, Lyle believed that the world was getting better as God's purpose moved through history to its destined end. What distinguished Lyle more than anything else was his uncompromising insistence on the centrality of the church in human affairs. Main Johnson writes that "one of the factors which have [sic] contributed to his unique success has been his clean-cut realization that the church has not only a spiritual and moral duty to perform but that it is also the greatest of all social organizations, and as such has responsibilities extending into every aspect touching the lives of the people."⁷

In keeping with the new patterns of thought, the liberal clergy conceived the authority of the Bible not as an absolute standard but "rather as giving the principles by which the church is progressively to develop her conception of truth and of duty under the continuing inspiration of the spirit of Christ."⁸ They had little patience with dogma and creeds, insisting that true religion must be consistent with

⁷"Governors from Central Church" (HS, 20 Oct 1914, p. 5). Main Johnson was a well-known journalist with the Toronto Daily Star who, from 1911 to 1917, was private secretary to Newton Wesley Rowell, a leading Methodist layman, when the latter was Ontario Liberal leader.

⁸William Adams Brown, Christian Theology in Outline (New York: Scribner's, 1906), p. 63.

reason and experience. "Centenary church stands for practical and experimental Christianity," said the Reverend Dr. John Vipond Smith. "Creed is second to character--the former is important, the latter indispensable."⁹ Since God was personally present in the very constitution of man, religion's primary task was to perfect the character of the individual and so transform social life to express the ethical possibilities as fully as possible. "The great work of our lives," said Smith, "is to build up for ourselves noble Christian characters and prove centers of influence for good all around us."¹⁰

At the center of the clergy's crusade to Christianize society through regenerated man was the moral development of the child into responsible adulthood. The Reverend Dr. Ezra Adams Stafford of Centenary Church was among the early exponents of the optimistic view of childhood.¹¹ While the potential for both good and evil was present at birth, a properly nurtured child would never know a time when he had not been a Christian. Formation of character rather than reformation of character was the watchword of Centenary's George Fletcher Salton. "The mind of a child is as a field

⁹Jaques [pseud.], "At Centenary Church" (HH, 11 Nov 1910, p. 13).

¹⁰"For Twenty-Seven Years" (HS, 21 Dec 1894, p. 7).

¹¹E.A. Stafford, "In Christ Jesus," in The Need of Minstrelsy, with introduction by D.G. Sutherland (Toronto: Briggs, 1892), p. 86.

sown with the seeds of uncounted ancestors," said Salton. "We must watch the seed grow, pluck out the vile and nurture the good."¹² Dr. Smith and his colleague, Dr. Alexander Burns, an influential member of Centenary's Quarterly Board and president of the Hamilton Ladies' College, both echoed such views, pointing to the Sunday school and youth work generally as major instruments in realizing the future God had in store for mankind.¹³ Lyle stressed the redemptive role of the family and the church as an extension of the family in the building of a Christian nation.¹⁴

Unlike the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches which stressed the regular means of grace to maintain original goodness or to achieve personal rebirth, the Anglican Church emphasized the regenerative power of infant baptism whereby the child was cleansed of sin and infused with grace. While the sacrament removed all guilt of sin, his fallen nature remained, and it was the family's duty to guide the child into the Christian community.¹⁵ Hence, Bishop John Philip DuMoulin and Canon Edward Michael Bland at Christ's Church,

¹²"In City Churches" (HS, 24 Apr 1899, p. 7).

¹³"In the New Sunday School" (HS, 18 Sep 1894, p.7); "Working for the Children" (HS, 28 Oct 1897, p. 5).

¹⁴Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont., Annual Report, 1895, p. 6, CPC.

¹⁵Anglican Church of Canada, Ont., Synod of the Diocese of Niagara, Journal of Proceedings, 1895, pp. 24-26, NCH.

who held less optimistic views of human nature, could also speak of the tremendous spiritual possibilities latent in the young child, but in general their position was rather more conservative than that of their Methodist and Presbyterian colleagues.

Just as the child (in the new view) was the great resource for the church, so women were one of the churches' primary instruments in this liberal evangelical project of building a righteous nation. The woman who took her social responsibility seriously as guardian and defender of society's virtues was referred to as a "consecrated woman". The strong social content of the Methodist message is clear in Smith's exhortation to the young women of the Hamilton Ladies' College to pattern their lives in accordance with the noble ideal of self-sacrifice. "Live so that your lives may be a constructive force--a force that will make men and women better than they could have been without you."¹⁶

Both Burns¹⁷ and the Reverend James Allen of Centenary Church referred to woman's force as a power for reform. Allen said it was a mistake to suppose that women have no public duty to perform. "As a man's duty to the state was simply an expansion of his duty in regard to his home, so it was with a woman," he said. What women desired their loved ones to be would determine the course of their

¹⁶"Sermons for Collegians" (HS, 17 Jun 1895, p. 5).

¹⁷"College Sunday" (HS, 14 Jun 1897, p. 5).

lives. But Allen cautioned that this great power existed only if women cultivated their minds and souls.¹⁸

The liberal clergy looked to education as an ally in strengthening the community and the nation in social and moral values, in breaking down prejudices and in fostering a spirit of inquiry, in short, in advancing the kingdom of God. "The ultimate aim of education is the development of character," said the Reverend James Allen of Centenary Church.¹⁹ His colleague, Dr. Burns, emphasized the necessary incompleteness of all human knowledge and the need to supplement it with the graces of Christian character.²⁰

Lyle deplored the materialistic spirit of the age and suggested that the remedy lay in the "cultivation of the imagination." In Lyle's opinion, the ideal education was the Greek ideal of the development of the whole man--the harmony of body, mind, will, emotions and spirit.²¹ The aim of education was to train the creative faculty to go beyond the immediate or remembered experience to seek for essential truth. The cultivation of the imagination then addressed itself to the development of man's mental constitution. Lyle was proud of the high level of interest and instruction

¹⁸"Advice to Young Women" (HS, 30 Oct 1893, p. 8).

¹⁹"In the Western Metropolis" (CG, 29 Oct 1902, p. 5).

²⁰"College Sermons" (HS, 20 Jun 1892, p. 8).

²¹"Many Pedagogic Problems" (HS, 29 Apr 1893, p. 1).

in art and music in Hamilton and gave his whole hearted support to any institution that furthered the progress of the city. In 1880, he joined the Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art and became one of its leading spirits. He was one of the founders and a director of the Hamilton Art School. During the campaign to establish a free public library, Lyle was among those in the forefront battling for the passage of the required by-law. Lyle also supported the Hamilton Council of Women in their efforts to secure a domestic science training college for the city.²²

The idealistic interpretation of human experience thus gave religion a dynamic and strongly constructive note in that what was desired was not a feeling but the realization of moral ideals in all fields of human endeavor. The objective base of the clergy's moral program was the historical Jesus who stood as the supreme example of universal human goodness. In their efforts to find meaningful ways to relate Christian faith to the scientific-industrial world of the Protestant elite, they looked to the communicative power of literature and the fine arts to awaken man's innate intellectual and moral sense of order, meaning and purpose in nature and to teach directly through ideas the ethical principles which ought to govern

²²Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1974], p. 10.

all human conduct and relationships. Lyle, for example, who took an active interest in all things, both secular and religious, "strove to keep the intellectual and cultural advancement of the community in pace with its mighty industrial progress...."²³ His Browning Club fostered those human values and capacities which contributed to the realization of the individual's potential within the whole life of society. Similarly, Salton's series of sermons at Centenary on art and literature in relation to religion were designed to inspire his listeners to cultivate the virtues of courage, enthusiasm and innocence and to fire them to work together with a strong sense of community. Salton deplored the distinction between the secular and the sacred and anticipated the day "when there would be not such distinction, when the common things of life would be deemed as sacred as the best.... The work would be a leveling up, not down."²⁴

The Anglicans, on the other hand, emphasized the dual nature of Jesus who was at once the Christ of culture and the Christ above culture. By God's direct intention, they argued, man is concerned not only with his individual neighbor but also with the whole life of his nation and his race; yet, at the same time, the supernatural life bestowed

²³"Rev. Dr. Lyle Passed Away This Morning" (HS, 29 Jan 1919, p. 1).

²⁴"In City Churches" (HS, 6 Mar 1899, p. 7).

upon man through baptism required always a certain detachment from ordinary human nature and the concerns of the world. Hence, the relationship between Christ and the church was not merely that of a society He had left behind to carry on His work but, more important, a direct instrument of Christ which mediated between God and man. "The power and mission of the press," said Bland, "is to mold men's opinions and influence men's lives by definite and outspoken instructions for which they are responsible solely to their respective commissioning authority; and this, in the case of the pulpit, is the church catholic."²⁵ The theological position of the Anglicans thus centered on the authority of the corporate church as the ruler of culture in contrast to the liberal clergy's more activist and humanistic conception of Christian life which stressed the mediating influence of personalities.

Regardless of how the clergy viewed the relationship between God and man, the message which they promoted was couched in the idea of an endless perfecting of man's life on earth. The clergy's sense of national mission, spurred by the process of change, called forth their total commitment to Canada's progressive growth in culture as they sought, on the local front, a city with truly durable foundations.

²⁵"To His Own People" (HS, 18 Dec 1899, p. 5).

The Protestant Ethic--Private and Public Morality

The signs of moral decadence which intruded upon the prosperous city-scape disturbed the clergy's sense of optimism. Unwholesome recreations and the drunkenness and depravity apparently connected with the sins of the poor all pointed to a personality devoid of nobler interests and in revolt against the discipline of serious pursuits. The clergy sought to suppress the aimless entertainments which deflected man's attention from working well in his occupation. Man should work not merely out of a sense of duty for the maintenance of his life and those dependent on him; by his work, man was united with his fellow men and served them.

Most Methodists believed that the church must present a bold front to society by spelling out the forms of amusement considered to be instruments of the Devil and roundly denouncing them from the pulpit. At the General Conference of 1886, the Committee on Temperance had a footnote added to the General Rules which prohibited

neglect of duties of any kind, imprudent conduct, indulging in sinful tempers or words, the buying, selling or using intoxicating liquors as a beverage, dancing, playing at games of chance, encouraging lotteries, attending theatres, horseraces, circuses, dancing parties, patronizing dancing-schools, taking such other amusements as are obviously of a misleading or questionable moral tendency, and all other acts of disobe-

dience to the Order and Discipline of the Church.²⁶

This ascetic discipline reflects Canadian Methodism's now traditional middle-class insistence on a high standard of personal purity.²⁷ Appearing at the time of the great urban revival, the footnote is symbolic of the growing alarm at the supposed deterioration of the higher values of life by the evidence of vice, attributed mainly to poverty among urban industrial workers. Nevertheless, other more liberal Methodists, such as Burns and the Centenary clergy, believed that a high moral conscience could not be fashioned by imposing specific rules.

Similarly, the answer to question 139 in the Larger Catechism enumerated for Presbyterians the sins forbidden in the seventh commandment. However, for Lyle, the true characteristics of a Christian life and deportment were summed up simply in the answer to question 14 in the Shorter Catechism which defines sin as "any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God." In the case of the Anglican Church, the ultimate authority in all social relations was the Christian law as presented in the life of

²⁶Methodist Church (Canada), The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1886, ed. by Edward B. Ryckman (Toronto: Briggs, 1887), p. 16.

²⁷H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Holt, 1929; reprint ed., New York: New American Library, 1975), pp. 65-69).

Christ and as reflected in its doctrine, ministry, sacraments and prayers.

The relation of alcohol to poverty and crime won many members of all denominations over to the battle for restraint or total suppression in the use of liquor. In the crusade against drink, the Methodists were its most vocal exponents. Allen, Smith and Stafford were all active in the temperance movement and stood solidly behind those church officers who fought for a stricter enforcement of the liquor license law and a reduction in the number of licensed establishments. They firmly believed in the right of the electorate to decide on the liquor question. In October 1893, Allen made Centenary Church available for the opening meeting of the provincial prohibition plebiscite campaign.²⁸ The following month the Centenary Quarterly Board unanimously passed a resolution recommending that the members of the congregation vote "dry" in the January plebiscite.²⁹ Smith, who dreamed that when the new century opened there would not be a single legalized saloon in the country,³⁰ was appointed in 1897 to a special temperance committee of the Hamilton Ministerial Association in connection with the approaching Dominion

²⁸"The Plebiscite Campaign" (HS, 18 Oct 1893, p. 8).

²⁹"Centenary Church for the Plebiscite" (HS, 22 Nov 1893, p. 8).

