

THE RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF THE CANADIAN
LABOUR MOVEMENT: THE CANADIAN LABOUR
PRESS FROM 1873 TO 1900

BY

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SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

RELIGIOUS STUDIES DEPARTMENT

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

UNIVERSITY OF WINNIPEG

Winnipeg, Manitoba



May, 1986

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ISBN 0-315-34013-4

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JAMES FREDERICK STEIN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the religious roots of the Canadian labour movement, as revealed in the pages of the Canadian labour press, from 1873 to 1900. In Chapter One the historical context of the Canadian labour movement will be established. This chapter, as an introduction, will focus on the social, political, intellectual and religious conditions existing in Canada, particularly as they affected the working class. Chapter Two deals with the primary sources used in this study, by giving a characterology of seven labour papers, and by providing biographical information on their editors.

Building upon the biographical basis established in Chapter Two, Chapter Three will closely examine the religious content of these papers, primarily concentrating on editorial comment, articles, and letters to the editors. This chapter will show that labour press writers moved from a general acceptance of Protestant Christianity, in 1873, to the development and propagation of their own interpretation of Christianity by 1900. In the fourth chapter, the results of the labour press writers' interpretation will be discussed. This chapter will trace the formulation, by the labour press writers, of four religious doctrines, specifically Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. Chapter Five, as the concluding chapter, points to the need for further study of the labour movement and its religious heritage.

Preface

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doctrines, specifically Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. Chapter Five, as the concluding chapter of the thesis, points to the need for further study of the labour movement and its religious heritage.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. John Badertscher who, as my advisor, gave me patience, encouragement and constructive criticism when needed. His enthusiasm and insight allowed me to blend history and religious studies, resulting in an inter-disciplinary thesis. I would also like to thank Drs. Ross McCormack, for stimulating my interest in Canadian labour history, and Richard Allen for channelling that interest into a study of the religious aspects of Canadian labour. As well, special thanks to Dr. Carl Ridd who gave my self-confidence an inspirational lift, and to Dr. Gordon Harland, whose suggestions gave depth to chapter four.

I would also like to acknowledge the efforts of Delia Wilson, for the hours she spent editing, and David McDowell, who provided the time and printer expertise necessary for this thesis to be reproduced. In addition, I am grateful to the assistance given me by library staffs, in particular at McMaster University.

Above all, I wish to express my gratitude to my father, Edmund, and my wife, Lynette.

It was my father's faith which motivated me to

complete what I had started. To him I say, "Thanks Dad, for the hours spent typing, discussing and editing."

Lynette constantly provided moral support, made sacrifices, and exemplified the strength of our marriage. She graciously accepted the demands made by my full-time job and thesis obligations. It is to Lynette and Edmund that I dedicate this thesis.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract.....	.ii
Preface.....	.iii
Table of Contents.....	.vi
Chapter	
I. Introduction.....	.1
II. Canadian Labour Papers and Their Editors.....	.26
III. Response of the Labour Press Writers to The Protestant Churches and Clergy.....	.53
IV. Religious Doctrines in the Labour Papers.....	.84
V. Conclusion.....	.107
Notes.....	.115
Bibliography.....	.135

Chapter I

Introduction

For the vast majority of unskilled Canadian labourers in 1873, the key word was survival. For those workers fortunate enough to be skilled in a trade the times were difficult but at least held the promise of a better future. Faced with increasing industrialization and rapid urban growth in Canadian society, both skilled and unskilled workers had little choice but to adapt, as best they could, to the accompanying social and economic changes. In reality the workers, particularly the unskilled, had little influence, either politically or economically, in determining their future. Their political inability to effect change was perhaps best illustrated by the lack of positive governmental policy related to the position of Canadian labour prior to 1872. Within the working class, the ability to respond to economic, social and industrial change depended upon whether workers were skilled or unskilled. Quite possibly, though, the most significant aspect of the industrial and social transformation taking place in Canada was the development of two new classes of people within Canadian society. In Gregory Kealey's words, these two classes of people were,

...a bourgeoisie with its eyes clearly focused on a prosperous (and profitable) capitalist Canada and a working class born in the emergence of

factory production and slowly creating its own institutions to defend itself against the onslaught of capital.[1]

Within the ranks of skilled labour in the 1850's and 1860's, the major thrust had been toward trade unionism, with wages and working conditions the major considerations. The early 1860's saw Canadian trade unions, which previously had little contact outside Canada, move towards affiliation with American unions. According to Charles Lipton, some reasons for this desire for affiliation were,

The undeveloped condition of the Canadian economy; its interflow with the U.S. economy; Canadians' need for jobs in the United States; trade solidarity; the Canadian workers' desire for organization, and their readiness to use anything to get it - east, west, north, or south of the border. [2]

It is also important to note that many of the tradesmen in the early years of the Canadian trade union movement were immigrants of British background. Many of these workers had experience with the British trade union movement and were able to provide leadership to the nascent labour movement in Canada. By the 1870's organized labour in Canada largely was restricted to trade unions composed of skilled workers. These unions were mainly found in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, London, Saint John and Halifax. During the following two decades, as the West rapidly developed, trade unions developed in Winnipeg and on the West coast. Again, British immigrants played a significant role in the development of trade unionism, especially in Winnipeg.[3]

The inception of industrialization in Canada socially

affected the lives of both rural and urban Canadians. However, while the majority of Canada's population of 3,689,257 in 1871 was rural, those who lived in the burgeoning urban centres were most directly influenced by the growth of industry and its demands. Gregory Kealey, speaking of the "transition from artisanal production for local market to industrial production for a hinterland," which was taking place at this time in Canada, goes on to state that the "lives of workers and their families were affected both by the changes in the system of production and by the rapid growth of the city." [4]

In the early 1870's, the response of labour to these industrial changes continued to be largely restricted to trades in which skilled workers played an integral part. As early as 1864, in Hamilton, "a number of craft unions had surfaced in the city . . . , they banded together to form a Trades Assembly, the first of its kind in Canada." [5] Similarly, the formation of the Toronto Trades Assembly in 1871, by delegates of trade unions already in existence, reflected the increasing concern of labour with industrial development. As one of its first tasks it set about to "organize the unorganized," those being the non-union shops. By 1872 the Toronto Trades Assembly could boast a list of 24 union or association affiliates. [6] For many of these unions the most effective means of dealing with industrial growth and change was to exercise a "workers control" over the shop

floor.[7] The ability of many trade unions to control working conditions was due to a combination of factors such as the "craft worker's knowledge of the production process," the demand that "only union labour be allowed to operate the new 'labour-saving devices'," influence related to the number of apprentices hired and the amount of output in the shop.[8] Referring to this control, Bryan Palmer comments: "Control was, essentially, the skilled worker's response to the realities of workplace organization within a society transformed by industrial capitalism." [9] Summarizing the role which trade unions played in Canadian industrial life from the 1850's to the 1870's, Kealey remarks that the trade union movement " . . . gained a new momentum in the 1860's and reached its first peak of organized activity in the early 1870's with the Nine Hour Movement of 1872 and the creation of the Canadian Labour Union the following year." [10]

In stark contrast to the organizational abilities of skilled workers, the unskilled workers remained virtually unorganized and, consequently, were unable to deal with the problems engendered by industrialization. In Toronto by 1871, for example, approximately seventy percent of the industrial work force worked in shops of thirty or more people.[11] Of this work force thirty-three percent were child and female labour,[12] with child labour receiving one third to one quarter of the wages of adult males, and females receiving one third to one half the wages of adult

males.[13] Clearly, the pool of child and female labour was an attractive source of cheap labour for factory production, particularly in industries such as clothing, tailoring and millinery during the 1860's and 1870's.[14] Industries which relied on unskilled workers were able to exploit the workers and face little if any worker or government opposition. It was not until the 1880's and 1890's that the federal government seriously began to investigate through commissions and to consider legislation respecting the working conditions of the unskilled workers in factories and sweatshops.

However, prior to such governmental action, the political and economic situation in Canada in the 1870's mainly benefitted the employer and to a lesser degree the skilled worker. For the manufacturer protected by tariffs, having a large pool of inexpensive labour and utilizing technological developments, the times were prosperous and the opportunities great. For the skilled workers in trade unions and exercising some form of influence on working conditions through shop floor control, the times meant better working conditions and better wages. The unskilled workers, with little political or social recourse were left to fend for themselves in an uncaring and often hostile working environment.

Living conditions at this time also reflected the increasing disparity in income between the growing middle class and the urban labour force. For example, studies

reveal that during this period even for skilled workers "the price of housing in Toronto was prohibitive; 'respectable area,' 'close to work' were not available to them." [15] For the majority of workers rental housing was the norm. In some cities such as Hamilton it was the labourers and railway workers who "occupied more than two thirds of the city's shanties." [16] Further, not only were working class homes, rented or owned, likely to be wood frame or shanty in construction, but they were most often located in "less salubrious portions of Hamilton" and were increasingly clustered together. [17]

Faced with difficult and frequently dangerous working conditions and forced to live in often deplorable housing conditions, much of the working class of Canada in the early 1870's had little hope for future improvement. The trade union movement was concerned with and fought for a shorter work day through the Nine Hour Movement and the subsequent Toronto printers' strike of 1872. However, much of the trade union activity did not affect the lives and working conditions of the unskilled worker. Child labour, women in the workforce, economic exploitation of the working class, and industrial abuses were decried by trade unionists, but their major efforts were directed towards improving their own lot. [18] If anything, the trade union movement "bred the labour aristocracy and labour elitism." [19] It was out of this "labour aristocracy" that articulate labour spokesmen emerged and exerted their

influence on employers, politicians and fellow trade unionists.

As a prime means of effecting positive change, these articulate labour spokesmen focused on Canadian politics, a politics dominated, as will be shown, by the emergence of the "National Policy." From 1867 to 1873 Canada had been governed by a coalition of Liberals and Conservatives under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald. This coalition had been formed in 1864 and had been instrumental in bringing about the confederation of the colonies. After confederation, Macdonald attempted to maintain a non-party approach to governing the new Dominion. In his first cabinet he included an almost equal number of Liberals and Conservatives. However, his major political opponent was Liberal leader George Brown, who in 1868 regained the support of a majority of the Liberals at a conference in Toronto. By 1872 many of the Liberals who had supported the coalition withdrew their allegiance to Macdonald, and the government of Canada became a Conservative administration. The period from 1864 to 1872 had been a time with minimal party-politicking and was dominated by the vision of a new country reaching from sea to sea.

The political vision of the "fathers of confederation" for the new Dominion was strongly influenced and shaped by Sir John A. Macdonald. For Macdonald, it was imperative that the new nation of Canada "would not be despoiled of her great territorial inheritance on the North American

continent." [20] Structurally, the new nation would have a strong central government" which made no more provision for local government than was necessary to obtain assent to Confederation from the colonial legislatures." [21] Thus, the federation of the colonies was a union that avoided the American example of a weak central government and allowed for the preservation of British parliamentary traditions and heritage. It is important to note, though, that the political aspirations which resulted in the formation of Canada were largely fuelled by an economic need for markets, commercial trade and growth. Confederation not only meant a new political structure for the former colonies but it also opened up "vast opportunities to central Canadian businessmen." [22] W.L. Morton speaks of "a need for economic expansion felt throughout every province and class of British North America," [23] and that need was perhaps most keenly felt in the business community of Upper Canada. Prior to 1867 the colonies, particularly Canada West, had begun to experience industrial change. A primary economic factor was the railway boom of the 1850's in the Canadas, a boom which "captured the public's imagination and symbolically linked progress, science, and capitalism together in a Victorian trinity of seemingly God-given articles of faith." [24] The impact of the railroads was more than just psychological, as there were immediate and far-reaching economic consequences for rural and urban industries.

The railway mania had many tangible economic side effects: it recruited vast amounts of foreign capital, which then became available for other uses; it enabled the further concentration of capital and labour in urban centres; it encouraged new industries, such as rolling mills for rails, and led to the expansion of foundries and machine shops; it allowed farmers to diversify their production by opening up new markets. [25]

With the development of the railways and a burgeoning industrial base, close ties were fostered between business and government.[26] Response to pressure from businessmen saw the government of the Canadas sign the Reciprocity Treaty in 1854 with the United States. In 1858 and 1859, again responding to business, the government established the Galt-Cayley and Galt tariffs. Reciprocity meant free trade in natural products, and tariffs meant protection against foreign manufacturers.[27] As a consequence of such governmental action, an economic environment was created in which new industries were allowed to develop, expand and reach maturity. Confederation, a decade later, provided new opportunities for further industrial development and trade.

The link which was forged between business and the government of the new nation culminated in the National Policy of 1879, a policy of the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald. Speaking about the formation of the National Policy, Gregory Kealey writes that "by 1879 Canadian industrial capitalists had come to dominate the state and were able to dictate their self-interested policies in the name of the common good." [28] While the

extent of such a domination by the industrial capitalists can be debated, it is clear that the National Policy of 1879 favored the central Canadian manufacturer by restricting foreign competition and creating a captive Canadian market.

Given the pervasive influence of business on government, it is not difficult to understand the lack of governmental policy related to the position of Canadian labour prior to the early 1870's. It was not until 1872 that the Conservative administration under Sir John A. Macdonald, responding to the growing concerns of an emerging trade union movement and looking to the upcoming federal election, passed the Trade Union Act, legislation which allowed workers to combine together to "increase wages or to lower hours." [29] However, the Trade Union Act was accompanied by the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which "provided penalties for violence or intimidation during the organizing campaigns and strikes," and also "stated [that] a union contract was not enforceable in a court of law." [30] Clearly, Macdonald was prepared to "give" as well as "take" from the worker. Even so, the political response of Macdonald to growing concerns in Canadian labour resulted in Macdonald becoming "the workers' champion," an image he maintained in succeeding years. [31]

Despite the worker's personal acceptance of Macdonald, the political influence of the working class was curtailed by their inability to belong to the intellectual circles

that shaped political thought. Workers were simply precluded from participation in the mainstream of Canadian intellectual life because of their class status, inadequate economic means and little, if any, education. Nor was there, for the most part, any desire expressed by workers to gain access to these circles. Labour did feel that all children should benefit from a system of thorough education, with some qualifications as to content, and achieve a basic level of literacy. Workers could generally agree with Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist clergyman and leading educator of the 1840's, who felt that educated workers were able to "produce the most and the best, to possess superior moral habits and to save." [32]

While accepting the need for literacy, labour at the same time questioned the overall value of education. In the everyday lives of workers literacy or schooling was not essential. Indeed, as Harvey Graff points out, "sizeable numbers of illiterate workers achieved middle-class or higher economic ranking. Illiteracy did not consign all men to poverty. Similarly, many literate workers remained poor." [33] Of even greater concern to labour was the content of the school curriculum which was regarded with suspicion. Harvey Graff, in his studies of working class attitudes towards education at this time, states that the "school curriculum itself was found to be class-biased and the ideas of classical literature anti-workingmen." [34] For labour, education enabled the worker to perceive his

calling as "useful and dignified," and, moreover, could be attained by sound reading habits. Labour, given the reality of its social and economic situation, remained somewhat cynical of any upper class educational aspirations for the worker.

This cynicism was fuelled by the drive of the factory owner to make sure that workers were educated, not in reading and writing, but in values which helped establish factory discipline such as, "industry, frugality, order, regularity and punctuality." [35] Yet, in spite of its pessimism, the working class accepted the notion of mass schooling and allowed their children to be educated in institutions such as charity schools. Still, for the vast majority of working class children, such education did not include secondary schooling, much less any kind of college training. [36]

Intellectual thinking did, however, have an indirect bearing on the lives of labourers, for the ideals and aspirations generated within intellectual circles influenced political and economic thought. The outworking of these ideals and aspirations would be achieved on the backs of the workers and would do little to change their working and living conditions. Of far greater importance to the labourer was the increasing involvement of educated intellectuals such as Philips Thompson who, in the latter decades of the century, became caught up in the cause of labour reform and articulated labour reform views. While

the working class may have subscribed, in varying degrees, to the political, economic and intellectual visions of Canada as a new nation, the major priorities of labour were immediate solutions to what were in many cases intolerable working and living conditions.

