# THE INFLUENCE OF THE TECHNOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION UPON RELIGION

# THE EFFECTS OF THE TECHNIQUE AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION UPON RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION IN THE WEST AS ELUCIDATED AND SUGGESTED BY THE WORKS OF HAROLD INNIS

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## ABSTRACT

The Effects of the Technique and the Technology of Communication Upon Religious Thought and Religious Organization in the West as Elucidated and Suggested by the Works of Harold Innis

by

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Harold Innis remains, some twenty-two years after his death, the paramount scholar on the subject of the effects of communication in the history of the West. This thesis is the first attempt to deal comprehensively with his works from the perspective of what they say about religion. The approach taken is to examine what he says and to elucidate its significance for an understanding of religion. The thesis supported in this work is that, on the basis of Innis' works, religion in the West may be viewed, at least in part, as an effect of communication.

Innis' works suggest that religion, in an organizational sense, is a monopoly of knowledge or a monopoly of truths with a bias either to time or to space. The bias is an effect of the dominant medium of mechanized communication. However, his works also identify a fundamental religious experience, outside any organizational or institutional setting, which is an effect of oral communication. This is a spiritual creativity which implies individual freedom and the pursuit of truth.

Mechanized communication is seen to convert the pursuit of

truth into the maintenance and defence of truths on a large scale and the resulting monopolies of knowledge or systems of "religious" truths provide for the efficient control of man over either time or space.

Innis' works emphasize the value of questioning all "religious" truths. Since they are the basis of large scale control all must be continually questioned in order for man to be free. His works suggest that they must also be questioned in order for man to be truly religious. A central message in his works is that an agnostic state of mind is indispensable for individual freedom and spiritual creativity. This state of mind is an effect of oral communication and it may be seen to be of the essence of religion.

Innis' works point out that no means of mechanized communication adequately or fully communicates the oral tradition. Each technique and technology imposes a message of its own. This suggests that the message of the Christian gospels, for example, which came out of an oral milieu, will be changed when communicated in mechanized forms. It will be different from and less than the original. An understanding of the effects of communication is therefore important for an understanding of the gospel message. Innis' later works help to provide such an understanding.

They emphasize that the message always reflects the means and the medium of communication. Man's thinking is biased by the way he communicates. Therefore, he may never know in any absolute sense what truth is. He may, however, have faith that truth is. This brings

an important new perspective to the understanding of religion.

This thesis identifies early and later stages in Innis' work but it concentrates on the later stage. A brief synthesis of his early works is included at the beginning in order to provide a better understanding of his theory of effects and monopolies. The main body of the thesis synthesizes Innis' writings on the effects of communication and explains their significance for an understanding of religion in the West. An Appendix helps to explain further the somewhat different perspective to Innis' works taken in this thesis and the significance of this perspective for the study of religion.

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# INTRODUCTION

The question to be considered in this thesis is, what are the effects of the technique and the technology of communication upon religion in the West which Innis' works elucidate and suggest. The thesis supported in this work is that based on the works of Harold Innis, religion in the West may be viewed, in some measure at least, as an effect of communication. It will be pointed out that, according to Innis, all human thought reflects both the technique and the technology of communication. How man communicates influences what he communicates and his perception and understanding of what is communicated. Man's perception of truth is, at least in part, an effect of communication.

The approach taken in this thesis is to synthesize Innis' works and to extrapolate on the basis of what he says. The thesis attempts to put Innis' understanding of the oral and mechanized traditions in perspective and to elucidate their effects and the meaning of their effects for an understanding of religion.

The term technique refers to the method or means of doing something. In this sense Innis contrasts two basic means or techniques of communication, oral and mechanized. The mechanized means stressed by Innis are writing, printing and, to a lesser extent, electronic. By oral communication Innis means face to face, personal interaction. The term technology refers to hardware. Media, i.e. stone, papyrus, clay, parchment, paper, and the instruments for writing and printing, are all part of the technology of communication.[1] Writing, printing,

reading, listening, talking, seeing, interacting with one's whole person, are all techniques of communication.

Innis uses the word truth in two quite different ways, e.g. "it is not truth but the pursuit of truth which makes men free". In the first place it is used to mean those things which we know and understand and accept as being true. They include facts, dogmas, beliefs, superstitions, conventions, etc. Innis refers to these as "the things to which we attend". He believes that truth, in this sense, tends to hold man's mind in thrall. It tends to retard thought and to restrict individual freedom. The word truth is used by Innis in the second place to mean that which is not accessible to man's reason, that which may not be comprehended but which may only be pursued in the faith that it is. Innis believes that continuous pursuit of truth means continuous thought. It means continuous questioning of truth as it is understood at any point in time. Through questioning man escapes bondage to truth and achieves individual freedom. In order to explicate the two concepts implicit in Innis' use of the word truth the two terms truths and truth will be used in this thesis. Truths will refer to his first concept and truth to his second.

It should perhaps be stressed at this point that Innis does not wholly reject the truths of the modern age or the method of arriving at these truths. He does not reject science or the scientific method of investigation. Indeed, if anything, he tends to see the scientific method as an effective mediation between truths and truth,

i.e. as an effective means of pursuing truth. What Innis is questioning is the absolute faith which man tends to place in any means of investigation and in the truths which flow from that means. His later works emphasize that because man's thinking is, at least in part, an effect of his means of communication all truths must be open to question. Innis states his position in this regard quite clearly at the beginning of Empire and Communications.

> Civilizations can survive only through a concern with their limitations. . . . We shall try to take heed of the warning of John Stuart Mill who believed that, though the sciences' method of investigation was still applicable universally, "it is, when not duly guarded against, an almost irresistible tendency of the human mind to become the slave of its own hypotheses; and when it has once habituated itself to reason, feel, and conceive, under certain arbitrary conditions, at length to mistake these convictions for laws of nature."[1]

The terms space and time will be used, as they are by Innis, in their ordinary sense. Space refers to geographical area. A spatial bias or a spatial monopoly of knowledge refers to a tendency or a state of mind which is primarily on the offensive, which is concerned with extension and progress, and the mastery and control of geographical area. Time refers to duration. Innis refers to two quite different concepts of time. The one common to an oral tradition is cyclical or organic, i.e. time is seen as constantly repeating itself in cycles corresponding to such natural phenomena as the cycles of the moon or the seasons, while the one common to a written tradition, using the phonetic alphabet, is linear, i.e. time is seen to have a beginning

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[1] Harold Innis, Empire and Communications (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 2. Hereinafter this reference will be cited Empire.

and to stretch out in an unbroken line or progression towards an end. A time bias or a time monopoly of knowledge refers to a tendency or state of mind which is primarily on the defensive, which is concerned with preservation and tradition, and the mastery and control of time.

Other common terms used by Innis which require some definition are monopoly of knowledge, the bias of communication, and empire. A monopoly of knowledge refers in a very general sense to "those things to which we attend", to the truths and systems of truths which determine the way people think and act. Innis refers to two basic kinds of monopolies of knowledge. One kind favours space, the other time. That a civilization tends to be influenced by truths of time or of space is reflective of the dominant medium of communication. The dominancy is referred to as the bias of communication. Some media favour space and some favour time. The term empire is used by Innis to mean the large scale control of either space or time. Usually the word is used to refer to the control of space, i.e. political empire, but Innis also uses it to mean control of time, i.e. ecclesiastical empire. These terms receive much fuller treatment later in the Introduction and in the main body of the thesis.

Innis' work divides conveniently into two major stages, which may be designated simply as "early" and "later". These two stages refer to his work before and after the publication of The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy in 1940. This thesis focuses briefly in Chapter One on his thesis regarding the effects of the technique and the technology of transportation in the early stage and

then deals extensively with the effects of the technique and the technology of communication in the later stage. It is his later works on the effects of communications which are particularly relevant to the subject under consideration in this thesis. However, his early works provide background for a full understanding of these later works.

What follows immediately is a brief explanation of what Innis says in his later works and what his works suggest about communication and religion. This is presented here in order to provide an understanding of the perspective taken in this thesis and why a synthesis of Innis' works is important.

In his later works Innis uses the term religion and certainly considers the concept of religion in a much broader sense than is usual. A question that remains a focus of his interest throughout his works is "why do we attend to the things to which we attend". This question was imprinted on his mind as a student at McMaster University by one of his favourite professors, James Ten Broeke. Innis' works indicate that he equates "the things to which we attend" with the truths which monopolize mind in a civilization. We attend to certain things over other things because they have the mantle of truth attached to them. And Innis sees truths as the essence of religious organization. On the basis of his works religion might be defined as the maintenance and defence of truths. Usually religious organization is considered as based on truths relating to time. However, Innis makes it clear that there are opposing truths, those of space, and that they also monopolize mind. He refers to these spatial truths also as religious.

In answer to the question "why do we attend to the things to which we attend", or why do we attend to the truths of time or to the truths of space, Innis' works point out that the reason is in large measure due to the effects of both the mechanized technique and technology of communication. Hence arises the thesis that, based on Innis' works, religion is in some measure an effect of communication.

Empire, as Innis uses the term, refers to the large scale monopoly of the truths of time or space. Empire is seen by him, to a large extent, as religious, whether it is described as sacred or secular, ecclesiastical or political. He understands all large scale organization to be based on "religious" truths and he sees these truths in large measure to be effects of the mechanized technique and technology of communication. It thus becomes necessary in order to understand what Innis is saying in his later works about religion to synthesize and elucidate what he says about empire and communication. The main body of this thesis is preoccupied with this synthesis.

There is, however, another side to Innis' understanding of religion which is not clearly elucidated in his works; namely, his understanding of the essence of religion, what religion really is or should be outside the effects of organization as determined by mechanized technique and technology. Innis' own works indicate that this understanding is closely related to his perception of the effects of oral communication. Here again a synthesis of his works from this perspective is important in order to get at his understanding of oral

communication. On the basis of his works one may perceive the essence of religion to be an effect of oral communication.

Oral communication is a critically important concept in Innis' later works. It has a very special value for him. He sees a creative spiritual effect inherent in oral communication which is not present in any form of mechanized communication.

Innis places great stress on the importance of personal interaction, of mind with mind, emotion with emotion, for the evolution of new ideas, for spiritual breakthrough, for individual freedom from the monopoly of truths characteristic of large scale organization, and for the free pursuit of truth. Oral communication, for Innis, includes the interaction of intellect and emotion through words, gestures, tones, glances, etc. He believes that because it involves all the senses "in busy interplay", because it involves both intellect and emotion, it is singularly reflective of the whole man. It is therefore singularly spiritual. This issue, of course, raises some very deep philosophical and psychological questions. Since Innis does not explain clearly what he means here, and since the questions are too complex to be tackled in this thesis, it is necessary to accept what he says prima facie and attempt to relate it to the question raised at the beginning of the Introduction. Innis does explain that because of the personal contact involved oral communication imposes on the participants an awareness and a consideration for the feelings and the thoughts of others. He believes that growth, i.e. spiritual growth, growth of the whole man, is a result of the synthesis inherent in

this form of communication. Compromise is of the essence of this kind of interaction. Truths, values, sentiments, of the individual and of the community, are constantly changing and being modified. We never tell a story or repeat an act precisely as we heard or saw it. Innis' works illustrate how social and psychological change is able to occur naturally and gradually in this oral milieu. Truths are unconsciously modified by passing through individuals and the social milieu of which they are a part. Also, Innis' works make clear that this kind of milieu allows great opportunity, indeed stimulates the creative spiritual breakthroughs associated with men of great capacity and genius. Innis takes the position that individual freedom is possible only within a social whole which is also free. His works indicate that both religion and philosophy need this freedom which is an effect of oral communication.

For Innis religious organization is the sociological mechanism through which the oral tradition becomes established. In the process of establishing even an oral tradition truths tend to be emphasized over the pursuit of truth. Truths are of the essence of religious organization. They facilitate man's control of time and through this his control of other men. What might be called minute monopolies of knowledge are a feature of oral societies. But they are different in both essence and extent from those of mechanized societies and their effects differ. In an oral tradition having a monopoly of knowledge means knowing something no one else knows. In a written tradition it is understanding something everyone knows. The difference is the emphasis placed on rational understanding, on apology and explanation.

Also, monopolies of knowledge which are effects of mechanized communication are far more efficient in their control of time and/or space. Thus, while we may say that truths have always monopolized mind, that there have always been truths and systems of truths, that man's sin is original, we must say that writing using the phonetic alphabet in particular allowed for the monopolization of mind on a grand scale, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Innis speaks of monopolies of knowledge only in reference to the effects of mechanized communication.

Within an oral environment religious organization is not able to exercise such efficient control of time nor such efficient control of men. Truths are subject to gradual change. Relatively few people are effectively controlled. The tradition is more flexible; it changes as society changes. Feelings and emotions of the people concerned are always an important part of the understanding of truths. Thus the spirit of the individual and of the society is kept alive. For Innis this oral tradition is the creative fount, as it were, from which flows both religion and philosophy. Innis points out that with the phonetic alphabet the oral tradition, with its dynamic truths of time, could be efficiently captured in written form. Truths were fossilized and a far more effective monopoly of knowledge became possible. Efficient, large scale organizations which could monopolize and efficiently communicate truths were the result.

> An alphabet became the basis of political organization through efficient control of territorial space and of religious organization through efficient control over time in the establishment of monotheism. (Empire, p. 66)

Innis' works on communication are studies of the struggle between freedom and slavery, in terms of both society and the individual. In religious terms Innis sees this as a struggle between the concepts of law and prophecy. It is the struggle between written truths and the creative spirituality of oral communication. "It is written . . . but, I say unto you."[2] Innis believes that the continuous pursuit of truth, as opposed to the defence of truths, effects spiritual creativity and personal freedom. The value of continuous questioning, as opposed to defence and apology, is a powerful message in his work. He continually stresses the value of agnosticism. He firmly believes that it is not truths but the pursuit of truth which makes men free and, further, that the pursuit of truth tends to be an effect of oral communication.

Innis' later works indicate that it is monopoly of knowledge, i.e. "religious" truths, which make possible large scale organization. The efficient control of mind, based on the efficient monopoly of truths, is the essence of empire. He understands that the essential component of large scale organization is the efficient exercise of power. Power, in the sense of control over men, depends on the efficient monopoly and communication of truths.

> "The supreme and paramount principle of every corporation that ever existed, whether spiritual or temporal, is to maintain power." (H. T. Buckle). Lord Acton summarizes the view in his memorable sentence: "All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely."[3]

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[2] The complex substantiation warranted by the identification of written truths with law and oral communication with prophecy is not provided by Innis.

[3] It is interesting to note how Innis misquotes Acton here. He leaves out a qualifying word which he himself uses very frequently throughout his works. The actual quote, from the Letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton, 1887, is "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."

Innis' later works imply a conviction that truths corrupt, that absolute truths corrupt absolutely, and that as mechanized communication is the means by which truths are efficiently established and communicated so it is the means to large scale corruption.

Innis' later works explain that while mechanized communication, utilizing any medium, tends to emphasize truths over the pursuit of truth, in response to the dominant medium of communication the truths which monopolize mind in any given civilization will tend to emphasize either time or space. The "things to which we attend" reflect both the technique and the technology of communication.

First, regarding the technique of mechanized communication, Innis believes that how we think is reflective of how we communicate. The truths we attach to reason, to logic, to the scientific method, reflect our dominant means of mechanized communication, i.e. writing and printing. Innis explains that writing, using the phonetic alphabet, gives man an eye for an ear. It emphasizes the visual sense to the relative restriction of the other senses. A rational, linear pattern of thought is imposed. Pure rational thinking is an effect of an eye philology. Reflection and analysis take the place of oral repetition and memory. Innis' works show that the revolutionary effect of the printing press was to give the masses an eye for an ear. Since the time of the invention of the printing press logical, rational truths have achieved dominance in the West.

Innis understands writing to be essentially a product of pure intelligence. It encourages intellectual freedom but tends to restrict

emotional freedom. It thus tends to retard the freedom of development and expression of the large creative spiritual component in man. Truths are defended. The free pursuit of truth is retarded. Truths of the pulpit or of the laboratory restrict freedom and creative thought. Emphasis on the rational, analytical method of thinking leads to faith in the rational method itself and to faith in the truths of this method. Innis sees the weakness and the danger of this imbalance.. Our passions are being repressed and we are building a faith in truths which are just another product of bias. Man is not free, as he thinks he is. Rather, he is dominated and in large measure determined by a method of communication which allows only one side of his personality to find expression. Innis tends to see modern western man as literally sitting on a powderkeg of repressed passion and emotion. Printing determined that mass emotion would be in the service of reason. But in so doing it assured that mass emotion would be in the service of bias. Together with the new medium of paper it destroyed the old time monopoly held by the Church and ushered in the new spatial monopolies in the West. Science and mathematics became the basis of the new "religious" truths of commerce and national politics. Technology grew and prospered.

Innis sees a need to redress this imbalance, to undermine this monopoly, to include the passions in our apprehension of truth. In fact, his works indicate a conviction that truth may not be apprehended at all as long as we are blinded by this imbalance. He sees oral communication as a means to re-establish some balance and

proportion in western society, to allow men to escape the monopoly of rational truths. He points out that since our passions furnish the great part of the premises with which our intellect deals oral communication is the only complete communication process.

Innis' understanding is most complex here and he gives no detailed explanation of it. However, since issues such as the relationship between intellect and emotion, the need for balance and proportion in man and in society, the role of communication in the process of balance and imbalance, are all important in Innis' works they must be dealt with in this thesis. Innis believes strongly in the need for balance and in the communication process which will best facilitate it.

Innis appears to see the rational, linear relationships of the modern West as essentially impersonal in their nature. By virtue of this they tend to escape ethical judgment. Commercial relationships respond primarily to the facts of the market place. Bureaucratic politics respond primarily to the facts, or truths, of social science. In both commerce and national politics the end has become mere efficiency, i.e, means. Ethics and religion have a strong emotional component and do not lend themselves well to the merely factual and rational method of thinking.

Regarding the technology of mechanized communication, Innis' works illustrate that the media tend to determine whether the truths shall emphasize time or space. This theme is comparatively well known to even the casual student of Innis. It is to the effect

that media which are durable and difficult to transport tend to emphasize time, tradition, continuity, defence, and religious organization, whereas media which are light, easily transportable and not so durable tend to emphasize space, extension, progress, offense, and consequently political or commercial organization. Mechanized truths of time produce monopolies of knowledge which are of the essence of large scale religious organization and durable media ensure that these truths will monopolize very long periods. Mechanized truths of space provide the basis for large scale political and economic organization and easily transportable media ensure that these truths will monopolize mind over very extensive geographical areas.

Innis believes that monopolies of knowledge tend to develop and to decline in relation to the dominant medium of communication; that they tend to alternate as they emphasize on the one hand religion, decentralization, and time and on the other hand force, centralization and space. The dominance of one medium tends to result in a bias in the cultural development of the civilization concerned either towards an emphasis on space with large scale political and/or economic organization or towards an emphasis on time with large scale religious organization.

The monopoly of knowledge imposed by the medium of communication to space or to time means that the concepts, sentiments, conventions, values, the "things to which we attend", will tend to

reflect either extension or duration. Though it is the time monopoly which has traditionally been called religion Innis refers to the truths of the spatial monopoly in this same regard. He refers to the "cathedrals of commerce" when speaking about modern skyscrapers and to the "religions of the state" when speaking about communism, fascism and "our way of life". By so doing Innis implies that the traditional "religious" truths of time have been usurped by the modern "religious" truths of space. Innis sees this as an effect of paper and printing. Modern western religion is secular, in the sense of worldly, rather than sacred, in the sense of having a bias to time or really to a state of permanence beyond time.

Innis stresses throughout his works that in order to survive in the long term large scale organization requires a balance, or at least some real competition, between the biases of space and time. When the bias to either space or time becomes a monopoly of knowledge violent conflict tends to break out either from within or without and the civilization is weakened and eventually destroyed. From first to last Innis points to the dangers and the evils of monopolies and to the desirability and the need for balance and competition in both thought and activity.

Innis understands truths to be, in large measure, effects of both the means and the media of mechanized communication. His works stress the bias of communication inherent in all truths. This is the case whether the truths are described as religious or scientific. The message always reflects the means and the medium.

This is a point of view which has never before been developed in such depth or breadth. It has profound significance for the study of religion in the West.

The work of the later Innis is a difficult and often confusing body of work with which to deal. It reflects less and less the traditional picture of the detached "objective" social scientist and more a man with a mission. This may be seen as a religious mission which flowed directly from his understanding of the effects of mechanized communication upon individual freedom and spiritual creativity. Innis saw clearly and feared deeply that the modern "religious" truths of national politics have a potential for monopoly of mind the like of which has never before been possible. He wrote his massive history of civilizations from the point of view of the effects of communication in order to stress the present dangers from the awful assault of mass mechanized communication. Innis' later works may be viewed as an attempt to free man from "religious" truths in order that he may be truly religious. It was because he felt such a pressing need to expose the immanent dangers of our modern truths, dangers by the way to both our physical and spiritual survival, that he left the shelter of scholarly objectivity and engaged in what amount at times to a polemic against the western monopolies of knowledge. Innis saw that modern secular religions are idolatrous because they worship the products of man's own hand and that they are blatantly false because they are mere effects of these products. He understood that they are particularly dangerous because of their

total destructive potential in terms of war technologies and also because of the total pervasiveness of modern mass communications.

As Innis turned from the study of transportation and northern North America to the study of communication in the West he turned from primary to secondary sources. This may be understood as a practical move dictated by the immanent need and the relative lack of time which he had to respond to the need. He felt that he had to deal with the concept of monopoly as an effect of communication because this kind of study had been relatively overlooked. He believed it was an important perspective to bring to the study of history and that it ought to be brought to a comprehensive study of the history of the West. Time simply would not permit specific, in depth, studies of each civilization with which he wanted to deal. And yet in order to give a broad perspective to the effects of communication he had to deal with them. So he contented himself with secondary sources. Of course the secondary sources were most eminent and respected.

Innis is not proposing a thesis which should be read as any sort of absolute truth regarding cause in the historical process. He is very careful to stress that he is concerned primarily with raising questions, not with providing answers. He is not attempting to give comprehensive explanations regarding causes. His work must not be read as a deterministic thesis. Rather, it ought to be read as an attempt to raise questions about causes and about truths, to view the

question of "why we attend to the things to which we attend" from a new perspective. He would have wanted his works to stimulate the pursuit of truth, never to be used or studied as a source of truths.

However, Innis, like Graham Wallas, whose works Innis read and admired, and, indeed, like Plato, realized that while oral communication is vitally important in the pursuit of truth, it is inadequate as a means of communicating it. He, therefore, like Plato and Wallas, had to use the means of mechanized communication at hand. And he is very much aware of the dangers in doing so.

> It is suggested that all written works, including this one, have dangerous implications to the vitality of an oral tradition and to the health of a civilization, particularly if they thwart the interest of a people in culture. (Empire, Preface)

Innis' style in his later works may be described as oral and apocraphal. His style, and his language, are utterly his own. Both are idiosyncratic. Because of his hostility to the truths of the social sciences in particular he attempted to escape, through style and language, the effects of the means and the medium he was forced to use. He attempted to escape the fate of founders by adopting an oral style for his written works.

Innis' later works are in large portion written records of papers presented orally at different times and places. In many of them he deals with essentially the same subject matter. However, each one, from the shortest to the longest, is different. The same basic ground is considered from different points of view and each paper presents different lines of inquiry and questioning.

This is essentially what happens in oral communication. Each time a thesis is presented the point of view and some of the details change. It tends to reflect the audience to which it is presented. Rather than truths preserved and repeated exactly we tend to get different views or paths to truth. The result is further thought and more questions.

Innis' later works are written in an indirect, unclear, guarded style which may be described as apocryphal. He tends not to say things directly, not to meet the issues which he himself raises clearly and directly, not to make direct statements about the relations between communication and religion for example. However, by his indirect style he manages to cast new light on the issues with which he deals from a variety of angles as it were and raises a multitude of questions in the mind of the reader. His style makes it very difficult of course to synthesize out of his work a clear Innisian thesis, particularly a clear thesis about religion. One simply has to extrapolate on the basis of what he says and suggest what he means. His style does tend to protect him from becoming the founder of a school. It is very difficult to find statements in Innis' works which can be set up as truths. Even in dealing with the central message of his later works, that how we communicate effects what we communicate, he always uses such qualifying words as "tends". This word and phrases like "in large measure" pepper his works. They act as safety valves to dissipate the build up of truths.

Innis wrote in such a guarded and hidden style at least in part for very practical reasons. He occupied a position of some responsibility

and prestige at the University of Toronto, and his increasingly critical, even hostile, attitude towards the major holders of power in North America would have made it difficult for him to continue in this position. Innis was an eminently sensible and practical man. He believed that "the first duty of a social scientist is to escape martyrdom",[4] and he himself had "no preference for martyrdom".[5] This is somewhat reminiscent of one of Mackenzie King's more practical comments to the effect that the first duty of a politician is to get elected, although Innis would not have cared to be compared with King. Innis' position in this regard is elucidated in an article on "The Church in Canada" written in 1947 for the Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada. Innis says that "the problem of the Church is the problem of Western civilization and for that reason is all the more dangerous to discuss". He goes on to say,

> I am reluctant to make speeches in public for various reasons. . . . The Department of Political Economy if I may judge from personal experience, is under constant surveillance by a wide range of individuals. If in the course of an article I make a reference to a large government department or a large business organization, I will receive in an incredibly short time after the article has been published a personal letter, possibly directly from the public relations officer of the organization, explaining that my remarks are liable to misinterpretation and inferring that the head of such an influential department in a large university should be very careful about the way in which his views are expressed. I plan to leave my estate a valuable collection of autographs of prominent men in this country. For these reasons I am largely compelled to avoid making speeches in public and to resort the careful preparation of material to be made available in print. In most cases this involves

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[4] Geographical Review, Vol. 35, 1945, p. 311; and Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. I, 1935, p. 283.

[5] American Economic Review, Vol. 41, 1951, p. 208.

> writing in such a guarded fashion that no one can understand what is written or using quotations from the writings of authors who stand in great repute. . . . I am unhappily too aware of the fact that I am the first Canadian to be appointed to the position which I have the honour to hold.[6]

An additional difficulty in dealing with Innis' later works, besides his complex style, is the vast general knowledge he exhibits. He deals with the entire history of the West and says a great deal about the effects of communication in relation to much of it. For this reason, and others, there will be no attempt to mount a critique of Innis' work in this thesis. There will be no attempt to assess whether Innis is accurate or not in his analysis of history, whether his focus on the effects of communication on the historical process and on man's understanding within this process is adequate or correct, whether his sources are adequate or whether he interprets them correctly.

In point of fact an attempt to analyze or criticize Innis' later works from a specialist or particular point of view could mean that the critic would miss the point of Innis' works. Innis was interested in viewing civilizations from a new perspective and in raising questions from this perspective. Innis himself was an excellent and devastating critic in his early period. He would have fully realized that he was open to the criticism of specialists in his later works. However, it was at least in part his very concern about the trend to specialization, particularly in the universities, which led him to emphasize the general point of view in his works. He saw

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6 Essays in Canadian Economic History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), pp. 386-387.

the trend to specialization in the West as supporting new truths and new religions based on these new truths. He believed that these new truths must be questioned and undermined. This is the role of the generalist, the role of the philosopher, the role of the social scientist, as he saw it. His point of view in this regard in his later period might almost be described as criticize and be damned. For Innis the critic is the specialist, and the specialist tends to be concerned with truths; with facts, so much so that he is monopolized by them. This is the case whether the truths be those of the pulpit or of the laboratory. Because of this the specialist cannot freely pursue truth. Instead he worships the product of his own mind and is damned because of his idolatry.

It is absolutely essential, in order to begin to understand Innis' later works, to examine what he says on its own terms. This is what is done in this thesis. On the basis of what Innis says conclusions are drawn regarding the effects of communication upon religion.

In conclusion, what follows is an outline of the general form of Innis' works as they are viewed for the purposes of this thesis and an outline of the form which this thesis itself will follow. As mentioned earlier, there is an early and a later stage in Innis' works. The break came about 1940 with the publication of the Cod Fisheries. There was, of course, no sudden or dramatic shift. Rather, there was a gradual change in focus, which occurred during the 1930's from transportation to communication and from external monopolies to

internal monopolies of knowledge. Innis' interest in individual freedom and monopoly and the influence of mechanization in forcing development toward monopoly is a theme which is clearly identifiable in his works from first to last. Because this thesis proposes that, according to Innis' later works, "religious" truths are, at least in part, effects of mechanized communication, and because Innis' insight and understanding of the role of mechanization in the evolution of monopolies may be seen to have grown out of his early works, a brief synthesis of his early works is necessary for an understanding of his works as a whole.

In his early period Innis shows how technique and technology, particularly in relation to transportation, effected the development of economic and political monopolies in the history of Canada. Canadian history is viewed in terms of the evolution of spatial monopolies of commerce and national politics and the struggle for commercial and political freedom. In his later period he shows how technique and technology, primarily in relation to communication, has effected the development of monopolies in the long history of the West. The history of the West is viewed in terms of the evolution of monopolies of knowledge and the struggle for individual spiritual freedom. The breadth and depth of his later works is greater than his earlier works. But his interest is similar and there is certainly continuity throughout. Innis' early works may be seen as reflecting Thorstein Veblen's thesis that habits of thought are the outcome of habits of life, specifically habits of work. His later

works focus on habits of mind as he develops the thesis that habits of work and habits of mind are in large measure the outcome of habits of communication.

This thesis will explain how Innis sees mechanized technique and technology of communication influencing the development of monopolies of knowledge. In his elucidation of this process Innis includes the idea of communication as transportation. His early works provided him with an understanding of this process. In the preface to The Bias of Communication[7] Innis points out that he may have placed undue emphasis on the theory of monopoly. However, he justifies himself by saying that this subject has been all but ignored.

The main focus of interest in this thesis will centre on the works of the later Innis. During the last decade or so of his life he attempted to analyze the effects of communication on large scale organization of both time and space. He attempted to explain the relationship between the technique and the technology of communication and the character of knowledge, and to show how the dominant medium tends to build up a monopoly or oligopoly of knowledge, how equilibrium is disturbed, violent reaction elicited often resulting in the overthrow of the monopoly or oligopoly, and how a new monopoly is built up on the basis of a new medium. Innis' general overview of past civilizations was undertaken with an eye to a deeper

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[7] Harold Innis, The Bias of Communication (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), p. ix. Hereinafter this reference will be cited Bias.

understanding of our own.

In The Bias of Communication Innis refers to a point of view expressed by James Bryce that in history we can see the working of centrifugal and centripetal forces. The Roman Empire was more centralized than any before. Following this period the centrifugal forces were stronger. However, from about the thirteenth century onward the movement has been toward more and more centralized control. Innis' view of history agrees substantially with this view expressed by Bryce. Innis outlines the influence of communication on these centrifugal and centripetal movements. For example, his works examine the influence of papyrus on the Roman Empire, the influence of parchment on the decentralized ecclesiastical empire of the middle ages, and the influence of paper on the centralizing tendencies of the last six centuries.

In general, Innis divides the history of the West into the writing and the printing periods. In the writing period he discusses the effects of writing itself as well as the various media such as stone, clay, apayrus, and parchment. In the printing period he discusses the effects of printing, using paper as a medium, from the early period of the hand operated presses to the use of machinery in the manufacture of paper and in printing in the modern age. He also touches on the effects of electronic communication, particularly the telegraph and the radio. It was his awareness of the unprecedented power of modern mechanized mass communication in support of centralization and the monopolies of knowledge of space that prompted his concentration

on this study during this later period.

The form of this thesis will be as follows:

Chapter One will briefly synthesize the works of the early Innis from the standpoint of the effects of the technique and the technology of transportation on the economic, political and social history of Canada. Chapter Two will begin the synthesis of Innis' later works. Chapters Two through Eight will follow somewhat the same format adopted by Innis in Empire and Communication. This is done for the sake of clarity and convenience. Chapter Two concentrates on the pre-alphabet civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. Innis' work on these early civilizations is important because in addition to giving us an understanding of the rather different effects of the technique and technology of communication in the building and maintaining of truths in a pre-alphabet culture it also offers an explanation of the effects of geography, which is a determining influence never overlooked by Innis in either his early or later periods.

Chapter Three begins to describe the development and the effects of the phonetic alphabet. It synthesizes what Innis says about the effects of writing as compared to the effects of oral communication on Hebrew society, but particularly on Hebrew religion. It is central to an understanding of the difference between religious organization and religion. This chapter explains how Innis sees this as the difference between law and prophecy, as the difference between mechanized and oral communication. This chapter also explains

how Innis understands the concept of monotheism, and linear progression of time, to be effects of writing with the phonetic alphabet.

Chapter Three goes on to explain the effects of the phonetic alphabet in the commercial evolution of Phoenicia. This rather brief section on Phoenicia is included here because it serves as a good example of the early development of the spatial bias of commerce as an effect of writing and papyrus. Spatial truths of commerce and politics grew and developed together as an effect of writing and papyrus as they did much later in a far more complete way as an effect of printing and paper. Familiarity with the effects of communication on this early commercial civilization adds to an understanding of modern effects.