³⁰"A Seasonable Sermon" (HS, 7 Jan 1895, p. 5).

prohibition plebiscite.³¹

On the other hand, Dr. Burns belonged to the so-called moderate party which favored high license as a practical alternative to attempting to bind Methodist voters to support only those candidates who had pledged themselves to prohibition.³²

The value of prohibition and whether the Bible enjoined it was an open question as far as Lyle was concerned. However, he was emphatically opposed to prohibition and voted against the Hamilton Ministerial Association taking any initiative in the Dominion prohibition plebiscite.³³ "The forcing of a prohibitory law on the people of the Dominion by a small minority of extremists would be a disaster," he said.³⁴

If Lyle questioned the value of prohibition, Anglican clergy were still more doubtful. Bishop DuMoulin maintained that the underlying principle of law was to strengthen man to resist sin and that force should never take the place of moral suasion except in the case of criminals and insane persons. His experience did not bear out the usual

³¹"Hot Shot for S.H. Blake" (HS, 2 Nov 1897, p. 8).

³²"The Methodist Conference" (HS, 11 Jun 1890, p. 8). As a Wesleyan Methodist, Burns followed the Anglican practice and refused to support total abstinence despite Wesley's condemnation of the distillers.

³³"Talk about Plebiscite" (HS, 30 Nov 1897, p. 5).

³⁴"They Want Prohibition" (HS, 22 Jun 1899, p. 7).

assumption that liquor was more responsible than anything else for human degradation. Some form of control, however, was necessary, and DuMoulin believed that high license would reduce the temptation to drink among the masses by forcing closure of "the small saloon where the working people go and spend their wages." On the other hand, DuMoulin said that he would like to see the German beer garden, with lots of light wines and beer, become a Canadian institution, as its convivial ambiance was conducive to civilized drinking habits.³⁵

Turning to another moral issue, evidently with more unanimity, the clergy were appalled at the prevalence of gambling in the city. Gambling undermined the work ethic by creating the illusion of getting something for little or nothing. Salton deplored the sale of prize packages to children which he believed encouraged gambling.³⁶ Lyle was particularly upset at the amount of gambling done by young boys in the rear of cigar stores.³⁷ Pool and billiard rooms also came under their censure. Lyle appealed to the citizens to save the young men of the city not only from the temptations of these wasteful amusements but also from the

³⁵Canada, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada, Minutes of Evidence, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Ottawa, 1895), pp. 942-946.

³⁶"Church Parades" (HS, 1 May 1899, p. 7).

³⁷"Brief Local Items" (HS, 22 Apr 1895, p. 1).

allures of the prostitute.³⁸ Similarly, DuMoulin considered the gambling halls and pool rooms as a road to intellectual degeneration which completes the ruin of the young man. "If a young man be degraded in his physical life do not imagine that his mind will be pure," he said.³⁹

By contrast with their repudiation of questionable pastimes, the clergy considered the contribution of sports to the molding of character to be immeasurable. In this they shared a wide-spread view that the ethical justification of sports lay in their fitness to inculcate gentlemanly conduct and to discipline young men for the rigors of practical affairs.⁴⁰ Bland spoke for all clergy, as well as the laity, when he said that the virtues of true sportsmanship were self-control, self-reliance and physical dexterity. When brute force became a substitute for skill, said Bland, the contest was no longer a sport.⁴¹

All were unanimous in their condemnation of immorality in the theater. However, Lyle thought that the Christian churches should quit their general denunciation of

³⁸"Posting the Commissioners" (HS, 21 Oct 1895, p. 1).

³⁹"They War Against All Agents of Evil" (HS, 23 Sep 1898, p. 8).

⁴⁰John Weiler, "The Idea of Sport in Late Victorian Canada," in Michael S. Cross, ed., The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1974), pp. 228-229.

⁴¹"True Sport and Pure Drama" (HS, 10 May 1895, p. 5).

the drama and the stage and instead center their attack on unseemingly and indecent presentations. The drama and the stage, he said, "were here to stay, and it would be wiser and more honest to draw the distinction as between what ought to be and what is."⁴²

Accompanying their concern to elevate the morality of individual citizens, the Methodist and Presbyterian clergy were much exercised on the question of political morality. They held that religion was the highest form of citizenship and did not hesitate to use their pulpits to protest earnestly and vigorously against the double standard of morality in private and public life.⁴³ This issue had deep roots in Canadian churches, but more recently, Biblical criticism, in demonstrating that the roots of social religion were to be found in the later Jewish prophets, inspired a renewed appreciation of these ancient messengers of God who taught that religion, morality and social life were inseparable.

The spirit of moral idealism and the passion for reform among the clergy was played out against a background of class conflict and human misery. While the clergy's

⁴²"Criticized the Christian" (HS, 16 Nov 1897, p. 8).

⁴³"What They Think" (HS, 9 Sep 1891, p. 4); "Responsibility of Citizenship" (HS, 20 Nov 1893, p. 5); "God's Laws Should Govern" (HS, 4 Dec 1893, p. 5); "We Want No Tammany Here" (HS, 18 Feb 1895, p. 5); "Bad Men in Office" (HS, 23 Dec 1895, p. 8).

primary ethic centered on the actualization of moral personality, the development and realization of the individual in society could not be divorced from the fundamental problems of social change and order. At stake were the simple virtues and basic values of the work ethic--diligence, application and sobriety, qualities which gave rise to a productive combination of moral earnestness and economic enterprise. The battle to preserve these traditional values began with their assault on the liquor traffic and the related evils of gambling and prostitution and other amusements which led to the neglect of man's social obligations. The vigorous interest of the Methodist and Presbyterian clergy in government and politics arose naturally from their conviction that the state was a necessary condition for the development of ethical personality. All of these concerns focused around economic issues, but it was the relations between capital and labor that remained the great ethical problem.

The Protestant Ethic--Economic Action

The tremendous material and cultural achievements of the growing industrial city of Hamilton were attributed to the closeknit connection between ascetic conduct and the rational organization of capital and labor. If there was one word enshrined in the vocabulary of Dr. Smith, it was "work."

Every man is expected to do his full share of work. Enforced idleness is a calamity. Voluntary idleness is vicious. The drastic law which Paul laid down to the Corinthians: 'If a man will not work neither shall he eat,' is morally binding upon Canadians also. Work is the indispensable condition of development.⁴⁴

Smith gave special emphasis to the spiritual and ethical aspects of work as an integral part of the pattern of the divine purpose for man.⁴⁵ Salton also spoke of work as the active expression of one's religious conscience. "We make a great mistake when we separate daily duties and tasks from religion," he said.⁴⁶

Lyle described all "true work" as "divine," meaning that man, fashioned in God's image, is both creature and creator, and therefore works in partnership with God.⁴⁷ Like the other clergymen in this study, Lyle was a representative of the "producer ideology" which took for granted a mutuality of interests between employer and employees at a time when the identity of work shared between master and man could no longer apply.⁴⁸

⁴⁴"In the City Churches" (HS, 6 Sep 1897, p. 8).

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶"In City Churches" (HS, 30 Jan 1899, p. 8).

⁴⁷Ibid. (HS, 20 Mar 1899, p. 7).

⁴⁸Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Pr., 1979), pp. 97-122.

Clerical concern about the vitality of the work ethic was closely tied to their attitude to the labor question and to the contemporary state of relations between labor and capital, both subjects on which they held strikingly progressive views. In 1889, the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital brought discussion of the subject into the open. Its report was the third and most important study on manufacturing commissioned by the Macdonald government during the 1880s. Following on the heels of this report was the International Conference on Labor in Factories and Mines, held in Berlin in 1890. With reference to the conference, E.M. Bland said, "This contest that is going on throughout the world between capital and labor ... wants some good common sense brought to bear upon it. I don't want you to think that I advocate indiscriminate communism," he told members of the St. George's Society, "but we should look upon ourselves as our brother's keeper in so far as doing all in our power to provide him with work."⁴⁹

Bland was hardly as radical in his views as the single-taxers, the socialists, the anti-monopolists and other American reformers whose voices also carried into Hamilton, let alone as outspoken as Dr. Burns who supported the principle of the single tax and, like Henry George,

⁴⁹"A Sermon to Englishmen" (HS, 21 Apr 1890, p. 5).

tempered his free trade proclivities with a passionate concern for his fellow man.⁵⁰

Lyle, like Burns, was interested in the single tax and said that he had preached this concept under the Jewish land laws.⁵¹ On 6 October 1891, Lyle organized a Social Science Club and scheduled weekly meetings for the study of social problems.⁵² The Hamilton branch of the TLC took an interest in the club and urged all workers to attend its meetings.⁵³ The Spectator, however, practically ignored the meetings. When the club folded sometime in 1892 from lack of interest, even its demise went unnoticed.⁵⁴

The depression of the mid-nineties served to stimulate further interest in social questions. In October

⁵⁰"Burns; Rev. Alexander" in Henry James Morgan, ed., The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: Briggs, 1898).

⁵¹"Talked on Single Tax" (HS, 20 Jan 1897, p. 5). The land laws are found in Lev. 25 and deal with the ownership of land, usury and slavery. These laws attempted to prevent economic exploitation by stressing that God is the ultimate owner of the land and that man must give an account for the quality and result of his stewardship. See "The Mosaic Land Laws" (IB, Mar 1899, p. [3]), text of a paper read before the Hamilton East End Workingmen's Club by the Reverend C.E. Whitcombe, rector of St. Matthew's Anglican Church.

⁵²"For the Study of Social Science" (HS, 7 Oct 1891, p. 8).

⁵³"Representatives of Labor" (HS, 17 Oct 1891, p. 1).

⁵⁴The only mention of the Social Science Club in the annual reports of Central Church is a brief notice in its organizational year.

1894, Burns launched the Current Topic Club, which sought to encourage a critical interest in current affairs. Some topics of discussion were the war between Japan and China, the Manitoba school question, land monopoly in the Northwest and Henry George's single tax.⁵⁵

The clergy clearly recognized the need for change within the competitive system but believed, paradoxically, that the cure would come not through any radical overhaul of the industrial order but through properly administered doses of the Golden Rule. Dr. Smith put the matter as clearly as any:

In current literature, sociology stands out as a commanding question. Socialism properly understood is Christian, and because of that the preacher is in duty bound to make himself familiar with the various and sometimes conflicting forms in which it comes before us [sic]. Every Christian who takes the sermon on the mount at par must have a socialist streak in him and a pretty broad one at that. Socialism is the pathology which says thou ailest here and there, but the gospel is the therapeutics which alone can apply an effective remedy.⁵⁶

While the clergy generally supported labor's right to organize, they sought above all to achieve a harmony between the worker's and society's interests. Bland believed that

⁵⁵"Current Topic Club" (HS, 19 Oct 1894, p. 5); "Brief Local Items" (HS, 16 Nov 1894, p. 1); Ibid. (HS, 7 Dec 1894, p. 1); Ibid. (HS, 28 Mar 1895, p. 1). The Spectator makes no further mention of this club after 28 Mar 1895.

⁵⁶"Marked by Sound Sense" (HS, 4 Feb 1896, p. 5).

all labor problems stemmed from two false ideas derived from capital's inordinate desire for profit. In the first place, said Bland, "capital thinks it is entitled to every service, no matter how painful, dangerous or even degrading, so long as it is willing to pay the price for it." Secondly, "it regards the price of a man's labor apart from the man himself...." Capital's indifference to the rights of the worker was morally wrong because

we have no right to gratify our wants and appetites at the expense of a fellow being's health or happiness or self-respect; socially, because we inflict a wrong not upon the individual merely, but upon his family and his class, in thus isolating him to supply some particular and often unnecessary craving of ours; religiously, because we are distinctly forbidden to compel our poor brethren to serve us as bond-servants or slaves, or to take any advantage which the superiority of wealth or position might dictate or the exigencies of their poverty offer, and because the principles of divine law regulating the relations between master and servant are plainly visible in the provision for the general release of all contracts and mortgages in year of jubilee, thus insisting on the liberty and free agency of every man and the due recognition of his obligations to his Maker, which forbid his bartering himself away beyond redemption.⁵⁷

Although Bland's basics could lead to a considerable radicalism, he offered them more as guidelines to Christian employers than as a charter for labor reform or revolt. Bland advised workers to consider the interests of their employers, to be reasonable in their demands and to seek

⁵⁷"Capital and Labor" (HS, 13 Oct 1890, p. 5).

arbitration in all disputes.⁵⁸

Occasionally a cleric involved himself in the mediation of labor disputes. In 1892, the Hamilton Street Railway Company (HSRC) fired five of its employees for attempting to organize the drivers and conductors for the purpose of presenting a collective front in a dispute over wages and hours of work. At a protest meeting held on the Gore, Dr. Burns was called upon to speak. Burns said that he could hardly believe it possible that Mr. Charlton⁵⁹ and Mr. Griffith,⁶⁰ whom he knew and respected, would deny their employees the privilege of coming to them to state their grievances. For an employer "to refuse that right was tyrannical and unjust," he shouted and declared himself willing to intervene on the men's behalf. On a motion by George E. Sharp,⁶¹ chairman of the employees' executive committee, Burns and Alderman Steward were appointed to meet with the company's officers⁶² the following afternoon. The meeting was unproductive. While admitting that "the men had acted foolishly and hastily," Burns and Steward asked that

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹President of the HSRC and a member of Central Presbyterian Church.