While the workers may have had little if any access to political and intellectual circles, they clearly were active participants in the religious life of Canada. In fact, all classes of society, at the mid-century mark, were actively involved in either Roman Catholic or Protestant churches. The religious heritage of English speaking Canada, particularly Ontario, was one of Protestant denominational diversity, a diversity which did not allow for any one religious group to exercise a monopoly. Such religious diversity had, by the 1850's, affected government policy and "compelled the state to adopt a position of ecclesiastical neutrality." [37]

With no one denomination being in a dominant position as a result of state support, the churches in English speaking Canada, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, located and developed geographically in response to the needs of their adherents. Protestant churches were "strongly marked by regional diversities in ethnic background, external affiliation, and local experience, so that even members of the same denomination could vary greatly from province to province in social status, political outlook, and theological conviction." [38] In

most Scottish settlements Presbyterianism dominated, with some settlements adhering to the Church of Scotland and others to the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. Baptists were heavily concentrated in several counties north of Lake Erie, the majority of Baptist members belonging to the Regular Baptist Union. Methodism was strongly rural in its attachments, Wesleyans being the largest single group, with Anglicans being "widely, although thinly, distributed," in rural areas and more numerous in larger towns and cities.[39] Roman Catholics in Canada West were primarily concentrated in cities and towns, and they were "almost all Irish and recent refugees from famine."[40] Smaller in number and chiefly concentrated in rural areas were Lutherans, Mennonites, Congregationalists and Quakers. These groups, each emphasizing particular doctrines, forms of worship, styles of organization and patterns of Biblical interpretation, and responding to both the rural frontier and the growing urban settlements, reflected the sectarian atmosphere which pervaded religious life in English-speaking Canada at mid-nineteenth century.[41]

The coming of Confederation was, for the Churches, a time of new challenge. The opening up of the vast western frontier and the swift growth of urban centres meant that the operation and vision of the churches could now be conducted on a much larger scale. Confederation also gave new impetus to movements within the various churches which

were seeking a more central organizational structure.[42] Inspired by Confederation's political union and attendant economic growth, and in order to meet the perceived need of the urban centres, and to strengthen their position, some of these churches moved towards church union. For Methodists, church union meant a solution to the financial needs of smaller churches which were faced with a declining rural base, [43] and at the same time it allowed Methodism to enhance "its competitive position in the growing cities." [44] By 1884 the various Methodist groups had united to form the Methodist Church, Canada.[45] Nine years earlier, in 1875, the majority of Presbyterian churches had effected a union with "the desire to have a strong, united Presbyterian Church to take its place in the shaping of the life of the new dominion." [46] Baptists, with their strong rural base and principle of local church autonomy, did not stress union as much as the Methodists and Presbyterians. However, they too, intensified their efforts in the urban communities.[47]

Despite the advantages produced by church union, many of the denominations, congregations and individual Christians remained sectarian in orientation. For a variety of reasons, some of which will be addressed in chapter four, many had difficulty accepting the notion of progress, and viewed the results of political and industrial change with suspicion. Content to look after their own needs and primarily in rural areas, many of the sects were neither

attracted to the cities nor prepared to deal with urban problems. It was left for the institutional churches to respond to and meet the needs of the urban communities. For these Protestant churches it was apparent that only by organizing denominationally could churches attract the support of people moving into the cities, especially those people moving from rural areas.[48] With Anglican and Catholic churches already located in the larger towns and cities, the growing physical presence of Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches meant that for urban dwellers, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, there existed a choice in denominational affiliation. However, such a choice was qualified by the manner in which the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists chose to carry out urban relocation. Through the erection of large buildings, with accompanying pew rents, and an expressed desire for professional clergy, the appeal of the churches was largely restricted to the middle and upper classes with their attendant wealth.[49] S. D. Clark observes that for Methodism the move to the cities, in most cases, meant the construction of "a permanent place of religious worship strategically situated in the better residential areas of the city."[50]

Despite such manifest attempts of the churches to attract the better classes of the urban population, the working class, up to and including the 1870's, maintained a non-critical attitude toward the churches. The acceptance

of the role of the church in society by labour was perhaps best reflected in the pages of the labour press itself, which regularly carried church announcements and news. That this period was marked by an absence of critical evaluation of church and clergy is not surprising, given the absence of a developed labour "reform" ideology critical of all society. It was in the latter two decades of the century, with the development of labour ideology and its advocacy for the reform of all society, that the church and clergy increasingly fell under the critical scrutiny of the labour press, as this study will show.

It is important to note, though, that the highly critical and often negative evaluation of the church and clergy which appeared in the labour press of the latter half of the 1880's, was sparked by more than a nascent labour ideology. The churches appeared, from a labour perspective, to be increasingly distancing themselves from the working class. The erection of structures in non-working class areas of the cities, pew rents, increased costs associated with missionary endeavors and an awareness of the influence of employers in the churches all made members of the working class feel that they were not really welcome in these institutions. The classes that the churches monetarily appealed to for support could, by giving financial assistance, have a measure of control over the social pronouncements of the church. Such an apparent influence on church leadership by employers was

affirmed by the hostility of Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders to the "advent of organized labour, which they interpreted as a new form of corporate selfishness." [51]

The distancing of these churches from the working classes and religious sects was also apparent in the religious intellectual life of the new nation. Utilizing the human and monetary resources available to denominations because of church union, the larger denominations were able to establish and maintain educational institutions of higher learning. The teaching and intellectual developments taking place in these institutions had important consequences for all of the churches and for the labour movement. Initially, in the educational sphere, a variety of colleges were "sponsored" by Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians prior to Confederation. [52] Attendance at these institutions was, in the main, restricted to those who had the time, the money and a proper social background. The goal of such an education was more than literacy. A.B. McKillop, in A Disciplined Intelligence, writes: "Virtually all English-speaking educators in British North America at mid-nineteenth century agreed that the prime function of education was to instil into their students sound principles of morality." [53] At this time there was still a reasonable consensus on the substance of this morality. Given the influence of Protestant denominations in the founding and administration of institutions of higher learning, it is

not surprising to see a strong emphasis in higher education on theology and morals. This religious sentiment was vital to a liberal education in nineteenth century Canada.[54]

Of significance for the labour movement were the intellectual challenges, during the 1880's and 1890's, to two main tenets which had helped shape this consensus. These tenets were Common Sense Philosophy and Baconian Science.[55] The application of Common Sense philosophy in the study of Christianity resulted in an affirmation that one could know the facts of scripture directly. Baconian Science contributed to the religious discussion by providing the assumptions which allowed the interpreter of these facts to "reach conclusions on the basis of careful classification and generalization alone." [56] The work of Charles Darwin, with its evolutionary principles, and the advent of higher criticism as an interpretive tool, increasingly challenged the accepted religious doctrines at the close of the nineteenth century. Those who refused to accept the new approaches to biblical study and maintained the Baconian, Common Sense understanding, became increasingly identified with the religious sects. George M. Marsden sees a parallel development taking place in the United States at this time, and contends that this insistence on knowing and arranging the facts is a major aspect of twentieth century fundamentalism.[57] While labour could identify with religious thinking which would identify the scriptural facts concerning its social and

economic situation, labour was also prepared to approve of the way in which higher criticism, for example, portrayed the humanity of Christ. As well, Labour had little difficulty in agreeing with evolution as a process in the effecting of social change, but not as a way of justifying social inequality. Through the 1880's and 1890's, it became apparent that labour was prepared to evaluate the results of intellectual religious discussion and utilize the religious ideas that suited the cause of labour.

Despite the willingness of labour to make use of religious thought, labour showed considerable reticence toward an educated clergy. Increasingly, clergy was professional and therefore college educated. Actual clerical training in terms of content was far removed from the reality of the worker, with the study of Greek, Hebrew and Latin languages, and subjects such as literature, philosophy and geology seeming to some to be remote from ordinary life.[58] What workers saw and heard was the finished product in the pulpit, and they often found that product wanting. The message on Sunday confirmed working class feelings that ministers had very little in common with them.[59] Interestingly, as the major protestant denominational colleges moved to reconcile Darwinism and Christianity, labour, by the 1890's, had rejected attempts to apply evolutionary principles to society through the propagation of "social Darwinism." Leading protagonists of this doctrine, such as Herbert Spencer,

argued that the survival of the fittest was a social as well as biological phenomenon whereby the rich were simply "better adapted than the poor to the conditions of social life." [60] Thus, when some ministers through their preaching affirmed that poverty was a result of sin, and a lack of effort on the part of the poor to improve their lot in life, the social distancing between labour and clergy was emphasized. Such preaching, couched in sophisticated language and having a highly intellectual content, was inimical to the cause of labour. If preaching did reflect a concern and sympathy for the working class, it was a concern reflected in word only and as such was mainly directed to the employer, who was encouraged to "improve working conditions." [61]

Although it is difficult to gauge working class church attendance in this time period, evidence gleaned from labour papers does suggest that while workers initially remained loyal to their religious heritage, they showed a growing indisposition to attend church. By the 1890's, the labour press was commenting that, because labour leaders and reformers received little practical assistance from the church, they were no longer looking in that direction and had little use for it. [62] However, it was a labour reformer, Phillips Thompson, who, in 1891, spoke of the "foolish workingman" who went to church, listened to a sermon supporting the position of the wealthy, accepted it and returned to church the following Sunday. [63] While

several other labour press writers at the time agreed that "growing numbers" of the working class were ceasing to attend church,[64] by no means were the "growing numbers" the total working class, nor can it be assumed that they were even a majority. One minister, writing in the Labour Advocate in 1891, reported that in churches where the contentious pew rents had been abolished in the evening services, the "masses" came regularly and churches had a full attendance.[65]

S. D. Clark, whose research on working class church attendance is hardly definitive, as it leans heavily on opinions expressed in the church press, suggests that Methodism was not reaching the lapsed churchless masses and that these masses included a large portion of the working class.[66] The emergence and rapid growth of the Salvation Army, with its appeal to the poor, coupled with the popularity of revivalism[67] does reflect a preference by the worker for a religious experience in which pew rents and class distinctions played no part. Still, from observations such as those above and many comments in the labour papers, it is possible to infer that the working classes were, by the 1890's, beginning to look elsewhere for spiritual leadership.

As can be seen, the ground was fertile, nearing the end of the century, for labour force leadership to articulate positive and forceful alternatives, alternatives which would redress the social and economic conditions of

the working class. By 1872 the trade union movement, representing a small but influential force within labour, had become the organizational model capable of challenging employers and eliciting political response. The Toronto Trades Assembly, in 1872, sponsored the publication of the Ontario Workman as a forum for expressing its views and soliciting working class support. The Ontario Workman became the first labour paper of its kind in Canada.

The impact of the Ontario Workman was significant for the trade union movement in that the paper immediately became a vehicle for expressing working class views. Opportunity now existed for workers to read about specific labour concerns and to contribute their thoughts. While it can be observed that there was little expression in the Ontario Workman about working class identity and purpose, the paper clearly was able to enunciate working class demands for shorter working hours, improved working conditions and better pay. Despite its lack of working class ideology, the Ontario Workman became the model for subsequent labour papers which appeared during the 1880's and 1890's.

During the following three decades, over fifty labour papers (monthlies, weeklies and dailies) appeared in Canada purporting to represent Canadian labour. For the vast majority of these, life was quite short, perhaps only several issues. Few are extant, except in fragmentary and scattered collections across Canada. Out of these many

papers, ten emerged which had a duration of over a year, two of these lasting more than a decade. Through a study of these labour papers, a distinct ideological development in the thinking of Canadian labour can be traced. The present investigation is based upon seven of these ten papers.

In 1872 the concerns of the labour press were for immediate concrete solutions. However, during the following two decades, particularly after the inception of the "National Policy," with industrialization as its outgrowth, the labour press not only advocated immediate reforms, but increasingly developed a strong ideology which had as its basic aim the reformation of all society. With the dramatic emergence of class consciousness within Canadian labour, the labour press became an articulate expression of that consciousness. Capitalism, monopoly, political corruption, speculation, imperialism and institutions which supported the present system were seen as exploiters and oppressors of the labouring classes, and attacked accordingly. The labour press, as the self-appointed representative for labour, moved away from the notion that employer and employee could work together harmoniously.[69] The alternative for the labour press was a new society, brought about by the labour movement, in which all men would be brothers, with equality and justice reigning supreme.

It is toward an understanding of such labour press views, with special emphasis on religious aspects, that

this thesis is directed. Concentrating on the religious perceptions of the labour press writers, particularly the editors, evidence emerges to reveal a strong religious impulse in the labour movement. While labour had little influence on the changes engendered by industrialization, labour writers did show a willingness to speak to the effects of industrial change. The language that the writers used was as much religious as it was political and economic. Clearly, for labour press writers there was no hesitation in turning to and adapting their religious heritage in order to advance the cause of the labour movement.

Chapter II

The Ontario Workman appeared in Toronto in April, 1872, and owed its existence to the Toronto Trades Assembly, formed in 1871, and leaders of various International Unions.[1] The editor of the Workman was Mr. R.S. Williams, and the purpose of the paper was to "enunciate the views of the Toronto Trades Assembly and the Canadian Labor Union."[2] The advent of the Workman was viewed as an extremely important event in Canadian labour history. F. W. Watt comments, in reference to the Workman:

Though the publication of the newspaper was relatively shortlived, it marked the end of the era of isolated local workers' groups, or of feeble existence at the periphery of American or British societies, and growing national importance for Canadian labor.[3]

Although the Workman ceased publication in 1875 due to financial difficulties in the recession of the 1870's, it succeeded, prior to its demise, in accomplishing a number of things in the Canadian labour field. First and foremost, the Workman became a model for the labour press, as it "was exemplary in its clarity, forthrightness, and the way it recorded the workers' struggles and gave expression to their faith."[4] It broadened awareness by

bringing to workingmen a sense "of the momentousness of the events in which they have a part,"[5] it "led the way in labor's early efforts for political action; and it brought to the movement news about struggles of workingmen in other countries."[6]

As a labour paper, the Workman attempted to deal with the practical reality of the position of the workingman rather than with ideological considerations. The paper accepted the social order of its day, and optimistically saw an eventual time when "goodwill and mutual tolerance would be sufficient to bring about a satisfactory relationship between employer and employee."[7] The Workman consequently addressed itself to immediate concerns and abuses which it saw the workingman facing. Watt, in referring to the concerns of the paper, remarks:

The newspaper was largely concerned with immediate aims, shorter hours and higher pay for the workingman, or in brief, the nine hour day; its vision of the working class's future was scarcely theoretical at all, certainly not revolutionary.[8]

One of the most interesting and revealing aspects of the Workman was its political stance in relation to the two major parties. The first issue of the Workman appeared on April 18, 1872, at the height of the printer's strike in Toronto, and the paper immediately exhibited an anti-George Brown and an anti-reform attitude. This negative attitude towards one of the major political parties, coupled with the shrewd political maneuver of Sir. John A. Macdonald in instituting the Trade Union Act, (which made

unions legal in Canada) resulted in the Workman adopting an openly pro-Conservative political stance.[9] While it can be inferred that R. S. Williams was in the Conservative camp politically, it is clear that as editor of the Workman he was becoming aware of the economic forces confronting the working class. Williams saw that the accumulation of wealth was not in accordance with the "natural increase of production" and that this "power of money to accumulate" not only "absorbs all surplus production but robs the laborer of 4 percent that naturally is his subsistence money." [10] For Williams the condition of the workingman could be ameliorated with immediate, practical and reasonable solutions, such as better working conditions, shorter hours, higher pay and more cooperation between employer and employee.[11]

Distinctive to the thinking of Williams was his acceptance of the "idea of progress." Continual progress, "Age after age," was bringing about a general elevation and equalization of humanity.[12] Williams advocated "opposition to the creation of monopolies, a thorough system of State education, the advance and support of legislative reforms irrespective of party," and the "development of the co-operative principle," which some of the leaders expected to "gradually supersede the present system, as the present system has superseded the serf system of the past," and finally, "the more general adoption of the system of arbitration in trade disputes -

seeing it has worked so well in Great Britain - instead of strikes as heretofore." [13] Beyond advocating these reforms, which would be achieved peacefully through the co-operation of all classes of society, Williams does not develop any radical economic or social ideology. Within the context of a Canadian society that was caught up in the notion of progress, Williams and the Workman were optimistic about the future of labour. With reference to the Workman and society, Watt remarks that "in general the ideology of the Ontario Workman is one of acceptance in the immediate present of the basic social order of the day." [14] The Workman was but the beginning of an articulation of the views of labour and, as a beginning - a model, it served as a foundation for the labour press to build on.

In 1879 the Provincial Workman's Association was formed in Nova Scotia. Shortly after its beginning it had an official organ in the Trades Journal, edited by Robert Drummond. [15] The Journal, published in Stellarton, Nova Scotia, was a paper "Devoted to the Interests of the Mine, the Workshop and the Farm." It mainly carried local union news. [16] Drummond had immigrated to Canada from Scotland, and had settled around Springhill, Nova Scotia. By 1879 he had become an "overground boss" at one of the mines, and evidently he was quite active in the labour movement in Nova Scotia, for when the Provincial Workmen's Association was formed at Springhill on August 29, 1879, Drummond was

chosen secretary and agent.[17] H.A. Logan, commenting on Drummond and the Association, says:

The ready pen of the able and well-informed grand secretary was an important force in laying the foundations and coloring the thought of the organization, in airing miners' grievances and in establishing a recognition for the Association beyond its immediate membership. In this early period the grand secretary's annual report upon the Association was regularly published in the Journal. [18]

The relationship of Drummond and the Journal with the Provincial Workman's Association, and an over-riding concern for the miners of Nova Scotia, became instrumental in the development of Drummond's labour ideology. As grand secretary he was constantly in touch with the miners and was very aware of the conditions they faced. Thus, in the early years of the Association, when the miners of Nova Scotia benefitted from the National Policy, the Policy received the support of Drummond and the Journal. However, when the adverse effects of the policy began to be felt by the miners, particularly because of the immigration of foreign workers, Drummond withdrew his support and began to develop a "strongly reasoned argument against assisted immigration." [19] By the latter half of the 1880's, the National Policy, as well as Macdonald and the Conservative party, had turned sour in the mouth of Drummond, and the Journal became independent of political parties. [20]

Along with the growing concern over and criticism of the National Policy, the Journal saw the increasing rift between employer and employee and the resulting

change in attitude. In the May 18, 1881 issue of the Journal, the comment was made that "There has been of late years a change of sentiment, as to the relation workmen bear to their employers and vice versa; and to make the change still more radical is our aim and effort. . ." What the Journal meant by radical is questionable, for there was a strong similarity to the Workman concerning the proper relationship between employer and employee. Watt points out that "the Trades Journal itself maintained the relatively moderate position that no 'natural enmity' existed between employer and employee and that strikes were to be used only if peaceful means failed." [21] Indeed, for Drummond, strikes were "necessary evils." The Provincial Workman's Association was forced to see strikes in this manner for "lack of something more modern." Drummond did have something else in mind as an alternative to strikes, and this was "compulsory arbitration through legislative enactment." [22] What stand out as the dominant features in the thinking of Drummond were a concern for an immediate solution to the problems of labour, a desire for arbitration and the acceptance of legislative reforms affecting the workers. In these respects the thinking of Drummond and Williams is quite similar. In June of 1891, the Journal amalgamated with the Picton News, with Drummond remaining as editor. The new publication, now called the Journal and Picton News, proclaimed its motto "None Cease to Rise But Those Who Cease to Climb." While continuing to

expound labour views, the paper increasingly provided news of a local community nature.