Chapter Four examines what Innis says about the contrasting effects of oral and mechanized communication in ancient Greece and Rome. It also includes a short section on the Alexandrian Empire. This is a particularly important chapter for an understanding of Innis' admiration for the Greeks and for the oral tradition. Innis believes that the Greek influence is particularly valuable for the West because the oral tradition with its continuous pursuit of truth, exemplified in Greek culture, undermines all kinds of "religious" truths. This chapter provides important background for what is said later in the thesis about the effects of communication on modern secular religion.

The section on the Alexandrian Empire provides an understanding of the influence of writing and papyrus in building and maintaining

competing truths of space. These truths were in competition and the empire did not long survive. The message for the present age is implicit. The Alexandrian Empire soon gave way to superior force and the spatial monopoly of Rome.

The chapter goes on to examine the development of Roman civilization from an oral to a written tradition and Innis' comparison of this development and its effects with that of Greece. Innis' perspective on the Roman Empire is important for an understanding of his perspective on the American Empire. He believes that the "religious" truths which motivated the Roman Empire are similar to those which motivate America. Both are spatial in nature and reflect the dominant medium of communication. This chapter also stresses the unchanging nature of written truths in the form of laws and the importance of Roman law in the history of the West.

Chapter Five synthesizes Innis' thesis regarding the effects of oral and written communication on the origins of Christianity and on the evolution of the Christian religion into the middle ages. It explains how Christianity, like Judaism, Greek philosophy, and Roman law emerged from the creativity of an oral milieu and how large scale organization of the Christian religion was an effect of both the mechanized technique and the technology of communication. It becomes clear here, as elsewhere, that the message changed in the process.

Chapter Six synthesizes what Innis has to say about the new

revolutionary medium and means of mechanized communication which ushered in the spatial monopoly of knowledge in the West. It deals with paper, printing, and the Reformation. It explains how Innis sees the old monopoly of religious organization with its truths of time based on writing and parchment give way to new monopolies of commercial and national political organization with truths of space based on paper and printing. The new truths reflected man's faith in his ability to reason. They were those of science and mathematics. From Innis' works this can be seen as perhaps the most important pivotal period in the history of the West. New truths took the place of the old ones. New religions emerged to monopolize the mind of man. It is these new truths, seen by Innis to be effects of mechanized communication, against which he is reacting throughout all his later works. This chapter goes on to examine the effects of the introduction of printing to England. It elucidates Innis' thesis regarding the effects of the rich oral tradition in England for the development of common law, parliament, democracy, and individual freedom.

Chapter Seven is an elucidation of the development of the spatial monopoly of knowledge in the post Reformation period. Emphasis is placed on the effects of mechanized communication on Great Britain, the United States and Canada. This chapter elucidates in particular the role of mechanized communication in the development and establishment of new "religious" truths in the emerging American republic. Innis' thesis regarding the effects of printing in the

development of truths and the importance of the oral tradition in effecting balance and proportion as in England is explained.

Chapter Eight concentrates more on the modern period as the products of the industrial revolution were brought to bear on the burgeoning communication industry. This chapter illustrates how Innis sees modern mechanized communication facilitating a monopoly of religious truths the like of which has never been known before. This is shown to be particularly true of the United States, but also of Commonwealth countries such as Canada.

This chapter synthesizes Innis' thesis regarding the ways in which the new spatial truths of commerce and national politics have destroyed the old truths of time which the Church had formerly been able to hold somewhat independent and firm. Before industrialization amplified the power of printing the Church, with its bias to time, had been able to give at least some balance and proportion to western civilization but now Innis believes that balance has been all but completely destroyed. He points to the value of French culture to Canada because it still includes this all important independent bias. He stresses the need for culture, i.e. balance and proportion, in North America and the difficulty in achieving this in the face of modern mechanized mass communication. He reaffirms the value of the Greek tradition and his belief that oral communication can help to undermine the new religions.

But this chapter makes it quite clear that Innis is pessimistic about the West in general and Canada in particular being able to

resist the overwhelming monopoly of the new truths, which he sees as emanating principally from the United States on the wings of mechanized mass communications. Innis sees with a sense of dread that with the passing of the old truths of time, the old "religious" truths, the stabilizing influence in the West is passing to nationalism and autarchy. And he warns of the trend toward totalitarianism as the "religious" truths of national politics grow more omnipotent and omnipresent. He emphasizes the importance of the university in preserving and strengthening the oral tradition.

Innis' later works tell us a great deal about the relationship between communication and religion. But all of these works have to be analyzed and synthesized on their own terms before one can have any hope of understanding what he is saying, and certainly before conclusions may be drawn about what he means by what he is saying. All of these chapters, from two through eight, are designed to provide such an analysis and synthesis.

Chapter Nine is the conclusion of the thesis. Here the significance of Innis' works for the study of religion and modern western society will be elucidated and summarized.

An Appendix is added which deals with possible relationships between the later works of Innis and a major work by his friend and colleague Charles Norris Cochrane. Besides suggesting a somewhat deeper meaning to Innis' works than is usually ascribed to them, it provides an added explanation for an important proposition of this thesis, that on the basis of Innis' later works oral communication may be seen to be of the essence of religion in the West.

## CHAPTER I

## INNIS' EARLY STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF MECHANIZED TECHNIQUE AND TECHNOLOGY

In his early works, up to and including The Cod Fisheries in 1940, Harold Innis emphasizes the effects of mechanized technique and technology, particularly in relation to transportation but also of communication, on the economic and political history of northern North America. He sees this mechanization as an important causal factor in what he later describes as the "spatial monopolies" characteristic of the West. These are monopolies of geographical area in the interest of commerce and national politics, and his early works deal with their growth and development in the area which became Canada. These early works provided him with an understanding of monopoly as an effect of mechanization which he carried through his later works. In his later works he focuses his interest more on communication and on the monopolies of knowledge which he says are in large measure effects of mechanized communication, but it is important to keep in mind that prior to electricity efficiency of communication was tied closely to efficiency of transportation.

In his early works, as elsewhere, Innis indicates his awareness of a wide variety of determining factors which have exerted influence on social, political and economic evolution. While he emphasizes mechanized technique and technology he is not proposing any simple technological determinism.

> The spread of civilization in North America has been largely determined in its nature and extent by the character and number of the population, by the institutional equipment of the European settlers, by the advancement in the industrial arts known to them, by the cultural background of the native peoples of North America, and also by such inter-related geographic circumstances as climatic conditions, geological formations, topographical and physical features, and flora and fauna.[8]

Innis refers to the influence of the waterways on the development of Canada as well as to the effects of the vast pre-Cambrian rock. He says that an understanding of the main features of the geographic background of an area is essential to an appreciation of the main trends of economic development.[9]

In explaining the importance of geographical factors to the development of northern North America Innis says that the character of the water routes, by allowing deep penetration to the interior of the continent, encouraged rapid exploitation for immediate profit and determined to a large extent the development of Canada as a producer of staple products for the centres of empires.[10]

> Cheap water transportation favoured the rapid exploitation of staples and dependence on more highly industrialized countries for finished products. (Problems of Staple Production, p. 14.)

This kind of economic development meant that changes in mechanized technique and technology, particularly of transportation, were of crucial importance. (Problems of Staple Production, p. 6.)

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[8] Harold Innis, Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933), p. xxix. Hereinafter this reference will be cited Select Documents.

[9] Harold Innis, "An Introduction to the Economic History of Ontario from Outpost to Empire", Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XXX, 1934.

[10] Harold Innis, Problems of Staple Production in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933), pp. 6-14; Select Documents, p. xxxii.

Throughout his early works Innis points to a complex interaction of cause and effect between geography, pecuniary motivation, and mechanized means. But he does emphasize mechanized means, especially of transportation, and communication. He makes it clear that while geography is an important determining factor its limitations can be, and often are, overcome. Mechanization can offset the effects of geography.[11]

> This conclusion that "natural resources, climate and accessibility form the background of history" makes no allowance for such all-important desiderata as the state of the industrial arts.[12]

In discussing the fur trade Innis stresses that while geography, in this case the availability of water routes, made possible the efficient exploitation of furs, and thereby acted as an important determining element in the development of northern North America, it was the efficiency of technique and technology that decided which routes would be used and which companies, and countries, would win out in the economic and political struggle for space. (Problems of Staple Production, pp. 5-6.)

> But the effects of geography may be offset by technology. Geography provides the grooves which determine the course and to a large extent the character of economic life. . . . Geography has been effective in determining the grooves of economic life through its effects on transportation and communication. . . . The emergence of a complex industrial and trading structure centring about the coal areas of the Anglo Saxon world assumed not only improvements

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[11] "On the Economic Significance of Culture", Journal of Economic History, 1944, Vol. IV, pp. 80-97; Problems of Staple Production, pp. 5-6.

[12] Canadian Historical Review, Vol. VI, 1925, pp. 175-178, Review: North America, An Historical, Economic, and Regional Geography, by L. Rodwell Jones and P. W. Bryan.

in transportation but also in communication.[13]

In his first major work, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway[14], Innis points to the importance of pecuniary motivation in the discovery and development of North America. (CPR, p. 3) The pecuniary motivation was of course complemented by nationalistic motivation. The spatial monopolies of commerce and national politics developed together. Profit and military power went hand in hand. The commercial monopolies of the fur trade, for example, were vigorously defended by force of arms.[15]

As Innis explains the evolution of northern North America through a series of commercial and political monopolies of space he shows that both the monopolies themselves and the conflicts which resulted from them were, in large measure, effects of the mechanized technique and technology of transportation. He sees the evolution of both capitalism and nationalism in the light of mechanized transportation.

> "Peculiarly basic (to the growth of nationalism) has been the development of large scale machine industry, with the impetus it has afforded to the growth of middle class and proletariat, to the improvement of means of transportation and communication and to the rivalry of peoples for economic advantage. In the main nationalism has flourished most abundantly in national states which have been most industrialized and the advent of the industrial revolution among "oppressed" nationalities has been the most potent factor in arousing their national consciousness and in enabling them to create national states of their own. . . .

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[13] Political Economy in the Modern State (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1946), pp. 87-89.

[14] A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (London: P. S. King and Son, 1923; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.; published in 1971 by University of Toronto Press).

[15] The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History. (New Haven: Yale University Press. Published in 1970 by University of Toronto Press.), p. 126.

> For while industrialization favours commercial intercourse between peoples, it is even more conducive to commercial intercourse within each nation. It is easier and more natural to do business with persons who speak and read one's own language than with others."[16]

As he develops his staple thesis of Canadian economic history Innis explains how the high costs incidental to the efficient exploitation and transportation of furs and other staple products forced economic and political development in Canada in the direction of monopoly control.

> Long voyages to the important land areas, increasingly heavy expenses with penetration to the interior, and increasingly long upstream voyages with supplies, and the length of time involved in the transport of supplies and furs in the interior, necessitated heavy investment of capital, control by joint stock companies, cut-throat competition, and its natural sequence, monopoly. (Fur Trade of Canada, p. 126)

Technological progress made free competition impossible and forced monopoly control. Improved technique and technology resulted in more efficient exploitation for short term profit. This resulted in depletion and the consequent necessity for conservation in the interest of long term profit. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 48) Innis makes the same point in reference to the forest industries.[17]

Eventually the commercial monopolies proved inadequate and a long term political monopoly was required. Industrial capitalism gave way to state capitalism and Confederation. Innis tends to see Confederation as an effective credit institution which allowed for

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[16] "Economic Nationalism", Papers and Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association for 1934, Vol. VI, p. 17.

[17] "Forest Industries in Canada", Pacific Affairs, Sept., 1929, pp. 551-2.

long term credit to be arranged in order to pay for the heavy costs incidental to east-west transportation.[18]

> Confederation as a credit institution was largely a result of the demand for long-term securities to finance improvements in transportation in relation to the St. Lawrence drainage basin. It was further an accumulation of debt which followed the devastating effects of industrialism in isolated areas. (Problems of Staple Production, pp. 21-22.)

Innis' works on the fur trade clearly elucidate the evolution of monopoly as an effect of transportation in northern North America. The monopoly model which he pursues in his later works is clearly formulated in his mind at this relatively early stage. He says that with the establishment of a colony at Quebec in 1608 by Champlain the fur trade and settlement became permanent in Eastern Canada. Expansion brought competition and conflict. (CPR pp. 56-60) Mechanized technique and technology favoured England in overcoming the French influence. Innis explains that the French position in North America became untenable in large measure because of the cost of transportation incidental to their monopoly position on the St. Lawrence, the competition from north and south, and the consequent necessity of pushing even further west in search of better furs. The enormous cost of defence added to the overhead costs related to transportation and the superior and cheaper trade good from Britain undercut the French monopoly with the Indians. The French, strung out along the St. Lawrence, were caught in the middle between commercial competition and military conflict with the English

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[18] Problems of Staple Production, pp. 21-23; "Discussion in the Social Sciences", Dalhousie Review, Vol. 15, 1936, p. 410.

on Hudson Bay and the Iroquois south of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. (CPR, pp. 56-61; Select Documents, 1497-1783, pp. 273 and 347; Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 38-85 and 177-179.)

> With the Treaty of Utrecht, the title to the Hudson Bay region was confirmed to the English, and competition from the north became more serious. Competition from the English colonies on the Atlantic coast also became more effective, due to the efficiency of English industry which produced cheaper manufactured goods and to the growth of a trading organization. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, p. 347.)

> Several factors were responsible for the contrast between the economic development of the French and English periods. The wide range of the English market for various commodities and the aggressiveness of the English merchants, who depended in part on the efficiency of English manufacturers, counted for much. The shock of new methods and the greater ease with which knowledge was disseminated especially with the marked improvement in communications to the south did much to favour increased production. Improved communications (meaning transportation as well) gave a sound basis for credit and made for greater elasticity in business. . . . The influence of the British merchant classes on the government was an important factor. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, p. 431.)

> Inflation (because of the cost of transportation), decline in the price of furs (because of the cheaper quality of southern furs), and the cheaper goods of the English made competition more serious and military ventures more necessary. From the vicious circle of the fur trade the colony had no escape. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 82.)

> Monopoly profits stimulated competition from the Iroquois and necessitated further outlays in military expenditures. The vicious circle continued since heavier outlays required additional revenue and further competition. The dependence of the governing authorities on the fur trade for revenue gave the trade a crucial importance. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 38.)

> Great distances to be covered rendered the trade more expensive. Military organization played a more important part and became more expensive. . . . The French power in New France collapsed of its own weight. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 113.)

Innis sees the costs of the French trading organization contributing directly to the disappearance of French influence with the Treaty of Paris in 1763. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, p. 431). These costs were in large measure an effect of transportation. The English, particularly the Hudson's Bay Company, by virtue of their position on Hudson Bay, were able to utilize cheap water transportation to the middle of the continent. This was also an important advantage later in the struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. (Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 143 and 166-179.)

> The conquest of New France was largely the result of the efficiency of English manufactures combined with the control of shorter routes to the interior from New York and Hudson Bay. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 166)

The British Empire is seen to be an extended marketing organization with a dynamic industrial and technological centre and an efficient system of water transportation. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.) Profit and military power grew together.

> The increasing control of Great Britain was the result of naval supremacy and of the efficient manufacture of goods suitable to trade and to fishing. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, p. 2.)

The drive for expansion and for monopoly control of space in North America continued, of course, after the English victory and was accompanied by conflict between white man and Indian and between white men. (CPR, p. 61.)

In his discussion of the development of the Hudson's Bay Company, its competition and conflict with the North West Company,

the resulting merger, and the consequent monopoly of a large area of northern North America, Innis stresses the role played by mechanized technique and technology, particularly of transportation and communication. The Hudson's Bay Company, particularly from 1821 to 1869, serves as an excellent example of a monopoly of space centrally controlled. While there was constant competitive pressures on the fringes of the monopolized area, as transportation and communication improved so did the efficiency of centralized control. (Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 287-360.) Within the monopolized area there was little opportunity for independent commercial activity.

In general, Innis' study of the fur trade in Canada focuses on the organization and development of the trade as an effect of transportation. And he clearly illustrates how the pattern of the fur trade became the pattern for the development of Canada. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 262.) Canada's development has been a part of the general spread of industrialism and capitalism in the West. State capitalism was a logical extension of the monopoly pattern characteristic of the fur trade. Government support was essential for Canada to move into the industrial age represented by the railways and steam navigation. (Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 390-401; Problems of Staple Production, pp. 16-23.) The critical importance of transportation and communication in the evolution of Canada may be seen most clearly perhaps in an essay called "Transportation as a Factor in Canadian Economic History". This essay was first published in 1931 in the Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association. It was

included in the book Problems of Staple Production in Canada published in 1933 and reproduced again in Essays in Canadian Economic History published in 1956.

In his early works Innis uses Canada as a laboratory for the study of the latest and most serious effects of mechanized technique and technology.

> In a new country marginal to western civilization the development of technique in the exploitation of natural resources is of primary importance. (Select Documents, 1497-1783, p. xxxi.)

He sees Canada as an ideal laboratory for this study because it has been industrialized relatively recently and industrialization in the West has tended to become cumulative. The United States developed more rapidly than Great Britain and Canada has developed more rapidly than the United States. Taking a cue from Thorstein Veblen he explains how Canada has benefited from the advantage of borrowing techniques from older industrialized countries. He uses the industrialization of the Canadian west in the production of wheat as well as the gold rushes on the west coast as specific examples of the advantages of borrowing and of the cumulative effects of mechanized technique and technology.[19]

Innis insists that the economic and political history of Canada cannot be understood without an understanding of the history of transportation. He takes the position, a position he maintains in his later works, that transportation and communication leads the

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[19] "Industrialism and Settlement in Western Canada", Report of Proceedings of the International Geographical Congress, Vol. 18, 1930, pp. 370-373; Problems of Staple Production, pp. 90-97; Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. IX (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), Part II, "Settlement of the Mining Frontier", pp. 176, 257, 313, 397.

way in the development of mechanized technique and technology. (Problems of Staple Production, p. 20.) The economic history of Canada is divided into that period dominated by water transportation and that dominated by land transportation.[20] He points to the middle of the nineteenth century as a rough dividing line to indicate the beginning of steam navigation and the railways. The economy changed from one based on wood and water to one based on iron and steam. This introduction on a large scale of the products of the Industrial Revolution into North America was revolutionary in its effects.[21]

In his early works on the fur trade Innis shows a keen interest in the psychological differences between children of a mechanized culture and those of a more traditional or, a term that he uses later, "oral" culture. In reference to the differences between the white man and the Indian he says,

> Indian trappers, although regarded as more skilled in trapping are not as systematic in setting traps as the white man. The pecuniary return has a more powerful influence on the white man. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 93.)

In The Fur Trade in Canada Innis emphasizes the cultural disturbance in North America incidental to the introduction of European technique and technology in pursuit of profit in the fur trade. Very early the traders found that the best skins came from the northern areas of the Canadian shield. A further advantage was that the

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[20] "The Teaching of Economic History in Canada", Essays in Canadian Economic History, p. 12.

[21] Select Documents, Vol. II, Introduction; The History of Transportation in Canada, Introduction, by G. P. de T. Glazebrook; Essays in Canadian Economic History, p. 228; "Unused Capacity as a Factor in Canadian Economic History", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. II, 1936, p. 146; Problems of Staple Production, pp. 8-11.

Indians in this area had developed techniques for trapping, transporting and treating the skins. The introduction of European goods in trade for skins gave the Indians of this area a distinct advantage over the more southerly tribes. With the introduction of guns, for example, they were able to make war more effectively on the agricultural Indians of the St. Lawrence valley. Innis suggests that this major disturbance and upheaval in the St. Lawrence valley, which resulted in a long and bloody aftermath of Indian wars, was a direct effect of the introduction of mechanized technique and technology from a pecuniary motivation. It was a case of mechanization being imposed on a traditional oral culture. (Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 12-21, 82-83, 387-389; Select Documents, 1497-1783, pp. 269-272.)

> The fur trade was the line of contact between a relatively complex civilization and a much more simple civilization. The complex European culture had reached a stage industrially in which technological equipment essential to specialized production had been accumulated. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 15.)

As the fur trade developed the Indians became more and more dependent on European goods. Innis says that the effects of the introduction of products made of iron into a culture which had depended on bone, wood, bark and stone is difficult to appreciate. The Indian tribes scrambled to get the variety of products provided by European technology. The character of the fur trade was such that it constantly pushed into new territory. This spread the need and the desire for the new technology and created more serious spatial

problems among the Indians. Since one of the technological innovations from Europe was guns and gunpowder the results were disastrous. (Fur Trade in Canada, pp. 12-53, 82-83; Select Documents, 1497-1783, pp. 269-272.)

> The persistent and increasing demand for European commodities led to the more rapid extermination of the beaver, to increased hostilities, especially between Indian middlemen such as the Iroquois and the Hurons, to the westward flight of the Indians, to the spread of new cultural traits, and to a further expansion of the trade. This pressure of tribes on the territory of the Indians to the interior was an additional and important cause of renewed Indian wars and destruction. Wars between tribes, which with bows and arrows had not been strenuous, conducted with guns was disastrous. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 20.)

Innis' history of the fur trade in Canada clearly explains the effects of mechanization on a traditional "oral" culture. The overall effect was destruction of the balance which had existed in the old culture. It becomes more clear in his later works that this was a balance between time and space.

> The new technology with its radical innovations brought about such a rapid shift in the prevailing Indian culture as to lead to wholesale destruction of the peoples concerned by warfare and disease. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 388.)

Any and every device which was effective in promoting trade in furs was considered legitimate. Wars between tribes, between Indians and Europeans, and between Europeans were carried out to the end of profit and monopoly of space. The Christian religion was utilized to this same end.

> Missionaries were advised to encourage the Indians to leave their children for the winter in order to ensure the return of the parents the following summer, and

> religious activities were regarded as important aids in the promotion of the trade. The Jesuit Relations of 1642 noted that "in order that this new vine may bear good fruit, a House should be erected at Tadoussac, to which two Fathers of the Society would go down in the Spring, and return only in the Autumn. . . . the more distant tribes will come in from all sides to receive instruction, and, by the same means, to trade with the French". (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 29.)

In the same context Innis quotes from a letter written by Champlain in 1615.

> "Whereupon I perceived that it was very necessary to assist (the Hurons to make war with the Iroquois), not only to make them love us more, but also to pave the way for my undertakings and discoveries which, to all appearances, could not be accomplished except by their help; and also because this would be to them a first step and preparation to coming into Christianity." (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 31.)

In these early works Innis also points to significant differences in psychological orientation between English and French. He indicates that the English were more the product of mechanized technique and technology. (Fur Trade in Canada, p. 391.) They reflected, much more than the French, a spatial bias. French culture always contained what Innis later refers to as a time bias. This served to temper their drive for expansion and for profit. It meant that they lost out to the English in the competition for monopoly of space. Innis tends to see the continuing difficulties between the English and French in Canada as being, in large measure, a reflection of this basic difference in psychological orientation. The "things to which they attend" tend to be fundamentally different.[22]

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[22] "Contributions of the French in Canada", The New Outlook, July 4, 1934.

Innis explains that feudalism played an important role in the development of French Canada, as did the Church. Quebec tended to be hierarchical, feudalistic and Church centred. English Canada, in contrast, was more oriented to individual enterprise, expansion, technological innovation, profit and progress. The United Empire Loyalists were the same type of aggressive, enterprising people as the New England colonists. The more communcal solidarity of the old regime in Quebec remained at variance with the aggressive individualism of the people of Upper Canada. English Canada was a boiling pot of pecuniary and political activity. (CPR, pp. 287-290.)

Innis sees Canada in the light of this peculiar, and uneven, mixture of the English and French influences. It is peculiar in the sense that because of the continuing French influence Canada retains a time constituent, something which the United States, for example, is lacking. Innis values this time constituent in the culture of this country, for reasons which become more apparent as his work progresses, and he wants it conserved and protected.

In an article published in The New Outlook in 1934 Innis refers to the combination of French culture and British-American economic organization as the peculiar heritage of Canada.[23] By imposing his later terminology on this article it may be said that he sees Canada inheriting a spatial bias from Britain and the United States and a time bias from France. The time influence is particularly valuable because the spatial bias of commerce and national

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[23] Ibid.

politics has gained a monopoly of knowledge in the West. Innis sees the time bias of French culture as being most important for Canada in resisting the influence of the spatial monopoly of the United States. Also, in his later works, he points out that a large scale political organization needs both time and space biases to be successful in the long term.

As background to the present situation in Canada Innis says that the military and naval success of Great Britain in the struggle with France was a reflection of her economic organization. The French, on the other hand, had a strong political organization and cultural background.[24]

> The seignorial system, the Church, and the state combined with French institutions to conquer and extend control of the St. Lawrence.[25]

Following the English victory the French organization and culture combined with the English economic organization. A combination of American and Scottish aggressiveness, effective technique and technology, and efficient business organization extended control to the Pacific.[26]

> As a result of co-operation between English and French, leading to the formation of the North West Company, control ultimately reached the Pacific.[27]

In this same article Innis says that the combination of the French and English influences, i.e. the time and space biases, was consolidated

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Encyclopedia of Canada, Vol. I, 1935, p. 369.

in the Act of Union and, finally, in Confederation. Innis holds out some hope, particularly in his early works, that French culture may continue to offer a balancing factor to commerce and national politics in Canada.

> The expansion of Canada since Confederation and especially since completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the deepening of the St. Lawrence waterways has been a result of co-operation between French culture and British economic organization. . . . Fundamentally it has implied political co-operation through government ownership and devices which have been Canadian rather than Anglo-American. . . . Confederation inyolves a political charter essential to economic expansion. The decline of economic expansion implies acute problems. Solutions involve fresh emphasis on the cultural approach.[28]

However, in his later works he becomes visibly more pessimistic that French culture can offer any real balance to the spatial monopoly in Canada. He fears that the spatial monopoly of state capitalism, with no balancing bias, will result in totalitarianism in Canada.

Throughout his work, from beginning to end, Innis shows a penetrating awareness of and concern for monopolies of all sorts. He sees that they restrict freedom and breed violent conflict. He is aware of a particular lack of flexibility in state capitalism and he sees a real danger to individual initiative in the growth of government ownership and economic planning.[29]

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[28] "Contributions of the French in Canada", The New Outlook, July 4, 1934.

[29] "Economic Nationalism", Proceedings of the Political Science Association, 1934, p. 17.

He feared that the growing complexity of modern industrial urban society was facilitating bureaucracy, centralized control, and dictatorship.[30] Innis believes that freedom requires competition in both activity and thought. He has a thoroughgoing admiration for the radical and he appreciates the need for an environment which permits dissent. This point of view was central to Innis' outlook from the time he was a student at McMaster University but it focused more during the 1930's as he reflected on the war, the depression, the growth of capitalism, nationalism, and national capitalism in Canada.[31] During this period he became increasingly concerned about the growth of conditions in Canada which were tending to make creative action and thought more and more difficult. Government ownership and government debt in Canada had created an inelastic and increasingly unfree structure which had become even more serious during the depression. This situation had weakened the more elastic and flexible structure characteristic of private enterprise.[32] Innis clearly appreciates the desirability of free enterprise or "commercialism" as he calls it, and an environment which allows and encourages individual initiative and radical dissent. He realized that creative thought

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30 The Canadian Economy and Its Problems, p. 8.

31 Ibid.; Smoothing the Bumps in Canadian Business by Percy H. Wright, Foreword by H. A. Innis.

32 Smoothing the Bumps in Canadian Business, 1932, Foreword; The Canadian Economy and Its Problems, Part I, Chap. I, pp. 3-21.

was unlikely without freedom for creative action and that where there was limited freedom for commercial activity there would be limited freedom for political activity as well as political thought. This is a central theme in The Cod Fisheries, a major work by Innis, published in 1940 which may be considered as marking the end of his so-called early period.

In The Cod Fisheries Innis clearly elucidates the influence of mechanization of transportation and communication in the evolution of free enterprise "commercialism" to monopoly control in the east coast fishing industry. It becomes clear that "the things to which we attend" under a system of free commercial competition tend to be significantly different from those under a system of monopoly control. The point made is that in the early period of the fishing industry, prior to mechanization, the "economic flexibility demanded political flexibility". (Cod Fisheries, p. 178.) Innis stresses the vitally important effects of the independence and freedom inherent in the early decentralized commercial activity for the evolution of democratic freedom in Canada. This was in contrast to the system of monopoly control of space which was such an important feature of the fur trade for-example.

> Drainage basins bring about centralization, and submerged drainage basins decentralization. Development westward followed the St. Lawrence and its tributaries; development eastward had its origin in the scattered harbours and bays formed by the drowned system of rivers and their tributaries. Again, staple products coming down the St. Lawrence system made for a centralization of

> exports, whereas fishing from the numerous ports of an extended coastline made for decentralization. Unity of structure in the economic organization of the St. Lawrence was in strong contrast with the lack of unity in the fishing regions. (Cod, p. 484.)

In The Cod Fisheries, Innis associates decentralization with free "commercialism", democracy, and individual freedom and centralized control with monopoly, industrial and state capitalism, and lack of freedom. He sees mechanized technique and technology of transportation and communication as inevitably leading to the latter.

Innis explains that the early history of the fishing industry is the history of free competition between small units, of the free play of "commercialism". Monopoly and centralized control was not a prominent feature as it was with the fur trade. (Cod, pp. 91-93.) Large amounts of capital was not needed and transportation costs were not high. Therefore capitalistic monopolies did not develop and there was little need for government intervention to protect a monopoly of space in the interest of long term credit. There was much less need for a close connection between institutions in North America and Great Britain. (Cod, p. 213.) Fierce independence of spirit characterized the people involved in the maritime fishing trade. This independence in commercial activity helped set the stage for independence in political activity. The maritime fisheries provided a breeding ground for democratic sentiment. Both the British and the French empires ran into difficulties attempting to contain the aggressive

commercialism of the fishing industry. The early role played by the New England fisheries in the first British Empire was played by the Nova Scotia fisheries in the second. (Cod, p. 284.)

Near the end of the Cod Fisheries Innis explains how this "commercialism" gradually gave way to a system of monopoly control. This came about as an effect of machine industry, i.e. the substitution of the steamship and the railway for the wooden sailing ship, the development of refrigeration, and the general trend toward urbanization in North America. (Cod, p. 418) Nova Scotia turned to Confederation for support. As in other industries the demand for capital occasioned by the evolution of mechanized technique and technology forced the development of long term credit arrangements characteristic of monopolies with centralized control. Innis expresses deep concern over this development (Cod, p. 508) since, as Veblen had said, "habits of thought are the outcome of habits of life". Innis saw that the habits of thought which resulted in a vigorous democracy in North America were in significant measure the outcome of the habits of life characterized by the maritime fishing industry. The threat to these habits of life and to the habits of thought based on them which was posed by mechanized technique and technology is an important theme of The Cod Fisheries.

> The disappearance of an active commercial region as a result of the impact of machine industry has been a major calamity to the fishing regions. . . The transition from dependence on a maritime economy to dependence on

> a continental economy has been slow, painful and disastrous. The tremendous initiative which characterized commercialism based on the fishing industry could be measured in the collapse of West Country company control over trade . . . in the history of Newfoundland and New England, the defeat of France and the breakdown of the colonial system, the disappearance of the Navigation Acts, and even the rise of responsible government and the establishment of Confederation. This is an initiative which cannot be easily replaced. The effects of the tragedy of the replacement of commercialism by capitalism calls for a long period of expensive readjustment and restoration, and this cannot take place without policies which foster the revival of initiative under responsible government. (Cod, p. 508.)

The lack of opportunity in Canada for the expression of individual initiative, for free, creative, independent activity and thought may be clearly seen as a growing concern of Innis' during the 1930's. As this concern developed he began to focus deeper on the underlying causes of monopoly. The focus of his interest moved from physical states to states of mind, from physical monopolies of space in the interest of commerce and national politics to the monopolies of knowledge on which the physical monopolies were based. He began to move beyond Veblen. Veblen had said that habits of thought are the outcome of habits of life. Innis kept this thesis central to his thinking but during this period, and in his later period, he pursues the thesis that habits of thought and habits of life are the outcome of habits of communication. He came to realize that just as mechanized technique and technology of transportation is related to monopolies in the

area of what men do, so mechanized technique and technology of communication is related to monopolies in the area of what men think and, indeed, how they think. He saw that large scale monopolies are, in large measure, effects of mechanization and that individual freedom was being sorely threatened by mechanized technique.

This is the focus of his later works on communication. But it is clearly evident in a series of articles written during the 1930's. The theme of these articles is communication and monopolies of knowledge. Since this theme is treated in detail in later chapters of this thesis it will not be elaborated here. However, the gist of what he says is that the "things to which we attend" tend to reflect the monopoly of knowledge of our culture. This, in turn, tends to be a reflection of the dominant mechanized technique and technology of communication. He warns the universities, and the social scientists in particular, to beware of truths, and to emphasize the pursuit of truth. He says that while the social scientist must be as objective as possible he must recognize his own weakness in this regard. He must recognize that he is subject to the bias of his culture and that he cannot be totally objective. His truths also reflect the monopoly of knowledge common to the West. Innis stresses that thought in the social sciences can grow only by the pursuit of truth, by escaping the effects of the bias of culture.[33]

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[33] "The Role of Intelligence: Some Further Notes", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1935; "For The People", University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. V, 1936; "Discussion in The Social Sciences", Dalhousie Review, Vol. 15, 1936.