⁶⁰Manager of the HSRC and a member of Centenary Methodist Church.

⁶¹One of the discharged employees. Sharp was a young Methodist local preacher and an active temperance worker.

⁶²"A New-Time Table in Force" (HS, 8 Sep 1892, p. 1).

they be rehired. President Charlton and Manager Griffith, however, adamantly refused to take them back. "The company did not want an organization standing over them with a club", said Charlton. Management sovereignty had to be upheld. Burns and Steward did not push the matter further.⁶³ Their feeble attempt to intervene on behalf of the workers underscores their identification with the producer ideology.

One of the causes of strikes, according to Lyle, was exploitation by unscrupulous investors who attempted to recover losses by reducing a worker's wages.⁶⁴ "God never intended the world to be in the hands of a few and make the rest their slaves," he said. While conceding the right of workers to organize, Lyle felt that unions had no right to interfere with the liberty of others who wanted to work or to prevent employers from acting in their own interests.⁶⁵

The clergy tended to be less equivocal on less momentous, though still contentious, issues, such as the eight-hour working day, which occupied workers' attention in North America and Europe throughout the 1890s. Bland sympathized with their demand for shorter hours, saying "We do not want physical giants at the expense of dwarfed

⁶³"The Street Car Difficulty" (HS, 9 Sep 1892, p. 1).

⁶⁴"The Rev. S. Lyle, B.D., on Strikes" (HS, 24 Feb 1891, p. 1).

⁶⁵"In City Churches" (HS, 20 Mar 1899, p. 7).

intellects."⁶⁶ However, he felt that the worker should modify his demand to nine hours, although his preference was for the Saturday half-holiday.⁶⁷ He also supported the workers' right to organize and, unlike Lyle, to declare a closed shop.

Capital must not expect to be waited on by labor whenever it chooses, but must show the consideration of allowing that sometimes a shop may be closed without threatening to withdraw custom.⁶⁸

Lyle supported the early closing of stores because "people should rest in order to restore their bodies and minds," and cited the eighteen-hour Saturday workday as the worse form of Sabbath desecration because the worker was too exhausted to attend church on Sunday. He believed that reducing the hours of labor would also provide opportunities for work to the unemployed.⁶⁹ Lyle was even more outspoken against discrimination of women in the work force.

I am in sympathy with the principle of eight hours work a day; it is enough for any man. But, strange to say, these men making the demand for shorter hours are better treated than the girls behind the counter, for the girls have often less than half the man's pay and very much longer hours.⁷⁰

⁶⁶"Capital and Labor" (HS, 13 Oct 1890, p. 5).

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹"Early Closing" (HS, 17 Jun 1895, p. 5).

⁷⁰"Overworked Girls" (HS, 21 Apr 1890, p. 5).

While Dr. Smith was concerned about prevailing discontent among workers, he believed that it was "one of the hopeful signs of the times" that so many of the keenest intellects were giving such careful study to the issues. He took issue with the socialists because they distorted the reality of industrialization by emphasizing the attendant poverty. The worker, in his opinion, never had it so good, and science and technology would assure indefinite improvement in the welfare and happiness of the poorer classes.⁷¹

G.F. Salton also believed that the condition of the worker had improved markedly. "It was a century of inventions in behalf of the workingman," he said. "Always rich men could secure whatever they might wish because of their wealth, but this age has, by means of invention, made it possible for the poor man to have what the rich man has."⁷²

Smith attached little importance to the various social and economic theories for a more equitable distribution of wealth. Effective change could only occur, he maintained, within the established framework of the law and by the peaceful negotiation of differences.

The discontent of our day is hopeful if we are only wise. The danger is that zeal may

⁷¹"In the City Churches" (HS, 6 Sep 1897, p. 8).

⁷²"In City Churches" (HS, 16 Oct 1899, p. 6).

outrun knowledge. Liberty must honor the law. The revolutionary vaporings of the anarchist will not help the cause of the working man. Eugene Debs is not likely to be the Moses to lead him out of bondage. Justice wins her victories by clear appeals to reason and the policy of patient dignified demand.⁷³

Smith seemed to forget that that was not the way of God with the pharoah, or of Moses, finally, in the exodus from Egypt.

The clergy sometimes presented themselves in terms more radical than their views justified. After a speech by H.A. Sinclair on "Labor and Capital," for example, Lyle declared himself a "socialist and communist."⁷⁴ The point he was underlining in the remark was the interdependence of the individual and the state and how the character of each influences the other. He could not legitimately claim to be a Christian socialist for, unlike the small band of left wing social gospellers in the United States, he believed that the ideals of universal brotherhood and social justice could be achieved within the capitalist scheme of things. Likewise, the redistribution of wealth and other such measures advanced by the radical socialists found no sympathy with Bland. Indulging in the common confusion of capital with capitalism, Bland observed that capital is necessary to progress, but it must be used wisely.

Capital, rightly employed, should offer the laborer the prospect of an interest in his

⁷³"In the City Churches" (HS, 6 Sep 1897, p. 8).

⁷⁴"Labor and Capital" (HS, 22 Oct 1892, p. 8).

toils, of earning enough to live on, and some over. The law of the communist, by destroying enterprise, would inevitably result in each having enough and no more.⁷⁵

Such confusions aside, these clergy were enough under the sway of Christian millennial ideas to be susceptible to some very radical social expectations. Dr. Smith, for example, refrained from prediction but viewed the course of history as the working out of divine purpose and culminating in perfect freedom.

When competition will cease, and private property disappear, it is not for me to say. As a Christian optimist, I believe there is a good time coming--a time when the workman of Nazareth shall reign supreme in the industrial life of the world....⁷⁶

The attitude of many employers that human labor was a commodity to be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest drew the fire of the clergy. The clergy argued that the worker deserved a just wage and that the Golden Rule should be substituted for economic man. While they felt that the worker through organization had generally succeeded in strengthening his position, the clergy frowned upon the use of the strike as inimical to the best interests of society. They rejected the idea that capital and labor must be in conflict. The principles governing right relations between employers and workers were based on the

⁷⁵"Capital and Labor" (HS, 13 Oct 1890, p. 5).

⁷⁶"In the City Churches" (HS, 6 Sep 1897, p. 8).

concept of the calling which synthesized the ethical demands of the Gospel with the spirit of economic enterprise. Implicit in this concept was the recognition of man as God's partner in perfecting the divine creation and the concomitant responsibility for each to work loyally in his occupation for the well-being of the entire economy and the whole life of society. The limitations of this for workingmen in the current economic order were evident, but such a view presented an implicit criticism of existing relations in industry.

Philanthropy and the Moral Order

The emergence of a full-fledged capitalist labor market saw the principal forms of economic activity concentrated in the hands of a small number of independent factory owners and the availability of a large pool of surplus workers. While many men left Hamilton in search of higher wages elsewhere, undoubtedly many others were discouraged from leaving because there were too many to command scarce jobs. The worker was expected to manage his money with provident foresight to tide him over the hard times and insure his comfort and independence during his retirement years. However, a large percentage of workers' incomes hovered around the poverty threshold, and many lived from hand to mouth. The principal remedy in general use for the relief of the unemployed and poverty-stricken was the distribution of direct aid in the form of food, clothing and

other necessities, such as fuel.

The clergy's attitude towards charity was conditioned by the harsh philosophy of the 1834 English Poor Law, which regarded pauperism among the able-bodied workers as a moral failing. Poverty was seen as a threat to the community and ultimately to the state, and it was a generally held belief that philanthropy, by helping to alleviate the cause of distress among the poor and the suffering, served to keep the peace and good order of society.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the Christian was more directly under mandate of the teachings of Jesus, but on the question of the poor and the destitute, the clergy readily qualified the words of their Master.

The Sermon on the Mount, of course, with its absolute ethics, presented a problem for those wrestling with the issue of charity. Salton and Lyle insisted that appreciation of Jesus and His moral doctrine must be tempered with the recognition that His demands remain only as a guide for human conduct. In a sermon entitled "Can the Sermon on the Mount be Obeyed?", Salton posed the paradox "that some of the sayings of Christ were best obeyed by being disobeyed, as conversely they were frequently disobeyed by a literal observance of them."⁷⁸ For example, if the text "Give to him that asketh thee and from him that

⁷⁷Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1957), p. 246.

⁷⁸"In Other Churches" (HS, 7 Nov 1898, p. 8).

would borrow of thee turn not thou away" (Mt. 5:42) was literally obeyed, said Lyle, "the world would become a paradise for the crook, sluggard and tramp." Unwise and misdirected charity ate at the recipient's self-respect for it "tends to reduce the world to a pig-sty paradise of eating, drinking and sleeping."⁷⁹

Lyle and DuMoulin--and no doubt others among the clergy--considered that one of the major causes of poverty and unemployment was the rural exodus to the cities. But for both men the primary solution was that man must be given a new orientation concerning the place in life of hard work and simple living. DuMoulin linked the rural exodus with a crisis in the work ethic. The breakup of rural communities, he suggested, was a result of the abandonment of the noble concept of duty which had marked man's continuous moral effort in his struggle up from barbarism to civilization.⁸⁰

Unemployment or displacement due to technological changes made the substitution of cheap labor by women for men's work profitable. Bland and DuMoulin viewed the growing female work force with alarm. "If women were permitted to stay at home, instead of being employed because of the demand for cheap labor," said Bland, "there would not

⁷⁹"I.P.B.S. Annual Sermon" (HS, 13 Mar 1893, p. 8).

⁸⁰"They War Against All Agents of Evil" (HS, 23 Sep 1898, p. 8).

be so many idle men."⁸¹ Neither seemed to appreciate the cruel irony of an exploitive economy which forced men out of work and women into the most onerous and badly paid jobs.

Quite apart from the efficacy of the work ethic, however, Bland's approach to charity rested on the conviction that the poor and the oppressed whom Christ had come to redeem were identified in a special way with the suffering Christ for the salvation of the world. "Am I my brother's keeper?", Bland asked. "Is there one teaching in the Bible more thoroughly insisted upon than the mutual interdependence of the human family one upon the other, irrespective of individual qualities?" For Bland, however, this interdependence did not imply an equalitarian view of society. Rather, he turned it to the comfort of the privileged: "By looking after the feeble members of the human family," he told members of the St. George's Society, "we elevate and strengthen ourselves." He shared the widely held belief that the fallen deserved their fate, while the underserving and the dissipated poor should not be allowed to affect one's attitude towards cases of real distress. "The undeserving poor should be left to themselves, but with a helping hand, if possible, to prevent them going down any lower than God's punishment intends they should go," he

⁸¹"Capital and Labor" (HS, 13 Oct 1890, p. 5); "They War Against All Agents of Evil" (HS, 23 Sep 1898, p. 8).

said.⁸² A staunch Calvinist could not have more severely expressed the doctrine of reprobation.

James Allen claimed that patriotism could be demonstrated best by assisting the poor in such a way that by helping the man we strengthen the country. He believed that the only way for society to weed out the spongers from the industrious was to combine orders for relief with orders for labor. Controls must be instituted because idleness bred crime. Allen's suggestion of a Dominion labor bureau which would oversee industrial workshops, farm camps and the like for society's tramps was thus an agency of social control. His idea was to sentence these human parasites to hard labor and retain their wages until they had reformed.⁸³

The depressed and unsanitary living conditions of the industrial working class presented a public health crisis which caught the attention of the clergy. At a time when very little was known about a scientific cure for tuberculosis, Dr. Lyle and his wife pioneered in the sanatorium movement. In 1896, Lyle became provisional president of the first locally organized effort in Ontario to found a sanatorium.⁸⁴ Drs. Burns and Smith and Bishop

⁸²"A Sermon to Englishmen" (HS, 21 Apr 1890, p. 5).

⁸³"Among the City Churches" (HS, 18 Mar 1895, p. 5).

⁸⁴Hamilton Local Council of Women, Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943 [Hamilton: Hamilton Print. Serv., 1944], p. 13.

DuMoulin were appointed to a committee to further the establishment of a local branch of the VON.⁸⁵ Lyle also gave his whole-hearted support to the nursing plan.⁸⁶

The clergy of the three churches, then, had a variety of proposals, exhibiting both compassion and anxiety about the state of the populace. As important as financial and other forms of practical relief were in helping to mitigate social evils, no discussion of philanthropy would be complete without reference to religious proselytism in an age when poverty was diagnosed as a depraved condition. "Religious evangelism and social amelioration," says Brian Harrison, "were seen as cause and effect at a time when poverty was supposed to result largely from moral failure."⁸⁷ Prognosis hinged on the recognition that only Christ was capable of completely revolutionizing life and improving character. Thus, even among those who qualified the connection between poverty and moral depravity, any effective philanthropy had to be accompanied by a suitable evangelistic program for the poor, the destitute and the dissolute.

This basic question necessarily raised the matter of the churches' connection with the lower classes. Dr. Smith

⁸⁵"They Wanted More Light" (HS, 1 May 1897, p. 8).