With the coming of the 1880's, the attitude of the labour press began to change, as was seen in the case of the Journal. The degree of optimism in eventual harmony between employer and employee, as reflected in the Workman,[23] began to fade. The establishment of the protective tariff in 1879, as a part of the National Policy of the Conservative government, had created new conditions in Canadian society, conditions with which labour had to cope. This was particularly evident with the development of the factory system, which the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889, saw as a direct result of the protective tariff. [24] The Report went on to point out the situation in which the workingman found himself after 1879:

There seems to be no idea of any obligation existing between the employer and his operatives, any more than the mere payment of wages. To obtain a very large percentage of work with the smallest outlay of wages appears to be the one fixed and dominant idea. There is no bond of sympathy existing between the capitalist of the large mill and his employees.[25]

Rather than the employer and employee coming closer together, as the Workman had hoped, the rift between the two was widening. Furthermore an "increasingly self-conscious and aggressive proletariat was seen to have been growing up, fostered (paradoxically) by the National Policy of which one great aim was national unity." [26]

In Ontario the views of the "increasingly self-conscious and aggressive proletariat" were articulated in the pages of four labour newspapers; The Labor Union, the Palladium of Labor, the Labor Advocate, and the Industrial Banner. Having noted the reaction of the Trades Journal to the National Policy and its effects on the workingman, it remained for these four labour papers to express the views of labour during the 1880's and early 1890's.

By the 1880's an international society, known as The Knights of Labor, had become fairly well established in Ontario, with a major focal point being Hamilton.[27] In 1883 the Labor Union, edited by W. H. Rowe, began publication under the auspices of the Knights, and was a "Weekly Journal Devoted to the Interests of All Classes of Labor." [28] With the intention of bringing about labour reform, Rowe did not hesitate to define clearly the role of the Union in achieving this:

Our mission is to spread the Light; to expose the inequalities of distribution by which the few are enriched at the expense of the many. To call things by their right names, and to point out to the workingman how these iniquities can be redressed and everyone secure the full reward of his toil.[29]

The life of the Union was quite short. Within seven months it had been replaced by the Palladium of Labor, located in Hamilton, under the editorship of Rowe, and sponsored by the Knights. The Palladium saw itself as "non-partisan" and "non-sectarian," [30] and vigorously carried forth the themes of its predecessor. The Palladium

spoke out strongly on the issues of land reform and the single tax while taking a very harsh stand against laissez-faire individualism. It desired to see the competitive system and monopolies abolished, to be replaced by a "collectivism" in which the "government and society" would be "one immense joint stock company for carrying on the work of the country." [31]

F. W. Watt sees both the Union and the Palladium as being indebted ideologically to the English radical tradition, specifically leaders of the Chartist movement such as "Ernest Jones, Fergus O'Conner and Henry Vincent." [32] It should be noted that little is known biographically of Rowe except that he was an English immigrant. [33] There is no question, however, that Rowe was strongly influenced by the Knights of Labor. Rowe had a definite solution for the problems of the worker, which he clearly enunciated in an editorial in the March 3, 1883 issue of the Union. Referring to the industrial classes, Rowe stated that "they should be led to see that the ultimate object in view is not merely to tinker and patch a rotten and corrupt social system, but to replace it with a better and juster one." For Rowe the organization which would bring about this change was the Knights of Labor. M. Robin remarks that Rowe "saw in the Knights of Labor a new spiritual force which would rescue the workingman from the 'partyism' and narrow trade unionist concerns blinding him from the light of pure democracy. . ." [34]

While he was obviously influenced by the Knights of Labor, Rowe was also an ardent follower of Henry George and his economic theories. Rowe saw George as the champion of labour reform and, commenting on George's book, Progress and Poverty, exhorted readers to "Buy it; read it; get its truths by heart and then lend it to your neighbor." [35] For Rowe and other labour leaders, Henry George provided a theoretical base and became a commonly quoted figure in the Canadian labour press during the latter two decades of the century.

As to politics and the federal government, Rowe clearly took a stand in opposition to the National Policy. He was against closer relations with Great Britain and argued for closer ties to the United States. The patriotism which the National Policy seemed intent on inspiring was seen as a deliberate ploy to make the workingman accept low wages and long hours. [36] The immigration issue was similarly attacked, only in much stronger language as, for example, one headline which cried out "INDIGNATION! Labor's Protest Against Chinese and Pauper Immigration, The Chinese Must Go. Europe's Paupers Not Wanted." [37]

The espousal of an ideology which aimed at a restructuring of Canadian society, strong attacks on the government and the National Policy, and a firm conviction that the cause of the workingman would eventually triumph placed Rowe in the forefront of a growing group of men in

the Canadian labour movement who called themselves "Labor Reformers." Though the Palladium ceased operation in 1886, it can be seen as "an endeavor to apply in a practical way to the contemporary Canadian scene social theories and ideas being advanced in discussions being carried on elsewhere, an endeavor rarely paralleled by other Canadian journals of the time." [38]

The succeeding years of the decade saw a growing unrest and hostility among workers over the National Policy. This, coupled with an increased class consciousness and a developing labour ideology, brought about the formation of the Labor Advocate in 1890. As a vehicle of expression for the views of some dissident labour groups composed of a section of the trade union movement and a small but vocal group of labour reformers and writers, the Advocate began publication in Toronto on December 5, 1890, and had as its motto, "We demand all the reform that Justice can ask for, and all the justice that Reform can give." The editor of the Advocate was T. Phillips Thompson, and the paper was openly endorsed and sponsored by the Toronto Trades and Labor Council D.A. 125. While the Advocate carried the proceedings of Council meetings in weekly issues, its major intent was to reform the present social and economic order:

The Labor Advocate will keep steadfast in view the need of abolishing monopoly in all its forms, and asserting the right of the workers to control for their own benefit all the opportunities and requisites for production. At the same time it will strenuously urge

such temporary and partial reforms as are likely in some degree to better the lot of the toiler and to lead up to more radical measures in the future.[39]

The Advocate had little use for the Dominion Government, as both political parties were corrupt;[40] nor did the Advocate find any use for patriotism or a military system.[41] What was important for the Advocate was the advancement of Socialism.[42] Watt contends that a partial reason for this was the close contact the Advocate had with "radical movements of both socialist ideas elsewhere in the world and of the immediate economic conditions in North America." [43]

The major difference between the Advocate and the previously discussed papers was that, while the Workman and Journal were mainly concerned with such labour issues as the nine-hour day and the National Policy, they had no strong ideological alternative to the social system they lived in. It is questionable whether they even desired an alternative which would radically change the system as they knew it. The Union and Palladium saw ways in which reforms could be expressed and accomplished through the establishing of groups such as a "Single Tax Association", the "Nationalist Club" and other similar groups. However, the Union and Palladium could only point to these groups being operational in other countries and not in Canada. By 1891 the Advocate was announcing and reporting on meetings of many of these groups in Canada, particularly in Toronto, and discussing their radical social philosophies.

As compared with the earlier labour papers, the editor of the Advocate spoke with increased assurance and decisiveness, which suggested "a greater doctrinal certainty." [44]

T. Phillips Thompson was born in England on November 25, 1843, at Newcastle on Tyne, of Quaker parents. In 1857 his family moved to Canada and settled in St. Catherines, Ontario. The year 1865 saw Thompson finish his formal education by completing the requirements for a law degree, but he never practised. Instead, he devoted himself to journalism. In 1867 Thompson worked as a reporter for the Toronto Telegraph, and in 1874, became editor of a weekly newspaper called The National, through which he espoused the views of the Canada First Movement. Thompson broke with the movement in 1875, as he wanted the movement to become "a popular movement, a new, principled, perhaps even radical political party." [45]

In the latter part of the decade, he moved to the United States, where he was an Associate Editor for the Boston Traveller. Ramsay Cook feels that the time in the United States played an important role in shaping the thinking of Thompson. Cook writes, "During these years he [Thompson] doubtless absorbed many new ideas from the ferment of American social criticism of the time, ideas that were to mark his later writings." [46]

Thompson returned to Toronto in 1879, where he was first on the staff of the Mail and then the Globe. In 1873

he became assistant editor and chief editorial writer on the Toronto News. With his return to Toronto, Thompson became involved in the Knights of Labor, and by the fall of 1883 he had begun to contribute articles to the Palladium of Labor. Russell Hann, who traces the journalistic career of Thompson, states that Thompson was "probably the author of 'Our Social Club'," and as well wrote in the Palladium under the pseudonym Enjolras.[47] Regarding the activities of Thompson, during this time, Hann remarks that "this simultaneous work on the News and the Palladium constituted a period of phenomenal productivity by Thompson who also worked as a public speaker for the Knights on many occasions." [48] As for his public speaking, Thompson lectured to various groups on Henry George (whom he had personally met), the Irish Question (he had covered the Irish Land League agitation in 1881 for the Globe), and the need for "a new political economy." [49] In 1887 he published his major work, The Politics of Labor, which Watt sees as "a reasoned attempt to draw labour into the political world as a united class conscious force." [50] Such literary efforts placed Thompson at the cutting edge of labour reform.

The appearance of the Advocate in 1890 provided Thompson with but another means of communication for his ideology, and though the Advocate ceased publication within a year of its beginning, each issue was dominated by his views. Like Rowe, Thompson saw the whole social order as

corrupt and in dire need of reform.[51] Labour was awakening and, once aroused, would throw off the bonds of oppression. However, this would not be done in a violent revolutionary manner for "in evolution, not revolution, lies the solution of the problem." [52] Henry George and the Single Tax movement were preparing the way for socialism,[53] and it was socialism which would bring about the necessary changes in society. What was essential was the education of the workingman in the principles of labour reform. To this end, the Advocate attacked monopoly in land as a major evil in the social system.[54] Similarly, Thompson strongly repudiated Herbert Spencer and Social Darwinism. Monopoly of land was "the cause of the poverty of the masses," [55] and the philosophy of Social Darwinism had helped to produce an "outcast class; the underdogs of the world's fight, the wrecks and failures of humanity, 'the unfittest' who do not survive." [56] For Thompson the notion of evolution was to be applied to all society, particularly labour and changing conditions. Eventually, by the process of evolution, the conditions of labour would change, and a co-operative, socialist commonwealth would be established.[57]

With respect to politics, Thompson viewed "partyism" as a major detriment to the labour movement. Both parties were "utterly corrupt" and bent only on acquiring and retaining power.[58] Patriotism was a "pernicious sentiment, the development of which tends to keep the

labouring class everywhere in subjection," while the National Policy only served to endorse land monopolies, squander the peoples' money and create a protective tariff. For Thompson "the whole political fabric built upon a delusion and a fraud, is on the verge of overthrow." [60]

Thompson was able to hold immediate and ultimate reforms together by subscribing to a concept of social evolution. The immediate reforms which he demanded were temporary, stop-gap reforms pointing to the eventual great reform of all society. In the thinking of Thompson, every immediate reform was tempered by his concept of ultimate reform, and this, coupled with his understanding of the industrial order, helps to reveal Thompson as "a man of the new industrial age," who could see the basic problems of an industrial society. [61]

Articulation of working class views was not restricted to Toronto and Hamilton. As workers in other urban areas of Ontario began to experience industrialization, they also began to express themselves through journalistic endeavors. In 1891 an organization called the Industrial Brotherhood was formed at Woodstock, Ontario with an organizing principle of "mutual aid", and a motto which called for "the equality of all irrespective of sex, race, creed or condition [sic.] and the right of any citizen to the same advantages as those enjoyed by every other citizen." [62] The General Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood was Joseph Marks who, in 1892, began editing the organ of the

Brotherhood, the Industrial Banner. [63] Published by the Trades and Labor Council in London, Ontario, the Banner had as its motto, "For the Right, Against the Wrong! For the Weak, Against the Strong," and claimed to be a "foremost exponent of social and municipal reform." [64] While this involvement in local affairs was exhibited during the London street-car strike in the fall of 1893, [65] the Banner also revealed an ideological hope for the reformation of society. The Banner wanted labour reformers, single taxers, socialists, patrons of industry, and prohibitionists to unite in order to bring about effective change in society. [66]

While Marks was very involved in the immediate problems of the workingman, as evidenced by his stand in the London street-car strike, he also saw the need for educating the workingmen in reform ideology. Reform literature, books, pamphlets and papers were to be spread by labour reformers, who must "preach the truth, sow the seeds of discontent . . ." [67] Despite this emphasis by Marks in the propagation of labour reform literature, when it came down to actual involvement in achieving reform through the political process, he vacillated between supporting a major party candidate who took the side of labour, such as Col. Leys in the 1898 street-car strike, and supporting independent labour candidates, such as those whom he strongly supported at the T.L.C. convention in 1903. [68] No doubt, by 1903 Marks was encouraged by the

success of two independent labour candidates on the federal level, Ralph Smith and Arthur Puttee. The accomplishing of reform through the political process was acceptable to Marks. However, labour's achievement of political party status would not be through the Socialist Party of Canada. Even though Marks reprinted articles on socialist ideology in the Banner and attacked the capitalist system,[69] he supported the notion of an independent labour party as the legitimate representative of labour.[70] Marks, as his paper revealed, was committed to trade unionism.[71]

Like other labour press editors, particularly in the 1890's, Marks was anti-immigration, opposed to monopolies and critical of a corrupt social system.[72] Labour reformers must "take up the battle of an oppressed class and carry out the application of the golden rule by doing unto these men as we would have them do by us if circumstances were reversed and we were in their place."[73] As a way of taking up this battle, Marks was instrumental in the Labor Education Association of Ontario, formed in 1903. The object of the Association was to bring "in close touch the workers throughout the province who were willing to co-operate to advance the principles of the labour movement and labour when and where possible."[74] By 1916 Marks had made the Banner "the leading propaganda agency for the new party." He toured the province of Ontario, with James Simpson and T. A. Stevenson on a lecture series under the sponsorship of the

Association.[75]

After the First World War, Marks continued to lecture on behalf of the Independent Labor Party and to support a union of the United Farmers and labour.[76] In 1920 he resigned from the I.L.P. as secretary to devote all of his time to the Labor Educational Association.[77] Though the Banner ceased to exist in 1922 Marks, as its editor, and as a spokesman and lecturer on behalf of the I.L.P., made a notable impression in Canadian labor history.[78]

Through the 1880's and into the early 1890's, the views of labour were articulated in labour papers located mainly in Eastern and Central Canada. As the Canadian West opened up and urban centres developed, there was rapid growth in the size of the working class. The concerns and responses of labour during the last decade of the nineteenth century in cities such as Winnipeg were the same as in Toronto, Hamilton and London. In Winnipeg skilled workers formed trade unions to address working conditions, and from these unions articulate labour leaders began to emerge. In January, 1894, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council was formed and The People's Voice, as its official organ, began publication on June 16, 1894. As a weekly publication, under the editorship of C. C. Steuart, The People's Voice made clear its position from the very first. "Our aims and objects will be to promote the best interests of the class we represent - the organized workingmen of the City of Winnipeg." [79] Throughout the following three

years of its existence The People's Voice attempted to fulfill its "aims" and "objects" by reporting trade union news both locally and nationally, and by carrying articles intent on promoting class consciousness among the working class.[80]

During the three years that he edited The People's Voice, Steuart showed a strong inclination towards trade unionism as the best approach to solving the problems of labour. Only by organizing and co-operating could the workmen liberate themselves "from the thraldom [sic.] of a false social position and a false social philosophy." [81] Capitalism, as it exploited the workers, would not be able to stand up to a solid labour front. In an attempt to encourage unity among the workers, Steuart printed articles on the benefits of trade unionism and the achievements of trade unions in other parts of the world.[82] While not openly espousing Socialism, Steuart reprinted numerous articles on the relationship of Socialism and trade unionism, the majority of which were in favour of socialist ideology.[83]

The major accomplishment of Steuart as editor was that he established the People's Voice as a solid labour paper representing the views of organized labour in Winnipeg, particularly the Trades and Labor Council.[84] Steuart, with this emphasis on trade unionism, provided the workingman with a reform ideology that was neither exclusive or extreme, and was certainly acceptable to most

workingmen.[85] Largely due to men like Steuart, trade unionism in Winnipeg effectively voiced its concerns and opinions. In May, 1897, the People's Voice Co. sold its interests to The Voice Publishing Company, which was owned by H. Cowan, A. W. Puttee and G. Pringle, and the influence of Steuart, as an articulate labour spokesman in the labour press of Winnipeg, faded. Aside from his involvement in the People's Voice, Steuart maintained a low public profile.

With Puttee assuming the role of editor, the People's Voice was renamed The Voice, and at the outset articulated its purpose:

The mission and policy of The Voice will remain unaltered. To freely and frankly criticize men and measures, provincial and Dominion politics, and to judge their actions and results from the standpoint of the wage-earner; to assist in the work of labor organizations, that the worker by being united may be strong enough to hold and better his condition in the ever shifting conditions of trading and industrial progress.[86]

The Voice was opposed to trusts, Chinese immigration and the tariff.[87] In relation to taxes, The Voice was in favour of direct taxation, and perceived labour leaders all over the world approaching unanimity on this issue.[88] In language almost identical to that of the Ontario labour papers, The Voice clearly saw the obligation of labour reformers to "Spread the Light." This was to be accomplished, in the main, by the distribution of social reform literature which was regarded as "ammunition to bombard the enemy." [89] The Voice exhibited a strong

concern over immediate issues and reforms, which it saw as leading to an ultimate reformation of society. It fought for an eight hour day, and consistently carried the proceedings of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council.[90] Labour Day was also extremely important for The Voice, for it was the one day of the year when labour could show forth its real power by involving working men in parades, picnics, rallies, and other events.[91]

Unlike Steuart, Arthur W. Puttee did not restrict his public involvement to the editorship of a labour paper. From 1897 through the opening decades of the twentieth century, Puttee was consistently in the public eye, locally and nationally. As a result, there is considerable biographical source material about him. Puttee was born in the county of Kent, England, on August 25, 1868. He served his apprenticeship as a printer, and in the print shop no doubt came in contact with the British trade union movement.[92] Apparently he had a fairly good education and in his family life was strongly influenced by religion. Richard Phillips, in an unfinished M. A. thesis on Puttee, comments remarks that "many of the references he [Puttee] later made to his youth attest to the influences of Sunday School and Church in his upbringing." These influences were reflected in Puttee's committment in 1882, to the temperance movement, when Puttee "signed a pledge card of the Blue Ribbon Army, a Gospel Temperance Movement, a pledge he kept throughout his life." [93]

Puttee came to Canada in 1888 at the age of twenty, and after landing at Montreal he came directly to Brandon, Manitoba, where he worked for two years. Leaving Brandon, he went to Saint Paul, Minnesota, and Seattle, Washington, where he worked for a brief time. In 1891 he finally settled in Winnipeg, getting a job as a compositor at the Manitoba Free Press.