In this regard, in his later works in particular, Innis stresses the importance of oral discussion, particularly within the university community, as essential to the free pursuit of truth, and to the dangers to free discussion and to the pursuit of truth by modern mechanized means of communication. Mechanized communication builds monopolies of knowledge which restrict freedom, both of thought and of action.

For Innis truly free speech presupposes the possibility of intelligence. Free, intelligent discussion and thought is that which is not held within the bonds of a monopoly of knowledge. In these early articles he clearly illustrates that monopoly of knowledge is in large measure an effect of mechanized communication, and that freedom, in speech and in thought, is an effect of oral communication. As he says in his later work, "it is not truth but the pursuit of truth which makes men free".

In these articles Innis questions the role of discussion in an increasingly complex and mechanized society. He insists on discussing even discussion. He points out that our western liberal ideal of freedom of speech is being used to protect the vested interests of the communication industry. Freedom of speech is freedom to print anything that will sell newspapers.[34] His general appeal throughout is for freedom, for understanding, for scepticism of all truths, and for the pursuit of truth. He believes this is possible only through an escape from the effects of mechanized

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[34] "Discussion in The Social Sciences", Dalhousie Review, Vol. 15, 1936.

communication, specifically through oral communication within the university.[35] But he is not overly optimistic.[36]

A technique which develops and operates parallel to, as well as interacting with, mechanized communication, is the price system. Innis sees the effectiveness of both as being in large measure dependent on paper as a medium. He includes a study of the penetrative power of the price system as part of his study of the effects of technique on states of mind. This study begins in his early period and continues through his later works. Innis points out that both writing (and printing) and the price system communicate a rational, logical method of thinking. This method of thinking has become characteristic of the West. The truths of the West are based on this method of thinking.[37]

Innis says that the price system developed with mechanized transportation and communication for the ever more efficient control of space.[38]

> In North America the price system has spread with the development of uniform monetary institutions, the increase in education through the growth of the public school system, the rapid improvement of transportation and communication facilities and the concurrent machine industry. (Fur Trade of Canada, p. 138.)

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[35] "Approaches to Canadian Economic History", Commerce Journal, 1936.

[36] "The Passing of Political Economy", Commerce Journal, 1938.

[37] Bias, p. 125; "The Penetrative Power of the Price System", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 4, 1938; Fur Trade of Canada, pp. 138-39; "The Passing of Political Economy", Commerce Journal, 1938.

[38] "The Penetrative Power of the Price System", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 4, 1938.

Emphasis on rational method permeates the life of the West. The older, traditional oral culture of the Indians resisted the new emphasis. But the spread of the new truths was irresistable. Mechanized technique and the price system grew and spread together. Both are cumulative. (Fur Trade of Canada, pp. 138-139.)

In an article written in 1938 for the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science Innis traces the evolution and the effects of the price system. He explains that following the discovery of the New World mathematics grew in importance through astronomy, surveying, and bookkeeping. Gradually the price system, the rational and impersonal truths of mathematics as applied to commerce, became a central part of economic thought. Profit was rationally pursued with the most efficient means. The price system with its impersonal relationships gradually permeated the thinking of the West. It ate away the old personal relationships of feudalism and the Church and eventually the structure of commercialism itself. Inefficiency of any sort was weeded out.

> The price system operated at a high state of efficiency in the occupation of the vacant spaces of the earth.[39]

> The limitations of the price system in failing to overcome the handicaps of rigidities of debt burdens and in accentuating internal strains have been evident in the rise of monetary nationalism and the increasing importance of the state as a monetary instrument. Bankruptcy is no longer accepted. . . . The effectiveness of the price system within the state is evident in the attempt to reinforce pecuniary by political values.[40]

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[39] Ibid., p. 259.

[40] Ibid., p. 271.

The last section of the above quotation is particularly important because it clearly indicates Innis' view of how the spatial bias of commerce and industrial capitalism has evolved into state capitalism in Canada. The latter is more efficient in guaranteeing long term credit. State capitalism in Canada is an effect of mechanized technique and technology of transportation plus the penetrative power of the price system. The modern religions of the state are the end product of this rationalizing trend in the area of economics and politics. This trend is clearly seen in the history of Canada.

Innis further elaborates on the interrelation between mechanized technique and the price system in an article dealing with the changing structure of the Canadian market.[41] Here he shows how improved technique in both transportation and communication expanded the range of the market, how large-scale marketing organization developed and how the barter system was replaced by the "ruthless efficiency of cash trading".[42] The price system, together with mechanization, works to break down personal relationships characteristic of the barter system in oral societies. Neither the face to face barter system nor oral communication is adequate for large scale organization of space. As transportation and communication expanded so did the price system. As the price system developed and penetrated the society large scale marketing became more efficient and transportation

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[41] "The Changing Structure of the Canadian Market", Essays in Canadian Economic History, p. 280.

[42] Ibid., p. 286.

and communication facilities were improved.[43]

> The sale of goods for cash and a fixed price for large quantities of uniform goods provided the basis for the introduction of large-scale marketing. Reduction of fire-hazards, improvements of street railway systems, a steady decline in the price of newsprint, an improvement in methods of advertising, and the extension of postal facilities enabled department stores not only to dominate the retail trade of the large cities but also to extend their trade to rural areas through the mail-order catalogues. The barter system of the general store was exposed to the ruthless efficiency of cash trading.[44]

Ever increasing efficiency in the monopolization of space in the West is an effect of mechanized technique. The spatial truths which monopolize mind in the West are the truths of this process, i.e. of means. They are effects of mechanized technique.

Innis' later works, following the publication of The Cod Fisheries in 1940, elucidate the role of the mechanized technique and technology of communication in the large scale organization and control of both space and time, and the role of oral communication in facilitating individual freedom and creativity. As indicated, this is an interest which began to take shape during the 1930's. Throughout these later works the focus of his interest remains on the present spatial monopoly of knowledge in the West and the danger to individual freedom as well as to world safety because of this monopoly. His historical surveys are designed to give a broad general understanding of the importance of communication in determining monopoly. The object is for modern Western man to

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[43] Ibid., pp. 280-286.

[44] Ibid., p. 286.

better understand his own civilization and the role of mechanized communication in determining the truths, or the monopolies of knowledge, on which his civilization is based. His surveys begin as far back in time as Egypt and Babylonia.

## CHAPTER TWO

## COMMUNICATION AND RELIGION BEFORE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PHONETIC ALPHABET

Innis begins his historical survey of the effects of communication on large scale organization with the pre-alphabet civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. This early section serves to point out the limitations of early forms of mechanized communication. It provides a useful background for understanding the development of the phonetic alphabet and for appreciating its powerful influence in building and maintaining the unchanging truths necessary for empire. This chapter synthesizes what Innis says about the effects of these early forms of mechanized communication on the building and maintenance of truths in these two rather different civilizations.

Innis believes that in early Egyptian civilization the pyramids and sculpture reflected the power of the monarchy over space and time. The medium of stone indicated control over time while the architecture tended to indicate control over space. Mummification was added to emphasize control over time. (Bias, Chapter 3; Empire, Chapter Ib.) The art of pictorial representation began as part of the funeral ritual and later this art developed into a form of writing. The pictures became hieroglyphic script. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter Ib.) Innis says that in Egypt emphasis was placed on the role of the divine creative word in creation of the world somewhat similar

to the role of the divine word in Genesis and the Gospel of John. There was creativity in the spoken word of the monarch as a reflection of Ra, the Sun, the demiurge, which was the creator of everything human and divine. The hieroglyphic script was developed as a perpetuation of this creative spirit. The medium was stone and so writing reinforced the power of the monarchy over time. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter Ib.)

Throughout his early and later works Innis stresses the determining effects of geography. In a way reminiscent of his description of Canada's development he describes how the Nile tended to act as a principle of order and centralization in Egypt. In the early stages monarchy and religion were one. He suggests that because of the influence of the great river the gods, through the person of the monarch, became centralized and that this centralization and the practical needs of centralized control favoured the growth of political ideas and a medium more adapted to control over space. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter Ib.) The monarchical monopoly of knowledge based on stone and hieroglyphic writing was exposed to competition from papyrus as a new medium. A profession of scribes emerged, hieroglyphic writing became conventionalized into hieratic characters, thought became secularized, and administration was extended. Administration with its spatial bias based on papyrus and hieratic writing was encouraged by the increasing importance of a class of scribes who were priests. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter Ib.) However, in Egypt the medium of stone

remained so dominant that the form of writing was restricted. A phonetic alphabet did not develop. (Empire, Chapter Ib.)

Innis says that for a period of time the power of monarchy was offset by the power of the priesthood and the resulting balance allowed for some stability. But gradually the influence of the priesthood increased. A long apprenticeship was required to learn how to write, and reading required a long period of instruction. Control over time was gradually taken from monarchy by the priestly class with its monopoly of a difficult script and the use of a new medium. (Empire, Chapter Ib; Bias, Chapter 3.) It is important to note here that the monopoly of the priesthood was based on their mastery of a difficult script and not on the medium. In this instance the natural bias of the medium of papyrus, which in later empires supported administration, bureaucracy and political empire, was held in check by the complex script which has been developed around the use of stone as the dominant medium.

In this early part of Innis' work we can see how the priesthood gained control over the "religious" truths of the civilization, i.e. the "things to which we attend", through their mastery of a difficult script. A time monopoly of knowledge gripped the civilization. Political organization with its needs for spatial truths to tie together geographical area was unable to successfully compete and eventually the Egyptian empire was invaded by marginal

tribes equipped with more efficient weapons of attack.

Innis explains that when a civilization develops a time monopoly of knowledge it tends to leave itself open to attack for which it is not technologically prepared. (Empire, Chapter 2.) Throughout his later works he points out that a time monopoly tends to be defensive. It is concerned with continuity and tradition. A spatial monopoly, on the other hand, tends to be more offensive in its nature. It is concerned with expansion and control of space. From this we may gather that with a spatial monopoly technological development is at the forefront because attack and control of space is of primary importance. Of course, as Innis points out, this kind of monopoly tends to neglect the element of continuity and the civilization tends not to last a long time.

Egypt was never able to achieve a balance between the concern for time and space. The political empire was not able to efficiently utilize the written truths for the control of space because of the difficult script. This problem was not overcome until the development of the more flexible phonetic alphabet.

Innis says that the geography of Babylonia was significantly different from that of Egypt. The area did not feel the centralizing influence of one major river. As a result the civilization which developed around the Tigris and Euphrates rivers lacked the unity of Egypt. It was characterized by a number of relatively small theocratic city states. (Bias, Chapter 2.) The bias of these small

states was to time. The medium for written communication was alluvial clay. This necessitated a shift from the pictographic form of writing used in Egypt to a pattern consisting of triangles and massed parallel lines which could be pressed with a stylus into the clay. (Empire, Chapter 2.) Clay as a medium was of course somewhat difficult to transport and tended to support the development of a decentralized society with a time bias. (Empire, Chapter 2.) In a manner similar to Egypt the difficult cuneiform writing necessitated long training, the development of schools, and the development of a class of priest-scribes holding a monopoly of knowledge over time. Temples and priests became the centres of the various city states. Organized religion attained an overpowering influence. (Bias, Chapter I.)

Innis explains that this situation could not be expected to last for very long because of the inherent neglect of spatial considerations. Warfare between city states broke out because of rivalry which developed between temple organizations over the accumulation of wealth. An effect of this warfare was the emergence of armies and military leaders. (Bias, Chapter 2.) He points out that the use of armed force in either attack or defense tends to promote a spatial bias in a civilization. "Armies are essentially monarchist." (Empire, p. 34.) The need for a unified command in warfare gave the kings more power, as did the need for spatial control. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.) However, effective spatial control was never able to be realized. As in Egypt the

powerful entrenched position of religious organization in the various city-states, with their monopoly of knowledge through mastery of a difficult script, made large-scale spatial organization impossible to maintain. The result was that the Sumerian empires were broken down and destroyed by Semitic invaders. (Bias, Chapter 2.)

Innis says that the military success of the Semitic peoples brought a spatial bias and a concern for political empire. Babylon became the new capital. Hammurabi instituted a centralized administrative system tieing together a large territorial state with a capital, a collection of written laws, and a common calendar. Monarchy attempted to control both time and space. The stone of the buildings, sculpture, and the medium of communication emphasized time, while the architecture and emphasis on law and administration emphasized space. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.)

However, here again monarchy and the state was unable to overcome the monopoly of knowledge of the priestly classes in the various city-states through their monopoly of the mechanized means of communication. He explains that the subordination of the early Sumerian time biased civilization by the Semitic invaders had the effect of killing the Sumerian language. It was preserved only in religious writing by the priests. The oral traditions of the conquered peoples, which of course consisted of rich and creative religious truths, were committed to writing. The knowledge of these truths was a monopoly of the priests. Thus the power of religious organization, of the written truths of time, grew stronger.

(Empire, Chapter 2) They escaped control by the state, and the political empire was exposed to difficulties of continuity. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.)

In these early sections of Innis' works on communication, the point he is making is that the power of the state was diminished because it had no efficient means of utilizing truths for the purpose of long term spatial mastery. The monopoly of a difficult script meant that the only truths were those relating to a mastery of time, i.e. truths of religious organization. The state could not tap these truths and so it was unable to sustain itself over long periods of time. These sections elucidate Innis' thesis that monopolies of knowledge are effects of mechanized communication. It was the monopoly of writing which gave power to the priests and to the truths of religious organization. Mechanized communication was not flexible enough for the development of effective spatial truths which could have provided the base for long term political organization.

Innis points out further that these same kind of monopolies of time also made the problems of political organization in later empires, such as those of Assyria and Persia, insurmountable. (Empire, Chapter 2.) Monarchy was never able to successfully solve the problem of succession because it lacked the strength of "organized continuity". (Bias, Chapter 3.)

> A culture based on intensive training in writing rendered centralized control unstable and gave organized religion an enormous influence. (Bias, p. 6.)

> Both the Assyrian and Persian empires emphasized control over space but were unable to solve the problems of time in the face of monopolies of religion in Babylonia and Egypt. (Bias, p. 40.)

Innis does mention other influences besides communication in the rise and fall of empires. He says, for example, that even when empires for a time were able to achieve relative equilibrium between religious organization with emphasis on time and political organization with emphasis on space, major technological change, such as the transition from the use of bronze to the use of iron, caused serious disturbances. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 4.)

## CHAPTER THREE

## DEVELOPMENT AND EFFECTS OF THE PHONETIC ALPHABET

In his sections on pre-alphabet civilizations Innis explains that because of the monopolies of writing exercised by the priests succeeding political empires were limited in their abilities to control space for extended periods of time. A spatial monopoly of knowledge could not be efficiently built up and maintained. He goes on to point out that this allowed a certain freedom for the development of societies on the fringes of these empires with their own religious truths. An example of one such society is that of the Jews in Palestine. Here there was an active oral tradition and "religious" truths were able to grow and develop. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 3; Empire, Chapter 2.) It was in this and other societies marginal to the great empires where a more simple system of writing began to emerge. (Bias, Chapter 3.) Semitic peoples on the fringes of the civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia adapted elements of Egyptian writing to their own strong oral tradition and developed the phonetic alphabet over a long period of time. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 3; Empire, Chapter 2.)

> The marginal relation to culture with monopolies of complex systems of writing favoured the development of relatively simple systems of writing such as emerged in the alphabet of the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans. (Bias, p. 67.)

Innis says that the alphabet was apparently invented by Semitic peoples in contact with Egyptians some time prior to 1500 B.C.

It was developed in Palestine and perfected further on the Phoenician coast. (Empire, Chapter 2.) This alphabet was far more flexible than any other system of writing. Each sound of human speech was analyzed and each was represented by a separate visual symbol. (Empire, Chapter 2.) Innis makes clear in these sections on the development of the alphabet that this more flexible means of mechanized communication allowed for a far more efficient organization and communication of truths of both time and space. From this point onward it was far more practical for political organization to control large areas for long periods of time by the efficient monopoly and communication of truths relating to space.

The motive for the development of the alphabet among the Hebrews was as an aid to memory. Aids evolved from the practice of constant repetition. They gradually developed form in metre and rhyme, in knot symbols as mnemonics, and at last as writing. (Bias, Chapter 4.) The Hebrews gave religious sanction to writing by saying that Moses introduced it at the command of God to prevent the possible disappearance of the oral tradition. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> The oral tradition was written down and the sacred character of writing emphasized by the Egyptians was reflected in the writing of the Hebrews. (Bias, p. 39.)

> For the Hebrews the word is the word of Wisdom. Word, Wisdom, and God were almost identical theological concepts. (Empire, p. 53.)

In reference to Egypt and Babylonia Innis mentions that in an attempt to control the elements of both time and space great emphasis had been placed on architecture and sculpture in temples,

palaces, and pyramids. This was due at least in part to their restricted written tradition and its monopoly by the priestly classes. (Bias, Chapter 2.) In reaction to this the Hebrews prohibited images of any kind. (Empire, Chapter 2.)

> The written letter replaced the graven image as an object of worship. (Empire, p. 53.)

Innis' work in this section provides a clear elucidation of how the flexibility of the alphabet allowed the powerful oral "religious" truths to be efficiently captured and for a monopoly of knowledge of time to be built up and maintained.

He says that the prohibition of images and concentration on the abstract in writing, which was an effect of the alphabet, allowed the Hebrews to advance from relationships based on blood to universal ethical standards and an emphasis on monotheism. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.) It also helped to strengthen the influence of the prophets in opposition to the absolute power of the king. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.) The alphabet was flexible enough to allow for the powerful oral tradition, communicated by the prophets, to be collected and preserved. The prophets themselves were influenced by the conventionalizing effects of writing using the alphabet. They began to emphasize universal ethical standards and monotheism. The prophets gave great stimulus to both the oral and the written tradition which has been preserved in the scriptures. (Empire, Chapter 2.) As a result the power and creative energy of the oral tradition, at least partially preserved

in mechanized form, has influenced religious development to this day. (Empire, Chapter 2.)

However, Innis points out that gradually the mechanized means of communication exerted its expected effect on the dynamic oral tradition of the Hebrews. It killed much, though not all, of the spirit of oral communication and set up a body of unchangeable truths by which the priests were able to monopolize time. (Empire, Chapter 2.) Gradually the written word, in the Hebrew language, took on the power of the ancient spoken word and became the principle of authority. (Bias, Chapter 4.) This was, of course, an inflexible authority as compared with the authority of the oral tradition. The interpreters of this sacred writing were the priests.

> Under the influence of monotheism writing had become sacred. The written bible assumed monotheism, doctrine and priesthood. "No book, no doctrine, no doctrine, no book." (Bias, p. 13.)

With the increased use of writing a monopoly of knowledge of time gripped Hebrew society. Political weakness was offset by the religious strength of the priesthood. The oral tradition was mobilized in the interest of religion. The Yahwist, Elohist, Deuteronomic, and Priestly traditions were all committed to writing. (Empire, Chapter 2.)

> A new law code gave religion an authoritative book and tended to create a religion of the book and a written tradition. (Empire, p. 56.)

The monopoly of the written word, which was based on the ancient spoken word and achieved its power from this tradition, maintained

by the priesthood, strengthened opposition to the absolute power and prestige of the king. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 2.)

Innis says that in the later stage of Jewish development ritual was strengthened and a theocratic organization built up. The cause of all history was religion. Historical narratives became a means of religious education. (Empire, Chapter 2.) The truths of religion became fossilized in written form and more and more divorced from everyday life and oral communication. The monopoly of time held by the priesthood based on a written, dead language subordinated consideration of political and economic, i.e. spatial, forces. (Empire, Chapter 2; Bias, Chapter 3.) This exclusiveness and monopoly of truth brought on conflict with succeeding empires and "illustrates again the problem of religion and empire". (Empire, p. 63.)

Innis stresses in these sections on the development of Hebrew society that the oral as compared with the written means of communicating the tradition was more consistent and logical in its results because it was inherently more flexible and allowed for continuous sifting, refining, and modifying of the material. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 2.)

Innis makes us aware that in an oral tradition "religious" truths evolve with the society. Only with writing is a monopoly of knowledge able to be developed to stifle creative thought. With the oral tradition there is continuous growth in the "things to which we attend". Truths change and compromises are reached as a culture develops. In this sense it is in direct contrast to the monopolies

of knowledge which tend to develop around written truths.

Innis says that the oral tradition and its relation to poetry implies a concern with time and religion. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> The artist represents coexistence is space, the poet succession in time. (Bias, p. 102.)

He explains that a written tradition facilitated reckoning in terms of years and gave time as a device for the discussion of history. This may be contrasted with the effects of a more persistent oral tradition on the "ahistorical" character of Greek culture.[1] Innis clearly sees the concept of time to be different in an oral culture than it is in a culture strongly influenced by writing using the phonetic alphabet. The concept of time common to an oral tradition is cyclical or organic, while that common to a written tradition is linear. (Empire, Chapter 2; Bias, Chapter 3.)

> "It was no accident that the supremely religious people of all time were likewise our first great historians." (W. A. Irwin). History emerged with the Hebrews as a result of the concern with time. (Bias, p. 68.)

Innis believes that writing, using the phonetic alphabet, tends to conventionalize thinking. Gradually the effect of the alphabet is to make ideas less natural, original and spontaneous as they tend to be in a strong oral tradition. They gradually begin to conform to formal, accepted standards or rules. (Empire, Chapter 2.) This is the beginning of a more rational mode of thinking as an effect of the phonetic alphabet.

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[1] Idea File, pp. 243 and 245.

> (The) development of writing under (the) Hebrews permits (an) escape from (the) link between man and nature in absolute morality and under (the) Greeks an escape in absolute intellectuality.[2]

These sections of Innis' works dealing with the Hebrew tradition and the development of the phonetic alphabet illustrate that "religious" truths reflect the means of communication, that religion itself changes when it becomes part of a written tradition, that the way people think tends to reflect their mechanized means of communication. Whereas the oral tradition allows truths to grow and to change, in effect allowing for the continuous pursuit of truth, truths become firm and unchangeable when committed to writing. These sections illustrate that the powerful effects of the phonetic alphabet in the development of religious organization with its monopoly of time was in large measure the result of the very flexibility which allowed the oral truths of time to be efficiently captured. Writing, with the phonetic alphabet, made possible an efficient monopoly of knowledge on a scale never before possible.

Innis says that among the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans the alphabet developed as an aid to their commercial interests. Their expanding maritime trade demanded a more flexible alphabet in relation to the use of papyrus and later of parchment. In turn the use of the flexible alphabet on papyrus and parchment favoured the growth of trade and commerce. (Bias, Chapter 2.)

> "Commerce and the alphabet were inextricably interwoven." (Empire, p. 52.)

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[2] Ibid., p. 162.

This commercial enterprise was able to build up under the protection of the great empires. (Empire, Chapter 2.) In fact Innis points out that the political empires soon saw the advantages of the more flexible alphabet and the media of papyrus and parchment to build up their own political administration, escape the priestly monopolies, and gain an efficient control over vast areas of space. (Empire, Chapter 2.)

The growth of trade and the development of the phonetic alphabet occurred during the time of the Assyrian and Persian empires. These empires began to make use of the alphabet in their control of geographical area. While they were not able to completely break the monopolies of time exercised by the religious groups they moved in that direction and their control of space, through their ability to utilize and communicate truths to monopolize mind, was far more efficient than had been the case with earlier empires. (Empire, Chapters 2 and 3.) Innis' works indicate that an important effect of the use of the alphabet seems to have been a conventionalization of thinking manifest in both religious and political organization.

Innis understands a very complex interaction of cause and effect to be taking place here. The alphabet is considered by him to be an important cause in the conventionalization of thinking but not the only cause. (Empire, Chapter 3.) And the alphabet itself became conventionalized by the developing circumstances in both political and religious organization. The political necessities of empire, i.e. the efficient control over vast areas and the control of religious

organizations with monopolies of their own within these areas, encouraged the use and spread of writing and the alphabet. Because an empire, to be successful, had to take into account the diverse languages of the different areas under its control, the continuous adaptation to these different languages gradually produced a script which had been conventionalized into the alphabet. (Empire, Chapter 3.) Also the needs of trade and commerce were better served by this conventionalized script and the pressures of trade exerted a powerful influence on the conventionalization. (Empire, Chapter 2.)

> Trade followed a conventionalized alphabet suited to the demands of large areas dominated by armed force supported by technological advances in imported breeds of horses, and the use of bronze and iron. Religion became conventionalized and monotheistic following adaptations of animistic religions dependent on agriculture. Finally, political organization became conventionalized as empires were compelled to recognize the religions of diverse centres. (Empire, p. 64.)

Innis points out that the flexibility of the alphabet, by allowing for the writing down of vernacular languages, tended to crystallize them and to favour the development of cities and smaller nations as against the concept of the larger empire, while at the same time, of course, facilitating the large scale control of space essential to political empire. (Empire, Chapter 2.) In the synthesis of later sections of Innis' works on communication it will be explained how this ability to crystallize vernacular languages, which is an inherent effect of the phonetic alphabet, was given the necessary power, through the invention of the printing press, to

effect the evolution of nations in the West.

In general, Innis' work on the evolution of the phonetic alphabet makes clear that this new means of mechanized communication brought greater efficiency in the control of both space and time. It facilitated a more efficient control of space by the Assyrians, the Persians, and of course later empires, more efficient trade and commerce by the Phoenicians and the Aramaeans, and a more efficient control of time in monotheism by the Hebrews. (Empire, Chapters 2 and 3.) From this synthesis of Innis' work it may be seen that efficient control of time and/or space requires an efficient means of building and communicating truths and that this was provided by writing with the phonetic alphabet. Innis' works go on to explain that whether time or space tended to be emphasized depended to a large extent on the medium of mechanized communication.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## GREECE AND ROME

> Separated from earlier civilizations by a body of water the Greeks escaped their full cultural impact and adopted cultural features suited to their needs. The alphabet escaped from the implications of sacred writing. It lent itself to an efficient representation of sounds and enabled the Greeks to preserve intact a rich oral tradition. (Empire, p. 64.)

Innis believes that Greek culture was so creative because it was able to escape the stupifying tendencies of writing to a comparatively late date. This allowed for a fully developed oral tradition. (Bias, Chapter 2.) When this oral tradition was finally committed to writing the flexible alphabet allowed its creative power to be more accurately reflected than would have been possible with earlier systems of writing. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

The introduction of writing to Greece was delayed until perhaps as late as the beginning of the seventh century. Innis says that in addition to being geographically isolated from the major empires the limitations of stone as a medium and the problems of securing papyrus from Egypt all combined to protect the oral tradition. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 3.) The oral tradition in the Greek, as in the Hebrew, civilization implied an emphasis on time, tradition, continuity and religion. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> It created recognized standards of lasting moral and social institutions; it built up the soul of social organizations and maintained their continuity; and it developed ways of perpetuating itself . . . Language

> was the physiological basis of oral traditions, and religion was the sociological mechanism through which traditions were established, directing and enforcing the co-operation of individuals in the interest of the community, maintaining group life, and creating a lasting organization of society independent of a living leader. (Bias, p. 105.)

Following the Persian wars there was a strengthening of political authority and an increased national enthusiasm. Mystical and individualistic religious cults were suppressed and an emphasis was placed on the city and new cults. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

> The city-state and religion became a unity. (Empire, p. 98.)

This is an ideal example of a flexible oral tradition effecting a balance between the demands of time and space. Continuous adjustment was possible. There was no monopoly of knowledge.

> The Greeks seized on the spatial concept as developed by Ionian philosophers and on the temporal concept emphasized by mystical religions to construct a political society which stood the test of resistance to the Persian empire. (Empire, p. 90.

> Empires had been built up on communication based on sight in contrast with Greek political organization which emphasized oral discussion. Greece escaped the problem of worship of the written word which had embarrassed oriental empires. (Bias, p. 41.)

Innis says that the Phoenician-Semitic alphabet was eventually adopted and adapted by the Greeks. Particularly in the beginning it was most responsive to the demands of the strong oral tradition. The flexibility of the alphabet made this possible. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Innis explains that the linking of the eye and the ear in the alphabet facilitated the development of ideas. (Bias, Chapter 4.) It enabled a

closer approximation to reality than the crude pictographs or images of the organized religions of the period. There was not the same need to depend on ceremonial. (Empire, Chapter 3.) Also the need for kingship as a link between the oral and the written declines with the rise of this new link.[1] (Idea File, pp. 14 and 15.) A highly specialized profession of scribes and the subsequent growth of a monopoly of knowledge over time did not develop. (Bias, Chapter 2.) Innis mentions further that as with the early Hebrews the migrations and conquests of the early Greeks had weakened the influence of place or sanctuary on religion. This resulted in a limitation of the influence of the priesthood. The lack of writing had further limited their influence. (Empire, Chapter 3.) In general, because of the influence of the strong oral tradition neither truths of time nor of space monopolized mind.

> The power of the oral tradition was reflected in the institution of machinery designed to permit continuous adjustment. (Empire, p. 84.)
>
> The Greeks had no Bible with a sacred literature attempting to give reasons and coherence to the scheme of things, making dogmatic assertions and strangling science in infancy. (Empire, p. 80.)
>
> The Greeks opposed the raising of gods and religion to an independent position dominating the state and brought to an end the threat of a theocratical and monarchical order. (Empire, p. 90.)

The relative absence of dogma allowed for the development of science, for the pursuit of truth, rather than the development of truths. As a result philosophy, considered as the pursuit of truth, could develop in relative freedom. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

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[1] Box 10a - Idea File - from the Innis Collection held in the Archives at the University of Toronto Library. Hereinafter cited Idea File.

> The Hebrews made philosophy the handmaid of religion and the Greeks subordinated religion to philosophy. (Empire, p. 80.)

> With the use of writing the judicial order became a public document, definite and ascertainable. (Empire, p. 82.)

With the introduction of the alphabet in Greece a way of thinking was introduced and extended which Innis says was to have important consequences for the history of the West. He indicates that from this point on in the West truths were no longer based on mastery of a difficult script but on reason.

> The powerful oral tradition of the Greeks and the flexibility of the alphabet enabled them to resist the tendencies of empire in the East towards absolute monarchism and theocracy. They drove a wedge between the political empire concept with its emphasis on space and the ecclesiastical empire concept with its emphasis on time and reduced them to the rational proportions of the city-state. The monopoly of complex systems of writing which had been the basis of large-scale organizations in the East was destroyed. The adaptability of the alphabet to language weakened the possibilities of uniformity and enhanced the problems of government with fatal results to large-scale political organization. But the destruction of concepts of absolutism assumed a new approach to rationalism which was to change the concept of history in the West. (Empire, p. 100.)

In the early aristocratic period in Greece, before writing was introduced, the unwritten customary laws were administered by magistrates. They underwent continuous adjustment. Later, with the introduction of writing, the order of the magistrate became a public document, "definite and ascertainable". (Empire, Chapter 3.) Truths replaced the pursuit of truth in the spatial sphere. Innis points out that the flexibility of the oral tradition made it possible

for extraordinary powers to be given to a law maker and political leader in times of difficulty. (Bias, Chapter 2.) It is possible, because of the flexibility of an oral tradition, for something approaching absolute power to be delegated in periods of emergency and then to be rescinded in periods of stability. The society, by resting on a tradition of government with a strong time element, is not easily overthrown since the government is a reflection of the whole society. This is an important advantage of an oral tradition which Innis outlines further in his study of the British parliamentary system. Because of this inherent flexibility Innis admires the British system of democratic government over that of the United States and commonwealth countries such as Canada which have written constitutions. Innis understands a written constitution to be unchangeable spatial dogma. When faced with an emergency it must often be overthrown. Innis dislikes all monopolies of knowledge but he is particularly fearful of the modern truths of national politics because of the danger of world destruction. His work on these early civilizations must always be seen as providing light on the modern period.

> Written codes not only implied uniformity, justice, and a belief in laws but also an element of rigidity and necessity for revolution and drastic change. (Bias, p. 7.)

According to Innis the effects of writing and the phonetic alphabet could be clearly seen by the second half of the fifth century. Written laws were considered as universally valid and as unchanging truths. The "sacred majesty" of the book could be used by an individual to express his views. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

> Prose reflected the demands of the city-state and to some extent of philosophers. (Empire, p. 96.)
>
> An increase in laws reflected an interest in prose. (Bias, p. 43.)

Writing, in Athens as elsewhere, tended to build unalterable truths. Compromise became more difficult and conflict did result. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

> The writing of books necessitates presenting a case as the final argument. As a result, books contribute powerfully to the closing of minds, particularly of writers, as they have strong vested interests in positions which they have elaborated. (Idea File, p. 157.)

In comparison with oral communication the written word is dead. Truths accumulate without substantial change.

Another important effect of writing with the phonetic alphabet which is stressed by Innis is the growth of the concept of individualism. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

> The development of prose in Greece meant objectivity and the breakdown of Greek society. The concept of individualism grew in importance and facilitated the growth of law. Writing emphasizes the individual and so weakened the concept of the polis. (Idea File, p. 185.)