⁸⁶"Explained the Scheme" (HS, 4 Dec 1897, p. 5).

⁸⁷Brian Harrison, "Philanthropy and the Victorians," Victorian Studies 9(1965-66):356.

took issue with the notion that the church had lost touch with the urban masses. "It is a perversion of the gospel narrative to represent the common people generally as in accord with Christ, and only now alienated from the church by the change in the church itself," said Smith referring to the people's choice of Barrabas over Christ. While denying that the church had drifted away from the poor, Smith countered with the exaggeration that if there was any failing, it was the neglect of the hearts and minds of the wealthy.⁸⁸ Despite Smith's protestations, there was some reason to think that the Methodist Church had become alienated from the "common people." S.D. Clark notes that "a half century of effort to build itself into a denomination had led in Methodism not only to an emphasis upon the construction of large church edifices but to an emphasis upon a wordly [*sic*] pulpit appeal. The Methodist minister ostensibly preached to all classes in the community but his preaching was directed more and more to the fashionable, sophisticated elements of the population."⁸⁹

As in Booth's Salvation Army, the clergy associated evangelism with their general response to the poor. During the winter months of the depression years from 1890/91 to 1895, some members of the Central Church congregation

⁸⁸"News of the Churches" (HS, 18 Nov 1895, p. 5).

⁸⁹S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1948), p. 399.

provided free breakfasts for unemployed men every Sunday. The breakfasts were followed by a short devotional service conducted by Dr. Lyle.⁹⁰ A great admirer of the deaconess movement, Lyle favored the establishment of a similar order within the Presbyterian Church for work among the poor.⁹¹ Canon Bland was a director of the Girls' Friendly Holiday House at Hamilton Beach.

Church youth movements likewise directed attention to urban poverty and social ills but in a fashion that sometimes alarmed the clergy. While the Methodist Church kept a tight reign on the evangelical zeal of the Epworth League, the cultivation of enthusiasm by the less tightly controlled Endeavorers was regarded by some Presbyterians as "a dangerous turbulence which ought to be restrained."⁹² Lyle expressed fear that the Church was losing control over the Endeavor Society, that it was becoming an agency for semipolitical work.⁹³ Smith, on the other hand, unreservedly applauded the dedication, initiative and

⁹⁰Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont., Annual Reports, 1881, p. [24]; 1892, p. [22]; 1893, p. 26; 1894 pp. 23-24; 1895, p. 25; 1896, p. 23 - CPC. "Prosperous Presbyterians" (HS, 15 Jan 1895, p. 7); Brief Local Items" (HS, 28 Jan 1895, p. 1).

⁹¹"In the City Churches" (HS, 13 Sep 1897, p. 8).

⁹²John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925 (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925, p. 174).

⁹³"Dr. Lyle and Y.P.C.E.S." (HS, 23 Apr 1896, p. 3); Criticized the Christian" (HS, 16 Nov 1897, p. 8).

enterprise of the Endeavorers.⁹⁴

In its own way the nineteenth century missionary movement addressed the problem of poverty and was, broadly conceived, a philanthropic endeavor for these Hamilton clergy. Dr. Smith of Centenary church believed that the Bible was primarily responsible for the spread of civilization and the betterment of the human condition. He pointed to the Reformation in Europe as evidence. One only need look to India, he said, "which had made a wonderful increase in population since it came under the civilizing, beneficent sway of England."⁹⁵ Bishop DuMoulin regarded Christianity as the purest religion in the world as demonstrated by its unselfish concern to alleviate poverty and suffering throughout the Empire.⁹⁶

Contrary to those clergymen who believed that by making social conditions better men would be saved more easily, Smith at Centenary was convinced the conditions would be made better by saving the men.⁹⁷ He saw the last decade of the nineteenth century as "dawning a brighter age than ever was seen in the world before." There were "moral cowards" whose fatalistic philosophy led them "to low and discouraging views of life," he said, but no true Christian

⁹⁴"Had Excellent Sessions" (HS, 25 Feb 1898, p. 5).

⁹⁵"Hamilton Bible Society" (HS, 26 Apr 1895, p. 5).

⁹⁶"In the City Churches" (HS, 26 Apr 1897, p. 8).

⁹⁷"News of the Churches" (HS, 23 Dec 1895, p. 8).

could be a pessimist. While admitting that "our civilization would not be Christian in the sense that Christ intended it to be until every man, every woman and every child had a fair chance of getting enough to eat," he said that economics was not the answer. The hope of the future lay in the cultivation of Christian charity.⁹⁸

Lyle was convinced that Canada needed a moral renaissance. He believed that many of the factors which had contributed to Germany's greatness could be adapted to the Canadian situation. Instead of indulging in "boodling and blackguardism," the German people had immersed themselves in a quest for truth and knowledge and devoted their energies to furthering the interests of the state which set the moral tone for the whole country as reflected by its cities.⁹⁹

Canada's continued steady progress depended upon a moral order secured by the twin binding powers of character and duty. Ironically, however, the very process which enhanced economic opportunity for the workingman left in its wake an acute and widespread problem of relieved and unrelieved poverty that seemed to tear at the ethical foundations of society. The clergy held that material assistance alone could not hope to achieve permanent results unless accompanied by personal regeneration. Along with the

⁹⁸"A Message to Manitoba" (HS, 8 Jun 1896, p. 6, cl. 2).

⁹⁹"Imperial Germany" (HS, 19 Nov 1897, p. 5).

propagation of the Gospel, the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect and all that tended towards the building of independent character, and hence the nation, was considered a matter of the greatest urgency in the advancement of Christ's kingdom not only among the urban poor but among all cultural groups which lacked the vital impulse to self-directed activity. Nevertheless, the clergy's evangelical enthusiasm went beyond a concern with the way men should live to include the improvement of man by improving his environment.

The Clergy and the Laity: a Common Calling

While the clergy retained some independence of mind in expounding the Gospel, they by no means independently set the norms for lay public action. Both Methodism and Presbyterianism emphasized the priesthood of all believers which asserts that Christ fulfills His purpose through the faithful members of the church. Clergy and laity alike shared a common calling which was a "recognition of the community of faith and of the opportunity and responsibility of the believer toward his neighbor."¹⁰⁰ The ministry did not belong exclusively to the professional clergy but was merely one among many other functional offices of Christian service.

¹⁰⁰John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development (New York: Scribner's, 1954), p. 319.

In the organization of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, the laity participated not only in the government of the church but exercised important pastoral functions as well. The laity in the local congregation also bore full responsibility for the life of the church at large, including the appointment of the minister. Their ministers were chosen for their dignity, leadership, learning, eloquence and broadmindedness, as well as their ability to articulate the new social ethos of an urban middle class.

The polity of the Anglican Church, on the other hand, limited the expression of universal priesthood to the liturgical life of the church only. The clergy, being appointed by and responsible to the bishop, took charge and left the congregation a relatively passive role. Furthermore, the Church's sacerdotal ministry kept a theological distance between priest and layman. While representative laymen shared in the government of the Church, their influence was always limited by ordered structures of church life. Yet, like Presbyterianism, Anglicanism is an example of a former state church which emerged as an institution of the middle class. Canon Bland, no less than the clergy of Centenary and Central, displayed the same concern -- but not their inner vigor -- to promulgate the middle class social ethic of service and duty which characterized the men and women whose money helped to finance the construction of their magnificent church

building and to support missionary activity at home and abroad and whose enterprise, business skills and organizing abilities ensured the development and maintenance of a dependable economic base for their Church's programs and helped to further the policies and plans for the religious culture of its members and the moral uplift of the community.

The clergy's ideas both reflected and helped articulate the laity's emphasis on religious activism and its close association with middle class cultural values. Against the disintegrative and discontinuing forces of industrialism, they posed an ideal of personality which "was never a merely individual process....[but] a condition on which society as a whole depended."¹⁰¹ The entire thrust of their ministries can be summed up in their insistence that the highest civilization and the stability of society depended upon the formation of character, or the harmonious development of the powers of the mind--the intellectual, emotional and volitional faculties--essential to the welfare of the citizen, society and government.

While the idea of the kingdom of God accentuated the brotherhood of man, the distinctive ideals of self-realization did not always coincide with the social good. The clerical view of the relations of capital and labor is a

¹⁰¹Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950, (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1958), p. 62.

case in point. Although the clergy were sharply critical of some of the inequalities of the industrial system, they were too closely allied with the wealth that had built Hamilton to go beyond exhorting the capitalist to conduct his business in accordance with the Christian notion of charity. Dr. Burns is an outstanding example of one who successfully combined a diversified business career with the duties of religion. In addition to his administrative and teaching duties at the Hamilton Ladies' College, his busy schedule as a preacher and lecturer and his responsibilities as a member of the Quarterly Board of Centenary Church, Burns was very much involved in the commercial life of Hamilton as vice-president of the Federal Life Assurance Company, president of the Dominion Building and Loan Society of Toronto and a promoter and a director of the International Radial Railway Company. Both Burns and Lyle embraced the orthodoxy of the age -- the growth ethic. They naively but sincerely believed -- though not without some validity -- that material, moral and social progress were all linked, that enlightened self-interest, by which individual self-seeking, unable to get its own way, comes to terms with others, was the true motive force in society and that growth brought new opportunities, new freedom and new comforts. In the campaign to turn the Hamilton Ladies' College into a liberal arts university for women with full degree granting powers, they were not only cognizant of the intellectual and moral

leadership that a university would provide the city but were also alive to the large amount of business that it would generate, both directly in terms of actual dollars spent and indirectly in terms of its advertising power.¹⁰²

The prominence which the clergy and the laity gave the practical, ethical concerns of Christianity was evidenced in their preoccupation with the sociological and industrial problems of the new urban society. The relations of capital and labor, the nature and abilities of children, woman's role in society, education, health and welfare, public morality and municipal reform were some of the key issues which, in varying degrees, received their attention. They rejected socialism because it appeared to them to deny individual responsibility and individual rights. Instead, they looked to the emerging social sciences as a partner in reform. Their concern with the family, the nation, social and commercial life could be viewed as anticipating the social gospel movement.

Historians have sharply criticized the social gospel as intellectually naive,¹⁰³ yet the political implications of the new teleology included an enlarged awareness of social issues and thereby fostered a climate of opinion

¹⁰²"Endorsed the Project" (HS, 17 Mar 1897, p. 5); "Endorsed His Scheme" (HS, 22 Apr 1897, p. 7).

¹⁰³Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper, 1949), p. 234.

favorable to programs for correcting social and economic maladjustments. As Richard Allen argues, the social gospel "brought a broad range of social reforms within the sanctions of Canadian Protestantism, and in so doing was probably the medium by which the multitude of social programmes making up the Canadian welfare state first found their way into the main channels of Canadian social attitudes."¹⁰⁴ The clergy concerned here, and especially those of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, manifest the beginnings of such a development. More correctly, they represent a complex of liberal Christian values which nourished a body of congregational and civic lay leadership who, if they viewed their Christianity in broad cultural terms, had not yet come to embrace the social gospel itself.

¹⁰⁴Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1971), p. 352.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The collective portrait that emerges from the study of the male lay leaders is one of great physical and mental vigor and force of character. One is struck by their earnestness and striving for success. All exhibited a tremendous sense of confidence in themselves as they did in the destiny of their society. All were men of conviction. When the situation demanded it, most were prepared to speak out and assume responsibility for whatever had to be done. While wealth was the single most important measurable factor in determining their leadership, the crucial elements were there long before wealth entered the picture. In the interplay of abilities, they were "masters of circumstances"¹ whose achievements thrust their lives into prominence. Their spirit was shaped in large part by the nineteenth century's reconstruction of faith in which evolutionary ideas promoted belief in an immanent energy by virtue of which the universe was continuously changing and advancing. Evolution and its closely related conception of divine immanence resulted in a new consciousness of the creative movement of life, as well as a consciousness of the

¹Halvdan Koht, Driving Forces in History (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Pr. of Harvard Univ. Pr., 1964), p. 203.

infinite task set for the individual through his own demand for expression and realization as co-creator.

The high degree to which most of these men participated in the business and spiritual affairs of their church and the range of their community interests is suggestive of the extent to which the sacred and the secular were intertwined. Drawn from the middle classes, they saw themselves as directing agents responsible for the material, moral and social well-being of society. At the center of their belief system was the notion that practical consistency in character and conduct must form the basis of a rational capitalistic organization of industrial labor. Anything less than a consistent pursuit of one's vocation would, in their view, threaten conditions of mutual service under which the common good may develop. The concept of mutual service applied not only to the supply of the necessities and luxuries of life but extended to the articulation of all social functions, for the concept of evolution always emphasized organic relationships and viewed things as parts or stages in a dynamic process. Thus, in the mind of the lay leaders, the ethical and the organic principles were identical, for if the ideal of practical consistency in character and conduct was actually realized, it would result in a perfect organic unity or system of purposes which in their operation would not conflict but support and require one another.