Much of the basic ideology of Puttee can be found in the editorials of The Voice, and in his election platform during the federal by-election of 1900 in Winnipeg, when he ran as an Independent Labour Candidate.[94] The general scope of his thinking is perhaps best perceived in the manner with which he edited The Voice. Puttee consistently kept the basic purpose of the newspaper first and foremost in his editing policy. The Voice was designed to be a vehicle for trade union expression. Its local, national and international content reflected this purpose.[95]

In an editorial on June 19, 1897, Puttee affirmed the fundamental intent of The Voice by defending his editorial policy. Referring to The Voice he stated:

It has kept strictly to its chosen path of independence; free to criticize, to applaud and condemn, and has faithfully and persistently championed the labor cause; helped and encouraged the unionist first and foremost, not forgetting, however, that the cause of all the workers, comprises the reason of its being.[96]

A year later Puttee was still concerned with the position of The Voice as an organ of the labour movement, only now he addressed himself to one of the basic causes of

economic injustice:

The laborer is worthy of his hire. The farmer is entitled to the fruits of his toil. Both both laborer and farmer are subjected to causes and influences which divest them of a portion - a large portion - of their earnings. These causes and influences "The Voice" exposes with fearlessness and independence of spirit. We fear no foe. We dread no part. We champion the rights of the people. We hate injustice, and we shall disclaim against oppression of the masses by the classes "even though the heavens fall." [97]

Puttee was also aware of class distinctions, and the role that government could play in removing those distinctions. Positive government utilization of the resources and opportunities in the country would enable the working classes to receive their rightful share of the economy. [98] Puttee felt that the system of party government could be improved, and advocated two legislative reforms; direct legislation and referendum by the people, and the abolition of the Senate. With specific reference to labour, he desired that a federal department of labour be set up, that the contract system be abolished, and that there be a minimum wage with a legal eight hour day. On the issue of immigration, Puttee called for strong government control on the number of immigrants entering Canada. [99]

Much of Puttee's thought was directed to this last issue, for immigration was a definite sore spot in the Western Canadian labour movement. According to an editorial in The Voice on June 5, 1897, Chinese immigrants were seen as aliens and a serious detriment to Canada, for they

lowered the standard of the immigrant, and in general caused innumerable problems for Canadian workers. He was particularly concerned with the policy of companies who entered into a contractual agreement with the immigrant, giving the immigrant five hundred dollars before he came to Canada. Once in Canada the immigrant had to work back the loan and, in this manner, was tremendously exploited.[100] Similarly, Puttee was disturbed by the surge of Central European workers who came West to work on the railway crews and in construction camps.[101]

Puttee viewed all issues from a labour reform perspective, and this was particularly evident in his election campaign platform, which became a labour platform, despite efforts to appeal to all voters regardless of class. A. R. McCormack in his article "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899 - 1904" comments:

Although Puttee and his supporters regularly declared that he was not a class candidate, his platform had an obvious class bias; indeed it represented what had become the conventional labor programme. . . Puttee's platform, and his campaign speeches generally provided the ammunition with which he was attacked. As a result, the basic issue in the campaign, the question of labor's right to have independent representation, emerged.[102]

It is the response of Puttee to this issue that reveals how he saw labour reform in relation to all of society. A January 19, 1900, editorial in The Voice argued that the reforms he advocated would benefit all classes. The career of Puttee as a Member of Parliament is indicative of this attitude towards labour and society. Bills which he

introduced and his voting record in parliament showed his desire to represent all of his constituency,[103] yet Puttee was still intent on presenting the position of labour. The contribution of Puttee to Canadian labour was his practical application of labour reform principles through his actions in Parliament, his clear presentation of the views of the labour movement in The Voice, and the inspiration his election gave to the labour movement across Canada.[104]

The contribution of Puttee and the editors who preceded him was significant for the Canadian labour movement. Even though these men wrote and edited at different times, their writings were a reflection of changes occurring within Canadian society, especially within the working class. That there was movement and growth, in terms of a development of a particular labour or working class ideology, is evidenced by their views of society and their proposed remedies. Comparison of the political allegiance of R. S. Williams to the Conservative Party, and A. W. Puttee campaigning as a Labor Party candidate is indicative of just how far labour had moved in its ideological development. As well, other influences such as Henry George, Single Tax Clubs, and the Knights of Labor contributed greatly to the thinking of labour leaders. These influences were evidenced only in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Major differences in the papers, besides their years

of operation, were their geographic diversity and rational for functioning. The Trades Journal began and remained very much a local labour paper reflecting the concerns of the miners in the Maritimes. The Advocate, conversely, had a much wider scope, as it was a workingman's paper sponsored by a trades and labour council and edited by a man whose background was not working class. The Voice was, in the main, a trade union paper edited by a workingman who realized political power as a Member of Parliament.

However, given the obvious time differences, geographical settings and diverse interests of their editors, the papers did have much common ground. All were willing to respond to what they perceived as the needs of the workingman, reflecting genuine concern and vision. They were open to ways through which the lot of the labourer could improve, whether it was through the establishing of a nine-hour day or through ideas espoused in a labour party platform. So, too, were the papers and editors similar in their usage of political, economic and religious language and symbols to legitimate their views. In a society immersed in Christian traditions, it is not surprising that these editors and other contributors would use religious language and religious symbols in their presentation of labour views. The labour press writers attempted to understand and explain their positions on labour issues in light of their Christian heritage, and in so doing they developed their own interpretation of

Christianity. The labour movement, as revealed through its press, gave new meaning to religious terms and symbols with the result being an explicit identification of labour ideology with "true religion" by the turn of the century. In the following chapter , that development will be traced.

CHAPTER III

From 1873 to 1900, the attitude of the labour press writers toward accepted religious norms in Protestant Canada underwent a significant transformation. The labour press had, from its beginning, accepted the importance of the role played by Protestant Christianity in the lives of Canadians during the nineteenth century, and labour writers did not hesitate to express their views of church and clergy. Study of these views reveal that the papers moved from a general acceptance of church and clergy, fairly positive in nature, to a highly critical rejection and, in many instances, outright condemnation of both. By 1900 a fairly simple criterion had been set within the labour press for judging the words and actions of church and clergy; namely, if what the established churches and clergy said was favourable to the cause of labour it was reported on in a positive manner. Otherwise church, and increasingly clergy, suffered attacks as to their integrity and purpose as representatives of the "gospel of Christ."

From its inception the Workman reflected an acceptance of the religious norm of its day. The position of church and clergy was never really questioned; indeed, the Workman saw as essential for the good of all society the establishment of "Christian homes." [1] The paper

periodically carried a column entitled "Wit from the Pulpit," in which the humorous comments of local clergy were quoted.[2] It also printed articles reporting on clergy favourable to the labour movement, as well as carrying reports on labour meetings held in churches which were "kindly lent for the occasion."[3] Numerous letters to the editor and reprinted articles showed an acceptance of orthodox religious thought, and the "word of God" revealed in the "good book."[4] As the editor of the Workman stated in the November 21, 1872, issue:

God has enabled us to determine within our own limited sphere right from wrong. In the good book we have revealed to us the reward if we do the former; if the latter, we have the penalty.

During both the printers' strike of 1872 and the nine-hour day campaign, there was a noticeable lack of criticism of editors of the church papers who had pronounced against the strike. The Workman instead levelled its attack on George Brown of the Globe. [5] For the Workman there did not appear, on the whole, to be any apparent disharmony between its understanding of religious matters and what the churches and clergy taught. This is due, in part, to the lack of any radical economic or social ideology developing in the Workman. It is also a reflection of the acceptance of the social order of its time, of which the churches and clergy were an integral part. The Workman clearly saw church and clergy playing an important and legitimate role in the workings of Canadian society.

In its attitude to the church and clergy, the Journal

exhibited a stronger partiality in favour of church and clergy than the Workman. The Journal carried a regular column entitled "Religious News" which reported on new ministers in the area, sermon topics in prominent churches, and what was being discussed in religious circles.[6] In its column of "Local News," the Journal did not hesitate to remark that attendance at prayer meetings was down and that attendance should be better. In the same column the paper commented on various sermons which had been preached in the area as timely discourses.[7] In its March 19, 1884, issue, the Journal viewed the union of the Methodist churches as a good thing, and looked forward to a time when all Protestant churches would be united to carry on "the great work." The May 24, 1882, issue saw the paper favouring the use of the Bible in schools, stating that "it is divinely intended that the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord." Indeed, the Journal saw itself as helping to fulfill this divine intent. The November 14, 1891, issue contained an article entitled "Press and Pulpit," which spoke of how the two went together, suggesting that the press did much to convert persons and to help the preacher, and was therefore a great instrument in evangelizing. The basis of the religious persuasion of the Journal was perhaps best reflected in a poem by J. K. Pollock in the July 4, 1888, issue which spoke of the majesty and glory of God, and of His wisdom and almighty power. Life and breath came from "God's

Charter," and this "charter" was the right of all men in the world.[8] Churches and clergy were simply fulfilling God's commands, and the Journal supported them in a positive manner.

The Workman and Journal exhibited a distinct partiality for the churches and clergy, and contained little, if any, negative religious criticism. For the former paper, this lack of negative comment is a reflection of the time in which it was published. As to the latter paper, its parochial nature removed it from many of the currents of thought which were becoming major influences in metropolitan areas such as Toronto and Winnipeg. The other labour papers focused on in this thesis had broadened the scope of their thinking and formulation of ideology to include all aspects of society. For these papers this meant taking a hard look at the church and clergy, as well as developing an interpretation and application of what scripture said concerning labour.

The Palladium and Advocate portray, though to a lesser degree than the Workman and Journal, an attitude of acceptance of the church and clergy. In the Palladium, Rowe did not hesitate to carry local religious news referring to new ministers in the area and the "charges" they assumed, and as well printed reports of various sermons. [9] Similarly, articles appeared from time to time which spoke of such great men in the Christian tradition as Moses and Luther. While these articles tended

to place Luther and Moses in the role of reformers, and as such typifying labour reformers, the traditional Christian understanding of these men was not questioned or criticized.[10]

The Labour Advocate held itself at a greater distance from the churches and clergy than the Palladium, and did not report on "religious news" or carry any sort of religious column. Nevertheless, it still reflected a degree of acceptance of the religious tradition. Thompson, in an editorial on January 30, 1891, commented on the idea that Christianity and the Bible were good to preach from but hardly reliable in matters of everyday life or in the running of a business. However, in the latter case he blamed business and not the Bible for any apparent failures, and affirmed that there was a spirit to the gospel which was good. In the January 16, 1891, issue, the Advocate praised a Bible class which was looking at social questions as taught in the Bible; in an article in the January 9, 1891, issue it commended the Pope for writing an "encyclical on Socialism," (Rerum Novarum) in which the Pope appeared to be against the division of rich and poor. Ben, a columnist in the Advocate, did not hesitate to applaud churches where the evening services were free. He looked forward to a time when the contentious pew rents would be abolished.[11] Interestingly enough, the Advocate carried in every issue an advertisement for agents to sell the Child's Bible and Child's Life of Christ.[12]

In general, however, the Palladium and Advocate were distinguished by a clear standard as to whether or not the church and clergy merited favourable comment. Contrary to the uncritical acceptance of church and clergy reflected in the Workman and Journal, the Palladium and Advocate carefully examined what the religious establishment was saying and doing in the light of labour's own aspirations. When the churches and clergy took a position which corresponded to the views of labour, the papers responded with positive comments. Issues of the Palladium and Advocate contained articles, letters and editorial comment concerning ministers who either spoke out for the workman or advocated labour reform ideology.[13] While it could be argued whether or not this standard was first established in the Palladium, as it was the first of the papers studied to reveal such a criterion, it did become a standard that was maintained by subsequent labour papers.

Evidence of this standard appeared in the November 10, 1894, issue of the People's Voice where an article on the front page praised what the Reverends John and Joseph Hogg had to say for the cause of labour. What impressed The People's Voice was their apparent support of trade unionism, and their call for an equal distribution of wealth. Similarly, the Congregationalist minister, Hugh Pedley, was viewed with favor: "[He] is a real treat. His manner of dealing with the social question is, to say the least, tip-top. The only fault is, we do not hear enough

of his kind on the subject." [14] Sermons preached by prominent clergymen, such as Rev. Thomas Hines of Philadelphia and Rev. George D. Herron, the prominent social gospeler from Iowa college, were reprinted. While Hines condemned the rich, such as Carnegie, Pullman and Rockefeller, as "oppressors of the poor," [15] Herron criticized the church for becoming of the world, and no longer giving "forth the realization of the social ideal of Jesus." [16]

Similarly, the Voice was intent on referring to clergy who supported the position of labour and who, therefore, represented the true Christian tradition. Beginning in 1897 and through subsequent years, The Voice reported each year on "Labour Sunday Sermons" (sermons preached on the Sunday nearest Labour Day) in Winnipeg. In the September 11, 1897, issue of The Voice an article entitled "Labor Day Sermons" commented on various sermons preached the Sunday before. The Rev. Hugh Pedley had used Edward Bellamy's "Equality" as the foundation for his words; the Rev. Mr. Spencer had spoken of the close relations of the church to labour; W. J. Falconer (a Seventh Day Adventist) had spoken on "loving thy neighbor as thyself"; Rev. Father Cherrier had spoken against the evils in the social order; the Rev. S. Cleaver had talked about Christ and labour; and Prof. Beattie had exhorted his listeners to love God and neighbor. Not only did the writer of the article provide a synopsis of what these men said, but liberally interpreted

and added to their sermons with a clear labour bias.

Aside from articles on "Labor Day Sermons," The Voice carried numerous reports of sermons by the clergy.[17] Again, these reports were of sermons favourable to the cause of labour. In the March 25, 1898, issue of The Voice, Puttee editorially commented that the "Rev. W. R. Taylor, of Rochester, N.Y., has been delivering in his church a series of admirable sermons in favor of the trade union movement." An earlier issue of The Voice, on September 18, 1897, had contained a short report on a Sunday Evening sermon by the Rev. J. C. Walker, which remarked that "The Rev. J. C. Walker, pastor of Wesley Church, is a single taxer and a socialist; those who heard him last Sunday evening could come to no other conclusion." When the Rev. Mr. Silcox spoke in Chicago on the social situation, demanding justice, not charity, for all men, Puttee commented that there was more true religion in this sermon than he had heard in a long time.

Showing little, if any, variation from the attitude of The Voice, the Industrial Banner, published in London, reported on and reprinted sermons in which the clergy spoke out on behalf of the workingman and improved social conditions. In March, 1899, the Banner reprinted a paper given by the Rev. C. E. Whitcombe on "The Mosaic Land Laws." In the paper Whitcombe identified labour's notion of land reform with Hebrew social polity, based on Mosaic law, which "recognized that man must gain his daily bread

by the sweat of his brow, that he who will not work neither shall he eat. It realized the dignity of labour, but not its tyranny."

Another example of favorable reaction in the Banner to the clergy was when the Rev. Dr. McKay of Woodstock delivered a sermon which apparently was an almost word for word reproduction of an article entitled, "Don't Tackle Dead Sinners, Give the Live Ones a Show," written in a previous issue of the Banner by J. Marks. The fact that Rev. McKay would use an article from the Banner which criticized the majority of preachers for "attacking the sins and sinners of a bygone age" and "totally ignoring" the abuses that exist today and allowing the modern transgressor to go unscathed" caused Marks to claim that "the Banner has become an oracle that even our public men are not ashamed to follow." [18] While there were not as many articles in the Banner written by or favorable to clergy as in The Voice, it was apparent that the paper would unhesitatingly accept any minister who spoke out on behalf of the workingman, or advocated reforms in society similar to those demanded by labour. [19]

In general, though, the vast majority of churches and clergy did not measure up to the standard delineated above. It was to these groups, particularly, that the Ontario and Winnipeg papers addressed themselves in a strongly critical manner, a manner which was consistent despite the time lapse, geographic setting and readership of the

publications. By and large these papers approached the question of church, clergy and labour in a similar vein; namely, the church was identified as the home of the wealthy, and ministers catered to what the rich wanted to hear.[20] The God of Scriptures was the God of the church in name only; money had become the focus of worship, and the church was corrupt:

The church in all its divisions worships money. The church knows that there is a God and by words they address Him, but only a few, a remnant, the salt, mean it, and all the others worship money. Money is the Chief God of the Christian Church and when the earth's fountain of purity is thus prostrated what else is left to be pure.[21]

As far as the Advocate was concerned, the church violated every precept of justice and reform. Moreover, the Advocate made these charges, not because it rejected, but because it accepted the truth of scripture:

Woe to the priesthood! Woe
to those whose hire is with
the price of blood.
Perverting, darkening, changing
as they go,
The searching truths of God.[22]

The papers centered much of their attack on the alleged hypocrisy within the churches. In a letter to the editor of the Advocate, on February 2, 1891, one C. Wesley extended judgement to the whole of Toronto church life. In part he stated:

This city, with its numerous churches and so-called God fearing people, will in my mind, stand under everlasting disgrace, as knowing the distress, they went on praying, while the poor unfortunates went on starving.

Rowe, in a March 17, 1883, editorial in the Union, singled out the "respectable class" in the churches and stated:

It is the people of this class who make the loudest professions of Godliness and grind the faces of the poor, who are the most exacting creditors, the hardest landlords, the most extortionist employers. They belong to the church partly because it pays, partly because they have a notion that they can cheat Heaven, as they do their fellowmen, by their canting professions and compromise with the Almighty by giving Him a share of their plunder.

There was no doubt in the mind of Rowe that the Almighty would not let businessmen get away with what they were doing.