An oral society is a communal society. Tradition rules but tradition is always growing and changing with the society. Innis' works on communication indicate the importance of writing with the phonetic alphabet for the development of a consciousness of the individual. He suggests that it introduces an objective frame of mind. (See above quote. Idea File, p. 185.) Man sees himself as being apart from the group. The old communal bond is broken. Traditional truths no longer hold the new individual. The society, under the dominance

of mechanized communication, is not flexible enough to evolve new truths and so the individual is left on his own to find his roots and his stability where he can. This often results in tyranny, or rule by the strongest, with little of the flexibility, possibility for compromise, or general consensus of the governed. The only route to change becomes revolution, and conflict becomes the norm. (Empire, Chapter 3.) According to Innis this is essentially what did happen in Greece. The old oral authority of tradition and myth was destroyed and the individual was released to find his own support. (Bias, Chapter 3.) The balance achieved in the city-state was undermined and destroyed. Tyranny was the result. (Empire, Chapter 3.)

> Collapse of the city-state and of religion attached to the city-state was followed by conscious individualism. (Bias, p. 9.)

> "Nothing over-much" was a maxim which implied distrust of specialization in all phases of cultural life. Greek culture was destroyed in the growth of writing and of individualism in the latter part of the fifth century. (Bias, p. 136.)

Innis says that in the fourth century in Athens Plato recognized the dangers inherent in writing and attempted to save the remnants of Greek culture by reflecting the oral tradition in the style of the Socratic dialogues. (Bias, Chapter 2.) He points out that the dialogue form, in the words of Aristotle, stood half way between prose and poetry. (Bias, Chapter 2.) Plato has Socrates say in Phaedrus,

> "I cannot help feeling Phaedrus, that writing is unfortunately like painting; for the creations of the painter have the attitude of life, and yet if you ask them a question, they preserve a solemn silence, and the same may be said of speeches." (Empire, p. 68.)

In the seventh epistle Plato says,

> "No intelligent man will ever be so bold as to put into language those things which his reason has contemplated, especially not into a form that is unalterable - which must be the case with what is expressed in symbols." (Bias, p. 44.)

These concerns expressed by Plato are similar to the concerns expressed by Innis. Innis says the character of Socrates is seen through the spoken word. (Empire, Chapter 3.) Socrates knew that "the letter is designed to kill much (though not all) of the life that the spirit has given". (Empire, p. 68.) The dialogues were an effective method of translating the power of the spoken word to writing. (Empire, Chapter 3.) It was the mixture of the oral and the written traditions in the writings of Plato which Innis believes has enabled him to be so influential in the history of the West. (Bias, Chapter 3.) The life and movement of the dialectic, reflecting oral communication, acted against the creation of dogma. The continuous philosophical discussion, which is reflected in the dialogues, aimed at the truth. It pursued truth but never captured it. Plato himself refused to be bound by what he had written. (Empire, Chapter 3.) However, because he did write and because the creative power of the oral tradition was preserved in what and how he wrote, his influence has been felt throughout the history of the West. This is particularly true, as Innis stresses, when the dead hand of the written tradition threatens to destroy the spirit of Western man. (Empire, Chapter 3.) It is clear that Innis believes the continuous pursuit of truth to be a powerful leaven which works to undermine monopolies of all sorts.

> After Aristotle the Greek world passed from oral instruction to the habit of writing. (Empire, p. 70.)

> Aristotle bridged the gap between the city stage and the Alexandrian empire . . . The immortal inconclusiveness of Plato was no longer possible with the emphasis on writing. (Bias, p. 10.)

Innis sees the Greeks as the first and greatest example of the ideal of philosophy where the pursuit of truth is recognized as good in itself, rather than the possession of any particular truths. It is clear from his works that Innis believes strongly in this philosophical ideal. It is an ideal that he believes must find a modern outlet in the social sciences and the university. It is proposed in this thesis that he also tended to see this as being of the essence of religion. It is, of course, opposed to all "religious" truths. His works as a whole illustrate that organized religion, as a monopoly of time, i.e. as having truths for the control of time, retards and restricts this freedom, and that political organization, as a monopoly of space, does the same. The reason may be implied from Innis' works. Emphasis on pursuit denies the absoluteness of any truths. Control, of time or space, requires truths. Empires, ecclesiastical or political, rely on the efficiency of written truths. With the imposition of writing on to philosophy the search for truth tends to become the maintenance and defense of truths.

> Religion is constantly concerned with heading off philosophy and attempting to crystallize it in dogma. (Idea File, p. 18.)

The religion to which Innis here refers is religious organization. It maintains and defends truths. It is a monopoly of knowledge and it is an effect of writing with the phonetic alphabet.

Innis is relatively clear in his understanding that writing destroyed the community of the polis with its balance of space and time. (Empire, Chapter 3.) The increasing importance of problems of space which were, at least in part, brought on by the increasing influence of writing and papyrus paralleled improvements in military tactics which led to the conquests of Philip and Alexander. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Writing on the medium of papyrus was utilized as the basis for an extensive administrative system. The imperial monopoly of knowledge was able to overcome the truths of individual cities, tribes, and nations. (Empire, Chapter 4.) But the Alexandrian empire was not able to overcome the problem of time. Four dynasties were established after Alexander's death, each concerned with its own truths and with the control of space. Writing emphasized the monopolies of knowledge of various centres. These centres were in competition with each other. To offset the influence of a powerful priestly class at Thebes, for example, the imperial centre of Alexandria emphasized a new monopoly of knowledge in the written tradition in large libraries, museums, and the university, which became centres of prestige. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

The short sections given by Innis to this period in the history of the West are most illustrative of the effects of mechanized technique and technology of communication and they are pregnant with meaning for the modern West. The period in question featured spatial monopolies of knowledge and the lack of a strong time bias allowed for

division, competition, and chaos in the empire. The truths of centres were constantly in competition and conflict.

Innis further points out that during this period there was an ever increasing emphasis on individualism. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

> "Man as a political animal, a fraction of the polis or self-governing city had ended with Aristotle, with Alexander begins man as an individual." (A. J. Carlyle) (Empire, p. 108.)

The power of the written tradition emphasized "erudition and criticism" of specialists rather than poets and scholars. Reason, individualism and equality were emphasized. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Here again is reference to Innis' thesis that the increasing emphasis on reason may be considered to be, at least in part, an effect of writing with the phonetic alphabet. Truths became those things which appealed to man's reason.

> Dogmatism followed the conclusion that power governing the universe was rational. (Empire, p. 115.)

This is the change in man's very concept of truths to which Innis refers in his comments on Greece. (Empire, p. 100. See earlier quotation.) In the pre-alphabet civilizations a monopoly of knowledge meant a monopoly of a difficult script. However, these early scripts were pictographic. They did not impose a linear, rational method of thinking. The phonetic alphabet destroyed this kind of monopoly of knowledge. The new monopolies, the new "religious" truths, as effects of the alphabet, tended to be based on man's reason. Rational truths became the basis of control over time and over space. Power

was based on intellectual understanding. A linear, rational method of thinking was imposed on man. (Empire, Chapters 3 and 4). Of course, at this time and for many centuries to come relatively few people were affected by this revolutionary method of thinking.

Innis explains that philosophy was emphasized by the educated who could take advantage of the written means of communication, but the common man who could not read was drawn to various religious cults. The two groups drifted further and further apart and communication became increasingly difficult. This division and competition weakened science and philosophy and allowed the time element to be usurped by religious cults from the East, and the space element to be usurped by force from Rome in the West. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

According to Innis the evolution of Roman society from one based on a strong oral tradition to one based on writing and the effects of this change is in some ways similar to that of Greece. (Bias, Chapter 4.) In the period prior to the introduction of writing an early monarchy had given way to an aristocracy of Patricians. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Laws were oral and were controlled by four colleges of priests. The laws had been passed down by memory and were applied to all disputes. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

> Priests became the makers, expounders, and administrators of law hampered by no meddlesome legislators and capricious monarchs. The results of their work have been described as comparable to the philosophical ideas of the Greeks and the religious ideas of the Semites. (Empire, p. 102.)

The oral tradition gave continuity to early Roman society. (Bias, Chapter 4.) It was flexible and allowed for compromise and for change

to take place gradually and without violent conflict. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

As an aside, it is important to stress once again how vitally important Innis sees the effects of a strong oral tradition. He understands the great creative periods of Hebrew religion, Greek philosophy, and Roman law to be essentially effects of a strong oral tradition. And, as will be explained shortly, he understands Christianity to be equally an effect of a strong oral tradition. In each case the flexibility of the alphabet allowed these great traditions to be preserved. But it tended to change them in the preservation.

Innis points out that in Rome up to the time of Cicero laws and precedents remained to a large extent in the memories of the aristocratic and priestly groups. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 4.) The oral tradition was so firmly fixed that it retained a large measure of its influence even after the widespread use of writing. (Empire, Chapter 4.) He says that the progressive character of law can be seen in the development of the law of contract, (Empire, Chapter 4), "one of the greatest achievements of classical jurisprudence". (Empire, p. 105.)

Innis explains that spatial problems were created for the Roman republic with the success of Roman arms. The need for control over wide areas emphasized bureaucratic administration and the need for writing. The written tradition using papyrus as a principle

medium in turn supported an emphasis on centralized bureaucratic administration. (Empire, Chapter 4.) In his explanation of the development of Roman society Innis points to the growing difference between state law and civil law. The great achievements of civil law in the concepts of the family, property, and contract were made by lawyers practicing within the oral tradition. State law tended to be written law and treaties were engraved on bronze or stone. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

Following military success in the East, Rome began to be influenced by Hellenism with its strong written tradition. Libraries were brought from Greece. Papyrus was available from Egypt. (Bias, Chapters I and 2.) Books and readers emerged gradually in about the third century to meet the needs of the state, of agriculture and of law. The effects of writing permeated nearly every phase of the cultural life of Rome. An interest in the codification of laws developed with the spread of writing. Bureaucratic administration was extended. This, in turn, necessitated more codification of laws. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

> While the Roman state was alive and developing no code was constituted or even proposed. (Empire, p. 126.)

The Republic was replaced by the Empire. (Bias, p. 46). Innis' works illustrate that as the Roman empire evolved the letter of the law became supreme even in the civil sphere, and decrees were unalterably fixed. The dead letter replaced the living growth of

the oral tradition. Truths became fixed and unchangeable. And the truths were those related to control of space. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Writing displaced the more cumbersome and inefficient ceremonies of the oral tradition. (Bias, Chapter 1.) The old patriarchal system was weakened by the growing spatial dominance seen in the use of force and in the written laws. Legal obligation became separated from religious duty. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 4.) The truths or dogmas of the empire were spatial in nature and lent themselves to the support of the emperor, the administration, and to the control of vast areas. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Concentration of control in the hands of an emperor backed by an efficient administrative bureaucracy weakened the power of the Senate. Dissention developed between the Senate and the people. The emperor obtained the people's support and gradually their worship. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 4.)

> The rise of absolutism in a bureaucratic state reflected the influence of writing and was supported by an increase in the production of papyrus. (Empire, p. 125.)

Innis points out that in the mature Roman empire all means of communication were utilized to promote the spatial truths of political empire. Analogous to the Alexandrine empire, libraries were established in Rome to build prestige, this time to offset the prestige gained by Alexandria. The libraries were associated with magnificent temples. The architecture and the solid construction emphasized equilibrium, stability, and permanence and reflected the demands of the imperial state for control over both space and time.

The buildings, books, and even coins were all instruments of political propaganda. (Empire, Chapter 4.) A spatial monopoly of knowledge was well and firmly established.

The evolution of the Roman empire is seen by Innis in terms of the effects of writing and papyrus. He elucidates its development from oral flexibility to a spatial monopoly of knowledge. He understands the "religious" truths which tied the empire to Rome as being in large measure effects of both the mechanized technique and technology of communication. The truths were spatial in nature. Religion was the state. The spatial monopoly usurped independent truths of time. Time was controlled by bureaucracy. (Bias, Chapter 3.) While the Roman empire should not perhaps be described as totalitarian, since without modern mass communication it did not have the means for such total control of minds which exists today, Innis certainly sees this ancient empire as somewhat analogous to the spatial monopoly of knowledge of the United States in particular as well as other countries in the West.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Innis' works on the Christian religion illustrates its development from an oral, "spiritual" beginning to a monopoly of knowledge of time, or we may say from the pursuit of truth in faith to a monopoly of written truths. He sees this development as an effect of the mechanized technique and technology of communication.

He explains that the state religion of Rome tended to be a prescribed and formal collective demonstration. It did not allow for much creative individual religious expression. Political unification was emphasized rather than individual personal salvation. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Redemptive religions developed with some energy in order to meet a widespread demand for individual salvation via a deity. These religions spread in the lower strata of society. They were oral in nature and tended to develop in marginal areas less exposed to the strong spatial monopoly of the empire. When writing was used the medium was often parchment. (Empire, Chapter 4.) According to Innis this medium was convenient because it could be manufactured from the skins of animals in a variety of decentralized and agricultural areas. Papyrus, on the other hand, was a product of restricted areas, of the centres of empire. The effect of parchment as a medium of communication was thus to emphasize decentralization whereas the effect of papyrus was to emphasize centralization. (Bias, Chapter 2.) A

result of the use of parchment by redemptive religions was that an independent time bias began to infiltrate the spatial monopoly of the Roman empire. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

Innis outlines how Christianity arose out of a ferment within Judaism. He says that it arose at least partially as a protest against the theocratic rigidity which followed the gap which developed between Hebrew as a sacred written "dead" language and Aramaic as the vernacular. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Innis believes that the creative power of Christianity, in the beginning, was a reflection of the power of the oral tradition and that it was saved from becoming a mere sect within Judaism because it was forced to appeal to the spoken Greek language. (Bias, Chapter 1.)

> It is written . . . but, I say unto you.
> (Bias, p. 14.)

The Pharisaic concern with law was repudiated. "The strength of sin is in the law". (Bias, p. 115.) The early Christians developed their own oral tradition which they traced back to the apostles. (Bias, Chapter 4.) The New Testament was written in colloquial Greek which Innis says was possibly based on an Aramaic oral tradition. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 4.)

> The oral tradition of early Israel had been associated with an anthropomorphic god; the hardening effects of a written tradition had necessitated a return to the oral tradition and an anthropomorphic god in Christianity. (Bias, p. 115.)

In the early stages of the development of Christianity copies of short written works were probably made on papyrus, as well as

parchment, in the form of a codex. (Bias, Chapter 4.) However, vellum or parchment had distinct advantages over papyrus, particularly papyrus used in the form of a roll. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Parchment could be used on both sides. It was economical, durable, easy to write on, to consult, and to transport. And, of course, it could be manufactured in remote areas. The Christians were able to make effective use of this medium for the written communication of the Hebrew scriptures as well as their own writings. Papyrus and the roll continued to be used for pagan works. Gradually, the Christian oral tradition was committed to writing on parchment and books produced which became sacred. (Empire, Chapter 4; Bias, Chapters 1 and 2.)

During this early period there was a growing demand from Christians for authoritative scriptures. This led to the development of the canon of the New Testament and the production of complete Bibles. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 4.) Innis points out that the primacy of the Roman Church within Christianity had been established by the end of the first century and a Catholic confederation emerged about A.D. 180. In 313 Christianity became a licensed cult. With the Edict of Milan the empire recognized the Christian Church as a corporation by giving it permission to hold property. Paganism was dethroned as a state religion. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Libraries were recopied on parchment and the wholesale destruction of pagan writings on papyrus took place. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 4.) Christianity, now based on a book as the carrier of everlasting and

unchangeable truths, absorbed or drove out other religions such as Mithraism and moved to a position of close co-operation with the state. (Bias, Chapter 1.)

Innis explains that the Roman empire was able to gain the support of this time bias by incorporating Christianity into the imperial structure under Constantine. (Bias, Chapter 2.) This provided balance for the spatial monopoly of knowledge characteristic of political empire. (Empire, Chapter 4.)

> The bureaucratic development of the Roman Empire and success in solving problems of administration over vast areas were dependent on supplies of papyrus. The bias of this medium became apparent in the monopoly of bureaucracy and its inability to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of . . . time . . . . The problem of the Roman Empire in relation to time was solved by the support of religion in the Christian Church. (Bias, p. 47.)

This quotation indicates Innis' understanding of the shift in the Christian religion from poverty to power, from faith in truth to a monopoly of truths. It was the effective control of time through written unchangeable truths on a durable medium that gave power to the Christian Church. It was this control of time which was coveted and used by political empires in the East and the West.

Innis explains that with increasing barbarian encroachment on the western part of the empire more attention was given to the wealthier portions in the East. Constantinople, as a more defensible site, was chosen as the capital and Christianity became the official religion. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> Constantine . . . emphasized a strong centralized authority and joined a powerful ecclesiastical interest to a military bureaucracy. Caesaropapism implied authority of the emperor over the Church. Christianity became a religion of conquerors and Constantine rather than Christ was to Christianize Europe. (Empire, p. 136.)

> The element of time had been organized in relation to religion to meet the demands of an organization of space in relation to Empire . . . A bureaucracy built up in relation to papyrus and the alphabet was supplemented by a hierarchy built up in relation to parchment. The consequent stability was evident in the continuity of the Byzantine Empire to 1453. (Bias, pp. 116-117.)

Innis believes that the Roman empire was successful in the East at least in part because it was based on competing media. A balance was maintained between the truths of time and space. The religious hierarchy provided a real time bias. It was not merely a part of the spatial bias even though it was subordinate to it. The emperor was the central figure in both religion and politics. But while politics was supreme it was tempered by religion. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 4; Empire, Chapter 4.) In Innis' mind this is the ideal arrangement for the survival of empire. The time and spatial biases co-exist. There is genuine concern for both time and space. The one kind of truths do not gain a monopoly.

> I have attempted to show elsewhere that in Western civilization a stable society is dependent on an appreciation of a proper balance between the concepts of space and time. . . . We are concerned with control not only over vast areas of space but also over vast s stretches of time . . . . The character of the medium of communication tends to create a bias in the civilization of favourable to an over-emphasis on the time concept or on the space concept and only at rare intervals are the biases offset by the influence of another medium and stability achieved. (Bias, pp. 63-64.)

He offers the stability and continuity of the Byzantine empire as a case in point. Justinian contributed much to strengthening the prestige of the Eastern empire with his code of written civil law (with its spatial bias), and the cathedral of St. Sophia. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Innis points out that this code of Roman law has influenced European life more than any other written work except the Bible. In addition the great manuscripts of Christian literature (with their time bias) were produced in the first part of the fourth century. (Empire, Chapter 4.) Innis believes that it was in large measure through these two major written traditions that the truths of space and time were imposed on the West. In the eastern part of the empire they were kept somewhat in balance. A monopoly of one or the other did not develop and the empire survived for a long period of time.

The situation in the western part of the empire was quite different. Innis explains that the political position of the empire there was greatly weakened. This allowed the position of the Church to grow stronger and the position of law to be weakened. (Empire, Chapter 5.)

> The codex was suited to the large book whether it was the Roman law or the Hebrew scriptures. In the Byzantine Empire successive codifications of Roman law were undertaken. Caesaropapism and the iconoclastic controversy assumed control over the church by the emperor. In the West the law of the barbarians was personal and the Church emphasized the scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. (Bias, pp. 17-18.)

In the West, as a result of barbarian encroachment, the hierarchy of the Roman empire became to a large extent the hierarchy of the Roman Church. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 4.) There was a gradual growth of ecclesiastical empire in the West with a monopoly of knowledge of time. According to Innis monarchy in the western papacy closely paralleled monarchy in the eastern empire. The difference was that while religious divisions occurred in the East the empire remained firm. The opposite occurred in the West. There was relative religious stability but constant political instability. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 4; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> The alphabet had proved too flexible and too adaptable to language. Language proved tougher than force and the history of the West was in part an adaptation of force to language. The richness of Greek civilization, the balance between religion, law, and emperor which characterized the Byzantine Empire, enabled it to withstand the effects of new developments in the application of force. (Bias, p. 15.)

Innis' works elucidate the development in the western part of the empire of a monopoly of knowledge of time centering around the medium of parchment. The spatial bias, based on papyrus, had been destroyed by invasion and by the powerful position of the Church. (Empire, Chapter 5.)

> The ban on secular learning gave a preponderance to theological studies and made Rome dominant. The monopoly of knowledge centering around parchment emphasized religion at the expense of law. (Bias, p. 49.)

Innis points out that parchment gave a powerful impetus to monasticism. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 5.) The truths of

the Church could be copied and maintained in decentralized monastic locations. Each monastery had a library. There was little check upon the growth of monasticism in the West and this accentuated the influence of celibacy, of Latin, and a monopoly of knowledge of time. (Empire, Chapter 5.) According to Innis the position of the emperor in the East, with a strong spatial bias keeping the time bias under control as it were, was responsible for the clash with monasticism, the iconoclastic controversy, and the eventual separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> In the East monasticism was brought under control but in the West it strengthened its position to the point that political history has been powerfully influenced by the struggle between church and state to the present century. (Bias, p. 16.)

The growing power of monasticism in the West was given more impetus when supplies of papyrus, which had provided at least the basis for a spatial bias, were cut off by the Mohammedans who had taken control of Egypt. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> Between 659 and 679 A.D. papyrus was replaced by parchment in the Merovingian court and after 716 it practically disappeared. (Empire, p. 140.)

As earlier indicated, in the midst of the spatial monopoly of knowledge of the Roman empire, in marginal areas beyond the direct influence of Rome rich oral traditions did persist. These marginal reas, such as Ireland and Germany, were also able to resist the time monopoly of the Roman Church. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> It has been significant that the national propaganda of the small nations of Europe has been largely in anthologies of poetry as the media best designed to protect them from the influence of "products of pure intelligence". (Bias, p. 123.)

For Innis a "product of pure intelligence" is an effect of writing with the phonetic alphabet. Writing imposes a rational mode of thinking. (Empire, Chapter 3; Bias, Chapter 4.) Reading and writing highlight the visual sense at the expense of the other senses. (Bias, Chapter 2.)

> Reading without moving of the lips introduced a taste and style of its own. The ancient world troubled about sounds, the modern world about thoughts. Egoism replaced an interest in the group. (Bias, p. 14.)

Innis believes that a strong oral tradition is required in order to provide the creative, emotional energy which a civilization requires to undermine monopolies and prevent stagnation and slavery.

Because of the strong oral tradition in Ireland, even within the Christian organization there, there was a surfeit of creative energy which overflowed in missionary activity to Scotland and England and to the Continent. (Empire, Chapter 5; Bias, Chapter 4.) The power of the oral tradition in this remote area meant that it was able to escape somewhat the monopoly of truths controlled by the Church at Rome. Innis says that this creative energy gave momentum to the Carolingian renaissance, and to the position of emperor Charlemagne. It thus strengthened the political empire in the West. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) The spatial bias, under Charlemagne, was given a dramatic push forward. The papacy

at Rome occupied a position somewhat similar to that of the patriarch at Constantinople. The possibility existed that a balance, similar to that existing in the East, might be worked out in which the emperor and the spatial bias would be stronger but would be tempered by a strong time bias. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> The Western Empire had the elements of a Caesaropapism in its capacity for organizing space and its relations with the Church for organizing time and securing continuity. (Bias, p. 124.)

Innis explains that Charlemagne attempted to build an efficient administrative system. (Bias, Chapter 2.) He obtained administrative officials from educational institutions controlled by the Church (Bias, Chapter 2), specifically, of course, from Ireland. He insisted on higher educational qualifications for the clergy and established schools in connection with every abbey. This marked the triumph of control by the Church over education. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 5.) Charlemagne's concern for an efficient control of space was reflected also in his encouragement of a more uniform script, the miniscule. This was more clear and precise and it replaced a diversity of script. It thus laid the basis for a more efficient written communication. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 5.)

However, as Innis points out, the movement toward a strong spatial bias in the state which would have provided a balance for the monopoly of time held by the Church was shattered with the death of Charlemagne. The Teutonic principle of equal division among the heirs fragmented the vast area controlled by Charlemagne.

(Bias, Chapter 4.) The Church, in particular the monastic organizations within the Church, notably the Order of Cluni, resisted any encroachment on its monopoly. Encroachments attempted by the Holy Roman Empire on the papacy were vigorously resisted. They were followed by reforms within the Church and the development of an even more powerful ecclesiastical organization, utilizing the Latin language written on parchment. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 5.) This "ecclesiastical empire" resisted all spatial pressure until such time as the bias of parchment was undermined by a new medium, namely paper. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> In 1059, under the influence of Hildebrand, Nicholas II fixed a definite body to choose the supreme pontiff and to evade control by the emperor. With Hildebrand's succession to the papacy reforms of a drastic nature were introduced. The Church was to be freed from the ties binding it to the state. . . . Parchment as adapted to the demands of monasticism had contributed to the development of a powerful ecclesiastical organization in western Europe. (Empire, p. 149.)

> A monopoly of time was built up centering around the name of Rome, the use of Latin, celibacy of the clergy, freedom from the state, and the monastic system. (Bias, p. 124.)

This synthesis of Innis' works dealing with the development of the Christian religion has tried to emphasize his understanding of religious organization as an effect of the technique and the technology of communication. It can be seen that "religious" truths are the basis of empire, whether political or ecclesiastical. Innis believes that the media of communication have played a large part in determining which kind of empire, and which kind of truths, shall

be supreme. In either case it is clear that the truths of empire, i.e. monopolies of knowledge, are far removed from the spiritual creativity of the oral tradition.

## CHAPTER SIX

## PAPER, PRINTING AND THE REFORMATION

Innis says that the monopoly of time achieved by the Church in the West invited competition from areas marginal to the effects of the ecclesiastical empire in a concern for space. (Bias, Chapter 4.) This competition reflected the demands and needs of lower levels of society which were first expressed within the oral tradition. Paper emerged as the medium for their written expression. (Bias, Chapter 1; History,* Chapter 5; Empire, Chapter 5.) With the new medium for mechanized communication new truths emerged to monopolize mind in the West. A monopoly of knowledge built up by the Church through its monastic organization, the use of Latin, and the use of parchment began to feel the effects of new truths reflective of a new medium.

> Paper introduced "a revolution . . . of high importance, without which the art of writing would have been much less practiced, and the invention of printing less serviceable to manking." . . . It "permitted the old costly material by which thought was transmitted to be superseded by a universal substance which was to facilitate the diffusion of the works of human intelligence". . . . Writing developed beyond monastic walls and in the twelfth century numerous attacks were made on ecclesiastical corruption. (Bias, p. 19.)

In reference to a point made in the previous chapter it should be stressed that for Innis a product of pure intelligence is an effect of writing. Innis' works indicate that with the introduction

*A History of Communications (Microfilm), 1945-52, pp. 1000. McMaster University Library. Hereinafter cited History.

of paper this effect of writing continued and was extended but the bias of the medium itself gradually directed man's attention to control of space rather than time. The growing emphasis was on rational "religious" truths for the control of geographical area in the interest, primarily, of national politics, but also of commerce.

The technique for making paper from rags came originally from China. The spread of Islam in the East facilitated the introduction of the technique to the West. (Bias, Chapter 2; History, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) An important effect of the increasing use of paper in the West was the growth in importance of the developing vernacular languages. (Bias, Chapter 1; History, Chapter 4.) This was part and parcel of the rise of trade and commerce, of the merchant and commercial classes, and of cities. (Empire, Chapter 5.) Innis' works illustrate a complex interaction of cause and effect between this new medium of communication and the biases supported by it. The vernacular languages and paper as a medium for written communication grew in importance as a result of commercial, as well as political, activities and interests, while at the same time supporting and furthering their expansion and development. He says that the emphasis on Latin in the monasteries and the Church in general in its attempt to protect its monopoly of knowledge widened the gap with the oral and the growing vernacular written tradition. (Bias, Chapter 4; History, Chapter 4.) The oral vernacular languages were alive, growing, and dynamic. Oral truths were able to change

and develop. Latin was a language of scholars. Its truths were absolute, fossilized, dead. They reflected both the technique and the technology of communication. He suggests further that the limitations of the Latin language and its contents was more severe because it reflected a "celibate type of thought". (Empire, p. 159.)

The oral traditions had been long growing and developing, particularly in areas remote from Rome. Innis points out that the courts were important centres of literary activity in the vernacular and supported the poetry of the troubadours as well as the literature of writers such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Chaucer. This in turn favoured the growth of heretical writing. (History, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) Here again is an interaction of cause and effect between medium and bias.

> The rise of vernacular literature hastened and was hastened by the growth of nationalism. (Empire, p. 166.)

Innis says that the oral tradition was also supported by the rise of universities in cathedral centres. The restriction of learning to the monasteries favoured the development of the oral tradition in the universities and finally the breaking forth of the oral tradition in the Reformation. (Idea File, p. 216.) Also, the influx of Greek scholars from the East, following the destruction of Constantinople, contributed to the growing interest in classical civilization with its rich oral tradition. (Bias, Chapter 1.)

> The vitality of the classics of Greece which reflected the power of civilization based on an oral tradition gradually weakened the monopoly of knowledge held by the Church. (Bias, p. 22.)

On several fronts the oral traditions were constantly working to undermine the monopoly of knowledge held by the Church. Innis points out that the Church instituted the Dominican and Franciscan preaching orders in the early thirteenth century in an attempt to bridge the gap which was growing between the Latin locked truths of the Church and the rising vernaculars. These orders tried to dominate teaching in the universities and to reach large numbers of common people by preaching in the vernacular. The Church also instituted the Inquisition in order to more efficiently detect and deal with the growing heresy and to protect its monopoly of the truths of time. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 5.)

> "The secret mysteries of the faith ought not therefore to be explained to all men in all places." (Bias, p. 160.)

Innis says that the impact of writing using the new medium of paper can be seen in the growing importance of vernacular languages, in the organization of space in relation to these languages, and in the development of industry and trade. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) The commercial revolution began around 1275. (Bias, Chapter 2.)

> From the thirteenth century, the middle class or the bourgeoisie, became increasingly powerful. (History, Chapter 4, p. 11.)

As early as the twelfth century Florence was using writing in the vernacular to organize trade and commerce. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Since an important effect of writing is to force the individual to reflect more intensively (Bias, Chapter 4), the discipline of writing in

the vernacular for trade and commerce expanded this effect to lower levels of society. Innis points out that this had important consequences for commerce as well as for the consequent intellectual and artistic revolution. (Bias, Chapter 4.) This illustrates again the importance which Innis places on the technique of communication in influencing the way in which men think. Writing imposes a rational, linear method of thinking. The development of vernacular writing expanded this mode of thinking to a segment of society which had not been hitherto affected. He says that the disciplinary effects of writing were aided by the adoption of Arabic numberals in place of the more cumbersome Roman numerals. He believes that writing and mathematics compliment each other in their effects. Together they influence the development of more efficient, and more impersonal, relationships. This is a point which he stresses in his early works on transportation in Canada. (See Chapter 1 of this thesis.) Innis sees writing, and more importantly of course printing, as imposing a rational, and largely impersonal, type of relationship in the West. This kind of relationship is in direct contrast to the personal and emotional type of relationship characteristic of the oral tradition.

> Calculability had intellectual consequences. Commercial property developed with contracts and economic relations lost their personal colour. Great artists and individuals rose from the ranks of notaries. (Bias, p. 125.)

Innis believes that a trend to centralized control, manifest particularly in national politics but also in the development of

commerce and industry, began with paper. In other words, the bias to space began with the use of paper as a medium for writing. From this point onward the things to which people attended began more and more to reflect a spatial bias. There was increasing concern for national politics and for commerce.

Innis explains that because linen rags were the main raw material used in the manufacture of paper and because the large cities provided the chief market, the production and use of paper promoted centralizing tendencies which were opposite to the tendencies of parchment. Paper was a product of the cities whereas parchment was a product of decentralized rural communities. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) He points out that the manufacture and increasing use of paper in urban centres began to undermine the monopoly over writing held by the monasteries. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries writing masters were established in the major cities of Europe. Gradually, monopolies of copyist guilds in the large cities replaced the monopolies held by the monasteries. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 4; Empire, Chapter 5; History, Chapter 4.)

During this period of increasing use of paper as a medium of communication there was a steady development in secular, and vernacular, education. This was occasioned by and helped to further the development of trade and commerce and the increasing centralization manifest in the growing importance of cities. (Bias, Chapter 3; History, Chapter 4.) To protect its monopoly the Church reacted against this secular education and closed the monastery

schools to secular students. This in turn favoured the growth of cathedral schools and universities in the cities. (Bias, Chapter 3.)

> The rural interest of the monasteries was succeeded by the urban interest of the university. (Bias, p. 19.)

Both classical and vernacular education was on the increase. The expanding literary output found a growing audience of people who could read. Wycliffe directed his translation of the Bible at least in part to literate tradesmen and artisans in the towns and cities. (History, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 5.) Books were needed in ever increasing quantities and paper was the medium used.

Innis says that the increasing importance of secular education, the rise of lawyers, writers in the vernacular, the growth of trade and commerce, the development and growth of towns and cities and the trend to centralization strengthened the spatial bias of national politics, as exemplified in the monarchies. (Bias, Chapter 1; History, Chapter 4.)