In the conflict of values brought on by the industrialization of Hamilton, the Methodists' perfectionist theology put them in the forefront of efforts to organize moral opinion as a powerful factor in community life. Essentially, Methodism was an ethical and social movement with a theological basis whose religious motive was the radical transformation of the individual. Its central proposition was the doctrine of perfectionism of will and disposition which "undertook to exchange the sense of human impotence for unlimited strength."² The doctrine was based on the theory that social welfare is determined principally by the character of each individual for himself. The attainment of perfection was to be realized through the discernible evidence of one's stewardship in the practical affairs of daily life.

Wesley's persistent social emphasis never lost its grip. He repeatedly pleaded for "'good tempers'" and "'good works,'"³ and the whole force of his teaching was concentrated in the declaration that "'Christianity is essentially a social religion; and ...to turn it into a

²Wellman J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Russell & Russell, 1930), p. 71.

³John Wesley, The Works of the Rev. John Wesley (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1877), quoted in Wellman J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution (New York: Russell & Russell, 1930) p. 58.

solitary religion is indeed to destroy it."⁴ The result was the formation of a type of character whose concern for the fabric of citizenship and the amelioration of the moral and social order became a habitual impulse.

Calvinism as a developing religious system in a complex cultural and social environment underwent many changes in its orientation to realistic possibilities of institutionalization in secular society. "It had begun by being the very soul of authoritarian regimentation," says Tawney; "it ended by being the vehicle of an almost Utilitarian individualism."⁵ Yet as the leadership of Central Church exhibits, Calvinism never completely surrendered its version of the tensions between the divine mission and the human condition which gave it a strong anchorage to activist orientations in the face of sin and social distress.

Against the theory that social welfare is determined principally by the character of each individual for himself, Anglicanism emphasized the objective institution, with its saving power and treasures of doctrine and grace, for the normally essential discipline of moral life. At the same time, it affirmed the place of the state in a religious dispensation to work God's purpose in the life of men. The

⁴Ibid., p. 59.

⁵R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1938), p. 226.

social conservatism of Anglicanism upheld the necessity and value of a disciplined and regulated public life in which the Christian, as a matter of conscience, must accept and discharge the obligations of his citizenship.

Drawn primarily from the entrepreneurial and professional classes, the lay leaders constituted part of an overlapping power group whose relatively well-to-do social origins provided them with opportunities for education, acquiring wealth and property, and developing special talents and ambitions. Their economic interests were linked with a broad concern for civic duty, social welfare and higher culture. The individualism of ascetic Protestantism bestowed upon those from Centenary and Central Churches a strong sense of responsibility for achievement in the affairs of practical life and provided much of the philosophical justification for their participation in voluntary associations.

The associative principle was of central importance in the organization and maintenance of Hamilton's community life. The lay leaders commitment to society's values and norms was reflected in the substantial number of memberships they held in various social, charitable and cultural organizations which played an integral role in the process of urbanization. Apart from the more narrowly defined aims of the social and recreational clubs, which acted only to provide fellowship and diversion for its members and confer

status, the associative principle was an effective influence in drawing men and women together in support of important values or to act as agencies and pressure groups, generally informing and educating, and performing a wide range of other functions.

In furthering the Protestant elite's goal for the reconstruction of human society, women became the guarantors of the child's moral development as industrialism took men away from the home and left women with the full responsibility for the management of the household and the upbringing of the children. Accepting the widespread notion of virtuous womanhood, the male lay leaders of Centenary and Central Churches worked to further the mental and moral personality of women through improved educational opportunities and by actively supporting the voice of women in their various social and cultural associations, most of which were designed to protect the home and family.

One and all the lay leaders regarded the family as the most important social unit of education and stability in the life of the community and the nation. It was the chief culture-transmitting agency in the socialization of the child, the chief unit for the consumption of goods and services and largely responsible for the quantity and quality of the labor supply. The new urban industrial order, however, challenged the stability of the family and threatened to sever the threads of family patterns. Hence,

the lay leaders looked to other control agencies such as the Sunday school, the CAS, the YMCA and the YWCA to assist the individual in the acquisition of culture essential for social participation. All of these associations were based on the concept that the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the individual was an inheritance and a trust in which society, as sponsor of future generations, had a vital interest.

The growing complexity of urban-industrial life created opportunities for occupations through cooperative action to bring order and direction to a society increasingly dominated by the disruptive forces of laissez-faire capitalism. Consequently, numerous business and professional associations arose which sought to contribute to some aspect of social or economic organization in the new scientific-technological order. The expanded social function of occupations came at a time when education was becoming important as a mechanism of social selection. Thus, it is not surprising that the Methodist leadership, with its greater percentage of higher degrees, was more involved in occupational associations than the leadership of the Presbyterians or the Anglicans.

The Protestant lay elite were possessed of a unique set of mental and emotional qualities forged by an ideal of personal character and conduct whose keynote was individual responsibility. Doing was being and the path towards the

realization of a "higher and more perfect self-development."⁶ George Lang Johnston, well-known teacher at Central Collegiate Institute and session clerk at Central Church, summed up this philosophy in the following simple dictum which guided his life: "Work and work hard....It is worry, not work that kills."⁷ The leaders' view of work centered primarily on the Bible's most frequent usage of the word -- the ordinary business or trade by which men earn their living. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the work ethic had become largely secularized. Nevertheless, the cultural persistence of the Puritan tradition in the face of socioeconomic change profoundly influenced the thought and action of the lay leaders. As W.E. Houghton observes of Victoria's Britain, all the principal features of the religious theory of work "were the natural requirements or the natural aims of an industrial society and would have been adopted, in a secular form, regardless of any Christian influence. The arraignment of idleness, the value of work for the development of the individual, and the sense of a mission both to serve society in one's particular calling and to further the larger destinies of the human race, were almost as much the ideal

⁶James Seth, A Study of Ethical Principles, 12th ed. rev. (New York: Scribner's 1911), p. 258.

⁷"Worry, Not Work, Shortens Life, Is Sage Admonition" (HS, 14 Jan 1944, p. 7).

of business as of Protestantism."⁸ The work ethic engendered in the lay leaders a sense of duty which enforced a personal responsibility for a more complete realization of their own powers and a social responsibility for creating the conditions in which a more general realization of human capacities was possible.

Dreams of progress on all fronts were the driving force behind these men and women who labored vigorously to promote Hamilton's forward movement. They were the product of an age which confidently believed that the environment could be modified and indefinitely perfected with the increase of scientific knowledge. The scientific theory which expressed this belief was evolution. Johnston and the other lay leaders held that "all Force is an expression of the will of God,"⁹ a notion that combined with the ideas of continuity and immanence to suggest an organic conception of the universe. The idea of the universe as an organism with an immanent energy working through finite minds gave particular significance to the dignity of the individual as a responsible being and the possibilities of human achievement. It was in this context that self-realization was understood.

⁸Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1957), pp. 247-248.

⁹G.L. Johnston, "Inaugural Address," Hamilton Scientific Association, Journal and Proceedings 22 (1905-06):23.

While the careers of the lay leaders enabled them to seek self-realization, obtain relative independence and escape from the constraints of industrial discipline, many workers found themselves caught up in a system which had eroded, for them, the meaning of an ascetic work ethic. "If one aspect of the impact of industrialization on work ideals was to set in motion forces of change," says Daniel T. Rodgers, "another was to split things apart -- to separate off the old phrases and old homilies from the roiling confusion of everyday life."¹⁰ In the face of the conflict between what work had been and what it had become, the lay leaders, with the exception of Lamoreaux, were unsympathetic to the labor union movement. They were not, however, simply members of a privileged group intent on preserving or enhancing their status. Seeking to cultivate and support what appeared to them as valuable in man -- his personal responsibility and his basic drive towards personal independence -- the lay leaders enjoined the worker to the same values of individuality to which they subscribed and to identify their interests with those of their employers in the utilitarian ideal of serving practical ends for the benefit of all.

Large scale machine production, however, undermined the "producer ideology" which sought to marry the interests

¹⁰Daniel T. Rodgers, The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1974), p. 126.

of the manufacturer and the mechanic. The preindustrial concept of the identity of interests between master and man with all its implications of ambition, zeal and persistence had become a tenuous alliance which frequently erupted into open conflict as workers fought to secure and protect their rights. Given labor's growing class consciousness, it is not surprising that few working people, save the odd aspiring tradesman, came to Centenary or Central Church. The difficulty was that the concept embraced ideationally a familiar past which was materially and socially archaic.

In a city that was rapidly being transformed by the machine, man's application to the daily routine of life was essential to the maintenance of the social order and the progress of society. Work was regarded not only as a duty incumbent upon all men but as character-building. Work bred self-discipline, strength of will and purposefulness. The ideals of work and character, coupled with the third exalted virtue of thrift, made up the gospel of success on which the lay leaders were raised and nurtured. The moral importance of the success ethic infused all the popular causes with which they were associated and was clearly meant to control working class behavior. Above all, it indicated what they believed to be the true direction and goal of social and industrial progress. Unfortunately, the lay leaders never grasped the ways in which their own economic activities were a fundamental cause of the problems they addressed.

Most of the lay leaders would never make the shift to the social gospel associated with the new liberalism of L.T. Hobhouse and others who viewed social development as moving towards increasing social cooperation as necessary to the fulfillment of the potentialities of individual men. Their value system fitted their economic interests and their social and religious station too neatly for them to accept the perspectives of the social gospel which drew out further than they or their mentors the implications of immanent-organic categories of interpreting the individual-social equation. While Lamoureaux went rather far beyond this norm, the middle class social ethic of service, as Raymond Williams argues, maintained the status quo and, lacking "active mutual responsibility," could not meet the needs of the time anymore than the principle of individual opportunity, since the ladder one climbed was the symbol of a divided society.¹¹ If their rationalizations did not fit the emerging social gospel, their action in manifesting a robust Protestant spirit engaged with social ills as they saw them clearly set a mood of social optimism and a style of activism on which the social gospel could thrive.

¹¹Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950, (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1958), pp. 328-332.

APPENDIX I

DIRECTORY OF CHURCHES IN HAMILTON, 1899*

Anglican

Christ's Church Cathedral, James Street North (5)
All Saint's, SE corner of Queen and King Streets (3)
Church of Ascension, John Street South (2)
St. George's, Sophia Street (4)
St. John the Evangelist, Hannah Street, corner of Locke (3)
St. Luke's, corner of John and Macaulay Streets (6)
St. Mark's, SW corner of Bay and Hunter Streets (3)
St. Matthew's, Barton Street East (7)
St. Peter's, Main Street, corner of Sanford (1)
St. Thomas, corner of Main Street and West Avenue (1)

Methodist

Centenary, Main Street West near James (2)
Barton Street Methodist, Barton Street East by Woodlands Park (7)
Emerald Street Methodist, corner of Wilson and Emerald Streets (7)
First Methodist, corner of King and Wellington Streets (1)
Gore Street Methodist, corner of John and Gore Streets (6)
Hannah Street Methodist, corner of Hess and Hannah Streets (3)
Simcoe Street Methodist, corner of John and Simcoe Streets (6)

* Parenthetical numbers refer to wards.