Articles and letters to the editor closely paralleled the views of the editors regarding the church. A letter to the editor of the People's Voice by C. R. in the February 8, 1896, issue contended that labour and socialist leaders were not looking for any practical assistance from the church, for it was one of the largest obstacles they had to contend with. According to C.R. "the present industrial system has grown up side by side and in a large measure under the wing of the church; it may therefore be regarded in its moral aspect at least the result of her labors," and "the whole field of material existence has thus been relegated to individual avarice and conflict, in which the Church [sic.] as individuals has, by force of necessity, joined." Nor did the Voice hesitate to use, ironically, the message of a minister in its criticism of the church. A Labour Day sermon, reprinted from the previous year, in the August 12, 1898, issue by the Rev.

Mr. Spence affirmed the need for change in the church, change which labour felt necessary if the church was to regain the sympathy and confidence of workers. As the church had rendered no real service to the "labouring people," workers consequently had "taken to helping themselves and left the church to its own course." [23]

Continuing with language that closely resembled The Voice, the Banner reproved the church and clergy for their failure to live up to what they professed. An article entitled "What Think Ye of Christ" in December, 1897, asserted that the "Christian church has never really understood Jesus Christ, and when their pews are filled with brazen monopolists; with men who are crushing out the childhood of stunted little children in their factories; employers who are defrauding the hireling of his wages, it would seem as though Christ must come again, and drive the same old gang out of the synagogue once more." The church was letting into its fold "those who masquerade under the thin veneer of Christianity," and must in the future, be more careful of those whom it accepts into its "folds".[24]

Particularly odious to the Banner were church members who appeared to be "shining lights" by giving liberally to the church, and by supporting the work of missions. These same church-goers employed "young girls who are paid starvation wages" in their factories. It was time the clergy started speaking out on this and other "sins" within the ranks of upper class church members." [25] For

the Banner it was no part of God's will,

That some should revel in riches and others grovel in poverty; that He gave some men power to become rich without work, and to others power to become poorer with work and who pin all their intelligence and faith on a perverted passage of Scripture, and contend that the poor ye have with you always, must mean that unjust conditions shall ever exist.[26]

Such criticism in the papers was mainly directed at the clergy. An article in the Advocate on December 19, 1890, by G. B. Clark referred to Scottish Landlordism and took pains to point out that parish ministers took the side of the powers that be, seeking to take advantage of the poor. Numerous other articles appeared in the papers which declared that the clergy were too cowardly to preach the real truths of Scripture for fear of losing influence in their congregations.[27] Letters to the editors also reflected an anti-clerical feeling, as a letter to the Advocate by Amy asserted:

Some idiotic theologians say "blessed are ye poor", and tell us that poverty leads to the gate of heaven, but none of these twaddlers, who live in luxury and grandeur, seem willing to exchange positions with the overworked and badly paid toiler.[28]

If, on occasion, the papers reported on or carried an article in which a clergyman spoke of the need for reform in the church, that clergyman was considered the exception.[29] Such clergymen did not alter the emergent labour press view of the church as the domain of the wealthy, and of the clergy as accomplices, for it was they who were assuaging the poor with promises of eventual reward in heaven.

With respect to perceived clerical response to the industrial system, the editor of the People's Voice stated in the August 15, 1896, issue:

Oh! you Christian ministers, have you no word of reproach for such a heartless system; for such a bestial advice, for such a commercial philosophy that is worse than heathen? Every item of Christ's teaching is violated in this imitation science of social economy -- every ennobling motive is debarred from influence; and selfishness, pure heartless selfishness is made the guiding thread.

When the People's Voice printed an article on the first page of its November 10, 1894, issue in praise of what the Rev. John Hogg had to say concerning the cause of labour, the paper received a letter to the editor from Gideon who pointedly asked what the working class had ever received from the clergy. As far as Gideon was concerned, the clergy had caused the working class to fall away from the church, and the sermon by the Rev. Hogg revealed that perhaps the clergy was "waking up." Another letter in the same issue, referring to the same sermon, stated in much stronger language:

Now Mr. Hogg, if you think you can smash all the golden calves that are erected all over the world you are undertaking a big contract. You must not forget the golden idols that the Christian clergy are worshipping for you know, of course -- at least you must have a faint idea of the number of your fellow preachers there are who would rather lose ten workingmen, or ten prostitutes, from their congregations than one millionaire.

Not surprisingly, letters to The Voice continued on the same note. A letter to the editor by "Higher

"Criticism" strongly condemned the clergy:

If the Ministerial Association would trouble themselves less about the Lord's Day and more about the Lord's people, whose faces are being ground by monopolies, largely made up of pew holders, the common people could more easily understand, that they were about their Master's business, who said, under very similar circumstances, "Ye have made my house a den of thieves", and pronounced a curse on those who spent their time in trying to clean the outside of the cup and platter, while inwardly it was full of dead men's (and we might add women's and childrens[sic.]) bones, and who also said the Sabbath was made for man. (and not only for the Pharisees).[30]

Obviously to C. R. Steuart, "Higher Criticism," and an unknown number of other readers of the People's Voice and its successor, the Christianity practised in the Churches and by the clergy was not the Christianity taught by Jesus Christ. The Voice did not leave that conclusion to be inferred. On December 31, 1897, it reprinted an article from New Time by Walter Clark entitled "If Christ Should Come Today," wondering what would happen if someone did what Christ did and as a lowly carpenter, with rough crude followers, taught what Christ taught, and entered the "rich churches, where the preacher, reclining on soft cushions, offers incense and adulation to the millionaire bond holders, gorged with the wealth they have illegally wrung from the people." While this, no doubt, was a parody of the circumstances of the average minister, to the average worker who did not earn a subsistence wage at this time, the salaries and circumstances of urban clergy must have seemed munificent, and would certainly appear to be an abandonment of the ethics of Jesus. To describe this

condition, this falling away from "true" Christianity in the church, the labour press of the later 1890's adopted the expression "Churchianity."

In the June 12, 1897, issue of The Voice it was recognized that "the common people were isolated from the modern church," but, as The Voice pointed out, at least they were beginning to discriminate between "Christianity" and "Churchianity." [31] Churchianity belonged to "that portion of mankind which in some unaccountable manner exalts itself over its neighbors," whereas "Christianity" meant the "Golden Rule". It is in the Voice that the term Churchianity first appears in the papers studied, and its origin is unclear. By using this word the labour press was able to delineate clearly between its understanding of the Christian message and what the church and clergy were saying.

The term Churchianity did not remain exclusive to the Voice. The Banner also labelled what it saw in the church and among professing Christians as "Churchianity," and which was opposed to "true" Christianity based on the teachings of Christ. Christianity taught "love for thy neighbor," and that a man should take no thought of the "morrow" but spend all he possessed in aiding the poor and seeking to effect change in society. An article, "The Golden Rule" in the Banner in January, 1899, affirmed that:

. . .if Christianity means anything more than an idle dream, it clearly teaches all these things (above), and the church affirms that to be a Christian one must renounce the world and tread

in the footsteps of Christ. But though the world and Churchianity has rejected the glorious teachings of Jesus Christ, that does not indicate that these teachings are a failure or necessarily wrong.

The article went on to state that Socialists had begun to "press on in His [Christ's] footsteps and in so doing were practising Christianity, not Churchianity." [32]

The word Churchianity was, for the labour press of the latter 1890's, an important and useful label, one which separated church and clergy from Christianity. It was clear to the labour press writers that such a separation was in order, given what the labour press understood "true" Christianity to be. From the time of the Workman through the 1880's and 1890's, the labour press consistently espoused a particular interpretation of what Christ and Scripture taught. The ultimate rejection of the traditionally accepted agents of Christianity, typified by the use of the term Churchianity, did not mean a rejection of what the labour press perceived the essential message of Christianity to be. By developing its own religious interpretation of Christ and Scripture the labour press was able to castigate church and clergy, but still utilize Christianity to support the views of labour.

Beginning with the Workman, the labour press advocated its own interpretation of Christianity and its relationship to the labourer. The Workman did not hesitate to express clearly its understanding of God, the life of Jesus Christ and the teaching of scripture. God had an economy for man, and the "major plank" in this economy was "production and

life."[33] Not only did physical things stem from God, but so did the basis of a moral code, for it was God who had given men the ability to choose between right and wrong.[34] God had issued positive commands to all men and provided penalties if these commands were broken.[35] Indeed, labour could readily accept Jesus Christ, for "He too was a labourer, having worked at a trade." [36]

God was ultimately in control of all things, but the final destiny of man must be worked out by man himself "under the Providence of God." [37] Jesus Christ was the model man must follow, and scripture revealed the moral code. Scripture also clearly taught that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." [38] This was then expanded on by John Hewitt in a letter to the editor of the Workman in the May 6, 1873, issue. Hewitt saw God as giving the earth and its fulness to all men. From this it followed that "production" and "life" were the main planks in the economy of God for man.

Though the Workman did not advocate nor necessarily see the labour movement as religious in nature, it was clearly evident to the paper that the worker was fulfilling a Godly calling. In so doing the ground was prepared for subsequent labour papers to lay claim to religious principles as being labour oriented. The increased disillusionment of labour with church and clergy in the 1880's and 1890's gave the labour press new impetus to move beyond the simple identification of the worker with

Christ, as espoused in the Workman. Given the demands of the labour press editors and contributors for social justice and reform, it was ironical that the criteria which they were now developing for judging not only the churches and clergy, but all of society, came from the teachings of Christ, as revealed in the Bible. This same source was claimed by the traditional Christianity which they were now spurning. The labour press was beginning to show an increasing disposition to identify labour reform ideology with "true Christianity."

This identification of labour thinking with the Christianity of Christ allowed the labour press writers to move beyond a rigorous criticism of the churches and clergy to an outright condemnation. The labour press denounced the church and clergy for departing from what the scriptures taught.[39] Ben, a columnist in the Advocate, remarked in the March 27, 1891, issue that "I am a church member myself, but I am foolish enough to believe that Christ's teaching and example are infinitely higher than any organization, be it ever so holy in our eyes."

What the clergy in the church were preaching "may be modern orthodox religion," but it was "certainly not the Christianity of Christ." [40] Various issues of the Advocate clearly placed Jesus Christ on the side of the poor and saw his message as one of peace, love and brotherhood among all men.[41] To depart from this teaching was a reprehensible act on the part of the church.

One of the sharpest statements identifying Christ with the poor was a quotation by Father Huntingdon taken from a speech approvingly reported on in the January 23, 1891, issue of the Advocate:

The church was called the friend of the poor, but the society founded by Jesus Christ could not have been called by that name during its first three hundred years of existence. It was composed of the poor.

The labour press never criticized the "true" teachings of scripture concerning God or Jesus Christ. God was still God and worthy of worship, despite the misrepresentations of the church and clergy. Central to the conception of work, land, wages, profits and wealth expressed in the labour press was a belief in the "Brotherhood of Man," a conception which had manifestly Christian roots. Christ had come to earth to bring about a reign of love and brotherhood,[42] and while "brotherhood" was for all men, it particularly applied to the working class. When the principles of Christian teaching were carried to their logical end, they would reveal to the workingman "the meaning of the work-a-day life of Jesus, our fellow-workman, our brother according to the flesh." [43]

Writers in the People's Voice, The Voice and Banner continued to delineate an explicit perception of what Christ and scripture taught. Christ was the great example, for it was Christ in the flesh who was the brother of the workingman. According to much in the labour press, emanating from that example of Christ was the spirit of

brotherhood. W. O. G., in an article in The Voice on October 2, 1897, felt that "Jesus and His followers showed to the people their common brotherhood. This meant good-bye to privilege, it meant good-bye to Caesar unless Caesar adopted the Golden Rule. . ." God had revealed to man, in the fulness of His time, the God-man who was "our Elder Brother," and had created all men equal. It was through the incarnation of Christ and the ultimate shedding of His blood "not for a class or race but for all mankind," that "for all time that bond of brotherhood which had been severed by selfishness and sin" was knit together.[44] It was by understanding what the Bible taught concerning Christ that brotherhood became attainable, and the principles of Christ would clear a man's heart and mouth.[45]

Grasping the "truth" of brotherhood with its theological significance, the labour press writers interpreted and applied the notion in a variety of ways. Brotherhood meant all men working for the good of each other, and this was not only a working for spiritual good, but for economic, political and social good as well.[46] Brotherhood was a realization of mutual cooperation among men, a cooperation which denied competition, exploitation and selfishness.[47] Any system, economic or political, which advocated or condoned competition and exploitation violated the truth of brotherhood and would produce social injustices, class divisions and beggary, not equity.[48]

As a guide to achieving brotherhood, labour again turned to Christ and scripture, finding in the Golden Rule "an essential working principle". A letter to the editor of The Voice on April 14, 1899, by Esau Brammel said in part:

I hold that the law of all laws, one of the most potent and far-reaching in its effects, one of the most sweeping in the universality of its scope, the only possible law upon which a permanent and enduring social structure can be erected, is the law embodied in the language of the Lord, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them". Love thy God; Love thy neighbor as thyself.

In the subsequent issue of The Voice, on April 21, 1899, a Mr. T. A. Foreman wrote another letter to the editor which was related to what Esau Brammel had said. As to which love, of men or of God, should take precedence, Foreman held that the man who loved God would also love his Brother. With specific reference to what the Apostle John had said in his first epistle, Foreman reiterated that the man who said he loved God but hated his brother was a liar. Love for fellowman over and beyond the love for oneself was a denial of selfishness. Such love was the key to fellowship with God and eventual "true helpful brotherhood." The followers of Christ were instructed to "return good for evil" and to live the Golden Rule. Any man who professed to be a follower of Christ but put money in the bank, particularly money gained by exploitation, while all around these men others were "suffering," and "piteously crying for relief" was a mere sham reflecting "Churchianity." It was an individualism which did not

exemplify a "love for thy neighbor," an individualism which had rejected the glorious teachings of Christ, and had refused to "renounce the world and tread in the footsteps of Christ." [49]

For the man who loved God there was an obligation to love his brother and bear that brother's burden if he was weak. Jesus Christ had a message for society and the individual when he said love one another, and this message revealed the concern of Christ for the poor and needy of the earth. The October, 1899, Banner bluntly stated that "Christ fed the multitude first, and then preached to them. Christ knew more about human nature than some of his modern disciples." The problems in society were created by the refusal of men to follow the Golden Rule and were not the fault of God, but rather the result of selfishness and ignorance. The world and the church had departed from the rule of Christ. Only an adoption of practical Christianity "which recognizes man as the temple of the living God, and seeks to carry out the divine principles of Love" would bring about a solution to the "Labor Problem."

Continuing in the same vein, labour press writers labelled anything that detracted from brotherhood as evil. War, for example, was seen as a ruse of the capitalist monied class to divide and keep the workman under submission. Brotherhood meant equality among all men, regardless of nation, color or creed. Therefore, "no workman who believes in the advancement of his class ought

to give the slightest encouragement to the military system." [51] An article, reprinted from the East Oregonian, in the January 2, 1891, issue of the Advocate attacked the military system from a religious viewpoint:

Civilization cannot be civilization in reality until there is not an army on the face of earth. A Christian nation - one that even pretends to follow in the footsteps of Christ - has no earthly use for a barbarous, depraved, life consuming army.

In a similar vein, wages, work, and wealth were subordinated by labour to the teachings of scripture. An article by A. F. O. in the June 27, 1885, Palladium, entitled "Ye Rich Men, Weep and Howl" cited various scriptures supporting the labourer's right to the wages due him, and to the payment of fair wages. The warnings of scripture to employers in Deuteronomy 24:14,15 and James 5:1-4, was abundantly clear. Rich men who had cheated the labourers would be judged, for God would hear the cries of the labourers. In the mind of God, riches counted for as little as rich men. The Palladium, on January 13, 1883, endorsed Sydney Smith's well known saying: "We see how little God Almighty thinks of riches by the class of people to whom he gives them." The "Holy Humbugs' Prayer," reprinted from the Labor Leaf in the Palladium, well expressed the view of labour towards wealth:

Bless thou, O Lord, the crooked ways
By which I roll up wealth untold
By which I fleece the toiling poor
To swell my unearned store of gold.
Now glory be to God on High,
And to His saints so bright!
For I have stifled Labor's cry,
And stole the toiler's mite! [52]

The February, 1897, Banner, in an article "The Deserving Poor and Products of a Vicious System," flatly declared that it was "a crime" when one part of society succeeded in "monopolizing the bounties of nature."

It was incomprehensible to labour that a man could be given power by God to become rich without working, while others who worked became poor. [53] Adam and Eve had been commissioned to work in the Garden of Eden before they had sinned. Subsequently, God had always "chosen his servants" from among those "engaged in toil." [54] Labour was a part of God's plan, and even in heaven "they serve God day and night in His temple." [55] Natural law was in conformity with the basic truths of God which demanded that none escape productive labour, for to do so would be a sin against God. The Apostle Paul had worked to support himself and refused to let others give him "gold and silver." [57]

Work, when done in accordance with the laws of God, was a pleasure, but when the laws were violated, injustice flourished and misery multiplied. Society dominated by the rich, capitalists and monopolists had not only allowed some men to live off the work of others but had tolerated economic conditions in which men who desired to work often could not. It was not the will of God that men seeking work should be unemployed, [57] for in work there was a God given dignity and equity.

Just as the labour press's understanding of work and

the right to work was articulated in scriptural terms, the question of land, a second major factor in the production of wealth, was approached in the same light. By the 1890's, buttressed now by Henry George, the labour press had launched a full scale attack on land ownership and monopoly. An article in the August 3, 1895, People's Voice by Geo. C. Ward upheld the "principle" that the land was God's "free gift" to all men. Thus, land nationalization and the Single Tax would serve to restore to humanity the "heritage stolen from it by a cunningly devised system of land tenure." [58] A poem in the June 5, 1897 Voice exhorted men to:

Keep it before the people:
 That the earth was made for man,
 That the flowers were strewn
 And the fruits were grown
 By the great creator's hand;
 That the sun and rain
 And the corn and grain
 Are yours and mine, my brother -
 Free gifts from heaven,
 And as freely given
 To one as well as another.

Further, if God intended all men to work and share the land it was obvious that God equally intended wages and wealth to be shared. Referring to a sermon preached by the Rev. J. B. Silcox of Chicago, in which monopolies and trusts were condemned, Puttee, in the May 22, 1897, Voice, considered that there was more "true religion" in this sermon than any he had heard in quite sometime. In the same vein, the Banner in May, 1897, upheld the distributive standard of the early church, which held "all things in

common, neither was there any amongst them that lacked..."