> With the spread of commerce from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, absolutism became an economic necessity to displace feudalism. The French monarchs were aware of the possibility of using the vulgar tongue as a powerful means of unifying the realm and increasing their prestige. (History, Chapter 8, p. 18.)

The growth of national politics encouraged and was encouraged by the rising importance of vernacular literature. (Bias, Chapter 1.) Innis' works illustrate how new "religious" truths, relating to the control of geographical area and reflecting the bias of paper grew in importance in the West. With the developing spatial bias came an appreciation of the importance of written law for the control of

space. Innis says that the interest of the Byzantine empire in written law, to offset religious organization, was brought to Italy and that the early teachers in law at Bologna were supported by the patronage of emperors. (Empire, Chapter 5.) He is clear in his understanding that written law is an important element in establishing strong imperial administration and control. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 2.)

The spread of Roman law from the eastern empire became a powerful reinforcement to the position of national monarchs in France and to a lesser extent in England. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 2; Empire, Chapter 5.) Innis points out that in England the weakness of a written tradition allowed for the growth and development of custom and common law. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 5.) In England,

> Law was found, not made, and the implications were evident in the jury system, the King's Court, common law, and parliament. (Bias, p. 21.)

This emphasis on the oral tradition in England allowed for flexibility and compromise in the development of new truths relating to the mastery of space. This same kind of flexibility was not possible where there was a strong emphasis on the written tradition and written law. With the emphasis on paper and writing the new truths relating to control of space gained precedence in France. In opposition to both the papacy and the Holy Roman emperor there evolved a central principle of French law, "the King is Emperor within his own realm". (Bias, p. 162.) To counter this development and use of law in the

interest of the control of space the Church developed canon law in the interest of more efficient control of time. (Bias, Chapter 2.) Here opposing systems of truths reflect clearly the bias of opposing media.

> The revival of centralized secular government in the empire and in national states such as England and France meant a challenge to the authority of the Church and the emergence of a contest between canon law and Roman law. The foundations of the universal theocratic state were being undermined and the way was prepared for the emergence of two societies of Church and State . . . The struggle between Henry and Beckett was between the champions of the two rival institutions. (History, Chapter 4, p. 83.)

Innis' works illustrate that due in large measure to the introduction of the new medium of paper new "religious" truths began to be emphasized and to challenge the old truths.

> Decline of the monopoly of knowledge based on parchment in which an ecclesiastical organization emphasized control over time followed the competition of paper which supported the growth of trade and of cities, the rise of vernaculars, and the increasing importance of lawyers, and emphasized the concept of space in nationalism. (Bias, p. 53.)

However, the full impact of this development came with the invention of the printing press.

> The introduction of printing marked the beginning of the long struggle between a civilization based on writing and vellum and a civilization based on paper and the printing press. (History, Chapter 5, p. 43.)

> After the introduction of paper and the printing press, religious monopoly was followed by monopolies of vernaculars in modern states. A monopoly of time was followed by a monopoly of space. (Bias, p. 64.)

As indicated earlier, one of the effects of the introduction of paper was to undermine the monopoly position held by the monasteries

over the reproduction of manuscripts. (Empire, Chapter 5.) Guilds of copyists were gradually established in the cities and over a period of time they in turn built up their own monopoly position. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 4; Empire, Chapter 6.) The process of hand copying was quite inefficient in terms of the numbers of copies able to be produced, the subsequent price per copy and the accuracy of the reproduction. A reaction developed against the monopoly of the guilds on all three counts. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> "Printing is one of the first instances of the substitution of mechanical devices for direct handiwork in the interest of accuracy and refinement in execution as well as in the interest of reduced cost." (Usher). (History, Chapter 5, p. 39.)

The importance of the printing press for the subsequent development of mechanization in the West cannot be overestimated. This is a theme which is implicit throughout Innis' later works. He explains that it was the flexibility of the phonetic alphabet which really allowed for the invention of mechanical printing. The mechanical production of large numbers of the same letters which were able to be put together in innumerable combinations was possible only with the phonetic alphabet. (Bias, Chapter 4; Empire, Chapter 6.)

The printing press was developed in Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century. Both the invention and subsequent rapid spread of printing was in large measure a result of commercial initiative. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 4.)

> Commercial organization made possible the printing press and the development of an expanding market for its product. (History, Chapter 4, p. 11.)

Gutenberg's invention was prompted by the fact that the multiplication of texts had become a lucrative trade. In the beginning the printers concentrated on the reproduction of manuscripts but by the end of the fifteenth century they were looking to new markets. (Bias, Chapter 2.)

> Printing accentuated a commercial interest in the selection of books and the publisher concerned with the markets began to displace the printer concerned with production. (Empire, p. 175.)

> The printer had been an independent creative master but by 1500 the mechanical side of the printing process had begun to gain a footing and the commercial aspect had become more and more important. (History, Chapter 5, p. 1.)

The vernacular languages offered a wider market with new authors and new readers. (Bias, Chapter 2.) Printing in the vernacular offered a tremendous impetus to the spatial bias inherent in writing and paper. It communicated these effects, for the first time, to really large numbers of people. As a result the effects were revolutionary. Innis' works indicate that up to the invention of printing the mass of people remained essentially in an oral environment. While the truths of the Church were in large measure effects of the technique and technology of mechanized communication, its authority was oral in nature. This was supplemented by art, architecture and music. Printing literally gave the masses an eye for an ear. In so doing it effectively destroyed the authority

of the Church. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> Printing marked the beginning of the struggle between the Church and the book. The vernaculars assumed a place of major importance. (History, Chapter 6, p. 67.)

The many vernacular translations of the Bible, as well as the Greek translations, destroyed the monopoly of time as expressed in Latin. (Bias, Chapter 4.)

> New monopolies of space began to emerge as the monopoly over time was weakened. (Bias, p. 128.)

> Publication of the scriptures in the vernacular was followed by new interpretations and by the intensive controversies conducted in pamphlets and sheets which ended in the establishment of Protestantism. (Bias, p. 54.)

> The prolific source of Protestant sectarianism was the notion that the scriptures speak unmistakably. (Empire, p. 184.)

It is important to note here that Innis sees the new spatial truths, relating to nationalism and commerce, as growing and developing parallel with Protestantism, all as effects of printing and paper. The new "religious" truths, relating to control of geographical area, were supported by vernacular translations of the Bible. The vernacular translations destroyed the monopoly of time of Latin. Each vernacular translation gained control of time for itself. But Innis indicates that the vernacular translations in turn supported the spatial biases of nationalism and commerce. Nationalism was based on the mass mechanized communication of vernacular languages. The vernacular translations of the Bible gave these

languages sacred appeal and the concept of nationalism and the nation itself was also given a sacred appeal. (Empire, Chapter 6.)

Innis says that a culture associated with the parchment manuscript and the new culture associated with paper and printing engaged in a struggle for supremacy during the sixteenth century. (History, Chapter 6; Empire, Chapter 6.) This was a struggle between the biases of time and space for monopoly of men's minds. It was a struggle between the biases of conflicting media. It was a struggle between "religious" truths as reflections of these media. For Innis the spatial bias, reflecting paper and printing, manifest in the truths basic to Protestantism, nationalism, and commercialism, while the time bias, reflecting parchment and writing, manifest in feudalism, unversalism, and Roman Catholicism. Innis explains that the weakening of the divine hierarchy, as an effect of paper and printing, was accompanied by a weakening of the political structure and a disintegration of the feudal order. Force came to occupy a prominent position over tradition and legitimacy. (History, Chapter 6.)

> The invention of printing brought a recognition of the importance of force . . . Printing and gunpowder facilitated an appeal for the practical and the empirical. (History, Chapter 6, p. 93.)

It is important to note here again how Innis sees printing as imposing a practical and empirical frame of mind on the West. This is an effect of the phonetic alphabet, but the invention of printing made this inherent effect revolutionary.

> A body politic created by force was to be maintained by force and to take the place of states based on

> tradition and legitimacy. The divine origin of the state was ignored. (History, Chapter 6, p. 93.)

Innis points out that with the imposition of this factual and impirical frame of mind came the realization that real power was not divine. Innis believes that both Protestantism and science supported this changing conceptualization. Both helped to destroy the time monopoly of the universal Church and supported the new truths related to the control of space. (History, Chapter 6; Empire, Chapter 6; Bias, Chapter 4.)

> Science was discovered as the very antithesis of common sense. (History, Chapter 6, p. 93.)

> Science met the demands of navigation, industry trade and finance by the development of astronomy and refined measurements of time which left little place for myth or religion. (Bias, p. 72.)

> Protestantism replaced the authority of the hierarchy with the infallibility of the scripture. (History, Chapter 6, p. 106.)

Universalism, as seen in Humanism based on the Latin language, was the first to benefit from printing. (History, Chapters 5 and 6.) Erasmus hoped that the advancement of sound learning and the diffusion of the scriptures would serve to dissipate the prevailing monkish superstitions, purge the corruption of the Church, and preserve the unity of Christendom. (History, Chapter 6.) However, as Innis says,

> Erasmus was both the triumph and victim of printing. (History, Chapter 6, p. 49.)

His Greek testament was the first complete Greek text to appear in print and it became the basis for a variety of vernacular

translations, notably those by Luther and Tyndale. (History, Chapter 6). However, the very effects which Erasmus feared, i.e. political and religious divisions, were the results of these vernacular translations. The improvement in the text of the New Testament by Erasmus opened the way to vernacular translations, biblical interpretation and the Reformation. Innis says that Erasmus broke down the barrier between sacred and profane learning, that he fought the battle for biblical criticism. (History, Chapter 6.)

> Improvement of the text of the New Testament under Erasmus opened the way to discussion of interpretation. (History, Chapter 6, p. 55.)

> Biblical literalism became the mother of heresy and of sects. (Bias, p. 54.)

The popularity of Erasmus' works were quickly surpassed by the writings of the Reformers under the impact of the printing press.

> The monopoly position of the Bible and the Latin language in the Church was destroyed by the press and in its place there developed a widespread market for the Bible in the vernacular and a concern for its literal interpretation. (Bias, p. 24.)

From Innis' works we can fully appreciate the extent to which the Reformation may be seen to be an effect of printing. The printing press was indeed the instrument of the Reformation.

> Protestants were aware of the power of the printing presses as a great engine of success for the Reformation. (History, Chapter 6, p. 23.)

Religious books and pamphlets bulked large among sixteenth century

publications. Large numbers of works were published in the vernacular calculated to appeal to the general public. While religious controversy in written form was not new the use of the printing press to communicate truths in the vernacular changed the entire scope and thus the effects of the controversy. Innis points out that John Wycliffe and John Huss had also emphasized lay reading of vernacular bibles, but books were unable to be copied fast enough to prevent their suppression. The censor was unable to keep up with the output of the printing presses. (History, Chapter 5.)

The Reformation provided strong motivation for the spread of vernacular printing.[1] (History, Chapter 6.)

> The growth of publishing and literature in Germany stimulated by religious and ecclesiastical controversies tended to make the press a servant of the people. Writers became concerned to influence public opinion, further causes, overthrow abuses and defend institutions. (History, Chapter 6, p. 57.)

Vernacular printing, as both cause and effect of Protestantism, meant a clash of truths reflecting the opposing media of mechanized communication. The Reformers emphasized the vernacular Bible as a book for everyone to read. The authority of the book was put in place of the authority of the Church. The result, of course, was

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[1] In Germany, up to 1517, when Luther published his 95 theses, the yearly output of books in the German language averaged 40. In 1519 it was 111; in 1521 it reached 211; in 1522, 347; in 1525, 498. Of the publications during this last year, 183 were by Luther himself, 215 were by other Reformers, and only 20 were by opponents of the Reformation. 80 works dealt with secular topics. (S. H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing, p. 108.)

the fragmentation of Christendom. (History, Chapter 5.)

Innis says that in response to the commercial motivation which played such an important part in the development of the printing industry there was a continuous attempt to expand markets and to increase sales. This tied the interests of the publisher very closely to the interest of the Reformers. (History, Chapter 6.)

> Attempts to secure wide circulation meant an enormous public interest in the writings of Luther and his associates. (History, Chapter 6, p. 57.)

Luther became a best selling author to an extent never before approached.[2] (History, Chapter 6.)

> Luther's publications in Germany, particularly the German Bible, laid the foundations for the book trade of Germany and Europe. (History, Chapter 6, p. 57.)

Under the impact of the Reformation the number of booksellers and publishers increased with great rapidity. Pamphlets, tracts, broadsheets, in general cheap reading material in the vernacular abounded. Small presses could be set up with limited capital and bitter polemics were assured of rapid sale and healthy profits. (History, Chapter 6; Empire, Chapter 6.)

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[2] Thirty editions of his Sermon on Indulgences and twenty-one editions of his Sermon on the Right Preparation of the Heart, both authorized and pirated, were published within two years (1518-20). Over 4,000 copies of his Address to the Christian Nobility were sold within five days in 1520. But as popular as these and other pamphlets were, Luther's translation of the Bible was even more so. There had been about 20 German Bibles printed before Luther but his translation was the first to become a mass hit. The New Testament was published first in 1522. The first edition sold 5,000 copies within a few weeks. 14 authorized and 66 unauthorized editions were published within two years. The Old Testament began to appear in parts in 1523, and the whole Bible was published in 1524. In total, 430 editions of the whole Bible, or sections of it, were published during Luther's lifetime. (S. H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing, p. 152.)

> Polemical literature implied the printing of pamphlets which were quickly produced on small presses, profitably sold, and capable of wide circulation in the hands of pedlars. (Empire, p. 176.)

Innis says that in the shift from salvation by works to that of salvation by faith Luther discovered a powerful argument to break the claim of the established Church to rule over the lives of individuals. (History, Chapter 6.) The old conception of absolute truths based on dogma, tradition, and hierarchy, which Innis sees as reflecting the effects of writing and parchment, was made by Luther to centre on the vernacular Bible. With salvation by faith the Church no longer had a time monopoly as the sole dispenser of saving grace. (History, Chapter 6.) It may be said that with Luther and the rise of Protestantism control over time was put "up for grabs" as it were. The battle was between rival attempts to control truths. Innis understands these rival truths to be, in large measure, effects of rival media of communication. From Innis' works we can understand that because Protestantism itself was, at least in part, an effect of paper and printing, authority in Protestantism would reflect the spatial bias inherent in the new media.

Innis explains that the religious reformation in Germany became attached to local fanaticism and that Lutheranism became a new orthodoxy and supported a new absolutism in the State. With Luther the church came strongly under the influence of a political situation. The emerging state escaped the dominance of the church,

and, in fact, gained the prestige of religion to support its growing spatial monopoly. (History; Chapter 6.) With the development of Protestantism the spatial bias usurped the time bias and used it for its own ends, i.e. mastery and control of geographical area.

Innis tends to see Protestantism as supportive of the growing spatial bias of national politics and of commerce, and eventually of capitalism. His works indicate an understanding of the support given by Lutheranism to nationalism and by Calvinism to commerce and capitalism. This connection is both explicit and implicit in his works. He tends to see all three as growing and developing together in large measure as effects of paper and printing.

His works make clear that an important effect of printing in the vernacular was to emphasize the particular language of a geographical area. When the developing vernacular languages of various areas were printed and mass produced in the areas the people who spoke and read the same language began to think of themselves more as a group, different from other geographical areas. This introduced a powerful divisive influence into western civilization. (Empire, Chapter 6.) As indicated earlier in this chapter this tendency to emphasize geographical area had begun before the invention of printing. Monarchy, for example, had early recognized the importance of the vernacular in enhancing its prestige and in unifying the realm. (Empire, Chapter 6.) So the

beginning of the spatial bias of nationalism came with the introduction of paper. But printing "broadcast" these effects to a mass of people for the first time. Protestantism provided the motivation for the spread of printed material and for the spread of mass literacy. It thus aided, while at the same time reflecting, the effects of the medium.

Innis explains that the prestige of these languages and of the nation and monarchy associated with a language was greatly strengthened by translation of the scriptures. (Empire, Chapter 6.) Innis' works imply that religion, especially Protestantism, became a reflection of the sacred appeal of the printed vernacular languages; that is, Protestantism quickly became associated, as both cause and effect, of the new "religious" truths associated with geographical area.

> Translations of the scriptures became part of the struggle for the mother tongue. It was associated with the Protestant movement. (History, Chapter 6, p. 18.)

> Worship of print broke up western civilization into nationalism and adaptation of technology to militarism harnassed to nationalism. (Idea File, p. 36.)

> By the end of the sixteenth century the monopoly of knowledge built up in relation to parchment had been overwhelmed and a fusion achieved with a monopoly of knowledge built up in relation to paper in the establishment of separate kingdoms in which the Church was dominated by the State as in Lutheranism and Anglicanism. (Empire, pp. 183-84.)

Innis believes that absolute monarchy was the chief political beneficiary of the Reformation. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 6.) He says that the developing economic forces gained the support of

the Reformation to give royal government absolute power at home and a relatively free hand abroad. (History, Chapter 6.)

> With the spread of commerce from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, absolutism became an economic necessity to displace feudalism. The French monarchs were aware of the possibility of using the vulgar tongue as a powerful means of unifying the realm and increasing their prestige. (History, Chapter 6, p. 18.)

Innis appears to agree in principle with the thesis proposed by Max Weber regarding Protestantism's support of commerce and capitalism. He says that with Protestantism, specifically Calvinism and Puritanism, you get a transfer of interest from control over time by the Church to control over time by the individual. This made possible an escape from the demands of Rome, and it provided a basis for the development of capitalism. (Idea File, p. 290.)

> Calvin fused ascetic discipline and activity. Pure unmerited grace was an expression of God's absolute will. The Godly ran after gain, as the acquisition of worldly goods meant glorifying God and proving to themselves and to the world that they were of the elect. Self-assurance was the chief proof of the Divine grace to the layman. Worldly achievement and good works constituted the best way to get rid of the fear of damnation, and created a group of self-confident saints. (History, Chapter 6, p. 98.)

The spatial bias inherent in commercialism was given an emotional or spiritual impetus under Calvinism. Unlimited expansion in the economic sphere was the goal. (History, Chapter 6.)

Innis points out further that the publication of Calvin's Institutes in 1540 enhanced the importance of the vernacular languages. It also forced the Roman Catholic Church to use the

vernaculars and the printing press in reply. (History, Chapter 6; Empire, Chapter 6; Bias, Chapter 3.) "Religious" truths of time became part of the competition for space. They reflected the bias of the new medium of communication under the impact of the printing press.

> The publication of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion in French in 1540 led to vigorous support of the vulgar tongue by Protestants, and in turn the Roman Catholics were compelled to use it for replies . . . The printers strengthened the position of the vernacular and the monarchy furthered the work of writers in their demand for a national language. (History, Chapter 6, p. 18.)

> As in the paper revolution the Church was compelled to mobilize its resources in counter-attack, notably in the Council of Trent and the establishment of the Jesuit Order. In Italy the power of the law and of the Church and division among the republics checked the spread of the Reformation and produced Machiavelli. (Bias, p. 24.)

Following the invention and spread of printing and the Reformation the conflicts in Europe were in large measure based on truths relating to the control of space. Mass emotions were able to be harnessed and directed through printed works.

> By the end of the sixteenth century the flexibility of the alphabet and printing had contributed to the growth of diverse vernacular literature and had provided a basis for divisive nationalism in Europe. (Bias, p. 55.)

An important focus of Innis' interest as expressed in his later works is the role of communication in the rise and fall of the British empire, and in the rise of spatial monopolies in the West which developed out of this imperial organization. He is particularly

interested in highlighting the contrasts between the relative flexibility of the British empire, as reflecting a strong oral tradition, with such spatial monopolies of knowledge as the United States and commonwealth countries such as Canada which more clearly reflect the spatial truths of mechanized communication. His interest, in this regard, is reflected in this thesis. Innis' works point out that only in England were the new "religious" truths relating to the control of space somewhat undermined by a strong oral tradition. It is the value of such an oral tradition to the West in general, and to Canada in particular, that Innis wishes to emphasize. For Innis oral communication means the continuous pursuit of truth and it is within an oral tradition, and only within this tradition, where man may escape the dominance of truths, of monopolies of knowledge, and achieve personal, and spiritual, freedom. Britain underwent the pressure of mechanized communication, with all the inherent dangers of monopoly of knowledge, in a way similar to other nations in the West. The outstanding variable in the English case was the strong oral tradition.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, Innis draws an important cause and effect relationship between printing and nationalism. Monarchy was strengthened in comparison to the universal Church. The new truths of space supported the national monarchies in their control of both space and time. This effect of paper and printing may be clearly seen in England. William Caxton was the first printer in England. He set up presses in 1476, some twenty-one

years after their introduction to Europe. Innis says that the wide-spread illiteracy in England required an interest in English books instead of those of other languages. This increased English readers and encouraged writers in the vernacular. (History, Chapter 5.) This immediately encouraged the development of a national identity. As with continental nations the translations of Bibles lent a sacredness to this identity.

Innis points out that the time monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church had never been as secure in England as it was on the continent. This was due to both the strong oral tradition and a strong monarchy. (History, Chapter 4.) The Tudors could broach no competition from the Church. The tendency toward absolutism associated with the reign of the Tudors facilitated the introduction of the Reformation and speeded up the influence of the Renaissance. (Empire, Chapter 6.) Innis says that

> Weakening of the control of the Church was hastened in England with the struggle between Henry VIII and the pope and the destruction of the monasteries. (History, Chapter 6, p. 98.)

From the time of Henry VIII and the Reformation in England religious controversy was part of the larger political controversy regarding ultimate authority in the state. (History, Chapter 7.) The things to which men attended in England, the truths which tend to monopolize mind, rather quickly changed from those with a bias to time to those with a bias to space. The king controlled the Church, parliament, and the press. He employed all three to strengthen

and maintain his cause, to strengthen and maintain the truths relating to control of space. The distinction between Church and State, between heresy and treason, between nonconformity and sedition, became increasingly obscure. (History, Chapter 7.) The monarchy, with its spatial bias, effectively controlled time. In a spatial monopoly, as outlined in Innis' works, there is a continuous impetus to control time in the interest of space.

> As the Tudors assumed the mantle of divine right from the papacy they laid the foundation for internal struggles for control over time evident in the contention over monopolies under Elizabeth and James I, and the absolute supremacy of parliament. (Bias, p. 73.)

> Henry VIII had destroyed the power of the Church as a rival, and the interests of State religion and the Crown were the same. Absolute control permitted Royal monopolies and ecclesiastical supremacy. Restraints were imposed over the press in the interest of the State religion by the grant of monopolies. (History, Chapter 7, p. 41.)

Though varying in intensity there was censorship and suppression of printing in England from the time of Henry VIII and the Reformation to the abolition of the Licensing Act in 1694. (History, Chapter 7.) During this period in England the State attempted to control the press in order to monopolize truths relating to the control of space and of time. In general, in England, as in European states, printing and the Reformation profoundly effected the development of the spatial bias inherent in the use of paper as the dominant medium of mechanized communication.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPATIAL MONOPOLIES OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE WEST

Throughout the Reformation period and later in England there were underground presses in operation and publications were being imported from the Netherlands and Switzerland. Innis believes that the suppression of printing was an important contributing cause of the civil war in England in the seventeenth century. (Bias, Chapter 2.) Because of the licensing system imposed by the State and in particular because of the Stationer's Company, which was essentially a closed corporation for the regulation of the book trade to the advantage of its own members, those printers and publishers without a license were forced to turn to the production of underground and seditious works even when they may not have even believed in the particular cause being espoused. Outburst of underground literature always led to renewed suppression. (Bias, Chapter 2; History, Chapter 6.)

Abolition of the Star Chamber courts in 1641 was followed by intense activity in the publication of pamphlets in support of royalty or parliament. (Empire, Chapter 6.) Innis says that this great pamphlet debate which surrounded the revolution was the first great experiment in popular political education, with the printing press acting as the organ of government by discussion. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 4.) Public opinion first appeared as an important factor in politics in the English civil

wars. (History, Chapter 7.) This was in fact a debate, really a violent struggle, between opposing truths for the control of space, and of time in the interest of space. Reflecting the bias of the dominant medium, the end was political control.

The debates surrounding the period of the civil war in England could not be described as reasoned or orderly. In general the pamphlets tended to be scurrilous and rowdy. In fact, Innis points out that the vast majority of written material during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was of a very low intellectual level. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapters 6 and 7; Bias, Chapter 2.) In general, Innis has a very low opinion of debates between rival claims to truths, particularly those aimed at influencing mass opinion. This period in England saw the development of such debates which had really begun with Luther. Of course, there had always been debates between rival claims to truths. But Innis' works stress that with printing and with the Reformation both the truths themselves and the extent of the debates changed dramatically. As a result, the effects were different. Innis believes that this had, and still has, a far greater potential for violent conflict than had ever existed previously. From this point the conflicts were to be based on control of geographical space and between truths relating to the effectiveness of such long term control.

> "The magic of Gutenberg and Fust hath conjured a wide chasm between the past and the future history of mankind: the people of one side of the gulf are not the people of the other; the physical force is no longer separated from the moral; mind has by

> slow degree crept into the might mass -- the popular Cymon has received a soul! In the primal and restless consciousness of the new spirit Luther appealed to the people -- the first, since Christ, who so adventured. From that moment all the codes of classic dogmatists were worthless -- the expired leases to an estate just let to new tenants, and upon new conditions." (Edward Lytton Bulwer) (Political Economy in the Modern State, p. 55.)

Innis explains that during the period of the civil war in England the press was utilized by both sides. It thus became a powerful instrument which was never again able to be completely suppressed. (History, Chapter 7.) The State continued attempts at control and suppression during the period of Cromwell and the Restoration but,

> After the revolution of 1688 the court born of public opinion was compelled to rely on it. The king chose ministers acceptable to parliament and the latter were sensitive to public opinion. (History, Chapter 7, p. 5.)

> Following the revolution (of 1688) and the emancipation of the press, government came under the censorship of the press. Parties looked to the press for support. (History, Chapter 7, p. 32.)

From Innis' works one can see that the State, which reflected the spatial truths of paper and printing, more and more was forced to rely on the printing press for control. Control was based on the communication of truths. Even parliament, which reflected the power of the strong oral tradition, came to reflect the absolute truths characteristic of mechanized communication.

> The absolute power of parliament emerged to offset the absolute power of monarchy and annihilated the claims of common law which persisted in the colonies. (Bias, p. 56.)

In the sections of his works where he deals with the development of political institutions in Britain Innis stresses the continuing influence of the strong oral tradition. He deals with this subject at various points in several of his works and he is not clear, and certainly not concise, in his explanations of the contrary effects of the oral tradition and mechanized communication in Britain. It is, of course, an immensely complicated historical development. The approach being taken in this thesis is to synthesize and extrapolate on the basis of Innis' works. The writer professes no competence to evaluate, or even to elucidate, the effects of oral and mechanized communication on British political and economic history. However, a major point to keep in mind in attempting to understand what Innis says, and what this may mean in terms of this thesis, is that the technique and the technology of mechanized communication imposed truths on the minds of men, whereas oral communication emphasizes the pursuit of truth and allows freedom for change in truths. Innis believes that with printing the truths of space have been imposed on the mind of man in the West to an extent never before possible. Because of its strong oral tradition England has been able, to a certain extent, to resist the monopoly of knowledge characteristic of paper and printing. Innis does not mean to suggest that England did not reflect a spatial bias. In fact it reflected the bias of both nationalism and commercialism. But the effects of the oral tradition meant more flexibility and compromise in the political organization than has been possible in any other nation in the West.

Innis explains that the English language was the result of the invasion of successive languages from Europe. It was therefore quite late in developing. (Bias, Chapter I; Empire, Chapter 5.) Also, printing was late in coming to England. This resulted in a strong oral tradition, which persisted in its influence on institutions even after the nation had felt the effects of mechanized communication. He says that in England, as in early Greece and Rome, common law evolved from customs which had developed over a long period of time and which were carried in the minds of men. (Empire, Chapter 5.)

> "The law was not made, it was only proved." (McIlwain) (Empire, p. 164.)

The importance of the strong oral tradition meant that in law truths and dogma reflecting the power of writing and printing did not easily monopolize the mind of man. Law and political institutions could change and grow. This made possible the development of the jury system and parliament. (Empire, Chapter 5; Bias, Chapter 1.) Innis' works indicate that, as a reflection of the strong oral tradition, the development of common law and parliament meant pursuit of truth and as a result political flexibility and freedom. The growing power of mechanized communication meant, of course, the opposite effect, even in England. It meant the development of the divine right of parliament in place of the divine right of the monarchy. In both cases the truths of space were emphasized. Flexibility and compromise were lessened. The absolute supremacy

of parliament was an encroachment on common law and on the oral tradition. (Empire, Chapter 6; Bias, Chapter 4; History, Chapter 8.) Innis explains that the absolute supremacy of parliament in England reflected the influence of Roman, i.e. written, law and not common law. The First British Empire, in commerce and in politics, was built up on the balance of these common law and Roman law traditions. The overemphasis on the Roman law tradition destroyed the empire because the colonies in America continued to be influenced by a strong oral tradition in politics. The English colonies in North America had been established prior to the development of the absolute power of parliament. They were not willing to accept the spatial truths of England. (Empire, Chapter 6; Changing Concepts of Time[1], pp. 47-48.) However, the real irony of the situation, according to Innis, was that the colonies relied on the press to protect their position and introduced a written constitution in order to protect the position of common law as over and above the power of the legislature. (Changing Concepts, pp. 47-48; Empire, Chapter 6.) He says that this resulted in the United States coming under the monopoly of paper and printing in a way much more complete than England ever did. The truths of space came to monopolize American society and left little room for either the modifying influence of an oral tradition nor opposing truths relating to time. It is this monopoly of knowledge which Innis so fears in the modern world. From this point in time the "religious" truths which monopolized mind in the United States were related to the control

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[1] Changing Concepts of Time, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. vii, 133.

of space. They influenced and were influenced by the development of the newspaper in the United States and have come to dominate mind in the West. Innis appears to see the only possible modifying influence as coming from the oral tradition, which is still influential in the British common law and parliamentary system, and, perhaps, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, with its bias to time. However, he is not very clear on this latter point.

To go back a bit, Innis believes that the power of the oral tradition and the early restrictions of printing in England accentuated an interest in the drama. Shakespeare was able to exploit and to expand the capacities of the vernacular language which had not been conventionalized or repressed by print. He points out that tragedy flourished in Athens in the years before writing became firmly established whereas in England it flourished before printing was able to exercise its power. (Empire, Chapter 6.) However, with the publication of the King James version of the Bible in 1611 prose achieved a position of predominance over poetry and drama. (Empire, Chapter 6.) Innis' works suggest, but do not clearly elucidate, the importance of this Bible in the development of a common written vernacular language, and thus the spatial bias in England, as well as the development of individualism and a more rational mode of thinking, as a reflection of the prose style. He does point out that as in the case of Greece the increase in the reading and writing of prose accentuated the development of individualism and that an important effect of printing and this

increasing emphasis on prose was the accentuation of pure reason and science. (Empire, Chapter 6.)

> The effects of printing in the increasing use of prose accentuated an interest in science . . . Belief in the scriptures defeated attempts to merge the Hebrew and Classic tradition. Science emerged as a result of the break. (Empire, p. 187.)

This was particularly true, of course, among Protestants who had a much more intense interest in the Bible and in Bible reading. Innis believes that the spirit of individualism, which was expounded by Hobbes and which became the basis of the concept of laissez-faire as expounded by Adam Smith is, in large measure, an effect of printing. (History, Chapter 7.)

> The concept that the community was an organization of permanent interests, particularly the landed interests, held together by customary privileges and exactions was opposed by the conception of a nation as a mass of free individuals co-operating from modes of self-interest and making its law in the interest of individual freedom. (History, Chapter 7, p. 87.)

Innis appears to believe that, at least partially as an effect of printing, specifically the printed Bible, the Puritans developed the concept of a fundamental common or natural law in politics which was an embodiment of reason and which was above all sovereign powers of the State. The Puritans attempted in the Instrument of Government which set up the Protectorate in England in 1653 to limit the power of parliament by a written constitution. This was the first and last attempt in England to do so. However, the impact of Puritanism and this type of linear, rational mode of thinking persisted in the colonies, and written constitutions, as the products of reason,

persisted. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 2; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> The impact of the Bible was shown in the separation of church and state as enunciated by the Puritans. It recognized the clash between the written and the oral tradition, the latter persisting in parliament and the common law, the former in the scriptures. (Bias, p. 26.)

Innis' works elucidate how the effects of the written tradition on the Puritan mind meant the imposition of written truths in the political sphere. This, of course, destroyed the flexibility inherent in an oral tradition. It meant slavery to the truths inherent in the medium, i.e. those in relation to space. The colonies, with their strong Puritan tradition, recognized the written law of God in the Bible as the only absolute law for man. However, they imposed an absolute law on man through their written constitution. The written constitution of the United States, in reaction against the absolute power of the English parliament, restricted the absolute power of government. But the fact that the constitution was written left the United States with a relatively inflexible constitution which tended to be seen as an embodiment of truths, not unlike the absolute truths of the Puritan bible. (Bias, Chapter 1 and 4; Empire, Chapter 6.) The written constitution and the impetus it gave to printing, especially to newspapers, and to the effects of printing meant that the United States, from the very beginning of its political history, was firmly gripped by a monopoly of knowledge of space.