St. Paul's, A.M.E., 114 John Street North, between Cannon Street East and Gore Street (6)

Wesley, John Street, corner of Rebecca (6)

Zion Tabernacle, Pearl Street North (4)

Presbyterian

Central, corner of Jackson and MacNab Streets (2)

Erskine, Pearl Street North (4)

Knox, corner of Cannon and James Street (5)

Laidlaw Memorial Mission, Mary Street (6)

Locke Street Presbyterian, corner of Locke and Herkimer Streets (3)

MacNab Street Presbyterian, corner of Hunter and MacNab Streets (2)

St. John's, corner of King and Emerald Streets (7)

St. Paul's, corner of James and Jackson Streets (2)

Wentworth Presbyterian, corner of Barton Street and Smith Avenue (7)

OTHERS

Baptist

Ferguson Avenue Baptist, corner of Ferguson Avenue and Ferrie Street (6)

Herkimer Street Baptist, Herkimer Street (3)

James Street Baptist, corner of James and Jackson Streets (2)

MacNab Street Baptist, MacNab Street North (5)

Victoria Avenue Baptist, corner of Evans Street and Victoria Avenue (7)

Wentworth Street Baptist, corner of Wentworth and King William Streets (7)

Congregational

Congregational, Hughson Street North (5)

Jewish

Hughson Street Synagogue (now Temple Anshe Shalom), 129
Hughson Street South between Young and Augusta (2)

Congregation of Bais Jacob (now Beth Jacob Synagogue), NW
corner of Hunter and Park (2)

Lutheran

St. Paul's German Evangelical Lutheran, Gore Street corner
of Hughson (6)

Roman Catholic

St. Joseph's, Locke Street, corner of Herkimer (3)

St. Lawrence, Picton Street, corner of St. Mary (6)

St. Mary's (Pro Cathedral), corner of Park and Sheaffe
Streets (5)

St. Patrick's, King Street East (1)

Unitarian

First Unitarian Church, James Street South (2)

Religious Sects

Believers, corner of Merrick and MacNab Streets (5)

Bretheran of One Faith, King Street West (2)

Christian Workers, Cannon Street, corner of MacNab (5)

Disciples of Christ, Wilson Street, corner of Cathcart (6)

Evangelical Congregation, Market Street (5)

Immanuel, Canada Street (3)

Salvation Army Barracks, SW corner Hughson and Rebecca (5)

APPENDIX II

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Professional

Architect
Barrister
Civil Engineer
Clergyman
Crown Attorney
Dentist
Inspector of public schools
Master-in-Chancery
Music teacher
Newspaper editor
Physician
Principal
School teacher
Superintendent, Normal College
Vice-principal

Commercial

Accountant
Agent
Assistant superintendent
Auditor
Bakery proprietor
Bank cashier
Bank Manager
Banker
Bookseller
Broker and commission merchant
Builder
Butcher shop proprietor
Buyer
Caterer, railway dining room
Cattle dealer
Chemist
Coal and wood merchant
Coal merchant
Confectioner
Contractor
Department store proprietor
Druggist
Dry goods merchant
Florist
Flour and feed merchant

Forwarder
Fruiterer
Funeral supplies importer
Greenhouse proprietor
Grocer
Hardware merchant
Hatter and furrier
Hotel keeper
Insurance agent
Jeweler
Lumber dealer
Manager, electric light and power company
Manager, express company
Manager, gas governor company
Manager, lithography company
Manager, oil and varnish company
Manager, railroad
Manufacturer's agent
Medicine dealer
Merchant
Merchant tailor
Musical instruments retailer
Patent rights dealer
Photographer
Piano dealer
Postmaster
President, insurance company
President, steamboat company
Printing plant proprietor
Produce merchant
Publisher
Registrar
Saloon keeper
Secretary, insurance company
Seed merchant
Shipper
Steam laundry proprietor
Stock broker
Sugar broker
Tea dealer
Tobacconist
Wholesale druggist
Wholesale grocer
Wholesale tea merchant
Wool merchant
Undertaker

Manufacturing

Brewer
Broom manufacturer
Clothing manufacturer
Coffin manufacturer
Distiller
Elevator manufacturer
Foundry owner
Jewelry manufacturer
Lamp manufacturer
Manager, manufacturing company
Manager, steel company
Manager, vinegar works
Manufacturer
Piano manufacturer
Pork packer
President, steel company
President, tobacco manufacturing company
Rope manufacturer
Secretary-treasurer, clothing manufacturing company
Secretary-treasurer, iron/steel foundry
Stay manufacturer
Stove and furnace manufacturer
Tar distiller

Clerical

Assessor
Baggage master
Bailiff
Bank clerk
Bookkeeper
Clerk
Collector
Conductor
Customs clerk
Customs officer
Deputy sheriff
Drug clerk
Freight agent
Inspector
Mail carrier
Postal clerk
Railway agent
Revenue officer
Salesman
Stenographer
Traveller
Turnkey

Skilled

Baker
Blacksmith
Brass moulder
Bricklayer
Brush maker
Butcher
Cabinet maker
Carpenter
Electrician
Engineer
Engraver
File cutter
Finisher
Foreman
Harness maker
Jewelry repairman
Machinist
Mechanic
Miller
Moulder
Musician
Pattern maker
Piano maker
Plasterer
Plumber
Printer
Scale repairman
Ship builder
Shoemaker
Stone cutter
Tailor
Tinsmith
Tobacco roller
Watchmaker
Upholsterer
Weaver

Semi-skilled

Barber
Brakesman
Checker
Cutter
Dyer
Fireman
Iron worker
Nail feeder
Painter
Presser
Washer maker

Unskilled

Asylum attendant
Bartender
Caretaker
Carter
Driver
Expressman
Gardener
Heater
Laborer
Launderer
Liveryman
Messenger
Porter
Railway employee
Teamster
Woodcutter
Yardman

Other

Gentleman

APPENDIX III

DIRECTORY OF THE LAY OFFICERS, 1899

Centenary Methodist Church

Mr. Charles Applegath
130 Hannah Street East
Occupation unknown

Mrs. J.S. Atkinson*
Hess Street North

Mr. Isaac Butler
269 York Street
Tar distiller

Mr. James Orr Callaghan
129 Bold Street
Manager, Steel company

Mr. John G. Cloke
297 Main Street East
Bookseller

Mr. William M. Doxsee
81 Grant Avenue
School teacher

Miss Duffield
114 Aberdeen Street

Mr. & Mrs. Henry A. Eager
182 Jackson Street West
Assistant postmaster

Dr. Cummins VanNorman Emory
114 Main Street West
Physician

Mr. & Mrs. Frederick William Fearman
90 Stinson Street
Pork packer

Mrs. R.E. Gallagher
183 Hughson Street South

* Residence not shown on maps

Mr. & Mrs. John Joseph Greene
152 Hughson Street South
President, Clothing manufacturing company

Dr. Herbert Spohn Griffin
157 Main Street East
Physician

Mr. W.H. Hamilton*
Occupation unknown

Mrs. Hugill
152 Hughson Street South

Dr. Thomas H. Husband
136 East Avenue South
Dentist

Mr. Seneca Jones
7 Hughson Street South
Insurance agent

Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Franklin Lazier
131 Charles Street South
Barrister

Dr. James Alexander McLellan
308 John Street South
Superintendent, Normal school

Mr. & Mrs. David Moore
32 Hannah Street East
Foundry owner

Mr. John H. Moore*
Hardware merchant

Mr. & Mrs. William S. Moore
235 James Street South
Hardware merchant

Miss M. Morrison
291 Hannah Street West

Mrs. William Morton
53 Wellington Street South

Mr. & Mrs. William C. Morton
129 East Avenue South
School principal

Mr. John M. Peregrine
85 Queen Street South
Coal & wood merchant

Mr. Thomas Henry Pratt
6 East Avenue North
Dry goods merchant

Mr. E.P. Raw
51 Markland Street
Occupation unknown

Mr. Fred M. Robinson
34 Hannah Street East
Clerk

Mr. John Robinson
72 Victoria Avenue North
Gentleman

Mr. W.W. Robinson
69 East Avenue South
Stove & furnace manufacturer

Mr. & Mrs. Willam Aspley Robinson
34 Hannah Street East
Stove & furnace manufacturer

Mrs. Mary Rosebrugh
98 James Street South

Miss C. Rule
118 Herkimer Street

Sen. William Eli Sanford
Corner of Jackson & Caroline Streets
Clothing manufacturer

Dr. Bruce Smith*
Asylum
Physician

Mr. & Mrs. J.L. Stoney
70 Herkimer Street
Insurance agent

Mr. Robert Stratton
49 Walnut Street South
Mail carrier

Miss A. Louise Townsend
102 Park Street North

Mr. Alfred Ward
171 Jackson Street West
Funeral supplies importer

Mr. Alfred H. Ward
171 Jackson Street West
Funeral supplies importer

Mr. Frederick W. Watkins*
King Street East
Department store proprietor

Mr. Thomas W. Watkins
252 Park Street South
Dry goods merchant

Central Presbyterian Church

Mr. William Anderson*
Maple Avenue
Occupation unknown

Miss Clara Balfour
290 Hess Street South

Mr. Peter Balfour
125 Markland Street
Insurance agent

Mr. John Bell
52 Hannah Street West
Manufacturer's agent

Miss Annie Bertram
227 Bay Street South

Miss Winnifred Bizzey
169 James Street South

Mr. & Mrs. John Calder
182 Hughson Street South
Clothing manufacturer

Mrs. Harriet D. Cameron
132 Emerald Street South

Mrs. Benjamin E. Charlton
280 Bay Street South

Miss Grace Clark
258 Wellington Street North

Mr. John Crerar
239 MacNab Street South
Wentworth County Attorney

Mr. Alexander Cruikshank
117 George Street
School principal

Mrs. David Cumming
252 MacNab Street North

Mr. William Cumming
66 Burlington Street
Grocer

Miss F.L. Davis
123 MacNab Street South

Miss Clara Dressel*

Miss Annie Dunlop
227 Bay Street South

Mr. & Mrs. James Dunlop
315 John Street South
Flour & feed merchant

Mrs. David Edgar
142 Jackson Street West

Mr. & Mrs. James Joseph Evel
51 Stanley Avenue
Coffin manufacturer

Mr. Harold Feast*
Occupation unknown

Mrs. W.F. Findlay
33 Bold Street

Mrs. Newton Denick Galbreaith
346 Main Street East

Mr. Alexander Gartshore
50 Robinson Street
Foundry owner

The Honorable John Morison Gibson
311 Bay Street South
Barrister

Miss Grace Gillespie
25 Emerald Street South

Mrs. John Harvey
40 Robinson Street

Mrs. Leonie Henderson
24 Bruce Street

Mr. William Hendrie
57 Bold Street
Forwarder

Mr. William Hill
307 King Street East
Butcher shop proprietor

Miss Flossie Johnson*

Mr. George Lang Johnston
58 Spring Street
School teacher

Mrs. A.R. Kerr
81 Charles Street

Mr. James Wilmot Lamoreaux
26 Canada Street
President, Tobacco manufacturing company

Mr. Thompson Lawson
159 Robinson Street
Salesman

Mr. George Lees
251 Main Street West
Jeweler

Mr. Thomas Lees, Jr.
251 Main Street West
Jeweler

Mr. William Lees, Jr.
46 Grant Avenue
Barrister

Mr. & Mrs. William Lees, Sr.
49 Main Street East
Bakery proprietor

Mr. F.J. Frank McKeown
220 Jackson Street West
Tailor

Mr. Alexander Main
234 Mary Street
Rope manufacturer

Mr. R.P. Newbigging
204 Ferguson Avenue South
Cabinet maker

Mr. M.A. Pennington
179 Hess Street South
Insurance agent

Mr. George Ross
38 Ontario Avenue
Clerk

Mr. George Rutherford
734 Main Street East
Wholesale druggist

Miss Mary Sammons
557 King Street West

Mr. Robert Slater
80 Victoria Avenue South
Occupation unknown

Mr. Thomas Smith
124 West Avenue North
Shipper

Mrs. L. Springer
334 Main Street East

Mr. Hugh S. Steven
460 Main Street East
Bank cashier

Mr. James G. Stewart
173 Walnut Street South
Salesman

Mrs. Jessie Thomson
45 Murray Street West

Mr. W.C. Thompson*
Occupation unknown

Miss Mary Troup
86 Hunter Street West

Mrs. William Troup
86 Hunter Street West

Mr. & Mrs. John Burgess Turner
498 Main Street East
Vice-principal

Mr. Augustine Villa
411 Bay Street North
Grocer

Mrs. Frank Waddell*

Mr. Richard Mott Wanzer
97 Victoria Avenue South
Lamp manufacturer

Mrs. Andrew Trew Wood
265 James Street South

Mr. William Augustus Wood
215 James Street South
Hardware merchant

Mrs. Thomas Woodman
58 Emerald Street North

Mrs. Walter Woods
111 East Avenue South

Mr. William Woods
251 Main Street East
Lamp manufacturer

Mrs. Edwin G. Zealand
160 Herkimer Street

Mr. Adam Zimmerman
132 Bold Street
Merchant tailor

Christ's Church Cathedral

Miss Margaret S. Ambrose
76 Hunter Street

Mr. Arthur Douglas Braithwaite*
James Street South
Bank manager

Mr. Alexander Bruce
76 Duke Street
Barrister

Mr. George Harman Bull
169 Jackson Street West
Postal clerk

Mr. John M. Burns
124 Hunter Street West
Insurance agent

Mrs. Charles E. Doolittle
212 James Street South

Mr. Lewis Edworthy
35 Park Street South
Foundry owner

Dr. & Mrs. Edwin Alexander Gaviller
70 Main Street West
Physician

Mr. Reginald Aeneas Kennedy*
Duke Street
Publisher

Mrs. Richard Alan Lucas
63 Duke Street

Dr. & Mrs. George L. MacKelcan
15 Gore Street
Physician

Mr. John James Mason
141 Hunter Street West
Accountant

Mr. James Edwin O'Reilly*
O'Reilly Street
Master-in-Chancery

Mr. George Roach
55 Barton Street West
Gentleman

Mr. & Mrs. Charles Sumner Scott
161 Hughson Street South
Accountant

Mrs. William Southam
163 Jackson Street West

Mrs. William Orlando Tidswell
158 James Street South

Mrs. Henry Buckingham Witton
16 Murray Street West

Mrs. Algernon E. Woolverton
225 James Street North

APPENDIX IV

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS OF THE MALE LAY LEADERS:
DETAILS OF TABLE 3-12

Table IV-1 Meliorative Associations of the Male Lay Leaders*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Benevolent Societies	5	9	9
Caledonian Society		1	
Irish Prot. Benevolent Soc.	2		2
St. Andrew's Society		7	
St. George's Society	3	1	6
Young Men's Prot. Bene. Assn.			1
Charitable Institutions	16	17	15
Aged Women's Home	2		1
Boys' Home	6	6	3
Girls' Home	3	3	5
Home for the Friendless	2	3	1
Homewood Retreat, Guelph		1	
Infants' Home	2	3	1
Ont. Odd Fellows' Home, Tor.		1	
Orphan Asylum	1		1
St. Peter's Home for Incurables			3
Education	8	5	3
Hamilton Art School	5	2	1
Hamilton Ladies' College	1		1
Highfield School		1	
Toronto Conservatory of Music		1	
University of Toronto	1	1	1
University of Victoria	1		
Health and Welfare	28	18	5
Canadian Red Cross		1	1
Children's Aid Society	3	3	1
Hamilton Council of Women	3	1	
Hamilton City Improvement Soc.	2	1	1
Hamilton Day Nursery	1		
Hamilton Health Association	2	3	
Hamilton Parks & Playgrounds		1	
Muskoka Home for Consumptives	1		
Royal Victorian Order of Nurses	5	4	2
Victoria Indust. Sch., Mimico	1		
YMCA	8	1	
YWCA	2	3	
Pressure Groups	10	1	
Equal Rights Association	5		
Hamilton Plebiscite Assn.	4	1	
Prohibition & Moral Reform Assn.	1		
Religious and Church	7	4	1
British and Foreign Bible Soc.	4	2	1
Caroline Street Mission		1	
Evangelical Alliance	1		
Grimsby Park Association	1		
Lord's Day Alliance	1	1	
Temperance	7		1
Dominion Alliance	2		
Royal Templars of Temperance	5		1
Other	4		2
Humane Society	1		
SPCA	3		2
Total Memberships	85	54	36
Number of Leaders	14	15	11
% of Total Leadership	41.2	39.5	91.7

*Includes all meliorative associations which the male lay leaders belonged to or supported during their lifetime.