For the labour press there was no doubt that capitalists, monopolists and the monied class generally had stolen their wealth from labour. As the People's Voice put it on February 9, 1895, in an article "Kill the Wage System":

Thousands of splendid mansions are built out of money stolen from labour, under the form of law. The bricks and stones are cemented with the blood of the slain, and the nails were driven amid the groans of suffering, dying and outraged humanity.

Anyone who held that God was responsible for the unequal distribution of wealth was a "bold blasphemer and infidel." [59] For Steuart every "item of Christ's teaching" was violated by the "heartless" system, and it was apparent that the basis of commercial philosophy was plain and simple "selfishness". [60] An editorial in the December 30, 1898, Voice remarked: "Profit taking is immoral, anti-Christian and contrary to the Golden Rule."

Although the labour press had provided itself with a theological base for its notions of labour, land, wages, profits and wealth, as well as its central tenet of brotherhood, it had to face reality. Scripture might be used to show what God and Christ intended for all men, but Canadian labour in the late nineteenth century lived in an environment which was not concerned with those intentions. Stark reality showed that brotherhood and an application of the golden rule was to be hoped for and worked for. Thus, labour was forced to live in anticipation and in hope that

the future would provide what the present did not. This hope, however, did not take the form of a heaven for the individually faithful, but of an ultimate justice, in a millennial sense, coming from God, which would allow for brotherhood and equality. Truth and justice would bring about the downfall of the present system of oppression, corruption and exploitation.[61] Because God and Christ were on the side of labour, those who opposed the claims and causes of labour would face the terrible judgement of God. It was clear to labour press writers that a day was coming when injustice would disappear and labour would be a real part of "the rising sun of justice." [63] The justice of God was labour's "day of retribution," and any found wanting in that day would face severe judgement.[64]

There was no doubt in the minds of the labour press writers that God was on the side of the workingman, and they heralded the ultimate justice and judgement of God on the present system. God was sovereign, over all things: past, present and future. He was the Father in heaven whom one could "no more separate from earth than the end from the means." [65] Even a labour reformer such as Thompson, who was involved in Theosophy, acknowledged God over all, as the "Absolute One," and used scripture to make his points. For Thompson God was to be obeyed, even if it meant a resistance to tyrants, and he assuredly believed, with the rest of the labour press writers, that labour would resist.[66]

Christ, as the son of God, had established the principles through which justice would be realized. As announced by A. E. Fletcher, quoted in the November 24, 1894, issue of the People's Voice, Christ had declared when He began His ministry:

The spirit of the Lord is upon Me, because He hath appointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, the recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.[Luke 4:18-19]

That was also the mandate to His followers. The progress of the labour movement, coupled with the power of God, could only result in justice to all men. Because of the ultimate justice of God, the working class was assured of eventual peace, equality and liberty. For the Banner of August 3, 1900, there was no way that God's justice could be stopped, for it was a "rising flood" against which even "the gates of hell" could not prevail.

Given the foregoing, it is not difficult to see how labour press writers could, by the turn of the century, equate the principles and teachings of "true Christianity" with the aspirations of the labour movement. Just as there was a transformation in the social and economic thinking of labour from 1873 to 1900, so too was there a broad continuity and development in the thought of labour press writers regarding religion. This evolution of religious thought ranged from an early acceptance of the church, clergy and orthodox religious thought, to an open attack on

the same, but combined with an overall acceptance of God, Christ and the authority of scripture. While a considerable portion of the labour press was severely critical of the church and clergy, even that part was consciously and explicitly immersed in the Christian tradition. By 1900 the labour press was using scriptural arguments as the common means of understanding the nature of work, land, wages, profits and wealth. Consequently, scripture provided the substance of labour press interpretations of the brotherhood of man and the requirements of justice, and supplied the forms in which labour's future hopes were cast.

Chapter IV

The rejection by the labour press of church and clergy as legitimate exponents of "true Christianity" allowed labour press writers to develop and espouse their own interpretation of God, Christ and scripture. By claiming to possess a true understanding of Christianity, writers in the labour press did, in fact, move towards a redefining of some Christian doctrines, specifically Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. The interpretation of these doctrines by labour press writers was, however, predicated upon their perception of "true Christianity." As was the case with the development of criticism of church and clergy, growth in labour's understanding and application of "true Christianity" took place over a period of time. Nor were such developments necessarily deliberate. Clearly, though, various labour press writers had little hesitation in expressing their interpretation of scripture when such an understanding was at variance with what the churches and clergy were saying. Just what "true Christianity" meant to the labour press writers is revealed through an examination of the religious language they used. Such a study reveals that the continued reliance on and usage of religious terminology in the expounding of "true Christianity" was not only acceptable to these writers, but was broadened in scope and

freely applied to an emerging labour ideology. Indeed, given the discussion in the foregoing chapter as to the respect for and use of scripture by the labour press, it is not difficult to see why labour press writers used Christian terminology to justify the aims and aspirations of the labour movement.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, Canadian churches and Canadian labourers were confronted with major economic, technological, intellectual and social changes. For churches in metropolitan areas such as Toronto, the dynamic of change meant a challenge to the role of Protestantism as "an overwhelming force of cohesion and commonality." According to Gene Homel:

The growth of mechanized production, urban conglomeration, and rationalized consciousness had been progressively undermining the over-all legitimacy of organized religion, thus impairing its role as the effective and unchallenged agent of community authority and solidarity. The church was failing to maintain the enthusiasm of many working people in particular.[1]

Religious response to a transforming society manifested itself through the emergence of three distinct strands, two of which can be identified within Protestant churches. The third was articulated by labour press writers. In this study, these strands will be called liberal, conservative, and labour.

The liberal strand was dominant among the leadership of the mainline Protestant churches (Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican), churches which, according to

the census of 1891, contained 46.2 per cent of the Canadian population. This strand was marked by an emphasis on higher education, an increasing acceptance of liberal theology and an embracing of the notion of progress.[2] Liberals believed it was important to reinterpret traditional doctrines concerning Christ, salvation and the future hope of the Christian. This strand retained an evangelical commitment to win the world for Christ, but in so doing it modified its evangelistic methods. Rather than insisting upon a dramatic conversion experience, this strand saw church membership increasing through an educative process, and the content of this education was Christian morality.[3] To this end a vast amount of new Christian education materials appeared, materials which sought to reconcile evangelism with liberal theology. What emerged was a "secularized evangelicalism" which stressed education, but was "still aggressively missionary, moralistic, and socially concerned." [4] Given their acceptance of the educative process, their willingness to embrace change, and their belief in "progress," it is justified to call this strand liberal.

The second strand was most at home in churches of a sectarian nature, such as the Free Methodists and the United Missionary Church.[5] The conservatives sought to maintain what they believed to be the evangelical tradition, viewing the changes occurring in society with suspicion, and rejecting liberal theology. For these

churches and individuals, a few of whom were members of the mainline churches, the doctrinal revisions inspired by liberal theology seemed a betrayal. Liberal ideas were seen as eroding Christianity, and seriously affecting motivation for missionary work.[6] Reacting to the perceived threat of liberalism, this strand insisted that the Bible was "inerrant" and must be interpreted literally.[7] Closely related to this biblicism was a strong millennial impulse that interpreted the changes taking place in society apocalyptically.[8] To call this strand "conservative" is justified by their doctrinal traditionalism, and by their evangelical outlook and conservative response to societal change. It will be referred to as the conservative strand.[9]

The religious response of the third strand was articulated by the labour press writers who, with their own interpretations, formulated religious doctrines, which at times and in some aspects, paralleled the doctrinal stance of both the liberal and conservative strands. However, despite some similarities, doctrinal development in the labour press, as a whole, remained unique to the labour movement. It must be recognized that within the churches this strand became known as the "social gospel." Many representatives of the social gospel sought to hold the churches and the labour movement together. This thesis argues that the third strand belongs properly to the labour movement rather than the denominations; this accounts for

the fact that significant social gospel figures such as J. S. Woodsworth had finally to choose between labour and the churches. The similarities between liberal and labour strands allowed many to avoid the choice.[10]

The focus of this chapter will be on the Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology devised by the labour press writers. For comparative and contextual purposes, consideration will be given to the understanding of these doctrines within the liberal and conservative strands during the same period.

Much of the Christology of the labour press writers has been shown in the discussion in the previous chapter concerning the example of the life of Christ. Christ was the great example, the model to be followed by all mankind. With a constant emphasis on the actions of Christ, labour press writers affirmed the physical aspect of Christ's ministry. He healed sickness first (a physical response to need), then He gave forgiveness for sin. (a spiritual response) The message of Christ was in His actions as well as His words. In His actions He was seen as a brother who exemplified the love of God by the way in which He treated His fellow man.[11] The incarnation of Christ meant that the brotherhood of all mankind was now possible, for the lifestyle of Christ revealed how that brotherhood could be realized.

The understanding of Christ as "savior" also played an important role in how labour understood the implications of

salvation. When B.F. Mills spoke in the Dundas Street Methodist Church in London, Ontario, the July, 1897, Banner called what Mills said about love, truth, brotherhood and humanity the "gospel of socialism". Christ was a "social savior" intent on changing "the heart of society," with Christian socialism being merely an outworking of this intention.[12] What emerges here is the saving action of Christ as being an essential aspect in the realization of the brotherhood of all mankind. Salvation was more than just the acceptance of doctrines, revised or unrevised. While various elements within the liberal and conservative strands debated what it meant to be evangelical, labour press writers simply maintained that salvation was an actualization of what Christ had proclaimed. A report on a lecture by W.W. Buchanan, in the December 21, 1899, issue of the Voice said, in part:

Christ is the social savior because He would change the heart of society... Those who accept Christ in His fulness insist that it embraces economic and political brotherhood.

The Christology which was being developed and presented in the labour press was one which saw Christ as a motivator - a prototype for Christian behavior. Such an interpretation of Christ suited the cause of the labour movement, for it presented Christ in a tangible manner to the worker. Labour press writers, however, were not alone in this particular understanding of Christ. As the liberal strand reformulated their doctrine of Christ in the light of higher criticism and the notion of progress, they

increasingly sought to present Christ as the human embodiment of Christian ethics and as a social savior. This emphasis on the humanity of Christ was particularly evidenced by the response of churches to the book In His Steps, written by the Reverend C.M. Sheldon in 1896.[13] In stark contrast to the Christology of the labour press writers and the liberal strand stood the Christology of the conservative strand, which stressed the divinity of Christ and His dynamic role in a supernatural salvation through conversion. The conservative Christology was, for the labour and liberal strands, a denial of the humanity of Christ, and thus of Christ's relevance to human needs.

The strong emphasis on divinity in the Christology of the conservative strand was underscored by a soteriology which saw God, through divine action, redeeming man through the sacrifice of His son, Jesus Christ, on the cross. Salvation from sin, through belief in Jesus Christ, redeemed or preserved mankind from the fate of "hell" and "eternal damnation," and was essentially a dramatic spiritual experience. This soteriology had conversion as its primary focus, with physical salvation being subsequent and secondary in importance, dependant upon the intervention of God in His providence. Within the liberal strand, given its acknowledgement of progress and the inspiration it derived from scientific methods and discoveries, there occurred a doctrinal shift towards what mankind could accomplish. Placing an increased value on the

ability of Christians to realize God's salvation in this world through progress, they gave less emphasis to the intervention of God in human affairs and the supernatural aspect of salvation. Richard Allen comments:

With the decline of 'interventionism' came the retreat from the drama of conversion. Nurture - not nature - became the watchword. Religious education's rapid rise in the 1880's asserted that God's chosen mode throughout history had been an educative one. [14]

Within the liberal strand, the example and moral teachings of Christ served as guidelines for everyday living which meant, for all intents and purposes, that conversion essentially was the outworking of physical salvation. It was a moral salvation which would use education and technology to achieve any necessary healing of society.

The soteriology of the conservative strand was a reminder to labour of past religious associations. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, workers had been a part of the traditional evangelical experience. However, as workers united and began to articulate their concerns, they became increasingly disillusioned with the promise of a salvation restricted to the spiritual sphere. Traditional soteriology was viewed as inadequate to deal with the needs of an industrial society. Nor was the changing soteriology of the liberal strand acceptable, for it was identified with the churches of the educated and wealthy classes, and with the legitimation of their privileged position. Labour could and did accept the notion of progress, but only if it was accompanied by a reformation of social institutions.

This qualification resulted in labour press writers framing a soteriology which spoke to the social conditions and material concerns of the worker.

Labour contended that salvation contained both spiritual and physical elements, and placed a strong emphasis on the latter. While labour writers could accept that spiritual change was necessary, it saw such a change occurring, as did the liberal strand, through the movement of the earthly sphere upwards to a higher moral plane. Not only must the soul of man be "saved" from ultimate damnation and destruction, but his physical being must also be saved from misery, unhappiness and abuse. At times the labour press writers appeared to give primacy to physical salvation as the means, or at least the sign, of spiritual salvation. Thus, the word salvation assumed a social immediacy for labour and was concerned with the conditions of life the worker had to face. "The only salvation lies in the awakening of Labor to the real facts of the situation and averting the evil day by compelling the monopolists to disgorge their plunder." [15] The salvation of the working classes was necessitated by the oppression of the ruling classes and the corruption of the entire social system.

The greed of the capitalists is forcing the masses into co-operation and this, that was born of necessity will be one of the greatest factors in the salvation of mankind from misery and ignorance. [16]

Critical response to the soteriology of church and clergy focused on the perception that the church and clergy ignored physical salvation by teaching and preaching a

spiritual salvation which would have its reward in heaven, or by teaching a purely idealized moral vision. Labour press writers made spiritual and physical salvation synonymous or coincidental, and they denied that physical salvation was only realizable in heaven or beyond history. "The meek shall inherit the earth" was interpreted by labour to mean that today, not tomorrow or in some distant future, was the time for labour to experience total salvation from their social conditions. Further, the writers contended that this immediate salvation rested "in the hands of the toilers." [17] While God would judge those who had exploited labour, it was up to labour to assume a major role in the outworking of their salvation. This would be accomplished by many specific means, some of which were: reform, the education of the workingman, the work of trade unions, the use of the ballot box, and a growth in self-confidence within the ranks of labour. [18]

In the context of the labour movement, salvation became a word with a peculiar meaning, particular to the labour press. In a sense it was one among many secular applications of traditional Christian uses of the word, but it still retained a religious connotation. God continued to be involved in salvation for He was sovereign, and justice and truth came from Him. However, His involvement was more than just spiritual. God had sent His son Jesus Christ, who in His humanity provided physical healing and modeled brotherly love. God, through the example of Christ as

healer and toiler, revealed that He intended an immediate physical salvation to be realized by labour itself.[19]

The development of this soteriology led labour press writers to demand dedication and zealously from workers who were serious about creating a new society. These writers, in the last two decades of the century, challenged workers and all other labour reformers to do their utmost in proclaiming the good news of labour reform. This challenge reflected the tremendous desire of these writers to "evangelize." It was, in essence, a call to take up a missionary task which had as its intent the fashioning of a new society, with new qualities and new relationships. Using religious terminology such as "mission" and "spread the light,"[20] the writers urged the labour movement to preach what Christ had taught concerning brotherhood and love. The adaption of these terms to the immediate physical and social conditions in which labour found itself was similar to its adaptation of the word salvation. "Mission" to the churches was to tell the good news of Jesus Christ, the savior of the world and to "spread the light" was the way in which "mission" was accomplished. For the labour movement, "mission" was to tell the good news of labour reform. To "spread the light" meant to articulate the benefits of labour reform.[21] Common ground with both the liberal and conservative strands, in the use of these terms, was found only in their claims to be following the commands of Christ. As for dedication and zealously, in

the realization of "mission" and "spreading the light," the conservative strand emphasised camp meeting, revivals, witnessing and both foreign and native missionary work. The liberal strand, while committed to traditional missionary endeavors in Western Canada, intensified its efforts in the urban centres. As the soteriology of this strand evolved, so too did its approach to urban missions, as reflected in its Christian education programs, and the numerous social causes which these churches supported and became involved in.[22] In common to all three strands was the imperative to proclaim the "good news" of the gospel of Christ.

In the intensity of their commitment and their zeal for converts, the labour press seemed more like the conservatives than the liberals. Given the seriousness of their missionary task to "spread the light," labour writers exhorted those workers who were intent on labour reform to pay the cost of commitment. Labour writers were convinced that the conditions of the workman constantly had to be addressed if labour reform was to succeed.[23] To this end the Banner was intent on being the "foremost exponent of social and municipal reform".[24] Dedicated, zealous labour reformers were made to feel obligated by writers in the papers to distribute reform literature, (books, papers, pamphlets, etc.) which was regarded as ammunition to bombard the enemy.[25] An editorial comment in the August, 1897, Banner encouraged labour reformers to "preach the truth, sow the seeds of discontent." Again, the labour

press confronted the church as the papers sought to "preach the truth." A December 30, 1898, editorial in the Voice affirmed the need "to do what the church of today is failing to do - teach the Christianity of Christ." The earnestness of the labour press writers pointed to an objective which was higher than just attacking and destroying particular injustices. They saw the need for a fundamental change in the structure and function of society.

This similarity to the pattern of a religion more at home among the sects than among the denominations leads us to consider the ecclesiology of the labour press. Their claim to be the proponents of "true Christianity" allowed the labour press writers to label the ecclesiology of the liberal strand "churchianity." The institutional nature of the established churches, coupled with their large buildings and educated clergy, was rejected. This rejection of liberal ecclesiology was similar to that of the conservative strand. Both the labour and the conservative strands resented the dominant position of the institutional churches in society, and saw themselves as righteous minorities, or remnants. The ecclesiology of the labour strand differed from the conservative strand in both the locus of the sacred community, and in the means by which it would be sustained. The conservative strand spoke of a divine initiative while labour writers stressed human effort. The February, 1897, Banner contended that the

Kingdom of God "is right here now if men only know enough to seize it." All that was needed by labour was the "proper intelligence to avail ourselves of the opportunities that present themselves."