> The full impact of printing did not become possible until the adoption of the Bill of Rights in the

> United States with its guarantee of freedom of the press. A guarantee of freedom of the press in print was intended to further sanctify the printed word and to provide a rigid bulwark for the shelter of vested interests. (Bias, p. 138.)

Innis explains that there was considerable suppression of news sheets in England during the eighteenth century. Other types of literature, such as the novel, the children's storybook, and the weekly periodicals, developed to take the place of the early newspaper. However, in the United States the newspapers rather successfully escaped the repressive measures, such as the stamp tax, which Britain attempted to impose. In the United States the newspaper played a vitally important role in marshalling public opinion behind the revolution. (History, Chapter 8.)

> The prominent role of the newspaper in the American Revolution was recognized in the first article of the Bill of Rights. (Bias, p. 26.)

The press, through its sanctification in the written constitution, became the guardian and expositor of the truths on which the nation was founded. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) These are truths relating to the control of space and are reflections of the dominant medium of communication. This guardian and expositor role was somewhat compromised as the newspapers became enmeshed in the struggle for space as organs of political parties and as part of the machinery of economic distribution. (Bias, Chapter I; History, Chapter 8; Empire, Chapter 6.) In general, Innis' works on the beginnings of the American republic elucidate how the "religious" component, the truths which sustain

the civilization, came to reflect almost completely national politics and commerce. Innis understands this development to be in large measure an effect of paper and printing. It has gained such overwhelming power in the United States because of the influence of a written constitution, the importance of the newspapers, and the lack of a strong oral tradition.

Innis spends a considerable amount of time in his later works discussing the effects of printing and paper on France. He does this, as with Britain and the United States, because of the influence, past and present, exerted by these nations on Canada. His interest is always on Canada's ability to escape the modern monopoly of knowledge, which he believes emanates principally from the United States, by taking advantage of the heritage of both France and Great Britain.

Regarding the effects of printing in France Innis explains that the success of the old regime consisted of a fusion between Church and State in the monarchy. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) He sees this as somewhat similar to the fusion in the Byzantine empire. The fusion in France was based on the competing media of parchment and paper. However, this fusion was destroyed in the Revolution when the rational truths of space, as effects of paper and printing, and manifest in the new Encyclopedia, gained control of men's minds. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) Innis sees the Encyclopedia in France as affecting mind in a way similar to the Protestant Bible in Britain and the United States. It imposed a rational, logical, linear manner of thinking.

> Print compels system of logic. (It) provided (a) framework demanding consistency of (a) sort. (Idea File, p. 100.)

> Writing emphasizes logic, especially with the alphabet whereas oral tradition emphasizes memory. (Idea File, p. 176.)

The only difference between the influence of the Encyclopedia and the influence of the Bible was that the former emphasized a secular and the latter a sacred tradition. (Idea File, p. 38.)

The Encyclopedia, by virtue of its prestige value, was able to escape the brunt of the strict censorship of printing which existed in France. With its publication and distribution spiritual power, i.e. control of truths, was transferred from ecclesiastical hands to the profession of letters. Secular literature triumphed over the old institutions and doctrines. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.)

> The Encyclopedia was a protest against old organization and old doctrines. The Church regarded man as fallen and depraved and clashed with secular literature . . . With the Encyclopedia the man of letters emerged as a type distinct from scholars and thinkers . . . He represented a new order and signified the transfer of spiritual power from ecclesiastical hands . . . A new priesthood was established . . . In the Encyclopedia the physical sciences dwarf theology and metaphysics. (History, p. 30.)

The Encyclopedia was a collection of rational truths, of scientific facts, which successfully dwarfed the old time biased truths of the Church. Because there was no strong oral tradition in France competition and conflict between truths resulted with no room for flexibility or compromise. The rational truths of the Encyclopedia were supported by the press in its attempt to escape from the old

monopoly and control. Innis points out that the Revolution was waged in print before it was waged in the streets. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.)

According to Innis, the fusion between Church and State in the monarchy, which had been the basis for the success of empire in the old regime, was adopted by Britain and that it became the basis for success of the Second British Empire, that is the empire which succeeded the American Revolution. (Empire, Chapter 6.) A fusion of this sort, between concerns for time as well as space, worked for Britain because of the strength of the oral tradition which allowed for flexibility and compromise in the development of new truths. The new "religious" truths of space were never able to monopolize mind in Britain to the same extent as they were in France and in the United States.

> The common law came into its own with a recognition in Great Britain of the limitations of Parliament and recognition in the colonies that the elaborate machinery of the United States to protect the common law was unnecessary. (Changing Concepts, p. 49.)

Innis believes that the effects of the common law and the oral tradition within Britain had profound implication for empire. It facilitated the development from empire to commonwealth by relatively peaceful means. Compromises were able to be worked out with individual nations within the empire. Leaders of nations within the empire who had been trained in the common law tradition saw clearly that it tended to protect the rights of the individual and of local customs of the various areas of the empire. Under

this freedom and flexibility the individual nations were able to negotiate their independence. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) Innis values the oral tradition, and the tradition of common law as exemplified by Britain, because it does allow for this flexibility and evolution rather than inflexibility and revolution which he sees as being characteristic of written traditions with inflexible truths of space.

However, the independent states which grew out of the British Empire, from the very beginning, have tended to come under the domination of print. They have developed their own spatial dogmas and have lost the flexibility of the oral tradition. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8; Changing Concepts, Chapter 3.)

> Without a written constitution Great Britain was able eventually to master the problem of empire and to digest the elements of Roman law (written law) or rather to cast it out into regions which left the empire, for example the United States, or into regions which insisted on independence and autonomy within the empire, for instance, members of the Commonwealth. (Changing Concepts, p. 62.)

He explains that the regional monopolies of space which developed within the British empire were effects of mechanized communication. The separate national identities which resulted were in large measure the result of freedom of the press in these areas. Without the leaven of a strong oral tradition these separate areas soon became victims of the effects of printing. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8; Changing Concepts, Chapter 3.) In the United States the emergence of a federal government with a written constitution, which was the result of a protest against the divine

right of parliament in Britain, resulted in enshrining in a written constitution the spatial dogma of the divine right of the United States. Innis believes that the inflexibility of this dogma resulted in the war between the states. The divine right of union was opposed to the divine right of states and compromise could not be reached. (Changing Concepts, Chapter 3, Empire, Chapter 6.) He says that the United States pattern has been followed in Commonwealth countries, notably Canada. By producing written constitutions in order to protect fundamental law these countries have become more imperialistic than Britain. Their national policies tend to be based on such spatial truths as "manifest destiny" and "our way of life". (Changing Concepts, Chapter 3; Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.)

> It has been said that the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absent-mindedness, but the empire of the United States has grown up during the period of imperialistic fanaticism marked by such slogans as "Manifest Destiny". (Changing Concepts, p. 66.)

Innis believes that the new imperialism of the United States has effectively overcome the inherent weaknesses of an empire based on democratic principles, a strong oral tradition, and freedom of the press. The oral common law tradition of Britain did not allow tight enough control over the empire. The "religious" truths of political empire were undermined. Individual spatial truths were allowed to challenge. He says that the United States has effectively overcome this weakness by allowing the principle of sovereignty of independent states to be preserved de jure while at

the same time expanding imperialism de facto. This has been possible through the expansion of mechanized communication and organized force within a common law framework. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.)

The next chapter explains in more detail how the development of mechanized communication in the West made possible this new spatial monopoly of knowledge, emanating principally from the United States. Innis believes that the rapid progress in the field of communication technology and the vast market in the United States meant that the spatial monopoly of knowledge became common in the West. He understands the imperialism of the United States to be commercial in nature but backed by military force in order to ensure continuity. (Empire, Chapter 6.)

Throughout his works he sees the spatial bias of national politics and commerce growing and developing together. Because of its efficient use of mass mechanized communication for the communication of new "religious" truths relating to the mastery and control of space the United States has been able to develop an efficient imperial structure. The problem of continuity, as Innis takes great pains to illustrate, has always concerned political organization. He says that the United States has turned to an answer typical in the history of political empire, that of force. (Empire, Chapter 6.) This is, of course, precisely why Innis fears the modern spatial monopoly of knowledge. Combined with modern war technologies modern "religious" truths may very well lead to world destruction.

> The instability involved in dependence on the newspaper in the United States and the Western World has facilitated an appeal to force as a possible stabilizing factor. (Empire, p. 217.)

Innis points out that largely in response to American imperialism Canada has been forced to develop her own. This may be seen in the growing insistence on nationalism. He suggests that a fitting slogan to illustrate Canada's ambitions in this regard is one which appeared near the end of the nineteenth century with the discovery of gold on the west coast. This slogan preached that "the twentieth century belongs to Canada". (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) Innis understands clearly that culture cannot survive in this environment; knowledge is not possible. And, in his view, there is a real question as to whether or not Confederation can survive. With the dominance of mechanized communication there is no room for compromise in the Federal and Provincial negotiations. The divine truths of federalism struggle against the divine truths of provincialism. (Empire, Chapter 6.)

Innis believes that resistance to this spatial monopoly of knowledge is possible only by adherence to the oral common-law traditions of England and to the cultural heritage of Europe, notably France. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapter 8.) In other words, Innis is advocating a return to the roots of Canadian society in order to escape the dominance of the new religion emanating principally from the United States.

In federal constitutions emphasizing the traditions of Roman law in common law countries supreme courts occupy a crucial position. Common law traditions assume that the state is part of the law and the subject has greater difficulty in separating himself from the state. Change is consequently more gradual and less subject to revolution. Constitutions are largely protected from drastic revision. But Roman law tradition favoured by written constitutions in the United States and in members of the Commonwealth leans toward imperialism, and threatens the beneficial effects of common law in Western civilization. Without a recognition of the flexibility of common law the remark of Dean Pound that "legal precepts are almost certain to lag behind public opinion whenever the latter is active and growing" will become extremely pertinent. (Changing Concepts, p. 76.)

## CHAPTER EIGHT

## THE EFFECTS OF MODERN MECHANIZED COMMUNICATION

Innis' later works contain a vast amount of detail regarding the development and the effects of mass communication under the impact of modern mechanization. This detail exemplifies further the effects outlined in the previous chapter. Spatial truths, i.e. the secular "religious" truths of national politics and capitalism have been imposed on the mind of western man in a manner and to an extent never before possible. It is because of this that Innis describes modern states, even modern democratic states, as totalitarian. It is this powerful monopoly of knowledge and the possibility, even the probability in Innis' day, of violent conflicts resulting from the clash of spatial truths which Innis feared. The greater part of his later works consist of an effort to expose these modern "religious" truths as in no way absolute, but rather as effects of both the technique and the technology of mechanized communication, and to stress the vital importance of oral communication in achieving some flexibility for compromise in dealings between political organizations and in maintaining some individual freedom within the political organizations in the West. In order to better understand the evolution, the nature, and the effects of the modern monopoly of knowledge as perceived by Innis, as well as his understanding

of and hope for individual freedom, it is important to survey and to synthesize pertinent portions of this detail. This is the purpose of this chapter.

> Printing marked the first stage in the spread of the industrial revolution. (Bias, p. 30.)
>
> Application of power to communication industries hastened the consolidation of vernaculars, revolution, and new outbreaks of savagery in the twentieth century. (Bias, p. 29.)

Innis says that from the time printing was invented until the nineteenth century both printing itself and the manufacture of paper were essentially handicraft processes. With the nineteenth century they came under the influence of the industrial revolution. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 6.) The invention of the paper machine lowered the cost of paper and the mechanical steam press greatly increased the output of newspapers. The emphasis on news characteristic of American journalism under the Bill of Rights hastened the development of technological devices such as the fast press, the stereotype, the linotype, and the substitution of wood for rags. All of this pushed the demand for wider markets. This resulted in more sensational news and a general instability in the political process.[1]

> "In a literal sense, wars are created, as crime waves are created, by the newspapers. (Political Economy, p. 22.)

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[1] Bias, Chapters 1 and 2; The Press: A Neglected Factor in the Economic History of the Twentieth Century. University of London Stamp Memorial Lecture. (London: Oxford University Press, 1949). p 48.

Innis believes that the newspaper must be regarded principally as an American institution. Its close relationship to trade and advertising in the United States meant that it was able to break down European concepts of government. Although the newspaper began in the United States under the influence of English newspapers it quickly broke away from all restrictions by government which were retained in England until the middle of the nineteenth century, and, of course, in European countries well into the twentieth century. (Empire, Chapter 6; Political Economy, Chapter 7; History, Chapters 8 and 9.) With its emphasis on trade it was a powerful influence in the American Revolution as well as in the war between the states, both of which, in a sense, "represented a struggle between government and newspapers or public opinion." (Empire, Chapter 6; Journal of Economic History, Vol. 5, 1945; Review, p. 129.)

Regarding the evolution of the spatial competition which resulted in the civil war in the United States Innis explains that the newspapers hastened the growth of competition in both the commercial and the political sphere. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapters 8 and 9.) The technological advances in newspaper production paralleled the development of metropolitan centres in the United States. A few large industrial centres gradually dwarfed a large number of small centres. The newspapers in these large centres became much more influential than the many small

papers scattered about the country and the large papers tended to reflect the differences between their centres. The newspapers reflected the truths of specific centres. Technological innovation contributed to the development and the destruction of monopoly positions while keeping the competition at an emotional pitch. The regional competition could find no compromise and war was the result. (Bias, Chapter 3; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> Introduction of fast presses by the Chicago Tribune in the fifties coincided with the rise of the Republican party followed by the election of Abraham Lincoln as President. Commercial activity in the North accompanying expansion of newspapers led to increasing friction with the less active South and development of the Middle West introduced a decisive element which contributed to the Civil War. (Empire, p. 203.)

Innis says that during the nineteenth century, and continuing into the twentieth, publishing in all its forms, but particularly the newspapers, became increasingly interested in advertising and the distribution of commercial goods. They appealed to the lowest levels of intelligence in the interest of higher profits. Sensational headlines became the norm in newspapers, and cheap romantic fiction in book publishing. The newspaper in particular, since its support came wholly from advertising, had a vested interest in maintaining and strengthening its own commercial position, which of course coincided with the commercial well-being of the community. Thus the newspaper, in its content as well as its form, supported a spatial monopoly of knowledge. The content reflected the spatial monopoly of knowledge. The content reflected the spatial truths of

commerce and politics which, Innis believes, is in large measure an effect of paper and printing itself. He points out that large-scale commercial and political organizations used newspapers to build up good will and to secure commercial and political advantage. In this way they became part of the oligopoly of business and politics. Their concerns were spatial concerns. (Political Economy, Chapters 1 and 7; History, Chapters 8 and 9.)

> Freedom of the press has been regarded as a great bulwark of our civilization and it would be dangerous to say that it has become the great bulwark of monopolies of the press. Civilizations have their sacred cows. The Middle Ages burned its heretics and the modern age threatens them with atom bombs. (Bias, p. 139.)

Innis points out that the large scale mechanization in newspaper publishing which developed in the United States during the nineteenth century had its impact on Great Britain and Europe toward the end of that century and in theearly twentieth century. (Empire, Chapter 6.) Great Britain was affected to a greater extent than Europe in part because of the dominance of the book in Europe as well as the difference in language and legal systems. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 6.) The new journalism in England was, of course, the type that emphasized mass readership and which depended on advertising for support. (Empire, Chapter 6; History, Chapters 8 and 9.)

> News became a commodity and was sold in competition like any other commodity. (Press in 20th C., p. 12.)

Because newspapers emphasized truths relating to space and because their content was couched in emotional terminology and

style a general instability came to be the rule in Britain as it was in the United States. (Bias, Chapter 1; Empire, Chapter 6.) This was especially true, and particularly significant, in the area of foreign policy. Innis sees this instability as an important contributing factor to the First World War. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 3; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> The British according to Bismark were unable to participate in the work of the intimate circle of European diplomacy because of responsibility to parliament, and the inability increased with the new journalism . . . The diplomatic institutions and techniques of an age of dynamic cabinet politics failed to work in a situation characterized by the press, electrical communications, mass literacy, and universal suffrage. (Bias, pp. 59-60.)

> The type of news essential to an increase in circulation, to an increase in advertising, and to an increase in the sale of news was necessarily that which catered to excitement . . . The necessity for excitement and sensationalism had serious implications for the development of a consistent policy in Foreign affairs which became increasingly the source of news. (Bias, p. 78.)

The delicate machinery that was reasonably successful in maintaining peace in the nineteenth century disappeared in the twentieth. The press concentrated on personalities and sensationalism and instability was the result. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 6; Political Economy, Chapter 3; History, Chapters 8 and 9.)

> Young man, if you would succeed in journalism never lose your -- superficiality. (Political Economy, p. 59.)

Germany simply did not appreciate the power of the newspaper over the mass and thus over the government in England and in the United States. (Bias, Chapter 2; Press in Twentieth Century.)

Innis says that the Treaty of Versailles reflected the influence of the newspaper, i.e. spatial truths, in emphasizing self-determination and the significance of language. (Bias, Chapter 2; Empire, Chapter 6; Press in Twentieth Century.) It thus destroyed large political organizations such as the Austrian empire. (Bias Chapter 3.) He points out that the disastrous effects of a monopoly of knowledge based on the eye encouraged the development of a competing type of communication based on the ear. (Bias, Chapters 3 and 6.) The mechanization of the spoken word in the radio was not bound by national boundaries. It appealed to all those who spoke a similar language. This was immediately significant for Germany. The tradition of government control of the press in Germany applied also to radio. German speaking people were appealed to via the spoken word inviting them to join a larger Third Reich. (Empire, Chapter 6; Press in Twentieth Century.)

> Political boundaries related to the demands of the printing industry disappeared with the new instrument of communication. The spoken language provided a new base for the exploitation of nationalism and a far more effective device for appealing to large numbers. Illiteracy was no longer a serious barrier. (Bias, p. 81.)

Innis says that advances in the technology of communication has tended to emphasize language differences. Printing developed and conventionalized vernacular languages and stimulated contacts within geographical areas. Nationalism and commercialism prospered as a result. (Bias, Chapter 3; Political Economy, Chapter I.) With the development of newspapers in common law countries decentralization of

power groups caused instability within nations while the general appeal to masses made relations with other nations difficult. The radio tended to emphasize centralism and national, rather than regional, concerns and so more emphasis was given to the national government and international affairs. (Bias, Chapters 2, 3, and 6; Empire, Chapter 6.) Radio overcame class divisions based on literacy. There were still divisions based on language but they were drawn along new lines. Within language units a new coherence and an emphasis on centralization became conspicuous. (Bias, Chapters 2 and 3.) The leader spoke directly to the people. While there tended to develop much more stability within language units, there was a parallel development of more instability between different language units. Modern "religious" truths of space, i.e. nationalism and commerce, were still the rule and mass communication was more efficient. (Press in Twentieth Century; Empire, Chapter 6; Bias, Chapter 3.) Centralized control, in both business and government, was strengthened. (Bias, Chapter 3.)

It is significant that Innis sees radio as intensifying the spatial monopoly of knowledge. Electronic communications are for him more advanced forms of mechanized communication. They effect none of the creative, spiritual power which is peculiar to oral communication. They do not effect the pursuit of truth. Rather, like writing and printing, they maintain truths and systems of truths. Innis' works make clear that all mechanized communication facilitates control of the many by the few through the efficient communication of

"religious" truths. Electronic communication does this most efficiently and thus most efficiently facilitates the domination of the West by truths of space, particularly those relating to national politics. (Empire, Chapter 6; Political Economy, Chapters 1 and 2; Press in Twentieth Century.)

Innis points out that since radio shifted the emphasis in the United States and Britain from local and regional concerns to national and international issues the instability and crises which characterized the period of newspaper dominance has been gradually replaced by a period where the growing emphasis is on continuity, government planning, and increasing centralization. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 3; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> The totalitarian state or the welfare state with rigid constitutions is compelled to resort to endless administrative activity. (Bias, p. 130.)

Innis stresses that this increasing emphasis on centralization, as an effect of electronic communication, has meant an increasing concern for continuity and time. (Bias, Chapters 2, 3, and 6; Empire, Chapter 6.) However, this was an increasing concern for time in the interest of the monopoly of space. It is spatial truths which continue to monopolize the mind of man in the West. Electronic communication has made the spatial monopoly more efficient.

Innis explains that since paper and printing instituted the current spatial monopoly in the West there has been a continuous concern about problems of time by large scale business and political

organizations. The relative early lack of success by the State in solving these problems left a vacuum which was filled by industry. Corporate structures were set up to guarantee continuity of capitalistic business organization. (Bias, Chapter 3.) However, conflicts between business organizations for monopoly of space has hastened government intervention. This tends to occur more frequently in businesses dealing with durable goods and involving long-term investments of capital. (Bias, Chapter 3.) (See Chapter 1 of this thesis.) Examples abound in Canada.

Innis appears to see a direct evolutionary development from the rise of individualism, exemplified in Protestantism, as an effect of printing, through to the development of state capitalism and modern totalitarian control. He explains that the growth of economic liberty, exemplified in the doctrine of laissez-faire, was a reflection of religious and civil liberty. However, the very success of individual liberty in the field of industry, trade and commerce necessitated limitations. Free trade and the advance of technology allowed the unrestricted growth of industrial capitalism. This led to monopolies which only the state could control. The result was state capitalism and political monopoly. The decentralizing tendencies of Calvinism with its emphasis on individualism was undercut and made impotent by the growth of science and technology and the subsequent contralizing trends of secularism. (Political Economy, Chapters 6 and 7.)

Innis sees the emergence of the modern state in large measure as a result of the demands of technology for continuity. Free competition tends to sacrifice long term growth for short term profits. With heavy investment in machine technology this tends to bring on government intervention. Innis associates loss of freedom with growth in the size of technological units. He believes that the necessity of state intervention for adequate control of time in the interest of spatial monopoly is inexorably leading to totalitarianism in western democracies. In the modern state the principle means of continuity is the burgeoning bureaucratic structures. (Bias, Chapter 3; Political Economy, Chapter 7.)

> The need for a sane and balanced approach to the problem of time in the control of monopolies, and in the whole field of interest theory and in other directions, is evident in the growth of a bureaucracy in a totalitarian state. (Bias, p. 75.)

> Time is money, says the vulgarist . . . Turn it about and you get a precious truth -- money is time. (Bias, p. 83.)

Innis' works indicate that a major problem of the modern age is that, even with electronic communication, the bias of paper and printing has persisted and so the mind of modern western man is monopolized by truths relating to space. (Bias, Chapter 3.) The attempt is always to control time in the interest of the spatial monopoly. A political monopoly with a centralized bureaucracy is the most efficient way of doing this. Innis sees a grave danger in this development both to individual freedom and to the survival of western civilization. He points out that the modern state tends

to be concerned primarily with enlarging its territory and imposing cultural uniformity on its people and it is quite prepared to engage in wars to carry out immediate objectives. He realizes that under a monopoly of spatial truths the ultimate means of guaranteeing the continuity of a geographical area is by force. (Bias, Chapters 1 and 3; Political Economy in Modern State, Chapter 7.)

> Lack of interest in problems of duration in Western civilization suggests that the bias of paper and printing has persisted in a concern with space. (Bias, p. 8.)

> States, divided by language, concern themselves with . . . the enlargement of territories and the imposition of cultural uniformity . . . on (their) peoples. This spatial bias of the present is productive of an emphasis on change, instability and progress, and presents . . . graver threats to continuity than the tyranny of monopoly over time in the Middle Ages to the establishment of political organization.[2]

Innis believes that in the West the division between Church and State, as enunciated by the Puritans, is a reflection of the break from a monopoly control over time to one over space. (Idea File, p. 314.) He understands this to be an effect of paper and printing. He says that the developing spatial monopoly, manifest in national politics and commerce, destroyed the time bias of the Church and by doing so broke the rudder of western civilization. He points out that the "organization of irrationality" is necessary in all large scale organization; that in a sense this may be used to define religion. (Political Economy, Chapter 6.)

Innis' works indicate that it is the monopolies of knowledge basic to each civilization which provide this organization of

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[2] "Innis and Economics", by W. T. Easterbrook, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 19, August, 1953, p. 301.

irrationality. These monopolies of knowledge, i.e. systems of "religious" truths, are effects of both the technique and the technology of mechanized communication. Religions, of both space and time, are effects of mechanized communication. In effect, it is mechanized communication that organizes irrationality on a large scale. As the religious truths relating to control over time were shattered by the new truths relating to the control over space the organization of irrationality became the concern of the new spatial organizations, i.e. commerce and the State. (Political Economy, Chapter 6.)

> The fundamental problem of civilization is that of government or of keeping people quiet . . . Weakening of the Church as a device to destroy fanaticism by the invention of printing, the rise of Protestantism, and the emergence of philosophy in the Age of Enlightenment left commerce as the great stabilizer. (Political Economy, p. 97.)

However, as indicated, commerce lost control and this influence passed more and more to nationalism and autarchy with subordination to militarism. (Political Economy, Chapter 6.)

Innis says that the State, in attempting to secure effective control over "the things to which we attend" has always been interested in weakening or destroying independent monopolies of time such as is possessed by the Church. The State has appealed to science in this struggle. With the victory of science over traditional religion the State has succeeded in destroying the monopoly of time which could have competed with, and moderated, the truths relating to space. (Bias, Chapter 3.) "Religious" truths, such as fascism, communism

and our way of life, which reflect the spatial monopoly of knowledge, have emerged to take the place of traditional religion and to organize irrationality. These "religious" truths harness time to the interests of spatial domination. (Bias, Chapter 3.)

Innis deeply fears the trend to totalitarianism in modern western society. (Political Economy, Chapter 2.) He sees that by usurping "religious" truths relating to the control of time in the interest of space the State has become both Church and State. (Political Economy, Chapter 5.) Through the use of mass mechanized communication it has achieved control over mind as well as body. Innis believes, with the ancient writers, that any form of government with no independent check on its power will be carried to excess. (Political Economy, Chapter 7.) He agrees with Lord Acton that,

> All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.[3]

Individual liberty requires, at the very least, independent and alternate truths in a civilization. Also, as Innis emphasizes throughout his works, large scale political organization requires independent truths of time to balance those relating to the control of space, in order to survive for a substantial period. We must remember his thesis that monopoly of knowledge, reflecting a dominant medium of communication, produces conflict from within and from without in all large scale organizations. This tends to

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[3] Political Economy, p. 135. As noted in the Introduction, Innis misquotes Acton. The actual phrase, taken from the Letter to Bishop Mandell Creighton is "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."

be the case whether the monopoly is one of time or of space. Balance is required in order to prevent destruction. (Bias, Chapter 3; Empire, Chapter 6; Political Economy, Chapters 6 and 7.)

Innis points out that while classical civilization recognized the necessity of checks and balances "representative government, the emancipation of the slaves, and liberty of conscience" was never achieved. It remained for the influence of the Hebraic scriptures and Christianity to make these achievements. (Political Economy, Chapter 7.)

> "When Christ said, Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's these words gave . . . to the civil power, under the protection of conscience, a sacredness it had never enjoyed, and bounds it have never acknowledged; and they were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom." (Acton) The state was circumscribed in its authority by a force external to its own.[4]

Innis fears the modern age precisely because the authority of the State is not circumscribed by a power external to its own.

Innis believes that the oral tradition, i.e. oral, face to face, communication, is an important means of undermining the effects of mechanized communication, of undermining the modern "religious" truths relating to the control of space. It does this by emphasizing, in its very form, the continuous pursuit of truth. (Bias, "Critical Review; Empire, Chapter 6.) Questions

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[4] Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 87, p. 324, 1944; Political Economy in the Modern State, p. 103.

rather than answers are the rule. The natural spiritual capacity of man is stimulated. All his senses are activated in "busy interplay". Innis believes that man's spiritual nature, which is somehow an effect of oral communication, must be kept alive and nurtured if man is to escape the dead hand of truths and achieve individual freedom. (Bias, "Critical Review".)

> Out of frequent and close conversation and such social intercourse a light is of a sudden kindled in the mind, as from a fire that leaps forth, which once generated keeps itself alive. (Plato) (Idea File, p. 242.)

> States are destroyed by ignorance of the most important things in human life, by a profound lack of culture - which, following Plato, is the inability to secure a proper agreement between desire and intellect. (Political Economy, p. x.)

Innis considers culture to be the individual's capacity to evaluate the truths of either time or space. (Bias, Chapter 3.) The individual must have this capacity if he is to escape current monopolies of knowledge. He believes that this cultural ability is the product of the oral tradition. A monopoly of knowledge, as an effect of mechanized communication, makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate problems of time or of space. The "things to which we attend" are in large measure determined for us by the technique and the technology of mechanized communication. (Bias, Chapter 3; Empire, Chapter 6.)

> Constant change in technology, particularly as it effects communication as a crucial factor in determining cultural values increases the difficulties of recognizing balance, let alone achieving it. (American Economic Review, Vol. 41, 1951, p. 209.)

It is because of the distinct lack of culture that Innis fears for North America. The United States is, for Innis, almost totally the product of the "religious" truths of space, and it is exporting these truths to the West in general, and to Canada in particular. Innis believes that the United States shows practically no cultural possibilities, that it is ruled by its spatial monopoly of knowledge. He believes that for Canada to escape this North American fate this country must turn to Europe for cultural influence. He says that the Roman law tradition, i.e. the written tradition, of Europe is one of sustained intellectual effort, characteristic of the book rather than the newspaper. The common law tradition of Britain places emphasis on the oral tradition, with its inherent flexibility and facility for compromise. Innis' works suggest the need for both traditions if Canada is to escape the spatial monopoly characteristic of the newspapers in the United States.[5]

> Printer's ink threatens to submerge even the literary arts in Canada and it may seem futile to raise the question of cultural possibilities. The power of nationalism, parochialism, bigotry, and industrialism may seem too great. Cheap supplies of paper produce pulp and paper schools of writing, and literature is provided in series, sold by subscription, and used as an article of furniture.[6]
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> The overwhelming pressure of mechanization evident in the newspaper and the magazine has led to the creation of vast monopolies of communication. Their entrenched

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[5] Empire, Chapter 6; "Contributions of the French in Canada", The New Outlook, July 4, 1934; "Great Britain, The United States, and Canada", Essays in Canadian Economic History, Chapter 28.

[6] Changing Concepts of Time, p. 1.

> positions involve continuous, systematic, ruthless destruction of elements of permanence essential to cultural activity. The emphasis on change is the only permanent characteristic. (Changing Concepts, pp. 14-15.)

Innis believes that a successful and lasting civilization must have concerns for both time and space and some flexibility to achieve a balance between them. (Empire, Chapter 6; Political Economy, Chapters 6 and 7.) He therefore appreciates the influence of French culture in Canada because it does contain an independent time component in the Church and he appreciates the influence of Great Britain with its strong oral tradition. It was indicated in the previous chapter that during the Second British Empire the British were able to sustain a balance between concerns for time and space because of the oral tradition. It is this kind of balance, reflecting the British and the French traditions in Canada which Innis hopes may be sustained. He says that the change from British imperialism to American imperialism has been so uncomfortable because there is no real time element, independent from the spatial monopoly, represented in the United States.[7] Innis believes that American imperialism is little more than military strategy dominated by public opinion and the truths of mechanized communication.[8] This is disastrous for Canada and for the West.

Throughout his later works Innis stresses that we must beware of those who have found the truth. Truths are monopolies of

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[7] "Great Britain, The United States, and Canada", Essays in Canadian Economic History, Chapter 28.

[8] Ibid.

knowledge and they retard thinking. The impact of modern mechanized communication has meant the imposition of truths on a grand scale. This has been particularly true, according to Innis, in North America. The result of this overwhelming pressure from mechanized communication has been a general lack of culture and little possibility of sustained and intelligent consideration of modern problems. (Political Economy, Introduction.)

> Improvements in communication have weakened the possibility of sustained thought when it has become most necessary. Civilization has been compelled to resort to reliance on force as a result of the impact of technology on communication. (Political Economy, p. 414.)

We can see clearly in Innis' works that it is the conjunction of the modern "religious" truths of space with war technology which he fears. This development of mechanization has fearful consequences for both individual freedom and survival. (Bias, "Critical Review".)

Innis' works point out that the effect of machine industry on communication has been to impose the truths of space on the masses in a way and to an extent never before possible. There is no room for the search for truth. There is no room for compromise. There is no room for long term considerations of time. There is only room for consideration of time in the interest of the State. (Political Economy, Chapters 1 and 2.)

> The technological advantages in communication shown in the newspaper, the cinema and the radio demand the thinning out of knowledge to the point where it interests the lowest intellectual levels and brings them under the control of totalitarian propaganda. (Political Economy, p. 34.)

Innis values the oral tradition, as manifest particularly in Greek culture, because it tends to undermine monopolies of knowledge. It introduces a balanced view of life. It allows for flexibility and for compromise in thinking and therefore in acting. It allows for change and development in truths, in the "things to which we attend". Modern "religious" truths are simply too dangerous not to be constantly questioned. (Political Economy, Chapter 15.)