Table IV-2 Economic, Occupational and Professional
Associations of the Male Lay Leaders*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Economic	8	9	5
Canadian Manufacturers' Assn.	2		
Great Central Fair and Industrial Exhibition Association		1	2
Hamilton Board of Trade	5	7	3
Hamilton Business Men's Assn.	1		
Hamilton Chamber of Commerce		1	
Other	15	7	7
American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists	1		
American Master Mechanics' Association	1		
Dominion Education Association	1		
Hamilton Board of Fire Underwriters	1		1
Hamilton Law Association	1	2	1
Hamilton Medical & Surgical Society	1		
Hamilton Teachers' Association	1	2	
Institute of Accountants of Ont.			2
Law Assn. of Wentworth Co.	1		
Law Society of Upper Canada	1	1	1
Ontario Bar Association	1		
Ontario Education Association	1		
Ontario Medical Association	3		2
Pork Packers' Association	1		
Wentworth Teachers' Association		1	
Wholesale Drug and Professional Medical Dealers' Association		1	
Total Memberships	23	16	12
Number of Leaders	13	13	7
% of Total Leadership	38.2	34.2	58.3

*Includes all professional associations which the male leaders belonged to during their lifetime.

Table IV-3 Cultural and Patriotic Societies of the Male Lay Leaders*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Local (Hamilton)	16	13	10
Canadian Club	5	3	3
Elgar Choir			1
Garrick Club		1	
Hamilton Art Association	1	1	
Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art	2	4	1
Hamilton Horticultural Society		1	1
Philharmonic Society	1		
Provincial and Historical Association of Ontario	1		
Quebec Battlefield Association	1		
Royal Astronomical Society, Hamilton Circle	1		
Sons of England			2
Sons of Scotland		1	
United Empire Loyalist Society	1		
Wentworth Historical Society	3	2	
Wentworth Pioneer Plowing Club			2
Non-Local			3
Constitutional Club, London, England			1
Royal Colonial Institute			1
Overseas Club, London, England			1
Total Memberships	16	13	13
Number of Leaders	8	10	8
% of Total Leadership	23.5	26.3	66.7

*Includes all cultural and patriotic societies which the male lay leaders belonged to during their lifetime.

Table IV-4 Fraternal Organizations of the Male Lay Leaders*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Ancient Order of United Work- men	2		3
Canadian Fraternal Association	1		
Canadian Order of Chosen Friends		3	
Canadian Order of Home Circles	1		
Independent Order of Foresters	1	2	2
Independent Order of Odd Fellows	1	2	1
Masons	9	11	5
Rotary Club		2	
Royal Arcanum		3	1
Travelers' Circle	1		
Total Memberships	16	23	12
Number of Leaders	11	11	6
% of Total Leadership	32.4	28.9	50.0

*Includes all fraternal organizations which the male lay leaders belonged to during their lifetime.

Table IV-5 Social and Recreational Clubs of the Male Lay Leaders*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Local (Hamilton)	14	17	17
Caledon Mountain Trout Club		1	
Commercial Club		1	
Fernleigh Bowling Club	1		
Hamilton Club	4	3	6
Hamilton Cricket Club		1	2
Hamilton Golf and Country Club	1		2
Hamilton Jockey Club		1	2
Hamilton Kennel Club	1		
Hamilton Olympic Club		1	
Royal Hamilton Yacht Club	2	2	
Spinning Wheel (bicycle) Club	1		1
Strathcona Club		1	
Tamahaac Club			1
Thirteenth Battalion Rifle Assn.			1
Thistle Curling Club	1	1	1
Tiger Football Club	1	1	
Twentieth Century Club	1	1	
Victoria Curling & Bowling Club	1	1	
Victoria Rifle Club		1	1
West End Pleasure Club		1	
Non-Local	2	12	10
Albany Club	1		
British Jockey Club		1	
Canadian Military Institute		1	
Canadian Military Rifle Assn.		1	1
Canadian Military Rifle League		1	
Dominion Rifle Association		1	1
Engineers' Club, Toronto			1
Mount Royal Club, Montreal			1
National Club		1	
Ontario Bowling Association		1	
Ontario Jockey Club		1	
Ontario Rifle Association		1	1
Rideau Club, Ottawa	1		
Royal Canadian Yacht Club, Tor.			1
Toronto Club		1	2
Toronto Cricket Club		1	
Wellington Club, London, Eng.			1
York Club, Toronto		1	1
Total Memberships	16	29	27
Number of Leaders	5	10	8
% of Total Leadership	14.7	26.3	66.6

*Includes all club memberships which the male lay leaders held during their lifetime.

APPENDIX V

 VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS OF THE FEMALE LAY LEADERS: DETAILS OF
 TABLE 3-13*

	Centenary Methodist	Central Presbyterian	Christ's Church
Charitable Institutions	10	17	12
Aged Women's Home	3	5	1
Boys' Home	2	2	
Girls' Friendly Holiday House			1
Girls' Home		3	3
Home of the Friendless	1	1	3
Infants' Home	1	1	3
Orphan Asylum	3	5	1
Health and Welfare	7	19	10
Canadian Red Cross Society, Hamilton Branch		1	
Children's Aid Society		3	1
City Hospital		3	
Hamilton Council of Women	1	4	3
Hamilton Health Association		2	2
Hamilton Playgrounds Assn.			1
Royal Victorian Order of Nurses	1	4	2
YMCA	4		
YWCA	1	2	1
Religious and Church	2	1	2
Caroline Street Mission			1
Duffield Flower Mission	1		
McAll Mission	1		
Salvation Army		1	
Women's Christian Assn.			1
Temperance	3	1	
Central WCTU	1		
Wentworth County WCTU	2	1	
Other		1	1
SPCA		1	1
Total Memberships	22	39	25
Number of Leaders	5	9	7
% of Total Leadership	27.8	27.3	70.0

*Includes all meliorative organizations which the female leaders belonged to or supported during their lifetime.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The major resource for the study of the public presence of the Protestant lay elite in Hamilton is the Hamilton and Canadiana collections in the Hamilton Public Library. It is in these collections that the researcher often finds the only material available about Hamiltonians and the local businesses, industries and associations with which they were connected. The key to this material is the "Where to Look" file. This file indexes thousands of personal and corporate names of local significance contained in the Hamilton Herald, Spectator and Times; biographical dictionaries; the journals and proceedings of local and regional historical societies; local and regional histories; church and parish histories; associational and institutional histories; professional and institutional journals; trade magazines; and so on. However, a note of caution is in order -- this file while extensive is not exhaustive, and the researcher should not assume that because a particular subject is not listed that the library lacks information on it or, if a subject is listed, that the indexing is complete.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Anglican Church of Canada, Ont. Synod of the Diocese of Niagara. Journal of Proceedings, 1877-96, 1898. NCH.

Canada. Dept. of Agriculture. Census of Canada, 1851/52-1901.

_____. Parliament. Sessional Papers, 1868, No. 12.

- _____ . Sessional Papers, 1870, No. 6.
- _____ . Sessional Papers, 1872, No. 13.
- _____ . Sessional Papers, 1873, No. 11.
- _____ . Sessional Papers, 1896, No. 61.
- _____ . Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic.
Minutes of Evidence, vol. 4. Ottawa: Queens Printer,
 1895.
- Centenary Methodist Church, Hamilton, Ont. Year Book and
 Directory. 1898. HPLSC.
- Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont. Annual Report,
 1890-99. CPC.
- Christian Guardian.
- Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont. Baptisms, 1864-
 1900. Parish Register, E. MLSC.
- _____ . Baptisms, 1900-25. Parish Register, F. MLSC.
- _____ . Deaths (Burials), 1855-1967. Parish Register,
 H. MLSC.
- _____ . Vestry. Minutes, 9 Apr 1855-26 Apr 1886.
 Parish Register, I2. MLSC.
- _____ . Minutes, 13 May 1886-3 Jul 1939. Parish
 Register, K2. MLSC.
- General Register Office, London, Eng. Certified copy of the
 birth of James Joseph Evel.
- Gibson, J.M. "The Children's Act." Methodist Magazine
 (January-June 1894): 39-48.
- Hamilton, Ont. Assessment Rolls, 1899.
- _____ . City Directory, 1899.
- _____ . Surrogate Court. Will of William Augustus Wood.
 Grant No. 299.
- Hamilton Evening Times.
- Hamilton General Hospital scrapbook. HPLSC.
- Hamilton Herald.

Hamilton Spectator, 1890-1899.

Hamilton Times.

Hamilton Weekly Spectator.

Hamilton Weekly Times.

Hill, Peter L., Director of Public Relations, Hamilton Civic Hospitals, to the author, 30 Aug 1982.

Hollowell, S.G., Records Administrator, Hamilton City Hall, to the author, 17 Feb 1983.

Industrial Banner.

Johnston, G.L. "Inaugural Address." Hamilton Scientific Association. Journal and Proceedings 22(1905-06): 11-23.

Kealey, Greg[ory S.], ed. Canada Investigates Industrialism: the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889 (abridged). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Lyle, Samuel. Scotland's Contribution to the World. Hamilton, 1904. HPLSC.

McGarvin, Mrs. G[ertrude] M[aud] R[leaveley] "Pages from the Past." Written upon the Occasion of the 65th Anniversary of the Cathedral Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Church of England in Canada, March 15, 1866 to March 13, 1951. Typescript. HPLSC.

Methodist Church (Canada). The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1886. Ed. by Edward B. Ryckman. Toronto: Briggs, 1887.

_____. General Conference. Journal of Proceedings of the Fifth General Conference. Held September 1st to September 22nd, 1898, in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, Ont. Toronto: Briggs, 1898.

Mills, Samuel to Isaac Buchanan, 3 Nov 1852. Public Archives of Canada, MG24, D16, vol. 48.

Ontario. Legislative Assembly. Sessional Papers, 1897, No. 28.

_____. Sessional Papers, 1899, No. 30.

Spence, F.S., comp. The Facts of the Case: a Summary of the Most Important Evidence and Argument Presented in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic. Compiled under the direction of the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic. Toronto: Newton & Treloar, 1896; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1973.

Stephens, Mrs. L.F. Scrapbook. HPLSC.

Toronto. City Hall. Record and Archives Division.
"Population of the City of Toronto, 1834 to the Present,
Taken from Civic Sources."

Toronto Globe.

Wesley, John. John Wesley: a Representative Collection of His Writings. Ed. by Albert C. Outler. A Library of Protestant Thought. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

Abell, Aaron Ignatius. The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900. Harvard Historical Studies, 54. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943.

Aberdeen and Temair, Ishbel Maria (Marjoribanks) Gordon, Marchioness of. The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898. Ed. with an introduction by John T. Saywell. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1960.

Adam, G. Mercer, ed. Prominent Men of Canada: a Collection of Persons Distinguished in Professional and Political Life, and in the Commerce and Industry of Canada. Toronto: Canadian Biographical Publishing Company, 1892.