For the editors and their contributors, who saw themselves increasingly as agents of a cause that enlisted divinity, there was a conscious need to not only propagate ideology but to convert those who did not believe. The labour movement was not a unified whole; the articulate labour elite, by structuring a labour ideology, sought to impregnate the entire working class with this ideology. An article in the July 25, 1885, Palladium spoke of the brethren in Burlington, Iowa who had printed a pamphlet on one of the lectures given by Henry George.

They think that a grander missionary work could not be done for the cause of labor than by their wide spread distribution, and they are right, every wage-earner ought to read it.

Another article, entitled "A Prophecy," in the January 13, 1883, issue of the Union exhorted all labourers to subscribe to labour papers, for only by doing so could labourers learn their rights, become aware of the struggle of labour and effectively throw off the bondage of the wage system. The penultimate goal of the Union was to evangelize the working class, "to point out to the workingman how these inequities can be redressed and every man secure the full reward of his toil." [26] The labour press was the "pulpit" of the labour movement, and the writers were the preachers.

A realization of the penultimate goal, a calling out of labour as the true "church", would then become the steppingstone to the ultimate, the conversion of all humanity to the principles and cause of the labour movement. An article in the Advocate by the American social crusader, Ignatius Donnelly, propounded the fundamental objective of labour ideology.

Our whole battle is between human selfishness and human love. Our remedy must be the arrestment of human selfishness ... Religion must begin by improving the condition of mankind...[27]

It was through the development of an ecclesiology that the labour writers were able to maintain their intensity, and at the same time deal with the frustrations of the real world. The sacred community, for them, was the converted minority of those who understood the causes of the oppression of labour, and who were committed to bringing about the new order in which these causes would be removed. At the same time, this ecclesiology, with its emphasis on the eventual conversion of all mankind, pointed to the future and called for a vision. Such a vision was necessary, for they were aware that even as they spoke of a new order the economic and social gap in Canadian society was widening. A vision of the future allowed them to counter reality with hope, a hope to which the working class could ascribe. Again, the writers used religious language, by identifying that hope as the "millennium."

That they would employ this term is not surprising, as it had been in fairly wide use in Canadian church circles

for the better part of the nineteenth century. Prior to Confederation, Canadian Protestants responded to questions concerning the future, questions which were raised in religious terms by social and religious change. William Westfall's study of millennial thought in Canada at this time shows that Canadian Protestants were strongly influenced, on a number of occasions, by apocalyptic thinking which stressed the "Second Advent and the millennium." [28] The literal meaning of the word millennium was "a period of a thousand years"; in a traditional Christian context it was used with reference to the return of Christ. Specifically, as a literal interpretation of Revelation 20, millennial doctrine saw Christ returning to earth at some unknown time in the future, whereupon He would abolish evil, establish a just and perfect society, and reign as king for 1000 years with His followers. Due to the emphasis on the idea that Christ would return before the establishing of the millennium, this eschatological understanding became known as premillennialism. For some nineteenth century religious groups, such an interpretation assumed a distinctive character which held that the return of Christ and the Kingdom of God were at hand, and the world was about to end. These groups, by interpreting biblical prophesy in a very literal way, sought to correlate biblical chronology with current events. The results of their "millennial arithmetic" enabled them to predict the timing of the second coming of Christ, in some

cases to an exact date, and this predicting caught the imagination of many sectarian groups.[29] With reference to Upper Canada, Westfall goes on to state that "Wave after wave of millennial bands - Irvingites, Mormons, Perfectionists, Millerites, Plymouth Brethren and many others - flowed across the Province."[30] By the 1870's this interpretation of premillennialism was replaced by "dispensational" premillennial teaching, which held that only God knew the time of Christ's return.[31] As an eschatological doctrine, it appealed to the conservative strand for two main reasons: it insisted on biblical inerrancy, and it was pessimistic of cultural progress.[32]

The response of the mainline Canadian denominations, the liberal strand, to the premillennialism of the conservative strand, was to posit a "different exegesis of the same passages."[33] Within the historical church the pre-millennial interpretation of the future had not been widely accepted, particularly since the time of Augustine. Augustine had taken the meaning of the term millennium as being symbolical, not literal, and contended that the church was living in the millennium at the present time. The millennial hope of the primitive church had inspired the early Christians to endure persecution and suffering, as a religious sect. In the century in which Augustine wrote, the church was no longer so likely to undergo tribulation, for it was becoming the accepted religion of the Roman Empire. As the prevailing religion, Christianity,

through the efforts of theologians such as Augustine, reformulated its understanding of society and its hope to reflect its changing status in society. Rather than looking forward to an apocalyptic ushering in of the millennium, this symbolic interpretation allowed its proponents to claim that the reign of Christ was already in the process of being realized, as evidenced by the favourable position of the church in society.[34] Clearly, this interpretation suited the institutional church through succeeding centuries, as it allowed the established churches to justify their ecclesiology, according to which the church was the anticipatory manifestation of the Kingdom of God.

Building upon this view, which was the accepted by the mainline nineteenth century Christian denominations, and attempting to reconcile the notion of progress with biblical teaching, liberal Christians believed that:

The world could be improved. Absolute, divine intervention (while possible) was neither likely nor necessary. The moral millennium could be brought about gradually by 'moral means,' by preaching the gospel, by the efforts of private individuals...The millennium would be brought about gradually through the active agency of man working through religious institutions. [35]

From Confederation to the beginning of the twentieth century this interpretation, which became known as post-millennial, dominated the liberal strand.[36]

The eschatology of the labour press writers was a curious mix of both pre-millennial and post-millennial thought. Initially ambivalent to the spiritual and physical condition of society, labour writers increasingly became

pessimistic about their present situation. In this respect they were similar to the conservative strand. However, overall labour press eschatology found more common ground with post-millennial thinking, largely due to similarities in their soteriology. The major difference between the eschatology of the labour press writers and that of the liberal strand was in their ecclesiology. The ecclesiology of labour press writers focused on an institutional reordering of society, not just a moral transformation. Liberal eschatology did not go far enough, as it was confident about the moral basis of the present order. Labour press eschatology insisted that structure of society be fundamentally altered through reform, with the possibility of revolution if all else failed.

While it is not the intent of this thesis to see if there were any direct ties between labour and what was happening in various churches regarding millennarianism, what is clear is that labour writers in the Canadian labour press found, in the term millennium, a highly effective religious term in which to cast their hopes for the future. From the very beginning labour press writers revealed their familiarity with the notion of a millennium, as is seen in the following quotation taken from an article in the Ontario Workman on November 21, 1872:

I know not where the Millennium is as measured by distance of time; but I do know, and so do you, that it is a great way off as measured by human growth and expansion. We have no such men and women yet, no age has ever had any, as shall stand on earth in that age of peace that will not come until men are worthy of it.

While this writer was not too sure when the millennium would come, and clearly did not see the place labourers would have in its establishment, it is certain that there was a future hope. By the next decade that hope was finding expression in millennial terms, with the role the labourer was to play being clearly identified. Labour press eschatology, based on a soteriology in which physical salvation would only be accomplished through the spreading of the light, could only have one conclusion, and that was the coming about of a literal reign of Christ on earth. This coming of a literal millennium would depend upon labour reform ideology being proclaimed to and accepted by the working class. A letter to the editor of the Labor Advocate by H. James said, in part:

Let us, then, once and for all, if we desire to see the dawn of that day when tyranny and oppression shall be swept away, and class legislation shall be no more, do our very best to extend the circulation of this our paper, of which we may well be proud, ever working to hasten the time when the brotherhood of man shall be a reality, not a dream as it is today.[37]

Labour, by working out its salvation, would bring the millennium to pass.

Realization of the millennium would come about because the cause of the righteous (labour) would triumph. The "army of Labor" would bring the "irresistible weapons of truth and justice" to bear on the walls of custom which fortified the present system.[38] By so doing, the present system would either be reformed out of existence, or if peaceful means failed, forcefully swept away. In its place

would stand a new society. An article in The April, 1897, Banner, entitled "A Preacher on Monopoly", by Rev. D. Oglesby of Richview, Ill., placed the struggle and eventual victory of the worker in millennial terms.

For six thousand years, nearly, the world has been groaning and travailing in pain under the grinding law of competition. Now the seventh thousand year period, which is to be God's millennium, is at the door and the world is going to be "born again". We are in the throes of the new birth now. In that new era civil law will be in harmony with divine law. As it is now human law is elevated above divine law.

Not only would there be harmony as to civil and divine law, but there would also be harmony between employees and employers "conferring for mutual welfare." [39]

Essential to the hope of the worker in the coming millennium was the inevitability of that coming. For the writers, time was moving relentlessly onward to that day, and nothing could prevent its arriving. Not even "the gates of hell" would prevail against it. [40] All that the workers had to do was be prepared, "...stand firm in the ranks of duty," and listen for its coming. [41] Whatever work was done, such as extending the circulation of a labour paper, would only hasten the time when the "brotherhood of man" would be a "reality, not a dream". [42] Interestingly, for some labour writers, one of the major tools used in effecting changes necessary for the millennium to become an accomplished fact was the ability of the human mind to think. In words which echoed the liberal strand's notion of progress, the Advocate reprinted an article from the New York World in its January 2, 1891

issue, a part of which said:

Thought has worked every political, social and moral revolution. It builds governments, dethrones kings, repudiates superstition, invents machinery, and it will, some day, emancipate labor from the bonds of wage-slavery.

Clearly, physical salvation was within the grasp of every human being, for all were capable of thought.

With the millennium established, the aims and aspirations of labour could be realized. First and foremost, brotherhood would be accomplished. That which Christ had taught would be fact, and the golden rule a reality. In this context poverty would no longer exist, for the present wage system would be abolished, thus bringing an end to misery and ignorance.[43] Just as physical needs would be met, so too would emotional needs be satisfied. What emerges from writings in the papers is a picture of bliss, love and peace for the labourer.[44] The monopolists and ruling classes had no place in the millennium, nor did any aspect of selfishness.[45] In all of this, God, through Christ, was present, for it was God who had enabled labour to succeed in its struggle, a success which was divinely ordained.[46]

Painted in glowing pictures as a time when injustice would be made right and the opponents of labour would be judged by God, millennial hope became a powerful motivational force for the writers of the labour press. Their eschatology gave them hope for their existence, something to strive for, a purpose. That they used the

millennium as a central tenet of their eschatological doctrine was entirely justifiable in their eyes, as they had no hesitation in laying claim to the source of that tenet, scripture itself.

From 1873 to 1900, the articulate members of the labour movement used the labour press to present alternatives to the social system of their time. Just as Canada, as an industrialized nation, was in the throes of birth, so too was the ideology of the labour movement. As a vital part of its ideological development, the labour movement, through the expression of its articulate members, sought to use language relevant to the workers. In so doing the writers in the labour press constantly went to their religious roots for understanding as well as inspiration and comfort. The resulting doctrinal development was, for these writers, not only a response to the wealthy upper classes, but more importantly it was a response to an uncaring wayward church. Insistence upon their interpretation of scripture was justified by the respect they had for the teachings of Christ. For labour press writers, the model of Christ and the authority of scripture were the foundation upon which their eschatology, Christology, ecclesiology and soteriology rested. The vision unifying this doctrinal development was the transformation of Canadian society.

Chapter - V

The formulation of religious doctrine by labour press writers was a conscious attempt to fill a religious void in the lives of workers. Though it is difficult, due to a lack of source material, to establish the perceptions of unskilled workers regarding institutional Protestantism, it is clear that labour writers saw the workers in need of a religious alternative to the mainline and sectarian churches. Such an alternative was palatable to labour because it was based on what scripture and Christ had "really" taught. Consciously avowing the origins of their Christian heritage, these writers offered a recasting of that heritage in a language that workers could understand and accept. The appeal of these re-interpreted doctrines to the labour movement was related to the fact that these interpretations brought the doctrines to bear upon the situation of working people as they themselves perceived it. Further, these doctrines addressed the causes of societal ills, particularly poverty, and not just the symptoms. As far as labour writers were concerned, the church and clergy of the liberal strand, with few exceptions, dared not pronounce against the sources of these ills (capitalist exploitation, land speculation, land monopoly), for to do so would castigate the wealthy in

their congregations and thus affect the financial base of these churches.

What did attract working class support was the labour press emphasis on and appeal for a practical application of the principle of brotherhood. Brotherhood meant caring for one another - a living by "the golden rule of Christ." A proper attitude, accompanied by good works, toward one's fellow human being was essential in the living of "true religion." The combination of care and service enabled the labour movement to be seen as a genuine religious movement. Referring to labour as a vital part of an industrial movement, an article entitled "True" was reprinted from the *Industrial Age* in the January 30, 1891, issue of the Advocate. The article said in part:

The present industrial movement, looking towards a higher social and industrial life for the masses of humanity, is emphatically the great moral and religious reform movement of the age. We can only serve God by serving humanity. Whatever we do to the most humble of our fellow-citizens we do to Him, who commmanded us to "help one another." This is the spirit which is stirring the hearts and quickening the pulses of the social and economic reformers of today.

Regardless of whether it was economic, social or political reform that the labour press writers referred to, such reform was always in the context of Christianity. Indeed, the test of political ideologies such as socialism, conservatism and liberalism was the ethics of Christ. That such a test would be conducted through the eyes of labour and subjected to their doctrinal 'filter' was legitimate to them, for Christ had evaluated the institutional orders of

His own society and found them wanting. The result of any labour press evaluation of political and economic ideologies favoured socialism, as brotherhood and caring for others were a part of socialist thinking.

It must be noted, however, that the labour press was not alone when it came to assessing the condition of Canadian society at the close of the nineteenth century. The religious groups the labour writers attacked were also in the process of coming to grips with the social significance of industrialization. Religious trends in both the conservative and liberal strands of Protestant Christianity reflected a conscious effort on the part of both strands to provide answers to social questions. The conservative and liberal strands agreed with labour that the world, as all three groups knew it, was changing. Where the three groups parted ways was in the conception of whether the overall direction of change was for the good, given the changes. The conservative strand, for the most part, turned to their premillennial interpretations and in apocalyptic language predicted that the end of the present age was imminent. Society was living in the end times, and aside from individual spiritual salvation, there was no hope for the world. The present "dispensation" was drawing to a close despite the tremendous technical and intellectual progress taking place. In this respect, they were in agreement with the views of the labour press writers that the foundation of society had to experience

fundamental changes.

Conversely, the liberal strand embraced progress with an almost unbridled enthusiasm, and optimistically proclaimed that the millennium was in the process of being established. This postmillennial doctrine, which gained wide acceptance in Protestant mainline churches, allowed the liberal strand to identify itself with industrial capitalism and the culture of the middle class. It was with such identifications that the labour movement had difficulty, for it could not accept moral standards which were justified by a notion of progress, as this simply legitimated the policies of the middle and upper classes. The labour strand acknowledged that the world was changing, and initially, it saw the change as good. However, by the last two decades of the century, the labour writers were rejecting any notions that society, given its present course, was incorporating a moral millennium, that society was improving. The soteriology of the labour press writers precluded any kind of postmillennial eschatology based on the present order of society. For the eschatology of the labour strand to be realized, a fundamental reformation of society had to take place. Only when the brotherhood of man, in the sense of a greater equality of economic benefits and social opportunities, became a reality would any notion of progress be accepted by labour, for then it would be progress resulting in justice and equality for all mankind.

The fact that such an eschatology would be formulated by labour writers is an obvious reflection of the inadequacy of the churches and clergy to meet the needs of the workers. Left to fend for themselves against the effects of industrialization, workers turned to the foundation of their religious heritage for inspiration and comfort. Scripture, the model of Christ and a belief in the ultimate justice of God were affirmed by the development of labour Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology and eschatology. By 1900 labour was using its religious doctrines as the critical standard for judging, not only church and clergy, but all of society.

The significance of doctrinal development in the labour press continued to be felt during the first three decades of the twentieth century. These religious doctrines became central to labour's understanding and acceptance of socialist ideology. Labour writers attempted to reconcile Christianity and socialism and, in so doing, their socialist ideology became imbued with a religious righteousness. One of the legacies of the nineteenth century labour press writers was the religious righteousness they gave to the cause of labour in the twentieth century. Because of the sanctity of labour ideology, labour writers had no hesitation in echewing the religion of the conservative and liberal strands.

For their part, the conservative and liberal strands in the early decades of the twentieth century attempted to

meet the needs of the working class by becoming more actively involved in urban social efforts. The conservatives realized that their sense of mission had to include the urban poor and working class. While they became more aggressive in proclaiming their soteriology, they did so out of an eschatological motivation to preach the "gospel of Christ" to all the world. Only when this command of Christ had been fulfilled would the time be "ripe" for Christ to return and set up His millennial kingdom. This response had many widely visible manifestations in the various "crusades" which swept North America, from Moody to Graham. To the labour movement, these have appeared to be primarily attempts to serve the institutional self-interests of their promoters by filling empty churches, and the pockets of the evangelists.

Liberal strand response to apparent working class needs and labour doctrines was much more complex than that of the conservatives. Within the liberals there was a great deal of discussion concerning the validity of labour Christology and soteriology. Many liberals could agree with labour that social action and social justice were vital components of the gospel of Christ. Entering the twentieth century, some of these liberals were becoming identified as the "social gospel." However, as these same liberals became increasingly caught up in the labour movement, they found that the soteriology of the liberal strand, as exemplified in the mainline churches, simply did not meet

the needs of the working classes. Unable to accept the inadequacy of the liberal strand's answer to the social and working conditions of labour, such individuals became instrumental in the formation of a new political party in 1932, called the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. This party, which entered into the New Democratic Party in 1961, continued to stress the soteriology of the labour movement, and worked towards a realization of labour ecclesiology. Given its strong religious roots in both the labour press and the liberal strand, it is not surprising to find the New Democratic Party still affirming in quasi-religious rhetoric the righteousness of its purpose in bringing about democratic socialism in Canada.