Innis believes that the university can offer an important bastion of resistance to the spatial monopoly of knowledge which is threatening our very survival in the West. (Political Economy, Chapter 15.) This is possible because the oral tradition, in Innis' view, is the very essence of a university education. The university has a critically important role, therefore, in maintaining and strengthening this tradition. It must emphasize the pursuit of truth rather than the defence of truths. It must emphasize balance and perspective, i.e. culture. (Political Economy, Chapters 4 and 5.) He believes that the product of a university education ought to be a cultured individual who can balance concerns for both time and space, a person who is able to escape the dominance of "religious" truths. The university must assume that "there are no cures". (Political Economy, Chapters 4 and 7.)

> In our time it must resist the tendencies to bureaucracy and dictatorship of the modern State, the intensification of nationalism, the fanaticisms of religion, the evils of monopoly in commerce and industry. (Political Economy, p. 61.)

Innis believes that the social sciences in particular, by emphasizing the oral tradition and the continuous pursuit of truth may provide a leaven which will help to weaken the spatial monopoly of knowledge and will thus promote personal creativity and freedom. He appears to see the social scientist in the role of the Greek philosopher. Innis understands clearly that learning must be free, that knowledge is not possible while the mind is monopolized by the truths of mechanized communication. He points out that learning must free itself from the spatial truths of the modern age as in the past it had to free itself from the truths of time. This is far more important in the modern age when the truths are so omnipresent and when the technology of violence is so destructive.[9]

Innis sees clearly that democracy, which is based on common law and the oral tradition, can survive only by assuming there is no final answer, no truths. It must retain flexibility and the ability for continuous compromise.[10] He believes that the university and the social sciences must aid this realization by resisting the modern tendency to present solutions to the world's problems.[11]

However, Innis sees clearly and fears deeply that the university tradition is crumbling under the impact of the spatial

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[9] Political Economy, Chapter 7; "The Role of Intelligence: Some Further Notes", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1935; Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 8, 1942, Review, p. 305.

[10] "Geography and Nationalism", Geographical Review, Vol. 35, 1945.

[11] "Recent Developments in the Canadian Economy", Essays in Canadian Economic History, Chapter 21; Political Economy, Chapter 4.

monopoly of knowledge. (Political Economy, Chapters 4 and 7.) In its attempt to destroy all competition to its spatial truths the State appealed to science in its struggle with the Church. (Bias, Chapter 3.) Innis believes that the truths of science have all but destroyed the pursuit of truth in the university. (Bias, Chapter 3.) And he sees this changing role of the university, from the pursuit of truth within an oral tradition, to the defence of truths within a mechanized tradition, as manifest most clearly in the social sciences. The tendency to provide truths, truths based on the methods of science, has permeated the social sciences and the university. The organizations of power, both the State and commerce, have used and are using the social sciences to provide truths for the maintenance of their power. (Political Economy, Chapters 4 and 7; "The Role of Intelligence: Some Further Notes", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1935; "The Passing of Political Economy", Commerce Journal, 1938.) Innis deplores this trend.

> The less of science claimed for law, the greater the element of justice dispensed in its administration. The more the law seeks formal objectivity the less justice it may be feared will be strained out. Social things do not lend themselves to precision and whatever principles we get that are precise do not lend themselves to social things. If the social sciences as sciences formulate themselves so analytically and autonomously as to rise above custom and gossip (i.e. the oral tradition), they cease to be social. If they remain social they will be so involved in the medley of life as to no longer be scientific in terms of the indicated precision . . . No social science of any department is decisive in the sense of being in a position to dictate to us the necessary or the best lines of conduct. The effects of nationalism, shown

> in a concern for aggregates, estimates, and averages, has accentuated a narrowing interest in mathematical abstractions and a neglect of the limitations of precision. (Press in Twentieth Century, p. 44.)

Innis points out that the universities are being subjected to the pressures of commerce and politics as in times past they were subjected to the pressures of the Church. (Political Economy, Chapter 7.) He warns that the universities are becoming little more than a convenient supply of labour bolstered by the truths of the scientific method to supply the needs of politics. He points out that the development of bureaucratic structures of governments with high priests consisting of social scientists, particularly economists, recruited from the universities, has resulted in the growth of a new ecclesiasticism, supporting the religion of the State, and the decline of scepticism. Government, and in particular the bureaucratic structure of government, contains the truths relating to the control of time in the interest of the spatial monopoly.[12]

> Large buildings and fixed capital equipment and the production of volumes unintelligible to the majority parallel the large endowments and mystic rites of ecclesiastical institutions. Economic mysticism displaces religious mysticism. (Political Economy, p. 125.)

> Democracies are becoming people who cannot understand run by people buttressed and protected by the ramparts of research . . . Well might they accept the words of Locke as their motto: "The greater part cannot learn and therefore they must believe." (Political Economy, p. 126.)

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[12] Political Economy, Chapter 7; "Recent Developments in the Canadian Economy", Essays in Canadian Economic History, Chapter 21; Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 8, 1942, Review, p. 305; "Geography and Nationalism", Geographical Review, Vol. 35, 1945.

Innis believes strongly that the university and the social sciences in the West must resist the temptation to become a part of any monopoly of knowledge. They must deny all claims to truth, especially of science. By emphasizing the pursuit of truth, by concentrating on face to face oral communication, Innis believes that the university may provide an environment where freedom of thought may survive and germinate. It may encourage spiritual freedom rather than mechanical petrification.[13] Innis tends to see the university as a garden for the growth of the spirit in the modern world. Here, he believes, through the effect of oral communication, through the continuous pursuit of truth, philosophy and religion may grow and blossom. It is in this role that Innis sees the university as also being the guardian of democracy, for it is in both a practical political sense as well as in a spiritual sense that,

> It is the search for truth, not "truth" that makes men free.[14]

Innis would have been in agreement with the words of E. J. Urwick, which he himself quotes in an obituary written just after the death of Urwick in 1945.

> "No aim is true which is not spiritual -- that is, which is not consciously directed to bringing nearer the attainment of the only absolutely good end."[15]

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13 Political Economy, Chapter 7; "Geography and Nationalism", Geographical Review, Vol. 35, 1945.

14 Geographical Review, 1945, Vol. 35, p. 303.

15 Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. II, 1945, p. 265.

Innis points out that,

> Materialism is the auxiliary doctrine of every tyranny, whether of the one or of the many. (Bias, p. 82.)
>
> It is curious to see scientific teaching used everywhere as a means to stifle all freedom of investigation in moral questions under a dead weight of facts. (Bias, p. 82.)

Innis' works emphasize that mechanical communication, in all its guises, is inherently materialistic. Only the oral tradition implies the spirit. (Bias, Chapter 4.) Only an oral means of communication will guarantee a spiritual end. Only oral communication results in the working of the spirit. In this sense religion, like philosophy, is an effect of oral communication. Religious organization, i.e. the organization of truths of either time or space, is an effect of mechanized communication. It is materialistic. It tends to kill the spirit of man.

When Innis quotes from Holy Writ that "without vision the people perish" (Bias, p. 91) he is referring to the effects of oral communication. The "vision" is the ability to see through the dominant monopoly of knowledge, the dominant system of "religious" truths. This vision is basic to both religion and philosophy. It is both faith and wisdom. It is the faith that truth is and the wisdom that it must be pursued but may never be intellectually comprehended. The means to this vision, for Innis, is oral communication.

# CHAPTER NINE

## CONCLUSION

It was pointed out in the Introduction that on the basis of Innis' later works religion may be described as a monopoly of truths or a monopoly of knowledge with a bias either to space or to time depending on the dominant medium of mechanized communication. Religion tends to be an effect of the technique and the technology of mechanized communication. However, it was pointed out further that Innis sees a deeper side to the religious experience which he tends to associate with the effects of oral communication. These effects include individual spiritual creativity, personal freedom, and the continuous pursuit of truth. The synthesis of Innis' works was designed to elucidate the structure of his thought and to place in clearer perspective the oral and mechanized traditions and their very different effects vis a vis religion in the West.

Innis' works indicate that mechanized communication tends to convert the pursuit of truth into the maintenance and defence of truths and that the resulting monopolies of knowledge provide for the efficient large scale control of man over both time and space. His works stress that all monopolies of knowledge are evil and dangerous because they restrict individual freedom and spiritual creativity and because they tend to promote violent reaction. The

present spatial monopoly of knowledge in the West is particularly bad because it is based upon a system of mass mechanized communication the extent of which has never been known before and because it is backed by unprecedented destructive power.

> The ability to develop a system of government in which the bias of communication can be checked and an appraisal of the significance of space and time can be reached remains a problem of empire and of the Western world. (Empire, p. 217.)

In order to be free, in order to survive, modern man must come to understand his biases. He must come to understand "why we attend to the things to which we attend". According to Innis this requires an understanding of the effects of communications. His later works provide at least the beginning of such an understanding.

Innis forces us to pay attention to the How of communications and not merely the What. Communications can no longer be considered as merely neutral means. Marshall McLuhan's phrase "the Medium is the Message" has become a part of our modern popular jargon. But the significance of this phrase has tended to become lost because it has become jargon. Innis' work provides the scholarship for understanding its meaning. The medium itself has its own message which is independent of the messages it carries but which has long term effects for all messages. Innis' works indicate that how man thinks and what he thinks about reflects the bias of communication.

Innis emphasizes the need to question all "religious" truths. Truths of the laboratory are similar in their essence and in their

effects to truths of the pulpit. They are effects of communication and they control man's mind. Truths are the basis of control whether over space or over time. All must be continuously questioned in order for man to be free.

Innis stresses the value of agnosticism. This value judgment which Innis makes throughout his later works is important to understand in order to appreciate the significance of his works for the study of religion. For Innis agnosticism is an indispensable state of mind for individual freedom and spiritual creativity. He values oral communication because it tends to effect this state of mind. However, it leads to more than just questioning. He believes it is the means to the continuous pursuit of truth and for him "it is not truth but the pursuit of truth which makes men free". It is the questioning of all specific truths combined with the continuous pursuit of truth which Innis values. For Innis this state of mind is pre-eminently religious. In the Appendix to this thesis it is suggested that this state of mind may be seen to fit within a Christian perspective.

The individual freedom and spiritual creativity which Innis understands to be effects of oral communication are for him of the essence of democracy and religion. But, as he recognizes, oral communication is inefficient for the control and administration of either time or space. Efficient communication, in this sense, is mechanized communication. It requires truths and the efficient

communication of truths over long stretches of time and large areas of space. This militates against individual freedom, and yet individual freedom, constant questioning, militates against efficient administration and control. Innis' works force us to evaluate our ends as well as our means. How much do we really value the religious and political ideals of the West? How much order and tranquility are we prepared to give up in order to ensure values such as individual freedom and spiritual creativity? We must understand that if we support the oral tradition, if we encourage oral interaction, whether in our schools, our churches, or in the political process, we must face the prospect of continuous questioning of motives and ends. We must face continuous questioning of the very values and truths on which our society is based. Oral communication brings waves. Efficient administration means smooth water.

Innis' works have great significance for all people involved in and concerned about government, religion, education, and communications. In all of these areas truths which men hold to be absolute are communicated from the few to the many. Innis indicates that all truths are effects of communication, all reflect the bias of the communication process. His works suggest that as the dominant means of mechanized communication changes, for example from print to electronic, so our truths will change. Man will attend to different things. This insight helps us to understand change and to predict it.

While it cannot be expected perhaps that many practical men

in government, business, or the media will take the time to agonize over the hidden ends inherent in the means of communication it can be expected that scholars and educators will do so. It is particularly important for those involved in modern mass education to better understand the various forms of mechanized communication and to appreciate their different effects. For the new breed of "educational communicator" who is advocating the increased use of mechanized communication in the educational process Innis' works should be required reading. This understanding and appreciation is equally important for those members of the mass media who consider themselves to be serious journalists and who can be expected to have a real concern for the welfare of society and its institutions.

Innis' later works provide a comprehensive introduction to the study of communications media and their effects. They suggest a multitude of questions for further thought. For example: It is apparent that Innis perceives a special spiritual ingredient to be a part of oral communication which is missing in all forms of mechanized communication. This perception should be explored in more detail. Does oral communication in fact contain any such special experience? What is the essence and extent of it? Is this experience present at all in any of the mechanized forms? To what extent? What are the effects of communication on the message being communicated, in the short term and the long term? How and to what extent do new media influence old truths? To what extent did the

old truths reflect the old media? To what extent are truths necessary to maintain order in society? Could society maintain itself where constant questioning was the norm? Could an individual retain his sanity with constant questioning? Is a balance possible, for society and for the individual, between the pursuit of truth and the maintenance and defence of truths which will ensure order while at the same time ensuring some measure of creativity and freedom? Or, is freedom like pregnancy, one is either free or not free?

Other examples of more specific kinds of questions suggest themselves. Should the reading of a written text be considered as oral or mechanized communication? How do the effects differ from a spontaneous discussion? How does reading a prepared text live in front of an audience differ from reading it on radio or television? What ways and to what extent does electronic communication, specifically radio and television, communicate the effects of an oral tradition? To what extent does television in particular reflect the effects of the oral-tactile experience characteristic of oral communication? Do different kinds of television programs promote different effects? How do the effects of a scripted program on television or radio where a printed message is read differ from a live "spontaneous" oral discussion? To what extent can a discussion on radio or television be live and spontaneous? How does the planning in terms of the time available for a television or radio program and the necessity of interesting and holding the attention of an audience

affect the oral discussion? Can electronic communication be considered oral at all if there is no interaction with the audience? If there is interaction through a telephone connection for example in what sense may this be considered to be more oral? How does telephone interaction differ from face to face communication? How will the video-phone change the effect of the telephone?

Two basic types of questions are being suggested here. Both offer interesting possibilities for further research and study. Both must be seriously considered for a real understanding of the effects of communication. One type refers to the general effects of the technique and technology of communication. These are the kind of general questions to which, in the main, Innis' later works are addressed. The other type refers more specifically to possible different effects resulting from using a medium in a variety of ways. These more specific type of questions arise as a consequence of Innis' work.

If Innis' perception of the bias of mechanized communication and the value of oral communication is justified then it is obvious that oral communication should be considered as vital to the health of our educational, religious and democratic institutions in the West. However, Innis is not hopeful that government, business or religious institutions will relinquish control and power for the sake of spiritual creativity or individual freedom. He sees the university as the one institution in modern western society where

these ends have at least a chance of being pursued. He sees the university as the one institution where power and control can be expected to be relinquished for the sake of the human spirit. But for this to happen the dominant means of communication must be oral. The mechanized storage and retrieval of information must play a minor role in comparison to oral interaction.

In order to play this critically important role of providing an environment for the genesis and development of spiritual creativity and freedom Innis believes that the university must not become a place where the emphasis is on educating students to do things. Rather, it must emphasize liberal education with the aim of producing a "cultured" individual.

It should be recognized that this ideal of Innis' tends to be elitist and would be difficult for a modern democratic government, particularly in Canada, to support. But perhaps not impossible. If we respect what Innis is saying about the necessity and value of this educational ideal then it is worth pursuing, and ways of pursuing it in very practical political terms can be suggested. A cultured individual, in Innis' terms, is one who is constantly questioning and constantly learning; one who is not easily led by emotional appeal, particularly via the mass media; one who appreciates the bias of his culture. This is an educational ideal which a democratic government can be expected to support, particularly if universities develop an openness to all citizens who wish to participate in this kind of spiritual activity and who indicate an ability to participate

and benefit from it.

However, it must be clearly recognized that this kind of education will result in questioning, unrest and radicalism. Throughout his works Innis indicates his support for this state of mind. Government may recognize that in the long term this will prove beneficial to a democratic state. But in the short term it can be threatening. Even a short term hostile reaction by government to campus radicalism can be damaging to a modern university with its large capital investment and dependence on generous government, i.e. public, support. This kind of university education valued by Innis must have a large degree of independence from the vicissitudes of government and public.

This may mean a radical re-structuring of universities. It may mean, for example, the development of a host of liberal arts centres of various shapes and sizes receiving support from a variety of sources. It may mean part time faculty and part time students. It may mean the development of lifetime teaching and learning environments for all citizens who have the ability and the ambition to participate. Innis' ideal of liberal education may become an ideal for living rather than the more restricted ideal benefitting a relatively small group of citizens for a short period of time. Rather than the old concept of a community of scholars the liberal arts university of the future may be forced to become more a learning community of citizens.

Innis' educational ideal is also a political and a religious

ideal. It can only take place in small groups where a friendly and constructive attitude is the norm. Big government, big education, big religion do not promote personal interaction. To achieve the spiritual ends valued by Innis requires decentralization and the development of small units in which people talk to each other.

Innis' later works have profound significance for the study of religion, as they have for the study of western thought and social organization in general. He suggests that we must be prepared to question every truth, every value, every thought; that we must question our very questions. He shows particular interest in stressing the need to question our faith in scientific objectivity and the truths of reason.

Innis does not mean to imply that objectivity is not desirable or that one should not strive for a scientific point of view. Indeed, Innis himself attempts to view society from just this perspective. He believes that bias itself may be studied; it is precisely the study of bias on which this thesis focuses attention. However, he stresses that the social scientist in particular must be aware that he is continually under the influence of the bias of his culture, even while he is attempting to study it. He cannot escape this influence. A wise man, a truly educated man, is one who is aware that he is biased, that objectivity in any absolute sense is impossible, and is therefore humble in his assessment of his own infallibility. Innis' works indicate that only by reaching this plateau of knowledge may a man consider himself to be either wise

or free. Freedom is not possible without knowledge, the knowledge that one knows nothing, the knowledge that there are no truths.

Innis is reacting against the enormous confidence displayed by modern man in the West in reason and the scientific method, particularly as this applies to the social sciences. Although he never discusses the subject it is unlikely that he would not have accepted the validity or the value of such basic facts from the natural sciences as the chemical composition of a substance or the boiling point of a liquid. His concern is broader and more general. He realizes that the scientific method itself, the emphasis on reason, is, at least in part, an effect of the phonetic alphabet under the impact of printing. He realizes that how man communicates influences what he communicates. Innis' intent is to stress the bias inherent in man's thinking as an effect of his dominant means and medium of mechanized communication. He wants to shake man's faith in his method of thinking and in the truths of that method. He understands that when truths are not constantly questioned they tend to become idols. Man worships them and is controlled by them.

Throughout his later works Innis emphasizes that the universities have become modern ecclesiastical organizations and that the scientists, particularly the social scientists, have become the new high priests. This new priesthood continually spews forth truths which enable government and industry to control more efficiently the common man. In his opinion this is not the role which the university or the social scientist should be playing.

Innis believes that the role of the university and that of the social scientist should be the pursuit of truth. He sees the social scientist in the role of the philosopher and the university community as a place of nurture and protection of the philosophic ideal. He says that Plato

> would not surrender his freedom to his own books and refused to be bound by what he had written. (Empire, p. 69.)

By this he means that Plato refused to be bound by the truths which his writing had established. In Innis' view a university ought to produce a cultured individual, a man with a sense of balance and proportion, who can decide how much or how little information he needs; a man who pursues truth rather than being controlled by truths.

In his later works Innis may be seen to be proselytizing a value judgment. He takes a firm stand against the degeneration of the secular, spatially biased, society he sees around him. Throughout these works a central theme is the need for a spiritual renewal in order to escape the mechanical petrification of modern western secular society. The means he recommends is oral communication.

Besides the suggestion that mechanized communication works to destroy human spirituality and freedom Innis is clear in his understanding also that it does not fully communicate the oral tradition. This is significant for the study of religion, specifically Christianity. It implies that the gospel message, which was originally communicated via the spoken word within an oral environment, will be

changed when it is communicated in written, printed or electronic forms. Each different technique and technology will communicate a different message. All will be different from, and less than, the original oral message. In his works Innis indicates that the essence of the Christian religion is represented by the phrase "I say unto you". This is the oral tradition.

Innis believes that the apprehension of truth which the Bible records, as well as the record of the pursuit of truth contained in the Platonic dialogues, are better recorded than not recorded. When the bias of communication is understood these records of a dynamic oral tradition may act as a leaven for a mechanized bound civilization. However, an understanding of the effects of communication is essential before either the gospels or the dialogues can be fully appreciated, before the spirit of the oral tradition which they contain can cut through the darkness imposed by mechanized technique and technology. Innis, like St. Paul, Plato, and St. Augustine believes that mechanized communication kills much, though not all, of the spirit of oral communication.[1]

It is clear that Innis' works on the effects of communication point to the vacuity of human pride, the pride that we know or can know what truth is, especially to the vacuity of modern secular pride which tells us that truth is that which appeals to our reason. However, his works, while cutting the ground from under our faith

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[1] Reference for this may be found in Empire and Communication, p. 68, and Christianity and Classical Culture, p. 475.

that we have or that we can discover what truth is, leave freedom for the faith that truth is, that God is. In fact his works may be interpreted as leading in this direction rather than to scepticism or cynicism.

The concept that faith (that truth is) precedes understanding (wisdom), and that understanding leads to faith, which may be seen to be a powerful, though implicit, message in Innis' later works, was elucidated by Charles Norris Cochrane in his book, Christianity and Classical Culture. Cochrane was a close friend of Innis and in all probability had some considerable influence on his mature thinking. This point of view is supported by G. P. Grant, and in works by R. F. Neill, J. B. Brebner, A. Brady, and W. T. Easterbrook[2] and by Innis himself in his Obituary of Cochrane and in the Preface to Empire and Communications. By comparing the works of these two great Canadian scholars some interesting analogies emerge which can add to our appreciation of what Innis is saying and the importance of what he is saying for the study of religion. However, insights which spring from a comparison of their works are tentative. They are therefore included in an Appendix to this thesis rather than in the main body of the work.

Harold Innis saw clearly (as did Cochrane) that in the present

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[2] Neill, R. F., The Work of Harold Adams Innis: Content and Context, Duke University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan; Brebner, J. B., Harold Adams Innis As Historian, Canadian Historical Association Report, 1953, pp. 14-24; Brady, A., Harold Adams Innis, 1894-1952, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 19, August, 1953, pp. 87-96; Easterbrook, W. T., Innis and Economics, Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 19, August, 1953, pp. 291-303.

age in the West those "things to which we attend" to which we attach the mantle of divine truth, tend to reflect the scientific method. His later works explain how paper and printing have effected a concern for economic progress, national politics and science. We attend to miracles of science whereas a past age attended to the miracles of Providence. Innis dislikes all monopolies of knowledge, i.e. all systems of "religious" truths, but he particularly fears the present one because of the imminent danger of destruction by the technology which has come forth from modern science.

> The average reader has been impressed by the miraculous, and the high priests of science, or perhaps it would be fair to say the pseudo-priests of science, have been extremely effective in developing all sorts of fantastic things, with great emphasis, of course, on the atomic bomb. Progress itself suggests that its value as a doctrine is only relative, corresponding to a certain not very advanced stage of civilization, just as Providence in its day was an idea of relative value corresponding to a stage somewhat less advanced. (Bias, p. 192.)

In order for western civilization to survive, indeed, for civilization as a whole to survive, Innis believes that the "things to which we attehd" must include values or concerns beyond the immediate which will balance the immediate concerns characteristic of the economic and political monopolies of the present age. Innis sees the need to emphasize the values of religion and culture, of tradition, stability, duration, time. And he stressed that these values are characteristic of the oral tradition. Mechanized communication builds walls of truths which divide people and which

make real communication difficult and conflict more likely. He quotes chapter and verse throughout the history of the West to support this thesis. Monopolies of knowledge of space and of time built up around different media of communication have resulted in violent reaction, conflict, war, and destruction.

The effects of mechanized communication are much more powerful and all pervasive in the modern world than they have ever been in the past. And the effects are all the more dangerous because the modern technology of communications has been combined with the modern technology of warfare. Unprecedented physical and mental violence is the result.

> The conditions of freedom of thought are in danger of being destroyed by science, technology, and the mechanization of knowledge, and with them, Western civilization. (Bias, p. 190.)

Innis believes that only by emphasizing the oral tradition is there any hope of even checking this tendency. The oral means of communication by emphasizing flexibility, compromise, questions rather than answers, may act as a leaven to undermine the "religious" truths which have come to monopolize mind in the West.

> The printing press and the radio address the world instead of the individual. The oral dialectic is overwhelming significant where the subject-matter is human action and feeling, and it is important in the discovery of new truth but of very little value in disseminating it. The oral discussion inherently involves personal contact and a consideration for the feelings of others, and it is in sharp contrast with the cruelty of mechanized communication and the tendencies which we have come to note in the modern world. (Bias, p. 191.)

Innis' later works clearly emphasize that only with this change in emphasis, from the defence of truths to the pursuit of truth, will individual freedom and democracy survive and the West escape the current movement towards totalitarianism and global war.

# APPENDIX

## COMMUNICATION AND CHRISTIANITY: THE WORKS OF HAROLD INNIS INTERPRETED IN LIGHT OF THE INFLUENCE OF CHARLES NORRIS COCHRANE

It is not the intention of this Appendix to attempt an exhaustive study of the intellectual relationship between Innis and Cochrane. There is evidence to suggest that Innis was influenced by Cochrane. They were friends and colleagues at the University of Toronto. They had somewhat similar backgrounds, i.e. that of country boys brought up in a strong protestant tradition who learned about and were influenced by Liberalism during their academic lives but who moved beyond the liberal tradition and insisted on questioning the assumptions on which they saw it to be based. Both turned to look for the religious roots of liberalism. This Appendix is merely an attempt to identify from their works some of their arguments and points of view which appear to be analogous and to suggest how the work of one sheds light on the work of the other. As tentative as the results are they do help to provide a better understanding of Innis' later works and the possible relationship between communication and religion.

Likewise, no attempt has been made in this thesis and none will be made in the Appendix to look upon Innis' works as somehow providing a new framework for Liberalism. To deal adequately with the relationship of Innis, or of Cochrane, to Liberalism or to

Protestantism would take at least another thesis.

In Empire and Communication (p. 53) Innis points out that in the Bible Word, Wisdom and God are almost identical theological concepts. This identification may well have been made by Innis himself in his later works. Oral communication has very special value for him. On the basis of Innis' works one may interpret oral communication as being analogous to the Christian concept of the working of the Word in the world, i.e. the working of the Holy Spirit in man and among men. On the basis of this interpretation one may suggest, very tentatively, that oral communication is of the essence of Christianity. Oral communication leads to the continuous pursuit of truth in the faith that truth is. This pursuit gives freedom in the knowledge that there are no truths to monopolize the mind and this knowledge leads to a strong faith. Innis' understanding of wisdom and freedom, the relationship between them, their connection with Christian faith, and the relationship of all of this to communications is explored in this Appendix. It is important for this thesis because it tends to give a somewhat different, and important, perspective to his work. It suggests that rather than reflecting a sceptical point of view Innis' works reflect, at least in part, Augustine's understanding of the essence of Christianity as elucidated by Cochrane in Christianity and Classical Culture.

In this book Cochrane points out that the free pursuit of truth requires a faith that truth is. He says that only in this

faith lies true freedom. Innis' later works suggest such a faith, which is to say a Christian faith. This faith may be seen to be a product of his Baptist upbringing, his own intellectual rigorousness, and the influence of Cochrane.

Innis' works on communication indicate that monopolies of knowledge may best be undermined by the continuous pursuit of truth in the understanding that there are no truths. This knowledge, the knowledge that we know nothing, he indicates to be, in large measure, an effect of oral communication. Through the process of oral communication, and on the basis of the understanding which springs from it, man may achieve personal freedom and the dominant monopoly of knowledge may be undermined. He sees this continuous pursuit of truth as being of the essence of philosophy and throughout his works he stresses the need for a philosophic point of view. However, Cochrane's work indicates that the pursuit of truth may also be seen to be of the essence of the Christian religion. This point of view would have been understood by Innis. It would have appealed to him and it may be seen to compliment his thesis regarding the effects of communication.

It is important to stress that Innis' works, in themselves, may be understood to be those of a sceptic. He was certainly sceptical of all truths, including the truths of Christianity. However, it is also possible to read his works as if they were written within a perspective which does not exclude Christianity, which, in fact, may include both Christianity and agnosticism. This perspective

may be better understood when Innis' works are studied in the light of Christianity and Classical Culture.

As outlined in the Introduction, the intent and purpose of this thesis is to elucidate what Innis' works say, both explicitly and implicitly, about the effects of communication upon religion in the West. The thesis proposed is that, based on Innis' works, religion in the West may be viewed, at least in part, as an effect of communication. Innis' works stress that how man communicates effects what he communicates. The very way man thinks and certainly what he thinks of as being true tends to be biased by his mechanized means of communication. Therefore, man cannot know in any absolute sense what truth is. Cochrane presents a similar thesis in Christianity and Classical Culture. In this work he points out that, according to Augustine, man cannot know what truth is because his thinking is biased by the very fact that he is man. But he goes on to interpret Augustine as saying that this understanding, the understanding that man cannot know what truth is, helps provide the basis for Christian faith. Thus, according to Cochrane, man must question all truths, he must be agnostic, in order to be Christian. It is this understanding that allows one to see Innis' works from a different perspective and to see the effects of communication upon religion in a new light. By studying the works of Innis and Cochrane together Cochrane's understanding of the essence of Augustinian Christianity may be seen to be reflected in Innis' later works. The effects of oral communication as elucidated by Innis

may be compared to the effects of the Word as elucidated by Cochrane.

The analogies suggested in this Appendix between Augustinian Christianity and Innis' works on communication are based exclusively on Cochrane's interpretation. As with Innis' works, no attempt is made either to defend or to criticize Cochrane's work. The purpose in utilizing it is to better understand Innis and this thesis.

It must be stressed that the conclusions arrived at on the basis of this juxtaposition are tentative. It is a difficult and dangerous task to suggest the possible influences of one scholar upon another and to draw analogies between their works. There is no doubt that Innis was influenced by Cochrane but the exact nature and extent of the influence of the one on the other is, of course, open to question.

To say the least, Cochrane's interpretation of Augustine provides Innis with a firm theological basis for his own philosophical position. In effect, it allows Innis to have his cake and eat it too. It allows him to question all truths while remaining a Christian. In fact it suggests to him that the essence of Christianity is at least analogous to the philosophical position to which he had arrived through his understanding of the bias of communication. Innis would not have been unaffected by Cochrane's thesis. Cochrane's elucidation of the essential freedom of the Christian man squares well with the strong religious component in Innis' character which had its genesis in his Baptist upbringing, with his strong feeling for individual freedom and for the creative radical which was also

a vestige of his upbringing and his early education, and for his rigorous intellectualism which refused to stop questioning.[1]

In his Obituary of Charles Norris Cochrane, written in 1946, Innis mentions Augustine's opposition to the false doctrines of classicism, i.e. truths based on reason. It is against the modern faith in such truths that both Innis and Cochrane are reacting. In explaining Cochrane's position Innis connects these systems of truths, i.e. monopolies of knowledge, to secular pride which, according to Cochrane, Augustine considered to be the original sin.

> Secular pride, i.e. the original sin, became the key to the weakness of classical civilization and the doctrine of original sin became a fatal weapon against the pretensions of emperors.[2]

This Obituary indicates that Innis saw that the doctrine of original sin, as given by Augustine and elucidated by Cochrane, could be an effective weapon against the pretensions of modern truths.

> The sweep of the Platonic state in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the spread of science has been followed by the horrors of the Platonic state. The social scientist is asked to check his course and to indicate his role in western civilization. His answer must stand the test of the philosophic approach of Cochrane . . . To the social scientist, he might have said, your cycles, your theories of civilization, and your "creative" politics are the new fantastica fornicatio.[3]

In Christianity and Classical Culture Cochrane says that the Church fathers emphasized that Christ was the truth, not merely

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[1] See FOOTNOTE TO THE APPENDIX, page 220 at the end of this Appendix.

[2] "Charles Norris Cochrane, 1889-1945", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XII, 1946, pp. 95-7.

[3] Ibid.

that He had the truth.[4] The total person of Christ was the one avenue to truth. (C. and C.C., p. 224.) The Christian's duty was to apprehend rather than to investigate. (C. and C.C., p. 224.) This was an essential breach between science and faith. (C. and C.C., p. 227.) The emphasis placed on apprehension rather than scientific investigation by the Church fathers appears to be similar to the emphasis given by Innis to oral communication. Both tend to reject the belief that truths may be discovered and comprehended by reason. Cochrane points out that the Church fathers considered the belief that this may be done to be a reflection of man's inherent pride, to his faith in his own reason. Innis tends to see it as reflecting a similar faith. But he indicates that this faith in reason is an effect of mechanized communication, specifically writing and printing using the phonetic alphabet. The truths of reason, for Innis as for Augustine and Cochrane, may be seen as projections of man's own mind, as illusions which he worships and which control him. Innis' rejection of "religious" truths, as with their rejection by Augustine and Cochrane, may be seen as a rejection of idolatry, a rejection of pride, a rejection of sin.

For neither Augustine nor Innis does the scepticism of the truths of reason mean reliance on some kind of instinctive or mystical apprehension of what truth is. Cochrane says that for Augustine this

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[4] Cochrane, C. N. Christianity and Classical Culture. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957). First published in 1940. Hereinafter cited C. and C.C.

revolt from faith in reason

> points the way to an attitude from which, if faith precedes understanding, understanding in turn becomes the reward of faith. (C. and C.C., p. 400.)