Allen, Richard, ed. The Social Gospel in Canada. Papers of the Inter-Disciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24, 1973, at the University of Regina. National Museum of Man, Mercury Series; History Division, Paper, 9. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

_____. The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

- Ames, Herbert Brown. The City Below the Hill: a Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada. With an introduction by P.F.W. Rutherford. The Social History of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Armstrong, Christopher and Nelles, H.V. The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company: Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.
- Artibise, Alan F.J. Winnipeg: a Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.
- Barclay, William. A Century of Beginnings, 1841-1941. Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1941.
- Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Bliss, Michael. A Canadian Millionaire: the Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.
- Bowen, Desmond. The Idea of the Victorian Church: a Study of the Church of England, 1833-1889. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968.
- Boyer, Paul. Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Brown, William Adams. Christian Theology in Outline. New York: Scribner's, 1906.
- Burwash, N. Memorials of the Life of Edward and Lydia Ann Jackson. With Discourses Preached in the Centenary Church, Hamilton, on the Occasion of their Death, by the Revs. W.J. Hunter and John Potts. Toronto: Rose, 1876.
- Callaghan, Mary Theresa. The Story of the Years: Tales About James Orr Callaghan. Written for his Grandchildren by their Grandmother, Mary Theresa Callaghan. Hamilton: Privately Printed, 1931. Provenance of J. Stewart Callaghan, Hamilton, Ontario.
- Campbell, Marjorie Freeman. Holbrook of the San. Toronto: Ryerson, 1953.

The Canadian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men. Ontario Volume. Toronto: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1880.

Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1898-99.

Centenary United Church, Hamilton, Ont. Jubilee of the Centenary Church, 1868-1918. [Hamilton, 1918] HPLSC.

_____. Historic Committee. The Centenary Church, the United Church of Canada, 1868-1968. [Hamilton, 1968]. HPLSC.

Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, Ont. The Pilgrim's Guide to Christ's Church Cathedral. [n.d., n.p.] MLSC.

Charlesworth, Hector, ed. A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography: Brief Biographies of Persons Distinguished in the Professional, Military and Political Life, and the Commerce and Industry of Canada, in the Twentieth Century. National Biographical Series, 3. Toronto: Hunter-Rose, 1919.

Clark, C.S. Of Toronto the Good. a Social Study; the Queen City of Canada As It Is. Montreal: Toronto Publishing Company, 1878; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1970.

Clark, S.D. Church and Sect in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Cochrane, William, ed. The Canadian Album: Men of Canada; or, Success by Example, in Religion, Patriotism, Business, Law, Medicine, Education and Agriculture; Containing Portraits of Some of Canada's Chief Business Men, Statesmen, Farmers, Men of the Learned Professions, and Others ... Vol. 1. Brantford, Ont.: Bradley, Garretson, 1891.

Cross, Michael S., ed. The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Cross, Robert D., ed. The Church and the City, 1865-1910. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967.

Crysdale, Stewart. The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada: a Survey of Changing Power Structures and Christian Social Ethics. Toronto: Ryerson, 1961.

Davis, Calvin. Centennial Souvenir of First Methodist Church, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, 1824-1924. Hamilton: Published by the Centennial Committee under the authority of the Official Board of the Church, 1925?

Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, Vol. 1. 1981.

Dillenger, John and Welch, Claude. Protestant Christianity Interpreted Through Its Development. New York: Scribner's, 1954.

Dodds, E. King. Canadian Turf Recollections and Other Sketches. Toronto, 1909.

Erickson, Charlotte. Invisible Immigrants: the Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America. London: London School of Economics and Political Science; Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Fahrni, Margaret Morton and Morton, W.L. Third Crossing: a History of the First Quarter Century of the Town and District of Gladstone in the Province of Manitoba. Winnipeg: Advocate Printers, 1946.

Farmer, T.W.D. History of the Royal Canadian Humane Association. Updated to 1976 by J.G. O'Neil. Hamilton, Ont.: Royal Canadian Humane Association [n.d.]

Grant, John Webster. The Church in the Canadian Era, the First Century of Confederation. A History of the Christian Church in Canada, vol. 3. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972.

Gregg, William. Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest to the Present Time. Toronto, 1892.

Hamilton Association for the Advancement of Literature, Science and Art. 100th Anniversary, 1857-1957. Hamilton, 1958.

Hamilton Local Council of Women. Fifty Years of Activity, 1893-1943: Commemorating the Golden Anniversary of Hamilton Local Council of Women. [Hamilton: Hamilton Printing Service, 1944]

Holli, Melvin G. Reform in Detroit: Hagen S. Pingree and Urban Politics. Urban Life in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

- Houghton, Walter E. The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870. New Haven: Pub. for Wellesley College by Yale University Press, 1957.
- Hudson, Winthrop S. The Great Tradition of the American Churches. New York: Harper, 1953; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970.
- Inglis, Kenneth Stanley. Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England. Studies in Social History. London: Routledge & Paul, 1963.
- Johnston, C.M. The Head of the Lake: a History of Wentworth County. 2d ed. rev. Hamilton: Wentworth County Council, 1967.
- Jones, Andrew and Rutman, Leonard. In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Katz, Michael B. The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. Harvard Studies in Urban History. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Kealey, Gregory S. and Warrian, Peter, eds. Essays in Canadian Working Class History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- Koht, Halvdan. Driving Forces in History. Translated from the Norwegian by Einar Haugen. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Landon, Fred. Western Ontario and the American Frontier. Toronto: Ryerson; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; reprint ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.
- [McColl, John] "Outlined History of the Congregation of Central Church, Hamilton." In Central Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ont. Annual Report, 1873, pp. 15-17 CPC.
- Macdonald, Norman. The Barton Lodge, A.F. and A.M., No. 6, G.R.C., 1795-1945. Toronto: Ryerson, 1945.
- MacIver, R.M. The Web of Government. Rev. ed. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- McKillop, A.B. A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.

- McNaught, Kenneth. A Prophet in Politics: a Biography of J.S. Woodsworth. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.
- McNeill, John Thomas. The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875-1925. With introduction by Clarence Mackinnon. Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925.
- Masters, D.C. The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947.
- May, Henry F. Protestant Churches and Industrial America. New York: Harper, 1949.
- Middleton, Jesse Edgar and Landon, Fred. The Province of Ontario, a History, 1615-1927. Vol. 3. Toronto: Dominion Publishing Company, 1927.
- Miller, Perry. The Life of the Mind in America from the Revolution to the Civil War. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965.
- Moir, John S. The Church in the British Era, from the British Conquest to Confederation. A History of the Christian Church in Canada, vol. 2. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972.
- Morgan, Henry James, ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: a Hand-Book of Canadian Biography. 1st ed. Toronto: Briggs, 1898.
- Mulder, John M. and Wilson, John F., eds. Religion in American History: Interpretive Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Holt, 1929; reprint ed., New York: New American Library, 1957.
- Oliver, Edmund H. The Winning of the Frontier: a Study in the Religious History of Canada. Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930.
- Palmer, Bryan D. A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.
- Prang, Margaret. N.W. Rowell, Ontario Nationalist. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Presbyteries. Hamilton, Ont. The Presbytery of Hamilton, 1836-1967. [Hamilton, 1967]

Roberts, David E. and Van Dusen, Henry Pitney. Liberal Theology, an Appraisal: Essays in Honor of Eugene William Lyman. New York: Scribner's, 1942.

Rodgers, Daniel T. The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Runnals, J. Lawrence. Sir John Morison Gibson (1842-1929). Canadian Masonic Research Association [Papers] 64. [Toronto? 1962]

Rutherford, Paul, ed. Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920: an Anthology of Early Articles on Urban Reform. The Social History of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Sanderson, Joseph Edward. The First Century of Methodism in Canada. Toronto: Briggs, 1908-1910. 2 vols.

[Scott, Charles Sumner] Christ's Church Cathedral, Hamilton, 1835-1935. Hamilton: Davis-Lisson, 1935.

Seth, James. A Study of Ethical Principles. 12th ed. rev. New York: Scribner's 1911.

Simpson, Matthew, ed. Cyclopaedia of Methodism, Embracing Sketches of its Rise, Progress, and Present Condition, with Biographical Notices and Numerous Illustrations. Rev. ed. Philadelphia: Everts, 1880.

Smith, Joseph Henry. The Central School Jubilee Reunion, August, 1903, an Historical Sketch. Hamilton: Spectator Printing Company, 1905.

Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957.

Splane, Richard B. Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893: a Study of Public Welfare Administration. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Stafford, E.A. The Need of Minstrelsy and Other Sermons. Memorial volume of the late Rev. E.A. Stafford, with introduction by Rev. D.G. Sutherland. Toronto: Briggs, 1892.

Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, a Historical Study. With a prefatory note by Charles Gore. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1938.

The Templar, Hamilton. Men of the Movement. Hamilton: Templar Publishing Company, 1894.

Trigge, A. St. L. A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an Account of the Other Banks Which Now Form Part of its Organization, 1919-1934. Vol. 3. Toronto: The Canadian Bank of Commerce, 1934.

Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class: an Economic Study of Institutions. With a Foreward by Stuart Chase. New York: Macmillan, 1899; reprint ed., New York: Modern Library 1934.

* Vernon, C.W. The Old Church in the New Dominion: the Story of the Anglican Church in Canada. London: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929.

Wallace, Ronald S. Calvin's Doctrine of the Christian Life. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959.

Walsh, H.H. The Christian Church in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson, 1956.

_____. The Church in the French Era, from Colonization to the British Conquest. A History of the Christian Church in Canada, vol. 1. Toronto: Ryerson, 1966.

Warner, Wellman J. The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution. New York: Russell & Russell, 1930.

Watkins, Thomas C. Prohibition Series [Hamilton, 188-] HPLSC. Eight pamphlets in folder. Contents: Alcohol as a Medicine. - Canada Must Have Prohibition.- The Dietetics of Temperance.- The Effects of Alcohol on the Human System.- The History of Temperance.- Liquor and Labor.- The Marriage in Cana of Galilee.- The Nation's Curse.

Weaver, John C. Hamilton, an Illustrated History. The History of Canadian Cities. Toronto: James Lorimer and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1982.

Weber, Max. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Translated, edited and with an Introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1948.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Translated by Talcott Parsons, with a foreward by R.H. Tawney. London: Allen & Unwin, 1930; reprint ed., New York: Scribner's, 1958.

Wickham, E.R. Church and People in an Industrial City. London: Lutterworth Press, 1957.

Williams, Raymond. Culture and Society, 1780-1950. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Wilson, Alan. John Northway, a Blue Serge Canadian. Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1965.

Woodsworth, J.S. My Neighbor. With an introduction by Richard Allen. The Social History of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

ARTICLES

Ballard, W.H. "Sir John Gibson." University of Toronto Monthly 21(1921):403-404.

Emery, George N. "The Origins of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914." Canadian Church Historical Society, Journal 19(1977):104-119.

Griffin, Clyde C. "Rich Laymen and Early Social Christianity." Church History 36(1967): 45-65.

Harrison, Brian. "Philanthropy and the Victorians." Victorian Studies 9(1966): 353-374.

Lucas, Glenn. "Canadian Protestant Church History to 1973." United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, Bulletin 23(1974):5-50.

Magney, William H. "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914." United Church of Canada, Committee on Archives, Bulletin 20(1968):3-95.

Rutherford, Paul. "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971):203-224.

[Simpson, Myra E.] "Centenary Sends Japan's First Woman Missionary." Centenary News (March 1965):9. CUC.

_____. "Hamilton Girl was Pioneer Missionary in Japan." Centenary News (October 1964):7. CUC.

Smith, Allan. "The Myth of the Self-made Man in English Canada, 1850-1914." Canadian Historical Review 59(1978):189-219.

Stephens, Mary H. "Miss Martha Cartmell--a Tribute." Missionary Monthly (May 1945):209-211. CUC.

Tucker, Bruce. "Class and Culture in Recent Anglo-American Religious Historiography: a Review Essay." Labour/Le Travailleur 6(1980):159-169.

Villiers-Westfall, William E. de. "The Dominion of the Lord: an Introduction to the Cultural History of Protestant Ontario in the Victorian Period." Queen's Quarterly 83(1976):47-70.

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Fierheller, John. "Social Disorder within a City: Criminal Behavior in Hamilton during the 1890's." M.A. History research paper, McMaster University, 1975.

Hamblin, Jennifer. "Central Presbyterian Church: a Study of the Congregation and Lay Leadership, 1899." M.A. History research paper, McMaster University, 1976.

Kutcher, Stanley Paul. "John Wilson Bengough: Artist of Righteousness." M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1975.

Morrison, Terrence R. "The Child and Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1971.

Roberts, R.D. "The Changing Patterns in Distribution and Composition of Manufacturing Activity in Hamilton between 1861 and 1921." M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1964.

Semple, Neil Austin Everett. "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Central Canada, 1854-1884." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979.

Smyth, Elizabeth M. "Centenary Methodist Church, 1899: a Study of the Congregation and the Lay Leadership of the 'Church in the Heart of Hamilton' at the Turn of the Century." M.A. History research paper, McMaster University, 1976.