Since it is clear that the religious doctrines of the nineteenth century labour press affected the labour movement in the twentieth century, it remains for further study to determine to what extent and in what manner these doctrines survived. Clearly, there was tension between the ecclesiology of labour and the liberal strand. This tension, coupled with the attempts of liberals to reconcile their soteriology with that of labour, had a very real influence in the shaping of the "social gospel" movement. The degree to which labour doctrines helped shape and temper the "social gospel" needs to be addressed. As well, the impact of Marxist thinking on the labour movement, with the Marxist critique of Christianity, as well as its atheistic eschatology, created a dilemma for a labour

movement imbued with Christian thinking. The manner in which the labour movement sought to resolve this problem during the early years of the twentieth century warrants detailed study.

Perhaps, even more importantly, this thesis points to the need for a historical and religious reassessment of the Canadian labour movement. Both labour and religious historians have ignored the extent to which religious influences contributed to the shaping of labour ideology. Labour history has focused on social and economic factors, while religious history has focused on the established and sectarian churches. By so doing, these historians have neglected the contribution of religion to the Canadian labour movement and the contribution of the labour movement to Canadian religion. The Canadian labour movement of the nineteenth century was immersed in its religious heritage, as this thesis has shown. The continuing effect of that heritage during the twentieth century makes the labour movement worthy of consideration as a part of our present religious situation.

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- 62 J. M. Conner, "The Labor and Socialist Movement in Canada," (unpublished manuscript material, Woodsworth Memorial Collection, University of Toronto, undated), p. 28, quoted in Robin, p. 123.
- 63 Robin, p. 30; see also Lipton, p. 123.
- 64 Industrial Banner, January 1897; see also Lipton, p. 123.
- 65 J. E. Masters, "Canadian Labour Press Opinion, 1890-1914; A Study in Theoretical and Practical Conservatism," (M. A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1970) p. 53.
- 66 Ibid., p. 45.
- 67 Banner, August 1897; see also Masters, p. 53.
- 68 Masters, p. 56; Lipton, p. 118.
- 69 Banner, February 1897.
- 70 Robin, p. 87.

- 71 Lipton, pp. 92,123.
- 72 Banner, May 1897; June 29, 1900; December 1899; April 1897; May 1899.
- 73 Ibid., March 1899.
- 74 Banner, March 27, 1914, quoted in Robin, p. 123.
- 75 Robin, p. 124.
- 76 Ibid., p. 224.
- 77 Ibid., p. 238.
- 78 Logan, p. 604.
- 79 People's Voice, June 16, 1894.
- 80 Ibid., June 16, 1894; June 23, 1894; November 24, 1894, February 6, 1896.
- 81 Ibid., August 15, 1896.
- 82 Ibid., February 8, 1896.
- 83 Ibid., January 18, 1897; December 14, 1895.
- 84 Ibid., January 19, 1895; January 12, 1895.
- 85 Ibid., August 15, 1896; November 3, 1894.
- 86 The Voice, May 8, 1897.
- 87 Ibid., June 5, 1897; May 8, 1897.
- 88 Ibid., May 29, 1897.
- 89 Ibid., September 4, 1897.
- 90 Ibid., May 29, 1897; December 15, 1899.
- 91 Ibid., August 12, 1898 through to September 1898.
- 92 McCormack, p. 143.
- 93 R. W. Phillips, "A. W. Puttee," (unfinished M.A. Thesis, University of Regina, Saskatchewan), Section 1, pp. 1ff.
- 94 With the death of R. W. Jameson, M.P. for Winnipeg South, the seat became vacant, and in the bye-election on January 25, 1900 Puttee ran as an Independent Labor

Candidate. Because of a division in the Liberal party and the decision of the Conservatives not to contest the seat, Puttee was able to secure a victory by a margin of ten votes over his only opponent, E. D. Martin. In the following general election in November of the same year he increased his margin of victory, and for the succeeding four years represented Winnipeg Labor in Ottawa. The election of 1904 was a different story. Puttee faced both Conservative and Liberal candidates, and was soundly defeated at the polls. See McCormack, pp. 143ff, for an interesting discussion concerning the relationship between Puttee and the Liberals in the election of 1900; see also, The Voice, January 27, 1900. Special bye-election issues of The Voice appeared which contained articles by local labor leaders, the platform of Puttee and strong attacks on his opponent. See also; Ibid., January 12, 1900; January 17, 1900; January 19, 1900; January 24, 1900; see also McCormack, pp. 143ff.

- 95 Phillips, Section 2, p. 3.
- 96 The Voice, June 19, 1897.
- 97 Ibid., July 8, 1898.
- 98 Phillips, Section 1, pp. 3ff.
- 99 The Voice, January 12, 1900.
- 100 Ibid., June 5, 1897; June 12, 1897.
- 101 Phillips, Section 2, p. 5.
- 102 McCormack, p. 150.
- 103 Phillips, Section 3, p. 6.
- 104 Robin, pp. 2ff.

Notes - Chapter III

- 1 Ontario Workman, November 28, 1872.
- 2 Ibid., November 19, 1872.
- 3 Ibid., December 26, 1872; January 2, 1873; January 30, 1873. This is somewhat reminiscent of the English worker's practice at an earlier time of disguising their meetings as "chapels" in Methodist Churches.
- 4 John Hewitt, "Letter to the Editor," Ibid., March 6, 1873; see also other letters, March 6, 1873; December 26, 1872; October 24, 1872; February 20, 1873.
- 5 Ibid., April 18, 1872.
- 6 Journal, May 7, 1884.
- 7 Ibid., January 14, 1891; January 21, 1891; January 28, 1891.
- 8 Ibid., February 11, 1885.
- 9 The Union, which was the predecessor of the Palladium of Labor, was the only paper of all studied which was virtually void of any positive attitude. It did not carry any columns of religious news or thought nor did it reprint any articles favorable to the church or clergy. It consistently and negatively attacked the faults of the church and the hypocrisy of the clergy. Palladium, October 27, 1883; see also article "Ingratitude," in Palladium, April 12, 1884. It must also be noted that there is no real difference between the Union and Palladium since Rowe was editor of both. The short life of the Union might suggest that Rowe, in that time period, found little in the church and clergy to commend itself to him, whereas the Palladium, lasting for three years, would allow more opportunity for Rowe to see some good in the church, or simply to balance out his commentary.
- 10 Ibid., November 17, 1883; January 17, 1885.
- 11 Labor Advocate., March 6, 1891; Ben admitted openly that he was a churchman himself. Ibid., March 27, 1891. He does not say of which denomination; May 22, 1891. In the last issue of the Advocate on October 2, 1891, it was revealed that "Ben" was the pen name for a Mr. G. A. Howell.
- 12 Ibid., February 13, 1891, and subsequent issues.

- 13 Palladium., October 13, 1883; "Open Letter to Rev. C. C. Johnstone" by E. Williams, March 20, 1886; "Lecture by Rev. C. Short," Advocate, December 5, 1890; "Address by Rev. E. A. Oliver," January 2, 1891; article on speech by Rev. R. P. Mackay, January 2, 1891; Rev. Dr. Burns, December 26, 1890; Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, April 3, 1891. See also Palladium, July 4, 1885; Advocate, January 30, 1891; December 5, 1890; January 23, 1891.
- 14 The People's Voice, December 15, 1894.
- 15 Ibid., February 9, 1895.
- 16 Ibid., January 1, 1896.
- 17 The Voice, April 25, 1902; May 2, 1902; October 11, 1901; September 18, 1897; March 25, 1898.
- 18 Banner, April 1897.
- 19 Ibid., December 1898, the Rev. Pedley is commended by the Banner for supporting the striking motormen and conductors in London, Ontario.
- 20 Palladium, September 8, 1883; Advocate, January 30, 1891; Voice, June 19, 1879; Banner, February 1897.
- 21 Magnus Inkster, "Letter to the Editor," in Advocate September 11, 1891; see also "Thoughts for Labor Reformers," January 16, 1891.
- 22 G. Whittier, Advocate, February 2, 1891; see also Palladium, January 12, 1884.
- 23 Voice, March 31, 1899.
- 24 Banner, January 1899.
- 25 Ibid., July 1897.
- 26 Ibid., August 1897.
- 27 Advocate, December 5, 1890; February 20, 1891; March 6, 1891; see also Palladium, October 20, 1883.
- 28 Advocate, March 6, 1891; see also letters to the editor of the Advocate by J. J. Gillem, February 6, 1891; G. A. Howell, April 24, 1891; S. M. Jones, May 8, 1891; in Palladium, Felix, January 12, 1884; in Workman, December 5, 1872.
- 29 Advocate, December 5, 1890; December 12, 1890; December 26, 1890; January 23, 1891.

- 30 Voice, March 18, 1898.
- 31 Voice, June 12, 1897; see also David Kerr "Churchianity or Christianity: The Workingman and the Church 1895-1915," (unpublished essay, University of Winnipeg, 1975), p. 2.
- 32 Voice, January, 1899; see also article "Socialism," by T.A. Foreman, March 1897.
- 33 Workman, March 6, 1873.
- 34 Ibid., November 21, 1872.
- 35 Ibid., December 15, 1872.
- 36 Ibid., December 19, 1872.
- 37 Ibid., March 20, 1873.
- 38 Ibid., October 3, 1872.
- 39 Advocate, April 24, 1891; September 11, 1891; Palladium, September 8, 1883.
- 40 Palladium, September 8, 1883.
- 41 Advocate, December 26, 1890; January 2, 1891; see also, Letter to the Editor by Felix in Palladium, January 12, 1884.
- 42 Rev. C. Duff, Advocate, December 26, 1890; January 2, 1891.
- 43 Ibid., February 6, 1891; see also Palladium, "Our Social Club," October 27, 1883; February 2, 1884. The understanding of what scripture taught and Christ modelled was for Thompson a strong link to his personal religion. As was Mrs E. Day, editor of the Women's column in the Advocate, Thompson was a Theosophist. Theosophy, which had its origins in ancient eastern religion, taught that there was one divine spirit which was universal and common to all humanity. From this divine spirit, common to all humanity, came the principle of brotherhood. Thompson stated that "the one essential truth which all Theosophists must accept is the principle of human brotherhood." Cook, p. 17. Mrs. E. Day in her column in the Advocate, May 1, 1891, commented that it was a principle which all men received "in the Beginning as an Emanation from the Absolute One." Thompson and Day could accept brotherhood, as taught by scripture and Christ, as merely another expression of the eternal truth of brotherhood found in Theosophy.

- 44 Rev. E. L. King, Voice, November 18, 1898.
- 45 Alex McNeilage, "Letter to the Editor," People's Voice, November 24, 1894.
- 46 W. W. Buchanan, Voice, December 21, 1899.
- 47 Banner, March 1897.
- 48 Voice, December 27, 1901.
- 49 Banner, January 1899.
- 50 People's Voice, January 19, 1895.
- 51 Advocate, December 26, 1890.
- 52 Palladium, August 1, 1885; for more on wealth see Palladium, January 3, 1885; July 18, 1885; Independent, March 1, 1902; January 19, 1901; People's Voice, November 2, 1895; December 14, 1895; January 1, 1896; Voice, October 2, 1897; December 27, 1901; Advocate, December 26, 1890; December 5, 1890; Citizen and Country, April 1, 1899; Canadian Labor Reformer, January 29, 1887.
- 53 Banner, August 1897.
- 54 Voice, September 9, 1898.
- 55 Ibid., September 9, 1898.
- 56 W.O.C., Ibid., November 5, 1897.
- 57 People's Voice, December 29, 1894.
- 58 People's Voice, December 1, 1894.
- 59 Ibid., February 9, 1895.
- 60 Ibid., August 15, 1896; For more on use of wealth see; People's Voice, November 2, 1895; December 14, 1895; January 1, 1896; Voice, October 2, 1897; December 27, 1901.
- 61 Palladium, March 4, 1884.
- 62 Poem by E. Nesbit, Advocate, January 2, 1891.
- 63 Ibid., January 9, 1891.
- 64 Palladium, January 3, 1885.

65 A. C. Fletcher, People's Voice, November 24, 1894.

66 Advocate, December 5, 1890; Editorial, "We Never Forget," January 9, 1891; January 23, 1891.

Notes - Chapter IV

- 1 Gene Howard Homel, "'Fading Beams of the Nineteenth Century:' Radicalism and Early Socialism in Canada's 1890's," Labour/Le Travailleur, Volume 5, (Spring, 1980), p. 14.
- 2 Richard Allen, "Providence to Progress," Religion/Culture, Volume VII, (1985), pp. 41ff.
- 3 George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth - Century: 1870-1925 (New York, 1980), p. 14.
- 4 John W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto, 1972), pp. 61-62.
- 5 John S. Moir, "Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in The Churches and the Canadian Experience (Toronto, 1963), p. 129.
- 6 Grant, p. 62.
- 7 Marsden, pp. 5, 51, 56-57; see also Ernest R. Sandeen, The Origins of Fundamentalism: Toward a Historical Interpretation (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 12-16.
- 8 William Westfall, "The End of the World," Religion Culture, Volume VII, (1985), p. 75; see also H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1956), pp. 311ff; J.W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto, 1972), p. 64; D.W. Wilson, The Church Grows in Canada (Toronto, 1966), p. 159ff; Westfall, p. 82.
- 9 The use of the term "conservative" was chosen because it seemed to best exemplify this group of evangelical Protestants. The attitudes and characteristics of this group were certainly not liberal, and it appears that their reaction to the new theology was a conservative reaction. Use of this term to describe this strand is also apparent in the writing of John W. Grant, who comments on the influence of this group on religious liberal thinking in The Canadian Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto, 1972), pp. 61-62, 74-82. George M. Marsden, in his book Fundamentalism and American Culture calls this group conservative, (pp. 55-57, 60-61, 66-68, 88-89) as does Timothy T. Weber, in his book Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, (pp. 5, 25-29, 33-42).

- 10 Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators. (Toronto, 1985), pp. 168-169, 174-175; on Woodsworth, p. 219.
- 11 Report on a Sermon by Reverend C. Duff, Labor Advocate, December 26, 1890.
- 12 W.W. Buchanan, in Voice, December 21, 1899.
- 13 Homel, p. 18
- 14 Allen, p. 41
- 15 Palladium of Labor, October 20, 1883. In this quotation it should be noted that the phrase "evil day" is also a religious phrase.
- 16 Article reprinted from the Universal Republic in the Advocate, December 26, 1890; see also Union, March 3, 1883.
- 17 Advocate, January 2, 1891.
- 18 Union, January 20, 1883; February 10, 1883; see also Advocate, January 2, 1891; February 13, 1891; Palladium, January 19, 1884; August 8, 1885; People's Voice, November 24, 1894.
- 19 Union, January 20, 1883. Union, February 10, 1883; see also "A Preacher on Monopoly," in the Banner, April 1897; Advocate, December 19, 1890; People's Voice, November 24, 1894. A working out of one's salvation was also implied in terms such as "elevation." Elevation meant a change in status, a movement to something higher. Similarly, the phrase "emancipation of our brothers" reflected a mode by which labour could achieve its expressed desire to work out its own salvation.
- 20 Palladium, November 24, 1883
- 21 Union, January 13, 1883; see also Palladium, July 25, 1885; October 20, 1883; November 24, 1883; Advocate, December 19, 1890; Voice, September 4, 1897; Banner, August 1897.
- 22 Grant, pp. 78ff; Walsh, pp. 313ff; S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, 1948), pp. 409ff; Homel, p. 18; Allen, p. 43; Advocate, December 12, 1890.
- 23 Advocate, January 2, 1891; January 30, 1891; Article by Mrs. E. Bryant in The Voice, December 30, 1898; Article entitled "True," in Palladium of Labor, August 15, 1885.

- 24 Banner, January 1897; December 1899; Voice, July 8, 1898.
- 25 Voice, September 4, 1897; see also Advocate, December 19, 1890.
- 26 Union, January 13, 1883.
- 27 Advocate, January 30, 1891; December 19, 1890; May 8, 1891; see also Union, January 20, 1883; Palladium, October 20, 1883.
- 28 Westfall, p. 75
- 29 Weber, pp. 14-15; see also William Westfall who sees this premillennialism as a response of certain groups to "their own sense of crisis." p. 75.
- 30 Ibid., p. 75
- 31 For a study of dispensationalism see Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism (Chicago, 1970). In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, due in part to the influence of the writings and teachings of an Englishman named Darby, literal millennialism, based upon dispensational theory, was in vogue in many Christian circles in North America. See also Marsden, pp. 46,54,70; and Weber, pp. 17,21-22.
- 32 Marsden, pp. 50,56.
- 33 Westfall, p. 80.
- 34 While Augustine did not develop a specific eschatological doctrine which could be called postmillennial, he did formulate a new understanding of history and the role of the "church" in the world. It was his conception of society, and its relationship to the church, that gave theological direction to later eschatological writers. See Jeremy Adams, The Populus of Augustine and Jerome (New Haven and London, 1971), pp. 28,40-41,58; George Forell, Christian Social Teachings (Minneapolis, 1966), pp. 82-84; Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York, 1979), pp. 26-27; Loraine Boettner, The Millennium (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 110-111.
- 35 Westfall, p. 81.
- 36 N. Keith Clifford, "A Vision in Crisis," Religion and Culture in Canada. (1977), p. 36.

- 37 Advocate, March 13, 1891; see also poem "True Knights are We," in Palladium, November 3, 1883.
- 38 Palladium, March 4, 1884; Union, February 10, 1883.
- 39 People's Voice, June 23, 1894; Palladium, January 10, 1885.
- 40 Banner, August 3, 1900; see also Advocate, December 5, 1890; Palladium, August 8, 1885.
- 41 Union, January 20 1883; Palladium, August 11, 1883; Advocate, December 19, 1890.
- 42 Advocate, March 13, 1891.
- 43 Banner, February 1897; Advocate, December 26, 1890; Voice, December 22, 1901.
- 44 Advocate, January 2, 1891; January 16, 1891; February 13, 1891; Banner, January 17, 1902.
- 45 Palladium, October 20, 1883; October 27, 1883; Voice, December 21, 1899; Union, March 3, 1883.
- 46 Advocate, April 17, 1891; Palladium, September 22, 1883; Voice, October 2, 1897; Banner, February 1897; December 1899.

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