Innis' works point out that understanding is possible only when one realizes that one is biased, i.e. when one realizes that one cannot know what truth is, that, in fact, there are no truths. For Innis as bias is an effect of mechanized communication so understanding is an effect of oral communication. This may be seen to be an understanding of one's own idolatry, of one's own sin. When the understanding reached through oral communication is considered in the light of Cochrane's elucidation of Augustine one can see how it may lead to Christian faith, to the apprehension that truth is without the knowledge of what truth is. In this sense faith becomes the reward of understanding. Also, if Innis' concept of oral communication is interpreted in the Christian sense of the Word at work in the world then faith and understanding become the product of the working of the Holy Spirit, i.e. of grace. Thus understanding may also be said to be the reward of faith.

Augustine said, "believe in order that you may understand". (C. and C.C. p. 402.) It is suggested here, tentatively, that implicit in Innis' later works is a message similar to this. Oral communication allows one to escape the domination of "religious" truths, to escape the faith that one knows what truth is. Innis' works suggest that oral communication may bring one to an understanding that since we cannot know what truth is, we have freedom to believe that truth

is. This faith gives man freedom from the bondage to truths.

For Augustine, as interpreted by Cochrane, and for Innis, understanding, and freedom, is the result of faith, i.e. faith that truth is. This faith is not compatible with the faith that we can know what truth is. The knowledge of what truth is is a product of man's reason and it is based on faith in reason. Cochrane, and Innis, understand that there are no truths. What passes for truths is merely bias, illusion, "fantastica fornicatio". This understanding is both cause and effect of Christian faith. It results in Christian freedom. Cochrane says that this freedom is an effect of faith, of the creative activity of the Word. Innis' later works may be interpreted in this light.

Cochrane says that,

> By thus recommending faith, not as a substitute for, but as a condition of understanding Augustine formulates . . . the true issue between Classicism and Christianity. (C. and C.C., p. 402.)

The true issue, according to Cochrane's work, is that of understanding based on human reason and understanding based on Christian faith. Innis tends to see the true issue between modern secular "religious" truths and Christian faith in a similar light but he sees it in large measure as an effect of communication. The understanding, the wisdom, which Innis' works indicate comes via oral communication may thus be considered, at least tentatively, as a new and highly original way of explaining the understanding which Cochrane's work indicates comes through Christian faith. Both would agree that this faith, this

wisdom, is not compatible with a monopoly of "religious" truths.

Innis' works indicate that he values oral communication with its personal, face to face, interaction because it tends to effect a spiritual creativity and freedom. Man's mind is not so efficiently held in thrall by truths. Cochrane's work indicates that this spiritual creativity is of the essence of Christianity. It is the Holy Spirit, the Word, at work in the world. By reading the works of Cochrane and Innis together one may perceive the Word, as understood by Cochrane, to be analogous to oral communication, as understood by Innis. The Word may be understood in a literal sense as oral communication. Oral communication may then be seen to be of the essence of Christianity. Indeed, Christianity may be perceived as an effect of oral communication. It is then possible to go on to suggest that Jesus Christ may be perceived to be the Incarnation of the spirituality of oral communication, as the perfect example of this process at work in the world.

According to Cochrane, Augustine perceived that the great illusion of classicism, and of all heresies derived from the classical spirit, was that man could dispense with faith and rely on nothing which was not clear and evident to reason. (C. and C.C., p. 402.) The belief inherent in this illusion, on which the illusion was based, was that while opinion (similar to "faith") was subjective, reason was somehow able to rise above this subjectivity and apprehend "objective truth". Classical reason was based on a faith in the ideal of scientific objectivity and committed to the discovery of

the means by which that ideal might be realized. (C. and C.C., p. 402.) This ideal was, of course, to know what truth is, to discover or uncover truths.

Cochrane points out that Augustine took the position that scientific objectivity is illusory; that the truths of man's reason are directly related to his capacity to reason. (C. and C.C., p. 413.)

> In this respect his limitations are not merely those of his faculties . . . they are also of a creature immersed in the flux of time and space and thus himself swept along by the current whose velocity and direction he endeavours to chart. (C. and C.C., p. 413.)

This is analogous to the point of view presented in Innis' works. Man's capacity to reason is subject to the effects of the technique and the technology of mechanized communication. The emphasis placed on reason, man's faith in reason, is in large measure an effect of the dominant means of mechanized communication. As an effect of the media he is subjected to the biases of time and of space. He cannot escape these effects. Innis is clear in his understanding that absolute objectivity is illusory. Truths are illusory. According to Cochrane, Augustine maintains that because this kind of pure objectivity is impossible man must relinquish the aspiration to omniscience, the belief that he can know what truth is. (C. and C.C., p. 440.) Innis would agree. In addition Cochrane emphasizes Augustine's conviction that man must also relinquish his belief that he can know what truth is not. Both dogma and doubt are products of faith in man's reason; faith in man's objectivity.

(C. and C.C., p. 431.)

> Augustine rejected scepticism with complete assurance: "Academic doubt", he says, "is academic madness." The grounds of this assurance were at once intellectual and moral. It thus depended, in part, upon the conviction that there could be no significant doubt except upon the presumption of actual knowledge. (C. and C.C., p. 431.)

Innis would have appreciated this point of view. It can be seen to be reflected in his own work.

It is clear from Cochrane's work that Augustine, like Innis, was most aware that written words operate just as effectively to embalm as to enshrine truth. (C. and C.C., p. 475.) In fact both Augustine and Innis invoke the authority of St. Paul in their rejection of literalism: "the letter killeth". (C. and C.C., p. 475; Empire, p. 68.) Augustine believed that the full understanding of words could only come in the light of the Spirit. (C. and C.C., pp. 475-76.) Innis' creative contribution to an understanding of this Christian faith may be understood as an elucidation of the process by which the Spirit operates, i.e. oral communication. On the basis of both Innis' and Cochrane's works the Bible may be considered as a written record of the apprehension of truth, truth apprehended through oral communication, and it may be considered authoritative in this light. But the record cannot be considered as truth or used as a basis for a rational analysis and understanding of what truth is.

> But to proclaim the historicity of the Bible was not in itself, as Augustine perceived, to provide oneself with a ready-made solution for all possible difficulties. For, while the authority of Scripture was admittedly absolute, the meaning was not always clear. (C. and C.C., pp. 474-75.)

Innis' works help explain why the Bible has tended to be misunderstood as a record of what truth is, as a record of truths open to rational analysis. The effects of the written and printed linear display imposes a rational, logical method of thinking and a faith in the results of this method, and the fact that it is a written record tends to impose on it the mantle of unchanging truth. Innis' works indicate that the apprehension of truth, of Christian truth, which may be understood as an effect of oral communication, cannot be adequately or fully communicated in the written form of the Bible. Both the technique and the technology of mechanized communication impose their own truths. The Bible has not escaped these effects. On the basis of Innis' works, seen in the light of Christianity and Classical Culture, it may be suggested that truth can only be apprehended in the process of oral communication, i.e. in the Word, in Christ. The written record of the Word may be valuable if it is understood as a record of a spiritual process which it itself does not fully contain or reflect. It may be useful if it is appreciated as a means to the means. However, one can clearly see from Innis' works that the danger is that this written record, like all written records, will monopolize mind as unchanging truths; that it will be considered to fully contain and adequately reflect, to those with sufficient intellect, absolute truths. In this way it hinders the pursuit of truth, and the freedom to believe without knowing, which, according to Cochrane, is of the essence of Christianity.

Cochrane explains that while Augustine regarded the Bible as most certainly apocalyptic he stressed that the events to which it points are value-judgments; they are not facts which may be comprehended by reason and forecast by any sort of "scientific prevision". (C. and C.C., p. 477) The Bible is thus the record of the communication of values. It is open to faith and not to reason. Innis' works indicate that the communication of values is an effect of the oral tradition. Mechanized communication imposes a monopoly of facts, of truths which are open to man's reason. It imposes a faith in reason itself which tends to neglect value for fact. Thus the truth to which the Bible points is submerged under the weight of truths. Cochrane points out that

> Science, though it may serve to verify the fact, can in no way establish the value. "Those who hold it do so as a consequence of faith; for those who do not hold it by faith, it remains a matter either of doubt or of contemptuous disbelief." (C. and C.C., p. 477.)
>
> It thus becomes evident that, for Augustine, history as prophecy is the exposition of values, the values in question being those of Christian insight, or sapientia. (C. and C.C., p. 477.)

Innis' works explain that oral communication is the means by which value is apprehended and communicated. Thus, Christian insight may be seen as an effect of oral communication.

Cochrane says that by substituting the embodied for the disembodied logos,

> Christian historiography claims to establish a concrete principle of interpretation in lieu of the barren ideologies of classicism. (C. and C.C., p. 480.)

In this same section he stresses that history in terms of the embodied logos means history in terms of personality and that this gives an adequate philosophic basis for humanism. (C. and C.C., p. 480.) Viewed from this perspective it may be suggested that Augustinian Christianity, as interpreted by Cochrane, may very well have provided the basis for Innis' humanism. While Innis is arguing for the freedom of human personality through oral communication he may also be seen to be arguing for the freedom of Christian faith, for the freedom provided in and through the Word. It is clear from reading Christianity and Classical Culture that for Augustine Christian freedom, i.e. freedom from truths achieved through faith, is the only real freedom. It is freedom from truths achieved through faith in truth. This interpretation gives theological meaning to Innis' works. The elucidation by Cochrane of the meaning of dynamic personality as being both an ideal of humanism and of Christianity offers a firm base from which to launch an attack on secular idolatry in support of the oral ideal of spiritual creativity and freedom.

While Cochrane's work may be seen to provide a firm foundation for Innis, it may likewise be suggested, however tentatively, that Innis' works provide a new and dynamic interpretation and understanding of Christian freedom and Christian truth. Innis' understanding of oral communication and its effects may be viewed as being analogous to Augustine's understanding of trinitarian Christianity as interpreted by Cochrane, i.e. as a means of salvation from

the effects of man's faith in his own omniscience, from his original sin.

Cochrane says that,

> Trinitarian Christianity presents itself, not as dogma, but as the rejection of dogma, not as assertion but rather as the denial of anthropomorphism and myth. (C. and C.C., p. 432.)

He points out further that the salvation of trinitarian Christianity consists of,

> emancipation from the ignorance and blindness which results from a misapprehension of the possibilities contained in the instrument of apprehension and from its consequent misues. (C. and C.C., p. 450.)

The freedom which Innis advocates, and which he believes to be in large measure an effect of oral communication, is emancipation from a similar ignorance and blindness.

Cochrane says that the emancipation of trinitarian Christianity is the understanding that we are worshipping nothing but the abstractions of our own fantasy, (C. and C.C., p. 450) that, in effect, we are monopolized by our own truths. According to Cochrane, Augustine sees the root of this error, the root of our need for truths, to be in man's "passion for independence and self-sufficiency", (C. and C.C., p. 457) i.e. in man's pride. Cochrane points out that this means that for Augustine the conditions of wisdom, i.e. the conditions which allow man to become wise, are, at bottom, not so much intellectual as moral. (C. and C.C., p. 457.)

Innis' works suggest that he would agree in essence with

Augustine that man must rise above his biases, that these biases are projections of his own mind, that man worships these projections and that this may be described as idolatry and sin. It appears to be the overcoming of this state of mind which both Innis and Augustine are advocating. The element which we do not see stressed in Innis' work is the so-called root "passion for independence and self-sufficiency". The emphasis in Innis' works is on the effects of communication on the mind of man, i.e. on the things to which man attends. It may therefore be suggested that while Augustine sees that the conditions of wisdom are more moral than intellectual Innis sees somewhat the opposite. And yet the "knowing" which comes via oral communication and which is basic to overcoming the idolatrous effects of mechanized communication is certainly not merely an intellectual process. Oral interaction includes the emotions as well as the intellect. It is because of this that it effects spiritual freedom and creativity, which is analogous to the spiritual emancipation described by Augustine. However, in regards to the conditions which militate against this freedom, Innis focuses on mechanized communication rather than on some inner passion of man. He was concerned primarily with the problem of how mechanized communication effects large scale idolatry, and how the media of mechanized communication influences the idolatry to emphasize time or space. By comparing the works of Innis and Cochrane one may suggest that both Innis and Augustine believe that man must

cease to worship the idols of his own mind before he may be considered as wise.

Cochrane says that for Augustine wisdom may be attained only after man has reoriented his passions, his affections. In this reorientation the love of self (amor sui), with its passion for independence and self sufficiency and the consequent worship of one's own illusions, must be subordinated to the love of God (Amor Dei). (C. and C.C., p. 451.) This love of God is a reflection of the faith that God is, that truth is, with no illusions as to what God is. For Augustine this is a regeneration which is possible only with the gift of divine grace. (C. and C.C., p. 451.) On the basis of Innis' works this may be understood to be an effect of oral communication. Again, their messages may be seen to be complimentary. Cochrane points out that,

> The doctrine of sin and grace marks, in its most acute form, the breach between Classicism and Christianity . . . Thus, for him (Augustine), the classical ideal of perfectability through knowledge or enlightenment was wholly illusory. It was, indeed, on this very question that he took issue with Pelagius. (C. and C.C., pp. 451-52.)

For Innis a constant undermining of the idolatrous effects of mechanized communication is a prerequisite for wisdom. Oral communication must be emphasized. This brings about, or effects, a realization that intellectual comprehension of what truth is is illusion. According to Cochrane one is then left free for faith. In this way oral communication may be considered as the means to

grace, as the Holy Spirit operating in the world. The apprehension of truth comes via this oral interaction. One may even say that the love of truth, for its own sake, comes via this process. Thus it may be suggested tentatively that both religion and philosophy are its effects. For Innis wisdom, freedom, apprehension of truth, faith in truth, love of truth are part of the same process. This is a central, though implicit message in Innis' later works and it may be interpreted as essentially a Christian message.

When studied in the light of Christianity and Classical Culture it is possible to see in Innis' later works a new and original examination of the two societies or cities envisaged by Augustine, the secular society and the society of God. Cochrane explains that the difference in the forms of association in these two societies is to be found in their very different desires. (C. and C.C., p. 488.)

> "That which animates secular society is the love of self to the point of contempt for God; that which animates divine society is the love of God to the point of contempt for self." (C. and C.C., p. 488.)

Oral communication may be seen to provide the basis for what Augustine calls divine society or the City of God. Here there is faith that truth is, that God is. There is love of truth, love of God. There is continuous pursuit of truth with the understanding, the wisdom, that man may not intellectually comprehend what he is pursuing. There is contempt for truths, which are recognized as

the idolatrous projections of man's own mind. Secular society is seen to be animated by the love of truths. It is seen to be animated by bias. Cochrane's work explains that this is a love of self. Innis' work explains that this is, in some measure, an effect of mechanized communication.

Cochrane points out that, according to Augustine, the typical attitude of secular society is one of possessiveness, and its distinctive mark is greed or lust for possession. (C. and C.C., p. 491.) Further, this greed is exclusive and monopolistic and as such it inevitably leads to conflict. (C. and C.C., p. 492.) This is analogous to Innis' descriptions of monopolies of space and time, i.e. political or ecclesiastical empires. Innis' descriptions of monopolies are similar to Cochrane's description of the ideology of power.

> Secularism thus gives rise to a characteristic effort of understanding which, as an attempt a) to rationalize, and b) to justify its activity, may properly be described as the ideology of power. (C. and C.C., p. 497.)

By studying the works of Innis and Cochrane together one may suggest that secularism, or the ideology of power, has its basis in the maintenance and communication of "religious" truths, of time or of space, which facilitate the control of men over large areas of geographical space and long periods of time. Innis' works elucidate how mechanized communication effects the growth and development of such ideologies of power. As indicated, according to Cochrane,

Augustine sees them as manifestations of man's inherent pride, i.e. original sin, or amor sui.

Cochrane says that,

> The existence of such phenomena testifies in the most emphatic manner to the strength of amor sui, the human desire for an effective means of self-preservation amidst the dangers of an obscure and mysterious environment. (C. and C.C., p. 497.)

According to Cochrane Augustine takes the position that the secular desire of man to apprehend and possess power (knowledge of truths) is really just a perversion of a perfectly natural impulse to save himself from danger and destruction, and that it may be explained as a consequence of man's inability to see his own highest and greatest good. (C. and C.C., p. 501.) Innis' works suggest that this inability, at least in part, is an effect of mechanized communication. Monopolies of knowledge hinder the pursuit of truth. The belief that man can discover and possess truths, or has discovered and does possess truth, tends to prevent the Christian pursuit of truth in faith. Cochrane points out that Christianity prescribes faith or "adhesion to God" as fundamental to individual and social regeneration and reformation. (C. and C.C., p. 501.) He says that,

> This is the Christian alternative to the pagan proposition that correct action presupposes correct thinking; and it may accurately be described as "justification by faith". (C. and C.C., p. 501.)

On the basis of the works of Innis and Cochrane oral communication may be perceived as a means to this justification. It leads to

both faith and wisdom. It is the Word, i.e. grace.

> Thus envisaged, "grace" emerges as the answer to a perfectly normal and legitimate human demand, the demand for illumination and power; and it points to an ideal, not of mental or spiritual vacuity, but of Christian wisdom or insight (sapientia). For, as Augustine never ceases to insist, the demand of faith is a demand for understanding . . . This knowledge is not to be understood as anything magical, the sudden, inexplicable, and final gift of an "inner light", but as the culmination of a long and arduous process of self-discipline by which the natural is gradually transformed into the spiritual man. (C. and C.C., p. 503.)

Innis tends to see this long and arduous process of spiritual development in terms of scholarship within a strong oral tradition.

Cochrane says that the attainment of a Christian life so described by Augustine is the attainment of an ideal of wisdom to which paganism aspired in vain, the wisdom of Christian insight. (C. and C.C., p. 506.)

> As truth it may be described as reason irradiated by love; as morality, love irradiated by reason. It is thus at one and the same time the value of truth and the truth of value. (C. and C.C., p. 506.)

This is wisdom which contains both fact and value. Innis' works indicate that mechanized communication in the West has overemphasized facts, i.e. truths, which lend themselves to reason. These facts alone tend to attain value. Oral communication includes the passions in man's apprehension of truth. It is therefore suggested that oral communication leads to the wisdom valued by both Innis and Cochrane. Cochrane points out that this "value-truth" is very different from

the ideal of truth postulated by classical science. (C. and C.C., p. 506.) Innis' works indicate that it is also very different from the ideal of truth postulated by modern western science. Both modern and classical science, in the view of both Innis and Cochrane, have tended to postulate the ideal of a "pure" reason operating in a vacuum. Innis would agree with Cochrane's sentiment that,

> As an ideal of knowledge, this is humanly speaking impossible and absurd; since, as Augustine insists, there can be no knowledge without feeling and no feeling without knowledge. (C. and C.C., p. 507.)

Cochrane says that by subverting the ideology of secular society it was not Augustine's intention to destroy society itself but merely to see it in a new light. (C. and C.C., p. 509.) But this new light was, and is, immensely important.

> For it was to see the state, no longer as the ultimate form of community, but merely as an instrument for regulating the relations of what Augustine calls the "exterior" man. (C. and C.C., p. 509.)

Innis follows a similar path. He urges an intellectual and moral revolution, never a physical one. He sees clearly the danger of a political monopoly of knowledge resulting, even in the western democracies, in a totalitarian form of government control. Augustinian Christianity, as elucidated by Cochrane, and oral communication, as elucidated by Innis, may be seen to offer a powerful leaven to monopolies of all sorts, and to the pretensions of both emperors and empires. Totalitarianism involves the worship of the products of man's own mind. It is a classical form of idolatry. It is

antithetical to individual freedom and thus to Christianity.

A description given by Cochrane of Augustine could well be applied to Innis.

> He is not a Christian cynic, claiming the right to isolate himself either physically or morally or intellectually from the society of his kind. And, if he asserts a right to freedom, it is not the freedom "to say what you think, and think what you like", but the freedom which consists in subjection to truth. This is not to ignore the empirical values of liberte, egalite, and fraternite. It is, however, to perceive that whatever genuine meaning these values may possess is dependent upon the maintenance of spiritual and "personal" freedom . . . and to permit the evilly-disposed to enslave one's mind is to offer him the best possible opportunity of enslaving one's body. (C. and C.C., p. 510.)

Innis sees the enslavement of mind to be, in large measure, an effect of mechanized communication. Monopolies of knowledge, systems of truths, refer to this enslavement. According to Cochrane's work Christian truth is the means to freedom for both mind and body. Innis sees oral communication, the spiritual creativity of the spoken word, in a similar light.

According to Cochrane, Augustine believed that, ultimately, there could be no compromise between secular society and the society of God, between the claims of Caesar and those of Christ. (C. and C.C., p. 510.) Innis sees somewhat the same impossibility of compromise between the free pursuit of truth characteristic of oral communication and the defense of truths characteristic of mechanized communication. The former does not lend itself to monopolization.

The latter is the very essence of monopoly. It effects the bifurcation of the personality. Oral communication effects an integration of personality which, on the basis of the works of both Cochrane and Innis, can be seen to be of the essence of both philosophy and Christianity.

> This integration is possible because its basis is a good which, unlike the good of secularism, is common, comprehensive, inexhaustible, in no wise susceptible of expropriation or monopolization, nothing less indeed than God Himself. (C. and C.C., pp. 510-511.)

On the basis of the works of these two great Canadian scholars it may be tentatively concluded that it is in human interaction where God is. It is through human interaction that God may be apprehended and pursued and that freedom may be effected. The wisdom which results from this personal interaction,

> denies that there exists any unknown quantity in the "life" of society which is not to be resolved into terms of association, the deliberate association of individuals in pursuit of such ends as they deem good. By so doing it reveals its power to exorcise demons, dissipating once and for all the bogies (gods and ghosts) which haunt the political mind. (C. and C.C., p. 511.)

Cochrane points out that as well as freeing the individual Augustinian Christianity proclaims a new solidarity for mankind. This is the unity of beings endowed with the capacity to feel and to think. This is what is meant by society as "one body in Christ". (C. and C.C., p. 511.) It is this kind of unity and this kind of freedom which Innis understands to be an effect of oral communication. It is freedom within a whole which is also free.

Innis would agree with Cochrane that,

> It is unique among societies, for in it alone "the life of the whole" is not secured at the expense of the parts; but, so far from doing violence to, it exists to promote the fullest possible development of individual personality. This means it rejects the secular ideal of totalitarianism, whatever guise it may assume; its ideal is not one of communism or fascism but of community, the "communion of saints". It means also that it is profoundly democratic. (C. and C.C., p. 512.)

While Innis may be seen as part of a well recognized liberal tradition in the West in his rejection of truths, his emphasis on the pursuit of truth and on individual freedom, he must also be seen to stand outside this tradition. He may be seen as part of the Christian tradition from Augustine. The freedom sought by Innis was more than the freedom of the classical or the liberal traditions. It was freedom from all truths, including the truths of man's reason.

Liberalism in the West began at least in part as an attempt to escape from the dominance of the truths of established religious organization and allow free reign to man's reason. It may be seen as a continuation of the Greek tradition of the free pursuit of truth. However, through his reading and his personal association with Cochrane, and, in all probability, through his own original research on the work of St. Augustine, Innis realized that the liberal tradition, like the classical tradition, was based on faith in reason itself and in the truths of reason. Innis

insisted on questioning these truths also. They too reflect the bias of communication.

It is because of the clarity of this realization that Innis was forced to move beyond the assumptions of his fellow social scientists. He moved beyond a tradition which he saw as a reflection of mechanized communication, a tradition that reflected a faith in man's ability to discover truths. He moved to a position where truth could be pursued in freedom, freedom from all "religious" truths. This was a position very similar to Cochrane's.

It is certainly not the intention of this thesis to attempt to deal with Innis as a person who tried to give Liberalism a new framework. It did not attempt to evaluate the relative influence of Protestantism or Liberalism on his works, nor even to evaluate the relative influence of Cochrane. Rather, the intent and purpose was to elucidate what Innis' works say about the effects of communication on religion in the West. Innis did break with the liberal tradition. He saw that the assumptions of the truths of Liberalism, as all truths, reflect the bias of communication. The synthesis of his works in this thesis helps provide an understanding of why he reached this conclusion. Cochrane, likewise, moved beyond the truths of the liberal tradition. He too came to the understanding that man's thinking is biased, that reason cannot discover truth. Cochrane's understanding came, at least in part, from his study of Augustine. An understanding of his major

work on Augustine provides a deeper understanding of Innis' works and of the topic under study in this thesis.

Both Innis and Cochrane combined a questioning of all truths with faith in truth. In the light of Cochrane's interpretation of Augustine they may be seen to be both agnostic and Christian.

## FOOTNOTE TO THE APPENDIX

In order to cast light on the strong religious component in Innis' background there follows some of Innis' comments and views about religion, specifically the Christian religion, as expressed in his unfinished and unpublished Autobiography as well as in some of his private letters. This material provides an important insight into Innis' thoughts about Christianity, particularly his early thoughts. It provides some understanding of the religious roots which were an important ingredient in his character and which ought not to be overlooked when one is studying his later works. There is, of course, no attempt here to give a complete account of Innis' intellectual or spiritual life. As indicated earlier, this would require another thesis.

Innis' Autobiography was a product of his later years. It clearly indicates his dislike of monopolies of knowledge, i.e. "religious" truths, of all kinds. He refers to an early admiration for the radical thinker but he also indicates his appreciation that radical truths are truths nonetheless.

> The references to an education would not be complete without a mention of two prominent individuals in the community (Otterville) who were avowed agnostics. At least one of them had read Haeckel's "Riddle of the Universe" and regarded it as a final word on the whole question of creation. The same individual had socialistic interests and was a subscriber to a paper called "Cotton's Weekly" published in the Province of Quebec, introducing me to a completely new world, that of industrial radicals. It was

> filled week after week with comments on strikes and arguments generally in the interests of radical labour.[1]

Innis' admiration for the radical thinker, the one who attempts to escape the effects of conventional truths through understanding, appears to have come to focus particularly on one of his professors at McMaster University, James Ten Broeke. Broeke's influence remained with Innis throughout his life. As he states in his Autobiography,

> Perhaps one of the most striking teachers was Professor James Ten Broeke of Philosophy. The Baptist denomination, like other denominations at that time, was concerned with the pursuit of heresy, and with the expulsion on one or two occasions of members of the staff. But the name of Professor Ten Broeke, so far as I am aware, was never mentioned in this agitation, though he must have been by far the most heretical thinker in the University. He opened up the subject of philosophy in such a way as to free those who sought to be free from the conventions of philosophic thought. (Autobiography, p. 35.)

This is a role which Innis himself sought to play throughout his life. It is not a role which is antithetical to a strong Christian faith even though it is opposed to orthodoxy and to the acceptance of "religious" truths.

> I remember vividly his arguments with rather fervent evangelical students; never losing his temper but always arguing in the interest of a wider outlook. His books on the subject were primarily concerned with the problem of working out a philosophical basis for theology, when to the orthodox no such problem existed. (Autobiography, p. 35.)

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[1] Box 10b - Autobiography File, from the Innis Collection held in the Archives at the University of Toronto Library. Hereinafter cited Autobiography.

One page, which may be found among a collection of Innis' early letters (around 1920), is particularly illuminating in regards to his early admiration for and understanding of radicalism. It is important also for an appreciation of the effects of Cochrane's scholarship on the later Innis. The page appears to be the conclusion of an early essay on the Gospel of John. Innis says,

> Such was the life of Jesus as it was viewed from the standpoint of the author of John. The death or rather the Crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus was the consummation of a great life which had its great object that of doing good, in obeisance to the ideals of love and service. Such was the consummation of the conflict between a radical, who was bringing in new ideals and stirring up the valley of dry bones, and those men who had rested secure in their own minds thanking heaven they were not as other men. It ended in death for the great radical but such a death that has shook to its very foundations the old order and the echoes of the rended temple quiver even to this day.[2]

In support of the view that Innis turned from religion, and from religious faith, to scepticism and agnosticism in his mature years it is pointed out that he never accepted baptism. However, this merely serves to indicate his aversion to orthodoxy and to the truths and monopolies of knowledge associated with orthodoxy, as well as his inherent and inherited independence and Scottish reticence to make a show. The question of baptism is dealt with in his Autobiography.

> In the field of religion generally, notably in the Baptist denomination, there was a sharp distinction

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[2] Box 1a – Letters, from the Innis Collection held in the Archives at the University of Toronto Library.

> between those who held strongly to certain items of doctrine, such as adult baptism and closed communion . . . Since the denomination emphasized adult baptism, and since this meant a deliberate public testimonial of faith, the Baptists were always faced with the prospect of losing individuals who reached adult age and were reluctant to submit to public testimony of this character . . . But in spite of all these efforts there still remained individuals who refused to make any public statement of their faith. (Autobiography, p. 28.)

The point which is implicit in this quotation is that a man may be a Christian without making a public display of that fact, and most certainly without engaging in an orthodox public display. The fact that he did not become a Baptist minister, as his mother desired, was in all probability related to this refusal to be bound by orthodoxy. This strong individuality, this desire for freedom of thought permeates all his work. Just as this strong sense of individuality was not incompatible with a strong basic Christian faith in his early life so it may not be considered as incompatible with such a faith in his mature years. However, in his mature years he would have needed intellectual justification for this faith. Charles Norris Cochrane may have helped him to find this justification.

The following sections are from several of Innis' early letters. They indicate the strength of his early religious faith. They also indicate that he was gradually turned off the Church.

> Tell Ma I do not know how to thank her enough for the bible. I know of no more appropriate

> gift to anyone than a bible with all the wealth it possesses and so I appreciate not only the gift as a gift but the gift as one of untold value.[3]

In two letters to "sister and all", in 1916, Innis gives his reasons for joining the army. The letters are attempts to convince his mother that he ought to join. It is a masterful appeal and includes all the emotional reasons which would have moved his mother. These include the practical point that if he does not go he will have no chance to get ahead after the war, the fact that he is joining a safe battalion with a good Christian bunch, and his conviction, a conviction with which his mother must have found it most difficult to argue, that as a Christian he had no choice but to go and fight.

> It isn't so much because these other fellows went, though that made me think, but it is because if the Christian religion is worth anything to me it is the only thing I can do . . . If I shouldn't go then I could content myself with the fact that I had not lived up to my duty. That Christ had asked me once to take up his cross and follow him and I hadn't been able to do it. I wasn't man enough. Others have seen it this way and enlisted and died and I should at least put my shoulder to the wheel when I have no risk to run . . . I think you will agree with me that I am taking the only step I possibly could and have any faith in Christianity.
>
> If the Christian religion means anything it is worth at least something to fight for . . . It is because Christian principles are at stake, because universal principles are at issue, that I believe it is the duty of every able-bodied man to join.[5]

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[3]Innis Collection, Box 1b, Letter to his sister Lillian dated January 29, 1914.

[4]Innis Collection, Box 1b, Letter to Sister and all, April 4, 1916.

[5]Innis Collection, Box 1b, Letter to Sister and all, April 7, 1916.

The following collection of short quotations represent comments made by Innis about the Christian tradition in which he had been raised from about 1915 or 1916 to 1935. He was made a full professor in 1936. They indicate a falling away from the church, an intellectual awakening, a developing liberalism and a growing dislike for religious monopoly, but not necessarily a crisis of faith and certainly not a loss of faith.

> Since Christmas I have run across a lot of fellows in McMaster who tend towards Materialism or who believe there is no God, which was an astonishing fact to me . . . am going to hear Dr. John R. Mott tomorrow, "the greatest missionary since St. Paul".[6]

> Sunday I met most of the Quayle family. I left about nine and arrived there in time for Church . . . It was a dandy day and was at church twice.[7]

> As usual I went to church on Sunday and worked the week before.[8]

> I went to church and heard Dr. Pidgeon. As usual he was very good. He is more widely read than I had imagined . . . his knowledge would hardly be surpassed by any one other minister in the city.[9]

> At night we heard . . . again at the Baptist church in Folkesstone.[10]

> The Student's Christian Movement met this afternoon and we were called upon to say a few things.[11]

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[6] Innis Collection, Box 1a, Page from a letter written from McMaster, no date or name.

[7] Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Mother and all, from Chicago, October 18, 1919.

[8] Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Mother and all, from Chicago, February 20, 1920.

[9] Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, November 27, 1921.

[10] Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Mother and all, July 20, 1922.

[11] Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, Jan. 2, 1923.

Your news about the church is interesting . . . it is what I have always suspected. The church appears to be made up of that sort of people and I have always been surprised at your mother's belonging to it. I shall certainly never go there again under any circumstances.[12]

I was at church this morning to hear . . . and he was very good. He has a very intelligent congregation - a liberal church - probably the only one of its kind in Canada. The congregation is chiefly school teachers, university people, etc.[13]

Tell Sammy (his brother) to be a good Christian boy. He is getting to the age now when his example will have a great influence for good on the younger people.[14]

Last night I went to church and heard the United Church missionary give a very dull discourse.[15]

It is getting a bit wearisome here . . . My routine is chiefly working and eating and even going to church.[16]

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12 Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, July 23, 1925.

13 Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, June 13, 1926.

14 Innis Collection, Box 1a, Letter to Mother and all, 1927.

15 Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, August 17, 1929.

16 Innis Collection, Box 1c, Letter to Dearest Mary, 1935.

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